Abstract

This thesis traces the various views of Horace held in the seventeenth century and examines translation and imitation in the period. The main focus is on the influence of Horace's *Odes* on lyric poetry. For the period 1600-1660, four authors are discussed in detail, Ben Jonson, Herrick, Marvell and Cowley. Other authors treated include Drayton, Samuel Daniel, Donne, Campion, Chapman, Wotton, Carew, Randolph, Cartwright, Habington, Vaughan, Lovelace, Fanshawe, Mildmay Fane, George Daniel of Beswick, Milton, Owen Felltham, Izaak Walton, Denham, Waller and Alexander Brome. In the period from 1660, authors discussed include Dryden, Rochester, Sedley, Dorset, Mulgrave, Otway, Etherege, Wycherley, Oldham, Prior, Ambrose Philips, Katherine Philips, John Norris, Cotton, Lady Mary Chudleigh, Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, John Rawlet, John Tutchin, Temple and Evelyn.

The introduction argues briefly that although Horace is normally associated with the eighteenth century, in fact his *Odes* were more influential in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, and points to some misconceptions about the nature of Horace's poetry that have helped to obscure this. It notes that the interest in the *Odes* in the period is a change from the Mediaeval and sixteenth-century approach to Horace, and points out that the study of how a period responds to a particular poet throws light on its general character.

Chapter I provides some background information. It outlines the place of Horace in the school curricula and shows that the twin emphases in the school reading of Horace were on his morals and his style, the latter being studied with the practical aim of imitation. School textbooks are described. An account of editions of Horace in the

period follows. It is pointed out that the text of Horace was more corrupt than it is today, and argued that some of the translators of Horace used the school edition of John Bond. The twin emphases of commentary on Horace are again shown to be on his morals and his style: Parthenio's commentary is examined in some detail. Next, some ideas about Horace's life disseminated by the lives included in editions are mentioned. Finally, the influence of quotation books and emblem books is considered. It is argued that though they contained many of the poet's favourite Horatian passages, this does not mean that writers did not read Horace directly. It is shown that they present a moral Horace and that they sometimes cause distortion through excerpting passages out of context.

Chapter II deals with the volumes of translations of Horace by Thomas Drant, John Ashmore, Thomas Hawkins, Henry Rider, John Smith, 'Unknown Muse', and Richard Fanshawe. A brief sketch is given of the development of translation in the century, and it is pointed out that there are some examples of the 'imitation' before Cowley. The books of translations are then examined against this background, and it is argued that Fanshawe should not be viewed as heralding the mid-century revolution in translation but as fitting into his own period. The twin interests of the translators are analysed as being content, primarily moral, and lyric style. Fanshawe is seen as of particular interest as trying to embody Horatian moral ideals in his life and as being most successful in conveying Horace's lyricism.

ChapterIII discusses various ways in which the formal aspects of Horace's Odes influenced seventeenth-century lyric. It is pointed out that this influence has been obscured because English writers do not produce pastiches but recreate Horace in modern modes and because

of generic differences between the Odes and seventeenth-century lyric. Some differences in structure and style between the two are then considered, Cowley's translation of C.III.i and Carew's The Spring being used to illustrate the differences of structure. Some exceptions are noted in the poetry of Milton, Jonson, Herrick, etc. Next, the similarities and areas of influence are discussed - blends in tone, methods of making lyric personal and various poetic poses.

Chapter IV deals with Ben Jonson. First , it is shown in some detail how he built up a persona in Poetaster drawn from Horace which he then carried over into his poems, although in the latter it is more varied, humorous and attractive. Next it is shown how his approach to Horace was a moral one, and how he absorbs topics from Horace into his moral vision. Thirdly, his close, craftsmanly, rhetorical interest in Horace is described, with reference to his underlinings in Parthenio's commentary, his translations of Horace and his imitations of Horatian features of style in An Ode. To himselfe. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of Jonson's classicism.

Chapter V considers Herrick. The aspects of his persona which derive from the Anacreontea and the Greek Anthology are first noted, and then the Jonsonian-Horatian poems, A Country life and A Panegerick to Sir Lewis Pemberton are discussed. Next Herrick's distinctive pose as the small man and his Horatian poetic autobiography are described and evaluated. There follow detailed discussions of His age and A Paranaeticall, or Advisive Verse and of Herrick's use of the non semper theme. Herrick's method of combining many classical topics and allusions in one poem is demonstrated, and the chapter ends by considering his general similarity of spirit with Horace.

Chapter VI investigates the conventional seventeenth-century view of Horace as a moral poet. It is argued that Horace could be viewed as a moral poet by judicious selection, as in the poetry of Casimir Sarbiewski. The easy way in which poets blended Horatian moral themes with Christianity is demonstrated, and some less easy blends, for example in the poetry of William Habington, are described. The formation of an ideal of the constant man from Horace's descriptions of the Stoic *sapiens* in *Serm.*II.vii.83-8 and *C.*III.iii.1-8 is given as an example of assimilation of Horace involving some distortion. The seventeenth-century ideal of constancy and Horace's attitude to change are contrasted, and a contrast is also drawn between English poets' understanding of Horace here and that of Erasmus, Montaigne and Isaac Casaubon. Next, a sketch of the favourite moral themes imitated from Horace is drawn. Finally, it is shown how seventeenth-century poets began to adopt the Horatian manner of treating moral themes, by relating moral commonplaces to their personal predicament, in both epistle and ode, and a contrast is drawn with the sixteenth century.

Chapter VII deals with imitation of some other Horatian themes. It is shown that Horace's love poems, with the exception of *C.*III.ix, were not very influential. The strong response of seventeenth-century poets to Horace's poems on transience is discussed. It is then argued that some modern English scholars misrepresent *carpe diem* in Horace as being a seduction argument, whereas it is really a symposiac topic of a potentially serious Epicurean kind, compatible with the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. Some combinations of Horace and the Sermon on the Mount in seventeenth-century poetry are discussed. Some account is then given of the growth of understanding of Epicurus' teaching on pleasure as manifested in Charleton's *Epicurus's morals*, and a group of

Horatian writers who were interested in Epicureanism - Evelyn, Cowley and Fanshawe - are noted. Next, imitations of Horace's symposiac poems are treated. Seven poems, Jonson's Inviting a Friend to Supper, Herrick's An Ode to Sir Clipsebie Crew, Milton's sonnets to Lawrence and Skinner, Vaughan's To his retired friend, an Invitation to Brecknock and To ... Lewes and Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper, are discussed in detail. It is argued that these are some of the most perfect recreations of Horace in the century. A local reason for interest in Horace's symposiac poetry is found in the Cavalier hostility to Puritanism. Finally, it is shown that there were few imitations of Horace's public poems in English in this period apart from the Horatian Ode.

Chapter VIII deals with Marvell. It is argued that though Marvell does not imitate many specific topics from Horace, he is very close to Horace in spirit. One or two ingenious variations of Horatian topics are discussed. The last section is on An Horatian Ode. It is argued that, although the poem cannot be entirely accounted for as Horatian pastiche, Marvell imitated Horace's political odes, notably the Cleopatra ode, and that he chose Horace as a model because he offered a detached and objective style of panegyric, in contrast to the style of Waller.

Chapter IX discusses Cowley. It is argued that he is a transitional figure in the century's response to Horace, and his view of Horace as a poet of retirement and gardens is discussed. Adoptions of a Horatian role in his pre-Restoration works are noted. The later works, the Sex Libri Plantarum and the Essays, are then discussed in detail. The latter is considered as an anthology of earlier poets' favourite passages of Horace. It is shown that Cowley became a period ideal of the Horatian man. It is argued that Cowley was more interested in Horace's themes

than his style, so that he was willing to recast Horace in the alien manner of the Pindaric, and that because he was more interested in the hexameter poems than the Odes, he prefigures the Restoration approach: but the Essays are seen as belonging in spirit to the earlier period.

Chapter X investigates the lightened conception of Horace prevalent in the Restoration. It examines briefly French commentators, translation, Dryden and the Court wits, and considers various new ideas of Horace, as a man of the Town and gallant, as a model of civilised intercourse, as a philosopher of common sense, and as a libertine 'Epicurean'. Two reasons behind this latter view are examined - the libertinism of the Court wits and the polarisation of lyric into high and low. It is argued that Horace's hexameter poems became more influential than the Odes. Finally, an exceptional group, the Cowleians, are shown to have inherited a serious conception of Horace and many of the themes which appealed to earlier poets, although, in admiring Horace's content more than his lyric style, they are seen as heralding the eighteenth-century rational approach to Horace.

There are four appendices. The first shows that many, but not all, of the echoes of Horace in Herrick's A Country Life may be found in Mirandula. The second gives a list of books of translations of Horace in the century and discusses some problems relating to them: it argues that Holyday was not the author of All Horace his lyrics; it identifies Robert Creswell as the author of an anonymous translation of C.IV.vii in Brome's anthology; it discusses the identity of J.H. and the date of composition of his translations; and it explains the two 1715 volumes. The third and fourth are a list of single translations from the Odes and Epodes and a list of echoes and quotations of favourite passages of Horace.

THE RESPONSE TO HORACE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(with special reference to the
Odes and to the period 1600-1660)

by

Joanna Martindale

A thesis submitted to the board of the Faculty of English Language and Literature in the University of Oxford, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, August 1977.



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Preface

An earlier draft of this thesis included a more detailed treatment of the period from 1660 to 1700. In order to comply with the regulations of the English Faculty Board, I have replaced this with a summary. I have also omitted a study of the text of C.I.vii before Bentley and some notes on English editions of Horace, and I have reduced discussion and citation of Horace. I apologise for any inconvenience this may cause the reader.

This thesis also has self-imposed limits. I do not deal with the influence of the Ars Poetica, a separate subject, or, largely, with the influence of Horatian satire on formal satire. I do not treat to any extent Continental or English neo-Latin poetry, which again seems to me a separate subject, or the vernacular Continental background, a subject large enough for several theses. I appreciate that imitation of Horatian themes in Ronsard may have inspired English poets in addition to the direct influence from Horace himself which can be proved for almost all the authors I discuss. Another area which it is impossible to treat fully is influence from other Latin authors which combines with Horatian influence: Seneca and Martial often use the same topics, and an idea in an English poet may be made up of various classical sources. I have brought in material from these three areas where it seems especially influential or when it is of interest for comparison. The reader should bear in mind that to isolate one author is artificial, when one is dealing with a tradition.

I would like to thank the Craven Committee, which enabled me to finish writing this thesis, and my two supervisors, Miss Margaret Hubbard and Dame Helen Gardner, who both inspired me to greater accuracy and rigour. To the former I owe an increased understanding of Horace.

Finally, I wish to thank those friends and relations who have made many useful suggestions in conversation, during those 'genial nights' of which Dryden speaks in the dedication of The Assignation.

A Note on References

For the sake of brevity, I have adopted the following policy for reference in footnotes. For books not in the bibliography, I give full details. For books in the bibliography, I give the name of the author, if it is a secondary source, and, if it is a primary source, either the editor (if there is one) or a short title.

References to Horace throughout are to the edition of F. Klingner (Leipzig, 1970). For the titles of pre-nineteenth-century books, I have adopted the system employed by the new C.B.E.L. of only giving initial capitals to words which normally have them. I have used all standard abbreviations and the following:

N.-H.	A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I, ed. R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard (1970).
Poems	Abraham Cowley Poems, ed. A.R. Waller (1905).
Essays	Abraham Cowley Essays, Plays and Sundry Verses, ed. A.R. Waller (1906).

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Introductory

The choice of the seventeenth century for a study of Horace's influence may seem eccentric. The conventional view associates Horace with the eighteenth century and Ovid with the seventeenth: Ovid's non-conformist attitudes and unclassical style are held to have attracted the Metaphysical poets, while Horace, the poet of the Augustan régime, order and conformity, possessor of a rational ethos and a correct style, was the natural inspirer of the eighteenth-century poets[1]. There is much that is true behind this view[2], but I would like to substitute a more complex picture in which Horace receives his due as an important influence on lyric poetry written before 1660. There are several poems as great as any of the elegies which Ovid inspired, as well as many minor poems, which could not have been written without Horace.

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1 See Ogilvie, 1-73. For Ovid's influence on the seventeenth century, see also Carey. For Horace's influence on the eighteenth century, see also Goad; H.M.O. White, 'Orazio nella letteratura inglese', in Orazio nella Letteratura Mondiale, 97, 104-8; R.A. Brower, Alexander Pope, The Poetry of Allusion (1959), 163-318; M.S. Røstvig, The Happy Man vol. II. (2nd ed. Oslo, 1971). Apart from studies of the debt to Horace of individual authors, one or two books have explored the role of Horace in the earlier part of the seventeenth century: Røstvig (b) examines the debt of retirement poetry to Horace, though she really begins with the mid-century decades and does not pay much attention to e.g. Jonson or Herrick (because of the fullness of her study, I largely ignore the theme of retirement); Miner (b) recognises the importance of Horace for the Cavalier poets, see especially 84-99, 117-124; Leishman(b) and (d) provides some illuminating hints. I am indebted to all three.

2 But there is some distortion in Ogilvie's picture. E.g. apropos p. 11, Farnaby's Index poeticus contains much from Horace as well as Ovid: the sample is not representative. Apropos 43-4, Walton does not, I think, express surprise when Sandys and Cranmer find Hooker reading the 'Odes of Horace'; he is paying a tribute to Hooker's learned life and perhaps his good taste. The story of Jonson and Selden does not imply that Jonson was the sole reader of Horace in the period. It is, of course, poets in whom I am mainly interested, but Horace was quoted by prose-writers, e.g. James Howell, Browne, Jeremy Taylor, Owen Felltham, and copies were owned by public men, e.g. Sir Edward Coke: Horace was quite deeply rooted in the outlook of the educated person of the seventeenth century.

'Horace est un veritable Protée' commented Dacier.[1] Horace is an elusive and wide-ranging poet: each period forms a new image of him, selecting different aspects of his work for admiration. The Horace admired in the eighteenth century was the poet of the Satires and Epistles, of rational discourse: he was esteemed as an arbiter of standards of refinement in morals and language, and for his commonsense ethic.[2] He was the Horace in short whom Byron hated.[3]

This is a very limited view of Horace. The difference in response to Horace's poetry between the eighteenth century and the early seventeenth century is suggested by the renderings of C.IV.i by Pope and Jonson: contrast the openings:

> Again? new Tumults in my Breast?
> Ah spare me, Venus! let me, let me rest!
> I am not now, alas! the man
> As in the gentle Reign of My Queen Anne.
> Ah sound no more thy soft alarms,
> Nor circle sober fifty with thy Charms.
> Mother too fierce of dear Desires!
>
> Venus, againe thou mov'st a warre
> Long intermitted, pray thee, pray thee spare:
> I am not such, as in the Reigne
> Of the good Cynara I was: Refraine,
> Sower Mother of sweet Loves, forbeare
> To bend a man, now at his fiftieth yeare 5
> Too stubborne for Commands so slack ...

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1 Remarques Critiques, VI. 3ff4v.

2 Such a view is neatly summarised in the contrast made by Noel d'Argonne between Pindar and Horace: 'L'un donnoit plus à l'entousiasme et l'autre au bon sens', see below, 364.

3 Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto IV lxxiv - lxxvii.

4 Butt, IV. 151.

5 Herford, VIII. 292.

Pope is smooth and elegant, and rather coy: Jonson more robust and weighty. He catches something of the complex blend of tones, self-mockery and nostalgia, and some of the rich devices of style.[1] Horace was first and foremost the greatest Latin lyric poet, and it is as such that he attracted the poets of the first half of the seventeenth century. Some further factors which have helped to obscure Horace's influence are suggested below, but here I would like to point to some misconceptions in the picture of Horace sometimes presented.[2]

Horace should not be viewed solely as the conformist poet of the Augustan régime. The common notion that Horace is a public poet and only influences the public 'pre-Augustan' strains of seventeenth-century poetry is quite wrong. Much of his poetry is not written in the spirit of Augustanism, but puts intimate personal values above public duties and celebrates private moods: Horace was not totally in accord with the ethos of Roman society.[3] We should not regard Augustan poetry as the poetry of confident certainty and complacency.[4] Horace's poetry is often perhaps over-simplified and seen as more cosy and self-satisfied than it is: whatever position Horace reaches in the Epistles, it is not a simple one. Horace's complacency is often a mock complacency, and he is a poet of many-faceted ironies. At his worst, Pope is more banal, pompous and complacent than Horace: Horace should not be interpreted through the English Augustans.

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1 See further below, 154-5.

2 By e.g. Goad, Showerman, Peltz, Maddison, Ogilvie.

3 See Hubbard (a), 4-5, 25-6.

4 Newman stresses the uncertainties in Augustan poetry, see especially 28, 425, 448.

Although the poets of the early seventeenth century, on the surface, saw the Augustan poets as monumental and perfect and were perhaps unaware of some of the Horatian ironies and complexities, they were able to respond to the emotion in Horace's poetry, for example the strong feeling for transcience, and to the fine poise with which Horace confronts life's changes.

A second point, also important, is that Horace's style is not so radically opposed to the style of seventeenth-century poets as is commonly supposed. The idea that Horace's style is neo-classically pure is a misconception. Recently, classical scholars[1] have been pointing to the elements of Horace's style which link it to Silver Latin poetry - word-play, antitheses, verbal sleights. Such features also have something in common with Metaphysical wit.[2] Horace's Odes are not light lyrics, but difficult poems, like metaphysical lyric.[3]

Another factor which has obscured the importance of Horace for seventeenth-century poetry is the critical obsession with Donne. We tend to look at all seventeenth-century poetry in relation to Donne, tracing his heritage of themes, moods and techniques. There are other strains in seventeenth-century poetry than Donnian transcendence, hyperbole and involvement: many poets responded to the Horatian realism and acceptance of human limitation. There are fine traditions of moral poetry and the poetry of compliment, which owe much to Horace.

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1 E.g. Newman, West.

2 It could be argued that Ovid's style is too lucid and elegant to be really close to Donne's.

3 On the complexities of Augustan poetry, see Newman, passim.

The growth of interest in Horace's lyric poetry at the beginning of the seventeenth century is a change from the approach of several centuries. I cannot give a detailed historical picture here, but in the Middle Ages Horace was primarily valued as the poet of the Satires and Epistles.[1] Dante calls him 'Orazio satiro', and Hugo of Trimberg is clear as to the preference of his time:

> Sequitur Horatius prudens et discretus
> Vitiorum emulus, firmus et mansuetus
> Qui tres libros etiam fecit principales
> Duosque dictaverat minus usuales
> Epodon videlicit et librum odarum
> Quos nostris temporibus credo valere parum.[2]

Horace was valued for his moral content rather than his style. Despite changes in Europe, this Mediaeval approach continues in the sixteenth century in England. The hexameter poems were still more influential than the Odes, and imitators soon succeeded in capturing the intimate informal epistolary style. Puttenham gives a conventional verdict on the Odes, deriving from Quintilian,[3] and E.K.'s gloss in the December Eclogue is not highly complimentary to the Odes, 'a work though ful indede of great wit and learning, yet of no so great weight and importaunce'[4] There are only a few translations from the Odes in the period, and they seem to have been made for their moral content. Horace was still seen primarily as a moralist.[5]

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1 On Horace in the Middle Ages, see M.Manitius, Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter (bis 1300) (Göttingen, 1893); Orazio nella Letteratura Mondiale, passim; Stemplinger (b); Showerman, 87-104; Highet, 634, note 64; Wilkinson, 159-60; Edden, 135-9.

2 Quoted Manitius, 108. The third main book mentioned is the Ars Poetica.

3 Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. Smith, II.18.

4 Spenser, Minor Poems, ed. E.de Selincourt (1960), 121. This comment reflects the traditional scale of the genres, in which lyric takes a low place, seen also in the Epistle to Harvey.

5 See Sidney's comment in An Apology for Poetry, Smith, II. 183. See Berdan, 262, 346-50 on the sixteenth-century view of Horace.

Horace was still valued as a teacher in the early seventeenth-century. I wish to emphasize this, because, though such an approach seems naive to us, it was because of it that seventeenth-century poets did not fall into the opposite extreme of thinking that Horace was an elegant trifler. But there was growing up as well an increased interest in Horace's lyric art, the various manifestations of which are traced in the following pages.

The study of how a period responds to a poet throws light on its preoccupations and general character. William Frost has made an interesting comparison between Samuel Johnson's and Housman's translations of C.IV.vii, showing how the interpretations, which are poles apart, reflect the spirit of their authors and their periods.[1] We could add two further translations of the same ode, one from Tottel's Miscellany and one by Fanshawe, which are equally typical of their period.[2] An age finds what interests it in a poet: this is especially true of periods previous to our own, when the historical approach to literature was not fully developed.[3] The phenomenon is particularly clearly demonstrated in the complete change of approach to Horace between the earlier and later halves of the seventeenth century,

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1 Dryden and the Art of Translation (New Haven, 1955), 11-16.

2 See below, 247, 64.

3 On the 'humanist' assumption that past works of art are interpretable on our own terms, see L. Trilling, 'Why we read Jane Austen' T.L.S. March 5, 1976. The seventeenth-century approach to the classics is attacked by Musgrove as being blinkered and self-obsessive, I 18-23. It could be seen rather as providing a truly creative relation to past works.

which reflects the changes in the literary and philosophical climate.

We can learn something about the concerns of a period from what poems it admires and what poems it ignores. It is interesting, for example, that in our period C.III.xiii, O fons Bandusiae, a nineteenth-century favourite for its natural description, does not seem to have been particularly admired in England.[1] The seventeenth-century favourites were C.III.ix, Epode II, C.I.iv and C.IV.vii, and C.II.x, and the reasons for their popularity are not always what we might expect. Misunderstandings can also be revealing. The famous example is the way in which seventeenth-century poets ignore the trick conclusion of Epode II. Ben Jonson's poetry shows a more subtle alteration of the character of Horace's poetry.

In the seventeenth century, a certain utilitarianism of approach must be taken into account. Ancient poets were read for practical reasons: they provided models for imitation. It is significant that Epode II was so popular. This is not regarded today as one of Horace's great poems, and in many ways it is not typical. Natural description for its own sake is rare in Horace, and normally kept brief: but it was undoubtedly the series of natural vignettes which made the poem so popular in our period. It is an easy poem to imitate, because of its looseness of structure, its single-mindedness of subject and its epodic style, simpler and less compressed than that of the Odes. Poets could enjoy themselves adding further details.[2]

There is still some hostility to the idea of classical imitation among English critics,[3] and the study of Horace's influence on the seventeenth

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1 Though it appealed to the French neo-Latin poet, Salmon Macrin, see Maddison, 195-6, and to Ronsard, see 'O Fontaine Bellerie', Odes II.ix, Cohen, 444 and 'Escoute moy, Fontaine vive', Odes III.viii, Cohen, 498.

2 See for example the translations by Lodge, Randolph and Cowley, Herrick's The Country life, to the honoured M.End. Porter, Martin, 229, and George Daniel's A Pastorall Ode, Stroup, 17.

3 See for example Lewis, 19-28; P.Crutwell, The Shakespearian Moment (2nd ed. N.Y. 1960), chapter 8.

century helps to demonstrate how unfounded it is. One should not generalise about classical influence, which does not all work in the same direction towards conformity to an alien foreign ideal.[1] In no way does it necessitate a loss of individual and native elements. The impulse to imitate may be seen as an impulse to extend knowledge and what can be expressed.[2] Our study shows particularly clearly how diverse the influence of one author is, how different poets respond differently to Horace, use him for different ends and imitate different aspects.[3] It also shows how seventeenth-century poets wed Horace to their own traditions both of thought and style.[4] An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland is perhaps the best example of a poem which fuses the form of an ode by Horace and a Metaphysical lyric, classical and contemporary ideas, in order to express something more than its author could have done if he had confined himself to the traditions of his period. Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper is a perfect recreation of an ode by Horace using English techniques and infused with English feeling.

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1 See the sensible comments of E.Miner, The Metaphysical Mode from Donne to Cowley (Princeton, 1969), 219; (b), 87. Parfitt (a) and (b) points out how flabbily the word 'classical' is used to define the nature of Jonson's poetry.

2 See Bolgar on Petrarch, 247-255.

3 Poets particularly in the earlier part of the century do not show the blanket response to the Classics impugned by Musgrove, 7-12, and Lewis.

4 A good example of the wedding of Horace to native ideas is the fortunes of Epode II traced by Røstvig (b): the figure of the countryman is successively recast as Jacobean responsible landowner like Sir Robert Wroth, as Christian mystic, and as Restoration gentleman living a life of comfortable and cultured ease: 'The classical tradition was seldom rendered accurately, since in most cases it came to be coloured by the prevailing mood of each succeeding generation', 313.

CHAPTER I

Reading Horace 1600-1711[1]

It will be useful to start with some background information. In order to present a complete picture of the response to Horace in the seventeenth century, some outline is needed of the mechanics of his influence, the channels through which the poets acquired their knowledge of him, since these are not necessarily the same as those through which he reaches us today.

I. Horace in Schools

An account of the place of Horace in the school curricula of the Renaissance will be found in T.W.Baldwin's William Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke.[2] Several points emerge. As we should expect, Horace was a standard part of school reading, allowed by most educationalists - Erasmus, Vives, Sturm, Ascham, Elyot, Kemp, Brinsley and Hoole[3] - and mentioned on the majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century school curricula. He was considered a difficult author, and reserved for the upper forms.[4] The Odes were certainly read in some schools. Though most curricula are unspecific, one or two give more detail. Wolsey's curriculum for Ipswich mentions the Epistles. The curriculum of Rivington for 1566 specifies the

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1 The date of Bentley's edition of Horace.

2 Especially II.497-525, and passim. See also Clarke, chapters 1 and 3 passim. Most of the reading of classical authors was done in schools: university courses were devoted to other subjects, though individual college tutors might direct literary reading, see Clarke, 61-6.

3 Baldwin I. 80, l. 188-197, 287, 262, II. 383, 197, 593, I. 450- 1,457.

4 Baldwin passim. At St.Paul's, for example, Horace was read in the seventh out of the eight forms, I.121, and at Westminster in the fifth out of the seven forms, I.382. See also Brinsley, 122; Hoole, xxiii, 203.

Odes, and that of Sandwich in 1580 'the Epistles of Horace, and certen of his chaste Odes chosen'.[1] William Hayne, a school-master at Merchant Taylors, had made a construe of Book I of the Odes and the Ars Poetica for use in the school, before 1611,[2] and we know that the Odes were taught at the school in 1572, because the entrance exam to St. John's, Oxford, in June of that year included construing an ode of Horace.[3] The curriculum of Merchant Taylors was modelled on that of St. Paul's, as was also that of Norwich, where it appears that the Odes were taught, as a copy of Sir Edward Coke's school-text of Horace survives with annotations to the Odes and Satires.[4] The Satires were read in Winchester,[5] and the Ars Poetica was a popular school text.[6] Later in the period, Hoole in A New Discovery mentions the Odes,[7] and the curriculum of Merchant Taylors in 1652 mentions the Epistles and the Ars Poetica.[8]

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1 Baldwin, I. 343.

2 Ibid. I. 400.

3 Ibid. I. 419.

4 Ibid. II. 497-8.

5 Ibid. I. 337, 342.

6 Ibid. II. 498, 521-2.

7 197

8 Clarke, 41

It is difficult to discover exactly how much Horace was read in schools. He certainly did not dominate the school curricula to the extent he did in the eighteenth century, when for example at Winchester the whole works might be read twice.[1] In some sixteenth-century schools, perhaps only a few poems were read.[2] But by the mid seventeenth century, the time of Brinsley and Hoole, when, according to Foster Watson, the grammar schools were at their height,[9] the schoolboy probably gained a reasonable acquaintance with Horace, more extensive than in a modern grammar school. According to Hoole in A New Discovery, at Rotherham under the aegis of Mr Bonner, his predecessor, two afternoons a week were spent on Horace in the seventh form of the nine, and under his own rule he prescribed for the sixth form 'Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Seneca's Tragedies, Martial, and Plautus, for afternoons lessons on Mondaies, and Wednesdaies.'[4]. A selection was to be read, chosen on a moral basis:

> After they have read what you best approve (for he that feeds cleanly, will pare his apple) in this Authour, you may let them proceed to Juvenall ...[5]

Hoole implies this will be more than a 'taste'.[6]

Horace was certainly read with detailed attention. Here is Hoole's account of the sixth form's lesson in Horace,

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1 Clarke, 51-5; Ogilvie, 40-1

2 Watson, 373

3 301

4 203

5 198

6 198

> wherein they should be employed:
>
> 1. In committing their Lessons to memory, as affording a rich mine of invention:
>
> 2. In construing and parsing, and giving the Tropes and Figures:
>
> 3. In scanning and proving verses:
>
> 4. Sometimes in turning an Ode, or Epistle, into other kind of verses, English, Latine, or Greek; sometimes in paraphrasing or enlarging the words in an Oratorial style, as Mr Horne doth give some examples in his little golden book De usu Authoris.[1]

From such reading methods, dull though they sound, seventeenth-century school-boys must have gained a close acquaintance with the text of Horace, and a keen eye for minutiae of expression, which could later be employed creatively. It is significant that Hoole mentions learning by heart, as this would facilitate allusion to Horace.

Post-Reformation education was pious in tone: the school-boy was to learn from ancient authors, rigorously selected if necessary, both how to live well and how to write well.[2] Erasmus' educational programme thus allowed for the study of both the content and the style of ancient authors, as can be seen from De Ratione Studii, in which Erasmus included Horace in the list of authors sound in both respects.[3] Horace was popular with later schoolmasters too for both content and form, as Bishop Pilkington's statutes for Rivington in 1566 suggest:

> After this, your Scholars may be brought to the reading of Terence his Adelphi, or Selectae Epistolae Ciceronis, and then to some verses, as Psalmi Buchannini, Epistolae Ovidii, or Ode Horatii, where both the matter and the metre is to be observed; and will be great help afterward to the making of verse.[4]

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1 197-8. Brinsley gives a similar account of reading Horace and Virgil, in Ludus Literarius, xv.

2 See Bolgar, 329-369; Bordan, 301-342; Jacobsen, 100-119.

3 De Ratione Studii (Mogun, 1521), 4. See Baldwin I.80. See also Convivium religiosum: 'And I have much adoe some times to keep my self from wishing well to the Souls of Virgil and Horace.' Twenty select colloquies out of Erasmus Roterodamus by Sir Roger L'Estrange (1699), 95.

4 Baldwin, I. 348.

In contrast to the elegists, who were regarded with suspicion,[1] Horace was, on the whole, regarded as a safe moral author:[2] Erasmus had used him for his private guidance,[3] and to Ascham he was doctius.[4] Sir Thomas Elyot, for example, had doubts about the inclusion of Ovid in his educational programme:

> But by cause there is litell other lernyng in them, [The Metamorphoses and Fasti] concernyng either vertuous maners or policie, I suppose it were better that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, it were declared abundantly by the maister than that in the saide two bokes, a longe tyme shulde be spente and almost lost: which mought be better employed on suche autors that do minister both eloquence, civile policie, and exhortation to vertue. Wherefore in his place let us bringe in Horace, in whom is contayned moche varietie of lernynge and quickenesse of sentence.[5]

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1 See Carey, 111-119.

2 Though there was some dissent. Hoole recommended selection, and so did Brinsley, who allows the reading of Terence 'provided alwayes, that this be with great caution, for avoyding all danger of corrupting their manners by lasciviousnesse or otherwise; considering the pronenesse of our nature, like to tinder or gunpowder, if never so little a sparke fall into the same. The like caution is to be had for other, as Horace, Iuvenal, Persius, Martial etc,' A consolation for our grammar schools (1622), 64. Jesuit schools used expurgated editions of Horace, see Bolgar, 358-9, and Wilkinson, 162-3. In one of these, Q.Horatii Flacci carmina, ab omni obscoenitate expurgata (Turonibus, 1688), only 32 odes appear in Book I: dulces Camoenas is substituted for dulces amores at C.I.ix.15, and a note reads musae, et studia literarum, poni possunt inter oblectationes honestae iuventutis, 21.

3 Baldwin, I. 108

4 Ibid. II. 383.

5 The governour, ed. F. Watson (Everyman), 39.

School-masters, no doubt, placed emphasis on the moral lessons to be learnt from Horace.

Horace was also useful as a guide to various metres,[1] which the boy could employ in his own verses, as can be seen from Bishop Pilkington's statutes, quoted above. It is worth emphasising that the approach to reading classical authors in the seventeenth century was practical, with composition in mind.[2] We note that in Wolsey's curriculum for Ipswich, Horace's Epistles are to be read at the same time as the boys learn to compose epistles:

> Let the seventh Form diligently peruse the Epistles of Horace, the Metamorphosis of Ovid, or his Book of Fasts; and in the mean Time apply themselves to some poetical or epistolary Compositions.[3]

At Harrow, Virgil and Horace were read at the same time as verse-composition was begun,[4] as also at Sandwich.[5] In Hoole's programme, verse composition was begun in the sixth form, while, 'as affording a rich mine of invention', Horace was being examined for tropes and metres.[6]

The note-book technique was employed in the reading of authors.[7] Boys kept a notebook divided into two parts for content and style, in which

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1 Baldwin II. 498. This was Sturm's approach, I. 287.

2 Clarke, 35-6. Jacobsen stresses the links between reading, translation and composition, see especially p. 115, where he cites Erasmus, De Copia.

3 Baldwin I. 125.

4 Ibid. I. 312.

5 Ibid. I. 343.

6 See also p. 123.

7 See Bolgar, 265-275; Watson, 6-8; Jacobsen, Chapter 3, passim, esp. 107. See also Hoole's accounts of how to make a commonplace book for themes and verse-composition, 181-2, and how to read Terence, 139.

they collected sententiae and phrases, gleaned from their reading, which they could redeploy in their own compositions. They read with the practical aim of borrowing. These habits persisted into later life. Thus, Ben Jonson underlined sententiae and phrases in his copy of Horace, with an eye to use in his own work. Although we may think such teaching-methods soul-destroying,[1] and although Latin imitations of Horace, such as Marvell's Ad Regem Carolum Parodia, were often stilted, there is no doubt that these habits were helpful when the poets came to compose in English. They could draw on a large stock of ideas and phrases.

It should also be noted that certainly at Westminster translation into English verse was a practice,[2] a fact of obvious significance for our study. As Bolgar notes,[3] English education had a strong literary slant.

School Text-Books

The first English editions of Horace were certainly intended as school texts.[4] The Eliot's Court Printing House turned out some rather shoddy editions, offering brief explanatory marginalia and no literary comment: the 1578 edition in particular presented an out-of-date and poorly-printed text.[5] The standard seventeenth-century school edition of Horace was that of John Bond, a schoolmaster of Taunton free school. In Ludus Literarius, Brinsley recommends for use in schools

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1 Baldwin I. 458.

2 Baldwin I. 360; Clarke, 37.

3 364-365

4 Baldwin, I.518, 520-524.

5 Compare its version of the text of C.I.vii with Lambinus'.

> the best and easiest Commentaries of the hardest and most crabbed Schoole-Authors; as M. Bond upon Horace: who hath by his paines made that difficult Poet so easie, that a very child which hath been well entred, and hath read the former Schoole-Authors in any good manner, may goe thorough it with facility, except in very few places. Of him, it were to be wished, for his singular dexteritie, in making that difficult Poet plaine in so few words, that he would take the like paines in the rest of that kinde ...[1]

Hoole also recommends 'Mr. Bonds Notes'[2]. Bond's text, which is not wholly accurately printed, follows Lambinus, and his brief marginalia, mostly explanatory, are derived from Lambinus and Cruquius, though heavily simplified.

School libraries no doubt contained more learned editions: St. Paul's, for example, had a Lambinus.[3] It is possible that foreign editions were used in schools, since the book trade with the Continent was flourishing at this period.[4]

Various school text-books contained illustrative material drawn from Horace. An example famous because of Shakespeare's reference to it in Titus Andronicus[5] is that Lily's Latin Grammar contained the first lines of C.I. xxii as an illustration of Sapphics.[6] The Latin translation of Aphthonius' Progymnasmata, a standard text-book for theme writing,[7] contained

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1 122.

2 198.

3 Baldwin I. 422.

4 Watson, 368-9.

5 IV. ii. 18-24.

6 Baldwin I. 578-9.

7 Ibid. II. 288-90; Watson, 422 n, 429-32.

the fable of the town and country mouse from Serm. II. vi as an example of the fable, which may partly account for the popularity of the piece.[1]

Quotation books were an important source for the schoolboy's knowledge of Horace. That most commonly used (it is mentioned by both Brinsley[2] and Hoole[3]) was compiled by Octavianus Mirandula, variously revised and entitled:[4] the 1611 London edition is entitled Poetarum illustrium flores per Octavianum Mirandulam collecti et in locos communes digesti: nunc vero ab innumeris mendis repurgati a Theodoro Pulmanno. Another was Farnaby's Index poeticus,[5] mentioned by Hoole.[6] These books contain many extractsffrom Horace which we will find were favourites of the poets.[7]

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1 This was of course a fable which had been told many times, see Babrius and Phaedrus, ed. B.E.Perry, (Loeb ed. 1965), appendix 352, p. 485. On the relationship of Wyatt Satire 2 to Horace, Henryson etc. see P. Thomson, Sir Thomas Wyatt and His Background (1964), 260-1; D. Fox, 'A Scoto-Danish Stanza, Wyatt, Henryson, and the Two Mice' N.& Q. ccxvi N.S. xviii (1971), 203-7. In our period the fable was retold by Wye Saltonstall, following Horace, in The country mouse, and the city mouse or a merry morrall fable, enlarged out of Horace. Cowley translated the mouse part of Serm. II.vi and Sir John Beaumont and Fanshawe translated the whole poem.

2 196.

3 186.

4 Watson, 483; Baldwin, II. 409-414.

5 Watson, 479.

6 187.

7 See further below, 33-38.

II. Editions of Horace

1) The Text

There were innumerable editions of Horace in the Renaissance, many of which were haphazardly edited and carelessly printed. The most scholarly edition, which provided the vulgate text, was that of Lambinus, 1561.

Until Bentley's revolutionary edition in 1711,[1] the text of Horace was different from modern texts in many places, some affecting sense. An example may be given from C.II.iii. Today, in Klingner's text, in the third stanza, we find a pair of plangent rhetorical questions, by which Horace effects a transition from general reflections about the inevitability of death to the invitation to a drinking bout:

> quo pinus ingens albaque populus
> umbram hospitalem consociare amant
> ramis? quid obliquo laborat
> lympha fugax trepidare rivo?[2]

The Renaissance reader found a much less sharp and energetic text, either Lambinus' reading of qua ... qua, linking with the huc of the following stanza (hither ... where), or the reading given in Bond of qua ... et, going with gramine in the preceding stanza (i.e. in the meadow ... where).[3]

When we are assessing the accuracy of a translation, we should bear in mind that the text being followed may be different from the one in front of us. We should not jump to overhasty conclusions about the translator's knowledge of Latin. It is often pointed out that Jonson mistranslated in reducta valle in Epode II as 'in the bending vale', but less often observed that he was following the scholia: pseudo-Acro interprets reducta as depressa sive

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1. See Kenney, 71-4; Pfeiffer, 153-5.
2. C.II.iii. 9-12.
3. Even Bentley read qua ... et as clauses with huc.

secreta aut certe flexuosa, dum sequitur montes.[1] Undoubtedly, confusion in the Latin text led to confusion among the translators: Hawkins, 'Unknown Muse' and Smith show some vagueness in their renderings of the crux at C.I.vii.7,[2] perhaps not surprisingly, when we discover that the 1637 edition of John Bond read decerptam frondi, a cross between the MS. reading, decerptam fronti, and Erasmus' conjecture, decerptae frondi.

Ben Jonson owned an edition of Horace's Opera omnia by Parthenio and an edition of Epode II by Blasius Bernardus[3]: he must also have owned a Daniel Heinsius.[4] In many cases, we do not know what text a translator is following. It is possible to prove fairly clearly that John Bond's edition was the main source for some of the translators. Hawkins, John Smith and probably 'Unknown Muse' translate his headings to the odes. Smith follows his reading of lacus for lucus in C.I.vii.13. Hawkins, 'Unknown Muse' and Smith translate gramine ... qua in C.II.iii. Ashmore, Hawkins and 'Unknown Muse' are all misled by Bond's gloss of amico animo in C.IV.vii.19-20 as liberali animo.[5] Thus Hawkins translates

> Your greedy heire in nothing shall have part,
> Which you in life shall give with bounteous heart.[6]

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1. Keller, I.382. The scholia were often included in folio editions of Horace in the Renaissance. Various editors reported or approved this interpretation, e.g. Cruquius, Bond and Lambinus (on C.I.xvii.17). Ashmore, Rider, 'Unknown Muse', Smith and Robert Creswell translate reducta as flexuosa.

2. See also Rider's confused note, All the Odes and Epodes, A6v.

3. Herford, I.266.

4. Since he used this for his revised translation of the Ars Poetica, Herford, XI.110-112.

5. As were Creswell and W.A., but not Rider, who translates correctly 'on your own soul'.

6. 54. Lambinus gives the correct interpretation: id est, ea omnia, quae tu in curando corpore, et explenda libidine consumseris, tua erunt, neque ad heredem pervenient, 372.

ii) Commentary

What sort of literary comment do the Renaissance editions of Horace offer? There is a great deal of interesting work that could be done on interpretations of particular poems, but I have only time here to indicate the general literary approach.[1] Apart from some specific controversies about what philosophy Horace followed,[2] the extent to which he imitated Greek models,[3] and the relative merits of the satires of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal,[4] there are two main emphases in commentary on Horace, on his sound morals and the sweetness of his style. We may note that this follows the note-book method of analysing classical texts, the division into methodice and historice, style and content.[5]

> Investigabimus non solum verborum artificium, verum etiam sententiarum, quando in iis duobus omnia sunt,[6]

writes Parthenio in his dedication to the Academy at Vicenza, words which Ben Jonson approvingly underlined in his copy, and again

> Quoniam vero in verbis atque in sententiis, sicut in caeteris orationibus tractandis, posita est omnis huius facultatis elegantia, atque ornatus, qui, nisi (de poetis loquor) habeant admirationem, cum fastidio ac nausea omnia leguntur.[7]

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1 Restoration commentaries are discussed below, 341-5.

2 This forms the background to Dryden's statement in the preface to Sylvae that Horace was an Epicurean. D.Heinsius had said he was an Eclectic, Q.Horatii Flacci opera, (1612), ¶¶ 7v. For Casaubon's view, see below, 224.

3 Scaliger, Poetices libri septem, V.7, Horatii et Graecorum Comparatio.

4 This forms the background to A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, in which Dryden mentions D.Heinsius, Dacier, J.C. Scaliger, Rigaltius, and Casaubon, Watson, II. 117.

5 Bolgar, 270.

6 3¶ 3v

7 3¶3 - 3¶3v.

Such an approach could be supported by reference to Horace's famous formulation in the Ars Poetica, omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.[1] Lambinus praises Horace for his combination of utile and dulce:

> Nemo unquam Latinorum iustitiam, fidem, continentiam, parsimoniam, religionem, patientiam paupertatis laudavit ornatius: nemo iniustitiam, perfidiam, libidinem, avaritiam, luxuriam, vituperavit acerbius: nemo ad subeunda pro patria pericula, atque ad mortem pro libertate oppetenda inflammavit ardentius. Nemo neque ad virtutem acrius excitavit, neque a vitio gravius revocavit: nemo bellorum civilium calamitatem miserabilius deploravit: nemo neque amores cantavit mollius ac tenerius, neque tempestivorum conviviorum hilaritatem descripsit floridius: nemo hominum suae aetatis mores carpsit urbanius ...
> Quod si poeta omni laude cumulatus, omnibusque suis partibus absolutus, et perfectus ille est, qui voluptatem, et delectationem lectoris cum utilitate, fructuque coniunxit, sine controversia ceteris omnibus poetis Graecis, ac Latinis (Homero excepto) Q.Horatius Flaccus merito est anteponendus: in quo sic dulcedo cum utilitate certat: ita suavitas gravitati par est, ut, si detracta voluptate, ac dulcedine, sola gravitas, utilitasque spectetur, haec lectorem in legendo retinere queat: contra si quis demta utilitate, solam versuum dulcedinem, ac iucunditatem sequatur, haec eum sua illecebra captum, ut in se continenter affixus inhaereat, pellicere possit.[2]

Bond borrows this passage for his introduction:

> Hinc est, quod Divus Augustinus inprimis iubet legendum esse hunc Poetam, quippe qui non modo iustitiam, invictam animi magnitudinem, parsimoniam, continentiam, religionem in Deum, pietatem in parentes, patientiam paupertatis et contemptionem rerum humanarum summis laudibus prosequatur, sed contra perfidiam, iniustitiam, metum, prodigalitatem, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam atque omnia fere vitia acerbe carpat, vituperet, exagitet ... Quid multis? Horatius sine controversia, omnibus Poetis et Graecis et Latinis (Homerum semper excipio) est merito antepomendus, in quo sic suavitas cum utilitate contendit, ut Lectorem suis illecebris semel captum semper teneat irretitum, nec dimittat unquam.[3]

This kind of formulation is a commonplace of description of Horace: here is Fabricius:

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1 L. 343

2 B2 - B2 v.

3 London 1606 ed., A3

> Talis doctor est in carmine lyrico: quod magna suavitate et dulci lepore condidit, nec minore gravitate ac sapientia pertractavit.

> nam aliua poetam meliorem esse Horatio Flacco, et excellentia ingenii, et magnitudine iudicii, et copia doctrinae, et varietate orationis, et delectu rerum, et pulchritudine tractationis, ego vihi videor cognovisse neminem.[1]

Daniel Heinsius called Horace autorem plurimae urbanitatis, et si quisquam optimum virtutis ac sapientiae magistrum.[2] All the commentators underline the utile in Horace, and point to the useful maxims in specific poems. Of the last stanza of C.II.x Lambinus, for example, who seldom makes general literary comments, says nihil hac sententia tritius, nihil eadem utilius.[3] Parthenio points to the weight of the matter in the ode:

> non semel tractavit hanc sententiam. qua monemur nimis magna non esse expetenda, neque in nimis humilibus versandum, mediocritatem sequendam, intra cuius fines si nos continemus, beati vivimus. haec prudentissima, ac tutissima vivendi ratio est, a sapientissimis hominibus celebrata ... gravissimum est argumentum. et a vera philosophia depromptum ... hinc licet discere, quo modo beati degere possimus.[4]

Commentators tend to ignore the wit of Horace's poetry - for example, they understood C.I.xxxiv as a serious account of a conversion from Epicureanism[5] - and to emphasize the moral lessons to be learnt at the expense of humour. An obvious example is C.I.xxii, which commentators always treat as if it were a serious exposition of innocence. Parthenio's comment is as follows:

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1 Quoted in Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata, novis scoliis et argumentis ab Henrico Stephano illustrata (Geneva, 1575?), aa5v, aa6.

2 2 ¶ 6. Words translated by Jonson in Discoveries, see below, 146.

3 180.

4 83.

5 In Lambinus, the poem is headed Poenitere se, quod dum Epicuream disciplinam sectaretur, parum studiose deos coluerit. The Scholia are the ultimate source for this story: hac ode significat penitere se, quod, dum Epicuream sectam sequitur, diis inreligiosus extiterit, Keller, I. 119. For modern interpretations, see Fraenkel, 253-257; N.-H. 376-379.

> Integer, talem Cicero saepe iustum, religiosum, innocentem, castissimum, contra impurum, contaminatum, foedum, appellat. magna virtus in homine est innocentia. haec neminem laedit. neminem iniuria afficit. ab omni turpitudine, et flagitio abstinet. Sententia maxime religioni Christianae, ac sanctitati consentanea est. qui enim sunt ita instituti, ut neminem laedant, suntque ab omni scelere alieni, deo gratissimi sunt. qui autem fieri potest, ut hi ubi vis tuti non sint? Ab innocentia se laudat. ac suo exemplo innocentem per se nulli periculo obnoxium esse confirmat.[1]

Similarly, when Blasius Bernadus comments on the figure of the faenerator Alfius in Epode II, he explains it not in terms of humour - as an ironic, undercutting device - but in terms of the morality of the poem, - as an exemplum of discontent and vice:

> Ergo Alfium foeneratorem notat poeta, nosque admonet, ne diu nimis indulgeamus naturae nostrae in vitium aliquod propensae, ne postea ... cum velimus habitum virtutis cum vitio illo pugnantem nobis asciscere, certe difficillimum experiamur, iam adaucti et vitii viribus atque blanditiis irretiti. Propterea licet observare duo veluti monita et praecepta: primum sua sorte contentum vivere neminem: alterum esse vel difficile, atque impossibile fere, hominem ingenium commutare, et eum maxime qui diu aut virtuti, aut vitio fuerit assuetus ...[2]

This moral approach to Horace is certainly important for the understanding of how (17) poets read Horace.

Dulce is usually interpreted as style: and the other main emphasis of the commentaries is on style, the naming of figures etc. Stylistic analysis was often quite sophisticated, as can be seen from Parthenio's commentary on Horace. It will be worth looking at this commentary in some detail both for its intrinsic interest and because we are able to see how it influenced a major poet.

Ben Jonson's copy of Parthenio's edition is now in the University

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1 43. In Lambinus, the poem is headed Vitae integritatem, et innocentiam ubique esse tutam.

2 7. For a modern interpretation, see Fraenkel, 59-61.

Library, Cambridge. There are underlinings in the introduction and some of the notes, as well as in some of the poems.[1] It looks as if Jonson studied the edition in some detail, utilising various ideas it suggested to him.[2] The general approach was also clearly of appeal to him. He was in sympathy with Parthenio's emphasis on the importance of both content and style in poetry.[3] Parthenio also stresses the erudition needed for a true understanding of Horace, an attitude which is at one with Jonson's conception of Horace as a learned poet, the 'true Artificer',[4] and he displays a scorn for the vulgar, which Jonson, in part imitating Horace, shares:[5]

> Cum igitur in lucem proferendi essent ii Commentarii, placuit mihi vobis affirmare inter poetas Latinos Horatium, non ex multorum opinionibus (quis enim aliter sentiat?) sed ratione, atque certo iudicio mihi semper mirificum visum fuisse. Nec me fallit, plerosque in huius poetae admirationem traductos eius vertutibus non plane perspectis, aliorum tantum iudicium secutos, unde id factum esset ignorasse. quod vulgus facere solet, ut id, quod prudentioribus videtur, rudes ipsi facile probent. Quod ego animadvertens, ut certius iudicare de hoc poeta, ac de aliis discerent , tentare volui, possem ne ea studiosis aperire, quae diuturno studio, atque assidua huius poetae lectione observare potui

and again:

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1 I assume, with Herford and Simpson I.266, that these are Jonson's.

2 See below, 151-4.

3 Jonson stresses the importance of sententiae and sense in Discoveries, e.g. Herford VIII.574, 585, 595, 615, 621, 627, 632-3.

4 Herford VIII.587, and see further below, 123f.

5 See further below, 113-114, 124-129, passim.

6 $3^{v}2^{v}$, Jonson's underlinings.

> Poeta non scribit multitudini, excellentissimi tantum ingeniis placere vult.[1]

Parthenio wrote his commentary with the practical aim of teaching the young the right way to imitate Horace by explaining his stylistic techniques,[2] as he tells us in the introduction and elsewhere:

> meum consilium semper eo spectavit, in toto hoc opere, ut poetae artificia, quantum mea tenuitas ferret, aperirem, ut aditus esset nostris adolescentibus ad imitationem.[3]

It thus fits in with the general picture of the school-reading of authors with the aim of writing well which we sketched in above. Thus, in his commentary on C.I.iv, he shows how to build up a spring description:

> Siquis anni aetates velit describere, necesse est sibi proponat, quae illi aetati contingunt, ea autem accidentia sunt eligenda, quae praecipua visa fuerint. Exempli causa si cui ver describendum est. necesse est ad ea se conferat, quae eo tempore pulchriora fieri videmus. quod prudenter animadvertit poeta noster.[4]

This may seem rather mechanical to us,[5] but Jonson will have felt quite at home with such an approach and could turn it to creative use.

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1 3π3v, Jonson's underlinings. 'Hee knowes it is his onely Art, so to carry it, as none but Artificers perceive it.' Herford, VIII. 587.

2 The full title is Bernardini Parthenii Spilimbergii in Q.Horatii Flacci carmina atque epodos commentarii quibus poetae artificium, et via ad imitationem, atque ad poetice scribendum aperitur.

3 156 v.

4 12.

5 But we may note that Carew in The Spring, quoted and discussed below, 76f, employs the device recommended by Parthenio for spring description in a note on ac neque iam: ab eo quod huic aetati non contingit sumptum. hoc autem plerumque assumitur, ut siquis ver ipsum describens dicat, eo tempore non misceri aerem ventis, arbores, ac sylvas non esse nudatas suis frondibus, non instar marmoris concreta esse flumina, ac lacus, 12 v. This last example is in fact close to Carew's observation in ll. 3-4. On the motif, see also N.-H.63.

Though Parthenio prints the hexameter poems, he provides a commentary for the Odes alone, and his main effort is directed at pointing out their rich stylistic techniques. He notes periphrases, metaphors, oxymora, etc. On C.IV.i, for example, he writes

> non video, in quo valde sit in hoc carmine elaborandum. unusquisque, quae splendidiora sunt, potest internoscere. Ego potissimum notarem nonnullas translationes. ut, bella moves, Regnum Cynarae, flectere, torrere iecur, ferre signa militiae, Periphrasin Veneris, idest mater saeva dulcium cupidinum quae ut non sint contraria, habent tamen instar contrariorum. illa vero, flectere mollibus iam durum imperiis, plane contraria sunt. quo genere quis nescit multum gratiae afferri Orationi?[1]

Jonson's translation of C.IV.i[2] brings out the twin contraria, and he may well have picked this up from Parthenio.

Parthenio's particular interest is in showing how Horace builds up a poem and elaborates his sententiae through concrete details - exempla, periphrases, concrete schemes etc. One such scheme he points out at the beginning of C.II.xviii:

> significat se mimus valere opibus, sed ingenio praestare. pulcherrimas autem assumit species, quae in divitiis ponuntur. qui modus peculiaris est bonis poetis. de quotam saepe admonuimus.
>
> Primae sententiae simplicitas est. Mihi non sunt amplae, ac pretiosae divitiae. hanc simul ornat, dilatat, ac vestit enumeratione multarum rerum, quae in divitiis numerantur. ut sunt ebur, lacunaria aurea, trabes Hymettiae, purpura, qua voce non simpliciter est usus, sed elegantius, atque artificiosius faciens, dixit, se non habere clientas, quae sibi purpuram nerent.[3]

Jonson imitates the opening of C.II.xviii in To Penshurst, adopting the scheme of enumerating examples of wealth, which he may well have noted in Parthenio:

> Thou art not, PENSHURST, built to envious show,
> Of touch, or marble; nor canst boast a row
> Of polish'd pillars, or a roofe of gold:
> Thou hast no lantherne, whereof tales are told;
> Or stayre, or courts ...[4]

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[1] 138. [2] Quoted below, 154.

[3] 94, 95v. Parthenio notes similar schemes in C.III.xvi. 33-36; C.II.xvi. 33-40; C.I.xxxi. 3-15; C.IV.viii. 1-8.

[4] Herford, VIII.93.

Similarly, Parthenio demonstrates how the argument of C.II.xvi proceeds through concrete details, to show how peace may be obtained. The ode opens, he notes, with two examples:

> Quosdam enumerat, qui potissimum securitatem, atque otium desiderant. in iis sunt, qui navigant, quique bella sequuntur. duo sane ex omnibus rebus humanis periculosissima, atque aerumnosissima. ex quibus duobus generibus reliquos aliqua in re laborantes intellegit. Hinc totum carmen deducitur. docet, quomodo tranquillitas animi parari possit.[1]

These exempla he thinks are recapped in the fifth stanza:

> Scandit aeratas, respondent illi speciei, quae navigat, scilicet in patenti prehensus Aegeo. et cum dixit, Nec turmas equitum relinquit, spectat eos, qui militiam sequuntur. idest, bello furiosa Thrace.[2]

He notes how the myths are used as exempla in stanza seven, and how the poem concludes with a scheme similar to that employed in the opening of C.II.xviii:

> Te greges. elegantissimum hoc est. enumeratione earum rerum, in quibus divitiae positae sunt, divitem Grosphum fuisse ostendit. multa autem, quibus constant divitiae, complexus est etiam in initio Odes xviii.huius libri. Non indignum observatione, quod, cum voluisset significare multos greges, et multas vaccas, atque equas amicum suum possidere, ad carminis elegantiam se ad consequentia non necessaria convertit, cum dixit, circum illum greges, vaccasque mugire, et equas hinnire.[3]

Parthenio's method of talking about poetry as if style were the garment of thought[4] offends against all modern poetic theory. Nor do we any longer read poetry in order to be instructed about how to imitate. Nevertheless, his comments on Horace's poetic methods are not imperceptive,[5] and he shows the same interest in the details of poetic expression as that which is revealed by our poets' adoption of horatian techniques.[6]

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1 92.

2 92v.

3 93.

4 Exponemus qua ope singulae materiae convestiuntur, 3 π 3 v.

5 On Jonson's attempts to imitate horatian concreteness, see below, 155-6.

6 See Chapter 3.

The approach of the commentaries on Horace may seem to us rather crude and limited. Luckily, seventeenth-century poets seem to have responded instinctively to other aspects of Horace's poetry - its humour, and complexities of tone, and the charm of the poet's self-presentation.

iii) Vita Horati

It is worth noting that many of the Renaissance editions of Horace are prefaced by a life, most often those of Suetonius and Crinitus, (Pietro Del Riccio), a Florentine who wrote a popular series of lives of the Latin poets, De Poetis Latinis.[1] Crinitus' short life supplements Suetonius with material from Horace's own poems and with some background information. The life of Horace which is prefaced to Brome's anthology of Horatian translations combines Suetonius, Crinitus, and some comments of Brome's own.

