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Satire : the classical genre of dissent : Juvenalian influence on Samuel Johnson's London

Geraldine Katner Jones

SATIRE: THE CLASSICAL GENRE OF DISSENT-

JUVENALIAN INFLUENCE ON SAMUEL JOHNSON'S *LONDON*

BY

GERALDINE KANTNER JONES

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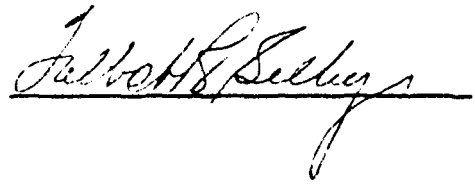

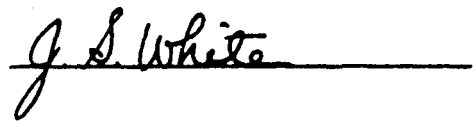

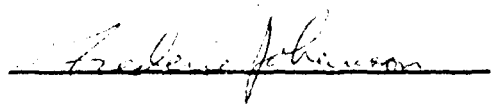

. . . magna cum gratia meae familiae,

sine qua non.

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CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SATIRE

Satire, the classical form of dissent, is Roman in origin. All other types of Latin poetry are known by their Greek names; satire alone has the distinction of bearing a Roman name with which no Greek genre corresponds.

Quintilian, in Book x, examines Greek and Latin literature. In all genres, except satire, a comparison between the two is drawn.[1] When he says "satura quidem tota nostra est,"[2] we infer that there is no comparable genre in Greek.[3] Indeed, the Greeks had their satiric elements, but the independent Roman genius first recognized this element as a potential literary type and developed it as such.

> The Stoic intellectualism of the Romans hardened into a cold and cynical aloofness and produced the formal satire as the one literary invention of Rome.[4]

A great deal has been written about the origin, history and use of the word satire.[5] The derivation of the word itself has not yet been settled to everyone's satisfaction. "Satur" was originally an adjective used early to mean "full." Plautus uses it in that sense: "ubi satur

sum, nulla crepitant,"[6] as does Horace: "cedat uti conviva satur."[7] Plautus also used it in a metaphorical sense, pertaining to the mind: "qui non edistis, satur fite fabulis."[8] The transition from the meanings "full" to "mixed" is found in Sallust,

> dein postero die quasi per saturam sententus exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur.[9]

Livy applies the noun "satura" to the early Italian drama. He lists five stages of its development:

1. serious dances; Etruscan religious rites.
2. burlesque of these by the Romans with jokes added (iocularia).
3. songs of professional actors (saturae).
4. plays of Livius Andronicus (fabulae).
5. return to stage 2 (after-plays).[10]

The idea of a "medley" bridges the gap between the dramatic and the literary "saturae" and is in keeping with Juvenal's words:

> Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
> Gaudia discursus, nostri 'farrago' libelli est.[11]

The second century B.C. writers, Ennius, Varro, Pacuvius and Lucilius are the first representatives of the literary "saturae." Ennius (239-169 B.C.) seems to have written his "saturae" in various metres. At a later period, Horace's satires resemble those of Ennius in regard to their demonstration of the poet's personal feeling and their autobiographical nature. According to Diomedes, Ennius's nephew, Pacuvius (220-132 B.C.) supposedly wrote

"saturae."[12] Varro (116-28 B.C.) described everyday life in a medley of prose and poetry.

Lucilius (180-103 B.C.) brings to satire the conventional form which is adopted by Horace and becomes the literary genre we know today. He experimented with different metres, settling on the dactylic hexameter. His subject matter was topical and became the characteristic of satirical writing.

Horace regarded Lucilius as the prototype of a satirist while criticising his "severity in invective."[13] In Book I of the Sermones, Horace sets forth the history of the old satire, his conception of satire, and his reasons for writing it.

> The earlier satire attacked all men who were vulnerable, and held them up to public ridicule. It was therefore generally feared and detested. Its prototype was the Old Comedy of the Greeks and its greatest Roman representative was Lucilius. He had two serious faults; he was too diffuse and careless in composition. Horace proposes to improve on Lucilius by not writing voluminously and carelessly and by not forcing his works on a public to which they might be distasteful. He does not claim the title of poet and merely describes everyday life in verse. He need not be feared for he attacks no blameless man. Moreover, he writes to entertain his friends and to instruct them. He finds amusement in the weaknesses and eccentricities of others, but without malice. He was trained by his father to observe the habits of others as a means of self-improvement. He does note the good and bad qualities of others in order to profit by his observation. The reader may draw the moral. The jotting down of his thoughts is no doubt a weakness and he asks forgiveness of his fellow-poets.[14]

Persius (34-62 A.D.) further represents the Lucilian school. He was the first Stoic verse-satirist of Rome, Stoic moralism being the theme of his works. His style of writing shows the influence of Lucilius and Horace.

Juvenal (60-140 A.D.), the last satirist of the Silver Age, was filled with passionate indignation. It remained for him to apply this literary form to the social evils of the day and to show how a "vitriolic pen can annihilate one's enemies."[15] Rome, in its decline, offered abundant material for attack, but the savage invective of Juvenal springs from a personal pessimism. His hatred of vice and his love of simple living sound genuine, but the shocking picture of conditions in Rome in the Third Satire is exaggerated. Nevertheless, it has contributed heavily to our grim impression of the city in his day and it inspired Dr. Johnson's satire of another city, London, many centuries later.

Everywhere in Juvenal, we meet the same indignation leveled at a corrupt society. Although no hope is present to lighten this dark portrayal, we can still enjoy "the incessant lash of his attack and the stately rhetoric in which he phrased it."[16] He best fulfills the definition of a satirist as given by William Gifford.

> . . . to hold up the vicious, as objects of reprobation and scorn, for the example of others, who may be deterred by their sufferings.[17]

Juvenal looked at the world around him and said, "dificile est saturam non scribere."[18]

Satire was not only the one Roman contribution to literary forms,[19] but it was also the one literary form in which there could be no doubt of their excellence.[20] It was the portraiture and criticism of society, either depicted normally or with exaggerated vices. The moving together of national consciousness and genius found a means of expression, resulting in the adaptation of Greek techniques and the development of this classical form of dissent.[21]

FOOTNOTES- CHAPTER I

1 Quintilian Bk. x. 1. 46-131.

2 Ibid., x. 1. 93.

3 C.A. Van Rooy, Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), p.120.

4 Warnock and Anderson, The World in Literature, An Anthology (Chicago: Scott, Foreman and Co., 1950), Vol. I, p. 432.

5 B.L. Ullman, "The Present Status of the Satura Question," Studies in Philology, (1920), Vol. 17, pp. 379-401. This article gives a comprehensive survey of the learned investigations of the origin of the word "satire". In a more recent work, (cited above), C.A. Van Rooy brings this survey up to date.

6 Plautus Menaechmi 927.

7 Horace Serm.i. 1. 119.

8 Plautus Peonulus prologue 8.

9 Sallust Jugurtha 29.5.

10 Livy vii 2.4.ff.

11 Juvenal Satire i 86.

12 Diomedes i. 485. 33k.

13 J.C. Rolfe, Satires and Epistles of Horace (Chicago: Allyn and Bacon, 1901), p. xxi.

14 Ibid., p. 15.

15 Warnock and Anderson, op. cit., p. 432.

16 Ibid., p. 432.

17 William Gifford, "An Essay on the Roman Satire" in The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia and Lucilius ed. by Lewis Evans, (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), p. xxi.

18 Juvenal i. 29.

19 Quintilian x 1. 93.

20 C.A. Van Rooy, op. cit., p. 122.

21 J.W.Mackail, "Literature," chap. in The Legacy of Rome, ed. by Cyril Bailey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 327-8.

CHAPTER II

JUVENAL

Juvenal, a writer of a very subjective type of literature, managed to keep his private life concealed. Little is known of his background except through speculation drawn from his works and from uncertain sources. Ancient biographies found in the manuscripts of Juvenal are numerous, but also untrustworthy. Perhaps the best of these "vitae", and the one from which others were drawn, was the one compiled by Probus of Valla in the fourth or fifth century and added to the codex Pithoeanus:

> VITA D. IUNII IUUENALIS. Iunius Iuvenalis, libertini locupletis incertum est filius an alumnus, ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit animi magis causa quam quod se scholae aut foro praepararet. deinde paucorum versuum satura non absurde conposita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque eius semenstribus militiolis tumentem genus scripturae industriose excoluit. et tamen diu ne modico quidem auditorio quicquam committere est ausus. mox magna frequentia magnoque successu bis ac ter auditus est, ut ea quoque quae prima fecerat inferciret novis scriptis [7,90]:
>
> quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curos?
> praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos
>
> erat tum in deliciis aulae histrio multique fautorum eius cottidie provehebantur. venit ergo Iuvenalis in suspicionem, quasi tempora figurate notasset, ac statim per honorem militiae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus est missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema parte tendentis Aegypti. id supplicii genus placuit, ut levi atque ioculari delicto par esset. verum intra brevissimum tempus angore et taedio periit.[1]

An inscription from Aquinum incorporating the name Juvenal may concern our poet or a member of his family.

C[ere]RI SACRUM
[D. Iu]NIUS IUVENALIS
trib. coh.[I] DELMATARUM
II VIR QUINQ. FLAMEN
DIVI VESPASIANI
VOVIT DEDICAV[itq]UE
SUA PEC(C.I.L.X 5382)[2]

His contemporary, Martial, is the only writer of his time and one of the few ancient authors to mention Juvenal. In Epigram xii 18, he compares the quiet life of a Spanish town, to which he has retired, to Juvenal's hectic duties of a client in the city.[3]

Decimus Junius Juvenalis is the satirist's full name. His birthplace seems to have been Aquinum in Latium. In Satire iii 319, Umbricius refers to "tuo Aquino" when talking to Juvenal. Whether or not he was the son of a wealthy freedman is a point of conjecture. His writings show him to have had a good education; he mentions Quintilian in Satire vii 186-202. Could he have studied under him? We cannot know for certain, but his knowledge of rhetoric is quite evident.

At one time he was probably a client,[4] dependent upon a wealthy patron. Later he seems to have acquired a country place and a town house and to have improved his

standard of living.[5] His satires dealing with military affairs, i.e. promotions, camps, familiarity with certain provinces, lead us to believe he served in the army.[6]

The scholia agree that he was banished from Rome for a time. This could account for his poverty and his indignation, his sense of injustice and failure. We are left with the question of where he was sent into exile. Some say Egypt, some Scotland. Juvenal speaks from first-hand knowledge of Italy, Egypt, and North Africa. All other places seem to be known from secondary sources.[7] He may have been exiled during the reign of Domitian for some verses directed against the Emperor's favorite actor.

The exact date of his death is unknown. Since we can date Book V at 127 A.D.,[8] and the "vitae" tell us Juvenal lived to be eighty, we assume his death occurred as late as the year 140.

Our few facts plus much speculation and insinuation join together to paint a portrait of a man indignant against the past, despairing of the future, withdrawn, lonely, furious, pessimistic, poor and embittered.[9] He spoke as a moralist, using his satire as protest instead of constructive criticism.

Juvenal's satires can be likened to a sunless

winter day. Just as the naked, pencil-like branches of the trees stand out in sharp relief against the grey-blue sky, so do the satirist's minutely detailed descriptions of people, places, noises and sights stand out against the dismal word-picture of society. There is a beauty there, for ugliness does verge on beauty, and this awareness makes keener the senses of the reader. However, a satirist without some objectivity becomes heavy-handed and neither instructs nor pleases his readers. Juvenal avoids this fault by stirring in just a bit of humor at the right time lest he lose his readers to despair. His object is to:

> provoke the same derision, indignation and disgust as he feels himself . . . . He presents a series of lurid pictures accompanied by emotive noises which are designed to play upon our deepest fears, resentments and tabus. Sexual scorn, male arrogance, social snobbery, xenophobia, jealousy, physical revulsion-- one is piled on the other until the satirist explodes with a shout of fury and contempt. Both he and his reader experience through their savage laughter a kind of emotional release.[10]

Juvenal concentrates on everyday life and makes it seem monumental. He uses rhetorical skills, especially "amplificatio" to achieve this purpose.[11] But, according to William Gifford, a nineteenth century essayist, Juvenal is too rhetorical.[12] Samuel Johnson, however, states that Juvenal is a mixture of gaiety and stateliness, of pointed sentence and declamatory grandeur;[13] while John Dryden,

calling Juvenal a wit more virile than other satirists, says that the Roman satirist,

> gives me as much pleasure as I can bear; he fully satisfies my expectations; he treats his subject home; and his spleen is raised and he raises mine.[14]

The device of "anachronism" is said by Syme[15] to have been used by Juvenal because he was writing in uncertain times. The possibility of a different interpretation of i 170-1

> Experiar, quid concedatur in illos,
> quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

has been posited by Barry Baldwin in his article, Cover Names and Dead Victims in Juvenal.

> Juvenal is not using a rhetorical device -- anachronism -- to attack those already dead, but those who are nobles, earning the right to be buried along the famed 'vias' when they do die.[16]

However, when we read Satire i, we see Juvenal explaining to us why he has blended past with present.