These lives were the source for several important ideas about Horace which recur in seventeenth-century discussions. They treat of Horace's relations with Maecenas and Augustus. These could be interpreted in a rather bad light, since Suetonius (followed by Crinitus), uses the derogatory word insinuatus in this context. Thus, Dryden speaks of Horace as 'a well-mannered Court slave'[2]. But it was more common to take these as exemplary, as Jonson does, for example, in Poetaster.[3] Most renowned was the story of Horace's rejection of Augustus' offer of the secretaryship (i.e. Horace was to help with his private correspondence[4]), which is told by Suetonius. This became an important part of the mythology of retirement,[5] and is exaggerated in Cowley's account[6] as the rejection of joint rule with Augustus. Crinitus

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1 For an account of Suetonius' life, see Fraenkel, Chapter 1.

2 Watson, II. 132. But see II.124-5.

3 See also Drant, Horace his Arte of Poetrie, π 3v ; Rider, A3 v; Fanshawe, 71.

4 Fraenkel, 17

5 See Brome's anthology, a4v: Suttenham, G.G.Smith, II.18; Jonson, Herford VIII.643, translating D. Heinsius; Fanshawe, 71; Cowley, Tutchin, and Temple, see below.

6 Quoted below.

also gives some account of Horace's circle of friends, information probably drawn on by Jonson in Poetaster.[1]

All the lives mention Horace's physical appearance. Thus Brome, 'As to his Stature, he was short and very fat, blear-ey'd, gray-headed in his youth, and bald in the forehead'.[2]

Horace was usually viewed as a moralist, but the detail in Suetonius about his sexual habits:

> Ad res venereas intemperantior traditur; nam speculato cubiculo scorta dicitur habuisse disposita, ut, quocumque respexisset, ibi ei imago coitus referretur[3]

occasionally puts in an appearance. It is presumably the source of the reference to Horace's 'damnable vices' in Satiromastix,[4] and it was referred to by François Blondel and Creech[5]. Brome says that Horace was of a good moral character, 'for his morals, he was a very good man, pious and grateful to his Father',[6] but with 'an inclination to women, which he is the less to be condemned for, because he was a Bachelour.'[7]

The lives usually touch on the question of Horace's philosophy. Crinitus says Horace was an Epicurean. Brome states that C.I.xxxiv was a recantation of Epicureanism. The story of Horace's switch in political sympathy could be taken as an example of a philosophy of accommodation.[8]

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1 See Talbert, 230. The idea of Horace's circle is employed by Dryden, see below, 354.

2 The poems of Horace, a5. Jonson in Poetaster speaks of 'little fat HORACE', Herford IV.283; Dekker in Satiromastix says that 'Horace was a goodly Corpulent Gentleman', Bowers, I.381. For poets' use of physical details, see below, 93f, 145f.

3 Ll. 62-4, Rostagni, 119. The text, here, seems to be confused, and in need of emendation. Crinitus picks this up: moribus fuisse dicitur sub obscoenis.

4 Bowers, I. 380.

5 See below, 344, note 2, 357.

6 a5

7 a5v.

8 See below, 361-2.

III. Florilegia and Emblem Books

Two important sources for the knowledge of Horace in the seventeenth-century were quotation books and emblem books. Many of the lines and passages of Horace which we shall find were favourites of our poets are excerpted in these.[1]

As we have seen, quotation books were used in schools, the standard one being Mirandula's. The habit persisted out of school, and there were many larger ones, for example, Polyanthea opus suavissimis floribus exornatum compositum per Dominicum Nannum Mirabellium, Venice, 1507,[2] which contained both prose and verse extracts. Later editions of this work were revised and extended with many more passages by Joseph Langius, who also compiled Loci communes seu potius florilegium rerum et materiarum selectarum, Argent.1591, as well as a book of Horatian extracts, Quincti Horatii Flacci Venusini, poetae lyrici, odae in locos communes ad lyricae poeseos studiosorum utilitatem digestae, Hanoviae, 1604. All these books made use of many of the same passages.[3]

Quotation books were intended as an aid to composition.[4]

Quotations were arranged under subject headings: thus the last stanza of C.I.xii

> felices ter et amplius
> quos inrupta tenet copula nec malis
> divolsus querimoniis
> suprema citius solvet amor die[5]

may be found in Mirandula under the headings De felicitate, De matrimonio,

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1 See Appendix D.

2 Hoole mentions this anthology, 182.

3 A list of Renaissance quotation-books will be found in Francis Meres's Treatise 'Poetrie' A Critical Edition, ed. D.C. Allen, (Urbana, 1933), Appendix C, pp.92-5 .

4 Baldwin II.409-414: Watson, 477. They were also used for various exercises of composition and versification, Baldwin II. 386-7.

5 LI. 17-20.

and De concordia. The boy set a subject to compose in verse or prose looked up various appropriate headings to find material he could use.

It is intriguing to find many of Jonson's favourite quotations in Mirandula.[1] The lines on the backbiter in Serm.I.iv[2] are excerpted under the headings De amicitia, De detractoribus and De taciturnitate, the lines on the sapiens in Serm.II.vii[3] under De libertate, the opening two stanzas of C.III.3[4] under De iustitia, the line oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore[5] under De bonitate and De virtute, and the quotations about poetry in C.IV.viii and ix[6] under De carminibus. Again, it is interesting that many of the lines of Horace echoed in Herrick's A Country life are to be found in Mirandula.[7] Herrick's poem was a youthful one, and he perhaps composed it with Mirandula at his elbow. But the fact that Jonson's and Herrick's quotations from Horace may be found in Mirandula does not mean that they had a copy to hand while composing, nor, certainly, that they had not read the full text of Horace;

> The boy who had studied this collection would later be the more impressed by the excerpts when he found them in their proper settings. Frequent allusion and quotation by others of these selected passages would also tend to give them indelible prominence in the age.[8]

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1 Jonson owned a copy, Lyons, 1579, Herford I.268.

2 LI.83-85. See below, 128, 141f.

3 LI.83-88. See below, 140f.

4 See below, 129-30, 140f.

5 Epistles. I.xvi. 52. See Appendix D.

6 C.IV.viii. 28-9; ix. 25-30. See below, 108, 149f.

7 See Appendix A.

8 Baldwin, II. 413.

The selection in the quotation books reflected the taste of the age: and the poets would pick out the same quotations on their own accord.

The quotations which appear in the quotation books are also often ones that were used in emblem books.[1] Pieces of Horace could be used in various ways in an emblem book: they could be used as a motto, or quoted in the margin, as often in Whitney's A choice of emblemes and other devises, 1586 and Peacham's Minerva Britanna or a garden of heroical devises, 1612, or they could be emblematised in the engraving and expanded in the English poem, as sometimes in Whitney and Peacham. Otto Vaenius' Q.Horatii Flacci emblemata is a whole book of Horatian emblems, giving a picture derived from Horace, and excerpting quotations.[2]

There are several important points to make about the influence of quotation books and emblem books on reading Horace. The first is that they present very clearly the image of the moral Horace which the editions also present. The didactic purpose of these books is explicit. Here is the address to the reader from Mirandula:

> Sunt haec ex sylva Poetarum scitissime decerpta, quibus aut sententia moralis naturalisve, aut laus virtutis, aut censoria morum castigatio, aut praecepta saluberrima continentur.[3]

Vaenius writes

> Reperies itaque in hoc libello non pauca Ethicae, sive Moralis, ac Stoicae Philosophiae dogmata, imaginibus expressa. Ex quibus non modo oblectamentum, sed et uberrimum fructum hauries: solent enim oculis obiecta animos magis afficere, quam ea, quae aut dicta aut scripta.[4]

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1 For example, the last stanza of C.I.xiii is employed by Peacham, 111, and J.Camerarius, Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae tres (? , 1605), III. lxiii, p. 63, to illustrate conjugal love.

2 Some examples of Horatian emblems are pauper Opimius from Sers.II.iii. 141-157, Whitney, 209, Vaenius, 114-5; the sword of Damocles, from C.III.i. 17-21, Whitney, 102, Vaenius, 74-5; the merchant of Epistles I.i. 45-6, see below, 228 , note 2 ; imagery from C.II.x.9-12, see Appendix D.

3 London, 1651 ed. Alv.

4 6.

All the Horatian moral passages used by seventeenth-century poets, which we will look at in Chapter 6, will be found excerpted in quotation books and emblem books - bits from C.II.x, C.III.xvi, C.II.xvi, C.III.xxiv, C.II.ii, Serm.I.i, and moral epigrams and motifs from other poems. One example is the moral motif of the merchant, the exemplar of the avarus, which many poets employ.[2] Whitney, Peacham, and Vaenius all elaborate on the Horatian themes of the poor man's wealth and freedom, which were common themes for imitation.[3]

The habit of excerpting passages from their context fostered by the quotation books and emblem books had several effects. One was, as Baldwin notes, that many passages of Horace became part of the century's consciousness. Many phrases acquired proverbial force, for example the images in the third stanza of C.II.x.[4] People using these may not always have been aware of their origin in Horace. Sometimes, lines excerpted from their context acquired a slight distortion of meaning. A fairly trivial example of this can be seen in the case of some lines from C.II.x:

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1 See Appendix D.

2 See further below, 228.

3 See e.g. Whitney, 39, 179, 198, 209, Peacham, 82. See below, 227-8. We should note that Mirandula and Vaenius do excerpt passages on themes of transience, but there is less emphasis on these.

4 See Appendix D. See also Baldwin II. 500-3 on crescit occulto velut arbor aevo/fama Marcelli, (C.I.xii.45-6). Other examples will be found in Appendix D, e.g. Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet, Epistles I.xviii. 84; quo semel est inbuta recens servabit odorem/testa diu, Epistles I.ii. 69-70.

quondam citharae tacentem
suscitat Musam neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo.[1]

In context, these lines illustrate the idea non si male nunc, et olim/ sic erit: Apollo was god of music as well as of plague. In the emblem books, however, the lines were used to illustrate the idea that there is a need for relaxation from time to time (which is of course a common Horatian theme), see the emblems of Wither[2] and Vaenius.[3]

Most commonly, the distortion caused by excerption is in the direction of taking passages too seriously, by ignoring the ironies of context. Predictably, Mirandula excerpts the opening lines of C.I.xxii under De innocentia, and Whitney,[4] Peacham[5] and Vaenius[6] use the lines to exemplify innocence. Again, the semi-comic lines from Serm. II. vii on the Stoic sapiens, which seventeenth-century poets took as a straight definition,[7] are excerpted by Mirandula under the heading De libertate, and used for a serious emblem by Vaenius, who thought Horace was a Stoic.[8]

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1 11.18-20.

2 'The Wisest man, will sometimes merry bee/And this is that, this Emblem teacheth me', Wither, A collection of emblemes, 234.

3 Post multa virtus opera laxari solet, 160-1. For other slight distortions of meaning, see Whitney, 47, 88.

4 67.

5 166.

6 72-3.

7 See below,

8 82. To give another example, Whitney takes the mock-heroic lines ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,/ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum, Epistles I.xix.48-9, seriously, 17. Mirandula excerpts the lines under De ira.

Renaissance readers perhaps tended to think of poems as a series of extractable episodes, rather than as indissoluble unities and webs of feeling. The way in which seventeenth-century poets extracted and used such episodes for their own purposes was fostered by the habit of reading quotation-books.

CHAPTER II

The Translators: Drant to Fanshawe

The sixteenth century produced two books of translations of Horace's hexameter poems: the first half of the seventeenth century was to see six books of translations from Horace largely devoted to the Odes.[1] This suggests an increased interest in Horace in the latter period, particularly in his lyric poetry,[2] and this is born out by the increased number of single translations and imitations of the Odes.[3] It is worth looking at these books as a group, to see what interested the translators in Horace - what poems they selected to translate, and what aspects of the originals they tried to reproduce. First, though, we need some sketch of translation in the century in general. The theory and practice of translation in the seventeenth century has been extensively discussed,[4] so I shall only make a few basic points.

Dryden's neat division of translation into three types - metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation[5] - is too simple to cover the diverse ramifications of translation in the seventeenth century. In practice, there were many different degrees of freedom taken with the originals, and many different ways in which ancient and modern could meet in a translation.

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1 For titles and dates, see Appendix B. There is also a complete translation of the Odes and Epodes in Bodl. MS.Rawl. poet.104, which belongs to our period. It is headed 'Horace in an English habit or 5 Bookes of Horace his Poems Englished by WAA.' It is neatly written and arranged, with ruled headlines, and was perhaps intended for publication.

2 There is some time-lag: Ashmore's translations do not appear till 1621.

3 See Appendix C. Note the groups by John Polwhele and William Sancroft, from Bodl.MS.Eng. poet.f.16, and MS.Sancroft 48.

4 For example by Lathrop; Amos; Spingarn, I.xlviii-lviii; Musgrove; Jacobsen; Brooks (b); Bush 56-64.

5 Preface to Ovid's Epistles.

Differing aims need to be recognised. Cowley's translations of Pindar were intended to convey an idea of a little-known author: Pope's imitations of Horace assume acquaintance with a well-known author in order to make comparisons and contrasts between ancient and modern.[1] A seventeenth-century translation may be intended to equal, to vary, or even to 'improve'[2] the original. A translator may be chiefly interested in the content of his original, or in the style and spirit, or in both: he may modernise setting or idiom.

Translation in the seventeenth century is usually seen as moving, after the latitude of the sixteenth century, from literalism towards a greater freedom, with Cowley's invention of the imitation heralding the birth of the new Restoration mode.[3] This is certainly how the Restoration and the eighteenth century saw it,[4] and broadly speaking it is no doubt true. Prima facie, it is likely that, after accurate translations of an author have been provided, translation will become an exercise in variatio and a demonstration of skill.[5] It is worth noting, though, that there are some examples of the imitation before Cowley. The translators, especially Fanshawe, introduce modern details casually and unsystematically, as does Randolph in his translation of Epode II, where he Anglicises the

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1 Brooks (b), 139.

2 On improvement, see Musgrave, III.604-612, 737-43.

3 See e.g. Musgrove, Spingarn, Brooks passim.

4 See Dryden, Preface to Ovid's Epistles; Sprat, Life of Cowley, Spingarn II.132; Johnson, Lives of the Poets, ed. Hill, I.64, 77, 79, 224, 372-3, 421-2, III.176; Tytler, Essay on the principles of translation (1791). The development of translation in the seventeenth century was certainly towards a greater self-consciousness.

5 On variatio and Restoration translations of Horace, see further below, 346.

diet brought by the wife, who will

> Fetching her husband of her selfe-brew'd beere,
> And other wholesome Country cheere.
> Suppe him with bread and cheese, Pudding or Pye ...
>
> Nor should the Phoenix selfe so much delight
> My not ambitious appetite,
> As should an Apple snatch'd from mine owne trees,
> Or hony of my labouring Bees.
> My Cattels udders should afford me food,
> My sheep my cloth, my ground my wood.
> Sometimes a lambe, snatch'd from the wolfe shall bee
> A banquet for my frëind and mee.
> Sometimes a Calfe ta'ne from her lowing Cow,
> Or tender Issue of the Sow.
> Our Gardens sallets yeild, Mallows to keepe
> Loose bodies, Lettice for to sleepe.
> The cakling Hen an egge for breakfast layes,
> And Dusk that in our water playes,[1]

but retains some Roman details, e.g. the 'Sabine or Apulean wife' & the 'Lucrine oisters'. There are one or two single translations of Horace which completelyrrecreate their originals in modern terms. In the sixteenth century, there were Wyatt's three satires, and in our period, two examples are Francis Davison's version of C.III.ix in A Poetical Rhapsody, and Lovelace's Advice to my best Brother. Coll. Francis Lovelace, a rendering of C.II.x. Davison resets Horace's poem in the English court:

> Lover While thou diddest love me and that neck of thine
> More sweet, white, soft, then roses, silver, downe,
> Did weare a neck-lace of no armes but mine,
> I envide not the King of Spaine his crowne.
>
> Lady While of thy hart I was sole Soveraigne,
> And thou didst sing none but MELLINA'S name,
> Whom for browne CLOE thou dost now disdaine
> I envide not the Queene of Englands fame.

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1 Thorn-Drury, 50, 51. The corresponding lines in the Latin are 47, 53-60.

Lover Though CLOE, be lesse fayre, she is more kinde,
Her gracefull dauncing so doth please mine eye,
And through mine eares her voyce so charmes my minde
That so deare she may live I'le willing die.

Lady Though CRISPUS cannot sing my praise in verse,
I love him so for skill in Tilting showne,
And gracefull managing of Coursiers fierce:
That his deare life to save, ile lose mine owne.

Lover What if I sue to thee againe for grace,
And sing thy prayses sweeter then before,
If I out of my hart blot Cloes face,
Wilt thou love me againe, love him no more?

Lady Though he be fairer then the Morning starre,
Though lighter then the floting Corke thou be,
And then the Irish Sea more angry farre,
With thee I wish to live, and dye with thee.[1]

The 'King of Spaine' and the 'Queene of England' replace the classical comparisons, Persarum rege and Romana Ilia, and the Irish sea the Adriatic: Chloe's skill on the cithara is modernised as dancing and singing, and Calais, only allusively characterised by Horace (the name suggest roughness), is given a skill, horse-riding, which though perhaps suggested by the pursuits of Lybaris and Hebrus[2] is updated by the reference to tilting. The changed names alter the atmosphere: the participants are labelled 'lover' and 'lady', as if they were from an Elizabethan love sonnet, while Crispus and Melina are perhaps meant to sound chivalric. The classical flavour has gone: the Latin imagery and vocabulary, iugo aeneo, face mutua, prisca Venus, arsisti, torret, regit, fata, have been replaced by the language of the love sonnet.[3]

Lovelace's Advice to my best Brother is a recreation of C.II.x on a personal basis, in a modern Civil War setting.[4] Lovelace has related

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1 Rollins, I. 265-6.

2 C.I.viii 5-9; C.III.xii.7-8

3 In the abbreviated version of this translation, given in The Academy of Complements (1640), 129, entitled A Lover and his Mistris and surrounded by other slight dialogue poems, one might easily fail to recognise its classical origin.

4 The poem is discussed in detail below, 103f.

Horace's poem to his own experience, and the result is a natural reworking of Horace's theme: Advice to my best Brother has less of the self-consciousness of the modernising of the Restoration imitations, with their shock contrasts of old and new, and their virtuosity in drawing unexpected parallels,[1] than an easy sense of the continuity of past and present. We may note how the modern references to Newfoundland and to Galileo and the New Science blend easily with classical references to Apollo and Boreas.[2]

The process of 'translation' in Davison's and Lovelace's poems is after all close to the naturalisation and modernisation of Horatian themes in original poems, which we find all through the early seventeenth century. Jonson's To Sir Robert Wroth, which is a recreation of Epode II in terms of the English landowner, is only one stage further on from Randolph's embroidering of Epode II with English details. Paradoxically, the former is perhaps in one sense more 'classical'. One of the reasons Epode II appealed to translators and imitators was that they could expand it with new descriptive vignettes[3] or alternatively extract and elaborate passages from it for original poems.[4] Although, today, we see translation and composition as distinct activities, in the seventeenth century they were much more closely linked,[5] and it is more difficult to draw dividing lines: we might

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1 See below, 346, note 5.

2 Two other 'pre-Cowleian' imitations are William Hammond's translation of C.II.xvii, addressed to Thomas Stanley 'being sick of a Fever', Saintsbury, II.500, and a modernised version of Epistles I.v entitled 'Horatius Anglicissans. To S.B. an Invitation to a Cupp of Ale', by J.Joynes, in Bodl. MS.Ashmole 788, fol. 152, Crum no. I 1013, discussed Musgrove, II. 512-516.

3 See above, 9.

4 Thus, the hunting passage, ll.29-36, is employed by Jonson in To Sir Robert Wroth, Herrick in The Country life, to the honoured M:End.Porter, Randolph in An Ode to Mr Anthony Stafford, Fane in My happy Life, to a Friend, George Daniel in Freedome, and Dryden in To my Honour'd Kinsman.

5 Jacobsen stresses that translation is just one branch of rhetoric, see esp.pp. 15, 115.

well wish to call Lovelace's version of C.II.x an original poem. When we examine the activities of the translators of Horace, we should view them against the background of original composition on Horatian themes, as similar processes are involved in both.

Seventeenth-century translators were ready to relate their originals to modern interests. Indeed, they are sometimes seen as being high-handed and irresponsible in their dealings with ancient authors, neglecting their debt to the old in order to pay their debt to the new.[1] There is a some truth in this. As I argued above,[2] seventeenth-century poets found themselves in ancient authors, and used them for their own ends. We can hardly regret this, as much successful poetry was the result. And, although there were certainly some distortions in their reading of authors, there were also undoubtedly some true perceptions of what was in an author. In the realm of translation, especially in the first half of the century, we do find some genuine attempts to pierce the spirit of the original. It is true that the translators often failed to perceive the relation of style to content in making up the spirit of an author,[3] that they did not always succeed in distinguishing classical authors, using a blanket style to serve for all,[4] and that they were sometimes more interested in experimenting with their own conventions. But, for example, in Fanshawe's translations of Horace,

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1 Spingarn, Amos, Musgrove passim.

2 8f.

3 See Amos, xii, 100, 114; Musgrove I.252-3.

4 Dryden's complaint in the preface to Sylvae, Watson II.21. See also Amos, 168; Musgrove I. 253-4, III. 680-717.

we find a genuine response to the originals, if an inadequate technique to reproduce them.

The books of Horatian translations appear to fit quite neatly into the traditional picture of the development of translation in the period.[1] If we turn back briefly into the sixteenth century, Drant's A medicinable morall presents an extreme case of sixteenth-century freedom[2] with not only the style and manner of Horace, but his content as well. The title states that the poems are 'Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of Saint Hierome. Episto. ad Ruffin. Quod malum est, muta. Quod bonum est, prode.' Drant describes his methods in the preface:

> His eloquence is sometyme to sharpe, and therefore I have blunted it, and somtymes to dull, and therefore I have whetted it: helpyng hym to ebbe, and helpyng hym to rise ... I have done as the people of god were commanded to do with their captive women that were handsome and beautifull: I have shaved of his heare, and pared of his nayles (that is) I have wyped awaye all his vanitie and superfluitie of matter. Further, I have for the moste part drawen his private carpyng of this or that man to a general moral. I have englished thinges not accordyng to the vain of the Latin proprietie, but of our own vulgar tongue. I have interfareed (to remove his obscuritie, and sometymes to better his matter) much of myne owne devysinge. I have peeced his reason, eekede, and mended his similitudes, mollyfied his hardnes, prolonged his cortail kynd of speches, changed, and muche altered his wordes, but not his sentence; or at leaste (I dare say) not his purpose.[3]

(This last assertion can hardly hope to convince.) Thus, Drant alters Ser. I.ii, expanding the opening 27 lines and substituting for the rest a short denunciation of fashion.[4] He replaces Ser. I.v with a

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1 Some account of them is given by Musgrove, passim, and Edden.

2 Horace his Arte of Poetrie is more accurate, see ¶5 - ¶5v.

3 ¶ 3-4.

4 He heads it 'The Poet still blameth ficklenes, and unstedfastnes as of those, whiche laborynge to sayle fro the yrcksom poole of avarice, do willyngly contende to make shipwracke by the infortunate waves of prodigalitye he speaketh againste fashions: they are thoughte to be noorses of pryde, and follye,' A7v-8.

religious debate between Commodus and Pertinax.[1] He presents Serm.I.vii as

> A Derision of Chiding and brawling. The stryfe is betwixte Rupilius kyng of Pryneste, and one Persius: a wonderfull undecente thing, for a noble man to be a scoulder,[2]

missing the pun which is the hinge of the satire, and pointing a moral of his own devising in a marginal note, 'A raylers tong insupportable, therefore not to be aunswered by wordes, but repressed by rigor of the maiestrate.' Drant's rough alliterative fourteeners, low colloquial idiom, and harsh dogmatic tone make no attempt to reproduce anything of Horace's style and manner.[3] He exemplifies the sixteenth-century attitude that the translator's function is to hand on a body of useful material.[4] As Amos writes:

> It was the content of a work that was most important, and comment like that of Drant makes us realize how persistent was the conception that such content was common property which might be adjusted to the needs of different readers.[5]

In contrast to this, the prime aim of the early seventeenth-century translators is to give a fairly close rendering of what Horace actually said, and after this, to a varying degree, to give some idea of his manner and style. Ashmore and Fanshawe are the loosest, but, even if they rephrase the expression of their originals, they still aim to give a true account of their content. Fanshawe is sometimes seen as belonging

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1 In an introductory section, he tells Horace that he has no duty to translate everything he writes: 'Not every tricke, nor every toye, that floweth from your braine,/Are incident into my pen, nor worthie of my paine', C 3v.

2 O 6v.

3 On Drant's translations of Horace, see further Edden, 140-2; Lewis, 256-7; Jiriczek; Lathrop 143-6.

4 Jacobsen, 137.

5 Amos, 113.

to the mid-century revolution in translation.[1] His translation of Il Pastor Fido was praised by Denham, one of the proponents of the new theory, as an example of proper freedom:

> That servile path thou nobly dost decline
> Of tracing word by word, and line by line.
> Those are the labour'd births of slavish brains,
> Not the effects of Poetry, but pains;
> Cheap vulgar arts, whose narrowness affords
> No flight for thoughts, but poorly sticks at words.
> A new and nobler way thou dost pursue
> To make Translations and Translators too.
> They but preserve the Ashes, thou the Flame,
> True to his sense, but truer to his fame.
> Foording his current, where thou find'st it low
> Let'st in thine own to make it rise and flow;
> Wisely restoring whatsoever grace
> It lost by change of Times, or Tongues, or Place ...[2]

Fanshawe's translations of Horace do contain a certain amount of random modernisations, showing that concern for 'change of Times ... or Place'. The Archiaci lecti of Epistles I.v become 'a joyn'd-Stool', and the interior nota Falerni of Carm. II.iii becomes 'Bowls of choicest Sherry'.[3] The Graeco-Roman world evoked in the last couplet of C.I.iv:

> nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet iuventus
> nunc omnis, et mox virgines tepebunt,[4]

is transformed to the more decorous Caroline atmosphere of

> Nor in soft Chloris gaze away thy sight,
> Her Sexes Envy, Our delight.[5]

Such modernisations are in part an attempt to clarify,[6] and in part a natural

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1 See Johnson, Lives, ed. Hill, I.373; Buxton, 118-9.

2 Banks, 143-4.

3 See also 'better Sack, then that/Which makes the Abbots fat', for mero ... pontificum potiore cenis in C.II.xiv.

4 LI. 19-20

5 Selected parts, 4.

6 For the glossing methods of Elizabethan translators, see Matthiessen, passim.

impulse to relate the old to the new. They do not set Fanshawe apart from his period: as we have seen, other translators modernise more systematically. Ashmore also introduces the occasional modernisation: he speaks of 'my doublet wringing wet, and cod-piec't breeches' in C.I.v, of 'prick-song' in C. III.ix, and of 'Aeolian Songs and Sonnets' in C.III.xxx, and he substitutes 'Sergeant' for lictor in C II.xvi. Although they were not published until 1652, Fanshawe had probably been making his translations since the early thirties,[1] and his methods and aims harmonise with his period: he aims not to vary Horace, but to convey his meaning and something of his spirit.

In the area of style, the translators on the whole use a fairly plain 'timeless' idiom: Ashmore[2] and Fanshawe give most colour to their renderings, and are not adverse to introducing 'modern' idioms and conceits. For example, Ashmore introduces a characteristic Elizabethan love-conceit

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1 Two Odes out of Horace, relating unto the Civill Warres of Rome (C.III. xxiv, and Epode xvi) with A Summary Discourse of the Civill Warres of Rome addressed to the Prince of Wales, had been published in 1648, together with the additional poems printed in the second edition of the translation of Il Pastor Fido. Earlier versions of some of the translations are to be found in B.M.Add.MSS. 15, 228, probably made between 1628 and 1637, and in Bodl.MS. Firth c.1, probably made between 1637 and 1643. (For descriptions of these manuscripts, see G.Bullough, 'The Early Poems of Sir Richard Fanshawe', Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie lxii (1955), 26, note. Fanshawe spent some care revising his translations. In MS. Firth c.1, the opening of C.I.iv runs

> Favonius having thaw'd sharp Winter's ice,
> Doth harbour'd shipps to Sea intice.
> The Clowne the fire; the Beasts their stalls forgoe,
> The Earth hath cast her coate of snow, (fol. 37)

which is altered in the 1652 edition to

> Sharp Winter's thaw'd with Spring and Western Gales,
> And Ships drawn up the Engine hales:
> The Clown the Fire, the Beasts their Stalls forgo:
> The Fields have cast their Coats of Snow, (p.4),

which is both more accurate and more elegant: the revised opening line conveys the movement of the original better.

2 Musgrove thinks that Ashmore's diction has a Spenserian flavour, I. 135-6.

into C.I.xiii:

> umor et in genas
> furtim labitur, arguens,
> quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus[1]

> And tears, by stealth from watry eyes that flowe,
> Can nothing quench loves fire that still doth growe.[2]

and so does Fanshawe:

> The warm sap
> Wheesing through either Eie,
> Showes with what lingring Flames I frie.[3]

In C.III.ix, which was assimilated to English love-conventions,[4] Ashmore again introduces the language of contemporary love poetry: in the third and freest of his three versions, he introduces a war metaphor:

> When I had scal'd, and did possesse
> The happy Fortress of thy love,
> And all assaylants comfortless
> Tir'd with long siege did thence remove ...
>
> while thou this lovely fort kept well[5] ...

C.IV.vii

Into translations of C.I.iv and there often creeps the stylised language of natural description popularised by Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' La Semaine, whereby natural objects are compared to art objects, and in particular landscape is seen in terms of clothes[6]: such ornamental and

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1 LI. 6-8.

2 Certain selected Odes, 4.

3 Selected parts, 7.

4 See below, 242f.

5 Certain selected Odes, 16-17.

6 Leishman (d), 273-77, gives as examples of Sylvestrian metaphors 'curl' (to curl 'locks' of trees), 'periwig' (used of trees and of snow on the ground), 'enamel', and 'candy'. We could add 'prank': O.E.D. gives two examples from Sylvester. Two good examples of poems which use Sylvestrian language are Robert Chamberlain's On the Spring and Daniel Judmore's On the Spring, Rare Poems of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Marshall, 20, 39.

fanciful metaphors are, of course, quite foreign to Horace. In Ashmore's version of C.IV.vii, we read 'the fields are clad with grasse/,And leaves trees prank', in 'Unknown Muse's' C.I.iv 'nor hoary Mantles now the fields attire' and in his C.IV.vii 'and Trees are pranckt with leaves', and in Fanshawe's C.I.iv 'the Fields have cast their Coats of Snow' and in his C.IV. vii 'now grass new cloaths the earth,/And Trees new hair thrust forth'.

Here again, we may find parallels to the translators' activities in other single translations and imitations. The natural process of assimilating Horace's language to seventeenth-century idiom and imagery can be seen carried out more sustainedly in, for example, the two poems we looked at earlier by Davison and Lovelace. Davison recasts C.III.9 in the language of the Elizabethan love sonnet. In the first stanza, he employs a common device of Elizabethan sonnet rhetoric, 'correlative' patterning,[1] in the line 'More sweet, white, soft, then roses, silver, downe': the 'neck-lace' image belongs to Renaissance love poetry rather than to Horace. Lovelace's poem uses, as well as imagery drawn from C.II.x,[2] complex imagery drawn from various sources, in the Metaphysical manner, some classical, as in the lines 'And in loose Thetis blankets torn and tost', and 'But this eternal strange Ixions wheel/Of giddy earth, ne'r whirling leaves to reel', some biblical as in the reference to 'Vipers and Moths, that on their feeder/feed', some from modern science and geography, 'as if discover'd were a New-found-land/Fit for Plantation here' and the lines on Galileo, and some cast in the language

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1 See Sidney, ed. Kingler, note on p. 406.

2 He retains the images from stanzas 3, 4 and 5, and develops the boat imagery of stanzas 1 and 6 in a rather complex way, see below, 105-6.

of paradox:

> To rear an edifice by Art so high
> That envy should not reach it with her eye,
> Nay with a thought come neer it, would'st thou know
> How such a Structure should be raised? build low.[1]

Other examples of modernising of Horace's language are Carew's The Spring and Herrick's Farwell Frost, or welcome the Spring, which employ Sylvestrian language in reworkings of the spring motifs of C.I.iv and C.IV.vii,[2] or Hall's A Sea Dialogue a variation on C.III.ix using elaborate sea imagery.[3] It is more common to find Horace's diction and imagery replaced by seventeenth-century idioms than such austerely classical lines as Milton's allusion to C.I.iv 'till Favonius reinspire/The frozen earth'.[4] This phenomenon is on the whole a healthy one for imitation, and provides a partial answer to Amos' charge that the translators didn't perceive the relation of style to

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1 Wilkinson, 176.

2 Discussed below, 76f, 86, 192-3. Other Sylvestrian anthropomorphising metaphors may be found in J.F.'s translation of C.IV.vii, 'the Fields weare new green liveries'; in Robert Creswell's translation of the same ode 'the grass returns/To Fields, the Perucks to the trees'; in Sherburne's translation of C.I.ix where Soracte has 'a white Perriwigg of Snow'; and in Sancroft's translation of the same ode, 'Seest, how periwigd with Snow/Soracte rears his hoary [Head]'. Robert Southwell embroiders the line in C.I.iv nec prata canis albicant pruinis thus:

> The feilds are greene, and have the permance lost
> They did i'th white-sheets of a frost,

Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. f. 6, fol. 35v.

3 Discussed below, 244-5.

See also, for modernised idiom, Davison's translation of Groto's sonnet based on C.III.ix, A Poetical Rhapsody, no. 194, I. 268, and Collop's translation of the same ode.

4 In his sonnet to Lawrence discussed below, 253, 267f. See further below, 85f.

content: their impulse was to assimilate Horace's poetry to their own idiom, rather than to produce pastiches.

What interested the translators in Horace's poetry? The titles of Hawkins's and Fanshawe's volumes

> Odes of Horace the best of Lyrick poets, contayning much morallity, and sweetnesse
>
> Selected parts of Horace, prince of Lyricks; and of all the Latin poets the fullest fraught with excellent morality

give the conventional characterisation of Horace's poetry as a combination of utile and dulce.[1] Drant refers to Lambinus' formulation in the dedicatory epistle of his second volume,

> If we wey both profytte and delectation Lambinus wrote truly, emongst latin poetes Horace hath not his felowe.[2]

The moral content of Horace's poetry was certainly of appeal; the translators stress the utile. In A medicinable morall, Drant calls Horace 'a muche zelous controller of sinne',[3] and in the later volume 'ripe, pythye, excellent for moral preceptes, full of pretye speaches, full of Iudgement',[4] and he writes, rather defensively, in To the Reader:

> Neither be the thinges in him lighte trifles, excepte lewde callynge of them so, can make them so; but ever emong he hath good, sounde, deepe, massye, and wel rellest stuffe.[5]

Drant liked Serm.II.iii especially:

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1 See above, 23f.

2 Horace his Arte of Poetris, ¶3v.

3 ¶2v- ¶3.

4 ¶3v.

5 ¶4v.

> The Poet sheweth a greate skill or workemanship in this Satyre, especiallie, in that he earnestlye studying to make others good, is himselfe partely contented to be controwled by the stoicke Damasip, as a sluggarde, and pretermitter of duetifull occasions. The stoicke proves sinne to be a certayne kynde of madnesse.[1]

Hawkins made his selection of odes on a moral basis.[2] In the introduction, he recommends them for their moral tone - 'Behold in them Moralitie touched, and Vertue heightned, with clearenesse of Spirit, and accuratenesse of Iudgement'[3] - and he defends himself from those who would have had him include Horace's 'wanton and looser straines'.[4] He excuses himself for including C.III.ix: 'this Ode, though lesse morall then the rest, I have admitted, for Iul. Scaliger's sake, who much admireth it.'[5] The selections of Ashmore and Fanshawe[6] also include a good proportion of poems on moral themes: we may note that all three choose C.II.x, C.II.xvi, C.II.xviii, C.III.xvi, and Epode II.

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1 A medicinable morall, F 5 v.

2 For Hawkins' selection, see appendix C.

3 Odes of Horace, A.1.

4 'The Translatour of these, had rather teach Vertue to the modest, then discover Vice, to the dissolute', A1 v. Rider divides the odes into those 'which have little or no matter ... as being composed ... to shew the excellency of the Roman phrase, and verse', those which are 'materially excellent', and those which are 'mixt of words and matter', All the Odes and Epodes, A5

5 38.

6 See appendix C. From the hexameter poems Fanshawe translates Ser.I.vi, II.i, vi, Epistles I.i, ii, v, x.

Fanshawe's appreciation of Horace as a moral poet is especially interesting. He discusses the nature of Horace's philosophy in a note to C.IV.vii. He takes the conventional view that C.I.xxxiv represents a recantation,[1] but he goes on to correct the popular idea of Epicurus' pleasure doctrine, translating from Epicurus' letter to Menoeceus from Diogenes Laertius.[2] I quote his note in full, partly for its interest as a true account of Epicurus' pleasure doctrine before the publication of Charleton's Epicurus's Morals in 1656:[3]

> This Ode hath a tang of that Heresie, which being sprinkled in other parts of Horace, He recants in the 34. Ode of the first Book of Songs, and wherein he is generally concluded to have followed the Sect of the Epicureans; though for Epicurus himself, he disavows the Doctrine in an Epistle by him written to Herodotus, in which he saith as followeth: Viz. When we affirm pleasure to be the chief Good, we intend not the pleasures of Luxurious men, nor those which are placed in the Taste, (as some either ignorantly mistaking, or maliciously wresting our words do suppose), But not to feel pain in the Body, and to enjoy Tranquillity of the Minde and freedom from perturbations, we affirm to be that good. For not eating and drinking, not enjoyment of women and boyes, not the use of fish and other delicates which a more exquisite Table affords, beget a sweet life - But a sober Reason; and that sifts into the causes and reasons of Things, why any thing is to be chosen or declined; and avoiding those controversial disputes, by which minds are (for the most part) wrapt further into Error, and engaged in Animosities. Thus he explains himself: and in this sence our Poet was an Epicurean, even after his reformation, and in the sounder part of his Book which is almost the whole, having had no clearer light to follow, then that of Nature and reason; and yet how far that was able to carry him the Reader of it may discern.[4]

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1 See above, 24.

2 Lives, X.131-2. Fanshawe wrongly refers to the letter to Herodotus.

3 Not spotted by Mayo. See below, for a connection with Evelyn's translation of Lucretius,

4 56-7.

This passage is obviously more considered than, for example, the conventional judgements of Grant about the utile in Horace: Fanshawe, evidently, seriously admired Horace's rational morality. In a note on Serm.I.vi, he praises the Roman poet for his rejection of high office, and for practising the moderation he preached:

> Horace being the Son of a Manu-mised Slave in the borders of Apoulia; was nevertheless (for the eminent qualities that were found in him) received into the familiar friendship of Maecenas, and (by his Mediation) of Augustus also: By whom he was moreover invited to the nearest Trusts about his person. But, as on the one side, he did not a little please himself in that value which he saw set upon him by persons as Good as they were Great; so on the other (in respect of his poor Birth, and Philosophicall inclinations) he declin'd the envy and trouble of those high Employments: putting really in practise that happy Moderation, which himself both professes and recommends in this, and other parts of his Book.[1]

As presented by his wife, in her memoirs of him, Fanshawe appears to have been an embodiment of the Horatian virtues: after recording his death, Lady Fanshawe quotes his translation of the final five stanzas of C.IV.ix, Horace's praise of Lollius as the truly happy man.[2] According to Lady Fanshawe, Sir Richard was 'ever much esteemed by his two masters, Charles the First and Charles the Second ... he being so free from passion',[3] and she narrates several stories which illustrate this Horatian 'Tranquillity of the minde and freedom from perturbations'. Once, when they were walking by the sea, two Dutch ships began to fire at them,

> at which I called to my husband to make haste back, and began to run. But he altered not his pace, saying, if we must be killed it were as good to be killed walking as running.[4]

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1 71.

2 These were favourite lines in the century, see appendix D.

3 H. Fanshawe, 4-5.

4 47.

Or again, when he had been imprisoned after the battle of Worcester, and had been granted an interview with his wife, she recounts how he was 'very cheerful in appearance', and said,

> 'Pray let us not lose time, for I know not how little I have to spare. This is the chance of war - Nothing venture, nothing have; and so let us sit down and be merry whilst we may! Then taking my hand in his, and kissing me, said, 'Cease weeping; no other thing upon earth can move me. Remember we are all at God's dispose'.[1]

During the Interregnum, according to Lady Fanshawe, Sir Richard lived a life of Horatian rural retirement, 'an innocent country life, minding only the country sports and the country affairs',[2] and when, in the Restoration, he became ambassador in Spain and was lodged in state, she writes

> I assure you, notwithstanding this temptation, that your father and myself both wished ourselves in a retired country life in England, as more agreeable to both our inclinations.[3]

The great interest of these passages from the Memoirs is that they show how completely Horatian ideals were assimilated into seventeenth-century culture, so that people naturally characterised themselves in Horatian terms. From the prison episode, we can see how easily Horace's blend of Stoicism and Epicureanism joined with Christianity,[4] and from the two latter passages, how the Horatian ideal of retirement was fully naturalised in actual life, as in poetry[5] - in An Ode upon occasion of His

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1 79.

2 83.

3 128.

4 See further below, 201f.

5 For a full discussion of retirement in seventeenth-century poetry and life, see Røstvig (b).

Majesties Proclamation in the yeare 1630. Commanding the Gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Country,[1] Fanshawe adapts the Horatian theme to a contemporary situation, recreating it in modern terms:

> Nor let the Gentry grudge to goe
> Into those places whence they grew,
> But thinke them blest they may doe so:
> Who would pursue
>
> The smoaky glory of the Towne,[2]
> That may goe till his native earth,
> And by the shining fire sit downe
> Of his owne hearth,
>
> Free from the griping Scriveners hands,
> And the more byting Mercers books;[3]
> Free from the bayt of oyled hands [4]
> And painted looks?

Fanshawe clearly related his reading of Horace to his own life: we may guess that the political poems he translated - C.I.ii and C.II.i, with their treatment of civil war, and C.IV.v, with its praise of peace, - seemed relevant to his own times[5]. Fanshawe had that sympathy for Horace which

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1 A good example of the reworking of Horatian themes in original poems.

2 beatae/fumum et opes strepitumque Romae, C.III.xxix. 11-12.

3 solutus omni faenore, Epode II. 4.

4 Bawcutt, 7.

5 At the beginning of the war, he addfessed two odes 'relating unto the Civill Warres of Rome' to the future Charles II, together with a treatise praising Augustus as a 'Mirrour of Princes'. Fanshawe also gave Il Pastor Fido a contemporary application: 'Because it seems to me ... a Lantskip of these Kingdoms, (your Royall Patrimony) as well in the former flourishing, as the present distraction thereof, I thought it not improper for your Princely notice at this time', Il pastor fido ... newly translated out of the original (1647), A4v.

Roscommon thought a translator needed for his original,[1] and this accounts for the success of some of his versions.[2]

As well as admiration for the utile in Horace, the translators do show a growing appreciation of his lyric qualities.[3] The titles of their volumes stress the word 'lyric': 'the best of Lyrick poets', 'the lyrick poet', the 'prince of lyricks'. Ashmore speaks of 'these Lyrick Poet's Songs',[4] Hawkins of Horace's 'Lyrick softnesse',[5] and Rider of

> Horace, who either learned from, or taught the Spheres a perfect musicall harmonie, and made the language of Rome truly Roman.[6]

Rider recognises the stylistic virtuosity of the Odes, 'being composed ... onely to shew the excellency of the Roman phrase, and verse'.[7] The selections of Ashmore and Fanshawe, chosen mainly from the Odes, include love poems and poems about poetry, as well as moral poems,[8] and Hawkins relents somewhat in the later editions of his volume. The popularity of C.I.iv, C.IV.vii and C.II.xiv for single translations[9] (though these odes could be seen as moral warnings of death) also shows an increased interest in lyricism and elegiac feeling.[10]

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1 An Essay on Translated Verse, Spingarn, II. 300

2 For example, C.II.xvi, quoted below, 62.

3 Edden.

4 π 2 v.

5 A 1.

6 A 3

7 A 5

8 See Appendix C.

9 See Appendix C.

10 See further below. 245-9.

In practice, though, we are not always aware that the translators are handling a lyric poet. This is largely the result of their choice of metre. Horace's stanzas are an important part of the intricate patterning of the Odes, but, with the exception of 'Unknown Muse', and Fanshawe, the translators make the pentameter or octosyllabic couplet their basic metre.[1] Hawkins provides a rather unsatisfactory justification:

> But many (no doubt) will say, Horace is by mee forsaken, his Lyrick softnesse, and emphaticall Muse maymed: That in all there is a generall defection from his genuine Harmony. Those I must tell, I have in this Translation, rather sought his Spirit, then Numbers; yet the Musique of Verse not neglected neither, since the English eare better heareth the pistick, and findeth that sweetnesse and ayre in these proportions, which the Latine affecteth, and (questionlesse) attaineth in Sapphick or Iambick measures.[2]

One may suspect that the determining factor of the choice was that the long lines made it easier to get in all the sense.[3] The effect is that loss of individuation noted by Dryden: Horace might as well be Martial,[4] and there is no difference between ode and epistle or satire.

'Unknown Muse' and Fanshawe both accept the challenge of Horace's metres. Following Ben Jonson[5], they experiment with varying line-lengths.

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1 They sometimes use couplets of 3 or 6 feet. Ashmore has a few poems in rather clumsy stanzas made up of lines of 5 and 4 feet, e.g. his C.II.xviii and C.I.v. His boldest stanza is for C.IV.vii, which uses 2 foot lines (525255), imitating Horace's short second line. In his version of C.I.xxiii, he hits on the metre of A Horatian Ode (4433). Rider, oddly enough, chooses to render the Epodes in stanzas. W.A.'s version is in couplets.

2 Alv.

3 Rather than a neo-classical dogmatism, as Musgrove thinks, I.253.

4 M.-M. xxv.

5 See below, 155.

'Unknown Muse's' attempts to match Horace's metres are interesting, but not wholly successful.[1] Here is his version of the Asclepiadic stanza of Q.I.xxiii:

> Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
> quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
> matrem non sine vano
> aurarum et siluae metu.[2]

> Chloe, thou shunn'st me like wanton Fawn[3]
> Of tim'rous Dam forsook in pathless lawn;
> Dreading with mind agast
> Ev'ry Bush, and ev'ry Blast.
> For as when Zephyrus trembling leaves doth shake,
> Or green-speckt Newts make Bramble-bushes quake,
> So tremulous is she,
> Dith'ring both in heart and knee.
> But I not to devour thee now pursue,
> As Affric Lyons, and wild Tygers do.
> O leave thy Mother pray,
> Now grown ripe for Venus play.[4]

Milton was dealing with the same Horatian stanza in his translation of the Pyrrha ode, for which he used a stanza made up of two iambic pentameters and two iambic trimeters. 'Unknown Muse's' solution is almost the same, (though he uses rhyme) except that in order to imitate Horace's longer fourth line, he puts in an extra syllable in his last line. The resulting change from iambic to trochaic metre is jerky and difficult to read. His Alcaics are perhaps more successful, with the trochees in the third line;

> When Fortune Frowns, keep a just ballanc'd mind,
> So when she Gleams, in measure be confin'd,
> Not with boundless joys elate.
> O Delius thou must yeeld to Fate.[5]

---

1 These are the versions usually attributed to Barten Holyday, but see Appendix B.

2 LI. 1-4.

3 Presumably this line should read either 'shunnest' or 'like a wanton Fawn'.

4 All Horace his lyrics, 25.

5 All Horace his lyrics, 44.

Fanshawe's method is simpler and really more successful. He tries to find a natural English stanza which will give some idea of the movement of the original.[1] To render the epodic metre of C.IV.vii, he uses a couplet consisting of a pentameter and a trimeter:

> The Snows are thaw'd, now grass newcloaths the earth,
> And Trees new hair thrust forth.
> The Season's chang'd, and Brooks late swoln with rain,
> Their proper bankes contain.[2]

Fanshawe represents Alcaics sometimes by four lines of octosyllabics, and sometimes by the stanza which is famous to us from a coronation ode.[3] It is a good stanza,[4] but it tends to divide up into two couplets,[5] unlike the complex original.[5] Fanshawe's Sapphic stanza seems to me his most successful, conveying the forward rush of Horace's stanza.[6]

---

1 For the hexameter poems, Fanshawe uses the couplet in the manner of Ben Jonson, with lightly end-stopped lines and strong internal caesuras.

2 56. Other single translations of this ode and C.I.iv experiment with long and short lines, for example, J.F.'s C.IV.vii, Robert Southwell's C.I.iv, Ashmole's C.IV.vii.

3 Fanshawe usedthis stanza in an original poem to be found in the B.M. MS, headed Splendidis longum valedico nugis, which contains an echo of C.I.xxvii, and aims at a Horatian lightness, (reprinted in Bawcutt). We may wonder if Marvell had seen this manuscript or MS. Firth; he could well have hit on the stanza independently, as Ashmore did.

4 It is used in the translation of C.II.iii, quoted below, 62.

5 See below, 301-2.

6 Fanshawe used this stanza in two poems in the B.M. manuscript 'My quench't and discontinu'd muse', and Upon the report of fowre Kings dead at once (reprinted in Bawcutt), as well as in An Ode upon occasion of His Majesties Proclamation. Jonson used it in the first poem of Eupheme. 'Unknown Muse' also used it to translate Sapphics.

Here is part of his rendering of C.II.xvi: note how he imitates Horace's repetition of otium at the beginning of a line, and how his phrase 'his Little's much' attempts to equal the full brevity of Horace's vivitur parvo bene:

> Quiet! the trembling Merchant cries,
> Into Egean Seas driv'n far;
> When the Moon winks, and he descries
> No guiding Star.
>
> Quiet! in War the Thracian bold;
> Quiet! the Medes with quivers dight;
> Not to be bought with Gems, nor Gold
> Nor Purple bright.
>
> For 'Tis not Wealth, nor armed Troops,
> Can Tumults of the Minde remove,
> And Cares, which about frosted Roofs
> Hover above.
>
> His Little's much, whose thrifty Board
> Shines with a salt that was his Sire's:
> Whose easie sleeps nor fears disturb [1]
> Nor base desires.

The advantage gained by using a stanza instead of heroic couplets may be seen by comparing Fanshawe's rendering of the end of the Dellius ode with Hawkins'. Note how Fanshawe's repetition of 'thou must' imitates the patterning of the Latin cedes ... cedes, and how his caesuras follow Horace's:

> Bid hither Wines and Oyntments bring,
> And the too short Sweets of the Spring,
> Whilst Wealth and Youth combine,
> And the Fates give thee time.
>
> Thou must forgoe thy purchas'd Seats,
> Ev'n that which Golden Tiber wets,
> Thou must; and a glad Heyre
> Shall revel with thy Store.
>
> If thou be Rich, born of the Race
> Of Antient Inachus, or Base
> Liest in the street; all's one;
> Impartial Death spares none.

---

[1] 23-4.

All go one way: shak'd is the Pot,
And first or last comes forth thy Lot,
  The Pass, by which thou'rt sent
  T'Eternall Banishment.[1]

Hawkins' more accurate translation is prosaic and didactic in comparison:

Bring hither Wine, and od'rous Unguents. Bring
The daintie Rose, a faire, but fading thing.
While Fortune, age, and wealth yeeld seasons fit:
And the three Sisters sable loomes permit:
Thou from thine house must part, and purchas'd woods,
And village lav'd, with yellow Tybers floods.
And thy high hoarded heaps of wealths excesse,
An Heire (perhaps) ungratefull shall possesse.
No matter tis, whither thou rich art borne,
Of Argive Kings; or low, expos'd to scorne,
Sprung from poore Parents, liv'st in open fields;
Thou art Death's sacrifice, (who never yeelds.
We all are thither brought, tis hee that turnes,
And windes our mortall life's uncertaine Urnes.
Sooner or later each man hath his lot,
And exil'd hence, embarques in Charon's Boat.[2]

Fanshawe is the most successful of the translators in conveying something of the spirit and manner of the Odes.[3] He does not make any attempt to match the richness of Horace's phraseology and wordorder,[4]

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1 17.

2 16-17.

3 Obviously, he is not a great poet, and runs into technical difficulties.

4 Compare his version of the Myrrha ode with Milton's discussed below, 83. It is interesting that though Fanshawe sometimes introduces imagery into Horace when it is not there, he misses out some of the rich cluster of images at the end of C.II.iii, - the sacrificial victim, the flock, and the boat, - getting only the urn, the lot, and the exile. (Hawkins, more accurate, gets more.) Fanshawe had made the imagery more logical in the Metaphysical manner, making the sorg from the urn a pass for death, a tightening which the grammar, though not really the sense, of the original permits.

nor does he show appreciation of Horace's 'noble and bold purity'.[1] But he does show some awareness of the rhetorical patterning of his originals and of some of their stylistic qualities - their brevity, for example. If he is too light,[2] he imitates the grace of the Odes, and something of Horace's informality.[3] Most important, he is alive to the changes of tone in the originals and their blends of serious and light,[4] responding both to humour[5] and to pathos, as in his translation of C.IV.vii:

> That thou must dye, the year and howers say
> Which draw the winged day.
> First Spring, then Summer that away doth chace,
> And must it self give place
> To Apple-bearing Autumne, and that past
> Dull Winter comes at last.
> But the decays of Time, Time doth repair:
> When we once plunged are
> Where good Aeneas, where rich Ancus wades,
> Ashes we are, and shades.[6]

Fanshawe's sympathy with Horace, and his appreciation of his lyric qualities will emerge as being typical of his period, the first half of the seventeenth century.

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1 Dryden's phrase, see below, 352. On 'colour' in Fanshawe's versions, see Mackail, 31-55 passim.

2 A common feature of translations of Horace. For example the last line of C.III.ix, with its subtle variation of order and rhythm, and its studied emphasis, - tēcūm vīvĕrĕ āmēm || tēcum ŏbĕām lŭbens - tends to sound trite - 'I'de choose to live and dy with thee' (Stanley), 'Yet would I wish to love, live, die wit thee' (Jonson), 'With Thee I'de (gladly) Live, I'de (willing) Dye' (Fanshawe).

3 See e.g. his versions of C.I.ix and C.II.xiii.

4 See Below, 90f.

5 See for example his translations of C.III.xvi, C.II.xxvii.

6 56-7. Fanshawe misses the impact of the word iners: only Milton could achieve such effects in English, see below, 83f. But his 'Ashes we are, and shades' is closer to pulvis et umbra sumus than Housman's beautiful, but sentimental, 'we are dust and dreams'.

CHAPTER III

The Inspiration of Horatian Lyric

I Some Differences

It would be surprising if the Odes of Horace, 'the most important single influence on European lyric verse',[1] had exercised no influence on the lyric poetry of the first half of the seventeenth century, a period in which poets were experimenting with the genre, and, building on the more limited range of procedures of the sixteenth-century lyric, were putting many new things into it - new experiences, new techniques, new styles. It was a period of great freedom, culminating, one feels, in that extraordinary poem The Garden. Many of the new possibilities did not owe anything to Horace. Some of them were taken over from other genres, for example elegy and drama. Some of them were Donne's discoveries, which were utilised by succeeding poets - the use of scholastic logic for lyric structures, new areas of imagery from the Schools and from the New Science, a new logical use of the conceit, increased psychological insight, new experiences in secular and divine love.

However, Horace was a respected classic, with a body of poetry of high technical accomplishment which was much more accessible than that of Pindar, the other acknowledged master of lyric poetry. Horace offered a difficult and complex kind of lyric poetry, far removed from song, to match the increased complexity of seventeenth-century lyric, and of great variety, both within a single ode[2] and in the whole body of Odes - variety of theme, of treatment, from simple to elaborate, long to short, of modes of address, public and private, of diction, prosaic and poetic, high and low, and of tone, from grave to gay.

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1 N.-H, xi.

2 See e.g. C.III.xxix, C.II.xiii.

One way in which Horace's lyric poetry was attractive and influential was in its range of subject matter, wider than that of previous English lyric poets, and including many themes besides love.[1] J.C. Scaliger noted this range in the Poetices Libri Septem:

> Lyricorum materiam plane demonstravit Horatius. Mihi ita videtur. Quaecunque in breve Poema cadere possunt, ea Lyricis numeris colligere ius esse. Laudes, amores, iurgia, insectationes, comessatoria, obiurgatoria, vota, ad indulgendum genio exhortationes. Contra, sobrietatis commendationes. Gestorum summarias explicationes, desideria, conquestiones, locorum, temporum explicationes, nova consilia, deliberationes, negotiorum susceptiones, susceptorum repudiationes, invitationes, repulsiones, dehortationes, detestationes, et alia siqua sunt. Amat autem poema hoc animi libertatem, nihilominus quam vel Satyrae, vel epigrammata.[2]

Drayton, one of the first English poets to write odes on a classical model,[3] noted that Horace's subject matter was 'mixed' between the high subjects of Pindar and the low subjects of Anacreon,[4] and he employs a variety of themes in his own odes, writing about love, poetry, scenery, drinking, friendship and national events. The frequency of ethical themes in Horace's Odes was of great importance to Jonson and others: and Horace provided models for drinking-poems and poems expressing friendship. Milton extends the range of the sonnet to deal with morals, politics, and friendship, as well as love, on the model of Horace's Odes.[5]

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1 Trimpi, 192. And on the range of the epistle, see pp. 68-73.