> Quidquid agunt homines -- votum, timor, ira voluptas,
> gaudia, discursus -- nostri farrago libelli est.
> et quando uberior vitiorum copia.[17]

He says that it is difficult not to write satire; if by natural talent he cannot make verses, his indignation will produce them.[18] His subjects may be drawn from history, but they are timeless and everpresent, as we see from the many adaptations of Satire iii.[19] How contemporary is the theme of the power and villainy in a big city! There are

contrasts given between city and country life, rich and poor, Roman and foreigner, sincerity and flattery. This satire is written in the form of a monologue, spoken by Umbricius, a friend who is departing from Rome to seek the quiet hamlet of Cumae for his retirement years. Juvenal has accompanied him to the city walls where they pause to say farewell in a park, once a sacred and natural setting. The tone of the poem is set with the immediate description of how this place, just like the city, has been violated by foreigners, greed, extravagance, and the tearing down of the old way of life, the traditional, which used to be such an important part of the Roman's life. The poem has a balanced structure:

Introduction 1-20
Poverty 21-189:
    (a) honesty starves 21-59
    (b) foreigners oust Romans 58-125
    (c) poor men are helpless 126-189
Discomfort and danger 190-314:
    (a) falling buildings and fires 190-231
    (b) crowds and traffic 232-267
    (c) accidents, fights, thefts, murders 268-314
Epilogue 315-322. [20]

Umbricius gives three reasons why he cannot remain at Rome: he will not be a dishonest man; he is a Roman in a city where foreigners achieve wealth and position; and being poor, he finds himself oppressed by this poverty to a point where he can never raise himself to a higher social and economic level. He then goes on to say that it

is no longer worthwhile to remain in Rome. A city-dweller lives in fear for his life: houses fall down or burn up; traffic conditions and crowds threaten to crush out one's life during the day; while crime and the misfortunes of being abroad at night may do one in.

Having finished his indignant discourse, Umbricius bids Juvenal farewell and looks to the time when he can visit Juvenal at Aquinum. Our satirist is left to return to the wicked city and its loathsome ways.

Juvenal, together with Martial, Tacitus and Petronius, is a realist of his time. He points out the factors leading to the deterioration of the nation and the empire, by his exhaustive tirade delivered against the city, Rome. "A great city is, to be sure, the school for studying life."[21]

Although we acknowledge the fact that Juvenal chose the "notissima exempla"[22] to illustrate his indignation toward conditions in the city, we also note that the same ideas appear in other authors. Horace, Martial, and Seneca the Elder contrast city and country life.[23] The noise in the streets, the obstructions, are mentioned in Martial,[24] and Pliny confirms that convicts were used to clean out the sewers.[25] Clients and flatterers are dealt with by several authors, verifying their existence as social pests.[26]

The role of slavery, the informer, and the period of enforced silence have a part in the histories as well as the satires. Tacitus covers these subjects in his Annales[27] and elsewhere.

Juvenal and Martial reveal the hideous side of life at Rome, using fierce invective, sour and embittered tones. They were poor, deprived, pessimistic and, yet, they seem to have been undergirded by a moral tone not unlike that of St. Paul.[28] Pliny, on the other hand, was an idealist, secure in his fortune and elite friends. It was easier for him to write in a higher tone, to give quiet testimony to his era in a more charitable literary endeavor.

Ronald Syme says that at that time

> . . . it was impossible to tell the truth about the living, but hate might have its revenge upon the dead. Hence the contrasted but complementary vices inherent in imperial Roman historiography, flattery and detraction . . . . Literature under the Empire was constrained to veiled criticism or delayed revenge upon the enemies of the government. Satire valiantly attacked the dead and the helpless. Quintilian . . . claimed that this form of composition was peculiarly and wholly Roman.[29]

The rise of a new class to prominence and wealth served as an irritant to Juvenal and men like him who were impoverished but proud. Discontent with present times made him record the ruination of the aristocracy as a lesson for posterity. He makes an appeal for social improvement, his hope resting in the wealthy becoming aware of the needs

of their fellowman, and that charity would follow this awakening.[30]

> The preachings of Seneca, Persius, of Pliny and Juvenal, and of the new Stoic doctrinaires were but verbal expressions of the popular reactions against Neronian social life. There would still be rich men, but they would donate a large part of their wealth to the public good.[31]

These Stoics set their eyes on goodness and virtue in this earthly life. And virtue to them was striving for the mark, the utmost in making this world a better one for everyone.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

1 Cited in H.L. Wilson, D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturarum, Libra V, (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1908), p.viii.

2 Ibid., p. ix. "In honor of Ceres D. Junius Juvenalis, tribune of the first cohort of Dalmations, duumvir quinquennalis, priest of the deified Vespasian, vowed and dedicated (this offering) at his own expense."

3 Martial xii 24 Cum Iuvenale meo
xii 91 De nostro, facunde, tibi, Iuvenalis
xii 18 Dum tu fortisan in quietas erras clamosa, Iuvenalis.
Late authors and commentators who mention the Satirist are: Sid. Apollinaris, carm. ix. 269; Ioh. Malala chron.x. 341; Suidas (brief mention, following Malala); Ammianus xxviii 4.14; Rutulius Namatianus i. 603; Ioh. Lydus De Mag. i. 41;Pseudoacron Comm. Hor.ad Serm. i.1.

4 Juvenal i. 99; iii. 187; Martial xii 18. 1-9.

5 Ibid., xi. 65; xi. 190; xi. 131.

6 Ibid., i. 58; vii. 92; ii. 165; iii. 132; xiv. 193, 197; x. 194; xi. 124; xiii. 163; xiv. 196; xv. 5, 45, 125.

7 Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 28.

8 Juvenal xiii. 17; xv. 27.

9 Highet, op. cit., p. 41.

10 Niall Rudd, The Satires of Horace (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966), p. 265-6.

11 Edward Charles Wicke, Juvenal III,"Harvard Studies in Classical Philology," Vol. 66 (1962), p.277.

12 William Gifford, op. cit., p. xxv.

13 Works of Samuel Johnson (Oxford English Classics Series; Vol. IX,(London: Talboys, Wheeler and Pickering, 1825), p. 424.

14 John Dryden, Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire (Oxford: ClarendonPress, 1926), p. 84.

15 Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1939), p. 489.

16 Barry Baldwin, "Cover Names and Dead Victims in Juvenal," Athenaeum, Vol.45,(1967), p. 304.

17 Juvenal i. 85-7.

18 Ibid., i 29.79.

19 Wyatt, Of the Courtier's Life.
Regnier, La Vie de la Cour.
Boileau, Les Embarras de Paris.
Johnson, London.

20 Highet, op.cit., p. 254.

21 Johnson, op.cit., p. 449.

22 J.P. Sullivan, Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Satire (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 170.