2 169.

3 Maddison, 290-6; Shafer, 83-92.

4 To the Reader, Hebel II. 345.

5 Finley.

Horace's lyric was an inspiration to seventeenth-century poets in the matter of technique, as well as of theme, but this is not immediately obvious, because they blended classical influence with their own lyric traditions, and seldom produced ' pastiches'. By pastiche, I mean the attempt to reproduce Horace as far as possible in a foreign language, rather than to recreate and assimilate him. We find few things in English as close to pastiche as Ronsard's 'O Fontaine Bellerie'[1] or 'Fay refraischir mon vin de sorte'[2] or 'Si l'oiseau qu'on voit amener'.[3]

One of the reasons for the lack of purity of imitation is a generic and metrical one. For Horace, the lyric (he calls his odes carmina) was clearly differentiated from epode,[4] epistle and satire by metre: the poetry in lyric metres and the hexameter poems could not be confused. In England, there is no such clarity; metre is not much help as a differentiating tool. Quantitative metres did not catch on in England.[5] Horace's Odes are sometimes translated and imitated in stanzas which attempt to give an idea of the Latin metres, for example by Jonson, Fanshawe and Marvell. They are sometimes imitated, as, for example, in Herrick's His age and An Ode to

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1 Odes II.ix.

2 Odes II.x. The first version of this was written for the return home of Maclou de la Haie, imitating C.II.vii.

3 Odes II.xi. I do not use the word 'pastiche' derogatively.

4 One or two of the Odes are written in a metre similar to the Epodes.

5 Campion's experiments with quantitative metre do not seem to be modelled on Horace: his Sapphics are trochaic, Observations in the Art of English Poesie, Vivian, 49-51.

Sir Clipseby Crew, in stanzas of a rather complex pattern, which, though not actually like Horace's stanzas, were felt to be Horatian because of their elaboration.[1] But they are often translated and imitated in octosyllabic or pentameter couplets, metres which were also used to translate and imitate the hexameter poems: Herrick's A Paranaeticall, or Advisive Verse puts themes from the Odes into octosyllabics. We may note too that Milton imitates Horace's Odes in the sonnet form,[2] Donne writes Horatian epistles in the sonnet form,[3] and Donne and Jonson write Horatian epistles in stanzas.[4]

The result is that the clear distinction between ode and epistle which exists for Horace is blurred in English poems, and the two genres interbreed. Horace's Epistles influence English lyrics in theme, and poets translate odes into epistles, for example Lovelace's Advice to my best Brother turns C.II.x into a epistle. The detail and discursiveness of the Epistles is more natural to English poets than the economy of the Odes. The discussion of the influence of Horace on seventeenth-century

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1 The word 'ode', often used randomly by seventeenth-century poets (e.g. by Lovelace, see Shafer, 120-1), was sometimes attached to poems written in such stanzas, an association which starts with The Poetical Rhapsody and is continued by Jonson and his followers, see Shafer, 79-82, 104, 114, 116, 118, 120. Some examples are Jonson's An Ode. To himselfe, Herrick's An Ode to Master Endymion Porter, upon his Brothers death, and An Ode to Sir Clipseby Crew, Randolph's An Ode to Mr Anthony Stafford, Hall's To his Tutor, Master Pawson. An Ode. Shafer thinks that Jonson's complex stanzas were based on Pindar, but all these poems are more closely tied to Horace. See further below, 155-8, 191, note 4, 265-7, 96-7.

2 Finley.

3 Palmer, 74-5.

4 E.g. To Sir Henry Goodyere, Milgate 78; An Epistle to a friend, Herford, VIII. 189.

lyric must take the epistle as well as the ode into account.[1]

In general, genres are much less distinct in English than in Roman poetry. Infusions of satire into imitations of Horace's Odes and Epistles are a common phenomenon: the process may be seen in Jonson's three odes to himself[2], Herrick's His Age,[3] or Vaughan's epistle To his retired friend.[4] Jonson introduces a strong element of satire into To Sir Robert Wroth, an imitation of Epode II, written in a couplet meant to recall the epodic metre.[5] To Penshurst is a combination of ode, epode and epistle. The

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1 It should be stressed too that the English word 'ode' is no help to us. Horace was often imitated in poems which were not called odes in the seventeenth century and are not odes in the modern sense of the word. A study of the influence of Horace on lyric is not the same as a study of the ode. Because the word has come to mean a long lyric poem of some complexity and grandeur, such as Milton's On the Morning of Christ's Nativity or Keats' odes, histories of the ode tend to concentrate on the influence of Pindar rather than of Horace (see Maddison, 288; Shuster 6, 12): as Shafer notes, 'Horatian odes do not become English odes when they are merely translated or imitated', p. 42, and see p. 34. Thus e.g. Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper, which seems to me to be one of the closest approximations to Horace's Odes in English, does not receive much attention from writers on the ode.

2 See below, 138, note 2.

3 See below, 182.

4 See below, 270.

5 It seems worth stressing that Jonson both here and in his translation of Epode II and others who imitate him, e.g. Herrick in A Country life and A Panegerick to Sir Lewis Pemberton or Randolph in his translation of Epode II, are imitating the iambic distich of Epode II, not elegiacs, as some scholars think, e.g. Maddison, 310; Röstvig (b) 60, 98; Miner 276. But see Maxwell, who points out that To Sir Robert Wroth was entitled Epode in a MS. The iambic distich is an iambic metre, consisting of an iambic trimeter followed by an iambic dimeter: elegiacs consist of a hexameter followed by a pentameter. The connotations of the metres are different. Our poets are not trying to write Love-Elegy , but moral poems in the manner of Epode II. Fanshawe and Creech use similar metres to translate epodes. Other poems in couplets of differing line-lengths which are meant to suggest epodic metres are Jonson's Epode (5353), G. Daniel's An Epode (5353), Habington's To The Right Honourable Archibald Earle of Ar (4545) and To my honoured friend Sir Ed.P.Knight (5454).

theme of the opening comes from C.II.xviii, but Jonson elaborates it with detailed vignettes in the manner of Epode II and Epistles I.xvi.1-16.[1] The metre is iambic pentameter couplets.

Another common intrusion into imitations of Horace is pastoral. In Antiquity, pastoral was a hexameter genre, but in the Renaissance, it became a prevalent colour, extending into drama and lyric. English poets frequently introduce pastoral colouring into translations and imitations of C.III.ix: indeed, they thought that this poem was a pastoral.[2] Not only does Carew in The Spring transform C.I.iv into a love complaint,[3] but he also adds pastoral elements. He turns the grator into a pair of shepherd lovers:

> and love no more is made
> By the fire side; but in the cooler shade
> Amyntas now doth with his Cloris sleepe
> Under a Sycamoure,[4]

a vignette which was suggested by Ronsard's sonnet 'Vous mesprisez nature: estes-vous si cruelle' combined with the reminiscence of Eclogue V. 70, ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra.[5] Epode II. is often

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1 And of Martial, Epigrams III. lviii, a common cross with Horace, see below, 161, note 2, 177.

2 See below, 243f.

3 See below, 77f.

4 Dunlap 3.

5 The turn in line 13, 'Now all things smile; onely my Love doth lowre', perhaps recalls the similar contrasts in Eclogue II. 12-13, 67, as well as imitating Ronsard, see below, 78.

crossed with pastoral in English imitations, by Cowley, for example, in Callidora's speech in Love's Riddle (where he is also recalling Georgics II.458f):

> How happy is that man, who in these woods
> With secure silence weares away his time!
> Who is acquainted better with himselfe
> Then others; who so great a stranger is
> To Citie follyes, that he knowes them not.
> He sits all day upon some mossie hill
> His rurall throne, arm'd with his crooke, his scepter,
> A flowry garland is his country crowne;
> The gentle lambes and sheepe his loyall subjects,
> Which every yeare pay him their fleecy tribute;
> Thus in an humble statelinesse and majestie
> He tunes his pipe, the woods best melody,
> And is at once, what many Monarches are not,
> Both King and Poet.[1]

George Daniel of Beswick's A Pastorall Ode combines details from C.II. xviii and Epode II, with Pastoral colouring, in a stanzaic form:

> Come leave the Cities Strife
> And chuse a Countrie Life.
> There place my Joyes; and let my wandring mind
> Be fixt, and there confined;
> There, with my loved Sheepe
> And my owne Silvia, I as prince can keepe,
> Crowned Monarch, in her Brest ...[2]

Two other factors which prevent purity of imitation and obscure Horace's influence are the large differences in structure and style between Horace's Odes and most seventeenth-century lyric, which should perhaps be looked at before the areas of influence. Cowley puts his finger on the difference of structure, in a note to his translation of Isaiah:

> The old fashion of writing, was like Disputing in Enthymemes, where half is left out to be supplyed by the Hearer: ours is like Syllogisms, where all that is meant is exprest.[3]

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1 Essays, 88-9. Cowley is also embroidering the beatus topic of Horace, see below, 227f.

2 Stroup, 17.

3 Poems, 214. See also Cunningham, Tradition and Poetic Structure (Denver, 1960), 'Classical and Medieval: Statius, On Sleep', 25-39.

As Cowley says, the typical seventeenth-century lyric is characterised by logic of structure and clarity: the theme of the poem is clearly stated, distinctions of thought are made clearly, the connections of thought are clearly expressed, and the conceits are logically worked out stages of the argument. There is a high degree of abstract argument. The reader may have difficulty in following the argument, because of its complexity, but he does not have to make connections for himself: everything is expressed for him.[1] In an ode by Horace, however, there is more compression, less clarity and less logic. A characteristic feature is the way in which related themes and ideas blend into one another, without clear distinctions being drawn: this is often done so deceptively that the reader does not notice that Horace has moved on to something different.[2] Another related and very characteristic feature is the one noticed by Cowley, the absence of connecting links in the argument. An ode by Horace avoids abstract discussion and proceeds by concrete imagery and exempla drawn from myth, history, contemporary life, or Horace's own life-style.[3]

A particularly good illustration of this feature is C.III.i, because we can see how Cowley handled it in his translation. The poem is an argument for the simple life: 'Looking back from the end of the poem, the reader sees that the thought in the poet's mind was, basically: 'What is

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1 See H. Gardner, The Metaphysical Poets (revised paperback ed. 1966), Introduction, 16-22, on the logical structure of Metaphysical lyric. Donne is sometimes an exception: in e.g. Aire and Angels, though we can perhaps follow the argument, some essential clue to the meaning seems to have been witheld. As with all generalisations, one can think of many exceptions.

2 See e.g. C.II.xvi and the discussion of it by Hubbard (a), 3, or C.II.x.

3 See e.g. C.II.x and C.II.xviii.

the point of personal ambition?"[1] But the theme is expressed by a series of concrete pictures, without argumentative links, so that the conceptual theme has to be inferred. At a casual reading, the reader might have difficulty in seeing what has led up to the final assertion, the poet's rejection of wealth, (though, again characteristically, this might not worry him.) This, it may be noted, is also expressed concretely: instead of saying 'I prefer contented poverty to the careful life of the rich', Horace says:

> quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
> nec purpurarum sidere clarior
> delenit usus nec Falerna
> vitis Achaemeniumque costum,
>
> cur invidendis postibus et novo
> sublime ritu moliar atrium?
> cur valle permutem Sabina
> divitias operosiores?[2]

When Cowley translates this poem, he puts the connections of thought in, and makes the whole poem much more abstract and general. Here are Horace's 2nd, 3rd and 4th stanzas:

> regum timendorum in proprios greges,
> reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis,
> clari Giganteo triumpho,
> cuncta supercilio moventis.
>
> est ut viro vir latius ordinet
> arbusta sulcis, hic generosior
> descendat in campum petitor,
> moribus hic meliorque fama
>
> contendat, illi turba clientium
> sit maior: aequa lege Necessitas
> sortitur insignis et imos,
> omne capax movet urna nomen.[3]

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1 Williams, (b), 32: his whole discussion is relevant.

2 Ll. 41-8

3 Ll. 5-16.

And here is Cowley's rendering:

> We look on Men, and wonder at such odds
> 'Twixt things that were the same by Birth;
> We look on Kings as Giants of the Earth,
> These Giants are but Pigmeys to the Gods.
> The humblest Bush and proudest Oak,
> Are but of equal proof against the Thunder-stroke.
> Beauty, and Strength, and Wit, and Wealth, and Power
> Have their short flourishing hour;
> And love to see themselves, and smile,
> And joy in their Preeminence a while;
> Even so in the same Land,
> Poor Weeds, rich Corn, gay Flowers together stand;
> Alas, Death Mowes down all with an impartial Hand.[1]

Cowley spells out the message of Horace's stanzas, explaining the point of Horace's assertion that kings are subject to Jove and making clear the theme of the impartiality of death from the start. He omits the vivid vignettes of the candidates going down to the campus, substituting abstractions and a logical Metaphysical conceit ('even so'). Similarly, instead of the vivid details of stanzas 9 and 10 - the fishes, the builder, black care climbing up behind the horseman - we find:

> If of your pleasures and desires no end be found,
> God to your Cares and Fears will set no bound.
> What would content you? Who can tell?
> Ye fear so much to lose what you have got,
> As if you lik'd it well.
> Ye strive for more, as if ye lik'd it not.
> Go, level Hills, and fill up Seas,
> Spare nought that may your wanton Fancy please
> But trust Me, when you 'have done all this,
> Much will be Missing still, and much will be Amiss.[2]

The Horatian ode is much less explicit than the typical seventeenth-century lyric, and the reader has to fill in gaps. Horace's poetry is allusive, and the reader may be asked to draw on his mythological and literary knowledge to appreciate what is being said fully.[3]

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[1] Essays, 435. Cowley's rendering is really an example of variatio rather than translation, see below, 346.

[2] Essays, 436.

[3] See Hubbard (a), 4, or lines 27-30 of C.II.xvi.

It would be easy to multiply examples of the way in which Horace's Odes work by implication in small details.[1] A very common feature of Horace's style is to give two nouns two adjectives which imply their opposites, which are also applicable. Thus the words pinus ingens and alba populus in C.II.iii.9 suggest also that the pine is dark and the poplar is slender.[2]

The characteristic differences of structure between an ode by Horace and a seventeenth-century poem could be illustrated by redeploying T.S. Eliot's famous comparison between C.I.iv and To his Coy Mistress.[3] The latter is a clear logical expression of a single theme, it is a persuasion to love, expressed in a syllogism. The opening line 'Had we but world enough and time' prepares us for the change 'But ever at my back I hear' and the concluding 'Now, therefore'. In contrast, the logic of Horace's poem is submerged and inexplicit. It is a carpe diem poem, in which Horace advises Sestius to enjoy the day. Behind the poem is a 'contrast between the recurrent natural cycle and the non-recurrent human cycle'[4], an idea which is more clearly expressed in C.IV.vii:

> damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae:
> nos ubi decidimus
> quo pius Aeneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,
> pulvis et umbra sumus.[5]

But the connections between the landscape and man's life, the warmth of spring and love (quo calet iuventus nunc omnis) and the cold of winter

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1 For one example, see Newman, 312, on the implications of the place names in C.III.v.55-6

2 Other examples are C.II.xi.6, levis and arida; C.III.iv.46, tristia; C.III.xiii.6-7, gelidos and rubro; C.IV.iv.11, reluctantis.

3 'Andrew Marvell', Selected Essays (3rd ed. 1951), 295. Eliot ignored the logical structure of To his Coy Mistress in order to emphasise the paradoxical surprise of the arrival of time's chariot, making Marvell's poem more like a Symbolist poem than it really is, see Cunningham, 41-9.

4 Rudd (b), 197.

5 Ll. 13-16.

and death, are only hinted at, and the advice to Sestius to pluck the day, which is based on the contrast, is indirectly given. The implication is that he should join in the seasonal joys and love and wine 'while yet is time', but this is not directly stated, but suggested in the nunc decet passage, the advice to cut down long hopes, and the description of the things he won't do in Hades:

> quo simul mearis,
> nec regna vini sortiere talis
> nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere.[1]

It is possible too that Horace is deliberately misleading us at the beginning of the poem with the spring description, and that the abrupt transition to the death theme is meant to take us by surprise..

These characteristic differences of structure are perhaps even more clearly shown by a comparison of C.I.iv with Carew's The Spring, since the latter is definitely imitating the former:

> Now that the winter's gone, the earth hath lost
> Her snow-white robes, and now no more the frost
> Candies the grasse, or castes an yoie creame
> Upon the silver Lake, or Chrystall streame:
> But the warme Sunne thawes the benumbed Earth,
> And makes it tender, gives a second birth
> To the dead Swallow; wakes in hollow tree
> The drowsie Cuckow, and the Humble-Bee.
> Now doe a quire of chirping Minstrels bring
> In tryumph the world, the youthfull Spring.
> The Vallies, hills, and woods, in rich array,
> Welcome the coming of the long'd for May.
> Now all things smile; onely my Love doth lowre:
> Nor hath the scalding Noon-day-Sunne the power,
> To melt that marble yce, which still doth hold
> Her heart congeald, and makes her pittie cold.
> The Oxe which lately did for shelter flie
> Into the stall, doth now securely lie
> In open fields; and love no more is made
> By the fire side; but in the cooler shade
> Amyntas now doth with his Cloris sleepe
> Under a Sycamore, and all things keepe
> Time with the season, only shee doth carry
> June in her eyes, in her heart January.[2]

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1 C.I.iv. 17-19.

2 Dunlap, 3.

This elegant description of Spring is clearly derived from the opening four lines of C.I.iv:

> Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni
> trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,
> ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus, aut arator igni
> nec prata canis albicant pruinis.[1]

But Carew has transmuted the structure of C.I.iv into a seventeenth-century one. He has done this partly by altering and simplifying the seasonal theme of Horace's poem. He turns C.I.iv into a love complaint, which is really an argument for consummation directed at his mistress: he abandons the idea of the antithesis between man's life and the seasons, and utilises instead a variation of a standard theme of the European love lyric, the contrast between spring and the loved one - winter has changed to spring, but his mistress remains wintry. The more common theme from which this derives is the contrast between the sad lover and the spring world of love, a theme which goes back to Provençal reverdies, the most famous Renaissance example being Petrarch's sonnet Zefiro torna e 'l bel tempo rimena.[2] Carew's variant of this theme, by which it is the mistress who is contrasted with the spring occurs in two sonnets by Ronsard, 'Tes freres les Jumeaux'[3] and 'Vous mesprisez nature'[4], the second of which Carew clearly had in mind. From it, he takes the phrase toute chose rire,[5] the vignette

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1 See esp. the neque iam motif of lines 2-4, 17-20, and the 'Oxe' of l.17.

2 On this topic, see Leishman(c), 185-94.

3 Cohen, 270.

4 Ibid. 133.

5 Ronsard in turn imitates this from Petrarch's sonnet Zefiro torna, l.5, 'ridono i prati e 'l ciel si rasserena', and Petrarch from Eclogue VII.55, omnia nunc rident.

of the pastoral lovers, which he combines with Horace's _grator_ and _pecus_, and the turn of the end, 'all things ... only shee':

> Tout parle de l'amour, tout s'en veut enflamer.
> Seulement vostre coeur froid d'une glace extreme
> Demeure opiniastre et ne veut point aimer.[1]

He introduces three new turns of wit into the traditional pattern - 'onely my _Love_ doth lowre; '_Iune_ in her eyes', and the idea that the sun cannot melt the ice of her heart although it melts everything else (this was suggested by Horace's _solvitur_).

By adapting Horace to Ronsard, Carew has made the seasonal theme more clear. Part of the obliqueness of approach of C.I.iv was to make a picture of the change of winter to spring (rather than _vice versa_) the focus of an argument that as we are going to die we should enjoy ourselves now. Carew's spring scene has a more obvious bearing on his theme, which he makes more explicit than Horace by making the details of the landscape tie up with his mistress' demeanour. He begins by describing how everything is melting and becoming tender at the approach of Spring, and then makes the classic contrast with his mistress, linking up her behaviour with the landscape through his metaphor - she alone does not melt (lines 13-16). Next, he continues with the spring description, introducing the idea of love-making, and then explicitly draws the lesson from seasonal change - his mistress is the only creature who disobeys the season's orders (lines 22-4). The last line, with its elegant chiasmus and graceful wit, introducing the new seasonal distinction - the spring of her beauty and the winter of her heart - which is Carew's own contribution to the tradition, is an apt conclusion to a very neat poem. We may note that the clear articulation of the theme is also aided by the poem's symmetry. The first contrast

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[1] Cohen, 133.

drawn between the season and the mistress is in the centre of the poem - line 13 - and the second is at the end - line 24 - and the antitheses are brought out by the strong caesural pause, identical in each case:

> Now all things smile; onely my Love doth lowre
> Iune in her eyes, in her heart Ianuary.[1]

Q.I.iv is not so symmetrically patterned. There are twelve lines of spring description, the last four of which are a veiled carpe diem, and eight lines on death, which contain three and a half lines of implied carpe diem.

There are one or two exceptional seventeenth-century poems, which imitate Horatian structural features; Jonson's An Ode. To himselfe imitates the concrete expression and absence of connecting links of the Odes.[2] Herrick's His age imitates Horace's loose connections and mingling of similar ideas, moving from thoughts on death and carpe diem to a picture of the simple life-style of the friends.[3] Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper employs submerged logic, like Q.I.iv and Q.I.ix.[4] Milton should certainly be mentioned here, though his similarities to Horace are often the result of general classical influence. He did learn from Horace, though: in his translation of the Pyrrha ode, we find him trying to reproduce the compression of structure[5]

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1 See Marts, 105.

2 See below, 155f.

3 See below, 180f.

4 See below, 275.

5 Compare Cowley's version of the Pyrrha ode. Milton keeps the abrupt transition in the last stanza, me tabula sacer ... 'Me in my vowed ...', whereas Cowley gives an explanatory transition, 'But there's no danger now for Me', Poems, 38.

as well as the rich patterning of syntax and stanza. Lycidas is a very good example of inexplicit structure, with absence of connecting links. The reader has to work to follow the apparent leaps of thought and to realise that the poem is a perfectly logical progression of thought. This is partly done by his knowledge of the conventions of pastoral. The poem is almost cryptic in its economy, and its lack of obviousness reminds us of Horace.[1] The sonnets are more directly based on Horace, imitating phrase and topic.[2] Quiller-Couch suggested that Milton tried to alter the sonnet in the direction of the greater fluidity of Horace's Odes, by choosing the Petrarchan rather than the Shakespearean form, and by avoiding the strong break between octave and sestet, so that there are no obvious breaks and rhymes.[3] Milton imitates the Horatian lack of explicitness of structure. Finley notes that in the sonnet, When the assault was intended to the City, Milton ends with two exempla, like Horace in C.IV.vii, without restating the point they are making,[4] and that he imitates Horace's rapid transitions from

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1 Even more of Pindar. Lycidas seems to me to be one of the closest parallels to the Pindaric epinician in English literature. Both are occasional, both require a knowledge of the convention in which they work (both being dead conventions today), both have an appearance of leaps of thought and digressions, which results from the economy with which they refer to the conventions of the genre, both share a certain manneredness of movement, drawing attention to the artifice of the structure, in the f feigned fears and frankmesses of Pindar, and in the feigned stops and starts of Milton, e.g. 'That strain I heard was of a higher mood;/But now my oat proceeds', 'Return Alpheus, the dread voice is past,/That shrunk thy streams; return Sicilian muse', Carey and Fowler, 246, 249.

2 Finley.

3 66-7.

4 37.

topic to topic, for example in the abrupt switch to the topic of mirth in season in the sestet of the sonnet to Skinner, 'To measure life, learn thou betimes ...'[1] Milton imitates the fullness of allusion in the Odes. The brief allusions to the Sermon on the Mount and C.I.iv in the sonnet to Lawrence, for example, are full of significance.[2] Milton was, of course, a master of the compressed allusion to myth, which the reader has to fill out, the most famous example being the Proserpine simile in Paradise Lost, where the reader must realise for himself the similarities to Eve and the Fall and Christ.[3] Again, proper names in Milton may do as much work as the example from C.III.v cited by Newman. The connotations aroused by the references to St. Michael's Mount, Namancos and Bayona in Lycidas, just before the reaffirmation of faith at the end of the poem, are one example.

Now that the differences have been established, it is worth pointing to the measure of similarity in the structures of Horatian and seventeenth-century lyric. Though there is more logic in the latter, in both there is some degree of control and contrivance. Neither To his Coy Mistress nor C.I.iv is an imagist poem, a string of random images expressing a mood: though the ordering of the latter is less obvious, there is a high degree of contrivance in the surprise entry of death.[4] Tactics of witty surprise are

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1 See below, 268.

2 See below, 253.

3 Jonson occasionally uses myth in this resonant way, see below, 156f.

4 Pace Cunningham, 48-9,

to be found in both Horatian and seventeenth-century lyric. The poet of The Funerall and the poet of C.III.xxvi have something in common: both poems contain a sting in their tail, a sudden reversal on the part of the speaker. Both Donne and Horace enjoy doing something unexpected, turning a convention on its head;[1] the same is true of Marvell.[2] The artificial and elegantly contrived structure of C.III.ix was greatly admired by seventeenth-century poets;[3] there is an element of wit in the sevneteenth-century sense, in Horace's lyric structures.[4]

In the area of style, again, there are obvious dissimilarities between Horace and seventeenth-century lyric, and Horace's influence is small. His particular achievement was not much use to English poets:

> The terseness of which Latin was capable had to be discovered; what Sallust did for prose, Horace did for verse, long after the other outstanding quality of the language, its sonority, had been recognised and exploited by writers.
>
> Through being inflected Latin dispenses with many prepositions; and it has no articles; and by its free use of apposition it gets rid of other such jostling little words; so that it can give the impression of being built up of clean-cut blocks of stone. This quality was appreciated by Horace more than any other writer.[5]

English does not lend itself easily to such handling: Horace's translators found difficulty with the Horatian economies and the Horatian weight of language, and original poems which imitate Horace are also often too light in language and rhythm - Randolph's charming poem, An Ode to Mr. Anthony Stafford to hasten him into the Country is a good example. Again,

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1 See Gardner, 174, on The Flea. And see below, 189-90, for Horace's handling of the non semper theme, in C.II.ix. See also Hubbard(b),

2 See below, 294.

3 See below, 243f,

4 Wilkinson, 133.

5 Wilkinson, 145, 156.

Milton is a major exception here; he achieves in English a weight and plasticity of language similar to Horace's Latin. In his translation of the Pyrrha ode, we can see him trying to achieve in English some of the characteristic effects of Horace's style, those startling collocations of adjectives which give such density to the language without metaphor - simplex munditiis, credulus aurea, 'plain in thy neatness', 'credulous, all gold' - and the whole wrought artificiality of the style. Admittedly, Milton is not wholly successful, as one almost needs the Latin original to understand the English, and the idiom of the last stanza is over-strained: he fails, too, to achieve what Horace paradoxically achieves along with the difficulty, a sense of ease and lyric grace. But the translation shows appreciation of Horace's style, and prefigures later features of Milton's own style. If is not fanciful, I think, to attribute to Milton's reading of the Odes his startling collocations of language in Paradise Lost, which achieve a Horatian density of meaning through emphasis on each word: 'this windy sea of land',[1] 'where the fiend/Saw undelighted all delight',[2] and the famous involution of the Proserpine simile. Like Horace, Milton loves oxymoron - 'stupidly good', 'kindly rupture', 'darkness visible', 'dreaded infant', 'courtly stable'.[3] By the time he was writing Paradise Lost, Milton had evolved a style which has a richness of effect without either a late-Shakespearian density of metaphor, or his own earlier Spenserian and early-Shakespearian ornamental charm. In these ways, it resembles

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1 III.440, Carey and Fowler, 586.

2 IV.285-6, ibid.630. Compare such collocations in Horace as places inlacrimabilem, C.II.xiv.6, and fragilem truci, C.I.iii.10.

3 P.L.IX.465; VII.419; I.63; On the Morning of Christ's Nativity, 222, 243

Horace, whose language has neither complex metaphor nor prettiness, but achieves density of meaning through juxtaposition of words, through thoughtfulness of usage, and through puns on the literal and metaphorical meanings of words - all methods which Milton also uses.[1] Milton, of course, formed his style on other classical authors besides Horace, Virgil for example, but Finley argues that a crucial stage in Milton's evolution of a more classical style is to be found in the sonnets, where Milton certainly had an eye on Horace, imitating phrases and forms of expression. Finley thinks that the classical purity and rationality of the style of the sonnets[2] and their clear handling of the phrase owes much to Horace.[3] Milton certainly has a Horatian sense of the phrase: sometimes, he achieves the weight and finality of Horace's language without any odd inversions of word order, simply through this sense and a perfect handling of rhythm:

> Were it not better done as others use,
> To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
> Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair?[4]

Though they do not attempt the brilliant artifice of Milton, Horace's control of language also appealed to Jonson and Marvell[5].

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1 On such effects in Horace, see Collinge, chapter 1; West. On such effects in Milton, see C.Ricks, Milton's Grand Style (1963), passim.

2 Compare Milton's spare reminiscence of C.I.IV,'till Favonius reinspire/ The frozen earth' in the sonnet to Lawrence with the Sylvestrianisms or the translators, above, 49-50, 51.

3 67.

4 Carey and Fowler, 244-5 (my italics). Leishman (c), 194 notes that Shakespeare sometimes attains such monumental phrases in the Sonnets, without departure from normal word-order, for example 'Nor did I wonder at the lily's white,/Nor praise the deep vermilion in the rose'.

5 See below, 158, 302-3.

Horace's handling of metaphor was not much imitated by seventeenth-century poets. Metaphors in the Odes are quite frequent, but often brief, sometimes expressed by one or two words only, for example victima in C.II. iii, 24, which gives a metaphoric colour to the succeeding cogimur (line 25). Horace's metaphors are often traditional, and generally clear and unambiguous: he uses metaphor to give vivid and pointed expression to an idea. For example, the boat image at the end of C.III.xxix gives piquant expression to the contrast between the rich man and the poor man which runs through the poem, or the metaphors of C.II.x give concrete expression to the concept of the Mean. Horace's metaphors are not purely ornamental, and never pretty. Characteristic is a concrete use of metaphor as at the end of C.I.xxv.16-20, or C.IV.xiii:

> possent ut iuvenes visere fervidi
> multo non sine risu
> dilapsam in cineres facem.[1]

There are one or two examples of extended metaphor in the Odes, which are closer to the English conceit, for example the comparison of woman and sea in C.I.v, or of love and war in C.III.xxvi. Both are traditional, and less complex than the Metaphysical conceit, but there is an element of wit in them which is similar.

Jonson writes in a Horatian tradition of metaphor, and he sometimes imitates Horace's concrete metaphors.[2] In general, though, seventeenth-century poets write in other traditions of metaphor, with which they

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1 Ll. 26-8. See Hubbard (b), 72, 159, for Horace's Callimachean use of concrete metaphors.

2 See below, 158f, 155-6.

sometimes embellish Horatian imitation, for example, that Sylvestrian type of metaphor which often creeps into translations of Horace,[1] and which can be seen also in Carew's The Spring, where he stylises Horace's description of the white landscape with the decorative artifice of his language: 'snow white robes', 'candies', 'ycie creame', 'silver Lake or Chrystall streame'. There was always the conceit, remote from Horace, whether handled in the intellectual, argumentative manner of Donne, or with the playful, grotesque wit of Randolph, who embellishes the Horatian theme of the pleasures of self-rule and modified desire with a long conceit, in which his body and soul are compared to the household of a rich man:

> Yet I as well as they, with more content
> Have in my selfe a Houshold government.
> My intellectuall soule hath there possest
> The Stewards place, to governe all the rest.
> When I goe forth my Eyes two Ushers are,
> And dutifully walke before me bare.
> My Leggs run Footmen by me. Goe or stand
> My ready Armes waite close on either hand ...[2]

and so on for another thirty lines or so.

Nevertheless, there is some resemblance between the styles of Horatian and seventeenth-century lyric. Both are controlled, precise and tough, not vaguely evocative in the manner of some later poetry. Though seventeenth-century lyric poetry is more abstract and intellectual than Horace's Odes, Horace's style has an intellectual, witty element. Though he doesn't have the conceit, he employs paradox, word-play, piquant contrasts, the famous

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[1] See above, 49-50, 51.

[2] Thorn-Drury, 24.

oxymora.[1] Thus, it is not surprising that a witty poet like Marvell should have turned to Horace: though there is a gap between their styles, it is not unbridgeable, as might be supposed.[2]

Sometimes, Horace's language in the Odes has an epigrammatic wit which is akin to that of seventeenth-century poets. The pithy epigrams of C.II.x were to seventeenth-century taste, as were the antitheses of C.III.xvi and C.II.ii, which were frequently imitated.[3] Compare for example

> contracto melius parva cupidine
> vectigalia porrigam,
>
> quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei
> campis continuem. multa petentibus
> desunt multa: bene est cui deus obtulit
> parca quod satis est manu,[4]

with Lovelace's

> Thus richer then untempted Kings are we,
> That asking nothing, nothing need:
> Though Lord of all what Seas imbrace; yet he
> That wants himselfe, is poore indeed.[5]

Such phrases as strenua nos exercet inertia[6] are witty in a seventeenth-century way: note the way Cowley punningly explores the phrase secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae in Of Obscurity.[7]

The style of the lyric poetry of the earlier part of the seventeenth century and the style of Horace's Odes is similar in another respect, too,

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1 See West.

2 See below, 302-5.

3 See below, 225f, 227f.

4 C.III.xvi. 39-44.

5 Wilkinson, 40.

6 Epistles I.xi.28.

7 Essays, 397, See below, 323-4.

which makes imitations of Horace in this period closer in spirit to him than those of the Restoration.[1] Horace's Odes contain a large number of prose words,[2] and his effects of splendour or of lyric feeling are attained in conjunction with these. At the end of the Regulus ode, for example, we find a passage deliberately prosaic to point paradoxically the heroic behaviour of Regulus:

> quamsi clientum longa negotia
> diiudicata lite relinqueret
> tendens Venafranos in agros
> aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.[3]

Or, in C.II.xvi, the humble word salinum is paradoxically combined with splendet to make vivid the idea of a rich poverty.[4] Horace's style is not neo-classically pure, but is complex in its mixture of prose and lyricism. It does not aim at producing the neo-classic ideal of 'what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed', but at refreshing responses to language. This is the view of J.K. Newman, who speaks of 'the bizarre effect which the Odes must sometimes have produced, the curious mixture of the prosy and the refined, of the delicate and the coarse (what, for example, does one make of Quis devium scortum eliciet domo/Lyden ... in C.II.xi.21-2?)'[5] Newman compares

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1 On the Restoration, see further below, 352-3, 365f.

2 N.-H.xxii; Williams(b), 18-19.

3 C.III.v.53-6.

4 I owe these two examples to a lecture given by Dr. Oliver Lyne, See also Rudd (b), 198, on the commercial metaphors in C.IV.vii.

5 314.

these kinds of effects with the poetry of Yeats and Eliot.[1] But we may also think of the lyric language of the earlier part of the seventeenth century, which combines familiar and splendid. Leishman notes this point in a comparison between Prior's To Miss Margaret Pulteney in the Nursery and The Picture of little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers:

> While Prior's poem is a unique achievement within the limits of that kind of familiar style practised by some of the best poets of his time, Marvell, like other seventeenth-century poets, like Horace in some of his Odes, and perhaps unlike any post-seventeenth-century poet before Yeats, has been able to combine a kind of familiarity with a kind of splendour.[2]

As well as of The Picture of little T.C., with its mixture of heroic and tender, we may think of An Horatian Ode, especially perhaps of the lines on Charles' I's death, which combine the grand with the homely, an effect comparable to the quiet end of the Regulus ode:

> Nor call'd the Gods with vulgar spight
> To vindicate his helpless Right,
> But bow'd his comely Head,
> Down as upon a Bed.[3]

Or, we may think of Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper, with its combination of the colloquial and artificial - note the rich use of the Horatian device of oxymoron:

> Poore verdant foole! and now green Ice![4]

Or we may recall those characteristic effects of Herrick, where a long word is isolated in a simple context, raising his poetry above the level of simple song to more complex art, and comparable to similar effects in Horace (e.g. operosiores in C.III.i.48):

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1 437-54, esp. 441.

2 Leishman (d), 188.

3 Margoliouth, I. 93.

4 Wilkinson, 39.

When as in silks my Julia goes,
Then, then (me thinks) how sweetly flowes
That liquefaction of her clothes.

Next, when I cast mine eyes and see
That brave Vibration each way free;
O how that glittering taketh me![1]

II. Some Similarities

In structure and style, then, there are large differences between Horace's Odes and seventeenth-century lyric, although there are some experimental uses of Horatian features. But Horatian lyric did serve as an important model in some areas, apart from thematic content.

First, there is Horace's complex handling of tone. In his poetry, he blends serious and light: irony and laughter are veiled behind serious statements, light-hearted themes are blended with serious reflections.[2] In his work, there is no neo-classic separation of tears and laughter, grand and light, and this is also often true of the lyric of the early seventeenth century. The poet who reflects Horace's complex tone best of all is Marvell.[3] But other poets, too, respond to it. Early seventeenth-century imitations of Horace's symposiac poems catch very well their blend of joviality and seriousness.[4] Horace's serious treatment of apparently light themes, for example his dignifying by highly-wrought language of Pyrrha in C.I.v,[5] must also have appealed - one thinks of Herrick, for example Upon Julia's Clothes,

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[1] Martin, 261, my italics. See also To Dianeme 154; Upon Julia's Fall, 12. The effect is noted by J.Press, Herrick (1961), 16-17.

[2] Wilkinson, 62-3; Leishman(b), 23-33, 90-3; Williams (b), 17.

[3] See below, 291f.

[4] See below, 264f.

[5] See also Wilkinson, 148-9, on C,III.xxviii.

quoted above, or Marvell, for example The Mower to the Glo-Worms. The idea that anything, however small, is worthy of serious attention seems a very modern preoccupation: Horace does not advance any such theory - his characteristic claims that he cannot rise to the grand style indeed suggest a traditional partitioning of grand and light subjects. Still, there is irony in this pose,[1] and in fact Pyrrha is given as elaborate art as Regulus, though less space.

Another way in which Horace inspired seventeenth-century writers was as a model for 'personal' lyric. To risk a generalisation, sixteenth-century lyric had been impersonal: the sonnet contained a cast of two type-figures, the poet-lover and his mistress, and an anonymous rhetoric, and the song tradition was impersonal. The moral poetry of the miscellanies too was anonymous and general: though many of the poems treat such Horatian themes as content and the mean, they do so in an un-Horatian manner.[2] Of course, there are exceptions. Wyatt, Sidney andDrayton impose an individual flavour on the sonnet tradition. Wyatt's imitations of two satires by Horace and one by Alamanni have a more intimate manner of address to their recipients, personal friends of the author: indeed, Wyatt makes the imitation of Alamanni's satire X more intimate and colloquial than the original, and his version contains a charming passage of personal description, very reminiscent of Horace:

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1 See further below, 116-7.

2 See further below, 234f.

> This maketh me at home to hunt and to hawk,
> And in foul weather at my book to sit,
> In frost and snow then with my bow to stalk:
> No man doth mark whereso I ride or go,
> In lusty lease at liberty I walk,
> And of these news I feel nor weal nor woe ...[1]

But the typical sixteenth-century lyric moves from the personal and individual into the general : personal emotion is generalised as all men's experience, as for example in Tichborne's Elegy, or even in Shakespeare's Sonnets, where the figures, the poet-lover, the friend and the mistress, become 'ideal' unparticularised types.

Starting with Donne and Jonson, seventeenth-century poets explore ways of making lyric personal. Horace was not the only model. The way in which Donne in his love poetry presents dramatically the experience of the inner self, with new insight into the workings of the psyche, did not come from Horace, but from Roman Elegy. Ovid in the Tristia, for example IV.x, used autobiographical elements, and Seneca's influential Epistulae Morales contain much about the importance of revealing the inner man, and often give personal illustrations of moral generalities.[2] Martial was another important influence.[3] Donne was not much influenced by Horace, (although he does imitate his personal manner in his verse-letters) Jonson much more so. In general, Horace was very important in this area, and evidence is provided by many imitations.

'Personal' is a word which covers various different phenomena, and there are various ways in which seventeenth-century lyric may be said to be more personal than sixteenth-century lyric. It is partly a question of style and technique. Thus, Jonson develops, perhaps with an eye on Horace's Hexameter poems, a style with a very flexible rhythm which reflects thinking

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1 Daalder, 103. The details have been adapted from Alamanni to suit Wyatt's personal habits.

2 E.g. CVIII, CXXIII. See Trimpi, 10-11, 67-8.

and feeling;[1] contrast the monotonous end-stopped fourteeners of sixteenth-century moral poetry. As the language developed in confidence, poets moulded for themselves more lucid and personal idioms and individual styles: we may contrast at the other extreme, the anonymous alliterative idiom of the miscellanies. Horace, of course, was a master of a highly-developed individual style. The development of personal style is linked to the way in which we feel in the seventeenth century that the body of poems all belong to a single author: we sense an individual sensibility behind all the works.[2] This is true of Donne, Jonson and Herrick, as also of Horace; Horace helped Jonson and Herrick to project their voices in their work.[3] The poetry of Horace and Jonson is unified as well by sets of tastes and attitudes that recur - the pleasures of the simple life, or the necessity of integrity, for example - which we come to recognise as characteristic of their authors.

An important way in which Horace's work is personal both in ode and epistle is by including autobiographical details about himself, his age, his personal appearance, the tree that nearly killed him, his friendship with Maecenas, his Sabine farm and his simple habits.[4] Further, he makes his life-style an example of his characteristic moral preferences: the Sabine farm becomes a symbol of a particular way of life. Here, he is undoubtedly a model for English poets. Herrick gives details of his life

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1 See below, 161, note 5.

2 See Leishman (a), 19-20.

3 See below, Chapters IV and V passim.

4 See e.g. C.IV.i.6; Epistles I.xx. 19-28; C.III.xiv. 25-8; C.II.xiii, 1-12; C.III.viii.1-12; C.II.xvii; C.IV.xi. 13-20; Epistles I.xvi. 1-16; C.II. xviii. 1-14.

in Devon.[1] Cowley's Essays, which are modelled on Horace's Epistles, base their message on personal experience and taste; we are constantly referred back to Cowley's experience,[2] and the general is insinuated from the personal. This is quite different from the characteristic procedure of sixteenth-century writing noted above. The poetry of a more minor author, George Daniel of Beswick, is garrulous about personal matters: and he tells us in Ode xxvii of Scattered Fancies (1645) that his poetry is a true portrait of himself, 'the Effigies of my Mind':

> Here looke upon me, as I am in Truth;
> Let everie Leafe present
> Some severall part[3]

He gives us a sketch of his personality in An Addresse: by the Author; he describes his personal appearance in Ode xxvi; he gives a disquisition on his overweight in Ode liii; he tells us about his bad health caused by too many late nights composing in Ode xxi. Horace was certainly his model. Daniel sees his country retirement in Horatian terms, with Christian additions,[4] and he makes it a basis for moral judgements, in the manner of Horace. In A Pastorall Ode, he paints a picture of his life with Horatian details: his house and diet are modest - he rejects 'Atticke hangings', and 'Corinthian Plate' (a recollection of C.II.xviii. 1-5), and 'th'Ionian Partridge', (the attagen Ionicus of Epode II). In The Author, he describes himself as the constant man of C.III.iii. 1-8, and in Freedome, we see him going hunting, in the tradition of Epode II:

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1 See below, 177f.

2 See below, 329-330.

3 Stroup, 119-20

4 See below, 210f.

> Sometime Ile take my Stone-bow, or my Gun
> With my true Servant, readie still to run,
> And fetch the Quarrie, from the Brooke or Bush,
> The Mallard, Teale, the Sparrow, or the Thrush;
> With these innocuous pleasures I can rest
> In my selfe quiet.[1]

He dwells repeatedly on his withdrawal from the life of ambition and faction, and his cultivation of self-knowledge and self-control, as in for example, Ode lvii:

> Let me be free, though in a meane Estate;
> And live, to use my owne,
> Unenvied in my Fortune; rather waite
> Then meet a Joy too soone;
> Direct, and true in all
> My purposes; Safe in the brazen tower
> Of my owne brest; let Fortune laugh or loure,
> I cannot fall;
> Jealous of my owne Passions; free to Truth
> And Swayed by nothing or to sleight, or Sooth,[2]

which recalls C.III.iii. in line 5 (iustum et tenacem propositi virum), C.III.xvi.i. in line 6 (turris aenea), and C.III.xxix.53-6, or Serm.II. vii.88, in the lines on fortune. Daniel is not a good poet: he is totally lacking in his master's felicity of expression and he suffers from an equal lack of his master's sense of humour: he takes himself very seriously, which frequently results in bathos, as in the absurd poem on his over-weight. His poems tend to be didactic and dull.[3] But he is interesting in that he was so radically influenced by Horace - he even had himself painted in a toga in a country landscape -[4] and that this leads him to a very personal kind of poetry, so that, despite imperfect control of language, his work does have an individual flavour, and is very different from sixteenth-century lyric.

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[1] Stroup, 44.

[2] Stroup, 164, my italics. And see An Epode, and Odes xxii, xli, lvi, and lix.

[3] See, for example, Ode v on content, which is like (and unlike) C.II. xvi.

[4] Reproduced in Stroup's edition opposite page 18.

Other poets, more sporadically, present their life-styles in Horatian terms in their poetry. In On the Inestimable Content He Inioyes in the Muses, to those of his Friends that dehort him from Poetry, Randolph models his life in Horatian terms. He rejects wealth, and welcomes liberty, Stoic self-control and Epicurean moderation of appetite, echoing the Horatian antitheses of C.III.xvi and Epistles I.x:

> For what poore things had these possessions showne,
> When all were mine, but I were not mine owne!
> Others in pompous wealth their thoughts may please,
> And I as rich in wishing none of these.
> For say; which happinesse would you beg first,
> Still to have drink, or never to have thirst?
> No servants on my beck attendant stand,
> Yet are my passions all at my command;
> Reason within me shall sole ruler be,
> And every sense shall weare her livery.
> Lord of my selfe in cheife; when they that have
> More wealth, make that their Lord, which is my slave.[1]

In a long passage packed with Horatian detail, Randolph contrasts his life-style with that of a rich man, recalling the merchant theme,[2] Grosphus' sheep of C.II. xvi,[3] the tenant theme,[4] the threatened eminence of C.II.x, the heir theme[5] and the theme of real as opposed to artificial of Epistles I.x.20-5. An Ode to Mr. Anthony Stafford to hasten him into the Country is also a modernisation of Horatian life-style, in which Randolph rejects London and the Inns of Court for the innocent pleasures of the country, including the hunting theme of Epode II:

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[1] Thorn - Drury, 23

[2] See below, 228.

[3] See below, 230.

[4] See below, 229.

[5] See below, 229.

Ours is the skie,
Where at what fowle we please our Hauke shall flye;
Nor will we spare
To hunt the crafty foxe, or timorous hare,
But let our hounds runne loose
In any ground they'l choose,
The bucke shall fall,
The stagge and all.[1]

Mildmay Fane also sees his life-style in retirement in Horatian terms, with, like George Daniel, Christian additions.[2] My Happy Life, to a Friend contains the conventional Horatian pictures of the pleasures of the hunt and the virtuous wife from Epode II, and the humble house from C.II.xviii:

To my poor Cell; which 'cause 'tis mine,
I judge it doth all else out-shine,
Hung with content and weather-proof,
Though neither Pavement nor roof
Borrow from Marble-quarr below,
Or from those Hills where Cedars grow.[3]

To Retiredness, also, contains a description of his virtuous and innocent pleasures, in the epodic tradition, and in De Tristibus. To a Cat bore me company in Confinement, he sees himself as the unshakeable man of C.III.iii.1-8.

Finally, Alexander Brome gives a Horatian picture of his life-style and contented and innocent poverty in To his Friend Mr.I.B. being at London in the Authors retirement. He rejects the apparatus of rich houses, in the manner of C.II.xviii, and the threatened eminence of C.II.x.9-12, in favour of content:

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1 Thorn-Drury, 81, my italics. 'Timorous hare' is Horace's pavidum leporem.

2 See below, 208, note 2.

3 Otia Sacra, 139. 'Weather-proof' recalls His age, where Herrick also is imitating C.II.xviii: 'And have our Roofe,/Although not arcnt, yet weather proofe', Martin, 133.

Though I've no bags, that are with child with gold,
And though my fireless chymnies catch the cold.
For want of great revenues, yet I find
I've what's as good as all, a sated mind.
I neither mony, want, nor have I store,
I have enough to live, and ask no more.
No tiptoed turret, whose aspiring brow,
Looks down and scornes the humble roofes below;
My cottage lyes beneath the thunders harmes,
Laughs at the whispers of the winds, or stormes.
My rooms are not inlined with Tapistry;
But ragged walls where a few books may ly.[1]

Brome is Horace, rather than Maecenas:

My famili's not such, whose gentry springs,[2]
Like old Mecaenasses, from Grandsire Kings.

He embroiders the beatus topic:[3]

I study to live plenteously, though scant;
How not to have, yet not to care, nor want.[4]

Other Horatian details are the simple diet,[5] ('I have no farr-fetch'd dear-bought delicates'), the chaste wife from Epode II.39, the avoidance of war and law like the countryman of Epode II. 5-8, and the freedom Brome enjoys like Horace in Serm.I.vi.104-129:

I can sit in my study soon, or late,
And have no Troopers quarrel with my gate;
Nor break the peace with it; whose innocence
Stands only guarded in its own defence.
No debts to sue for, and no coyn to lend,
No cause to fear my foe, nor slight my friend.[6]

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1 Songs and other Poems, P 2.

2 Ibid. P 2. Brome recalls C.I.i.1, Maecenas atavis edite regibus.

3 See below, 227f.

4 Ibid. P2 v.

5 See below, 231-2.

6 Ibid. P2v.

The final way in which Horace's poetry is personal is through the element of address: the poet engages with another personality. Horace is the great master of this kind of writing, both in the Odes and in the more relaxed Epistles, often laughing at his addressees or himself. Gordon Williams has shown how Horace establishes some kind of link with his addressee, even if only by very delicate touches:

> In the case of Odes II. iii, to Dellius, the link between him and the poet comes in the address scriture Delli, in the community of viewpoint and in the intimacy which is suggested by the use of that startling form of address.[2]

Many poems rest on this sense of mutual understanding and shared attitudes.[3] Horace also often brings in matters related in some way to his addressee: for example, in C.II.xvii, he brings in Maecenas' interests, demonology and astrology.

Horace is undoubtedly a model here for seventeenth-century poets. His relationship with Maecenas was famous in the seventeenth century,[5] and his poem protesting his love for Maecenas, C.II.xvii, formed the model for William Hammond's protestation to the poet Thomas Stanley, in To the Same, being sick of a Fever:

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1. See eg C.I.xxix to Iccius, Epistles I.iv to Tibullus and the many poems to Maecenas.

2 Williams (a), 83. See his whole discussion, 83-8, and Hubbard (a), 17-21, for many other examples.

3 E.g. C.II.ix.

4 See further Fraenkel, 218-9; Nisbet (b); Hubbard (a).

5 See above, 31.

Am not I in thy fever sacrifis'd?
That you alone by Fate should be surpris'd,
You, my sole sunshine, my soul's wealth and pride,
Is both by me and by the Gods denied:
If hasty death take thee, my soul, away,
Can I, a loath'd imperfect carcass, stay?
No, no; our twisted lives must be cut both
Together; this I dare confirm by oath,
Whene'er thou leap'st into the fatal boat,
I'll leap in, glad with thee in death to float:
Nor shall that dubious monster, breathing fire,
Nor Gyges' hundred hands, did he respire,
Pluck me from this resolve, approved so
By Fate and Justices wither Scorpio
Fierce in my Horoscope, or Capricorn
Oppressing Latium with his wat'ry horn,
Or Libra brooded my nativity,
'Tis sure our mutual stars strangely agree.[1]

Similarly, Carew greets Walter Montague on his return from the Continent with an imitation of Horace's welcome home to Numida, in C.I.xxxvi:

Leade the black Bull to slaughter, with the Bore
And Lambe, then purple with their mingled gore
The Oceans curled brow, that so we may
The Sea-Gods for their carefull waftage pay:
Send gratefull Incense up in pious smoake
To those mild spirits, that cast a curbing yoake
Upon the stubborne winds, that calmely blew
To the wisht shore, our long'd for Mountague.[2]

Horace's expression of his love for Virgil animae dimidium meae[3] is recalled by Herrick in a poem to his brother, 'my soules halfe',[4] and by William Bosworth in To his dear Friend Mr. John Emely upon his Travels, 'the second of my heart'.[5] Seventeenth-century poets often wrote movingly of

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1 Saintsbury, II. 501.

2 Dunlap, 77

3 C.I.iii.8.

4 Martin, 34.

5 Saintsbury, II. 609. See N.H, 43 for variations of this phrase in Shakespeare and Milton.

friendship: one thinks of Cowley's On the Death of Mr. William Harvey, where the strong emotion owes something to C.II.xvii. Cowley's cry 'My dearest Friend, would I had dy'd for thee!' perhaps recalls Horace's protestations in that ode, and the phrase, 'a strong and mighty Influence joyn'd our Birth'[1] is an echo of

> utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
> consentit astrum.[2]

The seventeenth century was the great age of occasional verse: poets cultivated epistle, elegy, epitaph, panegyric, thank you poems - one thinks of Cowley's elegies for Hervey and Crashaw, Jonson's epitaphs for his son and daughter and for Salomon Pavy, Herrick's poems for Clipsby Crew and Jonson. They cultivated the intimate forms of address: thus Henry King's special achievement, according to Joseph Summers, was to develop 'a verse and tone proper ... for the most intimate personal and familial uses.'[3] Horace was certainly a model for address, both in his Epistles and Odes. Seventeenth-century poets developed the epistle, using Horace's manner and his matter, or adopting their own matter to his manner: they often capture the right relaxed intimacy of address, from Drayton's To my most dearely-loved friend Henery Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie to Cotton's various poems to Walton and others.[4] They also developed the element of personal address in lyric. Drayton, one of the first writers of odes based on classical models, recognised that address was a feature of the ode. His prefatory ode To the worthy knight ... Sir Henry Goodere

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1 Poems, 33.

2 C.II.xvii. 21-2.

3 86.

4 On the epistle, see further below, 236f.

captures the feeling of intimacy of Horace's Odes, the sense of shared experience, 'at Powlsworth by the fire', ending with a neat compliment:

> If you but please to take in gree
> These Odes, sufficient 'tis to mee;
> Your liking can commend them.[1]

Jonson in his odes and Milton in his sonnets,[2] both certainly with an eye on Horace, develop the element of personal address. The blend of formal style and informal address in the Odes is more difficult to hit off than the chatty relaxed ease of the Epistles, but Jonson and Milton sometimes achieve a comparable effect. A particularly good example is Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper, where the blend of informal address, elaborate imagery and lyric intensity of language and feeling is close to an ode by Horace, and the feeling of friendship holds the poem together.[3] Poets also utilised the Horatian idea of alluding to the personal interests of their addressees. Thus, Jonson and Donne both refer to Sir Henry Goodyer's love of hawking, Jonson in a beautiful poem of compliment and Donne in one of advice.[4] Or, Jonson uses the Earl of Newcastle's interest in fencing to make a graceful poem of compliment,[5] and alludes to Vincent Corbet's gardening activities in his elegy of him, for panegyric purposes:

> A life that knew nor noise, nor strife:
> But was by sweetning so his will,
> All order, and Disposure, still.
> His Mind as pure, and neatly kept,
> As were his Nourceries; and swept

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1 Hebel, II. 344. Compare C.I.i. 25-6.

2 Finley, 48-50.

3 See further below, 272f.

4 Epigram lxxxv, To Sir Henry Goodyere, Herford, VIII.55; To Sir Henry Goodyere, ll.33-6, Milgate, 79.

5 An Epigram. To William Earle of Newcastle, Herford, VIII.232. Newcastle wrote a treatise on fencing, The Truth of the Sorde, see Herford, XI.91.

So of uncleannesse, or offence,
That never came ill odour thence:
And adde his ctions unto these,
They were as specious as his Trees.[1]

In much seventeenth-century poetry, as in Horace, we receive a sense of intimacy and of the community of values and experiences behind the poet and his addressee. Poets often praise the same patron and the same new publication. Community of value and mutual understanding are especially important for the effect of many of Marvell's poems.[2] There were many small poetic circles - the poets who formed the tribe of Ben, the circle at Great Tew, Fairfax and Marvell at Appleton House, and the Beresford Hall circle, the elder Cotton, Lovelace, Brome, the younger Cotton and Walton,[3] - which are celebrated by poems from one member to another: one thinks of Herrick's poems for Ben Jonson, for example, An Ode for him:

Ah Ben!
Say how, or when
Shall we thy Guests
Meet at those Lyrick Feasts,
Made at the Sun,
The Dog, the triple Tunne?
Where we such clusters had,
As made us nobly wild, not mad;
And yet each Verse of thine
Out-did the meate, out-did the frolick wine.[4]

These circles look back to Horace's circle, the poets patronised by Maecenas, described by Horace in Serm.I.x. 81-90.

A good example of how seventeenth-century poets used Horace as a model for personal writing and intimate address is Lovelace's Advice to my best Brother, Coll: Francis Lovelace, which is an imitation of C.II. x. We are able to compare with it three translations of the same ode in

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1 Herford, VIII.151-2, and see note, XI.54. See also Trimpi, 181, on the Epitaph on Salomon Pavy, Herford, VIII.77, and On Lucy Countesse of Bedford, VIII.52, which also use imagery appropriate to the subject.