23 Horace Serm. ii. 6. Ep. ii. 2.65; Martial i. 49., x. 70. xii. 18. 57; Seneca the Elder Controv. ii.1.

24 Martial v 22. 8.

25 Pliny Ep. xxxii. 2.

26 Martial i. 104. ii. 68. 79. v. 39; Pliny Ep. ii. 20; Petronius 116, 140.

27 Tacitus Ann. iii. 65. iv. 69. xv. 71. 74. De. Or. xxviii. See also Seneca De Trang. xii, Martial xii. 18.

28 Samuel Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius (London: Macmillan and Co., 1905), p. 190.

29 Ronald Syme, op.cit., p. 488-9.

30 Dill, op. cit., p. 97.

31 Tenny Frank, An Economic Survey of Rome, Vol. V, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), p. 60.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTINUING THREAD OF SATIRE

The Christian propagandists during the late Empire admired and echoed Juvenal in their ecclesiastical literature. They were the opposition, the indignant of their time. Early in the fourth century, Lactantius (fl. A.D. 315), who wrote Divinae Institutiones, a book on Christian education, quoted Juvenal and called him by name.

> Men have invented the name of Fortune, which is meaningless; how far removed from wisdom this is, Juvenal shows us in the following lines:
> 'with wisdom, no divinity is needed; it is we who make you a goddess, Fortune, and set you in heaven.'[1]

Henceforth, Juvenal becomes, in the eyes of his readers, a highly moral philosopher who punctuates his poems with clever and memorable clichés.

Juvenal's first imitator in poetry was Ausonius of Bordeaux (A.D. 310-394). He too, called the satirist by name as he borrowed some of his phrases.[2] The author, Servius (fl. A.D. 395), mentioned Juvenal time and again in his commentary on Vergil.[3] Because of this interest, Juvenal eventually became an author to be included in the text-books.

After suffering centuries of obscurity for the second time, Juvenal came to light again during the Carolingian Renaissance. Under the initial guidance of Alcuin of York (A.D. 735-804), scholars began to seek out manuscripts of the old Latin texts, copied them and distributed them to other scholars. These men in turn edited, extracting and correcting, and included certain authors in their anthologies which resulted from their efforts.[4] Interest in Juvenal spread from France to Italy. Eventually, in 1086, Juvenal was included as one of the nine authors of "golden books" in an anthology written by Aimeric, Ars Lectoria.[5] Juvenal was now placed on the same literary plane with Horace and Vergil.

In medieval culture, Juvenal is cited and recognized by all the major scholars. One of the strongest attacks on the immorality of contemporary society is found in Bernard of Cluny, De Contemptu Mundi (c. 1150). The monastery at Cluny was a famous center for sacred poetry. Bernard of Morval entered this institution in the second half of the twelfth century and there composed his long poem. In three books containing three thousand lines, he inveighs against the ecclessiastical institutions of his day and the general immorality of the world surrounding him. In Book ii 805-6, he asks:

Flaccus Horatius, et Cato, Persius et Juvenalis--
Quid facerent, rogo, si foret his modo vita sodalis?[6]

His despair gives way to occassional bursts of joy when he contemplates how perfect will be the next life.

In the Middle Ages classical satire was confused with didacticism; in preaching sermons, the fierce invective, the ability to "ridentem dicere verum" was dispelled. The satires written in the vernacular never rose above lampoons or anecdotes. But with the Renaissance came the rediscovery of literary types with specific characteristics and techniques. And satire, in the manner of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, once more became the classical genre of dissent.

Since satire is a blend of poetry and prose, it consists of both rhetoric and philosophy. Therefore Juvenal's appeal, as a stylist and a thinker, to the prose writers is understandable. That Juvenal was now on almost every reading list put out by medieval scholars is of great consequence; for the scholars who bridged the eras of medieval culture and Renaissance knew Juvenal, applauded him and passed him on.

The primary poet of this time, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), although he seems to have known little of Juvenal's poems, lived a life parallel to that of our Silver Age satirist: an exile, embittered by corruption.

In Purgatorio, Dante placed Juvenal in limbo where he lived suffering desire without hope:

> onde dall' ora che tra noi discese
> nel limbo dello 'nferno Giovenale,[7]

The Renaissance was a movement, educational by nature, to explore the world through intellectual pursuits, examining the past, searching for the best. Because Juvenal was considered to be one of the important classical authors, the Renaissance continued the spreading abroad of his fame.

Petrarch (1304-1374), in quoting Juvenal, either calls him by name or refers to him as "the satirist."

> loquitur experientia, . . . loquitur veritas . . . quod si mortalem poscis auctorem, loquitur haec peritissimus rerum talium Iuvenalis, quique profundissime mores hominum novit.[8]

Boccaccio (1313-1375) mentions Juvenal and shows respect for his courage and conviction.

> Non quari dopo lui fatt' era onore
> a Giovenal, che ne' su' atti ardito
> a mondan falli ancor facea romore.[9]

Desiderius Erasmus (1461-1536) the best known Humanist of the Renaissance was a restless seeker after knowledge and moved freely from one end of Europe to the other carrying with him a new enlightenment. His treatises cover a wide range of Humanist interests --the new use of the Classics, the art of writing, the moral education of

a king, and his best known work, the satire, Moriae Encomium. This satire takes the form of a monologue delivered by the female personification of folly. Her advice is for man to put aside his blunderings and fears and be guided by his natural discipline, moderation.[10] His purpose was to arouse the indignation of churchmen against the ecclessiastical abuses of his day. In the preface to this piece of prose satire, Eramus declares that he has no need to imitate Juvenal by stirring up cesspools of crime and says that he writes only of the laughable, not the disgusting. However, this satiric work was an attack on stupidity and corruption in both secular and ecclessiastical circles. No one escaped being criticised: scholars, philosophers, churchmen, popes, and kings. Eramus achieved his purpose by arousing the indignation of churchmen which led to internal reforms and eventually to the Reformation itself. In this, Eramus assumed the attitude of Juvenal in observing menis follies and holding them up to the light.

In England, toward the end of the sixteenth century, a group of young poets were intent upon reviving satire as set forth by the Romans. So well did they succeed that an interdict of silence was placed upon them by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1599. John Donne was a member of

this group.

> In verse he wrote satires, epistles, elegies, and miscellaneous poems, distinguished by wit, profundity of thought and erudition, passion and subtlety, coupled with a certain roughness of form ('I sing not Syren-like to tempt; for I am harsh').[11]

As a "metaphysical" poet, he interwove passion and reason. A thought to Donne was an experience; his feelings were open to all experiences. He elaborated a figure of speech; but, he also developed startling effects by brief words and sudden contrasts which required rapid association of thought on the part of his readers.[12] In his Song, he echoes Juvenal, Satire vi 165, when he says it is easier to catch a falling star than to find a faithful woman. "Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cygno."

This sense of awareness was lost in the seventeenth century to a "mechanism of sensibility,"[13] influenced by the two greatest poets of that time, Milton and Dryden. Then English poets developed a high mechanical skill: improving the language, finding "verbal equivalents" [14] for feelings. The Classical poets had set an extremely high standard which these men sought to emulate. Into many literary forms, including satire, they introduced a purity of language and a tightness and regularity of form in their efforts to imitate the Roman writers. But their satire fell short of the mark simply because they were limited by the amount of indignation they could arouse in

their time.[15] And it was not until the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries that the times were similar to those of Juvenal's Rome. While he spoke of absolute tyranny, the extremes of wealth and poverty, the shams and disloyalties, and the decay of the cities, the authors of these later times were experiencing these same circumstances. Therefore Juvenal became very important to these men of letters. What he wrote had a permanent truth about it and his influence became very great.[16]

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

1 Lactantius Divinae Institutiones iii 29; Juvenal x. 365-6.

2

Ausonius	Juvenal
Bk. v. 1. 17	x. 9
vi. 15. 1	v. 56
vii. 2. 16	x. 111
x. 270	vii. 241
xiv. 2. 12	iv. 38

3. Servius Bk. v. 122.2. "Iuvenalis contra sensit dicens et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes."
-- Bk. v. 117. 4 "nobiles autem familias a Troianis fuisse Iuvenalis ostendit, ut iubet a praecone vocari ipsos Troiusenas."
-- et passim

4 Among these scholars were: Heiric of Auxerre (b. 841), Remy of Auxerre (841-908), Bishop Rather (890-974).

5 Codex Turon. 416, Compter Rendus de l'Academie des inscriptiones, 6 (1870), 249 f.:
Apud gentiles sunt libri authentici, hoc est aurei, artes vii, auctores ix: . . . . .
Terentius, Virgilius, Oratius, Ovidius, Salustius, Lucanus, Statius, Juvenalis, Persius. Highet, Op.cit., p. 307.

6 Highet, op.cit., p. 308.

7 Dante Purgatorio 22. 13f.

8 Petrarch Fam. iii 15. as quoted in Highet, op.cit., p. 316.

9 Boccaccio Amorosa Visione, Capitolo 5 in Highet, op.cit., p. 316.

10 Warnock and Anderson, op. cit., Vol. I, Bk. II, p. 217.

11 Sir Paul Harvey, The Oxford Companion to English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 232-3.

12 John Donne, Valediction: of Weeping, ll. 10-18.

On a round ball
A workman that hath copies by, can lay
An Europe, Afrique, and an Asia,
And quickly make that, which was nothing, All,
So doth each teare,
Which thee doth weare,
A globe, yea, world by that impression grow,
Till thy tears mixt with mine doe overflow
This world, by waters sent from thee, my heaven
dissolved so.

13 Walter J. Bate, Criticism: The Major Texts (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1952), p. 532.

14 Ibid., p. 532.

15 Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition, (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949), p. 321.

16 Highet, Juvenal, the Satirist, p. 213-14.

CHAPTER IV

LATER CRITICISM AND SATIRE

Much interest was shown in the satirists of Rome during the periods of the Renaissance on the continent and of Neo-Classicism in England. It is noteworthy that many essays were written on the satura question. Julius Caesar Scaliger, in 1617, published Poeticis libri in which he traces satire back to Livy's "dramatic satura" and "literary satura," both stemming from the Greek satyr plays.[1] Isaac Casaubon clarified the history and meaning of satire in his work, De Satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satyra, in 1605. Much of this excellent commentary is included in John Dryden's Discourse Concerning Satire, a preface to his translation of Juvenal.

Casaubon, in the first book dealing with Greek satyric poetry, states that:

> (it) is a dramatic poem, annexed to tragedy, having a chorus, which consists of satyrs; the persons represented in it are illustrious men; the action of it is great; the style is partly serious, partly jocular; and the event of the action most commonly is happy.[2]

He says that Greek and Roman drama have a parallel and identical history; the Saturnine and Fescennine Verses

are extemporaneous reproaches; the plays of Livius Andronicus give forth two different branches: Ennius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, and the school which followed their verse-satire; Menippus and his chief successor, Petronius, with the combination of prose and verse-satire. And, he continues, Roman satire not only decries vice and exposes folly but also recommends virtues. It must have a moral doctrine and well-mannered wit, the style being accomodated to the subject, high or low.

Daniel Heinsius (1608) , defines satire as:

> a kind of poetry, without a series of action, invented for the purging of our minds: in which human vices, ignorance and errours, and all things besides, which are produced from them, in every man are severely reprehended; partly dramatically, partly simply; and sometimes in both kinds of speaking; but for the most part figuratively and occultly; consisting in a low, familiar way, chiefly in a sharp and pungent manner of speech; but partly, also, in a facetious and civil way of jesting; by which either hatred or laughter or indignation is moved.[3]

In the years 1681-1689 Dacier published his translation of Horace, OEuvres d'Horace, prefacing it with a short essay on satire. Dryden took several points from this essay and included them in his own works.

In 1693, John Dryden published a translation of Juvenal to which he prefixed an essay, Discourse Concerning Satire. Drawing from the best authors, Scaliger, Casaubon, Heinsius, and Dacier, he covers the origin and history of

satire, its antiquity, growth, change and nature of that genre among the Romans. He then compares the three satirists of Rome, Horace, Persius and Juvenal, pointing out their particular manners in satire. He concludes with a new scheme for the satire of his contemporaries.

Concerning the origin of satire, Dryden follows Casaubon, rejecting, however, the idea of identical history. He accepts Dacier's theory that the similarities between the early Greek and Roman forms are natural since poetry is born of devotion in all nations. But the Greek word "satyra" and the Latin word "satura" are not the same, although they were both used to celebrate festivals.[4]

Dryden's idea of satire is that

> there can be no pleasantry where there is no wit; no impression can be made where there is no truth for the foundation. . . . Juvenal is the more delightful author (in comparing satirists). I owe more to Horace for my instruction, more to Juvenal for my pleasure.[5]

Dryden concludes his comparison of the three satirists by saying:

> Let these three ancients be preferred to all the moderns; as first arriving at the goal: let them all be crowned as victors, (with the wreaths that properly belong to satire).
>
> Let Juvenal ride first in triumph. Let Horace, who is the second and but just the second, carry off the quivers and the arrows, as the badge of his satire; and the golden belt and the diamond button.
>
> And let Persius, the last of the first three worthies, be contented with this Grecian shield, and with victory, not only over all the Grecians, who were ignorant of the Roman satire, but over all the moderns