2 See below, 299-30.

3 See Miner (b), 5-6; McEuen, chapter 1; Leishman (d), 20-2.

4 Martin, 289.

Tottel's Miscellany, which illustrate nicely the more impersonal approach of sixteenth-century poetry.

C.II.x is an interesting case for personal meanings in Horace's Odes, as, because of a complex historical problem, we do not know how much weight to give to the element of address in it - how much the series of apophthegms are relevant to the particular historical circumstances of the Licinius to whom the poem is addressed. An attractive possibility is that the poem was addressed to Licinius Murena, Maecenas' brother-in-law, between his dismissal from the consulship and his death.[1] If this is the case, the poem takes on an extra personal dimension: the related themes of the ode, the mean, the dangers of high fortune, the need for equanimity in good and bad fortune, are not just impersonal maxims but are all linked to the situation of Murena rebus angustis.[2] Horace is offering compliment and consolation, and holding up an ideal pattern of behaviour for difficult circumstances, which he implies Murena will understand and fulfil.

It is interesting that Lovelace seems to have sensed something like this: at any rate, he had made the element of address central to his poem, in which person speaks to person, Richard Lovelace speaks to his brother Frank. The element of address is not merely nominal, it is urgent - 'Frank to undo thyself why art at cost?' - and the poem speaks from a situation. We cannot attach it to any precise circumstances, but it is very much a Civil War poem,[3] showing a deep pessimism about the world and offering a strategy for endurance. The focus of the poem is the 'strictest things', (rebus angustis). The poem is not a direct translation of Horace's

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1 See N.-H. xxxvi-vii.

2 West, 51-2.

3 Miner (b), 120-22.

ode, but a kind of meditation, using each of Horace's stanzas as a starting point for further thoughts. The first 28 lines are a reworking of Horace's first stanza,[1] with its advice to steer a middle course, avoiding the deep sea and the shore:[2]

> Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
> semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
> cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
> litus iniquum.[3]
> Frank, wil't live handsomely? trust not too far
> Thy self to waving Seas, for what thy star
> Calculated by sure event must be
> Look in the Glassy-epithite and see.[4]
> Yet settle here your rest, and take your state,
> And in cala Halcyon's nest ev'n build your Fate;
> Prethee lye down securely, Frank, and keep
> With as much no noyse the inconstant Deep
> As its Inhabitants; may stedfast stand,
> As if discover'd were a New-found-land
> Fit for Plantation here; dream, dream still,
> Lull'd in Dione's cradle, dream, until
> Horrour awake your sense, and you now find
> Your self a bubled pastime for the Wind,
> And in loose Thetis blankets torn and tost;
> Frank to undo thy self why art at cost?
> Nor be too confident, fix'd on the shore,
> For ever that too borrows from the store
> Of her rich Neighbour, since now wisest know,
> (And this to Galileo's judgement ow)
> The palsie Earth it self is every jot
> As frail, inconstant, waveing as that blot
> We lay upon the Deep; That sometimes lies
> Chang'd, you would think, with's bottoms properties,
> But this eternal strange Ixions wheel
> Of giddy earth, ne'r whirling leaves to reel
> Till all things are inverted, till they are [5]
> Turn'd to that Antick confus'd state they were.

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1 It seems worth emphasising this point, as commentators seem to think that the imitation of C.II.x does not begin until line 29, (see Wilkinson's note, 318, and Miner (b), 121.) If we do not see the relation of the first 28 lines to stanza 1 of Horace's poem, we may miss, as Miner does, the irony of lines 5–15.

2 Both in Horace and Lovelace, the advice is metaphorical: there is no reference to any plans of Francis Lovelace to sail to the New World.

3 C.II.x. 1–4.

4 I do not understand this line. Wilkinson suggests an allusion to C.IV.ii, vitreo daturus nomina ponto, see his note, p. 318.

5 Wilkinson, 174–5.

Here, lines 1-16 are an expansion of Horace's advice not to sail too far into the deep into an attack on the sea(it is important to realise that the advice 'yet settle here your rest' is ironic: if Frank deludes himself that this is possible, he will be rudely awakened), and lines 17-28 are an expansion of Horace's advice not to go too near the shore into an attack on the land. In these long expansions of Horace's imagery, Lovelace puts across a strong sense of life's insecurity: no course of life is safe.[1] We note that he expands the imagery in a curiously literal way: Frank is to mistrust the shore because Galileo has proved that it is 'inconstant' (there is a genuine anxiety in this reference to the New Science). Horace's brief stanza has been turned into a vision of the dangers of existence. There is great violence in the language of the passage (e.g. lines 13-15), and it ends with a picture of chaos and doom. Against this hostile environment Lovelace offers the mean and Stoic resistance in a fine translation of Horace:

> A breast of proof defies all Shocks of Fate.'[2]

This is an emotional poem (different in tone from Horace's urbane address), with a psychological basis: the themes of the poem are linked in a personal situation.

This is in clear contrast with the three translations of C.II.x in Tottel. Of the three, only Surrey's retains the element of address, (it is addressed to Thomas, perhaps his eldest son): the other two drop the personal addressee, and there is no Horatian intimacy. This is not Horace speaking to Licinius, or Richard Lovelace to Frank, but the poet speaking

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1 He has altered the tenor of Horace's allegoria from 'steer a middle course', to 'do not be too confident in any course of life'.

2 Wilkinson, 176.

to mankind in general. No 194, in particular, with its alliteration and anonymous idiom, and its lengthy expansions of Horace's phrases, seems more closely related to the medieval moralising tradition and to sermon, than to an ode by Horace. Horace's vivid metaphors are spelt out to the reader: the proverbs of stanza three are carefully explained - 'such chance have proude and lofty mindes' - and the boat allegoria of stanza one is similarly opened out:

> Who craftly castes to stere his boate
> and safely skoures the flattering flood;
> He outteth not the greatest waves
> for why that way were nothing good.
> Ne fleteth on the crooked shore
> lest harme him happe awayting lest.
> But wines a way betwene them both,
> as who would say the meane is best.[1]

Horace's ode is valued as an exposition of the mean (the translation is entitled The meane estate is to be accompted the best), which is given a bit of poetic colouring - Horace's brief evocation of informes hiemes is expanded into a lively piece of alliterative description. It is a didactic and unemotional piece: the contrast with Lovelace's handling of C.II.x is satisfyingly clear.

The recognition that Horace influenced seventeenth-century lyric in the direction of the personal is important, because it overthrows the common claim that the impulse to imitate the classics is an impulse to depersonalise and conform. Patrick Crutwell, for example, argues that classical influence works to suppress emotion, to convert private to public, to formalise personal

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1 Rollins, I. 150.

idiom.[1] On the contrary, Horace helped English poets to discover their individuality, to project their voices, to talk about themselves. Jonson is an intensely personal poet, not the stereotyped classicist Crutwell sees,[2] and Horace was here his main model.[3] Horace showed English poets how to relate moral themes to their own experience, thus giving emotional interest;[4] and in general his influence works in the direction of greater conviction, vigour, and vividness.

Finally, we may look at several poses which Horace adopts about his poetry, in the Odes, which English poets imitate. An obvious one is the ability of the poet to confer immortality on himself, as in C.II.xx and C.III.xxx, or on his subject, as in C.IV.viii and C.IV.ix. The theme of poetic fame had become general poetic currency in the Renaissance, after Petrarch and Ronsard, as we can see from Shakespeare's Sonnets.[5] But some of the seventeenth-century poets look back directly to the Horatian originals when they are making their proud claims. There are many reminiscences of C.IV.viii and ix in Jonson.[6] Herrick has several variations on the poetic

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1 The Shakespearian Moment (2nd ed. N.Y. 1960), Chapter 8 'The Classical Line', 208-222. See also Lewis, 19-27.

2 208.

3 See below, 122f.

4 See below, 234f.

5 See Leishman (c), 25-91.

6 See below, 149f, and also On Sir John Roe, Epigram xxvii, Herford, VIII, 35; To William Lord Mountegle, VIII.46; Ode, 'Yff Men, and tymes were nowe', stanza 1, VIII. 419; 'When late (grave Palmer)', concluding motto, VIII.362. In view of Jonson's fondness for the 'not rich gifts, but songs' motif of C.IV.viii, Shackerley Marmion's tribute in Jonsonus Virbius is especially apt, Herford, XI.463.

monument theme of C.III.xxx. Ovid had imitated Horace here in Metamorphoses XV. 871-9,[1] but Herrick's The pillar of Fame and His Poetrie his Pillar seem to be recalling Horace's sharp image of a poetic gravestone to match bronze plaques and pyramids rather than Ovid's vaguer picture of his opus.[2] To live merrily, and to trust to Good Verses combines Horace's pyramid with Ovid's elegy for Tibullus, Amores III ix. In Upon himself and On himselfe,[3] Herrick repeats Horace's claim of C.III.xxx, non omnis moriar, and in Pride allowable in Poets, he follows Horace in asking for the Delphic wreath due to his deserts. His own poetic immortality[4] and his ability to confer immortality on others[5] are constant preoccupations with Herrick.

Other poets recall these odes. Cowley, in one of his early derivative pieces, Ode i of his series in Sylva, uses C.III.xxx and Ovid's Tibullus elegy, and he adapts C.IV.viii in an early poem to his godfather, in which he promises to repay his debt to him by the gift of immortality;

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1 Shakespeare seems to recall Ovid rather than Horace in sonnets 55 and 107. J.W. Lever, The Elizabethan Love Sonnet (2nd ed. 1966), 269, notes that Regius's commentary on Ovid quoted C.III.xxx in a gloss to the conclusion of the Metamorphoses.

2 See T. Woodman, 'Exegi Monumentum', Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry, ed. T.Woodman and D.West (1974), 116 and 127-8.

3 Martin, 143 and 200.

4 See To his Booke, Martin, 155; On himselfe, 210; Poetry perpetuates the Poet, 265; On his Booke, 313; Mr. Robert Hericke his farwell unto Poetrie, 410.

5 See To his peculiar friend Sir Edward Fish, Martin, 152; To his Honoured Kinsman, Sir Richard Stone, 185; To his peculiar friend Master Thomas Shapcott, Lawyer, 168; To his worthy Kinsman, Mr. Stephen Soame, 199; To his worthy friend, M. Arthur Bartly, 231; To his Honour'd friend, Sir Thomas Heale, 280; To the most accomplisht Gentleman Master Michael Oulsworth, 329.

> How shall I pay this debt to you? My Fate
> Denyes me Indian Pearle or Persian Plate.
> Which though it did not, to requite you thus,
> Were to send Apples to Alcinous,
> And sell the cunning'st way: No, when I can
> In every Leafe, in every Verse write Man,
> When my Quill relisheth a Schoole no more,
> When my pen-feather'd Muse hath learnt to soare,
> And gotten wings as well as feet; looke then
> For equall thankes from my unwearied Pen:
> Till future ages say; 'twas you did give
> A name to me, and I made yours to live.[1]

As part of his Horatian persona, George Daniel of Beswick echoes C.III.xxx in An Epode, promising immortality to good men 'beyond all the Date/Of Brass, or marble State'.[2] And Waller recalls both C.IV.viii and C.IV.ix in To the Servant of a fair Lady.[3]

Another Horatian pose is that of vates or inspired poet-priest, revealing secrets to men, as in C.III.i:

> Odi profanum volgus et arceo.
> favete linguis: carmina non prius
> audita Musarum sacerdos
> virginibus puerisque canto.[4]

Jonson sees himself in this role: he calls himself priest of the Muses in To Katherine, Lady Aubigny, and Apollo's priest in An Ode to James Earle of Desmond. In such poems as An Epistle to a Friend, to perswade him to the Warres and A speach according to Horace, he fulfils a vatic

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1 Essays, 53.

2 Stroup, 27.

3 Finley argues, 37, that Milton's claims to bestow immortality in the sonnets, e.g. When the assault was intended to the City 11.5-8, derive from Horace.

4 Lines 1-4. On vates in Horace, see Newman, 128-165.

Horatian role, lamenting national degeneracy and exhorting to virtue.[1] In C.III.xix, Horace paints a more light-hearted picture of himself as vates. As a lover of the muses and as attonitus, inspired, he is allowed to drink stronger wine than the other guests: he wants to give inspiration its rein, insanire iuvat.[2] Horace uses these ideas of wine and inspiration and madness more seriously elsewhere: he speaks of amabilis insania in C.III.iv, and in C.II.xix and C.III.xxv he paints a picture of himself in the grips of a Bacchic ecstasy. Jonson characterises Horace's lyric in terms of drunkenness in Poetaster,[3] and English poets make use of these ideas to portray themselves. Notably, Herrick often portrays himself lightheartedly as inspired by wine and speaking verse in rapture and frenzy: for example in To live merrily, and to trust to Good Verses, he paints a semi-comic picture of himself in a drunken and poetic ecstasy:

> Wild I am now with heat;
> O Bacchus! coole thy Raies!
> Or frantick I shall eate
> Thy Thyrse, and bite the Bayes.
>
> Round, round, the roof do's run;
> And being ravisht thus,
> Come, I will drink a Tun
> To my Propertius.[4]

Jonson makes use of the idea of inspiration and 'rage divine' more seriously to portray himself as vates: thus, his praise of Elizabeth Countess of

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1 Finley argues that Milton takes a vatic role in the sonnets.

2 Horace is here echoing the Anacreontea, nos 9, 12: Θέλω Θέλω μανῆναι

3 See below, 135.

4 Martin, 81. See also on An Ode to Sir Clipseby Crew, below, 266 , and To Sir Clipseby Crew, Martin, 217; His fare-well to Sack, 45; The Welcome to Sack, 77; Not every day fit for verse, 242; Mr Robert Hericke his farwell unto Poetrie, 410, ll.15-23, recalling Horace's request for ternos ter cyathos in C.III.xix in 'drincking to the ode [sic]/Number of Nyne' and C.II.xi rosa ... odorati capillos, 'Crownd with Rose Budds'. Herrick is partly modelling himself on the Anacreontea here, see The Apparition of his Mistresse, ll.32-8, Martin, 206.

Rutland is to be 'such as flies/From braines entranc'd, and fill'd with extasies'. The idea of poetic rapture is linked to Horace's picture of Pindar in C.IV.ii, and in the Desmond ode, Jonson, emulating 'Pindars Muse', is filled with 'strange rapture'.

Two other motifs relating to the poet's role which Horace employs in his lyric poetry are scorn of the mob - that is of poetasters especially - and of envy. These are both Callimachean.[1] They are often combined by Horace's seventeenth-century imitators. In the Odes, we find the idea of the separateness of the poet and his scorn for the mob in C.I.i:

> me gelidum nemus
> Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
> secernunt populo,[2]

and in the famous opening line of C.III.i, Odi profanum volgus et arceo.[3] This pose also occurs in the Satires, for example Serm. I.x.78-91, where Horace defines the small audience of the discerning which he wants for his poems.[4] In this latter satire, the motif is also combined with that of envy: Horace defends himself from the hostile criticism of the mob by turning to the few. There are many other references to envy in his poetry. It is hard to tell how much they are conventional Callimachean gestures,[5] and how much they express the poet's bitter personal experience.

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1 For scorn of the mob, see the Prologue to the Aetia and Epigram 28, l.4. For envy, see the Hymn to Apollo, l.105; the Prologue to the Aetia, l.17; Epigram 21, l.4. (Pfeiffer's numeration for the Epigrams)

2 Ll. 30-32.

3 See also C.II.xvi. 37-40.

4 See also Serm. I.iv. 71-74.

5 E.g. C.II.xx.4; C.IV.iii.16; Serm.II.i.74-8; Epistles I.xix.35-49.

The references to the envy aroused by his friendship with Maecenas, although only a freedman's son, might suggest the latter.[1] Is the reference to envious carpers in Epistles I.xix a light-hearted Callimachean reference, or does it spring from Horace's bitterness at the hostile reception of the Odes?[2]

Both these motifs appealed to Jonson, who appears to have taken Horace's references to envy seriously, and related them to his own experience and imprisonments.[3] The basic theme of Poetaster is the exposure of envy and ignorance: Jonson combines reminiscences of the Satires with Ovid's reference to Livor edax in Amores I.xv, a poem which we see Ovid composing in the first scene of the play.[4] The themes recur in the prose,[5] and the poetry, most memorably in the three odes to himself.[6] The motto of the

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1 Serm.I.vi. 45-8; II.vi.47-8.

2 Fraenkel, 339-50; Newman 300, 344; Williams (a), 27, 568-9.

3 See below, 131f.

4 See below, 124-129.

5 See below, 140, note 1.

6 See below, 138f, and also To my Booke-seller, (ll.7-9 echoing Serm.I.iv.71-2), Herford, VIII.28; To John Donne, VIII.62; To the same /Alphonso Ferrabosco/, VIII.82; To the World, VIII.101; To the worthy Author M.John Fletcher, VIII.370; To the memory of ... Mr. William Shakespeare, VIII.390; To my old Faithfull Servant ... M. Rich. Brome, VIII.409, (using Epistles II.i.114-7); An Ode to James Earle of Desmond, VIII.176. See also many of the prologues and epilogues to the plays e.g. The Prologue for the Court in The Staple of Newes, Herford, VI.283; the figure of Censure in the same play; Of Blacknesse VII. 169; Masque of Queenes VII.287; Cynthias Revells, IV.87, 92. See above, on Jonson's underlinings in Parthenio's introduction,

1616 folio was contentus paucis lectoribus.[1] Jonson's exclusive attitude is based on his concern for artistic standards:[2] 'indifferency is not tolerable'.[3]

Carew appropriately recalls the themes of envy and ignorance in his poem To Ben.Johnson.Upon occasion of his Ode of defiance annext to his Play of the new Inne. He reminds Jonson of the role he had taken up in Poetaster of the man who takes no notice of the envious and ignorant, and echoes the doctrine of Discoveries:

> Let others glut on the extorted praise
> Of vulgar breath, trust thou to after dayes:
> Thy labour'd workes shall live, when Time devoures
> Th'abortive off-spring of their hastie houres.[4]

Drayton employs the twin themes of envy and scorn of the mob in His Defence against the Idle Critick, which shows a Jonsonian concern for standards:

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1 Serm.I.x.74.

2 See below, 134-5, 139-140.

3 Herford VII.288, note p. _ to The Masque of Queenes.

4 Dunlap, 65. Compare Discoveries: 'The common Rymers powre forth Verses, such as they are, (ex tempore) but there never comes from them one Sense, worth the life of a Day ... Indeed, things, wrote with labour, deserve to be so read, and will last their Age', Herford, VIII.638. In Upon the Works of Ben Jonson, Oldham also appropriately takes up these twin themes, e.g. in stanza 10: 'Unjust, and more ill-natured those,/Thy spiteful and malicious foes,/Who on thy happiest talent fix a lie,/And call that slowness, which was care and industry', Dobrée, 69.

> And what's quickly begot,
> As soone againe is not,
> This doe I truely know:
> Yea, and what's borne with paine,
> That sense doth long'st retaine,
> Gone with a greater Flow,[1]

and takes up a pose similar to Jonson's in Poetaster, above the envy and ignorance of the world.[2] Like Jonson, Chapman is obsessed by the difference between true and false learning, the fit audience of understanders and the attacks of the envious, see for example Andromeda Liberata, which echoes the rejection of the profanum volgus of C.III.1;[3] and the twin themes may be found in another humanistic work, Samuel Daniel's Musophilus.[4] Herrick has one or two echoes, less vituperative than Chapman's of odi profanum volgus,[5] and George Daniel of Beswick employs the two motifs as a part of

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1
Hebel II. 366.

2
For these themes, see also To the Worthy Knight ... Sir Henry Goodere, Hebel II.344; The Sacrifice to Apollo (echoing odi profanum volgus), II.357; A Skeltoniad, II.370; To my worthy Friend Mr. George Chapman, and his translated Hesiod, I.503; The Moone-Calfe, ll.339f, III.175; The Description of Elizium, III.248; Poly-Olbion, To the Generall Reader, IV.v*, and Song xxi, ll.131-94, IV.420f; To the Honourable Knight, Sir Walter Aston, II.381; To Master George Sandys, III.206; To Master William Jeffreys, III.238.

3
Bartlett, 310. See also To the Trulie Learned ... Ma. Mathew Royden, (echoing C.III.1), 49; Euthymiae Raptus, 171; In Sejanum Ben.Jonsoni, 358; To his loving friend M. Jo. Fletcher, 363; To my admired and soule-loved friend ... M. Harriots, 381; To his Ingenuous, and much lov'd Friend, the Author, 367; To his long-lov'd and worthy friend, Mr.Edward Grimeston, 368; To the most worthily honoured ... Robert Earle of Somerset, 405; To my ever most-worthie-to-be-most honor'd lord, the Earle of Somerset, 413; Epilogue to the Hymns, 416.

4
Sprague 71-2, 76, 93, 85.

5
A Dirge upon the Death of ... Bernard Stuart, Martin, 89; Another New-yeeres Gift, 366. And see Mr.Robert Herricke his farwell unto Poetrie, ll.89-94, p.412, for scorn of the mob.

his Horatian persona. An Epode, for example, is a tirade against the herd, full of Jonsonian scorn, and many poems celebrate Daniel's withdrawal from the mob 'careles of popular vote, or vaine Applause', 'untouch't by Envie', and safe from 'the giddie Clamouring of Pleb's'.[1] Milton uses the two themes in his sonnet to Lawes, recalling Horace's words me gelidum nemus ... secernunt populo, 'thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng'.[2] Finally, Cowley speaks of the 'rude multitudes of the Ignorant' and the 'armed Troops of the Malitious'[3] in the Preface to Cutter of Coleman-Street.

Another equally characteristic Horatian pose, which may seem directly opposed to the others we have been looking at, is that of the small man of small talent and light themes. This is often connected with a recusatio, a panegyric motif, by which the poet protests his inability to rise to the grand style, in order to enhance the status of his addressee, as in C.I.vi, C.II.xii, C.II.i, or Epistles II.i. 250-9. The recusatio goes back to Callimachus, who in the prologue to the Aetia refused to thunder, βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός, and chose the μοῦσα λεπταλέη, or, in Latin, the tenuis style. Callimachus of course thought that the tenuis style was better than thundering, and so there is a kind of edge to the modest pose of the recusatio.[4] Horace's modesty is often a kind of

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1 An Epode, Stroup, 26; Ode V, 79; The Author, 170. See also Prevention, 40; Freedome, 44; Ode xxii, 112; Ode lvi, 160; Ode lix, 165; The many Scurrile Pamphlets (going under the name of Poems), Grosart, I.87; An Essay; Endeavouring to ennoble our English Poesie, I.79; An Elegie To the Memorie of ... Sir William Alforde Knt, I.198; Reversed I.72.

2 Carey and Fowler, 292.

3 Essays, 265.

4 On recusatio, see further, N.-H. 81-83; Williams (a), 46-7.

mock modesty, and his references to pudor and his tenuis style are not without irony. A striking example is C.II.xvi, where Horace is posing as a small man with a small domain, parva rura, and with a tenuis lyric gift: here the reference is definitely proud, and Horace rejoices in the gifts of the Fates:

> mihi parva rura et
> spiritus Graiae tenuem Camenae
> Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
> spernere volgus.[1]

There are some imitations of Horace here. Herrick, who often adopts the pose of the lover of the small,[2] similarly takes up a modest attitude to his poetry: he speaks of his 'meaner Minstralsie' in To his Muse, and in A Ternarie of littles, he characterises his life style and his poetry as little:

> A little Bin best fits a little Bread,
> A little Garland fits a little Head:
> As my small stuffe best fits my little Shed.
>
> A little streame best fits a little Boat;
> A little lead best fits a little Float;
> As my small Pipe best fits my little note.[3]

There are some examples of modesty assumed for panagyric purposes.[4] Jonson often slights his talent in order to praise his subject, for example in My Answer. The Poet to the Painter, where Jonson praises Burlase's painting talents and contrasts his own:

> O, had I now your manner, maistry, might,
> Your Power of handling shadow, ayre, and spright,
> How I would draw, and take hold and delight.

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1 Ll. 37-40.

2 See further below, 175f.

3 Martin, 249. See Epistles I.vii.44 parvum parva decent; C.III.xxix. 57-64 for the boat image. Also perhaps Propertius III.i. 19-20 for the garland and III.ix. 35 for the boat.

4 See below on Marvell's On Mr. Milton's Paradise lost, 298.

> But, you are he can paint; I can but write:
> A Poet hath no more but black and white,
> He knowes he flatt'ring Colours, or false light.[1]

There is the Horatian mock modesty in 'but write', and Jonson's reference to the plainness of poetry is ironic. A very good example of recusatio is Carew's In answer of an Elegiacall Letter upon the death of the King of Sweden from Aurelian Townsend, inviting me to write on that subject, in which Carew refuses to write a poem about Gustavus Adolphus' exploits, attaining a Horatian irony in his modest pose. He begins with the traditional disclaimer of stylistic capacity:

> Alas! how may
> My Lyrique feet, that of the smooth soft way
> Of Love, and Beautie, onely know the tread,
> In dancing paces celebrate the dead
> Victorious King, or his Majesticke Hearse
> Prophane with th'humble touch of their low verse?[2]

Following Horace, who suggested to Maecenas in C.II.xii that Augustus' deeds would be best treated in prose,[3] Carew suggests that Adolphus' deeds do not need the adornment of verse and would be most faithfully presented in prose. As the poem continues, an element of irony enters into Carew's attitude to Gustavus: his account of his career is deflating, emphasising his slaughter of the Germans with some distate, and the ultimate futility of his achievement (see lines 31-42).[4] Carew then dismisses the whole

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1 Herford, VIII.227.

2 Dunlap, 74.

3 C.II.xii. 9-12.

4 See Marts, 74-80. Compare Horace's slight deflation of the heroic themes of the Iliad and the Odyssey in C.I.vi, see the notes in M.-H, 85-6.

subject in lines reminiscent of Horace's dismissal of politics in his drinking-songs:[1]

> Then let the Germans feare if Caesar shall,
> Or the United Princes, rise, and fall,
> But let us that in myrtle bowers sit
> Under secure shades, use the benefit
> Of peace and plenty, which the blessed hand
> Of our good King gives this obdurate Land,
> Let us of Revels sing ...[2]

Carew's preference for lighter themes, here particularly of the Pastoral court masque, thus becomes a graceful way of praising Charles' peace policy. The poem ends by clearly rejecting the measures of war for those of peace:

> what though the German Drum
> Bellow for freedome and revenge, the noyse
> Concernes not us, nor should divert our joyes;
> Nor ought the thunder of their Carabins
> Drowne the sweet Ayres of our tun'd Violins;
> Beleeve me friend, if their prevailing powers
> Gaine them a calme securitie like ours,
> They'le hang their armes up on the Olive bough,
> And dance, and revell then, as we doe now.[3]

Together these poses add up to a rather complex attitude to his art assumed by Horace in his poetry. There is a very conscious blend of modesty and pride.[4] Sometimes these appear together, as in C.II.xvi,

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1 E.g. C.II.xi.1-4; C.III.xxix.25-28; C.I.xxvi.1-6.

2 Dunlap, 75

3 Ibid. 77.

4 Another proud poetic claim of Horace's was the primus ego motif of e.g. C.III.xxx.13-14; Epistles I.xix.21-33, a motif used by other Latin poets, see Williams (a), 253. This was a favourite of Ronsard's, see e.g. A sa Muse, A Calliope etc, but it was not used by English lyric poets, perhaps because they were less self-conscious about imitating the classics than Ronsard, and because they did not feel themselves to be innovators, since the native lyric tradition was strong. In England, the motif was only used by epic poets, see Milton, Paradise Lost, I.16; Cowley, Davideis, I.28 and note 3.

or C.I.i, where Horace modifies his proud claim to be among the poetic elect by a conditional[1]. The point is perhaps that Horace's confidence allows for modesty: he may slight his work because he knows its worth. Without the mock-modesty, he might sound like the braggarts of Serm. I.iv, Crispinus and Fannius, who only display their inferiority. Perhaps the only seventeenth-century poet who puts across a comparable highly-developed attitude to his poetry is Jonson. In the prologue to Poetaster, he carefully defines his attitude, which is a mean between over-confidence and false humility, depending on a true estimate of his worth:

> Here now, put case our Authour should, once more,
> Sweare that his play were good; he doth implore,
> You would not argue him of arrogance:
> How ere that common spawne of ignorance,
> Our frie of writers, may beslime his fame,
> And give his action that adulterate name.
> Such ful-blowne vanitie he more doth lothe,
> Then base deiection: There's a meane 'twixt both.
> Which with a constant firmenesse he pursues,
> As one, that knowes the strength of his owne muse.
> And this he hopes all free soules will allow;
> Others, that take it with a rugged brow,
> Their moods be rather pitties, then envies:
> His mind it is above their iniuries.[2]

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1 See lines 29-34. The proud last line of this poem, sublimi feriam sidera vertice, was echoed by Jonson in the New Inn ode and by Herrick in The bad season makes the Poet sad. See also Williams (b), 152, on C.III. xxx.

2 Herford, IV.205-6.

CHAPTER IV

Ben Jonson

Ben Jonson is a central figure in this study. He was the first English poet to model his poetic persona on Horace's and to make substantial use of both the Odes and the hexameter poems.[1] Because of his poetic authority, his interpretation of Horace influenced those of subsequent poets. Other Roman writers are, of course, important for Jonson, especially Martial, Seneca, Juvenal and Persius, but, from Poetaster on, he particularly associated himself with Horace, for whom he obviously felt a special affection; addressing himself in the ode written after the failure of The New Inne, he calls him 'thine owne Horace'.[2] He taught Selden 'to rellish Horace',[3] and he recommended Drummond to read Horace for 'delight', as well as instruction.[4] Contemporaries celebrated Jonson as the 'English Horace'.[5] Sir Thomas Smith called him 'the elaborate English Horace that gives number, waight, and measure to every word.'[6] Lord Herbert of Cherbury praised his

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1. Drayton was writing odes (published in 1606) at the same time as Jonson was composing his poems. But Drayton is far less indebted to Horace; Johson had anyway formed his Horatian role as early as 1601 in Poetaster. Shafter, 91-2, thinks there was probably no connexion between the two poets, just some similarity of aim, but e.g. His Defence against the Idle Critick is very similar in theme to Jonson (see above, 114-5) and might suggest cross influence. Unlike Jonson though, Drayton did not have successors, so that Jonson may fairly be called the father of Horatian poetry in the century. Again, Samuel Daniel's epistles (published 1603), despite the claim of their title-page, are not as close to Horace's as Jonson's are, (see below, 236) and are not so influential.

2. Herford, VI.493.

3. David Lloyd, Memoirs (1668), 519.

4. Herford, I.136, 132. He also read the 'Satyres of Horace' with Nathaniel Field 'his Schollar', Herford, I.137.

5. The phrase is used by I.C., Herford, XI.338, and H. Chettle, England's Mourning Garment (1603), D2v. Randolph speaks of 'thy Horace', Herford, XI.334, 390, and Clement Paman of 'his Horace', Herford, XI.483. See also XI.506.

6. Herford, XI.374.

translation of the Ars Poetica thus:

> 'Twas not enough, Ben: Jonson to be thought
> Of English Poets best, but to have brought
> In greater state, to their acquaintance, one
> Made equall to himselfe and thee; that none
> Might be thy second: while thy glory is
> To be the Horace of our times, and his.[1]

John Polwhele urged him to continue writing after the failure of The New Inne with an adaptation of an ode by Horace (C.I.xxvi), an appropriate compliment:

> Ben, thou arte the Muses freinde,
> greife, and feares cast to the winde:
> who ruinns th'Emperour, or Sweade,
> sole secure, you Noethinge dreade.
> inhabitante neer Hyppo-crene,
> plucke sweete roses by that streame,
> put thy laurel-crownet on.
> what is fame, if thou hast none.
> see Apollo with the Nine
> sings, the chorus must be thine.[2]

As suggested above, Horace's poetry appealed to Jonson because it offered a wide range of theme, the predominance of ethical themes being especially congenial,[3] and because it offered a model for personal writing.[4] Jonson's poetry, like Horace's, develops the personal element in several ways.[5] Like Horace's,[6] his poetry often rises to its best when he is talking about himself, attaining a Horatian geniality of feeling.[7] It is

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1. Ibid. XI.352.

2. Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. f. 16, fol.10, printed in Herford, XI.346, with line 3 omitted.

3. See above, 66.

4. See above, 91f.

5. Trimpi passim is especially good on the personal in Jonson's poetry. See also Parfitt (a), 36-40 for a slightly different approach.

6. E.g. C.I.xvii, C.III.xxix.

7. See Trimpi on An Epitaph on Master Vincent Corbet: 'The most moving lines in the poem - as so often in Jonson - are those that express Jonson's own relationship with the man', 182.

worth noting that Jonson often brings himself in when he doesn't need to: it is characteristic of his panegyric, as it is of Horace's,[1] to develop the relation between himself and the addressee.[2] For example, in To Penshurst, he recounts his own experience of the house's hospitality before he mentions King James', and includes a self-portrait in the description of the house's inhabitants and visitors:

> And I not faine to sit (as some, this day,
> At great mens tables) and yet dine away.
> Here no man tells my cups; nor, standing by,
> A waiter, doth my gluttony envy:
> But gives me what I call, and lets me eate,
> He knowes, below, he shall finde plentie of meate,
> Thy tables hoord not up for the next day,
> Nor, when I take my lodging, need I pray
> For fire, or lights, or livorie: all is there;
> As if thou, then, wert mine, or I raign'd here:
> There's nothing I can wish, for which I stay. [3]

Horace helped Jonson to create his poetic personality. Jonson first adopted a Horatian persona in Poetaster, acted in 1601 and published in 1602, where he develops a picture of himself as the embattled poet and a sort of personal mythology drawn from Horace, which he carries over into his poetry.

In Poetaster, Jonson presents Horace as the Renaissance ideal poet, 'the best master, both of vertue, and wisdome'.[4] This elevated conception of the poet as the man of knowledge, paralleled in Sidney and Milton, is central to Jonson's aesthetic creed. The locus classicus is perhaps the passage in Discoveries where Jonson adapts Quintilian's praise of the orator to the poet:

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1. See above, 99, and e.g. C.I.xx, C.III.xxix.

2. Contrast S. Daniel's impersonal panegyric epistles 'after the manner of Horace', below, 236.

3. Herford, VIII.95. The details of the portrait are from Juvenal, Martial and personal experience, see below, 164. See further Trimpi, 196-7.

4. Herford, VIII.642, D. Heinsius' phrase for Horace, see below, 146.

> I could never thinke the study of Wisdome confin'd only to the Philosopher: or of Piety to the Divine: or of State to the Politicke. But that he which can faine a Common-wealth (which is the Poet) can governe it with Counsels, strengthen it with Lawes, correct it with Iudgements, informe it with Religion, and Morals; is all these. Wee doe not require in him meere Elocution; or an excellent faculty in verse; but the exact knowledge of all vertues, and their Contraries; with ability to render the one lov'd, the other hated, by his proper embattaling them. [1]

In Poetaster, this ideal is put across in the portrait of Horace, in Ovid's speeches in praise of poetry,[2] in the poets' speeches praising Virgil,[3] and in Augustus' speech distinguishing false poetry from true poetry,

> Which is, of all the faculties on earth,
> The most abstract, and perfect; if shee bee
> True borne, and nurst with all the sciences.[4]

As E.W. Talbert has demonstrated Poetaster as well as being an attack on Marston and Dekker is a Renaissance defence of poetry, like Sidney's Apology, a stage representation of the humanist theme of the conflict of the Muses and Barbarism, employing a tissue of humanist ideas about the poet and poetry, the difference between true and false poetry and the abuses of poetry, the folly of detraction and the role of poetry in the state.[5]

More specifically, the play is a defence of satire. The Horace of the play is primarily seen as the true satirist. He is the third of a series

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1. Herford, VIII.595. See Instit. Orat. I.9-10. See also the passage in Discoveries where Jonson adopts Cicero's praise of poetry from the Pro Archia, Herford, VIII.636 and notes XI.282, and the passage in the dedication of Volpone where he draws on Minturno's De Poeta, Herford, V.17, and notes IX.683 (also citing Horace, Epistles II.i.126-31). See also Lorenzo junior's speech in praise of poetry in the 1601 quarto version of Every man in his Humor, Herford, III.285-6.

2. Herford, IV.207-8 (a translation of Amores I.xv) and 216-7.

3. Herford, IV.292-4.

4. Ibid. IV.290.

5. He gives helpful parallels from Sidney, Erasmus, Patricio and Sir Thomas Elyot, as well as from Discoveries. One could also cite Samuel Daniel's Musophilus.

of portraits of the satirist in Jonson's plays. The first was Asper in Every Man Out of His Humour, who is the Juvenalian figure, the man so outraged by vice that he cannot contain his saeva indignatio: difficile est saturam non scribere, or as Asper puts it,

> Who is so patient of this impious world,
> That he can checke his spirit, or reine his tongue?[1]

The second was Crites in Cynthia's Revels, the scholar poet untouched by the malice of the ignorant courtiers, like the Stoic wise man:

> A creature of a most perfect and divine temper. One, in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met, without emulation of precedencie: he is neyther to phantastikely melancholy, too slowly phlegmaticke, too lightly sanguine, or too rashly cholericke, but in all, so composde and order'd, as it is cleare, Nature went about some ful worke, she did more then make a man, when she made him.... Hee strives rather to bee that which men call iudicious, then to bee thought so:[2] and is so truly learned, that he affects not to shew it. He will thinke, and speake his thought, both freely: but as distant from depraving another mans merit, as proclaiming his owne.... Fortune could never breake him, nor make him lesse [3] .... It is a competencie to him that hee can bee vertuous. He doth neyther covet, nor feare; hee hath too much reason to doe eyther....[4]

Crites is activated by love of ἀρετή, not by malice, and he is unaffected by the estimation of the ignorant and malicious,[5] - two important traits of the Jonsonian satirist which he develops further in Poetaster.

Jonson draws his fullest picture of the satirist in Poetaster, utilising the picture which Horace presents of himself in the Satires. The primary source of the play is the Satires,[6] especially the literary satires I.iv

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1. Herford, III.428.
2. See Epistles I.xvi.17, tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis.
3. See Serm. II.vii.88, in quem manca ruit semper fortuna.
4. Herford, IV.74-5.
5. See Herford, IV.87.
6. For the Ovid plot, Jonson drew on other sources, especially Tristia IV.x. He may also have used modern sources, such as Crinitus' De Poetis Latinis, see above, 31.

and x, and II.i, from which the characters and action are built up. An important passage is Serm. I.x.78-91, where Horace names the audience of the few whose admiration he seeks (Jonson adapts this in a speech by Horace)[1] and the envious poetasters whom he scorns: in it we find cimex Pantilius, the name given to the envious Pantilius Tucca, Fannius and Demetrius, the names given to Dekker,[2] and Hermogenes Tigellius. The latter was a famous singer, identified by the scholiasts with the Sardinian Tigellius of Serm. I.ii and iii. Jonson follows this identification, and he dramatises the opening of Serm. I.iii, which describes Tigellius' vain and inconsistent behaviour in Act II. Scene ii, also turning it to account in the mockery of Crispinus.[3] The latter is the name given to Marston. Crispinus appears in the Satires as a foolish Stoic[4] (the scholiasts say he was an μετάλογος who wrote lengthy verses), and more importantly as the poet who challenges Horace to a poetic contest on the criterion of length.[5] By the brilliant stroke of identifying the bore of Serm. I.ix as Crispinus[6] and dramatising the satire in a tour-de-force at the beginning of Act III, Jonson fills out the picture of Marston as the foolish poet with other relevant traits. Crispinus thinks quickness a virtue, he cannot tell the difference between

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1. Herford, IV.311-2.

2. The Scholiasts identified the simius iste of l.18 of this satire as Demetrius, appropriately for Jonson's idea of the poet-ape. Fannius also appears in Serm. I.iv.21 as the man eager for publicity.

3. Herford, IV.230-1.

4. Serm. I.i.120, iii.139, II.vii.45. See Act III.i.28 'We are a prettie stoick too', Herford, IV.234.

5. Serm. I.iv.13-16.

6. As far as I can discover, this is Jonson's invention. The scholiasts do not identify the bore, nor does Lambinus. This means that Dryden must be recalling poetaster in the preface to All for Love, Watson, I.228, where he makes the same identification, with a similar aim of deflating his modern opponents, see below, 353, note 2.

the art of poetry and trivial accomplishments, he is a boaster unaware of his ignorance:

> I protest to thee, HORACE (doe but taste mee once) if I doe know my selfe, and mine owne vertues truely, thou wilt not make that esteeme of VARIUS, or VIRGIL, or TIBULLUS, or any of 'hem indeed, as now in thy ignorance thou dost; which I am content to forgive: I would faine see, which of those could pen more verses in a day, or with more facilitie then I; or that could court his mistris, kisse her hand, make better sport with her fanne, or her dogge.....[1]

By his song and his comments on it, Jonson's addition to Horace's satire, Crispinus reveals his ignorance further: the subject matter, a cap, shows his obsession with clothes and trivia, and he substitutes ornaments and cant about 'Paranomasie, or Agnomination' for the serious moral knowledge required of the true poet.[2] Horace speaks of his 'lewd soloecismes, and worded trash'. Finally, Crispinus demonstrates envy:

> If thou would'st bring me knowne to MECOENAS, I should second thy desert well; thou should'st find a good sure assistant of mee; one, that would speake all good of thee in thy absence, and be content with the next place, not envying thy reputation with thy patron. Let me not live, but I thinke thou and I (in a small time) should lift them all out of favour, both VIRGIL, VARIUS, and the best of them; and enjoy him wholy to our selves, [3]

to which Jonson-Horace replies with a spirited rendering of the Latin, on the harmony of Maecenas' house:

> Sir, your silkenesse
> Cleerely mistakes MECOENAS, and his house;
> To thinke, there breathes a spirit beneath his roofe,
> Subiect unto those poore affections
> Of under-mining envie, and detraction,
> Moodes, onely proper to base groveling minds:
> That place is not in Rome, I dare affirme,

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1. Herford, IV.239. The corresponding lines of Latin are 22-5.

2. See Discoveries, Herford, VIII.595 (quoted above) for knowledge, 585 for ostentatious ornament, 622-3 for a warning against the over-use of παρονομοσία.

3. Herford, IV.241. The corresponding lines of Latin are 45-8.

> More pure, or free, from such low common evils.
> There's no man greev'd, that this is thought more rich,
> Or this more learned; each man hath his place,
> And to his merit, his reward of grace:
> Which with a mutuall love they all embrace.[1]

With these figures from Horace's Satires, Jonson builds up a plot in which the envious poetasters attempt to overthrow Horace, the good poet, and are exposed and punished. The plot itself is suggested by the literary satires, in which Horace speaks of hostile attacks made on him, and Jonson utilises Horace's own words to present a defence of satire. Jonson-Horace is attacked by the poetasters for his malice:

> A sharpe thornie-tooth'd satyricall rascall, flie him; hee carries hey in his horne: he wil sooner lose his best friend, then his least iest. What he once drops upon paper, against a man, lives, eternally to upbraid him in the mouth of every slave tankerd-bearer, or water-man; not a bawd, or a boy that comes from the bake-house, but shall point at him: 'tis all dogge, and scorpion; he carries poison in his teeth, and a sting in his taile.[2]

This is a rendering of Serm.I.iv 34-38. Jonson-Horace defends himself with a rendering of Horace's reply in the same satire. He is quite different from the backbiter, the truly malicious man:

> Such, as will bite
> And gnaw their absent friends, not cure their fame,
> Catch at the loosest laughters, and affect
> To be thought jesters, such, as can devise
> Things never seene, or heard, t'impaire mens names,
> And gratifie their credulous adversaries,
> Will carrie tales, doe basest offices,
> Cherish divided fires, and still increase
> New flames, out of old embers, will reveale
> Each secret that's committed to their trust,
> These be black slaves: Romans, take heed of these.[3]

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1. Ibid. IV. 241-2. The corresponding lines of the Latin are 48-52.

2. Ibid. IV. 269.

3. Ibid. IV. 307-8.

absentem qui rodit, amicum
qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
qui nequit: hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.[1]

I quote in English and Latin, because this is an important passage which Jonson often uses to portray the antithesis of the virtuous man.[2] Thus, the true satirist is shown to be motivated by virtue:

His sharpenesse, that is most excusable;
As being forc't out of a suffering vertue,
Oppressed with the licence of the time,[3]

and it is his critics, the envious poetasters, who are shown to be motivated by malice. It is malicious readers, not satirists, who are dangerous:

'Tis not the wholesome sharpe moralitie,
Or modest anger of a satyricke spirit,
That hurts, or wounds the bodie of a state;
But the sinister application
Of the malicious, ignorant, and base
Interpreter: who will distort, and straine
The generall scope and purpose of an authour,
To his particular, and private spleene.[4]

Thus, the play embroiders the themes of envy and scorn of the mob which as we saw above were aspects of Horace's Callimachean role in the Satires,[5] and develops a picture of the poet embattled but unaffected which is derived from the Satires. Jonson reinforces this picture with an adaptation of the opening of C.III.iii.1-8, in which Horace's picture of the constant man who is safe in storms becomes the poet resolute against the forces of

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1. Ll. 81-5.

2. Below, 141f.

3. Herford, IV. 309.

4. Ibid. IV.301. Here, Jonson has in mind Martial's preface to Book I of the Epigrammata, 11.6-9: Absit a iocorum nostrorum simplicitate malignus interpres nec epigrammata mea scribat: inprobe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. Caesar replies, 'We know it.... and esteeme it/A most dishonest practice, in that man,/Will seeme too wittie in anothers worke,' Herford, IV. 301-2.

5. See above, 112-113.

envy and censorship: Jonson-Horace is addressing Lupus the tribune:

> A just man cannot feare, thou foolish Tribune;
> Not, though the malice of traducing tongues,
> The open vastnesse of a tyrannes eare,
> The senselesse rigour of the wrested lawes,
> Or the red eyes of strain'd authoritie
> Should, in a point, meet all to take his life,
> His innocence is armour 'gainst all these.[1]

Like the backbiter passage, this is also an important passage for the Jonsonian mythology.[2]

The device of projecting his own literary quarrels back into the world of Horaces Satires was Jonson's own.[3] It was a brilliant way both of ridiculing Marston and Dekker and of developing themes dear to his heart. It is intriguing how neatly Horace's Satires serve his need, as in the exchange between Crispinus and Horace quoted above, which exposes the former's envy. There is a certain oddity in the mixture of historical and fictional which we feel most sharply in the scenes in which the famous bore satire is dramatised, and it is an interesting question how Jonson regarded his device. Did he think Horace's satires were literally true? - the scholiasts, after all, tend to take them literally, and Jonson probably did take the accounts of the attacks on Horace more literally than they were intended. Or, in presenting the poet amidst his literary world, is he imitating the device whereby Horace in C.I.xxxiii puts Tibullus in the world of love-elegy, or Virgil in Eclogue X puts Gallus into the world of pastoral? Jonson perhaps felt justified in dramatising Horace's Satires because Horace had himself affirmed a link between satire and comedy in Serm. I.iv, where he says Lucilius followed Aristophanes and Old

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1. Herford, IV. 299.
2. See below, 140f.
3. Roman settings were usually employed for tragedy.

Comedy,[1] an idea which Daniel Heinsius adopted in De Satyra Horatiana.[2]

It remains to contrast Jonson's development of ideas from Horace with the Satires themselves, since there are clear differences. Horace's three literary satires do not make up a serious defence of satire, and they are not so straightforward in tone as Jonson makes them. Their arguments are full of contradictions, evasions, non-sequiturs and jokes.[3] The right to attack was not really a serious issue for Horace, as his satires do not in fact contain a large element of invective (the claim that he has been criticised for venom in Serm. 1.iv may be fictional), and the three literary satires are perhaps best regarded as humorous pieces of 'shadow-boxing'.[4]

Jonson was clearly more in earnest in his defence of satire. For one thing, unlike Horace, who certainly by the time of Serm. II.i was in no danger from the authorities,[5] he was in real danger from the forces of ignorance and malice. He had been imprisoned in 1597 for his share in The Isle of Dogs, and was to be imprisoned again in 1605 for his share in Eastward Ho! On the latter occasion, he was clear about the forces which had caused his imprisonment; he wrote, probably to the Countess of Bedford,

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1. This was a theory of Varro's which Horace was adopting for his own purposes, see Rudd (a), 89; Newman, 282-3.

2. De Satyra Horatiana (1629), 76. Minturno also adopted the idea, see Trimpi 261, note 8. Jonson had certainly read the De Satyra which he quotes in Discoveries, and he makes the identification himself in the Apologeticall Dialogue at the end of Poetaster, Herford, IV. 323, as a defence of his satiric method. Dryden derives Roman satire from Old Comedy mediated by Livius Andronicus, in A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, Watson, II.109, 111-2, 142-3.

3. See the analyses of Newman, 282-98 and Rudd(a), 86-131.

4. Rudd (a), 128.

5. Ibid. 128.

> And our offence a Play, so mistaken, so misconstrued, so misapplied, as I do wonder whether their Ignorance, or Impudence be most, who are our adversaries, [1]

and to the Earl of Salisbury

> My noble Lord, they deale not charitably, Who are too witty in another mans Workes, and utter, some times, theyre owne malicious Meanings, under our Wordes. [2]

Poetaster itself probably got the author in some sort of trouble, as we can see from the Apologeticall Dialogue: in the dedication of the play to Richard Martin, Jonson says that he saved the play for posterity 'which so much ignorance, and malice of the times, then conspir'd to have suppress'.[3] The importance given to the role of Lupus,[4] the foolish magistrate who seeks to imprison Horace, reflects the very real threat of the law to Jonson. Secondly, Jonson, unlike Horace, was a committed moral satirist: he believed seriously in the moral function of satire as of art generally, and therefore felt strongly about the freedom of the satirist to arraign crimes.[5]

A comparison between Serm. II.i and Jonson's translation of it in the third act of Poetaster[6] brings these points out clearly. Horace's poem is not the classic defence of satire which Pope, for example, took it to be. Again, there are evasions in the argument:[7] Rudd speaks of 'a playfulness almost amounting to farce', and concludes

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1. Herford, I. 197.

2. Ibid. I.195. Jonson here alludes to the preface to Martial's Epigrams, quoted above, 129 , note 4 . See also the dedication of Volpone ll. 65f, Herford, V.16-19, and The Magnetick Lady, VI. 544-5.

3. Herford, IV.201.

4. The name comes from Serm. II.i. 68, but the character is Jonson's own invention.

5. Contrast Newman on Horace's lack of committment to any literary theory, 131.

6. An addition to the Folio, see Herford, IV.194.

7. See the analyses of Rudd (a) and Newman.

> From a distance the structure appears strong enough, but
> at close quarters it is seen to be largely ornamental and
> incapable of bearing much weight. [1]

The satire ends with a joke. Trebatius refers to the libel laws about mala carmina:

> sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti
> incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
> si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
> iudiciumque. [2]

But, as Rudd points out, the libel laws were not a serious threat to Horace, and he tosses the warning aside with a pun: his poems are not mala in a literary sense.

Jonson's translation is a more straightforward defence of satire. He seems more sincere in his claim that he only draws his weapon - satire - in self-defence: he is concerned to defend himself from the charge of malice:

> O IUPITER, let it with rust be eaten,
> Before it touch, or insolently threaten
> The life of any with the least disease;
> So much I love, and woe a generall peace. [3]

Contrast Horace's mock-serious emotionalism. [4] For Horace's bathetic statement that in all situations scribam, Jonson substitutes the line we expected in Horace: [5] 'I will write satyres still, in spight of feare'. [6]

He holds up the moral ideal of Lucilian satire with great fervour:

> What? when the man that first did satyrise,
> Durst pull the skin over the eares of vice;
> And make, who stood in outward fashion cleare,
> Give place, as foule within; shall I forbeare?...

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1. 131.

2. Ll. 80-3.

3. Herford, IV.259-60.

4. Ll. 42-44.

5. See Rudd (a), 127; Newman, 295.

6. Herford, IV.260.

> Rulers, and subjects, by whole tribes he checkt;
> But vertue, and her friends did still protect.[1]

As law was a serious threat to Jonson,[2] he omits the pun with which Horace's satire ends and substitutes a careful definition of the permissible liberty of the satirist, drawing a distinction between lewd libels and moral satire:

> I, with lewd verses; such as libels bee,
> And aym'd at persons of good qualitie.
> I reverence and adore that just decree:
> But if they shall be sharp, yet modest rimes
> That spare mens persons, and but taxe their crimes,
> Such, shall in open court, find currant passe. [3]

Here, Jonson is bringing in Martial's claim that he mentions no names:

> Hunc servare modum nostri novere libelli,
> parcere personis, dicere de vitiis, [4]

a favourite defence of Jonson's, found also in the Apologeticall Dialogue and the letter to Salisbury about Eastward Ho![5]

Art,-bona carmina, - is what Horace cares about, and here, Jonson is close to Horace in his insistence on industry and concern for high standards, themes from which he makes major poetry in the three odes to himself. Jonson can respond directly to such passages in the Satires as

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1. Ibid. IV.260-1. We can see that the theme of inner and outer worth here would have appealed to Jonson, see below, 149. A few lines later we find the theme of the poet's immunity to envy, 119-22.

2. See Epigram 1iv, Herford, VIII. 44, where Jonson also recalls this satire.

3. Herford, IV.261.

4. Epigram X.xxxiii.9-10. See also the opening of the preface to Book I of the Epigrams.

5. Herford, IV.320, I.195. See also the dedication of Epigrammes to Pembroke, VIII.26; the Dedication to Volpone, V.18; the second prologue to Epicoene, V.164; Discoveries, VIII.633-4, where Jonson is drawing on Erasmus' epistle to Dorp about the Praise of Folly. See also Cartwright's tribute in Jonsonus Virbius, XI.456.

saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
contentus paucis lectoribus. [1]

It is worth noting that Poetaster is mainly concerned to develop the figure of Horace as a satirist, as a 'free' Muse:[2] the Satires are the main source for the play, and there is only one important quotation from the Odes.[3] Horace does not appear in the play as the writer of the Odes, except at the opening of the bore scenes, where we see him composing an ode:

Swell me a bowle with lustie wine,
Till I may see the plump LYAEUS swim
Above the brim:
I drinke, as I would wright,
In flowing measure, fill'd with flame, and spright.[4]

This does not strike us as being very like a Horatian ode;[5] and the characterisation of the Odes as being drunkenly fluent seems odd, like neither Horace's nor Jonson's poems.[6] It is in fact a conventional Renaissance characterisation of lyric as inspired writing, which derives from Horace's picture of Pindar in C.IV.ii or of himself in C.II.xix, or C.III.xix and xxv.[7] In his poems, Jonson reveals more interest both in the

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1. Serm. I.x.72-4. Jonson was perhaps recalling this passage along with Serm. II.iii.7, 8 and A.P. 440-1 in the passage in Discoveries on the need for toil in art, Herford, VIII.637-8. In To the memory of ... Mr. William Shakespeare lines 58-62, he echoes A.P. 440-1 and Epistles II.2.124-5. A concern for artistic standards is of course a major emphasis of the Ars Poetica, which Jonson translated. In his copy of Parthenio, he underlined various lines relevant to this, e.g. the sections on the need for art as well as nature and for a true critic, including lines 440-1, see below, 154.

2. See To Sir Horace Vere, Herford, VIII.58.

3. C.III.iii.1-8.

4. Herford, IV.234.

5. Jonson seems to have liked it, however, as he repeated it to Drummond, Herford, I.135.

6. We may recall Dekker's amusing portrait of Horace-Jonson in Satiromastix desperately searching for rhymes in his effort to write the 'flowing measures' of a similar ode, Bowers, I.316.

7. See above, 111.

style of the Odes and in aspects of Horace's persona in them.

In the Prologue and the Apologeticall Dialogue to Poetaster, Jonson develops some of the Horatian themes of the play, - envy, ignorance, the poet's security, - with a more direct reference to himself. In the Prologue, Envy appears in person to blast the poet and his new play: she addresses the audience thus:

> Here, take my snakes among you, come, and eate,
> And while the squeez'd juice flowes in your blacke jawes,
> Helpe me to damne the Authour. Spit it foorth
> Upon his lines, and shew your rustie teeth
> At everie word, or accent: or else choose
> Out of my longest vipers, to sticke downe
> In your deep throats; and let the heads come forth
> At your ranke mouthes; that he may see you arm'd
> With triple malice, to hisse, sting, and teare
> His worke, and him; to forge, and then declame,
> Traduce, corrupt, apply, enforme, suggest... [1]

Envy is trod underfoot by an armed prologue, who explains the allegory:

> So spight should die,
> Despis'd and scorn'd by noble industrie.
> If any muse why I salute the stage,
> An armed Prologue; know, 'tis a dangerous age:
> Wherein, who writes, had need present his Scenes
> Fortie-fold proofe against the coniuring meanes
> Of base detractors, and illiterate apes,
> That fill up roomes in faire and formall shapes.
> 'Gainst these, have we put on this forc't defence:
> Whereof the allegorie and hid sence
> Is, that a well erected confidence
> Can fright their pride, and laugh their folly hence.[2]

In the Apologeticall Dialogue, the author himself appears and defends his play to two callers. Jonson develops further both the defence of satire, using ideas from Martial,[3] and his Horatian role. He presents himself as living to himself, untouched by Fortune and the malice of his enemies:

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1. Herford, IV.204.