> in succeeding ages; excepting Boileau and your lordship (Charles of Dorset).[6]

The advice for his contemporaries who would write satire follows a four-point outline:

1. unity of design or theme
   (a) with variety of examples in the subdivisions of it;
   (b) with as many precepts as there are members of it;
   (c) which all, together, may complete the "olla" or "hotch potch" which is properly a satire.
2. one moral virtue to be extolled, others subordinated.
3. a type of versification:
   (a) burlesque; 8 syllables, 4 feet
   (b) English heroic; 10 syllables, 5 feet
4. beautiful turns of words and thoughts[7]

The literature that was most typical of the eighteenth century was satire-- castigating the follies of people of reknown, especially women; pointing out political and commercial corruptions; the vulgarity of the newly rich; and the pettiness and jealousy revealed between men of letters.[8]

Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) and Alexander Pope (1688-1744) are outstanding satirists of this time. The former, was a neo-classicist with good Classical training and the ability to use it brilliantly. His masterpiece, Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, is known to us today as Gulliver's Travels. It is read by children for its narrative and description. Historians regard it

as an allegorical account of politics in Swift's time. However we regard it, it is best read as the ingenious reflections of a thoughtful man on man's abuses of reason and his corrupt behavior at the court, in his home, or with literary comrades. It was written by one having the highest ideals for man's achievement and the despair of the goal ever being reached.[9] Many writers, including Dr. Johnson, were alienated by Swift's "saeva indignatio."[10] But this indignation at oppression was genuine, for he was constantly striving to improve the government, the language, the clergy, and the educational institutions, in order to improve the world for others.

In the first quarter of this century, satire, to be successful, needed something more than strict adherence to the Horatian or Juvenalian tradition; parody and burlesque were added to pious railing, topical subjects and personal invectives, especially by Pope who won a permanent reputation for his satires. He was a disciple of Horace and Boileau.[11] (The rift between classicism and romanticism was beginning to exist for him). The style of his satires is severe, pithy and down to earth.

> Were others angry: I excused them too;
> Well might they rage, I gave them but their due.
> A man's true merit 'tis not hard to find;
> But each man's secret standard in his mind,
> That casting-weight pride adds to emptiness,
> This, who can gratify? for who can guess?

> The bard whom pilfered pastorals renown,
> Who turns a Persian tale for half a crown,
> Just writes to make his barreness appear,
> And strains, from hard-bound brains, eight lines a year,
> He, who still wanting, though he lives on theft,
> Steals much, spends little, yet has nothing left:
> And he, who now to sense, now nonsense leaning,
> Means not, but blunders round about a meaning:
> And he, whose fustian's so sublimely bad,
> It is not poetry, but prose run mad;
> All these, my modest satire bade translate,
> And owned that nine such poets made a tate.[12]

In his Dunciad, he attacked with genuine hatred and fear the "dulness" which he saw becoming fashionable among the idle rich. C.S. Lewis said of the closing passage:

> The terror expressed at the end of the Dunciad is not merely terror at the approach of ignorance: it is also terror lest the compact little fortress of Humanism should be destroyed, and new knowledge is one of the enemies. Whatever is not immediately intelligible to a man versed in the Latin and French classics appears to them to be charlatanism or barbarity. The number of things they do not want to hear about is enormous.[13]

This was a time of instability and, as with Juvenal, Pope saw no hope, only despair.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

1 Julius Caesar Scaliger, Poetices Libri, p. 43.

2 Issac Casaubon, De Satyrica Graecorum poesi et Romanorum satyra (Parisiis, 1605), Bk. II, pp. 119-86.

3 Opera Quinti Horatii Flacci in Usum Delphini (Philadelphia: Joseph Allen, 1828), pp. 302-8.

4 John Dryden, Discourse Concerning Satire, p. 46.

5 Ibid., p. 81.

6 Ibid., p. 95.

7. Ibid., p. 103-4.

8 George Sherburn, A Literary History of England: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century (New York: Appleton-Century, Croft, 1948), p. 830.

9 Ibid., p. 866.

10 Ibid., p. 867.

11 Ibid., p. 915.

12 John Wain, Essays on Literature and Ideas (London: Macmillan Co., 1964), pp. 74-5.

13 Ibid., pp. 83-4.

CHAPTER V

SAMUEL JOHNSON AND THE NEO-CLASSICAL SATIRE

The Restoration of the monarchy in England, 1660-1700, marked the beginning of a new classical movement. Writers modeled their works on the Classics of Ancient Greece and Rome. They established rules to help them achieve the clarity of Classical writing. Rule-books advised the use of rhyme schemes and metres, proper for poems on various subjects.[1] Reason and restraint became the standards for good prose writing; common sense, moderation and conformity were the ideals of this age. But, as the eighteenth century advanced,younger writers began to revolt against the Classical rules.[2] They wanted to be free to write as they pleased, emphasizing feeling and emotion. It was at this time of antagonism among men of letters that Samuel Johnson and his group, the last of the neo-classists, were dominating the literary scene.

Rules and "imitations" were re-examined and their very definitiveness redefined to suit a particular writer's taste. Pope, in the Observations prefacing his translations

of Homer, said:

> Imitation does not hinder Invention: we may observe the rules of nature, and write in the spirit of those who have best hit upon them without taking the same track, beginning in the same manner, and following the main of their story almost step by step.[3]

Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) defended imitation with dignity and reason and kept the question alive. But it was later agreed that imitations of masterpieces were generally inferior to direct imitations of nature, called "originals."[4]

Johnson himself was an ardent proponent of domestica facta and, abandoning the stories of Greece and Rome, he led the search for new material.

> Books can never teach the use of books, . . . no man ever became great by imitation.[5]

Literature, now became sophisticated and tended to abandon entirely the portrayal of the universal man. Because of its narrow outlook, it developed a conscious interest in social criticism and observation of manners. Thus, social satire developed.[6]

The rigidity of the classical genre drove poets to experiment with different patterns, some staying with the traditional, others loosely modifying it, and still others initiating new patterns. These men now could simply put an argument into poetry, making it somewhat

more effectual than prose, and call it satire; but it lacked the indignation that should have been aroused by the writers' close examination of contemporary society.

Horace said poetry should either please or instruct; Johnson thought it should do both, as we see in his definition of the legacy of the Classics:

> it is the ideal of the richest possible development of human nature as the goal by which to measure the value of what we do.[7]

He also observed that there were many different methods of composing poetry: Virgil poured out a great number of lines in the morning and spent the rest of the day excising and polishing the same. Pope wrote as he thought, later amplifying, decorating and refining his words. Others employ memory and invention, and after much meditation, write their works only after mentally completing them. Johnson himself used the latter method.[8]

Samuel Johnson's English poetry began with his poem in imitation of Juvenal's third satire. London was published in 1738 on the same day as Pope's Epilogue to his satires. Johnson and Pope attacked the corruption of their time in typical fashion. Their poetry was interesting, amusing and moving. There was little bitterness or raw passion. The poems were addressed to passionate men who knew , however, that life held some

other end than the wearing out of their emotions.[9] As Pope had done earlier with Horace, Johnson took the basic structure of Juvenal's poems and used modern examples rather than classical ones.

In 1749, Johnson's adaptation of Juvenal's tenth satire appeared: The Vanity of Human Wishes. This poem contained more profound reflection than London, which had more of common life presented with pointed spirit.[10] About these poems, Boswell says,

> I remember when I once regretted to him that he had not given us more of Juvenal's Satires, he said he probably should give more, for he had them all in his head. . . . Some of them, however, he observed were too gross for imitation.[11]

Aroused by the ardour of Juvenal, Johnson became a sharp accuser of his times. The "vices of the metropolis are placed in the room of ancient manners."[12] Although Dryden had translated Juvenal earlier, Johnson's imitations of Satires Three and Ten came nearer to the original spirit of the Roman satirist.[13] A moral teacher writing for his countrymen; his observations of life and manners being sharp and instructive; promoting the cause of men of letters; his language sometimes bespeaking the "exaggeratio" used to parry rather than thrust; giving force and energy to truth and making virtue a duty.[14]

The poems of Samuel Johnson were not general truth evol evolving from detail but an abbreviation of detail into a final maxim or generalization.

> Let us endeavor to see things as they are and then inquire whether we ought to complain.[15]

The departure from London of his close friend, Richard Savage, called to Johnson's mind the third satire of Juvenal. The idea of someone withdrawing from the vices of Rome inspired him to try to recapture this theme in his imitation.[16]

> Tho' grief and fondness in my breast rebel,
> When inquired Thales bids the town farewell,
> Yet still my calmer thoughts his choice commend,
> I praise the hermit, but regret the friend,
> Resolved at length, from vice and London far,
> To breathe in distant fields a purer air,
> And fixed on Cambria's solitary shore,
> Give to St. David one true Briton more.
> (London 1-8)

> Quamvis disgressu veteris confusus amici,
> Laudo, tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
> Destinet, atque unum civem donare Sibyllae
> (Juv. Sat.iii.1-3)

Most of the critics believe that Johnson's satire could have been more effective had he not been so attached to the city.[17] Boswell says:

> Johnson was much attached to London: he observed that a man stored his mind better there than anywhere else; and that in remote situations a man's body might be feasted, but his mind was s starved; and his faculties apt to degenerate, from want of exercise and competition. No place cured a man's vanity or arrogance so well as London; for

> as no man was either great or good per se, but as compared with others not so great or good, he was sure to find in the metropolis many his equals, and some his superiors. . . . he could not leave the improved society of the capital, or consent to exchange the exhilarating joys and splendid decorations of publick life, for the obscurity insipidity, and uniformity of remote situations.[18]

Although Johnson spoke of falling houses, we have no evidence that this was as usual an occurence as it was in Juvenal's Rome with her flimsy tenements.

> Here falling houses thunder on your head,
> (London 17)

> Deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
> Tectorum assiduos, . . .
> (Sat.iii. 7-8)

London is pictured as having been invaded by the French parasites and flatterers, whereas the Scotch might have been used as readily as an example of the enmity existing between two nations. However, the "learned" French excited a feeling more comparable to the Roman's view of Greeks.[19]

> London! the needy villain's general home,
> The common shore of Paris and of Rome;
> With eager thirst, by folly or by fate,
> Sucks in the dregs of each corrupted state.
> Forgive my transports on a theme like this,
> I cannot bear a French metropolis. . . . .
> On Britain's fond credulity they prey.
> No gainful trade their industry can 'scape,
> They sing, they dance, clean shoes, or cure a clap;
> All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows,
> And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes.
> (London 91-98, 112-116)

. . . . . Non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem. . . . .
Augur, schoenobater, medicus, magus: omnia novit
Graeculus esuriens, in coelum, jusseris, ibit.
(Sat. iii.60-61, 77-78)

The aristocracy dominated the English scene in the eighteenth century, both politically and socially. As in Juvenal's day, the wealthy middle class was attempting to get a foot-hold on some of the great landed-estates.

Let ___[29] live here, for ____ has learned to live.
Here let those reign, whom pension can incite
To vote a patriot black, a courtier white;
. . . . Let such raise palaces and manors buy,
Collect a tax, or farm a lottery, . . .
(London 50-53, 56-57.)

Cedamus patria: vivant Artorius istic
Et Catulus: maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt
Queis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,
Siccandam eluvium, portandum ad busta cadaver.
. . . Munera nunc edunt. . . .
(Sat. iii. 29-36)

In Hill's Johnsonian Miscellanies (1892), we hear Johnson say of the newly-rich middle class:

> They have lost the civility of tradesmen, without acquiring the manners of gentlemen.[21]

Of patronage, which was prevalent in social life as well as in literature, he says,

> A patron is one who countenances, supports or protects. Commonly a wretch who supports with insolence and is paid with flattery.[22]

The public hangings at Tyburn are mentioned as counter-part to Juvenal iii. 310-311.

> 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 king.
> A single jail, in Alfred's golden reign,
> Could half the nation's criminals contain;
> Fair justice then, without constraint adored,
> Held high the steady scale, but dropped the sword;
> No spies were paid, no special juries known,
> Blest age! but ah! how diff'rent from our own!
> (242-254)

> Maximus in vinclis ferri modus: ut timeas ne
> Vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
> Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
> Secula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
> Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.
> (Sat. iii. 310-314)

In his essay on Crime and Punishment, Johnson stated that he thought all laws against wickedness were ineffectual without proper informing and prosecuting. The heart of a good man, he said,cannot help but recoil at the thought of punishing a slight crime with death; especially when he remembers that the thief might have procured safety by another crime, from which he was restrained only by his remaining virtue.[23] How different from Juvenal who treated vices and foibles alike!

Johnson had much to say about the state of the poor, and, in many cases, he spoke from personal experience. Nevertheless, he realized that England led other nations in fighting this perpetual problem. He thought that a decent provision for the poor was the true test of a civilization; since gentlemen of education were basically the same in all countries, the conditions of the lower orders placed an evaluation on a country.[24] In regard to human suffering, he felt that it could be met only with reason and innocent diversions.

> The cure for the greatest part of human miseries is not radical but palliative. Infelicity is involved in corporeal nature, and interwoven with our being; all attempts therefore to decline it wholly are useless and vain; the armies of pain send their arrows on every side, the choice is only between those which are more or less sharp, or tinged with poison of greater or less malignity; the strongest armour which reason can supply will only blunt their points, but cannot repel them.