2. Ibid.205.

3. See the notes in Herford, IX.

> The Fates have not spun him the coursest thred
> That (free from knots of perturbation)
> Doth yet so live, although but to himselfe,
> As he can safely scorne the tongues of slaves;
> And neglect Fortune, more then she can him.[1]

Here, Jonson is probably thinking of the Stoic wise man of Serm.II.vii and C.III.iii, backed by a reminiscence of Seneca in the lines

> Whilst I, at whom they shot, sit here shot-free,
> And as un-hurt of envy, as un-hit.[2]

Jonson also develops the picture of himself as a learned and laborious artist, scorning and scorned by the multitude:

> But, that these base, and beggerly conceipts
> Should carry it, by the multitude of voices,
> Against the most abstracted worke, oppos'd
> To the stuff'd nostrills of the drunken rout:
> O, this would make a learn'd, and liberall soule,
> To rive his stayned quill, up to the back,
> And damne his long-watch'd labours to the fire;
> Things, that were borne, when none but the still night,
> And his dumbe candle saw his pinching throes;
> Were not his owne free merit a more crowne
> Unto his travailes, then their reeling claps,[3]

employing a reminiscence of Juvenal to express his devotion to his art:

> I, that spend halfe my nights, and all my dayes,
> Here in a cell, to get a darke, pale face,
> To come forth worth the ivy, or the bayes.[4]

The Horatian role which Jonson developed for himself in Poetaster is important for his poetry as well. It is fashionable to play down the moral Jonson and to assert that his satiric and aesthetic theory and his Horatian pose are devices to mask the anarchic spirit that created the plays.[5]

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1. Ibid. IV.318.
2. Ibid. IV.318. Invulnerabile est non quod non feritur, sed quod non laeditur, De Constantia Sapientis, iii.3.
3. Herford, IV.323. See Juvenal VII.27.
4. Ibid. IV.324. See Juvenal VII.28-9.
5. See T.S. Eliot, 'Ben Jonson', Selected Essays (3rd ed. 1951), esp. 156-9; H. Levin, Introduction, reprinted in Ben Jonson, ed. J. Barish (Engelwood Cliffs, N.J. 1963), esp. 41; A.F. Marotti, 'All about Jonson's Poetry', E.L.H. xxxix (1972), 208-257.

whatever we may think of such critiques, it is, I think, important to realise that ethical fervour is a fundamental part of Jonson's work, to which we must be able to respond, and that the role of the virtuous and stoical satirist-poet, motivated by love of truth, and unshaken by the malice of his enemies, - however much Jonson was unable to sustain this role in real life,[1] - provides much of the characteristic emotional tone of his poetry.

Jonson carried over directly into the poems the role he created in Poetaster. This can be clearly demonstrated by the two odes 'Where do'st thou carelesse lie' and 'Yff Men, and tymes were nowe'. These were probably written about the same time as the Apologeticall Dialogue, and they contain identical lines and a similar portrayal of the poet.[2] In the former, Jonson rejects popular applause and turns into himself for his 'proper straine', rising above fortune:

> Minds that are great and free,
> Should not on fortune pause,
> 'Tis crowne enough to vertue still, her owne applause,[3]

and thus triumphing over both envy and ignorance,

> high and aloofe,
> Safe from the wolves black jaw, and the dull Asses hoofe.[4]

In the latter, Jonson mourns the past, when poetry was valued for its immortalising powers,[5] and laments the present age of barbarism:

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1. See James Howell's letter, Herford, XI. 419-20; Drummond's characterisation, I.151; Chapman's Invective, XI.406; Dekker's portrait in Satiromastix; and his own indignation at the failure of The New Inne and Carew's and Fellthem's criticisms, XI.335, 339. Compare Fraenkel's view of Epistles I.xix, p.339-350.

2. The element of satire in the odes could thus be explained by their links with Poetaster and Horace's Satires.

3. Herford, VIII.174.

4. Ibid. 175. This is the line also in the Apologeticall Dialogue, Herford, IV.324.

5. Another Horatian topic, see above, 108f.

Butt, Clownishe pride hath gott
  soe much the starte
Of Civill virtue, that hee now is not
  nor cann be of desert,
That hath not Countrye impudence enough to laughe att Arte.[1]

He goes on to give a picture similar to that in the Apologeticall Dialogue, again enhoing Juvenal VII, of the poet's hard labour for his art and the unappreciativeness of his audience:

Breake then thie quills, blott out
  Thie long watch'd verse
And rather to the ffyre, then to the Rowte
  Their labour'd tunes reherse,
Whose ayre will sooner Hell, then their dull senses peirce,
  Thou that doest spend thie dayes
  to gett thee a leane fface,
And comme fforth worthie Ivye, or the Bayes,
And in this Age, canst hope no other grace.[2]

The poem ends with an appeal to Minerva to triumph over the forces of barbarism as in Poetaster, adding 'Gorgon Envye' to the ranks of the giants from C.III.iv.[3]

It is interesting to find the same themes and the same picture of the poet in the famous ode written many years later after the failure of The New Inne, demonstrating the consistency of theme in Jonson's work.[4] The poem is full of bitter scorn for the ignorance of the theatre audiences of Jonson's day, and once again, Jonson turns to himself to his own powers, resolving to emulate the ancient lyric poets, - 'thine owne Horace'.

These three poems are often seen as just expressions of spleen on Jonson's part for his dramatic failures. But they should be seen rather as expressing, through an adaptation of Horace's Callimachean exclusive pose, Jonson's belief in the value of art, his high sense of the poet's

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1. Herford, VIII.420.
2. Ibid. VIII.420. See IV.323-4.
3. See further below, 157.
4. See further below, 147.

calling and his Horatian conviction of the need for effort in writing good poetry.[1]

Two other poems in which we can see Jonson developing further the Horatian role of Poetaster are the Epistle. To Katherine, Lady Aubigny and An Epistle answering to one that asked to be Sealed of the Tribe of Ben. In the former, Jonson begins by building up his persona before beginning his panegyric. He portrays himself as the threatened poet of Poetaster who must praise the good despite danger from the malicious and is unmoved by fortune:

> I, therefore, who professe my selfe in love
> With every vertue, wheresoere it move,
> And howsoever; as I am at fewd
> With sinne and vice, though with a throne endew'd;
> And, in this name, am given out dangerous
> By arts, and practise of the vicious,
> Such as suspect them-selves, and thinke it fit
> For their owne cap'tall crimes, to 'indite my wit;
> I, that have suffer'd this; and, though forsooke
> Of Fortune, have not alter'd yet my looke,
> Or so my selfe abandon'd, as because
> Men are not just, or keepe no holy lawes
> Of nature, and societie, I should faint;
> Or feare to draw true lines, 'cause others paint ....[2]

In the latter poem, Jonson gives another fine evocation of himself as the man of integrity despite the ignorance and malice of the world:

> Well, with mine owne fraile pitcher, what to doe
> I have decreed; keepe it from waves, and presse;
> Lest it be justled, crack'd, made nought, or lesse:
> Live to that point I will, for which I am man,
> And dwell as in my Center, as I can.... [3]

Behind this passage lie two passages from Horace, the opening lines of C.III.iii, and the description of the wise man in Serm. II.vii:

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1. Many parallels may be adduced from Discoveries, a similar product of Jonson's humanism. For example, see for the poet's need for art and knowledge 637-9, 586-7, 620, and above, 124, note 1 ; for scorn of the mob and ignorance 576, 583, 581-2, 586, 588, 593, 622, 638, 644; for envy 571, 579, 605, 633.

2. Herford, VIII.116-7.

3. Herford, VIII.219.

sapiens sibi qui imperiosus,
quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
in quem manca ruit semper fortuna. [1]

Jonson often draws on these passages to describe his ideal man:[2] for example, he uses the latter in the epigram To Sir Thomas Roe:

He that is round within himselfe, and streight,
Need seeke no other strength, no other height;
Fortune upon him breakes her selfe, if ill,
And what would hurt his vertue makes it still.[3]

Its phraseology colours Mercury's description of Crites[4] and Lovel's of the valiant man in The New Inne, where Jonson introduces a line of Horace into a rendering of Seneca:

Not Fortunes selfe,
When she encounters vertue, but comes off
Both lame, and lesse: [5]

In the Epistle, Jonson also draws a picture of the antithesis of the virtuous man, who comes straight from the portrait of the backbiter in Serm. I.iv. quoted above:

that will jeast
On all Soules that are absent; even the dead;
Like flies, or wormes, which mans corrupt parts fed:
That to speake well, thinke it above all sinne,
Of any Companie but that they are in,
Call every night to Supper in these fitts,
And are received for the Covey of Witts;
That censure all the Towne, and all th'affaires,
And know whose ignorance is more then theirs .... [6]

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1. Ll.83-88.

2. For Jonson and constancy, see further below, 219.

3. Herford, VIII.63. See also To William Roe, VIII.81 for circular imagery.

4. Quoted above, 125. See also Arete on Crites, 'like a circle bounded in it selfe', Herford, IV.168.

5. Herford, VI.473. The Seneca extract is from De Constantia viii.3, Herford, X.325.

6. Herford, VIII.218. This draws on the continuation of the Horace passage: saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos,/e quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos/praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus,/condita cum verax aperit praecordia liber:/hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur/infesto nigris, ll.86-91.

Again, Jonson often draws on this passage to describe the bad: for example Inigo Jones is seen as the backbiter in On the Townes Honest Man:

> Can sing songs, and catches;
> Give every one his dose of mirth: and watches
> Whose name's un-welcome to the present eare,
> And him it layes on; if he be not there.
> Tell's of him, all the tales, it selfe then makes....
> and in the fit
> Of miming, getsth' opinion of a wit. [1]

An Epistle provides a good illustration of Jonson's voice, forthright, dignified, persuasive. The elements drawn from Horace have been transmuted into Jonson's own. Jonson found his voice in his poems. We may feel some sense of strain in the Horatian role of poetaster. Herford and Simpson comment on the colourlessness of the Horace-Jonson portrait, neither Horace, nor Jonson.[2] Ian Donaldson comments on the forbiddingness of the device of the armed prologue and the portrait of Jonson in the Apologeticall Dialogue:

> When Jonson approaches anything like an authorial pronouncement or a semi-autobiographical portrait in his plays, his writing tends to become hortatory and stiff. [3]

Some of Horace's and the author's speeches are rather aggressive and hectoring:[4] Dekker parodies quite well Jonson's self-righteous and aggressive tone in Satiromastix:

> To see my fate, that when I dip my pen
> In distilde Roses, and doe strive to dreine,
> Out of myne Inke all gall; that when I wey
> Each sillable I write or speake, because
> Mine enemies with sharpe and searching eyes
> Looke through and through me, carving my poor labours

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1. Herford, VIII.74. See also the false flatterers in Discoveries, VIII. 612; the railers in The Staple of News, VI.313, 345-6, 352, 379-80; the 'loose laughter', solutos risus, of Epigram II, To my Booke, VIII, 27; and Carlo Buffone's description of Macilente and Macilente's of Carlo in Every Man out of his Humour, III.450-1.

2. Herford, I.422. The lack of colour is partly due to the focus on Horace as the good satirist. See also Parfitt (C), 53.

3. xiii.

4. E.g. Herford, IV.318-9, 299.

> Like an Anotomy: O heavens to see,
> That when my lines are measur'd out as straight
> As even Paralels, tis strange that still,
> Still some imagine they are drawne awry.
> The error is not mine, but in theyr eye,
> That cannot take proportions. [1]

In the poems, however, Jonson achieves both authority and dignity and a more relaxed intimacy. In the three odes to himself, Jonson puts across more successfully than in the Apologeticall Dialogue an intimate portrait of the artist, expressing other emotions than the scorn which predominates in the latter. 'Yff Men and tymes were nowe' expresses as movingly as Lycidas the isolation and disappointments of the artist's vocation. In An Ode. To himselfe, we see Jonson, as it were bucking himself up, and feel a real sense of his committment to his art. Most personal of all, the New Inne ode, with its references to Jonson's physical decrepitude and his paralysis, expresses the determination of the ageing poet:

> And though thy nerves be shrunke, and blood be cold,
> Ere yeares have made thee old;
> Strike that disdaine-full heate
> Throughout, to their defeate:
> As curious fooles, and envious of thy straine,
> May, blushing, sweare no palsey's in thy braine. [2]

Jonson draws on Horace for the wider range of tone and the more varied self-portraiture of the poems. Though Jonson's voice is often more stern and uncompromising than Horace's, and more harshly satiric, - contrast Horace's lines on the backbiter with their slight touch of mock-heroic, hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto, with Jonson's darker rendering in An Epistle answering to one, with its characteristic imagery, 'like flies, or wormes, which mans corrupt parts fed', - it has other tones. In the

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1. Bowers, I.321-2, and see I.379.

2. Herford, VI.493. See also the Epilogue to The New Inne, VI.490, and An Epistle Mendicant, where Jonson portrays himself as 'a Bed-rid wit' and movingly describes the paralysis of his muse, 'fix'd to the bed, and boords', VIII.248.

following poem, he combines ethical weight of utterance with a more Horatian intimacy of address:

> High-spirited friend,
> I send nor Balmes, nor Cor'sives to your wound,
> Your fate hath found
> A gentler, and more agile hand, to tend
> The Cure of that, which is but corporall,
> And doubtfull Dayes (which were nam'd Criticall,)
> Have made their fairest flight,
> And now are out of sight.
> Yet doth some wholsome Physick for the mind,
> Wrapt in this paper lie,
> Which in the taking if you mis-apply,
> You are unkind.
>
> Your covetous hand,
> Happy in that faire honour it hath gain'd,
> Must now be rayn'd.
> True valour doth her owne renowne command
> In one full Action; nor have you now more
> To doe, then be a husband of that store.
> Thinke but how deare you bought
> This same which you have caught,
> Such thoughts wil make you more in love with truth.
> 'Tis wisdome, and that high,
> For men to use their fortune reverently,
> Even in youth. [1]

The combination of ethics and personal address here is the typical formula of Horace's Odes. We note the delicate blend of compliment, - congratulation for the friend's recovery and recognition of his achievement, - with advice.[2] We note too the medical imagery appropriate to the friend's situation. Jonson surely learnt from Horace's intimacy and tact of address.[3] Like Horace in the Odes, in his poems to his friends, Camden, Selden, and

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1. Herford, VIII.180-1.

2. On the addressee of the ode, see Donaldson, 173, who suggests Sackville. The remarks about true valour are similar to Lovel's Senecan speeches in The New Inne, Herford, VI.469 f, line 23 recalls Ausonius, Epigram ii.7, and the general prudential direction of the advice is also reminiscent of C.II.x.1-2: 'Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum/semper urgendo.

3. See above, 99.

others, Jonson creates an ideal world of friendship and cultivation.[1] In such poems, we see him as pupil and friend, rather than as embattled poet.

Jonson also employs in his poems the Horatian device of humorous self-portraiture and physical description.[2] In My Answer, The Poet to the Painter and Epistle. To my Lady Covell, he jests about his figure and his age in a way reminiscent of Horace's references to his personal appearance in Epistles I.iv and xx.[3] In the former, which is another good example of intimate and complimentary address, Jonson wittily misunderstands Burlase's statement that he cannot paint Jonson's worth as a reference to his figure:

> Why? though I seeme of a prodigious wast,
> I am not so voluminous, and vast,
> But there are lines, wherewith I might be embrac'd.
>
> 'Tis true, as my wombe swells, so my backe stoupes,
> And the whole lumpe growes round, deform'd and droupes,
> But yet the Tun at Heidelberg had houpes. [4]

In the latter, he gives a similar, humorously-grotesque, portrait:

> being a tardie, cold,
> Unprofitable Chattell, fat and old,
> Laden with Bellie, and doth hardly approach
> His friends, but to breake Chaires, or cracke a Coach.
> His weight is twenty Stone within two pound....[5]

Jonson carried this picture of himself into his love poems, and here again Horace provided a model. In C.IV.i, which Jonson translated, Horace presents a detached picture of himself as the middle-aged lover circa lustra decem, with a blend of self-mockery, nostalgia and pathos which Jonson catches quite well. In his own poems, he adopts a similar persona. In the

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1. See also on Inviting a Friend to Supper, below, 264-5.

2. See also the humorous self-portrait in The Staple of Newes, Herford, VI.281, and the allusion to his weight in The Magnetick Lady, VI.517. On this device, see Trimpi 153-7.

3. Ll. 15-16; 20-6.

4. Herford, VIII.226-7.

5. Herford, VIII.230.

first poem of The Forrest, he announces that he is too old for love.[1] In the Charis sequence, he presents himself as the middle-aged lover of the symbolic age of 50, surely a deliberate recollection of C.IV.i, who cuts an absurd figure.[2] There is another amusing sketch of himself as the middle-aged lover in My Picture left in Scotland, which Jonson said to Drummond was 'a picture of himselfe':[3]

> Oh, but my conscious feares,
> That flie my thoughts betweene,
> Tell me that she hath seene
> My hundred of gray haires,
> Told seven and fortie yeares,
> Read so much wast, as she cannot imbrace
> My mountaine belly, and my rockie face,
> And all these through her eyes, have stopt her eares.[4]

This technique of carrying over a persona built up in other poems creates a rather unusual kind of love poem, in which love is viewed with detachment and from the perspective of other experience.[5]

Jonson, as the above analysis sought to demonstrate in detail from his reworking of Horace's Satires in Poetaster, saw Horace as an ethical teacher. Translating Daniel Heinsius, Jonson called Horace 'an Author of much Civilitie; and (if any one among the heathen can be) the best master, both of vertue, and wisdome'.[6] Here, we put our finger on an important

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1. Herford, VIII.93.

2. See nos. 1 and 2, Herford, VIII.131, 132. The sequence is primarily dependent on the Italian Neo-Platonic questione d'amore, see Trimpi, 210-227, not on Horace's love-poetry.

3. Herford, I.150.

4. Herford, VIII.149-50. See also Underwood xlii, VIII.199.

5. See further, on Jonson, Trimpi, 207-9, 234, and, on Horace, below, 240-1.

6. Herford, VIII.642. See above, 24, for the quotation from D. Heinsius. Jonson seems to be following the phrasing of the 2nd edition, 1612, not the third of 1629. The parenthesis seems to be his own addition.

difference between the poetry of Jonson and Horace. Jonson, with his Renaissance conception of the poet, genuinely sought to instruct, and the whole of his work, plays, masques and poems, shows a remarkable consistency of theme, - Herford and Simpson's commentary is full of cross-reference.[1] Horace's poems do not have an equivalent consistency,[2] and we tread on uncertain ground if we attempt to decide on his views: he liked to represent himself as nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri.[3] Horace writes well on certain recurrent ethical themes, notably retirement and the simple life and the Epicurean idea of making the best use of the present. Often, though, his aim seems to be mockery of his assumption of the role of the σοφός. Characteristic is the deliciously mock-complacent picture of himself at the end of C.III.xxix as the Stoic wise-man, superior to Fortune:

> laudo manentem: si celeris quatit
> pinnas, resigno quae dedit et mea
> virtute me involvo probamque
> pauperiem sine dote quaero.
>
> non est meum, si mugiat Africis
> malus procellis, ad miseras preces
> decurrere et votis pacisci,
> ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces
>
> addant avaro divitias mari:
> tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
> tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
> aura feret geminusque Pollux.[4]

In the Epistles, the point seems often to be the humorous contrast between Horace the teacher and Horace the man, manifested, for example, in the reversal between Epistles I.xiv and xv.[5] Here, we have a difference in

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1. See also Parfitt (c), 92-3.

2. 'One can hardly assent with equal complacence to all the maxims of the odes; some are incompatible,' Hubbard (a), 8.

3. Epistles, I.i.14.

4. Ll.53-64. See also the characteristic shrug at the end of Serm. I.i.120-1.

5. On Horace and consistency, see further below, 220-1.

the voices of Horace and Jonson. Compare the tone of the passage from C.III.xxix quoted above with the passage from An Epistle answering to one[1] in which Jonson sets out his ideal of integrity. Although I do not wish to suggest that there are no emotional complexities in Ben Jonson, we feel that we are on surer ground with him than with the elusive Horace.

Jonson uses many moral topics from Horace, which he assimilates to his own moral vision. An example is the opening of To Penshurst, where he adapts the opening of C.II.xviii, the rejection of outer for inner riches:

> Non ebur neque aureum
> mea renidet in domo lacunar,
> non trabes Hymettiae
> premunt columnas ultima recisas
>
> Africa neque Attali
> ignotus heres regiam occupavi
> nec Laconicas mihi
> trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.
>
> at fides et ingeni
> benigna vena est....[2]

> Thou are not, PENSHURST, built to envious show,[3]
> Of touch, or marble; nor canst boast a row
> Of polish'd pillars, or a roofe of gold:
> Thou hast no lantherne, whereof tales are told;
> Or stayre, or courts; but stand'st an ancient pile,
> And these grudg'd at, art reverenc'd the while.
> Thou joy'st in better markes, of soyle, of ayre,
> Of wood, of water: therein thou art faire.....[4]

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1. Quoted above, 140.

2. I.1.1-10.

3. 'To envious show' recalls the invidenda aula of C.II.x.7-8: Penshurst is the house which obeys the mean.

4. Herford, VIII.93. Despite the bulk of commentary on To Penshurst, this allusion to Horace seems to have passed unnoticed.

Jonson adopts the Horatian scheme[1] to express the difference between real and apparent greatness, outer show and inner worth, a theme which is every where present in his work, along with the related themes of the difference between the appearance of virtue and true virtue, and the difference between title and virtue, 'great' and 'good';[2] as Parfitt suggests these are all subsumed under the theme of being and seeming.[3]

We cannot list all the echoes of Horatian moral topics in Jonson's poems and plays,[4] but it is worth noting the characteristic way in which he moralises the topics of C.IV.viii and ix. In To the right Honourable, the Lord Treasurer of England, Jonson opens with a modernisation of Horace's idea from C.IV.viii that he would give gifts of monetary value if he were rich:

> If to my mind, great Lord, I had a state,
> I would present you now with curious plate
> Of Norenberg, or Turkie; hang your roomes
> Not with the Arras, but the Persian Loomes.
> I would, if price, or prayer could them get,
> Send in, what or Romano, Tintoret,
> Titian, or Raphael, Michael Angelo,
> Have left in fame to equall, or out-goe
> The old Greek-hands in picture or in stone.[5]

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1. A traditional one: see also Bacchylides fr. 21; Lucretius II.23f; Virgil Georgics II.461 f; Propertius III.ii.11 f; and Ovid Amores I.iii.7 f.

2. See An Expostulacion ll.25-9, Herford, VIII.403; To the World ll.1-24, VIII.100; epigram cix and cxix, VIII.70, 76; The King's Entertainment at Welbeck ll.320-326, VII.602; The Divell is an Asse, VI.168, 176; The Staple of Newes, VI.335-6; Discoveries, VIII. 607 (from Seneca), 585 (here on style). For the great/good contrast, see epigram cxvi, cxiii, lxxvi, VIII. 75, 73, 52: The New Inne, VI. 411; Masques, VII. 305, 424, 759, 93; Parfitt (c), 93. See also Epistles I.xvi.17: tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis and Epigram lxiii, Herford VIII.47, An Epigram, VIII. 185.

3. Parfitt (a), 126-7.

4. Some examples from Volpone will be found in Parfitt (C), 111-115.

5. Herford, VIII.260.

(we may note that Jonson typically clarifies the mannered Horatian pattern 'I wish I could give plate, bronze statues, and tripods to all my friends; you would have a marble statue or a painting').[1] But he continues with a characteristically-expressed ethical variation[2] on Horace's idea

> sed non haec mihi vis, nec tibi talium
> res est aut animus deliciarum egens, [3]

in which he manipulates Horace's imagery in a series of moral distinctions:

> This I would doe, could I thinke Weston one
> Catch'd with these Arts, wherein the Judge is wise
> As farre as Sense, and onely by the eyes.
> But you I know, my Lord; and know you can
> Discerne betweene a Statue, and a Man;
> Can doe the things that Statues doe deserve,
> And act the businesse, which they paint, or carve.
> What you have studied are the arts of life;
> To compose men, and manners.....[4]

In his Epistle To Elizabeth Countesse of Rutland, Jonson again uses the topic of C.IV.viii that the poet gives the poem rather than a gift of monetary value, and develops it in the opening of the poem into a fierce attack on the corruption of the age and its false values: money is esteemed over poetry:

> Whil'st that, for which, all vertue now is sold,
> And almost every vice, almightie gold,
> That which, to boote with hell, is thought worth heaven,
> And, for it, life, conscience, yea, soules are given...
> whil'st gold beares all this sway,
> I, that have none (to send you) send you verse.
> A present, which (if elder writs reherse
> The truth of times) was once of more esteeme,
> Then this, our guilt, nor golden age can deeme....[5]

In the second half of the poem, Jonson develops the theme of the

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1. N.-H. 99-100.

2. See below, 160.

3. Ll.9-10.

4. Herford, VIII.260-1

5. Herford, VIII.113-4.

immortalising powers of poetry, using ideas and phrases from both C.IV.viii and ix and also the pyramid theme of C.III.xxx,[1] and again developing them ethically. He pours scorn on the outward show which wealth can buy:

> Those other glorious notes,[2]
> Inscrib'd in touch or marble,[3] or the cotes
> Painted, or carv'd upon our great-mens tombs,
> Or in their windowes; doe but prove the wombs,
> That bred them, graves: when they were borne, they di'd,
> That had no Muse to make their fame abide. [4]

It is virtue which Jonson wants to immortalise, and he will do it not by rhetorical ornament, but truth.[5]

In such reworkings of Horatian motifs, we can see the craftsmanly approach to the reading of classical authors fostered by seventeenth-century education which is the other side of the humanist approach.[6] We are fortunate in having Jonson's copy of Parthenio's edition of Horace,[7] which also shows us Jonson engaging with Horace at the level of phrases and motifs, perhaps with a view to redeployment. For example, Jonson underlines Parthenio's explanatory note on perstringis auris in C.II.i:

> magni artificii et facultatis est, ita res exponere, ut ante oculos eas constituas. hac laude vel in poeta vel in oratore nulla praestantior.
>
> sine mihi non tam exponi, quam geri res videntur, quas narras.[8]

He was perhaps thinking of using the idea as a panegyric topic in a poem

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1. In ll.83-5.
2. C.IV.viii.13 incisa notis marmora publicis.
3. Non ebur neque aureum again.
4. Herford, VIII.114.
5. Ll.87-90.
6. See above, 13 f, 27f.
7. See above, 25 f.
8. 67, 67v.

of his own: it may have suggested the stratagem of The Vision of Ben. Jonson, on the Muses of his Friend M. Drayton, in which Jonson speaks of seeing and hearing Drayton's poetry in a vision, and especially the following lines:

> I heard that Rore,
> And Rouze, the Marching of a mighty force,
> Drums against Drums, the neighing of the Horse,
> The Fight, the Cryes, and wondring at the Jarres
> I saw, and read, it was thy Barrons Warres! [1]

which are reminiscent of Horace's:

> iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
> perstringis auris, iam litui strepunt,
> iam fulgor armorum fugacis
> terret equos equitumque voltus.[2]

This approach to reading classical authors, - looking at poems as examples of craft, of a performed job, and searching for strategems of, for example, praise,[3] - is one which is no longer instinctive to us, and which gives Jonson a certain advantage in understanding Horace: he was unlikely to have been lead, for example, into modern confusions about the techniques of Horatian panegyric.[4]

In his copy of Parthenio, Jonson underlines phrases and lines chiefly in the first three satires and the Ars Poetica which we can see would have appealed to him, both for their content and their pointed expression. In the first satire, for example, he underlines the lines about the futility of avarice and the idea that money is for use,[5] which are paralleled in,

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1. Herford, VIII.397.

2. Ll.16-20.

3. See also the opening lines of To Penshurst, where Jonson puts a traditional topic to new use as a panegyric motif. Jonson underlines some panegyric motifs in Epistles II.i, - lines 3-4, 17, 21-2, 258-9, 262-3.

4. See below, 298f.

5. Ll.41-2, 44-6, 73.

for example, The Staple of Newes,[1] and the phrase horum/semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum,[2] which is the kind of idea and phrasing which seventeenth-century poets found particularly picquant.[3] Jonson also underlines the lines invoking nature as a standard:

> vel dic quid referat intra
> naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an
> mille aret? [4]

an idea he invokes in his own work,[5] and the lines on the mean:

> est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
> quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum,[6]

which are paralleled in The Staple.[7] Again, in Serm.I.ii, lines about natural limits are marked:

> nonne, cupidinibus statuat natura modum?....
>
> num, tibi cum faucis urit sitis, aurea quaeris
> pocula? num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter
> pavonem rhombumque 8

which are very close to Penniboy Senior's Senecan speech in The Staple, 'What need hath Nature/Of silver dishes?.... Poore, and wise she, requires/ Meate only'.[9] In Serm.I.iii, the opening passage about the inconsistency of Tigellius is underlined:[10] Jonson used this in Poetaster.[11] The

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1. Herford, VI.319, 380, 381.
2. Ll.78-9.
3. See below, 227.
4. Ll.49-51.
5. See below, 165-6.
6. Ll.106-7.
7. Herford, VI.381.
8. Ll.111, 114-6. He also underlines 74-5.
9. Herford, VI.342. See below, 165.
10. Ll.1-3, 11-15. On Jonson's admiration for consistency, see below, 219.
11. 'Tis the common disease of all your musicians, that they know no meane, to be intreated, either to begin, or end,' Herford, IV. 232. See above, 126.

discussion about being too critical which follows also fits in with the debate about satire in Poetaster.[1] There are many underlinings in the Ars of which we might note the following: ll.308-309, and 317-8 on the need for knowledge in writing poetry, ll.333-7, and 343-4 on the need for utile and dulce, ll.408-14 on the need for ingenium and ars, ll.398-3 and 396-8 on the moral powers of poetry, ll.240-2 on the difficulty of writing good poetry, and ll. 428, 430, 433, 440-2, 445-7, 450-1 on the false and the true critic.[2]

Jonson's translations also show him working at this intimate level with the text of Horace. From them we can see that Jonson had a closer idea of the style of the Odes than is suggested by the rather conventional characterisation of Horace's lyric in Poetaster. Though Jonson's literal method of translation seems rather clumsy and pedantic to us, he shows an awareness of some of the qualities of the style of C.IV.i in his translation, where he gets, perhaps aided by Parthenio,[3] the twin antithesis in the lines

> desine, dulcium
>
> mater saeva Cupidinum,
> circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
> iam durum imperiis. [4]

> Refraine,
> Sower Mother of sweet Loves, forbeare
> To bend a man, now at his fiftieth yeare
> Too stubborne for Commands so slack.[5]

This is the most successful of Jonson's translations from Horace: he conveys something of the complex blend of tones, including the lyrical

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1. See especially, ll.19-24, 55-7.
2. See above, 135.
3. See above, 28.
4. Ll.4-8.
5. Herford, VIII.292.

pathos of the conclusion:

> Me now, nor Wench, nor wanton Boy,
> Delights, nor credulous hope of mutuall Joy,
> Nor care I now healths to propound;
> Or with fresh flowers to girt my temple round.
> But, why, oh why, my Ligurine,
> Flow my thin teares, downe these pale cheeks of mine?
> Or why, my well-grac'd words among,
> With an uncomely silence failes my tongue?
> Hard-hearted, I dreame every Night
> I hold thee fast: but fled hence, with the Light,
> Whether in Mars his field thou bee,
> Or Tybers winding streames, I follow thee.[1]

Jonson also tries to convey the effect of Horace's metres by varying line-lengths, and he obviously recognises the conciseness of his originals.

Jonson studied Horace's style in some detail, as we can see from An Ode. To himself e, where he imitates several specific stylistic features of Horace's Odes. Jonson here aims at the concreteness and full brevity of the Odes.[2] The ideas are expressed concretely in Horace's manner: Jonson thus expresses his depression at the state of poetry:

> Are all th'Aonian springs
> Dri'd up? lyes Thespia wast?
> Doth Clarius Harp want strings,
> That not a Nymph now sings?
> Or droop they as disgrac't,
> To see their Seats and Bowers by chattring Pies defac't?[3]

There are not many connecting links to point the progression of thought, nor are there the abstract pointers and distinctions more typical of Jonson's style.[4] Jonson imitates Horace's concrete brief metaphors:[5]

> What though the greedie Frie
> Be taken with false Baytes
> Of worded Balladrie?[6]

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1. Herford, VIII.293.
2. See above, 72 f.
3. Herford, VIII.174.
4. See below, 160f.
5. See above, 85.
6. Herford, VIII.175. See also 1.12, 4-6.

The poem ends with a striking concrete image in the line 'safe from the wolves black jaw, and the dull Asses hoofe'. Jonson also imitates the expressive brevity of allusion of the Odes,[1] in his allusion to the Prometheus myth:

> Then take in hand thy Lyre,
> Strike in thy proper straine,
> With Japhets lyne, aspire
> Sols Chariot for new fire,
> To give the world againe:
> Who aided him, will thee, the issue of Joves braine.[2]

Here, although the phrase 'Japhets lyne' comes from C.I.iii,[3] Jonson is using the Prometheus myth in a different way to fit in with his theme of the triumph of knowledge over ignorance. Horace had used Prometheus as an exemplum of human impiety: audax omnia perpeti/gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.[4] But Jonson uses the myth in a more humanist way to express the acquisition of knowledge, and he alludes to the help given Prometheus by Athena, goddess of wisdom, 'the issue of Joves braine'.[5] We may note that Parthenio in his note on Iapeti genus also mentions Athena and explains that Prometheus' fire had been interpreted as philosophia and

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1. See above, 74.

2. Herford, VIII.175.

3. 1.27, Iapeti genus. Parthenio notes that this is a periphasis for Prometheus. The identification of Iapetus and Japhet seems to have been common in the Renaissance: there is a chapter on it in an appendix to Conti's Mythologiae (Lyons, 1653), quoted by Carey and Fowler, The Poems of John Milton, 655-6.

4. 11.25-6. Milton's reference to 'him who had stole Jove's authentic fire', Paradise Lost, IV. 719, Carey and Fowler, 656, is also pessimistic, and suggests the Fall. Milton is, of course, a master of the suggestive use of myth, see above, 81.

5. She helped him to create man, see H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology (paperback ed.1964), 54.

intellectualis vita.[1] The humanist learning in these lines is meant to give pleasure to the equally erudite, similar to the pleasure gained from C.II.xvi in recognising the allusions to Homer and the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite in the lines about Achilles and Tithonus.[2] We may note here the similarly compact allusion to myth in the ode 'Yff Men and tymes were nowe', which is another variation on the theme of knowledge and ignorance. Jonson again alludes to Athena, goddess of wisdom, this time, to the part she played in the gigantomachy:

> Throwe, Holye Virgin, then
> Thie Chrystall sheild
> Aboute this Isle, and Charme the rounde, as when
> Thou mad'st in open ffeild
> The Rebell Gyantes stoope, and Gorgon Envye yeild;[3]

The gigantomachy was traditionally interpreted as the victory of the forces of civilisation over barbarism. Jonson recalls Horace's treatment of the myth in C.III.iv, with its picture of Athena and her aegis:

> sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas
> aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu,
> quid Rhoetus evolsisque truncis
> Enceladus iaculator audax
>
> contra sonantem Palladis aegida
> possent ruentes? 4

Horace was using the myth to allude to Augustus' restoration of order,[5] but Jonson uses it here as an artistic parable: he is asking for the restoration of artistic standards and the defeat of the enemies of art: we may note how he adds 'Gorgon Envye' to the ranks of the barbarians.[6]

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1. 10.
2. Hubbard (a), 4.
3. Herford, VIII.421.
4. Ll.53-8.
5. See Fraenkel, 273-85.
6. Jonson perhaps knew the version of the myth in which Athena, not Perseus, kills the Gorgon during the gigantomachy, see Rose, op.cit. 30.

To return to An Ode. To himselfe, Jonson also imitates the terse apophthegms of the Odes,[1] and their use of the interrogative,[2] - the poem opens with an abrupt question, and the second stanza consists of a series of questions. Although Jonson's stanza does not recall any of Horace's,[3] it is handled with equivalent force and control in the disposition of sense and line units: the run-on line in the opening of stanza 2, quoted above, is characteristic of Horace.[4] Jonson manages by his energetic handling of the phrase to give about the right weight of language for an imitation of a Horatian ode, - contrast Randolph's An Ode to Mr. Anthony Stafford.[5]

It was primarily, I think, the qualities of style that he was aiming at in An Ode. To himselfe, - clarity, force and economy, - that interested Jonson in Horace's language. He admired 'the noble and bold purity' which Dryden praised.[6] Jonson stresses the importance of clarity in Discoveries: 'the chiefe vertue of a style is perspicuitie, and nothing so vitious in it, as to need an Interpreter'.[7] His constant critical emphasis is on the lucid expression of sound matter.[8] This attitude to style makes Jonson close to Horace, for example, in his handling of metaphor,[9] where he is

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1. In lines 4-6, 16-18. See e.g. C.I.xxiv.19-20; C.III.iv.65-8; C.IV. iv.29-36.

2. E.g. C.I.xxxv.33-40; C.II.i.29-36; C.II.iii.9-12.

3. But Jonson perhaps felt it was Horatian, see above, 68, note, 1 .

4. E.g. C.I.v.

5. See above, 82.

6. See below, 352.

7. Herford, VIII.622. Jonson is translating Quintilian, I.vi.41.

8. See for example Virgil's speech to Crispinus in Poetaster, Herford, IV.314.

9. On Horace's handling of metaphor, see above, 85.

noticeably austere for his period. He disliked ornament for its own sake,[1] and he rejected that area of decorative artifice in metaphor in which other seventeenth-century poets delighted and with which they embroidered imitations of Horace.[2] Jonson's recollection of Horace's spring scene in C.IV.vii is characteristically plain:

> The Rivers in their shores do run,[3]
> The Clowdes rack cleare before the Sun,
> The rudest Winds obey the calmest Ayre:
> Rare Plants from ev'ry banke doe rise,
> And ev'ry Plant the sense surprize,
> Because the order of the whole is faire![4]

There is no decorative metaphor in these lines:[5] characteristically, Jonson stresses the 'order of the whole' rather than individual ornament. In Discoveries, translating Vives, he says that metaphors should serve 'significance':

> But in this Translation [i.e. metaphor] wee must only serve necessity (Nam temere nihil transfertur a prudenti) or commodity, which is a kind of necessity; that is, when wee either absolutely want a word to expresse by, and that is necessity; or when wee have not so fit a word, and that is commodity. As when wee avoid losse by it, and escape obscenenesse, and gaine in the grace and property, which helpes significance, Metaphors farfet hinder to be understood, and affected, lose their grace, [6]

and he imitates classical clarity and point in his handling of metaphor: in the following example, the metaphor expresses a correct way of living, as it does in the example from Horace:

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1. See Discoveries, Herford, VIII. 622-3, 585.

2. See above, 49-50, 85-6.

3. et decrescentia ripas/flumina praetereunt, C.IV.vii.3-4.

4. Herford, VIII.251.

5. Though the ode does begin with a rather elaborate conceit whereby the coming of spring is described as earth's delivery.

6. Herford, VIII.621.

You, Madame, yong have learn'd to shunne these shelves,
  Whereon the most of mankinde wracke themselves,
And, keeping a just course, have earely put
  Into your harbor, and all passage shut
'Gainst stormes, or pyrats, that might charge your peace.[1]

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
    litus iniquum. [2]

Like Horace's, his metaphors are usually traditional, unambiguous and quiet; he disliked 'farfet' and 'rackt'[3] metaphors.[4] In general, he sought clarity and control in language, and this links him with classical authors.[5]

We may note that in his concern for meaning, Jonson, following in the tradition of seventeenth-century lyric,[6] generally emphasises the connection of his thought more than Horace. Very characteristic are the ethical pointer and the ethical discrimination. In his adaptation of the opening lines of C.II.xviii in To Penshurst, for example, he characteristically intrudes an ethical pointer, 'to envious showe', in line one, in order to make clear the ethical point of the Horatian concrete scheme he is imitating, the contrast between outer display and inner wealth or 'function rather than rarity or display'.[7] In contrast, Horace has no conceptual word till beatus in line fourteen. Throughout To Penhurst, the contrast is developed in a series of careful ethical distinctions very typical of the Jonsonian style;

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1. Herford, VIII.119.
2. C.II.x.1-4.
3. See the dedication to Volpone, Herford, V.19.
4. Jonson does not write in the Shakespearian 'associative' tradition of metaphor, Knights (a), 183-5.
5. See further Parfitt (b), esp. 120-3.
6. See above, 71f.
7. Summers, 54.

And these grudg'd at, art reverenc'd the while
Thou joyst in better markes,
Thou hast thy walkes for health, as well as sport.[1]

We are thus guided to a clear moral evaluation of the concrete details of the estate and the house,[2] and the poem works logically and directly to the final triumphant distinction:

Now, PENSHURST, they that will proportion thee
With other edifices, when they see
Those proud, ambitious heaps, and nothing else,
May say, their lords have built, but thy lord dwells.[3]

Jonson's style is thus generally more abstract than Horace's, and, although he does not exploit logic in the manner of Donne, he usually presents his argument more logically than Horace.

Jonson does not imitate the extremer collocations of the style of the Odes which Milton admired.[4] It was more their crisp power and lucidity than their rich artifice which appealed to him.[5] On the other hand, Wesley

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1. Herford, VIII.93, my italics.

2. These are in the tradition of Epode II and Martial III.lviii, but they are more ethically significant, see e.g. ll.39-47. Many of the details have classical sources, see the notes in Herford, XI.33-5; Mason, 273-86; A. Fowler, Conceitful Thought (1975), Chapter 6, 'The Locality of Jonson's To Penhurst'. Lines 45-6 perhaps recall Horace's description of the evicted tenants in C.II.xviii.25-8.

3. Herford, VIII.96, my italics. These careful ethical distinctions are the hallmark of Jonson's style, see above, 149, note 2, for the great/good distinctions, and 150, for the lines to Weston. See also e.g. the Cary and Morison ode ll.21-4, Herford, VIII.243. The phenomenon is noted by F. Schelling, 'Ben Jonson and the Classical School', P.M.L.A. xiii (1898), 243-5.

4. See above, 83.

5. Jonson looked more in the direction of the hexameter poems for certain aspects of his couplet style. He seems to have thought that couplets were the English equivalent of hexameters: Drummond tells us that he had written a discourse 'wher he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of Verses, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters', Herford, I.132. The caesural flexibility and varied rhythm of Jonson's couplets, which reflect the movement of thought and feeling, well described by Trimpi, Chapter 6, were perhaps formed with an eye on Horace's Satires and Epistles.

Trimpi perhaps over-emphasises the plainness of Jonson's style. He goes too far, for example, when he says that Jonson rejected rhetorical schemes:[1] we have seen Jonson employing a scheme from C.II.xviii. Jonson's style is an allusive style as Fowler recognises,[2] - we may point to the opening of To Penshurst again, or to the use of the Prometheus myth in An Ode. To himselfe. Jonson's style is also, though in a quieter way than Horace's, a wrought style: careful art goes into the placing of words and the discriminatory antitheses. Though we may not find the richer effects of the Odes in it, there is too much point and impact in An Ode. To himselfe to describe it as being written in the plain style.

Much could be said about Jonson's classicism. He admired the independent attitudes of Bacon and Vives to the ancients. They should be 'Guides, not Commanders.' 'For to all the observations of the Ancients, wee have our owne experience'.[3] He adapts from Buchler the idea of imitation as assimilation, not pastiche:

> The third requisite in our Poet, or Maker, is Imitation, to bee able to convert the substance, or Riches of an other Poet, to his owne use. . ...Not, as a Creature, that swallowes, what it takes in, crude, raw, or indigested; but, that feedes with an Appetite, and hath a Stomacke to concoct, divide, and turne all into nourishment. Not, to imitate servilely, as Horace

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1. p.15. See further the review of his book by A. Stein, 'Plain Style, Plain Criticism, Plain Dealing, and Ben Jonson', E.L.H. xxx (1963): 'Jonson... would surely have been disconcerted by ...the sweeping dismissal of rhetoric, conventions, the theory of imitation', 312-3.

2. 'Jonson's style is plain in a manner fully compatible with rich allusion, delicate suggestion and complex wit', Fowler, op.cit. 134.

3. Herford, VIII.567. Jonson is here translating from Vives, In Libros de Disciplinis Praefatio, see the notes, Herford, XI.217-218. For Bacon on Aristotle, see Herford, VIII.627. See also Every Man out of his Humour, III.436-7, for an independent attitude to the Unities and comic laws. Jonson admired Horace as a critic because his rules were founded on experience: 'an excellent, and true judge upon cause, and reason; not because he thought so; but because he knew so, out of use and experience', VIII.642. See further Trimpi, 144-7.

> saith, and catch at vices, for vertue: but, to draw forth out of the best, and choisest flowers, with the Bee, and turne all into Honey, worke it into one relish, and savour.... [1]

Jonson certainly does not imitate Horace servilely. He does not produce a pastiche of classical ideas, but assimilates them to his own vision, linking them with native ideas, just as he fuses classical features of style with English idiom and individual characteristics.[2] His use of Horace is selective: he adopts what appeals to him and ignores what doesn't. Though he borrows from Horace on the theme of natural limits, e.g. death,[3] we do not find in him much of Horace's sense of the sadness of transience, nor does he use the characteristic carpe diem argument of for example C.I.ix. In Jonson, the time argument is employed either to urge speedy moral action, as in Epigram lxx To William Roe, which draws on Seneca De Brevitate Vitae and Virgil,[4] and is reminiscent of the argument of Epistles I.ii.40-3 or several of Martial's epigrams.[5] Or it is used as a seduction argument as in Underwood xix.[6] Jonson's echo of C.I.xi comes in a speech in The Divell is an Asse in which Wittipol is attempting to seduce Fitzdottrell's wife:

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1. Herford, VIII.638-9. From Institutio Poetica, see XI.284. Jonson adds the reference to the Ars Poetica 131-5.

2. See further Parfitt (a) and (b). He gives English parallels for the themes of constancy and inner and outer which Jonson imitated from Horace and examines the classical and native features of Horace's style. On Jonson's classicism, see also Parfitt (c), 104-123; Mason, 255-89; Knights (a), 192-8, 187-8; F.R. Leavis, Revaluation (paperback, 1964), 22-28. We may note that Parthenio in his introduction had said that is was not enough just to imitate a few flosculos, a word which Jonson underlined.

3. See below, 165-6.

4. See Herford, notes, XI.12-13.

5. Notably V.lviii, I.xv, V.xx. See Mason on this poem, 272-3.

6. Ll. 19-21. Herford, VIII.171.

> Let not the signe o' the husband fright you, Lady,
> But ere your spring be gone, injoy it. Flowers,
> Though faire, are oft but of one morning. Thinke,
> All beauty doth not last untill the autumne.
> You grow old, while I tell you this.[1] And such,
> As cannot use the present, are not wise. [2]

The argument is condemned by the context as immoral.

Ian Donaldson writes that Jonson's frequent use of classical authors is due to 'confidence about moral continuities (rather than any poverty of creative thought)'.[3] The remark is worth thinking about. Jonson made the Renaissance assumption that the ancients were talking about the same things as the moderns: thus, he confidently relates his own moral ideas to passages in Horace and other Roman writers, as with the passage from Serm. II.vii.[4] Jonson seeks to reinforce modern and personal experience by reference to classical experience: Penshurst reverberates with a traditional preference, while Jonson's struggles with his enemies are clarified by Horace's similar experiences. In addition, there were certain continuities between the classical world and Jonson's own which no longer exist today, - for example in the realm of patronage. Thus, Jonson can adapt Seneca De Beneficiis in An Epistle to Sir Edward Sacvile or Martial and Juvenal on dining in great men's houses in To Penshurst[5] and let it express his own personal experience.[6] Jonson, also, has some basic similarities of outlook with Roman writers. He has an Erasmian belief in reason and knowledge as

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1. dum loquimur, fugerit invida/aetas, 11.7-8.
2. Herford, VI.181.
3. xvi. See also Fowler, 134.
4. See further below,
5. Martial III.lx, Juvenal V.24.f. in lines 61 f.
6. See the famous story about Jonson and Salisbury, Herford, I.141. And see further Donaldson, xvii-xviii.

the basis of sound morality[1] which makes him in sympathy with the rational approach of Horace[2] and other Roman writers to morality. Like Horace, in Serm.II.iii, Jonson tends to see vice as irrational, a kind of madness.[3] Jonson also believes that both leisure and action are components of the good life.[4] He has a realistic, untranscendental approach to human experience which is akin to that of Horace[5] and other Roman writers. As L.C. Knights argues,[6] he has a similar sense of natural limitations, exposing the futility of Volpone's or Epicure Mammon's dreams of luxury by a reference to nature. We have seen that Jonson underlines passages in Serm. I.ii and iii on natural limits, and there are passages in the plays in which he adapts classical sources directly. In The Staple of Newes, Jonson adapts a passage from Seneca, also translated in Discoveries,[7] about the follies of luxury, invoking nature as a standard for desire,[8] and in The Divell is an Asse, he adapts Ofellus' lines on mortality and the limits of ownership:

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1. See the passage in Discoveries beginning 'I know no disease of the Soule, but Ignorance', Herford, VIII.588; An Epistle to Sir Edward Sacvile ll. 115-37, VIII.156-7, 'Men have beene great, but never good by chance'; Masque of Queenes, note o: 'the opposition to all vertue begins out of Ignorance', VII.287. See also J.C. Meagher, Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques (Indiana, paperback ed. 1969), 158; S. Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass. 1965), 169; Parfitt (a), 129-32. On Erasmus and rationality, see Pfeiffer, 71-81; introduction to Erasmus, Praise of Folly (Penguin Classics, 1971), by A.H.T. Levi, 16-32.

2. See Rudd (a), 261 f.

3. See G. Hibbard, 'Ben Jonson and Human Nature', in A Celebration of Ben Jonson, ed. W. Blissett, J. Patrick and R.W. Van Fossen (Toronto, 1973), esp. 76-80.

4. See below, 199, note, 3.

5. On the theme of natural limits in Horace see Commager, 235-306.

6. (a), 186-92, (b), 175-6.

7. Herford, VIII.606, and notes, XI.254-5.

8. Herford, VI.342.

> nam propriae telluris erum natura nec illum
> nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille,
> illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,
> postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.
> nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
> dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
> nunc mihi, nunc alii. [1]

This is used to expose Fitzdottrell's dreams of wealth and property:

> And, though it tarry in your heyres, some forty,
> Fifty descents, the longer liver, at last, yet,
> Must thrust 'hem out on't: if no quirk in law,
> Or odde. Vice o'their owne not do it first.
> Wee see those changes, daily: the faire lands,
> That were the Clyents, are the Lawyers, now:
> And those rich Mannors, there, of good man Taylors,
> Had once more wood upon'hem, then the yard,
> By which they were measur'd out for the last purchase.
> Nature hath these vicissitudes. Shee makes
> No man a state of perpetuity, Sir. [2]

Knights thinks that the reminder of death here, not 'a gratuitous thrill', but a 'quiet recognition of the inevitable', is very close to Horace, and he contrasts the sentimentalities of Landor.[3]

Jonson's work encompasses response to many aspects of Horace. He uses both the Odes and the hexameter poems. He adopts many small details of phrasing and he responds to the larger outlook. He notices techniques, tone and themes. He bequeathed his conception of Horace as a serious moral poet to his sons: it is the dominating conception till Dryden and the Restoration. We can see it reflected in the frequent use of passages which had appealed to him, e.g. Serm.II.vii and C.III.iii,[4] and in imitations of To Penshurst and To Sir Robert Wroth, - his Anglicised versions of

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1. Serm.II.ii.129-35. This was a favourite passage of the quotation books, see Appendix D.

2. Herford, VI.199.

3. Knights (a), 195-8. Knights also instances the easy introduction of the idea of death in Volpone, Herford, V.31, Epicoene, V.166. But see above, 163.

4. See below, 212f.

Epode II and C.II.xviii, - where the Jonsonian-Horatian voice is imitated and modified.[1] Most important, we can see it reflected in the general willingness to take Horace seriously and in the frequency of imitation.

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1. See Hibbard, , and below, 170f, 229-30.

CHAPTER V

Robert Herrick

Herrick took some care to present Hesperides as a collection, the work of one man, Robert Herrick. It is introduced by several prefatory programmatic pieces[1] and ends with a series of poems reflecting on his achievement, the last echoing the monument theme of C.III.xxx.[2] As with Jonson, we feel that Herrick's work is the product of one sensibility and that Horace has helped him to project it. Like Jonson, Herrick is a very personal poet, volunteering much information about himself and his tastes, as in for example His tears to Thamasis.[3]

Other influences beside Horace go to make up Herrick's poetic voice, notably the Anacreontea and the Greek Anthology.[4] In many poems, he adopts the light-hearted insouciant manner of the Anacreontea. Some of the poems entitled Upon himself are brief and jaunty characterisations inspired by the method of the Anacreontea,[5] and Herrick adopts the old-age persona of the Greek poems[6] and their characteristic hedonistic outlook. Some poems are direct translations, for example the following, which is a free rendering of the first 10 lines of οὐ μοι μέλει τὰ Γύγεω (no. 8):

> I feare no Earthly Powers;
> But care for crowns of flowers:
> And love to have my Beard

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1. The third poem, To his Booke, Martin, 6, is modelled on Epistles I.xx.

2. See above, 108 f.

3. Martin, 315.

4. McEuen, 204-217, 218-250 passim.

5. For example, Martin 65, 97, 116, 171, 182, 188, 191, 228, 290, 328, 329, 334, 335.

6. For example, To his Mistresses, Martin, 10; Crutches 303; Age unfit for Love (a translation of no. 7), 277; Upon his gray haires (a translation of no. 51), 194; On himselfe, 17. To a Gentlewoman, objecting to him his gray haires, 63, combines this with C.IV.x, see below, 242 .

With Wine and Oile besmear'd.
This day Ile drowne all sorrow;
Who knowes to live to morrow? [1]

Some adopt a similar tone:

Born I was to be old,
  And for to die here:
After that, in the mould
  Long for to lye here.
But before that day comes,
  Still I be Bousing;
For I know, in the Tombs
  There's no Carousing. 2

The Anacreontic attitude is quite different from Horace's more serious and philosophical carpe diem message:[3] there is no sense of discipline. Herrick's invitations to mirth, for example A Lyrick to Mirth or To live merrily, and to trust to Good Verses, are often closer in spirit to the Anacreontea and the Greek Anthology than to Horace's symposiac poems. They are simpler in tone: contrast the briskly-rendered carpe diem of the famous To the Virgins, to make much of Time with the blend of tones, grim and gay, in C.I.iv. Herrick's poem, though sometimes considered Horatian, is indebted rather to the Greek Anthology and the Latin poem De rosis nascentibus by pseudo - Ausonius, and this is true of the other flower pieces, e.g. To Daffadills or To Blossoms, which treat death in a sentimental pretty vein, very different from the Horatian austerity. Also indebted to the Anthology are many of the erotic poems, with their sensuous evocations of lawn and roses, perfumes and jewels, and their light brevity, and also the frequent short sententious epigrams, sometimes only two lines long. The latter often borrow themes from Horace - there are various epigrams on the resolved

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1. Martin, 65.
2. Martin, 197.
3. See below, 249f.

man of C.III.iii,[1] for example, or the non semper theme of C.II.ix and x,[2] - but the form is not Horatian. Many of Herrick's poems have the brevity of epigram, with no room for the complex development of Horace's odes, and they use simple metres, far removed from Horace's: Herrick often uses trochees to evoke Anacreon.

Herrick, however, is a poet of a wider range than is commonly supposed. He was a son of Jonson, and shows himself such in an early poem[3] written in Jonson's Horatian manner, A Country life: To his Brother, M.Tho: Herrick. The poem is a tissue of Horatian phrases[4] and looks back to Epode II through Jonson's reworking of it in To Sir Robert Wroth. It is written in the same metre, a couplet which is meant to recall the iambic distich,[5] and echoes Jonson's poem. Contrasting Wroth's activities with those of men in 'the citie, and the court', after the model of Epode II, where Horace contrasts the activities of the countryman with those of soldier, merchant and cliens, Jonson wrote

> But canst, at home, in thy securer rest,
> Live, with un-bought provision blest.[6]

With an identical movement of thought and verse, Herrick turns from considering the figure of 'th' industrious Merchant', a Horatian figure taken from C.I.i and Epistles I.i,[7] to consider his brother:

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1. See below, 214.
2. See below, 189f.
3. Written c. 1610, according to Martin, xxxvii.
4. See Appendix A.
5. See above, 69, note 5.
6. Herford, VIII.97.
7. See below, 228.

But thou at home, blest with securest ease,
Sitt'st, and beleev'st that there be seas.[1]

Jonson opened his poem grandly, echoing Epode II:

How blest art thou, canst love the countrey, WROTH,
Whether by choice, or fate, or both;
And, though so neere the citie, and the court,
Art tane with neithers vice, nor sport.[2]

Herrick's opening follows the Jonsonian pattern, incorporating two additional echoes from Horace, felices ter et amplius from C.I.xiii and animae dimidium meae from C.I.iii:

Thrice, and above, blest (my soules halfe) art thou,
In thy both Last, and Better Vow:
Could'st leave the City, for exchange, to see
The Countries sweet simplicity.[3]

Herrick is clearly aiming to capture the Jonsonian-Horatian manner. The poem continues

And it to know, and practice; with intent
To grow the sonner innocent:
By studying to know vertue; and to aime
More at her nature, then her name:
The last is but the least; the first doth tell
Wayes lesse to live, then to live well:
And both are knowne to thee, who now can'st live
Led by thy conscience; to give
Justice to soone-pleas'd nature; and to show,
Wisdome and she together goe,
And keep one Centre: This with that conspires,
To teach Man to confine desires:
And know, that Riches have their proper stint,
In the contented mind, not mint.[4]

This passage catches very well the characteristics of Jonson's Horatian manner,[5] the dignified movement of the verse, the weighty generalisations

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1. Martin, 36.
2. Herford, VIII.96.
3. Martin, 34-5.
4. Martin, 35.
5. See Miner (b), 278.

and rigorous moral discriminations[1] - those between the name and nature of virtue and living and living well are particularly Jonsonian.[2] Another peculiarly Jonsonian passage[3] is that which incorporates the Jonsonian-Horatian vision of the Stoic sapiens, immune to Fortune and resolute in his integrity, totus, teres atque rotundus (Herrick employs the phrase later in the poem in the advice 'to live round, and close, and wisely true/To thine owne selfe') in quem manca ruit semper fortuna:

> But thou liv'st fearlesse; and thy face ne'r shewes
> Fortune when she comes, or goes.
> But with thy equall thoughts, prepar'd dost stand,
> To take her by the either hand:
> Nor car'st which comes the first, the foule or faire;
> A wise man ev'ry way lies square.
> And like a surly Oke with storms perplext;
> Growes still the stronger, strongly vext.
> Be so, bold spirit; Stand Center-like, unmov'd;
> And be not onely thought, but prov'd
> To be what I report thee...[4]

The heroic tone of the injunction here is very Jonsonian, as is also the distinction between 'thought' and 'prov'd'.

As well as the passages which bear the imprint of a Jonsonian Horace, moral and serious, there are passages where Herrick find room for his own insights into Horace, which establish a more distinctly Herrickian note, quieter and less heroic:[5]

> Yet can thy humble roofe maintaine a Quire
> Of singing Crickits by thy fire:
> And the brisk Mouse may feast her selfe with crums,

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1. See above, 160-1.

2. See above, 149 , note 2 , and e.g. the Cary and Morison ode, ll.58-9, Herford, VIII.245; Epithalamion for Weston, l.153, VIII.257.

3. See Miner (b), 152.

4. Martin, 37. For an analysis of the sources of this passage, see below, 193.

5. The phrase 'The Countries sweet simplicity' is characteristically Herrickian.

Till that the green-ey'd Kitling comes.
Then to her Cabbin, blest she can escape
The sudden danger of a Rape.
And thus thy little-well-kept-stock doth prove,
Wealth cannot make a life, but Love.[1]

This scene of domestic comfort and cheer, with its stress on humble pleasures and its eye for small details, reminds us of the vignettes in the fable of the town and country mouse in Serm.II.vi or the picture of the simple but philosophical meal in the same satire, and is very typical of Herrick.[2] In general, the tone of A Country life is more relaxed and discursive than that of To Sir Robert Wroth, and this is characteristic of Herrick's poems.

Herrick wrote some other poems in the Jonsonian-Horatian manner, notably A Panegerick to Sir Lewis Pemberton,[3] which contains an echo of Jonson's line in his translation of Epode II

As the old race of Mankind were,[4]

adapted by Herrick as

As the old Race of mankind did,[5]

and which is written in the same epodic metre. It consists of an expansion of two ideas in To Penshurst, the contrast between the generous hospitality of Pemberton's house and the meanness of other establishments, which derives from Juvenal and Martial,[6] and the contrast between its useful architecture

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1. Martin, 37.

2. See Miner (b), 278. The passage appealed to Robert Chamberlain, who echoes it in In Praise of Country Life, 'And yet his humble roofe maintains a quire/Of singing crickets round about the fire', The Cavalier poets, ed. Skelton, 76. Thus, he looks back to Epode II through Herrick's eyes.

3. See Miner (b), 276-7.

4. Herford, VIII.289.

5. Martin, 147.

6. See above, 164.

and the grandeur of other houses, which derives from C.II.xviii.[1] Herrick expands the latter idea, starting with a passage on the theme of the immortalising powers of virtue, a typical Jonsonian idea; in this, he imitates Jonson's sober, ethical note and his characteristic ethical distinctions, describing

> What Genii support thy roofe,
> Goodnes, and Greatnes; not the oaken Piles;
> For these, and marbles have their whiles
> To last, but not their ever: Vertues Hand
> It is, which builds, 'gainst Fate to stand.
> Such is thy house, whose firme foundations trust
> Is more in thee, then in her dust,
> Or depth, these last may yeeld, and yearly shrinke,
> When what is strongly built, no chinke
> Or yawning rupture can the same devoure,
> But fixt it stands, by her own power,
> And well-laid bottome, on the iron and rock,
> Which tryes, and counter-stands the shock,
> And Ramme of time and by vexation growes
> The stronger: Vertue dies when foes
> Are wanting to her exercise, but great
> And large she spreads by dust, and sweat.[2]

Herrick continues with a passage combining Jonson's idea that the house was 'rear'd with no mans ruine, no mans grone', deriving from Horace's picture of the evicted tenants in C.II.xviii,[3] with the non-ebur theme:

> Safe stand thy Walls, and Thee, and so both will,
> Since neithers height was rais'd by th'ill
> Of others; since no Stud, no Stone, no Piece,
> Was rear'd up by the Poore-mans fleece:
> No Widowes Tenement was rackt to guild
> Or fret thy Seeling, or to build
> A Sweating-Closset, to annoint the silke-
> soft-skin, or bath in Asses milke:
> No Orphans pittance, left him, serv'd to set
> The Pillars up of lasting Jet....[4]

and ends with an injunction to Pemberton to 'go on directly so' in Jonson's

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1. See above, 148-9, 160.

2. Martin, 148.

3. See above, 161, note 2.

4. Martin, 149.

heroic manner. Like A Country life, the poem imitates the movement of Jonson's verse and its characteristic paragraphing,[1] though again it is more diffuse.

Some of Herrick's panegyrical epigrams also remind us of Jonson in their discriminating tone, for example To his worthy Friend, M.Tho. Falconbirge,[2] which contains a characteristically Jonsonian mixture of exhortation, compliment and tactful advice. The advice comes from Horace: the prudential maxims of C.II.x insinuate a reminder to Falconbridge to observe the mean and avoid the excesses of great position:

> Stand with thy Graces forth, Brave man, and rise
> High with thine own Auspitious Destinies:
> Nor leave the search, and proofe, till Thou canst find
> These, or those ends, to which Thou wast design'd.
> Thy lucky Genius, and thy guiding Starre,
> Have made Thee prosperous in thy wayes, thus farre:
> Nor will they leave Thee, till they both have shown
> Thee to the World a Prime and Publique One.
> Then, when Thou see'st thine Age all turn'd to gold,
> Remember what thy Herrick Thee foretold,
> When at the holy Threshold of thine house,
> He Boded good-luck to thy Selfe and Spouse.
> Lastly, be mindfull (when thou art grown great)
> That Towrs high rear'd dread most the lightnings threat:
> When as the humble Cottages not feare
> The cleaving Bolt of Jove the Thunderer.[3]

The weighty ethical heroic tone of Jonson is not the tone which we most readily associate with Herrick's poetry, though the poems in Jonson's manner seem to me quite successful. More characteristic, however, is the unheroic small note found at the end of A Country life. This tone, also, is a literary one, which Herrick has developed from Horace, who often poses as the small man. In Epistles I.vii, for example, he contrasts himself

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1. See above, 161, note 5.

2. See also To the right honourable, Philip, Earle of Pembroke, and Montgomerie, Martin, 141; To his honoured friend, M. John Weare, Councellour, 201; To his Brother in Law Master John Wingfield, 210; To his honoured and most Ingenious friend Mr. Charles Cotton, 297.

3. Martin, 181.

with Maecenas:

> parvum parva decent: mihi iam non regia Roma
> sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.[1]

There is veiled irony and mock modesty in this pose, which comes out clearly in C.II.xvi.[2] Such a tone had been too unheroic, inbelle, for Jonson,[3] but Herrick adopts it frequently, for example in His Grange, or private wealth:[4]

> Though Clock,
> To tell how night drawes hence, I've none,
> A Cock,
> I have, to sing how day drawes on.
> I have
> A maid (my Prew) by good luck sent,
> To save
> That little, Fates me gave or lent.
> A Hen
> I keep, which creeking day by day,
> Tells when
> She goes her long white egg to lay.
> A goose
> I have, which, with a jealous eare,
> Lets loose
> Her tongue, to tell what dangers neare.
> A Lamb
> I keep (tame) with my morsells fed,
> Whose Dam
> An Orphan left him (lately dead.)
> A Cat
> I keep, that playes about my House,
> Grown fat,
> With eating many a miching Mouse.
> To these
> A Trasy I do keep, whereby
> I please
> The more my rurall privacie:
> Which are
> But toyes, to give my heart some ease:
> Where care
> None is, slight things do lightly please.[5]

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1. Ll.44-5. See also the conclusion of C.III.xxix.57-64.

2. See above, 116-7.

3. See above, 148.

4. See also Larr's portion, and the Poets part, Martin, 152; A Hymne, to the Lares, 234; His content in the Country, 200; A Thanksgiving to God, for his House, 349; A Ternarie of littles, 249 (see above, 117).

5. Martin, 246.

The unheroic, tiny note here, with its very slight ironic exaggeration, the poverty attributed to the speaker and the pleasure taken in small things, similar to Horace's pride in his modus agri non ita magnus,[1] are derived from Horace, though there is more quaintness and naivety, and the playful handling of metre has no equivalent in Horace. It is possible that Herrick was recalling C.II.xviii, the title of his poem echoing Horace's avowal satis beatus unicis Sabinis, and the formula 'no clock, but a cock' adapting the non ebur....at scheme. But the detailed listing of Herrick's property is closer to the Epistles[2] than the Odes, where Horace seldom indulges in detailed description: we are perhaps again reminded of the charming vignettes of the fable of the town and country mouse, or of the description of the Sabine farm at the beginning of Epistles I.xvi. There is much more of the conveying of minutiae and the evocation of natural detail in Herrick than in Horace.

In His Grange, Herrick follows the Horatian method of making auto-biographical details his poetic material: and in a number of poems, he builds up a picture of himself as the retiring and modest country dweller, living alone with his maid Prew and his dog Tracy, which is clearly indebted to Horace.[3] The Horatian gestures are made so lightly that we hardly notice that the picture of 'rurall privacie' in His Grange draws on literature as well as life, but the light emphasis on innocence, 'where care none is', smallness, 'slight things', and content take us back to the Sabine farm: like Horace, Herrick makes his life-style a symbol of a moral preference. Again, in His content in the Country, Prew and Herrick are

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1. Serm.II.vi.1.

2. And to Martial, e.g. III.lviii on Faustinus' villa at Baiae. See above, 70.

3. E.g. Upon Prudence Baldwin her sicknesse, Martin, 122; To his maid Prew, 151; Upon Prew his Maid, 262; Upon his Spaniell Tracie, 302.

seen as Horatians, innocent country dwellers:

> Here, here I live with what my Board,
> Can with the smallest cost afford,
> Though ne'r so mean the Viands be,
> They well content my Prew and me.
> Or Pea, or Bean, or Wort, or Beet,
> Whatever comes, content makes sweet:
> Here we rejoyce, because no Rent
> We pay for our poore Tenement:
> Wherein we rest, and never feare
> The Landlord, or the Usurer.
> The Quarter-day do's ne'r affright
> Our Peacefull slumbers in the night.
> We eate our own, and batten more,
> Because we feed on no mans score:
> But pitie those, whose flanks grow great,
> Swel'd with the Lard of others meat.
> We blesse our Fortunes, when we see
> Our own beloved privacie:
> And like our living, where w'are known
> To very few, or else to none.[1]

Here we find many Horatian details, vegetarian diet,[2] sound sleep,[3] self-sufficiency and avoidance of rack-renting.[4] The concluding lines on solitude recall Horace's praise of the man qui natus moriensque fefellit, and of the fallentis semita vitae.[5] Again, the Horatian gestures are made so lightly and easily that there is no sense of awkward pastiche. Herrick's adoption of a Horatian pose is less crude than that of George Daniel in having himself painted in a toga in a rural landscape.[6] He assimilates the Horatian outlook and updates it with details from his own environment, as in His Grange or A Thanksgiving to God, for his House,[7] where the

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1. Martin, 200.
2. See below, 231-2.
3. See below, 232.
4. From C.II.xviii, see below, 229.
5. Epistles I.xvii.10, xviii.103.
6. See above, 95.
7. This poem may be regarded as a fulfilled 'vote', on the model of Serm. II.vi, see below, 376.

Horatian picture of his innocent and contented life is Christianised quite naturally, as in the following, where we find another version of the Horatian meal:

> Lord, I confesse too, when I dine,
> The Pulse is Thine,
> And all those other Bits, that bee
> There plac'd by Thee;
> The Worts, the Purslain, and the Messe
> Of Water-cresse,
> Which of Thy kindness Thou has sent;
> And my content
> Makes those, and my beloved Beet,
> To be more sweet.
> 'Tis thou that crown'st my glittering Hearth
> With guiltlesse mirth;
> And giv'st me Wassaile Bowles to drink,
> Spic'd to the brink.[1]

Nevertheless, Herrick's adoption of the Horatian gestures is more self-conscious than Lady Fanshawe's charmingly naive rejection of the grandeur and state of the embassy in Spain.[2]

Herrick has suffered from his nineteenth-century reputation as the last Elizabethan, the only singer among the Metaphysicals, pouring out his heart in profuse strains of unpremeditated art.[3] He is still seen by many modern critics as naive and simplistic, at best 'trivially charming':[4] 'Herrick is a poet of a charmingly fanciful but simple sensibility'[5] is a representative judgement. Though Herrick may adopt a naive tone, he is not a naive poet; his adoption of a literary role from Horace is delicate and sophisticated. The tone of for example His content in the Country is not simple, though it

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1. Martin, 350.

2. See above, 56.

3. See Swinburne's comparison of him with Jonson in A Study of Ben Jonson (1889), 97-9.

4. Leavis, Revaluation (paperback ed, 1964), 37. 'Beside him Carew looks like a major poet'!

5. C. Walton, in From Donne to Marvell, ed. B. Ford (Pelican, 1956), 164. Much better are the critiques of Miner (b), passim; Summers, 52-62; Bush, 111-116.

might be read as such: it has a very quiet εἰρωνεία, or, in T.S. Eliot's famous phrase, 'a recognition, implickt in the expression of every experience, of other kinds of experience which are possible':[1] (indeed in other poems, Herrick expresses dissatisfaction with Devon and longs for London life and experience).[2]

Another poem in which Herrick adopts a Horatian outlook is the more ambitious His age, dedicated to his peculiar friend, M. John Wickes, under the name of Posthumus, which explores a characteristic Horatian complex of themes which Jonson had ignored,[3] a meditation on transience combined with a carpe diem exhortation. As the title indicates, Herrick assumes the Horatian mantle, exhorting his friend John Wickes, who has taken on the role of Postumus of C.II.xiv, to make the best of time: like A Country life, the poem is a tissue of phrases from Horace, especially from his odes on transience, C.II.xiv, C.I.iv and C.IV.vii:

> AH Posthumus! Our yeares hence flye,
> And leave no sound; nor piety,
> Or prayers, or vow
> Can keepe the wrinkle from the brow:[4]
> But we must on,
> As Fate do's lead or draw us; none,
> None, Posthumus, co'd ere decline
> The doome of cruell Proserpine.[5]
>
> The pleasing wife, the house, the ground
> Must all be left, no one plant found
> To follow thee,

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1. 'Andrew Marvell', Selected Essays (3rd ed. 1951), 303.

2. E.g. Discontents in Devon, Martin 19; To Dean-bourn, 29; To his Houshold gods, 111; His returne to London, 242; His tears to Thamasis, 315; His Lachrimae, 144; Upon himself, 171.

3. See above, 163.

4. Ll. 1-4 are from C.II.xiv. 1-4.

5. Ll. 7-8 are from C.I.xxviii.19-20.

Save only the Curst-Cipresse tree:[1]
A merry mind
Looks forward, scornes what's left behind:[2]
Let's live, my Wickes, then, while we may,
And here enjoy our Holiday.[3]

W'ave seen the past-best Times, and these
Will nere return, we see the Seas,
And Moons to wain;
But they fill up their Ebbs again;
But vanisht man,
Like to a Lilly-lost, nere can,
Nere can repullulate, or bring
His dayes to see a second Spring.[4]

But on we must, and thither tend,
Where Anchus and rich Tullus blend
Their sacred seed; [5]
Thus has Infernall Jove decreed;
We must be made,
Ere long, a song, ere long, a shade.[6]
Why then, since life to us is short,
Lets make it full up, by our sport.

Crown we our Heads with Roses then,
And 'noint with Tirian Balme;[7] for when
We two are dead,
The world with us is buried....[8]

In contrast to the Anacreontic To the Virgins, to make much of Time, Herrick here treats death and carpe diem in the more austere and dignified manner of Horace. The melancholy of the adjuration to remember death tempers the hedonism of the invitation to mirth, 'Crown we our Heads', as do the

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1. Ll. 9-12 are from C.II.xiv. 21-24.

2. Ll. 13-14 are a variation of C.II.xvi. 25-6.

3. 'Our Holiday' is the due time theme of C.II.iii per dies festos, see below, 260.

4. Ll. 18-24 perhaps combine C.IV.vii.13 and II.xi.10-11.

5. Ll. 25-7 are from C.IV.vii.14-15.

6. This line combines fabulaeque Manes from C.I.iv.16, which was taken, after Persius, to mean the shades that are words in people's mouths (N.-H. 69-70), and pulvis et umbra sumus, C.IV.vii.16. See also Corinna's going a Maying 1.66, 'A fable, song, or fleeting shade', Martin, 69.

7. Ll. 33-4 are from C.II.xi.14-17, or Martial II.lix, VIII.lxxvii.

8. Martin, 132-3.

following stanzas, which introduce the Epicurean Horatian theme of content in simple pleasures, a favourite with Herrick:

> We are not poore; although we have
> No roofs of Cedar, nor our brave
> Baiae, nor keep
> Account of such a flock of sheep;
> Nor Bullocks fed
> To lard the shambles: Barbels bred
> To kisse our hands, nor do we wish
> For Pollio's Lampries in our dish.
>
> If we can meet, and so conferre,
> Both by a shining Salt-seller;
> And have our Roofe,
> Although not archt, yet weather proofe,
> And seeling free,
> From that cheape Candle baudery:
> We'le eate our Beane with that full mirth,
> As we were Lords of all the earth. [1]

Here Herrick and Wickes are cast as the innocent Horatian country-dwellers, vegetarians (the bean comes from Serm.II.vi.63), rejecting luxurious pleasures and as blest as kings, (licet sub paupere tecto/reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos, Epistles. I.x.32-3). The two chief Horatian sources are C.II.xviii, with its rejection of ivory and gold ceilings and the rich man's marble house at the fashionable Roman resort of Baiae,[2] and C.II.xvi, with its contrast between Horace and the rich Grosphus and his greges centum and Siculae vaccae, and its praise of the simple life and a 'shining Salt-seller':

> vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
> splendet in mensa tenui salinum.[3]

It may be noted that Herrick has introduced a certain amount of satiric detail, closer to Juvenal than to Horace's Odes. Herrick continues with two stanzas dealing with the friendship between Wickes and himself, containing

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1. Martin, 133.
2. Ll. 1-5, 17-22.
3. C.II.xvi.13-14.

a Jonsonian passage in which he identifies constancy as the force that prevents shipwreck, reworking the imagery of C.III.iii and C.III.xxix.62-4:

> Let the winds drive
> Our Barke; yet she will keepe alive
> Amidst the deepes;
> 'Tis constancy (my wickes) which keepes
> The pinnace up...[1]

The last part of the poem is taken up with a lengthy portrayal of Herrick's old age, where he fuses his comic Anacreontic role of hedonistic lustful old man with a portrait of the nostalgia of old age, which is both humorous and pathetic in the manner of C.IV.i, and with an acceptance of physical decay, which is reminiscent of Horace, e.g. the brief reference in C.II.xi, canos odorati capillos:

> When I am bruised on the Shelfe
> Of Time, and show
> My locks behung with frost and snow....
> The Ages fled, Ile call agen:
>
> And with a teare compare these last
> Lame, and bad times, with those are past,
> While Baucis by,
> My old leane wife, shall kisse it dry:
> And so we'l sit
> By'th'fire, foretelling snow and slit,
> And weather by our aches....
>
> Then to asswage
> The gripings of the chine by age;
> I'll call my young
> Iulus to sing such a song
> I made upon my Julia's brest....
>
> At which I'le reare
> Mine aged limbs above my chaire:
> And hearing it,
> Flutter and crow, as in a fit
> Of fresh concupiscence, and cry,
> No lust theres like to poetry.
>
> Thus frantick orazie man (God wot)
> Ile call to mind things half forgot:
> And oft between,
> Repeat the Times that I have seen:
> Thus ripe with teare,

---

1. Martin, 154.

> And twisting my Iulus hairs;
> Doting, Ile weep and say (In Truth)
> Baucis, these were my sins of youth.[1]

After a genial scene of mirth, the poem comes to the quiet close characteristic of Horace's Odes[2] with some typical Herrickian intimate observation of small detail:

> Thus, till we see the fire lesse shine
> From th'embers, then the kitlings eyne,
> We'l still sit up,
> Sphering about the wassail cup,
> To all those times,
> Which gave me honour for my Rhimes,
> The cole once spent, we'l then to bed,
> Farre more then night bewearied.[3]

His Age is, I think, a conscious attempt to write a Horatian ode. The elaborate stanzas are meant to suggest Horace.[4] Contrast the jaunty simple metres of the Anacreontics or To the Virgins with the more complex elegiac rhythm of the first stanza, with its disposition of phrases, pauses and rhymes (the run-on lines are perhaps modelled on Horace)[5] coming to a firm close, after the emphatic repetition of 'none', with the line 'The doome of cruell Proserpine'. We notice at once that the poem is much too diffuse and repetitive for an imitation of an ode by Horace, both in structure and style. The language lacks the weight and splendour of Horace's: the two famous phrases eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume/labuntur anni and pulvis et umbra sumus are considerably lightened in his translations, although the long words, e.g. 'repullulate', are perhaps an attempt to imitate Horace's

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1. Martin, 134-5.
2. E.g. C.II.xiii. 37-40; C.II.xix. 29-32. See Fraenkel, 285.
3. Martin, 136.
4. See above, 67-8.
5. See above, 158, on Jonson's An Ode. To himselfe. In particular, Herrick perhaps wants the effect of the enjambment in Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume/labuntur anni.

richness of diction. Herrick does not preserve all the metaphoric vigor of the originals either: for example, the river of time image in labuntur disappears, and we find the less expressive and compact 'hence flye,/And leave no sound'. But Herrick does reproduce some features of an ode by Horace, the characteristic movement of thought, the brooding ('intelligent rumination', in David West's phrase)[1] over several related themes which are loosely connected, and the complex blending of various elements and tones serious and light, sadness at transience and humour at old age, reflection and vignettes and such small detail as 'the kitlings eyne'.

His age shows clearly that Herrick understood the Epicurean pleasure doctrine behind the Horatian carpe diem rightly as advocating not total immersion in sensual pleasure but a proper use of time, involving an attitude of mind, 'We'l eate our Beane with that full mirth,/As we were Lords of all the earth', an understanding which he has derived from Horace. In A New-yeares gift sent to Sir Simeon Steward, following Horace, he rejects political news[2] and urges abandonment of past cares and enjoyment of the festival:

> Then as ye sit about your embers,
> Call not to mind those fled Decembers;
> But think on these, that are t'appeare,
> As Daughters to the instant yeare:
> Sit crown'd with Rose-buds,[3] and carouse,
> Till Liber Pater twirles the house
> About your eares; and lay upon
> The yeare (your cares) that's fled and gon.
> And let the russet Swaines the plough
> And Harrow hang up resting now;
> And to the Bag-pipe all addresse;
> Till sleep takes place of wearinesse.
> And thus, throughout, with Christmas playes
> Frolick the full twelve Holy-dayes.[4]

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1. 51.

2. See below, 259-60.

3. See C.II.iii.13-14, xi.14-15; Martial, II.lix; VIII.lxxvii.

4. Martin, 127.

We may note here the 'due time' or 'holiday' theme, which perhaps goes back to Democritus and appears in Horace in C.II.iii and IV.xii,[1] and also how naturally it has been assimilated to an English milieu.[2] An even clearer exposition of carpe diem as expressing a right use of time may be found in A Paranaeticall, or Advisive Verse, to his friend, M. John Wicks, which has the Horatian sobriety of C.II.iii or C.III.xxix, very different from the Anacreontea.[3] Life should not be spent in the acquisition of material wealth:

> Is this a life, to break thy sleep?
> To rise as soon as day doth peep?
> To tire thy patient Oxe or Asse
> By noone, and let thy good dayes passe,
> Not knowing This, that Jove decrees
> Some mirth, t'adulce mans miseries?
> No; 'tis a life, to have thine oyle,
> Without extortion, from thy soyle:
> Thy faithfull fields to yeeld thee Graine,
> Although with some, yet little paine:
> To have thy mind, and nuptiall bed,
> With feares, and cares uncumbered:
> A Pleasing Wife, that by thy side
> Lies softly panting like a Bride.
> This is to live, and to endeere
> Those minutes, Time has lent us here.[4]

Here, again, we find the due time theme. Note also the use of 'live' to mean full living, modelled on Horace's vixi in C.III.xxix, an idea expanded further in ll.31-35, and the notion of life being 'lent'. This is an Epicurean idea, found in Lucretius, vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus

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1. See below, 260. See also His age, above, 181.

2. See also The Hock-cart, or Harvest home, 'And know, besides, ye must revoke/The patient Oxe unto the Yoke,/And all goe back unto the Plough/ ....And that this pleasure is like raine,/Not sent ye for to drowne your paine,/But for to make it spring againe,' Martin, 102.

3. The tone is closer to Cowley's Christian The shortness of life and uncertainty of Riches, see below, 253-4, 323.

4. Martin, 233.

usu,[1] but Herrick perhaps derives it from Jonson.[2] The emphasis is on an attitude of mind 'with feares, and cares uncumbered'.[3] The pleasing wife (placens uxor, the phrase from C.II.xiv) comes from Epode II.39,[4] and evokes the picture of rural happiness in that poem. Herrick goes on to urge Wickes 'to crown thy temples', like Teucer in C.I.vii.23 and other Horatian revellers,[5] and to forget about the full 'barnes' of C.III.xvi.26-7. Then comes the time argument:

> Time steals away like to a stream,
> And we glide hence away with them.
> No sound recalls the houres once fled,
> Or Roses, being withered:
> Nor us (my Friend) when we are lost,
> Like to a Dew, or melted Frost, [6]

recalling two Horatian images for the passage of time, the river of C.III.xxix (cetera fluminis ritu feruntur) and C.II.xiv (labuntur anni), and the roses of C.II.iii (nimium brevis flores amoenae rosae). The concluding invitation to mirth is thus a rational one, again recalling Horace's use of vixi:

> Then live we mirthfull, while we should,
> And turn the iron Age to Gold.
> Let's feast, and frolick, sing, and play,
> And thus lesse last, then live our Day.
> Whose life with care is overcast,
> That man's not said to live, but last:
> Nor is't a life, seven yeares to tell,
> But for to live that half seven well. [7]

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1. De Rerum Natura, III.971.

2. To Sir Robert Wroth, 'when thy latest sand is spent,/Thou maist thinke life, a thing but lent', Herford, VIII.100; To Sir Henry Nevil, l.11, VIII.70.

3. This phrase was suggested by Martial, X.xlvii, nox non ebria sed soluta curis;/non tristis torus et tamen pudicus.

4. As well as Martial.

5. Or those in Martial, see above, 181, note 7.

6. Martin, 233.

7. Martin, 233.

Here, Herrick is also thinking of Seneca Epistle xciii, which Jonson had utilised in the Cary and Morison ode.[1] The poem ends with a final quiet reminder of death; the 'urn' perhaps comes from C.III.i.16:

> And that wee'l do; as men, who know,
> Some few sands spent, we hence must go,
> Both to be blended in the Urn,
> From whence there's never a return.[2]

Again, this is a poem based on themes and images from the Odes, although it is less of a tissue of Horatian phrases than His age and Herrick has chosen to write it in octosyllabics. We find the same mingling of related themes and the same variety of tones from grave to gay, with the resigned melancholy of the close. Herrick has successfully applied the Horatian wisdom to a modern setting: we may find the classicism more fully absorbed here than in His age.[3]

The twin elements of the Horatian vision of His Age and A Paranæticall, transience and carpe diem, may be found in other poems by Herrick. He responded strongly to Horace's treatment of transience, echoing its sadness; he does not always treat death in the pretty, sentimental way of To Daffadills or To Robin Red-brest. The tone in which death is confronted in the famous Corinna's going a Maying is perhaps less austere than in Horace's spring songs and more tinted with 'fresh-quilted colours',[4] but it is faced squarely, and with a dry humour in the phrase 'and we are but decaying'. The picture of old age in His age, with its blend of humour and pathos and its acceptance of 'the reume, the cough, the ptisick', and the restrained

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1. See J.E. Hankins, 'Jonson's "Ode on Morison" and Seneca's Epistulae Morales', M.L.N. li (1936), 518-20. See also Seneca, De Brevitate Vitae esp. vii.10 and Martial, VIII.lxxvii.

2. Martin, 233.

3. See Miner (b), 131.

4. Ibid. 126.

melancholy of the conclusion of A Paranaeticall are close to Horace. Like Horace, too, Herrick sees death as part of the natural order, like the passage of the seasons;[1] in Corinna's going a Maying, death is part of the natural process of budding and blooming.[2]

Again, Herrick is a poet of mirth, not always of the drunken revelry of the Anacreontea but also of a more Horatian sober mirth, as in C.II.iii - the 'temp'rate mirth' of A Panegerick to Sir Lewis Pemberton, free from 'scurrile jest',[3] the 'inoffensive mirth' of A Hymne, to the Lares, or the 'guiltlesse mirth' beautifully evoked in A Thanksgiving to God, for his House. Many poems celebrate country festivities and scenes of revelry, and there is often a stress on the innocence of country pleasures, the absence of fears or offence, see for example, The Wake, Twelfe night, or King and Queene, or The Country life, to the honoured M.End. Porter, another Anglicisation of Epode II.

Another theme which Herrick often adopts from Horace, fitting in with his Horatian acceptance of life, is the theme of non semper employing a natural analogy. Horace employs this in several different ways: in C.II.x, it is used as an argument for hope for better times:

> sperat infestis, metuit secundis
> alteram sortem bene praeparatum
> pectus; informis hiemes reducit
> Iuppiter, idem
>
> submovet; non, si male nunc, et olim
> sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
> suscitat Musam neque semper arcum
> tendit Apollo.[4]

A similar natural observation may be found in C.ii.ix:

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1. See A.H. Gilbert, 'Robert Herrick on Death', M.L.N. V (1944), 61-67.
2. Contrast To his coy Mistress, see below, 248, note 5.
3. On this topic, see below, 262-3.
4. C.II.x.13-20.

> Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
> manant in agros aut mare Caspium
> vexant inaequales procellae
> usque nec Armeniis in oris,
>
> amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
> mensis per omnis aut Aquilonibus
> querqueta Gargani laborant
> et foliis viduantur orni,[1]

but Horace gives a twist to the application: we expect him to say, 'so your troubles will soon end', but instead he says, 'but you always go on writing sad elegies and lamenting Mystes':

> tu semper urges flebilibus modis
> Mysten ademptum....[2]

In C.I.vii, the natural analogy is used to persuade Plancus to mix joy with mirth:

> albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
> saepe Notus neque parturit imbris
> perpetuos, sic tu sapiens finire memento
> tristitiam vitaeque labores
> molli, Plance, mero...[3]

Herrick also uses the theme in several different ways.[4] In Good precepts, or counsell, he follow C.II.x in making it an argument for hope for better times:

> In all thy need, be thou possest
> Still with a well-prepared brest:
> Nor let the shackles make thee sad;
> Thou canst but have, what others had.
> And this for comfort thou must know,
> Times that are ill wo'nt still be so.
> Clouds will not ever powre down raine;
> A sullen day will cleere againe.
> First, peales of Thunder we must heare,
> Then Lutes and Harpes shall stroke the eare.[5]

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1. C.II.ix.1-8.

2. C.II.ix.9-10.

3. C.I.vii.15-19.

4. As had Ronsard, e.g. in the sonnet 'Tousjours des bois la cyme n'est chargée', Cohen, 74, where he varies wittily 'Mais de la dent d'un soin continuel/Ma pauvre vie est tousjours outragée'.

5. Martin, 246-7.

Here, line 6 echoes C.II.x.17-18, line 7 C.II.ix.1-2, line 8 perhaps C.I. vii.15-16, and 9 and 10 combine the idea of Apollo turning to his cithara from C.II.x with a reference to Revelations 14.2.[1] Two other short epigrams, Faire after foule and Hope well and Have well: or, Faire after Foule weather, both employ the image of the dispersal of the clouds as an argument that better times will follow.[2] Herrick also uses the non semper theme in a consolatory poem, Comfort to a Lady upon the death of her Husband, where he uses a variety of natural analogies, the cloudy skies of C.I.vii and II.ix, the sea and winds of C.II.ix and the seasonal idea of C.II.x, to persuade the lady to stop weeping: the last seasonal analogy is the means for a graceful compliment:

> Dry your sweet cheek, long drown'd with sorrows raine;
> Since Clouds disperst, Suns guild the Aire again.
> Seas chafe and fret, and beat, and over-boile;
> But turne soone after calme, as Balme, or Oile.
> Winds have their time to rage; but when they cease,
> The leavie-trees nod in a still-born peace.[3]
> Your storme is over; Lady, now appeare
> Like to the peeping-spring-time of the yeare.
> Off then with grave clothes; put fresh colours on;
> And flow, and flame, in your Vermillion.
> Upon your cheek sate Ysicles awhile;
> Now let the Rose raigne like a Queen, and smile.[4]

---

1. 'And I heard a voice from heaven, ...as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps'. That Herrick has this passage in mind is proved by To God, Martin, 343, where he prays for St. John's experience: 'Let me (like him) first cracks of thunder heare;/Then let the Harps inchantments strike mine eare:

2. Martin, 293, 188. See also Anacreonticke, 308.

3. These lines perhaps recall C.I.ix.9-12: permitte divis cetera, qui simul/ stravere ventos aequore fervido/deproeliantis, nec cupressi/nec veteres agitantur orni.

4. Martin, 105. Maddison, 166-7, suggests that Herrick may have been inspired by Bernardo Tasso's consolatory poem to Vittoria Colonna 'non sempre il cielo irato'. For non semper in another consolatory context, see also An Ode to Master Endymion Porter, upon his Brothers death, stanza 1, Martin, 72, where Herrick uses the topic to suggest the comfort he may find in Porter, despite his brother's death, 'Not all thy flushing Sunnes are set,/ Herrick, as yet:/Nor doth this far-drawn Hemisphere/Frown, and look sullen ev'ry where./Daies may conclude in nights; and Suns may rest,/As dead, within the west;/Yet the next Morne, re-guild the fragrant East', where the analogy is suggested by Catullus, soles occidere et redire possunt.

It may be noted that the heaping up of natural analogies here is unlike Horace's more economical uses of the theme, and characteristic of English poetry.

The most original and interesting poem based on the Horatian non semper topic is Farwell Frost, or welcome the Spring, where Herrick uses it as a ground for hope in a political context. The poem opens with the seasonal theme of C.II.x, informis hiemes reducit/Iuppiter, idem/submovet, which Herrick has expanded into a picture of the coming of spring based on the spring descriptions in C.I.iv and C.IV.vii, but redeployed as a non semper argument, not a carpe diem one; seasonal change expresses change for the better, not worse:[1]

> Fled are the Frosts, and now the Fields appeare
> Re-cloth'd in fresh and verdant Diaper.
> Thaw'd are the snowes, and now the lusty Spring
> Gives to each Mead a neat enameling.
> The Palms put forth their Gemmes, and every Tree
> Now swaggers,in her Leavy gallantry.
> The while the Daulian Minstrell sweetly sings,
> With warbling Notes, her Tyrrean sufferings.
> What gentle Winds perspire? As if here
> Never had been the Northern Plunderer
> To strip the Trees, and Fields, to their distresse,
> Leaving them to a pittied nakednesse.[2]

It may be noted that the picture of Spring is a composite one: lines 1 and 2 recall C.IV.vii.1-2, lines 3 and 4 C.I.iv.1 and 4, and there are echoes of Ovid and Virgil in the next two.[3] The lines about 'the Northern Plunderer' stripping the trees recall C.II.ix.6-8. In addition, Herrick, like Carew in The Spring, has adorned the description with Sylvestrian language and anthropomorphic imagery.[4] There are hints of a political meaning here;

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1. On the strategy of C.I.iv, see above, 75-6.

2. Martin, 224.

3. Georgics II.335; Fasti I.152.

4. See above, 49-50, 85-6.

the 'pittied nakednesse' of the trees and fields suggests the depredations of the Civil War,[1] the Sylvestrian anthropomorphisations having an effect of pathos. Herrick continues with another non semper analogy, that of calm succeeding to storm, echoing C.II.ix, and draws a political application; peace will follow the storm of Civil War. The poem ends with a final image of consolation drawn from the Bible, the dove of Noah's Ark, which is very successfully integrated with the classical ideas:

> And look how when a frantick Storme doth tear
> A stubborn Oake, or Holme (long growing there)[2]
> But lul'd to calmnesse, then succeeds a breeze
> That scarcely stirs the nodding leaves of Trees:[3]
> So when this War (which tempest-like doth spoil
> Our salt, our Corn, our Honie, Wine, and Oile)
> Falls to a temper, and doth mildly cast
> His inconsiderate Frenzie off (at last)
> The gentle Dove may, when these tyrmoils cease,
> Bring in her Bill, once more, the Branch of Peace.[4]

It may be noted that, like Carew's The Spring,[5] Herrick's poem has a more lucid and explicit argument than C.I.iv.

Farwell Frost is a good example of Herrick's method of fusing disparate sources into a unity, similar to Horace's method of combining topics. This process can also be illustrated by, for example, the passage from A Country life quoted above[6] which is a restatement of Jonson's picture of the sapiens derived from Serm.II.vii. Herrick fills this Jonsonian ideal out with other details from Horace: the opening draws on Horace's indifference

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1. Miner (b), 178, thinks that the 'Northern Plunderer' represents the Scots.
2. C.II.ix.6-7, Aquilonibus/querqueta Gargani laborant.
3. C.II.ix.8 or C.I.ix.11-12, nec cupressi/nec veteres agitantur orni, again.
4. Martin, 225.
5. See above, 76 f.
6. 172.

to Fortune in C.III.xxix,[1] and the phrase 'thy equall thoughts' recalls Horace's injunction to Dellius aequam memento rebus in arduis/servare mentem.[2] Herrick also works in passages from other authors. The opening lines on Fortune incorporate an image from Cicero, the 'face':

> Atque etiam in rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus superbiam magno opere, et fastidium arrogantiamque fugiamus. Nam ut adversas res, sic secundas inmoderate ferre levitatis est, praeclaraque est aequabilitas in omni vita et idem semper vultus eademque frons, ut de Socrate itemque de C. Laelio accepimus.[3]

Instead of the circular imagery of Serm.II.vii, we find the idea of the square man, which comes from Aristotle perhaps through Puttenham:

> The Prince of Philosophers, in his first booke of the Ethicks, termeth a constant minded man even egal and direct on all sides, and not easily overthrowne by every litle adversitie, hominem quadratum, a square man.[4]

The oak-tree simile derives from the famous simile in Aeneid IV, comparing Aeneas' Stoic resistance to Dido's pleas to an oak in a storm,[5] perhaps combined with Horace's image in C.IV.iv of the oak which 'growes still the strong er, strongly vext':

> duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
> nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
> per damna, per caedis ab ipso
> ducit opes animumque ferro.[6]

Like Jonson's, Herrick's classicism is fully assimilated. He does not just produce a pastiche of classical ideas but instead often successfully fuses them with English or Biblical ideas, as in the festive poems or A Thanksgiving to God.[7] As with Jonson, his debt to Horace is not just a

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1. Ll.53-6.
2. C.II.iii.1-2.
3. De officiis, I.xxvi.90 (my italics).
4. Smith, II.104, cited by Martin, 505.
5. Aeneid IV.441-449.
6. Ll.57-60.
7. Bush, 114.

question of a few borrowings of phrase and idea, but of a more fundamental sympathy: indeed, in some ways, Herrick is closer in spirit to Horace than Jonson is. Like Jonson, he shares with Horace a realistic untranscendental approach to human life, accepting natural processes. But he is less passionately concerned with ethics, less of a dogmatist and idealist. He is able to respond more to the sadness of Horace's treatment of transience and to his Epicurean hedonism. Like Horace, Herrick has a basically comic vision, one of acceptance and tolerance, and he was attracted to Horace's genial enjoyment of life. Musgrove speaks of his preference for 'urbanity' and 'cleanly-wantonnesse' over stiff-necked and formal niggardliness',[1] and his Horatianism is part of his anti-Puritanism.[2] His tone is more relaxed than Jonson's, and he is often more playful, see for example the playful intimacy of His Prayer to Ben. Johnson.[3]

On the formal side, his language does not have the chiselled solidity and the density of the Odes or the energy of Jonson. But he inherits Jonson's ideal of disciplined style derived from the Ars Poetica. Like Jonson, he writes in the classical metaphoric tradition untypical of the seventeenth century,[4] and he attains a Jonsonian clarity and purity of expression, which is based on classical style. He can attain complex effects through the careful placing of long words.[5]

Herrick succeeded in establishing a distinct voice, recalling Horace and Jonson but not identical with either. He is a poet of greater fragility,

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1. S. Musgrove, The Universe of Robert Herrick (Auckland University College Bulletin no. 38, 1950), 15. See also Miner (b), 50-1.
2. See further below, 277f.
3. See further Summers, 53-6.
4. See above, 159-60.
5. See above, 89-90.

both in style and theme, with a particular talent for evoking superficies. The longer and more ambitious Horatian poems seem to me interesting and successful, though lacking in the Horatian economy of structure: many will prefer, as more obviously successful and characteristic, the poems in which he maintains a clear and confident note, if a smaller one, for example the gay tone of To the Virgins or the naive tone of His Grange.

In conclusion, it is worth remarking on the range of Horace's poetry, which was able to inspire two poets of such disparate insights.

CHAPTER VI

Some Themes and Genres

I. Moral Poems

We have seen how the humanist tradition fostered an approach to Horace as an ethical teacher, and what one poet, Ben Jonson, made of such an approach. Some of the most frequently imitated poems and passages of Horace in our period were those which treat moral themes.

It may strike a modern reader of Horace as odd that the seventeenth century should have found him a congenial ethical teacher. Most people today, nourished on the Odes, perhaps primarily associate Horace with a carpe diem philosophy,[1] and this kind of appeal:

> quid aeternis minorem
> consiliis animum fatigas?
>
> cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
> pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
> canos odorati capillos,
> dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
>
> potamus uncti?[2]

For us, Horace is the poet of disengagement, urging his friends and patrons to relax from business and politics, mocking Iccius for changing books for armour,[3] posing as the small unheroic figure. A modern critic talks about the 'negativity of almost all that he has to say... Most of the odes are in some sense poems of refusal, dissuasion or deprecation.'[4] It seems paradoxical

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1. See Leishman (b), 19-20; Wilkinson, 56.

2. C.II.xi.11-17.

3. C.I.xxix. We may note how Marvell reverses the topic in An Horatian Ode, 'Tis time to leave the Books in dust,/And oyl th'unused Armours rust', Margoliouth, I.91.

4. Wilkinson, 93. Not that I agree. This hardly seems right for describing, say, the poise attained in C.II.xvi. The point I wish to make is that no seventeenth-century critic would have said such a thing.

that such a poet should have appealed to so morally strenuous and Protestant a period as the first half of the seventeenth century, which tended to view life in terms of the myth of the choice of Hercules,[1] and from which we hear, among many other voices urging to virtue,[2] a voice firmly rejecting, in language as chiselled as Horace's, sporting with Amaryllis in the shade. Again, it seems odd that a poet who celebrates retirement should have appealed to a period in which many viewed the active life as best fulfilling the ends for which man is born.[3]

There are several points to be made here. The carpe diem philosophy of C.II.xi appealed to Cavalier poets reacting against the austerity of Puritan ethics and developing the idea of recreation as a celebration of life and God's bounty.[4] There were also contemporary pressures which made Horace's treatment of the life of retirement attractive to many seventeenth-century writers. Alongside the activism, there was a strong quietist strain in the century, intensified in the mid-century by the stresses of the Civil War, which gave rise to the (un-Horatian) praises of complete solitude in the poems of Fane, Marvell, Vaughan and Cowley. M.S. Røstvig has isolated the contemplative strain,[5] and her study shows how important a source Horace was for the formulation of the ideal of retirement. She argues that the Horatian happy man was formed as a Royalist answer to the Puritan ideal of

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1. See H. Smith, Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge, Mass. 1952), Chapter 6, and Jonson's Pleasure reconcild to Vertue.

2. E.g. Samuel Daniel, Ulisses and the Syren.

3. E.g. Sir William Cornwallis, Of Solitarinesse and Company, Essayes; Owen Fellthan, Of Solitarinesse and Companionship, Resolves (1661), 281; Milton, Areopagitica; Evelyn, Public Employment and An Active Life; Clarendon, On an Active and on a Contemplative Life, and when and why the One ought to be preferred before the Other. These contain attacks not only on monasticism, but on Horatian retirement also.

4. See below, 277f.

5. On retirement, see also Wright; Bradbrook; Williamson.

the warrior and pilgrim, setting the authority of classical tradition against the Puritan appeal to the Bible or to divine inspiration, and opposing the ideal of the mean to the ideal of zeal as more patriotic.[1] There is some truth in this contention. George Daniel's praise of Horatian constancy and calm in Ode xlvii is obviously aimed at the Puritans, and Cowley, in Of Agriculture, claims, in support of his Horatian ideal, that he cannot remember

> in our late mad and miserable Civil Wars... the Name of any one Husbandman who had so considerable a share in the twenty years ruine of his Country, as to deserve the Curses of his Country-men.[2]

Nevertheless, it is an over-simplification to suggest that the ideal of Horatian retirement was simply Royalist propaganda: it appealed to some Parliamentarians, just as the active life was advocated by some Royalists. The age-old debate about contemplation and action, reaching back to Pericles' funeral speech, Plato, Aristotle, Seneca and the Stoics, continued in the seventeenth century, which felt the pull of both types of life. We can see this in three poets who interest us, Jonson,[3] Milton[4] and Marvell.[5] Passages

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1. Røstvig (b), 48-9.

2. Essays, 402.

3. See the praises of active valour in An Epistle to a Friend, to perswade him to the warres, Herford, VIII.162, An Epigram, To William, Earle of Newcastle, VIII.228, and of humanists such as Selden and Savile, VIII. 158, 61.

4. See M.Y. Hughes, 'The Christ of Paradise Regained and the Renaissance Heroic Tradition', Ten Perspectives on Milton (Yale, 1965), Chapter 3.

5. See G. de F. Lord, 'From Contemplation to Action: Marvell's Poetical Career', and M.J.K. O'Loughlin, 'This Sober Frame: a Reading of 'Upon Appleton House' ', both in Andrew Marvell A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. G. de F. Lord (Prentice Hall, N.J. 1968). Clarendon also felt the attraction of both ways of life, see H. Trevor-Roper's lecture, printed T.L.S. Jan.10, 1975. In On an Active and on a Contemplative Life, he argues that the ideal man should incorporate the contemplative virtues into the life of action, and, interestingly for us, describes him in the language belonging to the Stoic sapiens, see below, 215.

from Horace could be selected to back either side. As well as such obvious praises of active virtue as Horace's portraits of Regulus, Augustus, Drusus and Tiberius, and Lollius, which could be utilised for panegyric,[1] the figure of the Stoic sapiens, put together from C.III.iii and Serm.II.vii, could be used to celebrate active virtue.[2]

This point about selection is perhaps the most important. The content of Horace's poetry is very varied: the modern view of Horace which stresses carpe diem is a selective one, based on the Odes. In the seventeenth century, when the Odes and the hexameter poems were both widely read, poets could select as favourite passages many which harmonised with their own ethical ideas. We have already seen that the quotation books presented a moral Horace through selection, and we can also see what sort of a poet Horace might appear if selected in this way from the poetry of Casimir Sarbiewski, who was felt to be a Horatius redivivus.[3] Many of his poems consist of witty outdoings of Horatian moral themes. Thus, in his Odes IV.iii, he outdoes the imagery of Horace's picture of the sapiens in C.III.iii:

> Ille, et caducis se licet undique
> Suspendat auris pontus, et in caput
> Unius et flammas, et undam, et
> Vertat agens maria omnia Auster,
> Rerum ruinas, mentis ab ardua
> Sublimis aula, non sine gaudio
> Spectabit, et late ruenti
> Subiiciens sua colla caelo
> Mundum decoro vulnere fulciet....[4]

And in his Odes III.vi, he outdoes the imagery of C.II.ii.9-12:

> Pars animi latet
> Ingens, divitibus latior Indiis,
> Quo non ter spatio longius annuo

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1. See Appendix D on C.IV.ix.

2. See further below, 212f.

3. On Casimir, see further Wedeck; Røstvig (a) and (b), 75-80.

4. Lyricorum libri IV, 143.

Itur navibus aut equis.
Sed mens assiduum visitur in diem
Hospes saepe sui; non ebur, aut novas
Mercatura dapes, ipsa sui satis
Dives, si sibi cernitur.[1]

Horace's poetry does contain many moral themes; indeed ethical material from the Hellenistic diatribe and from Epicurean and Stoic philosophy was Horace's addition in the Odes to his Greek lyric models.[2] Seventeenth-century poets were not responding to something which wasn't there, but they did not always understand Horace's attitude to his ethical material and his rather oblique humour. They tended to take a rather crudely didactic view, interpreting his poems as direct moral exhortation,[3] and they did not always perceive the importance of the element of intimate personal address.

Our poets interpreted Horace's moral themes from their Christian standpoint. There is no place here for an account of the problem of paganism, and the long effort which went into reconciling Christian and pagan, which Erasmus, for example, saw as his task.[4] The point I wish to make is that for most seventeenth-century poets Horace's blend of Stoicism and Epicureanism did not present much of a problem, and they achieved the reconciliation with Christianity easily in their imitations. This was not done at a technical philosophical level, as Lipsius had done for Stoicism[5] and Gassendi for Epicureanism.[6] Poets, in responding to Horace's poetry, assimilated his philosophy naturally, with an easy eclecticism, which is well demonstrated

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1. Ibid. 94. See also Odes III.xxiii, IV. xi, xiv, xv, xxxiv.
2. N.-H. xiv-xv.
3. Supported by Ars Poetica 333-7, 309-16.
4. See for example his letter to Natalis Beda, Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen (1906-58), no. 1581, VI.90.
5. See Saunders; introduction to Stradling by Pirk; Long, 238-41.
6. See Mayo; Long, 241-3.

in Sir William Temple's Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or, Of Gardening.[1] The process is itself Horatian, as Horace was an eclectic in philosophy.[2] Though there was still hostility to Epicurus in the seventeenth century, and his pleasure ethic was still misunderstood,[3] poets were quite happy with the Epicurean element in Horace's poetry.[4] They picked out themes from Horace which appealed to them - the Stoic picture of the man immune to Fortune and the Epicurean picture of innocent content. Herrick's A Country life provides a good illustration. They did not worry about the rationalism and self-sufficiency of Horace's ethics: they stressed not what was different, but what was close to Christian thought - for example, ideas about the blessedness of the virtuous man.[5] They were not interested in Horace's philosophy on a technical level, but in the emotional and poetic colouring he gave to Stoic and Epicurean themes: Cowley's comment in Of My self that his Epicurean philosophy of retirement was formed by reading Horace in his youth is very revealing.[6] The poets were not neo-Stoics or neo-Epicureans, but as it were neo-Horatians. Leishman comments that from Wotton's The Character of a Happy Life to Pope's Ode on Solitude

> how much of the morality, one might almost say how much of the religion, of English poets seems almost indistinguishable from that blend of Stoicism and Epicureanism which has been so perfectly expressed by Horace! How often we find it, the disintrication of the mean from its extremes, the exposure and rebuke of immoderate ambitions and desires and of every kind of too-muchness, the praise of moderate hospitality, of good talk and

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1. See below, 372-3.

2. Leishman (b) 27-33; McGann, 31.

3. Mayo. For a group of poets who understood Epicurus' pleasure ethic, see below, 256f.

4. On Epicureanism in Horace, see De Witt.

5. See below, 227.

6. See below, 327.

> good wine, of the healthfulness of country life as distinguished from that of the city and the court, the celebration of antique virtue and simplicity - these, together with exhortations not to be too cast down by grief or ill-fortune, but to recognize and accept the conditions of human life.[1]

The existence of a seventeenth-century moral tradition in which Horatian and Christian blend is particularly well illustrated by the poem which Leishman mentions, Wotton's The Character of a Happy Life. It is a definition of the good man, which combines the Stoic, 'whose passions not his masters are',[2] and the Christian,

> Who God doth late and early pray,
> More of his grace, then gifts to lend:
> And entertaines the harmlesse day
> With a Religious Book, or Friend.[3]

(This stanza also recalls the Horatian simple life and innocent recreation of Serm. II.vi.60-76). The last stanza employs the liberty theme of Serm. II.vii, the immunity to Fortune theme of C.II.x, and the richness theme of C.III.xvi:

> This man is freed from servile bands,
> Of hope to rise, or feare to fall:
> Lord of himselfe, though not of Lands,
> And having nothing: yet hath all. [4]

The last line also recalls St. Paul on the true Christian 'as having nothing,

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1. Leishman (a) 26-7. See also Miner (b), 88-92, 153-5.

2. Sibi imperiosus, Serm. II.vii.83. See also Proverbs, xvi,32, 'He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.'

3. Reliquiae Wottonianae, 523.

4. Ibid, 523.

and yet possessing all things.'[1] Demonstrating the Horatian/Christian tradition neatly, Cowley cites Wotton's line in Of Avarice, in a context in which he is embroidering the Horatian themes of poverty and wealth of C.III.xvi: he is speaking of the avaricious man:

> Some body sayes of a virtuous and wise Man, That having nothing, he has all: This is just his Antipode, Who, having All things, yet has Nothing.....
>
> And, oh, That Mans condition can be worse
> Then his, whom Plenty starves, and Blessings curse;
> The Beggars but a common Fate deplore,
> The Rich poor Man's Emphatically Poor.[2]

Cowley uses the phrase 'poor rich man' to translate Horace's phrase magnas inter opes inops in the version of C.III.xvi which follows this essay,[3] and we may note, to illustrate our tradition further, that Izaak Walton employs it several times in The compleat angler in similar contexts of poor content versus avaricious poverty:

> And for you that have heard many grave serious men pity Anglers; let me tell you Sir, there be many men that are by others taken to be serious and grave men, which we contemn and pity. Men that are taken to be grave, because Nature hath made them of a sowre complexion, money-getting-men, men that spend all their time first in getting, and next in anxious care to keep it; men that are condemned to be rich, and then always busie or discontented: for these poor-rich-men, we Anglers pity them perfectly, and stand in no need to borrow their thoughts to think our selves so happy. No, no, Sir, we enjoy a contentedness above the reach of such dispositions.[4]

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1. II.Corinthians, vi.10. In Horace, the richness theme is Epicurean in origin, see Epicurus the Extant Remains, ed. Bailey, fragment 28, p.127, fragments 68-74, p.137. And see Charleton, Epicurus's morals, chapter XVIII, section i: 'Now comes Moderation, or that Disposition of the Mind, which makes a man contented with a little, and than which he can hardly possesse a greater Good. For, to be content with little, is the highest preferment, the greatest wealth in the world: as on the other side, great riches without moderation, are but great poverty. Thus, to have wherewithall to prevent Hunger, Thirst, and Cold; is a Felicity not much inferior to that of Divinity: and who so possesses so much, and desires no more, however the world may account him poor, he really is the Richest man alive', 97-8.

2. Essays, 437. Bishop Hurd mistakenly thought that Cowley was referring to St. Paul, Select works of Mr. A. Cowley, II.218.

3. And see also The shortness of Life, Essays, 459.

4. Compleat angler, 5. See also 222, 265.

The easy blending of Horatian moral themes with Christian ideas could be demonstrated in many seventeenth-century works, for example, Jonson's To Penshurst,[1] Herrick's A Thanksgiving to God, for his House,[2] Randolph's translation of Epode II, which substitutes a Christian conclusion for the faenorator passage, Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs,[3] Walton's Compleat angler,[4] Cowley's The shortness of Life and uncertainty of Riches,[5] or Vaughan's To the pious memorie of C.W. Esquire, in which he gives a portrait of his dead friend as a Horatian Christian gentleman combining Horatian virtues, constancy from C.III.iii, integrity, like Lollius in C.IV.ix.34-43, and self-rule from Serm.II.vii (see especially ll.23-34, 53-7, 63-74), with Christian ones, otherworldliness, humility etc. (see especially, ll.45-48, 63-74). At the end of Vaughan's poem, the Horatian imagery drawn from C.III.iii of the mists and storms of Civil War is redirected by Vaughan's striking Christian light symbolism:[6] the Civil War is subsumed within the larger eschatological conflict of the 'great Victour', who dispels the darkness of death:

> That thick, black night which mankind fear'd, is torn
> By Troops of Stars, and the bright day's Forlorn.[7]

There are some seventeenth-century imitations of Horace in which Christian and non-Christian do not harmonise so well. These are usually in

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1. See A. Fowler, Conceitful Thought (1975), 134. For the combination of Christian and classical in Jonson, see Parfitt (a); Knights (b), 175.