Murphy, in his essay on Johnson, sums up the poet's character with a quote from Horace.

> Iracundior est paulo? minus aptus acutis
> Naribus horum hominum? rideri possit, eo quod
> Rusticius tonsa toga defluit, et male laxus
> In pede calceus haeret? At est bonus, ut melior vir
> Non alius quisquam: at tibi amicus: at ingenium ingens
> Inculto latet hoc sub corpore.[26]

Johnson said of himself,

> I shall never envy the honors which wit and learning obtain in any other cause, if I can be numbered among the writers who have given ardour to virtue, and confidence to truth.[27]

"Complaints of degeneracy are common to all ages."[28] The eighteenth century showed a feeling of complacent confidence and a hearty contempt for foreigners. Increasing wealth, the rise of the middle class as a socially prominent stratum,and the advance toward democracy produced this effect. Effeminacy, decadence, and insubordination were some of the stigmas attached to the age by men of letters. Goldsmith phrased it, "Where wealth accumulates and men decay."[29] The trend toward reforms in the mid-century produced a profound dissatisfaction with the corruption and the brutalities of the age and many "cross-currents in the literature of discontent."[30]

When Boswell asked Johnson to summarize the chief causes of social decadence he said,

> Why, Sir, there are many causes, the chief of which is, I think, the great increase of money. No man now depends upon the Lord of a Manor, when he can send to another country, and fetch provisions. The shoe-black at the entry of my court does not depend on me. I can deprive him but of a penny a day, which he hopes somebody else will bring him; and that penny I must carry to another shoe-black, so the trade suffers nothing. I have described in my Journey to the Hebrides how gold and silver destroy feudal subordination. But besides, there

> is a general relaxation of reverence. No son now depends on his father as in former times. Paternity used to be considered as of itself a great thing, which had a right to many claims. That is, in general, reduced to very small bounds. My hope is that as anarchy produces tyranny, this extreme relaxation will produce 'freni strictio.' [31]

Johnson was a man with his roots in the past; instinctively a respecter of tradition; brave with a bit of pride and boastfulness; contentious in arguments, yet ready to pardon and to admit to most forms of human weakness; a lover of truth and a hater of the cant and artifical; a scholar, wit and writer of all genre.[32]

His life paralleled Juvenal's[33] in many ways: he suffered poverty, loss of pride at the hands of a petulant patron; his adult life was filled with "intense anxiety, bewildered despair, torturing irritability, obsessional neuroses, eccentricity of manner, deeply felt frustration of all hopes, high moral sense, and unmanageable despair.[34]

Although Juvenal was well liked by men of the Renaissance, he was more fully understood in the eighteenth century where the times echoed his own:

> He spoke of an age of absolute monarchy, vast wealth unevenly divided, fat cities swelling like tumours, pomp, circumstance, and sham, rich perfumes mingling with the smell of decay.[35]

Because his themes held a permanence for all

generations, Juvenal gave an impetus to the writers of socially critical satire. In Johnson's London, we see the same intensity of Juvenal's ardour and indignation; for what is closest to us, touches us the most.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

1 Rene Le Bossu — Treatise of the Epick Poem, 1675.
John Dennis — The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry, 1704.
John Dryden — Essay of Dramatic Poesy, 1665.
Rene Rapin — Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesis, 1674.
Sir William Temple — Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning, 1690.
Lord Lansdowne — Essay upon Unnatural Flight in Poetry, 1701.
Jonathan Swift et al — Battle of the Books, 1704.

2 Oliver Goldsmith — The Deserted Village
Thomas Gray — The Descent of Odin
Joseph Addison — Cato
Joseph Wharton — The Enthusiast
Thomas Wharton et al — Panegyric on Oxford Ale

3 Alexander Chalmers, The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper (London: J. Johnson, et al, 1810), Vol. XIX; p. 5.

4 George Sherburn, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 980.

5 Ibid., p. 1001.

6 Vida Scudder, Social Ideals in English Letters (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1898), p. 91.

7 Walter Jackson Bate, The Achievement of Samuel Johnson (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955), p. 177.

8 Works of Samuel Johnson, Vol. 1, "Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr. Johnson," xlvii.

9 Works of Samuel Johnson, ed.by E.L. McAdam,Jr. with George Milne, intro.xxiii-iv.

10 Ibid., xvii.

11 James Boswell, The Life of Samuel Johnson (New York: The Modern Library, 1952), I. 130.

12 Ibid., lxviii.

13 Cf. Chapter II.

14 Works of Sam. Johnson,"Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr. Johnson," op.cit., lxviii.

15 Bate, op.cit., p. 143.

16 Samuel Johnson requested that his poem, London, always be published with the verses of Juvenal subscribed in the Latin. I have used this method in the comparison of the two poems.

17 William Henry Irving, John Gay's London (Camb.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1928) p. 96.

18 Boswell, op.cit., pp. 172-3.

19 Irving, op.cit., p.

20 Mr. Fred Springer-Miller has pointed out that this line is a close paraphrase of Boileau: "Que George vive ici . . ." (Sat. i. 34), and suggests that "George", i.e. George II, be supplied for the blanks. Notes and Queries, cxcvi, 497.

21 E.L. MacAdam,Jr. and George Milne, A Johnson Reader (New York: The Modern Library, 1964), p. 460.

22 Samuel Johnson, Dictionary

23 M.Dorothy George, England in Johnson's Day, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1928), p. 108.

24 George, op.cit., p. 122.

25 Johnson, Rambler, No. 23.

26 Horace Bk. i. sat. 3.

27 Works of Samuel Johnson, Vol. I, xxvi.

28 George, op.cit., p. 150.

29 Ibid., p. 150.

30 Ibid., p. 150.

31 Ibid., p. 170.

32 Thomas Seccombe, The Age of Johnson (London: G. Bells and Sons, Ltd., 1923), p. 3.

33 Cf. Chapter II.

34 Bate, op.cit., p. 7.

35 Highet, Juvenal the Satirist, p. 213.

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Vita

Geraldine Kantner Jones was born in Hamburg, Pennsylvania in 1931. She was educated in the Philadelphia school system. Upon completion of her under-graduate work at Westhampton College, she received a B.A. degree, majoring in Latin. In 1956 she married Hervey Strader Jones and they have three children, Anne, Lewis, and Franklin. In 1966 she began her graduate studies at the University of Richmond where work toward a M.A. in Ancient Languages was completed in 1971. Her teaching experience includes four years in the Chesterfield County Schools, a year at Richmond College, and presently she is teaching Latin at St. Catherine's School in Richmond.