2. See above, 178-9.

3. See above, 56.

4. See W.J. Keith, The Rural Tradition (1975), 29-31; Cooper.

5. See below, 253-4, 323.

6. On Vaughan's light symbolism, see F. Kermode, 'The Private Imagery of Henry Vaughan', R.E.S. N.S.i (1950), 206-225.

7. Martin, 631.

poems which seek to Christianise Horace, pointing to the discrepancies rather than the continuities between Christian and pagan. The tradition of 'sacred parody', of converting Horatian forms to Christian subjects, in neo-Latin imitations, goes back to the Middle Ages, and was continued by Continental Renaissance neo-Latin poets who aspired to the title of Horatius Christianus.[1] Casimir Sarbiewski, for example, has several parodiae in which Horace's words are converted to Christian subjects: C.I.xiii becomes a poem to the Magdalen (Odes III.ii), C.I.xxi and C.I.xxx hymns to the Virgin (Odes II.xvi, xxiv), and the fawn imagery of C.I.xxiii is conflated with the Canticles (Odes II. xvii). The disharmony between the old and new subject matter is surely deliberate:[2] we are meant to reflect on the change between the old and the new orders, but to modern tastes the technique seems rather grotesque and pointless. Casimir also wrote a palinode to Epode II (which Vaughan translated), in which he substitutes a life of Christian contemplation for the life of the farmer. The conversion is less extreme, but the technique is the same: Casimir follows the diction and imagery of Horace's poem, substituting a Christian meaning:

> At ille, Flacce, nunc erit beatior,
> Qui mole curarum procul
> Paterna liquit rura, litigantium
> Solutus omni iurgio;
> Nec solis aestum frugibus timet suis,
> Nec sidus hyberni Iovis,
> Rixasque vitat et scelesta curiae
> Rapacioris limina.
> Ergo aut profanis hactenus negotiis
> Amissa plorat sidera;
> Aut in reducta sede dispersum gregem
> Errantis animi colligit,
> Postquam beatae lucra conscientiae
> Quadrante libravit suo.
> Idem, propinqua nocte, stellatas vigil
> Cum vesper accendit faces,

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1. Wilkinson, 163-4.

2. Pace Wilkinson, 164.

Ut gaudet immortale mirari iubar,
  Terraque maiores globos,
Et per cadentes intueri lacrymas
  Rimosa lucis atria,
Quae Christe tecum, Virgo quae tecum colat
  perennis heres saeculi.....[1]

Note especially the sixth couplet, which metaphorises Horace's lines:

aut in reducta valle mugientium
  prospectat errantis greges.[2]

In other poems, Casimir converts Horatian motifs to Christian ends: thus, in his Odes IV.iii, he uses boat imagery drawn from C.III.xxix to describe the voyage of man's life to heaven:

Quo cum volentem fata reduxerint,
Nil interest, an morbus, an hosticus
  Impellat ensis, quo supremum
    Urget iter. semel advehemur
Quam navigamus semper in insulam:
Seu lata magnis stravimus aequora
  Reges carinis; seu Quirites,
    Exigua vehimur phaselo.
Illo beatum margine me meus
Exponat asser. cur ego sistere
  Aeterno reformidem quietus
    littore, si peritura linquam.[3]

The pastiche of Horatian phrasing and imagery is obvious. In other poems, Casimir gives a Christian twist to Horatian themes.[4]

In England, Herbert, also, employs the technique of parodia in a neo-Latin poem, Ad Deum, in which C.IV.iii is converted to a celebration of God, not Melpomene, as the inspirer of Christian poetry.[5] The technique is less easily used in vernacular poems, where pastiche of Horatian phraseology is not possible. One example is Wotton's ingenious A Dialogue betwixt God and the Soul, which transforms C.III.ix into a statement of the relation between

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1. 212-3.
2. Ll.11-12.
3. 144.
4. E.g. Odes II.v, vii, III. xii.
5. For Herbert's use of sacred parody in his vernacular poems, see R. Freeman, 'Parody as a Literary Form: George Herbert and Wilfred Owen', Essays in Criticism xiii (1963), 307-22; Mays, 148-151.

the soul and God - the soul is seduced from its original repose in God by worldly pleasures and then won back to God through forgiveness and grace. Horace's words take on a technical religious meaning: thus, the boasts of the lovers to die for their new loves now refer to the death of the soul through sin and to the Crucifixion, and the famous last line, now spoken by God, is given a similar witty religious twist:

> yet once more I
> Would with Thee live, and for thee die.[1]

An English poet who aspired, perhaps influenced by Casimir Sarbiewski,[2] to

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1. Reliquiae Wottonianae, 534. It clearly appealed to contemporary taste: Archbishop Sancroft copied the poem into a commonplace book, Bodl. MS. Tanner 466, fol.6, entitling it παρωδία.

2. See Røstvig (b), 91-2, 94-6. Her examples of direct influence seem to me a little imprecise. Habington's version of the opening of C.III.iii in To the Honourable Mr. Wm. E is not particularly close to Casimir's, quoted above, 200, though the phrase later in the poem 'the soules great temple' may recall Casimir's phrase mentis ab ardua sublimis aula, Odes IV.iii. But it does seem likely, as she suggests in (a), 444-5, that Habington knew his fellow Roman Catholic's treatment of Horace and was inspired by his general approach. In general, I think, Røstvig goes too far when she says 'in the history of the English ode the neo-Latin Horatian imitations of Casimire Sarbiewski.... frequently proved more influential than their classical originals', (a), 443. Though Casimir was well known (there are translations by G. Hills, Vaughan and Sherburne) Horace was better known: the process of Christianising Horatian motifs did not need Casimir, though I think Røstvig is probably right that Habington, Vaughan and Fane (and I would add George Daniel) were inspired by him. Fane's To Retiredness and My happy Life, to a Friend, like Casimir's parody of Epode II, combine Horatian motifs and Christian contemplation, and he also wrote a neo-Latin parody of Epode II, combining it with Psalm I, which may well have been inspired by Casimir's poem. This is in Harvard MS.Eng. 645 (partially described in H.L.B. 1955 and 1957 by E. Whittington), fol. 67, entitled Paraphras: Psal: 1 vel Flaccus Evangelicans. This MS shows that Fane was well acquainted with Horace himself: it contains many rather incompetent neo-Latin poems in which Horatian odes and phrases are reapplied to contemporary English politics. For example C.I.xxxvii becomes Nunc est lugendum, nunc pede languido/calcanda tellus, nec saliaribus/ ornare pulvinar sanctorum/tempus erit lachrimis sodales, fol.64 (Fanes is lamenting the Royalist defeat) and C.I.ix becomes Vides ut alta stet [?] squallidum/regnum, et vix sustineant onus/plebis laborantis Crumenae, fol. 65. (I have not personally seen this MS: I am indebted to Mr. R.C. T. Parker of Oriel College, who examined a microfilm belonging to Mr. James Turner of Liverpool University.)

be a Horatius Christianus was William Habington. He wrote epistles which combine Horatian and Christian themes,[1] and he presents, in M.S. Røstvig's words, 'a religious version of beatus ille sentiments'.[2] His special technique, reminiscent of Casimir, is to Christianise Horatian images and motifs. Et Exaltavit Humiles is a conflation of C.II.x and the Magnificat. The man of the mean becomes the humble man (Horace's Aristotelian threepart comparison becoming a simpler dual comparison of rich and poor) and imagery drawn from C.II.x and C.III.i is joined to imagery from the Psalms and the Magnificat, and is itself Christianised. Habington begins with an original image, opposing the narrow brook to the Thames. The next stanza redeploys the familiar imagery of stanza 3 of C.II.x: feriuntque summos/fulgura montes:

> The largest mountaines barren lye
> And lightning feare,
> Though they appeare
> To bid defiance to the skie;
> Which in one houre
> W'have seene the opening earth devoure
> When in their height they proudest were.[3]

Stanzas 3 and 4 define the good man in terms of C.III.i.29-32 and C.II.x 21-4:

> But th'humble man heaves up his head
> Like some rich vale
> Whose fruites nere faile
> With flowres, with corne, and vines ore-spread,
> Nor doth complaine
> Oreflowed by an ill season'd raine
> Or batter'd by a storme of haile.
>
> Like a tall Barke with treasure fraught
> He the seas cleere
> Doth quiet steere:
> But when they are t'a tempest wrought;
> More gallantly

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1. Pace Rostvig (b), 97-8, these do not seem to me Horatian in manner and feeling: they are much too solemn and impersonal.

2. (b), 90.

3. Allott, 142.

He spreads his saile, and doth more high
By swelling of the waves, appeare.[1]

Note how Habington has metaphorised the lines from C.III.i in the manner of Casimir in his palinode to Epode II: Horace had said that verberatae grandine vineae fundusque mendax, arbore .... aquas culpante do not upset desiderantem quod satis est: in Habington, the humble man becomes the farm. In the last three stanzas Habington uses biblical imagery from Psalms CXIII 7-8, and adapts the sea imagery of C.II.x to explicitly Christian ideas, God humbling 'the glorious tide/Of humane pride', and the shipwreck of the soul:

Let then the mighty cease to boast
  Their boundlesse sway:
  Since in their Sea
Few sayle, but by some storme are lost.
  Let them themselves
 Beware for they are their owne shelves.
 Man still himselfe hath cast away.[2]

(Note how Habington has again given a metaphorising twist to Horace's image of the litus iniquum: the rich are 'their own shelves'.) Habington often uses Horatian images in a Christian context, in this way:[3] to a modern taste, the effect is rather grotesque.

George Daniel also aspired to be a Horatius Christianus, again, perhaps, modelling himself on Casimir Sarbiewski, whose poetry he knew and admired, as we can see from his tribute to Herbert as 'Horace in voice; and Casimire in winge'.[4] We have examined above the Horatian elements of the persona

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1. Ibid. 142.

2. Allott, 143.

3. See for example Et alta a longe cognoscit, which employs the non ebur neque aureum theme and the building theme (ll.17-22) of C.II.xviii, or Et fugit velut umbra, which employs the motifs of the merchant, the heir and building, see below, 228, 229.

4. An Ode Upon the Incomparable Liricks Poesie Written by Mr. George Herbert; Entituled; The Temple, Stroup, 67.

he presents in his poetry;[1] these blend a little oddly with elements of the Christian sage. He often combines Horatian themes with Christian meditation,[2] especially in Scattered Fancies, sometimes to rather odd effect. Ode xii opens with a Horatian recusatio: Daniel is the small man, in Horatian obscure retirement, contented with low poetry:

> Contented I, to frame a rurall ode,
> In humble Shades;
> Admire those Swains, who in bright Southerne Glades,
> Doe make abode;
> And Carol high to Fame, with mounting Quill;
> My obscure Groves, best suit my humble Skill.
> Let me, unto the fameles Deviaes Shore,
> Low Accents frame,
> Unenvied in my Fate, or in my Fame....[3]

This Horatian opening paves the way rather oddly to a praise of God's powers.

In general, though, as argued above, the fusion of Horatian and Christian was achieved more tactfully and naturally, but the easy assimilation of Horace's philosophy did sometimes entail a certain distortion of Horace's ideas. There were obvious moralisations, such as the moral reading of C.I.xxii. Poets seized on the opening lines of this poem as a straight definition of the strength of innocence, ignoring the humour of the poem whereby innocence turns out to consist in loving.[4] An example is Campion's 'The man of life upright', which is a definition of the good man, combining the opening of C.I.xxii with Christian ideals.[5] Horace is a difficult poet.

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1. See above, 94-95.
2. See further Røstvig (b), 114-7.
3. Stroup, 91.
4. See Fraenkel, 184-8; N.-H. 261-4.
5. And also with the unaffrighted figure of C.III.iii. For the moral reading of C.I.xxii see also above, 24-5, 37, and Fellthan, Of Vertue and Wisdome, Resolves (1628), 231, where the first 3 stanzas are quoted to support the proposition that 'Vertue is a Defendresse, and valiants the heart of man'. The pone me topic of the final stanzas is Christianised by Henry More in Resolution, Grosart, 175, and Habington in Quoniam ego in flagella paratus sum, 11. 1-12, Allott, 136-7.

In the Satires and Epistles especially, his handling of moral philosophy is oblique, and his ironies hard to gauge. Consider Gordon Williams' elaborate exposition of Epistles I.x,[1] a poem which, in the seventeenth century, was certainly understood as a straightforward praise of country life.[2] Seventeenth-century poets usually took Horace's poetry straight in this way, especially when it thus fitted with their own ideas.

A particularly striking example is the way in which they formed an ideal of constancy from Horace's two pictures of the Stoic sapiens in C.III.iii:

> Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
> non civium ardor prava iubentium,
> non voltus instantis tyranni
> mente quatit solida neque Auster,
>
> dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
> nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis:
> si fractus inlabatur orbis,
> inpavidum ferient ruinae.[3]

and Serm. II.vii:

> sapiens sibi qui imperiosus,
> quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
> responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
> fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
> externi nequid valeat per leve morari,
> in quem manca ruit semper fortuna.[4]

Neither of these two passages is a serious index of Horace's beliefs. The first is a compliment to Augustus, in which Horace manipulates the Augustan propagandising mythology. The virtue of constancy associates Augustus with heroes who gained heaven through effort and virtue, Pollux, Hercules, Bacchus,

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1. Williams (a), 592-9.

2. This was a popular poem: there are translations by Fanshawe, Cowley and J.S. from The innocent epicure. See also Appendix D.

3. Ll.1-8.

4. Ll.83-88.

and Romulus,[1] associations which were an established part of the Augustan mythology.[2] It is difficult to pin down the tone of the second passage, but the description of the Stoic *sapiens* is partially at least ironic. It occurs in a dramatic setting: Davus, Horace's slave, is giving his master a lecture on the Stoic paradox ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος, gleaned from the door keeper of Crispinus, the Stoic philosopher mocked in *Serm.*I.i and iii. The authority of the speaker is open to doubt: Davus is one of the *doctor ineptus* figures of Book II of the *Satires*.[3] The poem is light-hearted: Horace exploits the comic potential of the setting in which the slave lectures his master about freedom, and enjoys elaborating the Stoic paradox and parodying the Stoic lecture-room manner. The definition of the *sapiens* is also humorous: that the Stoic ideal was impossible and inhuman was a standard charge, and the notion that the circle was the perfect figure rather than the square was also mocked. In general, Horace was not especially sympathetic to Stoic ethics: he disliked the inhumanity and immoderateness of the figure of the *sapiens*.[4] When he presents us with a picture of his own poise, it is more personal and more lightly expressed.[5]

These two passages from Horace were taken by seventeenth-century poets as straight formulations of the ideal man,[6] and they were imitated

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1. See lines 9-16.

2. See also *C.*I.xii.25-33; *C.*III.xiv.1-4; *Epistles* II.i.5-10; *Aeneid* VI.791-805.

3. See W.S. Anderson, 'The Roman Socrates: Horace and his Satires', in *Satire*, ed. J.P. Sullivan (1963), 29-37; Rudd (a), 195-6.

4. See *Serm.*I.iii.76-98, 124-42; *Epistles* I.i.106-8. See also Rudd (a), 9; McGann, 37, 79.

5. See e.g. *C.*II.xvi.37-40; *Serm.*I.vi.110-131.

6. Mirandula excerpts the two passages under the headings *De iustitia* and *De libertate*.

again and again.[1] The central image of C.III.iii, the man who is unmoved by external pressures, natural and human, captured the century's imagination, and colours many definitions and tributes. The storm imagery was particulary resonant for seventeenth-century poets, because of the accretion of association given by Boethius' use of the metaphor of the sea of Fortune in De Consolatione Philosophiae.[2] The storm was a standard image for the Civil War in our period,[3] and in imitating the passage, poets were clearly often thinking in particular of the pressures of Civil War. Herrick has no less than 6 epigrams basing a definition of the good man on the figure of C.III. iii,[4] and His age contains a stanza identifying constancy as the force which prevents shipwreck.[5] And we find translations and imitations by Campion, Samuel Daniel, Drayton, William Hammond, Sancroft, Robert Farley, George Daniel, Habington, Fane, Henry More, Milton, Marvell, Waller, Cowley and Flatman.[6] The passage from Serm.II.vii was also very popular. Herrick's His age[7] and A Country life[8] make use of the idea of the roundness of the virtuous soul. Cartwright's Viscount Bayning combines the ideas of roundness, self-rule and self-reliance,[9] and Randolph's Owen Felltham also is totus, teres atque rotundus and sibi imperiosus.[10] A rendering of the passage is

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1. On Jonson's use of them, see above, 129-30, 140-1.

2. See J.F. Danby, Poets on Fortune's Hill (1952), 83f.

3. See e.g. Herrick, Farwell Frost, Martin, 224; Clarendon, Life, I.66; Cowley, Of My self, Essays, 456; Cotton, Winter Quatrains, Buxton, 13. See also Miner (b), passim.

4. See appendix D.

5. Quoted above, 183.

6. See appendix D.

7. Stanza 9, Martin, 134.

8. l.136, Ibid. 38.

9. On the Death of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bayning, Evans, 531.

10. To Mr. Feltham on his booke of Resolves, Thorn-Drury, 75.

the culmination of Cowley's search for the truly free man in Of Liberty.[1]

The two passages with their imagery merge in, for example, Cartwright's description of Dr. Duppa:

> And you My Lord are he
> Who can all wishes free,
> Whose round and solid Mind knows to Create
> And fashion your own Fate;
> Whose firmness can from Ills assure success
> Where Others do but guess;
> Whose Conscience holy Calms enjoys
> 'Mid'st the loud Tumults of State-Noise;
> Thus gather'd in your self, you stand your own,
> Nor rais'd, by giddy changes, nor cast down,[2]

where we have the figure of the immoveable and self-reliant man, with the round imagery of Serm.II.vii and the storm imagery of C.III.iii. The ideal figure which emerges from the fusion of the two passages may be felt behind several descriptions which are not direct imitations of Horace - Vaughan's portrait of C.W, Clarendon's description from On an Active and on a Contemplative Life of the ideal man who 'would stand upon a Precipice without stirring',[3] Brome's Dr. S. and Mr. Aubrey,[4] Cotton's Lovelace.[5]

Constancy was a virtue of especial appeal to the men of the seventeenth century, which is the reason why they fixed on the two passages from Horace with such tenacity. There were other Horatian sources which they also drew on. Horace advised Dellius in C.II.iii to preserve an aequa mens, a phrase twice recalled by Herrick.[6] C.II.x also deals with constancy in adversity,

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1. See below, 321.

2. To Mrs. Duppa, Evans, 508. See also George Daniel, Ode lvii, stanza 4, quoted above, 95.

3. Miscellaneous works, 201.

4. To his reverend Friend Dr. S. on his pious and learned book, A funeral Elegy on Mr. Aubrey, Songs and other poems, 136, 150.

5. To the Memory of my worthy Friend, Colonel Richard Lovelace, Buxton, 112, and see Herrick's A Country life, lines 93-100.

6. 'Thy equall thoughts', A Country life, Martin, 37; 'an equall mind', Sauce for sorrowes, 333.

and is often recollected by poets and combined with Serm.II.vii and C.III.iii.[1] The picture of the first sailor in C.I.iii, who dared the winds and waves unafraid,[2] is perhaps recalled, along with C.III.iii, by both Herrick in His Cavalier,[3] and Waller in Of the Danger his Majesty escaped in the Road at Saint Andrews.[4] The travel theme of C.II.xvi and Epistles.I.xi, in which travel is seen as a sign of inconstancy, was also used by poets;[5] Jonson adapts the famous phrase caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt[6] to praise Roe's constancy, 'His often change of clime (though not of mind).'[7]

The most important sources for the praise of constancy in the period were probably not Horace but Seneca[8] and the neo-Stoic Lipsius: the Horatian passages are being interpreted by means of Seneca,[9] a common phenomenon.[10] Lipsius' De Constantia was a very popular book.[11] It does make use of several

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1. See below, 225.

2. C.I.iii.9-20.

3. Martin, 30.

4. Ll.81-4, Thorn Drury, I.4. Both poems also perhaps recall Aeneid I.148-153. Cowley also recalls the Horace passage, more appropriately, of Warwick 'constant in Sinne', The Civil War II.307-316, Pritchard, 98.

5. See below, 230-1.

6. Epistles,I.xi.27.

7. Herford, VIII.37.

8. Jonson, for example, draws on Seneca's praises of constancy, see e.g. Discoveries, Herford, VIII.563, 593.

9. Jonson combines Seneca and Horace on the constant man in Lovel's description of the valiant man in The New Inne, Herford, VI.473, see above, 141, and in the Apologeticall Dialogue to poetaster, Herford, IV.318, see above, 137. Lipsius and the Horace passages are also often combined, see e.g. Vaenius' emblem Mediis tranquillus in undis, p.70; Peacham, Nec igne, nec unda, p.158.

10. See below, 233.

11. See the introduction to Stradling's translation by Kirk. Lipsius' definition of constancy as constantiam hic appello rectum et immotum animi robur non elati externis aut fortuitis, non depressi, De Constantia, A5v.

quotations from Horace,[1] and the section entitled constantiae laus et seria ad eam adhortatio contains similar imagery to the passage from C.III.iii. The passage is worth quoting in full for the fervour with which it praises the idea of fixity:

> Iacebis? Constantia te attollet. Vacillabis? sustinebit. Ad lacum properabis vel ad laqueum? solabitur et reducet a limine mortis. Tu eripe tantum et erige te, et navim flecte ad hunc portum: ubi securitas, ubi pax habitat: in quo perfugium asylumque a turbis et a curis. Quem si bona fide semel tenueris: non turbet solum patria tua sed ruat, stabis ipse inconcussus. Nimbi circum te cadant et fulmina et tempestas: clamabis vera magnaque voce, mediis tranquillus in undis.[2]

English writers attracted to neo-Stoicism, such as Lodge,[3] Chapman[4] and Owen Pelltham[5] explored the ideal of constancy further, and it was also upheld, with equal fervour to Lipsius', by men who were not technical neo-Stoics: we find praises of constancy again and again in the period.[6] The pressure of the times, the corruptions involved in seeking 'great place', the zeal of the opposing parties in state and in religion, the intensified pressures of the Civil War made constancy seem a particularly admirable virtue, Public figures are praised for their 'gathered'[7] minds - Henrietta Maria

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1. Especially from C.III.i. See De constantia, A3v, H3v.

2. Ibid. A8v-B. Lipsius' poem Laus et Votum Vitae Beatae, translated by Ashmore and Sancroft, see below, 376 , note 2 , contains an adaptation of the opening of C.III.iii in ll.5-13, Iusti Lipsii epistolarum selectarum centuria prima, B4.

3. See the epistle to the reader of his translation of Seneca's moral works, see Kirk, 29-30.

4. See his description of Odysseus, Bartlett, 406.

5. See Of Resolution, Resolves (1628), 4.

6. See e.g. Fuller's description of Sir Horace Vere, History of the Worthies of England, Futtall, I.514; Randolph's portrait of Pelltham in To Mr. Feltham on his booke of Resolves, Thorn Drury, 75.

7. The adjective is Jonson's from To Sir Thomas Roe, Herford, VIII.63, borrowed by Cartwright in To Mrs. Duppa and On the Queens Return from the Low Countries, Evans 508, 554.

and Charles I,[1] Strafford[2] and Monke,[3] for example. Lovelace recommends 'one gallant thorough-made Resolve' to his brother Francis, 'immoderately mourning my Brothers untimely Death at Carmarthen'.[4] The imagery of C.III.iii, the citizens and tyrant, South wind, Adriatic, Jove's thunder and the fallen world, is updated to fit the external pressures of modern times,[5] as, for example, in Vaughan's portrayal of C.W. in a world of 'private Interest' and 'wild dissents'. Another notable example is in Denham's Elegy on the Death of Judge Crooke. Sir George Croke was one of the judges in the notorious ship money case who voted, at risk of royal displeasure, in favour of the defendants, against the tax. The poem celebrates this modern instance of the resolved man unmoved by the voltus instantis tyranni, or, as Denham, royalist as he was, more wittily puts it, the pressure of the primum mobile. Croke is Horace's Lollius, the man of integrity: by a witty development of the imagery of C.III.iii -si fractus inlabatur orbis impavidum ferient ruinae - he is said to be the axis on which the moving world turns: he is also the man who observes the golden mean of C.II.x:

> Him nor Respect nor Disrespect could move;
> He knew no Anger, nor his Place no Love.
> So mixd the Stream of all his Actions ran,
> So much a Judge so much a Gentleman;
> Who durst be just when justice was a crime,
> Yet durst no more even in too just a Time;
> Not hurried by the highest Movers force

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1. By Cartwright in On the Queens Return from the Low Countries and Upon the Birth of the Kings sixth Child. 1640, Evans, 554, 555.

2. By George Daniel in To the Tombe of Thomas Earl of Strafford, Grosart, I.195.

3. By Denham in A Panegyrick on his Excellency, The Lord General George Monck, Banks, 147.

4. Wilkinson, 86.

5. Horace's phrase non civium ardor prava iubentium, translated by Hammond as 'nor the zeal/Of citizens forcing rebellions', Saintsbury, II.507, fits the contemporary scene.

Against his proper and resolved course;
But when our World did turn, so kept his Ground
He seemed the Axe on which the Wheel went round.
Whose Zeal was warm when all to Ice did turn,
Yet was but warm when all the World did burn.
No ague in Religion eer inclin'd
To this or that Extream his fixed Mind.[1]

Above all, it was Jonson, looking to Horace for support,[2] who gave most extended treatment to the theme of constancy, both in his plays and his poems.[3] The plays are full of figures who are inconstant, shape-changers, men who have no self to return to, described in a passage of Discoveries:

> I have considered, our whole life is like a play: wherein every man, forgetfull of himselfe, is in travaile with expression of another. Nay, wee so insist in imitating others, as wee cannot (when it is necessary) returne to our selves.' [4]

The poems, on the other hand, are full of figures who resist the fickleness of the world and stand firm in storms, for example, Lord Burleigh:

The only faithfull Watchman for the Realme,
That in all tempests, never quit the helme,
But stood unshaken in his Deeds, and Name,[5]

the Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Roe, Lady Aubigny.[6] We haven't time to go into the ramifications of the theme in Jonson, or all its implications and its power to move us.[7] But it is worth pointing out that constancy is a

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1. Banks, 157-8.

2. See above, 129-30, 140-2.

3. See Greene (a); Knights (b); Parfitt (c), 68, 25f; J. Barish, 'Jonson and the Loathed Stage', in A Celebration of Ben Jonson, ed. W. Blisset etc. (Toronto, 1973), 27-53.

4. Herford, VIII.597.

5. Ibid. VIII.185.

6. To William Earle of Pembroke, ibid.VIII.66; To William Roe, VIII.80; Epistle To Katherine, Lady Aubigny, VIII.118-9.

7. See Knights (b), 176-7, on the sanity of Jonson's ideal.

conservative ideal.[1]

The adaptation of this conservative ideal from Horace's poetry is an example of the way in which men looked to ancient authors as enshriners of classic values and props against modern confusion, in this instance, leading to some distortion. Constancy and inconstancy are certainly major themes of Horace's poetry,[2] but his attitude is different from, for example, Jonson's. Horace does not feel the disgust that Jonson conveys, for example, in On the Townes Honest Man, at the shape-changer. Horace's vision of life is comic, accepting human follies and limitations. He is prepared to admit that he is the first to incur the charge of inconstancy;[3] contrast Jonson's characteristic pose of integrity. Horace is not the rigid Stoic, but the flexible philosopher:

> ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter:
> nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
> quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.
> nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis
> virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles,
> nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor
> et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.[4]

M.J. McGann thinks that Horace admired adaptability, witness his treatment of the Cyrenaic Aristippus,[5] and that he saw that his own inconsistency might be a virtue.[6] Apropos Epistles I.vi, he writes of Horace's 'awareness

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1. See further Parfitt (c), 143f; Greene (a) and (b), who compares Shakespeare, who admired flexibility, and argues that Jonson was reacting against the greater freedom allowed to the self by the Renaissance. Lionel Trilling's Sincerity and Authenticity (1972) is relevant here: his analysis of ideals of being would place Jonson among those who admire sincerity rather than the more modern ideal of authenticity, see particularly his account of Hegel's rejection in the Phenomenology of the honest soul in favour of the greater freedom of the disintegrated consciousness.

2. See e.g. Serm.I.i.1-22; Serm.I.iii.1-19; Epistles I.i, viii, xiv, xv.

3. See Serm.II.vii.22-42; Epistles I.viii.3-12, I.xv.42-6.

4. Epistles I.i.13-19.

5. See Epistles I.xvii.13-32.

6. 72-3.

of the importance of the individual human nature and his willingness to tolerate it in all its variety'.[1] Niall Rudd feels that Horace admired but did not love homogeneity, seeking his own equilibrium in 'controlled variety'.[2] Steele Commager thinks that Horace particularly admired the ability to change.[3] And Colin Macleod has recently argued[4] that Horace advocates a complex combination of resistance and adaptability to circumstances.

It is interesting to compare English poets' understanding of Horace's philosophy in this area with that of two Renaissance European writers, Erasmus in The Praise of Folly and Montaigne in the Essais. The irony of The Praise of Folly is modelled on Lucian, but it is akin to Horace's in the Satires and Epistles, in that we are never quite sure what Erasmus is commending, since he uses a doctor ineptus figure, Folly. But, to some extent, we feel that he endorses the flexibility of Folly's ethics and her plea for human feelings,[5] and concurs with her in the frequent mockery of the Stoic sapiens for his inhumanity and unadaptability,[6] charges which are close to Horace's. Indeed, Erasmus draws on Serm.I.iii to point the inhumanity of the Stoic philosopher by his inability to ignore human weakness and form friendships: he alludes to the passage in which Horace speaks of giving kind names to defects (ll.38f.) and continues of the Stoics:

> Cum interim inter sapientes istos deos, aut omnino non coalescit amicitia, aut tetrica quaedam et insuavis intercedit, nec ea nisi cum paucissimis, nam cum nullis dicere religio est, propterea

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1. 47. In general, McGann is helpful on Horace's philosophic position between rigid Stoicism and extreme hedonism, 9-32 and passim.

2. Rudd (a), 199-201.

3. 255-306.

4. In a lecture.

5. Mason, 76-81.

6. Moriae encomium, A6, C2v, C4v-C5.

> quod maxima pars hominum desipit, immo nullus est qui non multis modis deliret, et non nisi inter similes cohaeret necessitudo. Quod si quando inter severos istos coierit mutua benivolentia, ea certe haud quaquam stabilis est, nec ad modum duratura, nimirum inter morosos et plus satis oculatos, ut qui in amicorum vitiis tam cernunt acutum, quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius. At ipsi in propriis vitiis quam lippiunt, et quam non vident manticam in tergo pendentem. Itaque cum ea sit hominum natura, ut nullum ingenium reperiatur non magnis obnoxium vitiis. adde tantam animorum ac studiorum dissimilitudinem, tot lapsus, tot errata, tot casus vitae mortalis, quo pacto vel horam constabit inter argos istos amicitiae iucunditas, nisi accesserit ea quam mire Graeci εὐήθειαν appellant, quam seu stulticiam, seu morum facilitatem vertas licebit. 1

Montaigne is also closer to Horace than are English seventeenth-century poets in admiring flexibility, see the opening of De Trois Commerces:

> Il ne faut pas se clouër si fort à ses humeurs et complexions. Nostre principalle suffisance, c'est sçavoir s'appliquer à divers usages. C'est estre, mais ce n'est pas vivre, que se tenir attaché et obligé par necessité à un seul train. Les plus belles ames sont celles qui ont plus de varieté et de soupplesse.
>
> Voylà un honorable tesmoignage du vieus Caton: Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret.
>
> Si c'estoit à moy à me dresser à ma mode, il n'est aucune si bonne facon où je vouleusse estre fiché pour ne m'en sçavoir desprendre. La vie est un mouvement inegal, irregulier et multiforme. Ce n'est pas estre amy de soy et moins encore maistre, c'est en estre esclave, de se suivre incessamment et estre si pris à ses inclinations qu'on n'en puisse fourvoyer, qu'on ne les puisse tordre.[2]

Apologie de Raimond Sebond demonstrates a remarkably genial acceptance of life's fluctuations, and Montaigne everywhere shows himself fascinated by the changeability of his own psyche.[3] He often argues in his later essays that the height of wisdom is not to scale heights but to accept one's humanity,[4]

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1. Ibid, B3v-B4. Erasmus also alludes to Epistles I.xviii.6, objecting to asperitas ac morositas inconcinna, ut ait Horatius, gravisque, E3, and Epistles II.ii.128-140, arguing against the Stoic paradox ὅτι πᾶς σοφὸς μαίνεται, D2-D2v.

2. Rat, 796.

3. See for example Du Repentir, ibid. 782.

4. See for example De L'Experience, ibid. 1090-1091

which involves accepting one's self in all its flexibility.[1] In one of the earlier essays, De la Moderation, he argues that there should not be too much excess in virtue, quoting Horace Epistles I.vi.15-16,[2] and in Apologie de Raimond Sebond, he quotes the conclusion of Epistles I.i to prove his point that Stoic tranquillity is impossible.[3] In De la Phisionomie, he speaks of the differences between men and the consequent need for a flexible philosophy, quoting Horace's line quo me cumque rapit tempestas deferor hospes.[4] With his genial acceptance of life, Montaigne obviously felt kinship with Horace, whom he often quotes.[5] In De Trois Commerces, he contrasts the aim of others, 'à eslancer et guinder leur esprit', with his own, 'à le baisser et coucher', and quotes the opening of C.III.xix to show which are the wrong and which the right questions to ask about life.[6] His last essay, De l'Experience, ends very much in a Horatian spirit and with a quotation from Horace:

> Les plus belles vies sont, à mon gré, celles qui se rangent au modelle commun et humain, avec ordre, mais sans miracle et sans extravagance. Or la vieillesse a un peu besoin d'estre traictée plus tendrement. Recommandons la à ce Dieu, protecteur de santé et de sagesse, mais gaye et sociale:
>
> Frui paratis et valido mihi,
> Latoe, dones, et, precor, integra
> Cum mente, nec turpem senectam
> Degere, nec cythara carentem.[7]

Montaigne, of course, uses more sophisticated techniques of self-analysis (partly learnt from Seneca) than Horace, through which he makes much more

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1. See for example, De la Phisionomie, ibid. 1036-7.

2. Ibid. 195.

3. Ibid. 468.

4. Ibid. 1029.

5. On Montaigne and Horace, see Saintonge, in Horace Three Phases of His Influence, 36-43.

6. Nat, 799.

7. Ibid. 1096-7. The quotation is from C.I.xxxi.17-20.

explicit Horace's implicit attitude to change, but we may feel that his philosophy really comes closer to Horace's than does Cowley's in the Essays, based though they were on the Epistles.[1]

Casaubon also had a truer view of Horace's philosophy than English poets, but he was hostile to it:

> quodque longe gravius est, et fatetur ipse de se, parum sibi constat, nec fidelem virtutis magistrum agit. passim enim in aliena transit castra, non tanquam explorator, sed tanquam transfuga. saepe Stoicum dicas: saepe Epicureum, aut Aristippeum: saepe vero de Anyti et Meliti aut Aristophanis gente prognatum: adeo frequenter et acerbe Stoicos, penes quos solos illa aetate sapientiae magisterium fuit, suggillat, et irridet neque dubitandum est, qualem videmus in ipsius scriptis, talem fuisse in vita quoque inconstantiam. scripsit enim sicuti vixit.[2]

It was not till the Restoration that English writers saw Horace as an exponent of adaptability, though their picture also entailed some simplification of the Horatian complexity.[3] To earlier poets, Horace was a stern moralist, the poet of C.II.x, a preacher of constancy and resistance to circumstance: they tended to stress his Stoic side.[4]

We may now give a brief sketch of the moral themes that appealed to seventeenth-century writers.[5] Along with the two passages from C.III.iii and Serm.II.vii, the most popular moral piece is C.II.x,[6] the poem in which Horace weaves together the themes of the mean and of courage in adversity.[7]

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1. See below, 325-6.

2. Auli Persii Flacci satirarum liber, Liber commentarius, Isaaci Casaubon in Persium prolegomena, a3v. Casaubon inverts Seneca's comment soleo enim et in aliena castra transire, non tamquam transfuga, sed tamquam explorator, Epistulae Morales II.5-6, from which Jonson drew his motto, Trimpi, 87, and note, 263.

3. See below, 361-2.

4. See above on Vaenius, 35.

5. Omitting the country life theme of Epode II, dealt with by Pøstvig (b).

6. See appendices C and D.

7. West, 47-52.

This was one of the few odes admired in the sixteenth century: Tottel's Miscellany contains three translations, one by Surrey,[1] and it was also translated by Sidney. The ode was undoubtedly taken as a summa of Horace's philosophy. The theme of courage in adversity and of the bene praeparatum pectus, or the 'breast of proof' as Lovelace translates,[2] fits in with the picture of the Stoic sapiens from Serm.II.vii and C.III.iii, and has the same contemporary appeal. Lovelace's Advice to my best Brother is a good example of the way contemporary application was given to the poem's message,[3] and another is a passage from a letter written to Sir Edward Coke, 'upon his fall':

> To humble therfore ourselves to God is the part of a Christian, but for the world and our Enemyes that counsayle of the Poet is apt:
>
> Rebus angustis animosus atque
> Fortis appare, sapienter idem
> Contrahes vento nimium secundo
> Turgida vela:
>
> In extremity and when
> Fortune frownes, be valiant then
> Wysely lykewyse stryke your sayle
> Swelling with to stiff a gayle.
>
> The last part of this Counsayle you forgot, yet now need not be ashamed to make use of it, that soe being armed agaynst Casualtyes you may stand firme agaynst the assaults on the right hand and on the left. ffor this is certayne, the mynd that is most prone to be puft up with prosperity is most weak and apt to be deiected with the least puff of adversity.4

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1. See above, 106-7.

2. Wilkinson, 176. S. Daniel renders 'A heart prepar'd that feares no ill to come', To the Lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberland, Sprague, 114.

3. See above, 104-6.

4. Bodl. MS Jones 56, fol.123. This letter was a famous letter circulated anonymously after Coke's disgrace, in 1616. Some believed that it was by Bacon, Coke's enemy, and it was included in The remaines of the right honorable Francis Lord Verulam (1648), D2v-E2, entitled A Letter of advice written to Sir Edward Cooke Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. This is a slightly different text from the one quoted above, with the Latin citation inaccurately printed. J. Spedding refutes the attribution to Bacon in The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon (1861), VI.121-9.

The theme of hope for better times seems to have been of especial appeal to Herrick, who adapts the fourth and fifth stanzas of the ode in Good precepts, or counsell.[1]

The images of the poem were much imitated. Those of the third stanza had acquired proverbial force by the Renaissance, they were frequently emblematized,[2] and they recur repeatedly in the moral poems of the sixteenth-century miscellanies and in the poetry of our period.[3] The boat allegoriae of the first and last stanzas were also frequently imitated, the metaphor of the sea of Fortune being a natural and resonant image in the Renaissance.[4] One example is a manuscript poem by Randolph, which is an extension of the boat allegoria of the last stanza:

> Is thy poore Barke becalm'd, and forc'd to staye
> A Prisoner fetter'd in a dead Sea?
> Spight of the Threats, that Desperation brings
> Bidd her att large spread forth her Canvas wings
> In expectation of a happier gale
> But when the winde blowes faire, contract her sayle.[5]

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1. See above, 189f.

2. For example, Abraham Fraunce included an emblem entitled Feriunt summos fulmina montes (fulmina was the common Renaissance reading: Bentley restored fulgura) which he had found in Paolo Giovio, Dialogo dell'imprese (Lyons, 1574), 13, in a series of emblems in a manuscript dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, Bodl.MS.Rawl.D.345, fol.19, see Sidney, Selected poems, ed. K. Duncan-Jones (paperback,1973), 212-3. The picture, of a high tree on a hill battered by a storm, is illustrated by a Latin poem in elegiacs, which explains that the life of Francesco di Candia murdered by his brother Cesare Borgia exemplifies the line from Horace, which he had taken as his motto. There were also emblems by Whitney and Vaenius, see appendix D.

3. See Appendix D.

4. See above, 214.

5. See Day's article, 36. (The title of this poem, De Moderatione Animi in utraque fortuna, points to its source, as C.II.x was often given similar titles: Lambinus heads it Retinendam esse mediocritatem, et animi in utraque fortuna, aequabilitatem, and John Bond Mediocritas in utraque fortuna est ferenda). For other examples, see Habington, Et Exaltavit Humiles, Allott, 142; To The Right Honourable Archibald Earle of Ar, 11.11-14, p. 85; and Marvell, below, 295.

Content and tranquillity of mind are frequent themes of seventeenth-century poetry,[1] often inspired by Horace's treatment. Important Horatian sources were C.II.xvi, C.II.xviii, C.III.i and Serm.II.vi.[2] Themes from Horace which seventeenth-century poets were constantly embroidering were the richness, kingship and liberty of the good man. There are many sources for these ideas in Horace: C.II.ii and C.III.xvi, in particular, were storehouses of picquantly phrased examples:

> latius regnes avidum domando
> spiritum quam si Libyam remotis
> Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
> serviat uni.[3]

> contemptae dominus splendidior rei,
> quam si quidquid arat impiger Apulus
> occultare meis dicerer horreis,
> magnas inter opes inops.[4]

These witty moral epigrams were of especial appeal to seventeenth-century poets: quotation books were full of them,[5] emblem writers employed them,[6] and they were imitated and embroidered by scores of poets. The reader is referred to the discussions of Randolph's On the Inestimable Content He Injoyes

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1. See Miner (b), 300, on 'contentation'. And also of prose, see on Cowley's Essays and εὐθυμία, below, 320. See also Felltham, That the Mind only makes Content, Resolves (1661), 343, and the especially Horatian 'Tis neither a great Estate, nor great Honours that can make a man truly Happy, which is full of Horatian topics, Resolves (1661), 268; Walton, Compleat angler, especially Piscator's sermon on thankfulness, 261-8, and 221-3.

2. See Appendices C and D, and, on Herrick's His age, above, 182.

3. C.II.ii.9-12.

4. C.III.xvi.25-8. Other sources are C.II.xviii.1-14; C.III.xxiv, esp. 62-4; C.IV.ix.45-52; Serm.I.i.70-9; Serm.II.vii, esp. 83-8, 68-71; Epistles I.i.59-61; I.x.32-3, 39-48; xii.4-6.

5. See appendix D.

6. See above, 36.

in the Muses, Herrick's A Country life and Cowley's Essays.[1]

There are also various images and motifs from Horace which recur in seventeenth-century moral poems. There is the figure of the merchant, symbol of avarice. The Horatian sources are C.I.i.15-18, C.III,xxiv. 36-41, Epode II.6, Serm.I.i.38-40 and Epistles I.i.45-6. The figure appears in emblems,[2] in quotation books[3] and in many poems, for example Herrick's A Country life:

> Nor are thy daily and devout affaires
> Attended with those desp'rate cares,
> Th'industrious Merchant has; who for to find
> Gold, runneth to the Western Inde,
> And back again, (tortur'd with fears) doth fly,
> Untaught, to suffer Poverty,[4]

and Habington's To the Honourable Mr. Wm.E:

> Merchants plough the maine
> And bring home th'Indies, yet aspire to more,
> By avarice in the possession poore.[5]

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1. See above, 96, Appendix A and below, 321-3.And also Walton, The Compleat angler, above, 204 , and 110, 262-3; Wotton, The Character of a Happy Life, above, 203 ; Lovelace, The Grasse-hopper, above, 87. And Jonson, To the World, 11.21-36 (using Serm.II.vii.68-71), Herford, VIII.100-101; Herrick, The Country life, 11.17-18, Martin, 230, Men mind no state in sicknesse, (using Epistles I.ii.47-8) 239, The Covetous still Captives, 213; Habington, To the Honourable Mr. Wm. E, Allott, 44; Fane, To Retiredness, Otia sacra, 172-4; G. Daniel, Ode v, Stroup, 78, Freedome, 44; Vaughan, The Charnel-house, 11.41-3, Martin, 42, The Importunate Fortune, p.634; Chamberlain, In Praise of Country Life, in Skelton, 76; Fellthan, Content makes Rich, Resolves (1628), 430.

2. Whitney, Auri sacra fames quid non? 179, using Epistles I.i; Vaenius, Nil auri cupidum refraenat, 102, using Serm.I.i and C.III.xxiv.

3. Mirandula, De paupertate (C.I.i), De avaritia (Serm.I.i, Epistles I.i); Langius' Horatian anthology under merces.

4. Martin, 36. This employs Epistles I.i and C.I.i.

5. Allott, 44. See also Randolph, On the Inestimable Content, Thorn Drury, 25; Chamberlain, In Praise of Country Life, Skelton, 76; Fane, To Retiredness, Otia sacra, 172-4; Habington, To Castara, The vanity of Avarice, Allott, 45, Perdam Sapientiam Sapientium, 11.37-44, p.121, Et fugit velut umbra, 11.5-8, p.125; Cowley, Preface to The Works 1656, Poems, 8, see below, 318 ; Walton, Compleat angler, 16; Herrick, The Country life, 5-10, Martin, 229; Raleigh, Latham, 66 (translating C.III.xxiv. 36-41).

There is the figure of the heir, symbol of the futility of avarice. The Horatian sources are C.II.iii.19-20, C.II.xiv.25-8, C.IV.vii.19-20, Serm.II.ii. 130-2, Serm.II.iii.123-4, 142-151 and Epistles II.ii.176. Randolph, in On the Inestimable Content, has a long passage of 27 lines in which he embroiders the motif.[1] There is the theme of the eviction of tenants from C.II.xviii. 23-28, another symbol of avarice. This was picked up by Jonson in To Penshurst[2] and echoed by subsequent poets.[3] There is the rejection of the invidenda aula of C.II.x[4] and of the gold and ivory ceilings of C.II.xviii.[5] This was another theme popularised by Jonson in To Penshurst[6] and echoed by subsequent poets.[7] Carew, for example, in To my friend G.N. from Wrest, which is based on To Penshurst, echoes Jonson's version:

> for here the Architect
> Did not with curious skill a Pile erect
> Of carved Marble, Touch, or Porpherie.[8]

George Daniel has a variation in A Pastorall Ode:

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1. Thorn Drury, 26. See also, Drayton, Poly-Olbion, song xxi, 11.151-4, Hebel, IV.421; S. Daniel, Musophilus, Sprague, 72; Habington, Et fugit velut umbra, 11.15-16, Allott, 125; Cowley, Of Liberty, Essays, 384, 'Why dost thou heap up Wealth', stanzas 5-6, Essays, 451; Brome, The Cure of Care, Songs and other poems, 65.

2. See above, 161, note 2.

3. See Herrick, A Panegerick to Sir Lewis Pemberton, 11.115-128, Martin, 149, (see above, 174), His content in the Country, Martin, 200, (see above, 178); Randolph, On the Inestimable Content, Thorn Drury, 25; Cartwright, On the Death of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bayning, 11.38-46, Evans, 532.

4. By Jonson in To Penshurst, see above, 148; Daniel, Musophilus, Sprague, 72; Lovelace, Advice to my best Brother, Wilkinson, 176.

5. See also C.I.xxxi.6; C.II.xvi.11-12.

6. See above, 148.

7. See Hibbard.

8. Dunlap, 87.

What though I doe not find,
My Galleries, there Lined
With Atticke hangings, nor Corinthian Plate
(Ensignes of greater State
placed for more ornament)
Is't in these vanities, to find Content?[1]

Another minor motif symbolising the rejection of wealth is the rejection of flocks, deriving from C.II.xvi.33-5,[2] used by Herrick[3] and Randolph.[4] Another theme is the futility of travel, symbol of discontent. The Horatian sources are C.II.xvi.18-24 and Epistles I.xi.[5] This was a favourite theme of Jonson's, who uses it as a symbol of inconstancy in, for example, On English Mounsieur.[6] Habington has a variation of the passage from C.II.xvi in To my honoured friend Sir Ed. P. Knight:

Why doth ambition so the mind distresse
To make us scorne what we possesse?
And looke so farre before us? Since all we
Can hope, is varied misery?
Goe find some whispering shade neare Arne or Poe,
And gently 'mong the violets throw
Your wearyed limbs, and see if all those faire
Enchantments can charme griefe or care?
Our sorrowes still pursue us, and when you
The ruin'd Capitoll shall view
And statues, a disorder'd heape; you can
Not cure yet the disease of man,

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1. Stroup, 17. See also, Herrick, His age, Martin, 133 (see above, 182), A Panegerick to Sir Lewis Pemberton, 11.119-129, Martin 148-9 (see above, 174); Fane, My happy Life, Otia sacra, 139 (see above, 97); Habington, Et fugit velut umbra, 11.11-14, Allott, 125; Brome, To his Friend Mr. I. B., Songs and other poems, 109.

2. See also C.I.xxxi.5-6.

3. His age, Martin, 133. See above, 182.

4. On the Inestimable Content, Thorn Drury, 25.

5. The famous line from the latter, caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt is employed by Carew, To Celia, upon Love's Ubiquity, 1.16, Dunlap, 123; James Howell, Jacobs, I.72; Whitney, Caelum, non animum, p.178; Vaenius, Cum fructu peregrinandum p. 106; Jonson in On Sir John Roe, Herford, VIII.37.

6. Herford, VIII, 56. And see the figure of Amorphus in Cynthias Revells, e.g. Herford, IV.72. See also Cartwright, On the Death of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bayning, 11.15-21, Evans, 531.

> And banish your owne thoughts. Goe travaile where
> Another Sun and Starres appeare,
> And land not toucht by any covetous fleet,
> And yet even there your selfe youle meet.[1]

Another motif is the rejection of the pursuits of other men, often including the merchant. The Horatian exemplars are Epode II.1-8, C.I.xxxi, where the topic is cast in prayer form, and C.I.i, where it is the poet who is compared with other men.[2] A straightforward example is from Mildmay Fane's To Retiredness:

> Thus out of feare, or noise of Warr,
> Crowds, and the clamourings at Barr;
> The Merchant's dread, th'unconstant tides,
> With all Vexation besides;
> I hugg my Quiet.[3]

There is a rather charming prose example in The Compleat angler:

> No life, my honest Scholar, no life so happy and so pleasant, as the life of a well governed Angler; for when the Lawyer is swallowed up with business, and the Statesman is preventing or contriving plots, then we sit on Cowslip-banks, hear the birds sing, and possess our selves in as much quietness as these silent silver streams, which we now see glide so quietly by us.[4]

Another motif is the simple meal, symbol of content on little. The Horatian sources are C.I.xxxi.15-6, Epode II.45-60, Serm.I.vi.111-8 and Serm. II.vi.63-76 and 83-9. George Daniel echoes the passage from Epode II in A Pastorall Ode:

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1. Allott, 92-3. Compare this with Casimir's modernisation of the same topic in Odes IV.xv.

2. On the history of the topic, see Fraenkel, 231-2; N.-H.1-3. Other exemplars are Virgil, Georgics II.503-512; Claudian's epigram, De sene Veronensi; Lipsius, Laus et Votum Vitae Beatae, II.14-22, which is cast in prayer form, like C.I.xxxi.

3. Otia sacra, 174. For Marvell's more witty uses of the topic in The Garden and Hortus, see below, 295-7. Other examples are Jonson, To Sir Robert Wroth, 11.67-90, Herford, VIII.98-9; Herrick, A Country life, 11. 63-71, Martin 36, The Country life, 11.4-10, Martin, 229; Vaughan, To his retired friend, an Invitation to Brecknock, 11.81-4, Martin, 48; Cowley, A Vote, stanzas 2-8, Essays, 48-9; G. Daniel, Freedome, Stroup, 44; Jo. Davors' poem in The Compleat angler, 47. For a contrast of the poet with other men, see Cowley, Destinie, stanza 3, Poems, 193.

4. 122-3.

The Colchian Bird's to mee
Noe Baite of Luxurie;
Nor doe I seeke, th'Ionian Partridge more
Then Hens, from my owne Doore;
The Lushious oyster is,
And Lobster, though of treeble price
Not moveing; neither seeke
I Spanish wines, or Greeke
To Stirre my Spirrite; I can gladly bee
Sated with lesse, and Shun the Luxurie.[1]

There is also the hunting theme of Epode II.29-36, symbol of the free life and of innocent recreation, as in Herrick's The Country life:

To these, thou hast thy times to goe
And trace the Hare i'th'trecherous Snow:
Thy witty wiles to draw, and get
The Larke into the Trammell net:
Thou hast thy Cockrood, and thy Glade
To take the precious Phesant made:
Thy Lime-twigs, Snare, and Pit-falls then
To catch the pilfring Birds, not Men.[2]

Finally, we may mention the sleep theme of C.II.xvi.15-16, C.III.i.17-24, Epode II.23-8 and Epistles I.x.18, symbol of innocent living.[3]

It is intriguing to find these topics cropping up in their expected places: poems such as Randolph's On the Inestimable Content or Fane's To Retiredness are as dependant on topics as a Roman poem.

Several points may be made about this picture of Horatian moral themes. Horace was not the only source for such ideas, which were dealt with by other

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1. Stroup, 18, Other examples are Herrick, A Country life, 107-114, Martin, 37, Content, not cates, 124, His content in the Country, 200, A Thanksgiving to God, for his House, 11.19-36, p.350, (see above, 178, 179); Brome, To his Friend Mr. I.B. Songs and other poems, 101; Felltham, 'Tis neither a great Estate, nor great Honours that can make a man truly Happy, Resolves (1661), 270. For some further examples, see below, 261f.

2. Martin, 231. Other examples are Wyatt, Satire I, quoted above, 92; Jonson, To Sir Robert Wroth, 11.21-36, Herford, VIII.97; Randolph, An Ode to Mr. Anthony Stafford, stanza 6, quoted above, 97; George Daniel, Freedome, quoted above, 95; Fane, My happy Life, 11.23-7, Otia sacra, 135.

3. See, e.g. Herrick, A Country life, 11.35-54, Martin, 35-6, His content in the Country, 200, The Country life, 11.74-5, p.231; Robert Chamberlain, In Praise of Country Life, in Skelton, 76; Felltham, Of Violence and eagerness, Resolves (1661), 16; Compleat Angler, 263.

Roman moralists, for example Plutarch, in περὶ εὐθυμίας (translated by Wyatt in the sixteenth century) and, especially important, by Seneca, a very influential writer at this period: Horace was often combined with Seneca or viewed through Seneca.[1] We can find many of the same themes and topics in the Epistulae Morales - the futility of travel, the rejection of rich ceilings, the liberty, richness and safety of the wise man.[2] Such ideas are also found in Renaissance European writers influenced by classical authors - Erasmus in The Praise of Folly,[3] Lipsius in De constantia,[4] Casmir Sarbiewski.[5] There was also much English sixteenth-century poetry on similar moral themes, content, the mean, and so on - Vaux's 'When all is done and said', Greene's 'Sweet are the thoughts that savour of content' or Dyer's 'My mind to me a kingdom is',[6] to give a few examples. We can prove easily enough that our poets looked to Horace's treatment of such themes, because they imitate him directly, but it is worth pointing out that they wrote within a large and strong moral tradition. (One example of a writer who perhaps did not read Horace in the original is Isaac Walton, who probably did not know much Latin.[7] The Horatian moral themes and motifs in The

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1. See above, 216. Seneca's Phaedra, 1123f was another source for the imagery of C.II.x.9-12: Wyatt perhaps combined the two, see below, 235 , note 8 . In stanza 2 of Et Exaltavit Humiles, quoted above, 209 , with its rather exaggerated rendering of the third stanza of C.II.x, Habington may be conflating Horace with the imagery of Seneca, Naturales Quaestiones, VI, De terrae motu.

2. E.g. travel, II.1-2, XXVIII; ceilings, XC.8-10; liberty, XXVIII.8; richness, II.vi, XVI.7-8, XXVII.9, XC.38-40, CVIII.11-12; safety, IX.19, XLI.4, LIII.12, LVI.13-15, CIV.22.

3. E.g. Encomium moriae, the heir, E5v, and the merchant, E5v.

4. E.g. travel, I.iii, riches II.iii.

5. See above, 200f, and for travel Odes IV.xv, and for the rejection of rich ceilings, III.xxiii.

6. In Ault, 30, 121, 123.

7. Cooper, 14.

Compleat angler must therefore have filtered through the general tradition).

An important point is that seventeenth-century poets began to assimilate the Horatian manner to go with the Horatian matter. Some sixteenth-century moral poetry was probably directly inspired by Horace. Wyatt and Surrey[1] knew Horace. Tottel's Miscellany contains three translations of C.II.x and also a poem which varies the μεμψιμοιρια theme of Serm.I.i.1-22.[2] There are various other poems on the mean in the collection, though there is some confusion between the true mean and the lowly estate.[3] But these poems are quite un-Horatian in their treatment of moral themes, and in their manner and feeling. Horace is not a didactic moralist: if he assumes the preacher's stance, it is not without self-mockery,[4] and he represents himself as fallible. He does not wish to suggest that he speaks eternal verities, but points to the fluctuations in his own moral position.[5] The factor of personal address[6] also prevents didacticism: Horace does not lecture his addressee, but implies

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1. See his elegy for Wyatt, which perhaps recalls C.II.x.13-15 in lines 27-8, and C.III.iii in lines 11-12, Jones, 27.

2. How no age is content with his own estate, no. 33, Rollins, I.29, and see the note, II.157 f. For this theme, see also The Paradise of Dainty Devices, no. 56, and the note, p.225.

3. See e.g. The meane estate is best, no. 191, Rollins, I.147, where the mean is interpreted as 'the meane assurance....before the doutfull pleasance'. (This poem also contains the theme of courage in adversity and the topic of Serm.II.vi.10-13 of prayers for buried gold). See also They of the meane estate are happiest, no. 170, Rollins, I.123, where the herdsman's quiet life is praised, which is similar to the poem entitled The pore estate to be holden for best, no. 200, Rollins, I.157, which recalls the C.II.x imagery; 'Eschue the golden hall, thy thatched house is best'. Wyatt's version of the fable of Serm.II.vi is entitled in Tottel Of the meane and sure estate, Rollins, I.82. A true interpretation of the mean is found in Grimauld's translation of Beza's Elegia II, In Mediocritatis laudem, Prayse of measure-kepyng, no. 150, Rollins, I.104.

4. See above, 147.

5. See above, 220, and below, 325.

6. See above, 99.

that he shares his moral assumptions.[1] Sometimes, we feel that the personal element is more central than the moral: at any rate, moral values are implied obliquely. Sixteenth-century moral poems are much simpler. They are straight sermons, lacking a Horatian persona and the element of personal address, so that a large part of what we value Horace for is missing.[2] This is the mode into which Drant cast Horace's hexameter poems.[3]

We have touched on this point earlier in the comparison of Lovelace's Advice to my best Brother and the translations of C.II.x in Tottel,[4] and it is worth examining further here. One advantage of Horace's manner is that it helps to give unity to moral material by the personal context. H.A. Mason thinks that the vice of early humanistic imitations was that they were composed of strings of adages from the classics not held together by any personal feeling.[5] The vast number of echoes of stanza 3 of C.II.x in the sixteenth-century miscellanies confirms this.[6] Obviously there were exceptions: Wyatt's Horatian satires, for example,[7] or his poem 'Who list his wealth and ease retain', which gives a personal twist from his own experience to the maxims from the Seneca chorus which is his source: 'The bell-tower showed me such sight' etc.[8] Looking to Horace, seventeenth-century

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1. See Hubbard (a), 20-1; West, 51.
2. See Berdan, 348-50.
3. See above, 45-6.
4. See above, 103-7.
5. Mason, 66, 199f, 252-4.
6. See above, 226, and Appendix D.
7. See above, 91-2.
8. Daalder, 185-6. Wyatt's source is Phaedra, 1123f, the chorus which uses the same imagery as C.II.x, see Wyatt's second stanza: Wyatt perhaps had Horace in mind as well, as his last stanza contains a piece of Christianised steering imagery, 'Bear low, therefore, give God the stern'.

poets explored further this technique of relating moral commonplaces to their own experience and predicaments,[1] both in epistle and ode.

Horace's epistolary manner is perhaps easier to imitate than his manner in the Odes;[2] indeed, it had been caught by some sixteenth-century poets, Wyatt, inspired by Alamanni,[3] and Gascoigne in Councell given to master Bartholmew Withipoll, Gascoignes woodmanship and Gascoignes voyage into Hollande.[4] To Samuel Daniel, though, epistles explicitly described as being 'after the manner of Horace'[5] still mean impersonal moral exhortation, on a serious, impassioned level of tone throughout; this may be impressive, as in the poem To The Lady Margaret Countesse of Cumberland, which employs the Horatian themes of C.II.x and C.III.iii,[6] but it is not really 'after the manner of Horace'. But the epistles of Jonson and Donne establish a more Horatian and personal medium.[7] Though they express a very different personality from Horace's, Donne's verse letters develop their moral themes within a personal context, as in the letter to Sir Henry Goodyere about to travel, 'Who makes the Past, a patterne for next yeare,'[8] or in To Sir Henry

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1. Some seventeenth-century moral poems retain the older manner, for example Robert Farley's Kalendarium humanae vitae. The November section is an impersonal discussion of the mean based on C.II.x, using the thunder and steering imagery and also the dirus hydrops image of C.II.ii and the C.III.iii figure. A common un-Horatian moral convention is the definition poem, for example, Wotton's The Character of a Happy Life or Campion's 'The man of life upright'.

2. Quiller-Couch, 52-6. See above, 68.

3. See Thomson, 238-270.

4. Cunliffe, I. 344, 348, 354.

5. So runs the title in some copies of the 1603 edition.

6. Sprague, 111.

7. On the epistle in the seventeenth century, see Hunt, Palmer, McEuen, esp. 70-73, Levine.

8. Milgate, 78. Note that the attitude to travel is the reverse of Horace's.

Wotton, at his going Ambassador to Venice, which ends with a deprecatory self-portrait and relates its themes of fortune and honour to both addressee and writer.[1] The letter to Rowland Woodward, 'If, as mine is, thy life a slumber be', explores the Horatian theme of virtuous content and riches from within a personal situation: Donne is waiting to set sail on an expedition which had been delayed,[2] and tries to resign himself to his inner resources:

> Perchance, these Spanish businesse being done,
> Which as the Earth betweene the Moone and Sun
> Eclipse the light which Guyana would give,
> Our discontinu'd hopes we shall retrive:
> But if (as all th'All must) hopes smoake away,
> Is not Almightie Vertue'an India?
>
> If men be worlds, there is in every one
> Some thing to'answere in some proportion
> All the worlds riches: And in good men, this,
> Vertue, our formes forme and our soules soule, is.[3]

In a similar way, Drayton's strong personal feeling about the corruption of the times[4] enlivens the commonplaces of evil behaviour in the epistles to Browne and Jeffreys.[5] I am not suggesting that such epistles use the precise technique of Horace, or copy his tone and persona, but they do combine personal and moral.

Horace's Epistles often employ the fiction of being a genuine letter: Horace describes the setting in which he's writing or gives a reason for writing,[6] so that the moral themes are related to a specific situation. Not all seventeenth-century epistles employ this fiction: the element of

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1. Ibid. 75.
2. See Milgate, 217.
3. Ibid. 65. See further Palmer, 79-80.
4. One of the reasons why he calls them elegies not epistles, Hebel, V.213.
5. Hebel, III.209, 238. The former employs the madness topic of Serm.II.iii.
6. E.g. Epistles I.x.49-50, v, vii. See Williams (a), 7-24.

address is often considered enough.[1] Some do, for example those discussed above, or Vaughan's To his retired friend: Drayton's epistles offering news to Sandys in Virginia or to Jeffreys in Spain[2] may have been sent as real letters. In such poems the personal feeling between writer and addressee helps to give unity and to avoid didacticism.

The informal Horace of the Epistles was easier to imitate than the Horace of the Odes - with their more compressed and elevated style - who is both formal and informal.[3] But seventeenth-century poets also sought to combine moral and personal in lyric poems in the manner of the Odes. One example is Jonson's An Ode, 'High-spirited friend',[4] and another is his Ode. To Sir William Sydney, on his Birth-day,[5] well discussed by Trimpi, who points out how important the context of the poem is:

> The ode is beautifully organized. The initial description of the hearth and the festivities, which honor Sidney's twenty-first birthday, provide a context and an occasion for Jonson's praise and advice, from which, in the last stanza, he makes a generalisation in metaphorical terms that return to the opening description; 'Then/The Birth-day shines, when logs not burne, but men.'[6]

Milton's sonnets provide further examples.[7] A particularly striking example of the way in which a personal setting knits together moral themes in the manner of Horace's Odes is Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper, where the setting, which recalls the symposiac setting of such odes as C.I.ix or C.II.iii, holds together Lovelace's ruminations on transience and the richness of the sapiens.[8]

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1. See above, 209, note 1, on Habington.
2. Hebel, III.206, 238.
3. See above, 102.
4. Discussed above, 144.
5. Herford, VIII.120.
6. 195. See also 156, 164.
7. Finley, passim; N.&H. xxv.
8. On this poem, see further below, 272f.

In this rather heterogeneous chapter, I have largely been considering the conventional explicit view of Horace held in the early seventeenth century of stern Stoic moralist. This may seem to us both rigid and naive. If we value Horace as a moralist today, it is for presenting an ideal way of life obliquely, or for mediating between philosophy and life, adding emotional colouring to moral themes. It is important, though, that seventeenth-century poets were prepared to take Horace seriously, so that they were not led into the error, common in the Restoration[1] and the nineteenth century, and still an option today, that he was a facile poet of elegant trifles. Also, in addition to the explicit conventional view, implicitly, through imitation of Horace, early seventeenth-century poets achieved a more sophisticated understanding of Horace's philosophical position: Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper reflects not the unflinching Stoic but the Epicurean, aware of the sadness of life's changes but adaptable to circumstances, and attaining a light poise.

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1. See below, Chapter X, passim.

CHAPTER VII

Some Themes and Genres cont'd.

II. Love Poems

Horace did not have a very profound influence on seventeenth-century love poetry. There were other more important sources; Petrarch and the Elizabethan sonnet, Roman elegy and the contemporary poetry of Donne.

Horace is an unusual love poet,[1] treating the topic with a blend of mockery and seriousness.[2] As Steele Commager writes, 'His imagination was excited less often by the extremes of happiness or despair of lovers than by their self-contradictions, illusions, or deceptions'.[3] He views love with ironic detachment, pointing to the fickleness of lovers, as in C.II.v, C.II.viii or C.III.vii, their sudden reversals, as in C.III.ix, or their disparity, as in C.I.xxxiii. He often writes from the outside, offering advice to others;[4] when he casts himself in the role of lover, he views himself with equal detachment and humour.[5] Especially striking is the middle-aged persona of the love poems.[6] In C.III.xiv, he represents himself as too old for the love brawls of youth, in C.IV.i, he portrays himself as the aging lover, with a mixture of nostalgia and humour, and in C.IV.xi, he offers Phyllis, meorum/finis amorum, the wisdom of experience. Horace gives the impression in many of the love poems that it is the same voice speaking as in his other odes, suggesting that love is only one facet of his experience - in C.III.xiv, with its switch from politics to personal

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1. On Horace's love poetry, see Commager, 141-55; Wilkinson, 46-53; N.-H, xvi-xvii.
2. See e.g. C.I.xxii; III.ix; IV.i.
3. 141.
4. See e.g. C.III.vii; III.xx; I.viii; II.iv.
5. See e.g. C.I[illegible].i; III.ix; I.xiii; I.xix.
6. See e.g. C.I.v; C.III.xxvi; C.II.iv.22-4.

experience, this is clearly deliberate.[1]

Such a pose and such attitudes are not the norms of love poetry. Seventeenth-century poets were more interested in embroidering Donne's transcendental paradoxes, and they adopt the more usual stance of young lovers. It is perhaps surprising, though, that the wit of C.I.v, C.I.xvi or C.III.xxvi was not more appreciated. One exception is Drayton's To his Rivall,[2] perhaps inspired by C.I.v, which varies the topic of love as sea and points up with ironic detachment the changeableness of love. Horace's middle-aged persona attracted both Herrick, who combined it with his Anacreontic role,[3] and Ben Jonson:[4] Jonson, also, like Horace, projects the same persona in his love poems as in the rest of his poetry.[5] There is a detachment similar to Horace's in Marvell's Young Love, on the Horatian theme of C.II.v, and perhaps a hint of a Horatian middle-aged persona. But apart from this, there was no very basic use of Horace.

We find odd translations of love poems,[6] though many were ignored till the Restoration,[7] and several topics from Horace's love poetry were employed.[8]

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1. See Williams (b), 93-4; Hubbard (b), 106f.

2. Hebel, II.368.

3. See above, 183.

4. See above, 145-6.

5. See above, 146.

6. Collop's of C.I.xiii, Sancroft's of C.I.xxiii, Polwhele's of C.I.xxxiii, Jonson's of C.IV.i and William Browne's, Milton's, Sancroft's and Cowley's of C.I.v. See appendix C.

7. See Appendix C and below, 368.

8. Love as sea from C.I.v by Jonson in Lovers made Men, Herford, VII.455, Campion in 'Long have mine eies gaz'd with delight', Vivian, 25, Waller in On Loving at First Sight, Thorn-Drury, I.100; the fawn topic of C.I.xxiii by Spenser in the Faerie Queene, III.vii.1, Smith, I.433, John Hall in The Call, Saintsbury, II.193; the young love topic of C.II.v, see Leishman (d), 165-89. The last stanza of C.I.xiii was popular, see Appendix D. Sidney has an elegant variation of the politics topic of C.I.xix.10-12 in Astrophil and Stella, no. 30, Ringler, 179, and for the pone me topic of C.I.xxii in Petrarch and Surrey, see Leishman (b), 94-5.

Horace provided three precedents for a popular theme of Renaissance poetry, 'when (or now) you are old, you will regret (or you are regretting) your harshness', C.I.xxv, C.IV.xiii and C.IV.x. The latter actually anticipates the cutting of the boy's hair at puberty, a common theme of Hellenistic epigram,[1] but it could easily be redeployed to serve the former theme, as by Herrick in To a Gentlewoman, objecting to him his gray haires.[2] Both C.IV.xiii and C.IV.x were quite popular for translation.[3] There were several influential European poems on this theme, e.g. Tasso's sonnet 'Vedrò da gli anni in mia vendetta ancora' and Ronsard's 'Quad vous serez bien vieille'.[4] Neither Wyatt's version in 'My lute awake' nor Donne's in The Apparition[5] is verbally close to Horace, though the harsh realism of Wyatt's vignette in lines 26-9 is akin to C.I. xxv.9-16.[6]

There was only one really popular love poem by Horace, C.III.ix, which was frequently translated and imitated.[7] Its popularity was due to a slight misunderstanding.

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1. Fraenkel, 414-5; Williams (a), 557.

2. Martin, 63. Herrick uses the mirror theme of C.IV.x (also found in Propertius III.xxv) again in Upon Silvia, A Mistresse, Martin, 21. See also Thomas Beedome, The Question and Answer, in Ellis, III.268.

3. See Appendix C.

4. See Leishman (c), 54-5, 66-9.

5. See Gardner, xxi-ii.

6. Contrast Ronsard's more tender sonnet.

7. See Appendix C. J.C. Scaliger gave the poem an additional boost in the Poetics: Inter caeteras vero, duas animadverti quibus ne ambrosiam quidem aut nectar dulciora putem. Altera est, tertia quarti libri, ...Altera, nona ex tertio, Donec gratus eram tibi. Quarum similes malim a me compositas, quam Pythionicarum multas Pindari, et Nemeonicarum. quarum similes malim composuisse, quam esse totius Tarraconensis rex, Poetices Libri Septem, VI.vii, p.339. Ashmore, Hawkins and Fanshawe all mention Scaliger's opinion. Ashmore writes 'Julius Scaliger so extolleth this Ode, and the next following, that I assaid to translate this, three waies', 18, and Hawkins 'This Ode, though lesse morall then the rest, I have admitted, for Jul. Scaliger's sake, who much admireth it', 38. Jonson's example may also have stimulated poets: Herrick's version begins with the same first line.

Horace's ode contains interests of both content - the psychological progression of the lovers as they move towards reconciliation - and form - the elaborate patterned dialogue.[1] Horace devotes two stanzas to past, present and future. In each pair of stanzas, the man's statement is echoed with variation by the woman, and this variation is both psychological - she is capping his statements - and stylistically elegant, just as the final line is an elegantly varied repetition, tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam lubens. This compact patterning was a provocation and stimulus to translators, though none of them, burdened by rhyme and the diffuseness of English, is very successful in reproducing the pattern of varied echoes, and their translations tend to sound trite.[2]

We might guess that Jonson valued the poem for both content and form, but it was the formal pattern of the dialogue which chiefly appealed to seventeenth-century poets, who enjoyed varying the setting and diction.[3] The poem's popularity was due, as J.B. Leishman suggested,[4] to the fact that it was easily accommodated to the seventeenth-century genre of the pastoral dialogue and in fact became a bogus classical archetype for it.[5] Although Horace had not intended his poem as a pastoral (it could not have qualified as such in Antiquity, as it is not in hexameters) and although it does not even suggest pastoral by using pastoral names, to the seventeenth century its amoebean nature suggested pastoral. That there was no obvious pastoral setting did not worry them, as this element of seventeenth-century pastoral

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1. Commager, 55-8.
2. See above, 64, note 2.
3. See above, 50, 51, note 3.
4. Leishman (d), 105-113. See also Mayo, 124f.
5. Compare the search for a classical archetype for the pastoral tragi-comedy, see R. Jenkyns, Classical Sources for English Pastoral Literature 1575-1655, Oxford, B.Litt thesis, 90-105.

dialogues was often slight: all that was required of a pastoral dialogue was that 'it should be between a 'nymph' and a 'swain', normally about love,'[1] though such poems did retain the slightly rarefied air of the pastoral tradition. The basic interest of the majority of them is in the witty handling of dialogue and repartee. An interesting example is John Hall's The Antipathy, since this employs the capping device of C.III.ix, the pattern of varied echoes. In Hall's poem, the patterning seems to be the only point, as it is not used to explore a very plausible human situation: Horace's poem has far more basic human interest.

An example from the late seventeenth century proves that Horace's ode was seen in this way. There is a version in The Gentleman's Journal in which the participants are renamed Caelia, Amintor, Phillis and Daphnis.[2]. An earlier example is John Hall's A Sea Dialogue, which is a variation of C.III.ix: Hall has not kept to the pattern of past, present and future, but his poem moves in a similar way towards reconciliation through capping dialogue:

Palurus. My Antinetta, though thou be
More white than foam wherewith a wave,
Broke in his wrath, besmears the sea,
Yet art thou harder than this cave.
Antinetta. Though thou be fairer than the light,
Which doubting pilots only mind,
That they may steer their course aright,
Yet art thou lighter than the wind.[3]

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1. Leishman (d), 109.

2. April,1692, 10. See also an eighteenth-century version in a MS. commonplace book, Bodl.MS.Rawl. poet. 197, fol.1, where we find Damon and Phillis and 'Amyntas Melibeus Son' (Thurini Calais filius Ornyti). Dacier wrote of this ode: 'Horace a trouvé le secret de mesler avec la galanterie fine et aisée de la Cour la simplicité naturelle et naive des Dialogues rustiques', Remarques critiques, III.212.

3. The comparative topic of these two stanzas, which Hall has picked up from Horace's final stanza, quamquam sidere pulcrior/ille est, tu levior cortice et inprobo/iracundior Hadria, is another pastoral touch, as this topic is famous from Theocritus, XI.19-21; Virgil, Eclogues, VII.37-8, 41-2; Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIII.789-807.

Palurus. And shall I not be chang'd? when thou
Hast fraught Medorus with thy heart;
And as along the sands we go
To gather shells, dost take his part?
Antinetta. What: shall not I congeal to see
Doris, the ballast of thine arms,
(Which have so oft encompass'd me)
Now pinion'd by her faithless charms?[1]

and so on. The point of Horace's ode lay in its absence of setting and in the concentrated impact made by the two voices describing an archetypal love situation.[2] The point of Hall's rendering lies in the ingenuity and decorative charm of his imagery; (Horace never uses imagery in this way).[3] The ode has been transported into a much more rarefied atmosphere by the fanciful names and setting, 'as along the sands we go/To gather shells'. We may note that Hall adds a coda to Horace's poem, consisting of a tritely conventional exchange between the lovers and a chorus, a feature of pastoral dialogue.[4]

III. Transience and carpe diem

Transience was a great Renaissance theme, witness Spenser's Mutability Cantos and Shakespeare's Sonnets,[5] reaching back to the Middle Ages. It is not surprising therefore that seventeenth-century poets responded to the serious emotion in Horace's treatment of transience. Some of the poems in the native tradition give a Christian treatment to the theme which is remote

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1. Saintsbury, II.191.

2. Williams (a), 210.

3. See above, 85.

4. Mays, 128, 133. An anonymous version of C.III.ix in Tonson's miscellany of Horace translations also contains a chorus. The chorus is also, of course, a feature of song. Pastoral dialogues were often set to music, Leishman (d), 105, as were translations of C.III.ix (Herrick's version was set by Robert Ramsey, organist of Trinity College, Cambridge) - another reason for the poem's popularity.

5. On Shakespeare's use of time in the sonnets, see J.W. Lever, The Elizabethan Love Sonnet (2nd ed. 1966), 246-72; Leishman (c), 93-118.

from Horace. They express man's insignificance and the vanity of human existence, with more or less elegiac regret, in the manner of Ecclesiastes: their message is memento mori not carpe diem. I am thinking of such poems as Henry King's Sic Vita and the other poems of that type,[1] or Shirley's 'The glories of our blood and state'. The latter uses the same topic as C.I.iv, the impartiality of death;

> Death lays his icy hand on kings:
> Scepter and crown
> Must tumble down,
> And in the dust be equal made
> With the poor crooked scythe and spade.[2]

and the images in the third stanza,

> The garlands wither on your brow,
> Then boast no more your mighty deeds;
> Upon Death's purple altar now,
> See, where the victor-victim bleeds,[3]

recall those of C.II.iii, the nimium brevis flores amoenae...rosae and the victima nil miserantis Orci. There is, too, a certain Horatian austerity.[4] But the theme is the vanity of worldly glory and the tone is too didactic - 'Then boast no more your mighty deeds': the moral is not carpe diem but

> Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust.[5]

Horace's poems on transience were sometimes read in this moralistic way. Passages were excerpted by Mirandula[6] and Vaenius[7] to point home the

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1. Mays, 212-217.
2. Gifford, VI. 396-7.
3. Ibid.VI.397.
4. Below, 248.
5. Gifford, VI. 397.
6. Under the headings De divitibus, De morte, De temporalibus rebus, De vicissitudine rerum, De vita.
7. Under the headings Morte linquenda omnia, Communis ad letum via, Improvisa lethi vis, Mortis certitudo, Cunctos mors una manet, Volat irrevocabile tempus, Nil aliud ac umbra atque flatus est homo, Inexorabile fatum, p.196f.

lesson of man's frailty. Whitney has an emblem, Mortui divitiae, embroidering the topic of the impartiality of death from C.I.iv, which he quotes in the margin:

> The Prince, the Poore, the Prisoner, and the slave,
> They all at lengthe, are summon'de to their grave.[1]

The translation of C.IV.vii in Tottel's Miscellany is strongly moralistic.[2] It is entitled All worldly pleasures fade and has been accommodated to the orthodox Christian theme of 'lay not up treasures on earth': the carpe diem suggestions have gone, the lines on the heir being omitted. The tone is didactic and solemn, partly because of the heavy fourteeners, and the elegiac feeling has disappeared. The pathos of the contrast between man's life and the seasons has been omitted: the theme is simply that everything decays. So, instead of

> damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae:
> nos ubi decidimus
> quo pius Aeneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus,
> pulvis et umbra sumus,[3]

we find

> Wherfore let no man put his trust in that, that will decay,
> For slipper welth will not cuntinue, plesure will weare away.
> For when that we have lost our lyfe, and lye under a stone,
> What are we then, we are but earth, then is our pleasure gon.[4]

Berdan writes:

> In content, at first glance it seems almost literal translation. On second inspection, the definitely classical touches have been removed and the typically Christian points emphasized. By this slight shifting of the stress, Horace's gentle admonition to live while yet we may has been changed into a monody on the imminence of death. Even the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination finds expression in the final word of the line 'Nor yet thy lyfe uprightly lead, can help thee out of hell'.[5]

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1. A choice of emblemes, 86.
2. See Berdan, 346-8.
3. C.IV.vii. 13-16.
4. Rollins, I.153.
5. 348.

In the seventeenth century, however, such poems as Herrick's His age and A Paranaeticall, or Advisive Verse[1] or Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper[2] capture the right spirit, and combine the theme of transience with the carpe diem theme with which it often goes in Horace.[3] These poems also recreate the right tone of Horace's handling of transience - a certain dryness and austerity[4] - as do also Waller's 'Go, lovely Rose' or Marvell's To his Coy Mistress.[5]

Horace's odes on transience, C.II.xiv, C.II.iii, C.I.iv and C.IV.vii, were popular for translation and imitation, especially the two latter.[6] The spring descriptions of these two odes were often utilised without the transience and carpe diem themes which accompany them.[7] They were understood,, though, to be there for a purpose and to be emblematic of man's life: seventeenth-century readers would not have made Landor's complaint, 'Pallida

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1. See above, 180f, 186f, 188-9.

2. See below, 272f, and on Fanshawe's translation of C.IV.vii above, 64.

3. See Miner (b), 100-133, for transience in Cavalier poetry, and esp. 117-124, for Horace's influence.

4. See N.-H, 136, and above, 169, 188.

5. See below, 294. Martz, 167, notes a difference between Marvell's handling of the theme of transience here and Herrick's in Corinna's going a Maying, and we could add Horace's in C.I.iv and IV.vii, in that, whereas Horace and Herrick stress the naturalness of the process of decay, 'Marvell's poem is at war with nature': Horace and Herrick accept death and time, whereas Marvell tries to transcend it.

6. See Appendix C.

7. E.g. in Jonson's To the Right honourable Hierome, L.Weston, Herford, VIII.250, see above, 159, and The Vision of Delight 140ff, VII.468; Campion, 'The peacefull westerne winde', Vivian, 139; Drummond, 'With flaming Hornes the Bull', Macdonald, 25; E.B. A Pastorall Ode to an honourable friend, in England's Helicon, ed. M. Macdonald (1949), 123; Herrick, Farwell Frost, or welcome the Spring, Martin, 224; Carew, The Spring, Dunlap, 3. For Parthenio's directions for imitating Horace's spring scenes see above, 27.

Mors has nothing to do with the above.'[1] Often, poets changed the message: Carew uses the spring description as an argument for consummation in The Spring,[2] Herrick as a non semper argument in Farwell Frost,[3] Jonson and E.B. as a panegyric motif in To...Weston and A Pastorall Ode. The passage of the seasons is connected with the theme of the transience of man's life, as in Horace, in Shakespeare's sonnet no.5, 'Those hours that with gentle work did frame', which perhaps recalls C.IV.vii[4] (here, seasonal change is used as an argument for marriage), in Herrick's His age, where it is also connected with carpe diem,[5] and in Philip Ayres' poem, The Four Seasons, where the chorus points the contrast between seasonal change and man's life, echoing the line pulvis et umbra sumus:

> But, Ah! When Death's keen arrow flies,
> And hits poor MAN,
> Do what he can,
> He dies;
> Returns to dust, a Shadow, and a Nothing lies.[6]

Carpe diem

It is worth pointing out that the Horatian topic of carpe diem is often rather loosely spoken of by critics of English literature. They take

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1. Quoted Commager, 267. The poems are given clear headings in contemporary editions: Lambinus entitled C.I.iv Adventu veris, et communi moriendi conditione proposita, hortatur ad voluptates and C.IV.vii Veris adventu, et aequa moriendi conditione proposita, invitat ad hilariter vivendum.

2. See above, 76f. Drummond and Campion also use the spring description in a love-complaint.

3. See above, 192f.

4. Leishman (c), 34. He also compares sonnet 65 with Horace, p.51-2, and notes that no. 104, ll.3-8, recalls Epode.XI.5-6, p.161. See also p.28-38, 100-1, 138-41, for a general comparison with the theme of transience in Horace and Shakespeare.

5. See above, 180f.

6. Saintsbury, II.312. This poem was written in the Restoration, but it is more akin to earlier responses to Horace's treatment of transience. On the Restoration, see below, 359f.

it to be exemplified by such poems as To his Coy Mistress, 'Go, lovely Rose' or To the Virgins, to make much of Time, and to be identical with the theme of persuasions to enjoy.[1] But carpe diem does not usually occur in Horace's love poetry: it is a topic of symposiac poetry, which reaches back to Alcaeus and Greek lyric. If there is a hint of a seduction argument in C.I.xi, the poem in which the famous phrase occurs, it is very oblique;[2] only C.IV.x to Ligurinus is on the common Renaissance theme of persuasions to enjoy, using the passage of time as an argument. Horace is not the father of the Renaissance poetry on this theme, and the omnipresent flower imagery of, for example, Tasso's famous song translated by Spenser,[3] Ronsard's 'Mignonne, allons voir si la rose'[4] and the English poems mentioned above does not come from him, but from Greek epigram, for example Rufinus' πέμπω σοί, Ῥοδόκλεια, τόδε στέφος,[5] from Ovid[6] and from a poem in the Virgilian appendix sometimes ascribed to Ausonius, De rosis nascentibus.[7] It is the last lines of the latter

> Collige, virgo, rosas dum flos novus et nova pubes,
> et memor esto aevum sic properare tuum

which are echoed by Tasso:

> Gather the Rose of love, whilest yet is time,[8]

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1. This perhaps stems from T.S. Eliot's well-known comparison of C.I.iv and To his Coy Mistress, in 'Andrew Marvell', Selected Essays (3rd ed. 1951), 295. See, for example, Legouis, 33; Lever, 151; Peltz, 99.

2. N.-H, 135.

3. Ger. Lib. xvi, stanzas 14-15; F.Q. II.xii, stanzas 74-5.

4. Cohen, 419.

5. Anth.Pal. V.lxxiv.

6. E.g. Ars amatoria, III.59-80, II.115-6.

7. See further McEuen, 219-220; Leishman (c), 95-9, who distinguishes the topics carpe diem and carpe florem.

8. Smith, I.338.

by Ronsard

Cueillez dés aujourdhuy les roses de la vie,[1]

and by Herrick

Gather ye Rose-buds while ye may.[2]

Horace does not use the argument about the flower's short life,[3] only the seasonal argument of C.I.iv and C.IV.vii. We have seen how Carew turns this from advice to friends to enjoy themselves in general terms to persuasions to a recalcitrant mistress.[4]

The Horatian carpe diem may include advice to enjoy dulces amores,[5] but it is potentially a serious philosophical argument. It is not an ultra-hedonistic invitation to immersion in pleasure, 'let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die', but a serious Epicurean argument about the best use of time, which should not be wasted in worries about the future, but fully enjoyed:

> quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et
> quem Fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
> adpone....[6]

The fullest statement of the Epicurean rationale for enjoyment of the present comes in C.III.xxix, from which we can see that the ideal is one of controlled living:

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1. Cohen, 260.

2. Martin, 84. Burton, who Herrick may have used here, cites the Ausonius, Anatomy, III.ii.5.5, see the note in Martin, 517-8.

3. Except briefly in C.II.xi.9-10, non semper idem floribus est honor/ vernis, and obliquely in C.II.iii. 13-14, in the mention of nimium brevis/flores amoenae...rosae.

4. See above, 76f.

5. C.I.ix.15-24. Leishman (c), 96,100.

6. C.I.ix.13-15.

ille potens sui
laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
dixisse 'vixi'. cras vel atra
nube polum pater occupato

vel sole puro; non tamen inritum
quodcumque retro est efficiet neque
diffinget infectumque reddet
quod fugiens semel hora vexit.[1]

This is really remote from Herrick's charming 'Gather ye Rose-buds' or from the Anacreontea.[2] The best parallels are Lucretius' serious exhortations to enjoy the banquet of life[3] and to enjoy simple pleasures,[4] or the passage from Epicurus cited by R.G.M. Nisbet and M.E. Hubbard in their note to C.I.xi.8:

γεγόναμεν ἅπαξ, δὶς δὲ οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι. δεῖ δὲ τὸν αἰῶνα μηκέτ' εἶναι. σὺ δὲ τῆς αὔριον οὐκ ὢν κύριος ἀναβάλλῃ τὸν καιρόν. ὁ δὲ πάντων βίος μελλησμῷ παραπόλλυται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἀσχολούμενος ἀποθνήσκει.[5]

Such an attitude is not incompatible with Christian thought;[6] Nisbet and Hubbard compare with the passage from Epicurus the Sermon on the Mount:

> Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?

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1. C.III.xxix.41-8. Horace's use of vixi here was imitated by Herrick in A Paranaeticall, 11.1, 15, 31, 33, Martin, 233 (see above, 186); Lovelace in The Ant, 'Not all thy life time onepoor Minute live', Wilkinson, 135; Cowley in A Vote, translating Horace as 'I have liv'd to day', Essays, 50, and in Ode. Upon Liberty, 'And steal one day out of thy Life to Live', Essays, 389.

2. See Miner (b), 108-117, and above on Herrick, 168-9.

3. De Rerum Natura, III.931-51, echoed by Horace, Serm.I.i.117-9.

4. Ibid.II.1-61.

5. Usener, fragment 204, p.162.

6. Pace Legouis, 33.

> Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?
> Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?
> And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:
> And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these....
> Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.[1]

Early seventeenth-century writers show an understanding of Horace's carpe diem. They recognise it as a topic of symposiac poetry and use it in their own drinking poems, and they understand its serious implications. It is interesting that both Milton and Cowley conflate Horace's carpe diem with the Sermon on the Mount. In the sonnet to Lawrence, Milton writes a Horatian invitation poem, inviting Lawrence to combat bad weather with mirth.[2] He insinuates that this Epicurean advice to make the best of the present is consonant with a proper faith in God's providence, by an allusion to the lilies of the field passage from the Sermon on the Mount, which is combined with an equally brief recollection of C.I.iv, reminding us of the Epicurean argument of that poem:

> Lawrence of virtuous father virtuous son,
> Now that the fields are dank, and ways are mire,
> Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire
> Help waste a sullen day; what may be won
> From the hard season gaining: time will run
> On smoother, till Favonius reinspire
> The frozen earth; and clothe in fresh attire
> The lily and rose, that neither sowed nor spun.[3]

In The shortness of Life, Cowley speaks of the folly of providing for the future and points to Christian teaching:

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1. Matthew, VI.25-9, 34.
2. See further below, 267f.
3. Carey and Fowler, 410.

> We are all Ἐφήμεροι (as Pindar calls us) Creatures of a day, and therefore our Saviour bounds our desires to that little space; as if it were very probable that every day should be our last, we are taught to demand even Bread for no longer a time.[1]

He goes on to support this by citing C.I.xi and C.I.iv.[2] We may note too that Walton justifies the 'Horatian' recreation of angling[3] by a reference to the Sermon on the Mount:

> So when I would beget content, and increase confidence in the power, and Wisdom, and Providence of Almighty God, I will walk the Meadows by some gliding stream, and there contemplate the Lillies that take no care, and those very many other various little living creatures, that are not only created but fed (man knows not how) by the goodness of the God of Nature, and therefore trust in him.[4]

The understanding of carpe diem in Horace was backed by an increasing understanding of Epicurus' philosophy and a true account of his pleasure doctrine. Though there was still some hostility to Epicurus at the beginning of the century and he was regarded as a crude hedonist, there was growing up a truer understanding, which flowered in the mid-century.[5] In 1656, Walter Charleton[6] published Epicurus's morals, collected partly out of his owne Greek text, in Diogenes Laertius, and partly out of the rhapsodies of Marcus Antoninus, Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca, and faithfully Englished.[7] In the introductory apology for Epicurus, he argued that Epicurus was not a gross sensualist, but

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1. Essays, 448.
2. In a passage quoted below, 323.
3. See below, 377-8.
4. Compleat angler, 275.
5. See Mayo.
6. On Charleton, see Mayo, 33-43.
7. Charleton's work is a translation of part III of Gassendi's Syntagma philosophiae Epicuri, Pars philosophiae tertia, quae est ethica, seu de moribus, a point which seems to have escaped the attention of Mayo.

> a sublime Witt, a profound Judgement, and a great Master of Temperance, Sobriety, Continence, Fortitude and all other Vertues, not a Patron of Impiety, Gluttony, Drunkennesse, Luxury and all kinds of Intemperance, as the common people...generally conceive him to be.[1]

In chapter V, seventeenth-century readers could find the passage from Epicurus' letter to Menoeceus from Diogenes Laertius which Fanshawe quoted in Selected parts, explaining that pleasure consists not in sensual indulgence but in calm of mind.[2] In chapter XIV, they could find a section on sobriety and simple food,[3] and in chapter XVIII, a section on moderation and content on little.[4] In the first chapter, they could find a translation of the passage from Epicurus quoted above through the medium of Gassendi's Latin:

> Once we were, twice we cannot be born: and our Age must have a period; but when we know not. If so, is it prudence, or folly in thee, O man: when thou hast not To-morrow in thy power, to procrastinate thy making thy self happy till the Future, and in the mean time lose the opportunity of the present, of which onely thou art certain? By such delay as it, that the Lives of most men are lost: and hence comes it, that every one dies in the Immaturity, if not the Beginning of his Designes.[5]

In the margin of this page, Charleton quotes Horace C.III.xxix. 41-3, quoted above. In the next section of this chapter comes a full exposition of Epicurus' idea of full living, carpe diem:

> Let us, therefore, endeavour so to live, as that we need not repent us of our time past: and so enjoy the present day, as if we were nothing concerned in To-morrow. For, He arives most sweetly at

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1. Epicurus's morals, A3v-A4.

2. Lives, X.131-3, Epicurus's morals, 23. For Fanshawe, see above, 54. See also the third volume of Stanley's History of philosophy (1660), part V, p1231, for a translation of the same passage. Stanley's section on Epicurus is a translation of Gassendi's Syntagma philosophiae Epicuri, as he himself acknowledges. It is worth noting that Stanley distinguishes the Epicureans from the Cyrenaics. See Mayo, 51-4.

3. 71-9.

4. 97-103, part of which is quoted above, 204, note 1.

5. 4.

> To-morrow, who doth, the least need, or desire it: and an hour comes most grateful to him, who had the least expectation of it. Since it is troublesome, alwaies to begin to live: let us make every moment, the Totall summe of life; as if no part of it remained behind. The life of a fool is unpleasant, and full of Fears, and depends wholly upon the Future: but it becomes us so to order our Minds and Actions, as that Ours may be pleasant, secure, and fixt in the safety of the present.[1]

Here again, Charleton cites Horace in the margin, Epistles I.iv.13-14:

> omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
> grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.

The tone of such passages is serious and mild, the sweet, clean tone of Cowley and Evelyn,[2] and the discipline involved in carpe diem is clearly represented.

Some of our Horatian writers certainly had some acquaintance with Epicurus' teaching - notably Cowley, Evelyn and Fanshawe, between whom there are personal links. The general direction of Cowley's Essays is Epicurean, and he understood Epicurus' pleasure doctrine.[3] Evelyn, Cowley's friend, was interested in French 'libertine' philosophy, Gassendi and de la Mothe le Vayer,[4] translated the first book of the De Rerum Natura[5] and was

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1. 5. Gassendi has assembled this passage from various sources. The second sentence begins with Plutarch, De Tranquillitate Animi, ὃ τῆς αὑρίον ἥκιστα δεόμενος ἥδιστα προσειστει πρὸς τὴν αὔριον (Epicurea, ed. Usener, no. 490, p.307) and continues with Horace, Epistles I.iv.14, grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora. The third sentence begins with Seneca, molestum est semper vitam incohare (Usener, no. 493, p.308) and so does the fourth, stulta vita ingrata est et trepida: tota in futurum fertur (Usener, no. 491, p.307). In the Opera omnia, in the section on ethics, Gassendi, like Usener, assembles a large number of sources with references, including much from Horace.

2. See below, 328.

3. See below, 326f.

4. See L. Sharp, 'Walter Charleton's Early Life 1620-1659, and relationship to Natural Philosophy in mid seventeenth-century England', Annals of Science xxx (1973), 336; Nethercot (b), 115, 266.

5. An essay on the first book of T. Iucretius Carus De Rerum Natura. Interpreted and made English verse by J. Evelyn (1656). Mayo, 43-51.

a friend of Charleton's.[1] Both Cowley and Evelyn were connected with the Royal Society, which was interested in the atomic theory of Leucippus, Democritus and Epicurus (Charleton had begun by writing about the physical theory of Epicurus in Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana, 1654): Sprat speaks favourably of Gassendi.[2] There is also a link between Evelyn and Fanshawe, who was related to Evelyn's wife.[3] Evelyn's translation of Lucretius contains a letter from Fanshawe For my Honored Friend and Kinsman John Evelyn Esq, praising him for his choice of author, 'for intrinsick value an incomparable one, and well quitting your pains'.[4] Fanshawe's connection with Evelyn perhaps explains why he understood Epicurus' pleasure doctrine before the publication of Epicurus's morals.[5]

As suggested above, though, Epicurus' ideas had been filtered through Horace's poetry since the beginning of the century.[6] Herrick's understanding of carpe diem comes from Horace,[7] and it is Horace who is the father of the symposiac poem.

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1. See Sharp, 314-5 and passim. He thinks Evelyn might have introduced Charleton to Cowley, 339, note 98.

2. In Observations on Monsieur de Sorbier's voyage into England (1665), 8.

3. See Evelyn, Diary, ed. E.S. de Beer (1955), III.19, note 5. Fanshawe is mentioned several times in the diary.

4. An essay, 7.

5. See above, 54. Another writer who understood Epicurus' pleasure doctrine was Owen Felltham, as is demonstrated by Of the use of Pleasure, Resolves (1661), 284, and 'Tis neither a great Estate, nor great Honours that can make a man truly Happy, Resolves (1661), 271. In the latter he equates the doctrine with Christianity: 'Epicurus was not far from right, to make Pleasure even the Summum bonum. But he meant it of the mind which was terse and clean, what is it that we can say more? Or how can we imagine greater, then to be participant and enjoying of the Divine Nature; of the Great and Immaculate God?', 271. For Felltham's views on recreation, see below, 277f.

6. Above, 202.

7. Above, 185-6.

IV. Symposiac poetry

Horace's symposiac poems seem quintessentially Horatian.[1] Much of his material was of course conventional,[2] but it does not seem wrong to regard the combination of the intimate, informal tone of address with the rich formal language, which gives finality to the conventional topics, and of the elegiac feeling for transience with the poised Epicurean carpe diem as unique. It is in some imitations of these poems that seventeenth-century poets come closest to reproducing Horace's lyric, recreating something of the complex blend of elements, and in no other period, we feel, could this have been done so well. As Horace had modernised the setting of Greek symposiac poetry, bringing in autobiographical material and alluding to contemporary political events and Roman customs,[3] so seventeenth-century poets revive Horace's poems by updating the details of person and setting: the Civil War background speaks clearly from some of these poems. Like Horace, they impose their own poetic personalities through their selection and employment of topics.

One form of symposiac poem is the invitation poem proper, for example the great ode to Maecenas, C.III.xxix, or Epistles I.v, inviting Torquatus to a simple meal. The latter is a realistic sketch of a meeting between Roman friends,[4] conversational, relaxed and intimate. It does not share in the emotional treatment of transience or the elaborate language and compressed structure of the Odes. Some English poems are perhaps closer to the epistle than the odes. As well as the invitation poem proper, there

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1. On Horace's symposiac poetry, see Cairns, 240-5; Williams (a), 103-131; N.-H. xv-xvi, 243-6.

2. N.-H. xv-xvi, xiv; Nisbet (a), 188.

3. See Williams (a), 103f.

4. Though Torquatus is the superior, see Cairns, 240-242.

is the kind of poem in which Horace urges an addressee who is present to drink and enjoy himself, for example C.II.iii or C.I.ix.

Both types were imitated and many of the standard symposiac topics were employed. We find the symposiac setting of C.I.ix, C.III.xvii or C.III.xix, fire and wine within to dissolve the cold without,[1] in several poems, for example Campion's 'Now winter nights enlarge'[2] or Drayton's An Ode written in the Peake, where, 'Amongst the Mountaines bleake/Expos'd to Sleet and Raine', Drayton has

> Buckston's delicious Bathes,
> Strong Ale and Noble Cheare,
> T'asswage breeme Winters scathes.[3]

We find similar symposiac settings in The Compleat angler:

> We went to a good honest Ale-house, and there we plaid at Shovel-board half the day; all the time that it rained we were there, and as merry as they that fished, and I am glad we are now with a dry house over our heads, for hark how it rains and blows. Come Hostess, give us more Ale....[4]
>
> Lets ev'n say Grace, and turn to the fire, drink the other cup to wet our whistles, and so sing away all sad thoughts.[5]

We find the topics of the specially reserved bottle of wine of a named type,[6] the poverty of the speaker and the entertainment offered,[7] the rejection of

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1. See Miner (b), 118-9.

2. Vivian, 165.

3. Hebel, II.365. And see Milton's sonnet to Lawrence, Vaughan's To his retired friend and To...Lewes, Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper.

4. Compleat angler, 217.

5. Ibid. 89.

6. See C.I.xx; III.xxix.1-2; IV.xi.1-2; IV.xii.17-20; Epistles I.v.4-5; Jonson, Inviting a Friend to Supper, below, 264; Vaughan, To his retired friend, below, 269; G. Daniel, To my honored cozen T:Cr:Esqr: an affectionate Invitation, Stroup, 64; Habington, To a Friend, Inviting him to a meeting upon promise, Allott, 61; Brome, To his Friend J.H., Songs and other poems, 08.

7. See C.I.xx; III.xxix; Epistles I.v; Jonson, Inviting a Friend, below, 265-266; Herrick, An Ode to Sir Clipsebie Crew, below, 265-6.

political events and foreign news,[1] the advice to relax from business cares,[2] and mirth in season. The latter was a philosophical topic which originated in Democritus and treatises περι εὐθυμιας[3] and is to be found in C.IV.xii:

> misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
> dulce est desipere in loco.[4]

In English, we find it in Cowley's poem, To Dr. Scarborough, where Cowley uses the Horatian time argument to persuade his friend to relax his labours: note the intimate tone of address and the appropriate medical image of the last line:

> Ah, learned friend, it grieves me, when I think
> That Thou with all thy Art must dy
> As certainly as I.....
> Let's ev'en compound, and for the present Live,
> 'Tis all the Ready Money Fate can give,
> Unbend sometimes thy restless care;
> And let thy Friends so happy be
> T'enjoy at once their Health and Thee.
> Some hours at least to thine own pleasures spare.
> Since the whole stock may soon exhausted be,
> Bestow't not all in Charitie.
> Let Nature, and let Art do what they please,
> When all's done, Life is an Incurable Disease.[5]

The topic is implicit in Walton's treatment of recreation in the Compleat angler, where fishing is seen as time-off from work,

> when you purpose to give rest to your mind, and devest your self of your more serious business, and (which is often) dedicate a day or two to this Recreation,[6]

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1. See C.II.xi.1-4; III.viii.17-28; III.xxix.25-33; Jonson, An Epistle answering to one, ll.31-50, Herford, VIII.219; Herrick, A New-yeares gift sent to Sir Simeon Steward, ll.1-9, Martin, 126; Milton's sonnet to Cyriack Skinner, see below, 268; Vaughan's To his retired friend, below, 269.

2. See Epistles I.v.8-9, 30-1; Cowley, Ode. Upon Liberty, below, 322.

3. Fragment 230, 232, D.-K. See McGann, 15f.

4. C.IV.xii.27-8. See also C.II.iii.6-7, per dies festos; Serm.II.ii.82-6; Epistles I.v.9-11.

5. Poems, 200.

6. A2v.

as he writes in the dedication to John Offley: the fishing trip ends with a return to London and work.[1]

In general, writers of our period present us with scenes of 'reverend mirth and manners'[2] which are Horatian in spirit. There are reminiscences of the picture of feasting in Serm.II.vi - o noctes cenaeque deum - where the conversation is of philosophy, not gossip and trivia:

> sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
> nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed, quod magis ad nos
> pertinet et nescire malum est, agitamus, utrumne
> divitiis homines an sint virtute beati,
> quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos
> et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.[3]

Cowley is surely recalling this passage in On the Death of Mr. William Hervey:

> Say, for you saw us, ye immortal Lights,
> How oft unweari'd have we spent the Nights?....
> We spent them not in toys, in lusts, or wine;
> But search of deep Philosophy,
> Wit, Eloquence, and Poetry,
> Arts which I lov'd, for they, my Friend, were Thine.[4]

Equivalent scenes are evoked by Drayton in To my most dearely-loved friend Henery Reynolds:

> My dearely loved friend how oft have we,
> In winter evenings (meaning to be free,)
> To some well chosen place us'd to retire;
> And there with moderate meate, and wine, and fire,
> Have past the howres contentedly with chat,

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1. See further, Cooper, 71, 74. See also Walton's praise of Cotton as being a man who knew how to relax in season, Keynes, 307-8; Herrick, His age, above, 181, A New-yeares gift, The Hock-cart, above, 186, A Paranaeticall, above, 186 ; Milton's sonnets to Lawrence and Skinner, below, 268 ; Lovelace's The Ant, below, 281 ; Owen Feltham, Of Dancing, Resolves (1661), 338, 'Tis pleasant to be frolique in season'.

2. Vaughan's phrase from To his Learned Friend...Thomas Powel, Martin, 624, On 'harmles mirth' in Vaughan, see Marilla, 107-8. On Herrick, see above, 189.

3. Serm.II.vi.71-6. A European recreation of Horace's meal was Erasmus' Convivium Religiosum, see Mason, 116-8.

4. Poems, 33.

> Now talk'd of this, and then discours'd of that,
> Spoke our owne verses 'twixt our selves, if not
> Other mens lines.....[1]

and To the worthy knight, and my noble friend, Sir Henry Goodere, 'at Powlsworth by the fire'.[2] There are some topics from Martial which may be introduced into descriptions of temperate feasting, for example the idea that company is more important than quality of food and drink - vinum tu facies bonum bibendo[3] - which is used by Jonson in Inviting a Friend to Supper[4] and by Herrick in An Ode for him, where it is modified to praise Jonson:

> And yet each Verse of thine
> Out-did the meate, out-did the frolick wine.[5]

The conclusion of Epigram X.xlviii contained two topics:

> accedent sine felle iocI nec mane timenda
> libertas et nil quod tacuisse velis:
> de prasino conviva meus venetoque loquatur,
> nec faciunt quemquam pocula nostra reum.

The prescription for jests without gall was used by Jonson in the Leges Convivales,[6] by Drayton in The Sacrifice to Apollo:

> Let your Jests flye at large; yet therewithall
> See they be Salt, but yet not mix'd with Gall:
> Not tending to disgrace,
> But fayrely given,
> Becomming well the place,
> Modest, and even;
> That they with tickling Pleasure may provoke
> Laughter in him, on whom the Jest is broke,[7]

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1. Hebel, III.226.

2. Ibid.II.344. See also Cowley, Ode. Of Liberty, stanza 2, quoted below, 322.

3. Epigram V.lxxviii.16.

4. Ll.3-8, Herford, VIII.64.

5. Martin, 289. And see Content, not cates, 124.

6. No. 17, Herford, VIII.656.

7. Hebel, II.358.

and by Felltham in Of Truth, and bitterness in Jests, 'Gall in mirth is an ill mixture'.[1] The morning-after topic of 'mirth, that after no repenting draws' is developed by Jonson in Inviting a friend:

> No simple word,
> That shall be utter'd at our mirthfull boord,
> Shall make us sad next morning; or affright
> The libertie, that wee'll enjoy to night.[2]

The following passage from The Compleat angler combines both the morning after topic with that of company, not food:

> For a companion that is chearful, and free from swearing and scurrilous discourse, is worth gold. I love such mirth as does not make friends ashamed to look upon one another next morning; nor men (that cannot well bear it) to repent the money they spend when they be warmed with drink: and take this for a rule, You may pick out such times and such companies, that you may make your selves merrier for a little than a great deal of money; for 'Tis the company and not the charge that makes the feast.[3]

Throughout The Compleat angler, Walton lays stress on innocent mirth and moderate drinking,[4] and, though he has his own distinct naive tone and Anglican outlook, his enjoyment of rational pleasures and moderate wine set off against the discontents of the rich is thoroughly in sympathy with Horace.

In general, seventeenth-century writers are awake to the full implications of Horace's symposiac poems. They present feasting as civilised

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1. Resolves (1661), 72. See also Herrick, A Panegerick to Sir Lewis Pemberton, 11.77-8, Martin, 148; Cotton, To Mr. Alexander Brome Epode, 11.27-34, Buxton, 228.

2. Herford, VIII.65. See also Herrick, A Panegerick, 11.85-88, Martin, 148, The Country Life, 1.61, Martin, 231, Twelfe night, 11.27-30, Martin, 317.

3. 91-2. Compare Felltham, Of the use of Pleasure (reminiscent of C.II.xvi. 10-12, 15-16, 21-2): 'I like those pleasures well, that are on all sides legitimated by the bounty of Heaven: after which no private gripe, nor fancyed Goblin comes to upbraid my sense for using them: But, such as may with equal pleasure be again dream'd over, and not disturb my sleep,' Resolves (1661), 283.

4. See for example Compleat angler p.15, 56, 59, 77, 89, 218.

intercourse, a form of ideal living. They recognise the discipline implied by the Epicurean ideal of full living which is behind Horace's poems, the need for a right attitude of mind to produce happiness. And they catch the refined subtlety of feeling of Horace's symposiac poems, avoiding the cosiness or the boisterous vulgarity which characterise Victorian and Restorations scenes of mirth[1] and responding to the strong elegiac feeling and the poised gaiety. I have chosen seven seventeenth-century poems to discuss in detail. They all employ symposiac topics and echoes of Horace, they explore some of the serious implications of his symposiac poems[2] and they attain something of the blend of formal and informal elements.

Jonson's epigram, Inviting a Friend to Supper, uses the form of the invitation to a simple meal to praise the simple life. The immediate model is Martial: Jonson takes hints from three epigrams.[3] But the poem looks back also to Epistles I.v and Serm.II.vi and to Jonson's whole reading of Roman poetry and prose.[4] It is a characteristic product of Jonson's ethical humanism, a Jonsonian interpretation of the Horatian viewpoint, with a strong moral emphasis. It recommends courteous company, simple but pleasant food, readings from classical authors[5] and intelligent discussion, good wine,[6] to be drunk freely but moderately, and innocent liberty of conversation as the ingredients of a 'perfect entertaynment'. W. Trimpi has said

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1. On Restoration symposiac poetry, see below, 360f.

2. Of course, not all seventeenth-century drinking poems are so serious.

3. V.lxxviii, X.xlviii, XI.lii.

4. Pliny, Epistles I.xv; Aulus Gellius, XIII.xi.

5. See Juvenal, XI.179-81: Pliny, Epistles I.xv.2; Aulus Gellius, XIII.xi.5.

6. The phrase used to describe the wine, 'which is the Mermaids, now, but shall be mine', perhaps recalls the detail about the wine in C.IV.xii.18, qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis. The topic of the reserved and named bottle of wine comes from Horace, see above, 259.

> The dinner-party is almost a symbol for the social, moral, and aesthetic values of the host. The poems of Catullus, Horace, and Martial, which describe the modest fare and entertainment of their hospitality, are declarations of taste as well as of means.[1]

This is certainly how Jonson saw it. Trimpi connects the epigram with the Leges Convivales, devised by Jonson for the Apollo room in the Devil Tavern, where we find the same emphases on moderation, good cheer, intelligence, innocence and good humour, and the same classical sources, Martial's three epigrams and Epistles I.v.[2]

The epigram has the right intimacy for a Horatian invitation poem. With its realistic and genial portrayal of a meal, it resembles Epistles I.v, and its delicately formalised conversational style is closer to Horace's Epistles than to the Odes. It is a fine example of Jonson's flexible verse movement,[3] with its lightly end-stopped lines and varied caesura, allowing a flexibility of thought and feeling, from graceful compliment, to gay wit, to comic flights of exaggeration, and finally to the seriousness of the conclusion. Such flexibility is the hallmark of Horace's epistolary style, and, as argued above, Jonson formed his couplet style with an eye on Horace's hexameter style.[4]

Herrick's An Ode to Sir Clipseby Crew is in a characteristically lighter vein.[5] Again, it is an invitation to a poor man's house[6] (Jonson's

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1. 187. See also Mason, 279-83.

2. Nos. 17 and 24 are from Martial, X.xlviii, nos. 5 and 23 from Epistles I.v, no. 22 recalls C.I.xviii, 7-9 and xxvii, 1-4, no. 18 recalls Martial, V.lxxviii and XI.lii. Drayton's The Sacrifice to Apollo seems to have some connection with Jonson's laws, see above, 262, and B.H. Newdigate, Michael Drayton and his Circle (appendix to Hebel, 1961), 136.

3. See above, 161, note 5.

4. See above, 161, note 5.

5. His age and A Paranaeticall are discussed above, 180f, 186f.

6. See above, 259.

'my poore house' becoming 'the Cell/Wherein I dwell') and, again, it presents a picture of a chosen life-style, 'noble freedome', but the revelry is a more light-hearted and Herrickian recreation of Roman revelry,[1] with 'Wine and Rage', 'the frantick Thyrse' and readings from Anacreon and Horace (Jonson's had been from Virgil, Tacitus and Livy):

> Here we securely live, and eate
> The Creame of meat;
> And keep eternal fires,
> By which we sit, and doe Divine
> As Wine
> And Rage inspires.
>
> If full we charme; then call upon
> Anacreon
> To grace the frantick Thyrse:
> And having drunk, we raise a shout
> Throughout
> To praise his Verse.
>
> Then cause we Horace to be read,
> Which sung, or seyd,
> A Goblet, to the brim,
> Of Lyrick Wine, both swell'd and crown'd,
> A Round
> We quaffe to him.[2]

The 'eternal fires' remind us of the injunction of the Leges Convivales, Focus perennis esto, from Martial X.xlvii, and of the fireside settings of e.g. C.I.ix, and insinuate the Roman atmosphere. For the justification of this mode of existence, Herrick offers us the Horatian idea of revelry as a means of combating time's passage: (carpe diem was a topic which appealed to Herrick with his feeling for transience:[3] characteristically, Jonson had ignored it in his epigram):

> Thus, thus, we live, and spend the houres
> In Wine and Flowers:
> And make the follick yeere,

---

1. Akin to When he would have his verses read, for example. See further above, 111.

2. Martin, 198.

3. See above, 188f.

The Month, the week, the instant Day
To stay
The longer here.[1]

Like Jonson's epigram, the poem has the intimate note of the invitation poem, with its assumption that Crew will understand the picture of Herrick's life and with the light personal touch of the conclusion:

Take Horse, and come; or be so kind,
To send your mind
(Though but in Numbers few)
And I shall think I have the heart,
Or part
Of Clipseby Crew.[2]

But the poem is rather light both in metre[3] and tone for an imitation of Horace.

Milton's two sonnets to Edward Lawrence and Cyriack Skinner both take the theme of pleasure in season, and they both have a touch of characteristic Miltonic austerity, for example in the scrupulous weighing-up of the final sentence of the sonnet to Lawrence:

He who of these delights can judge, and spare
To interpose them oft, is not unwise.[4]

The pleasures Milton offers in this sonnet are the moderate Horatian ones of the simple meal and music,[5] celebrated in a brilliant Miltonic sentence:

What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,
Of Attic taste, with wine, whence we may rise
To hear the lute well touched or artful voice
Warble immortal notes and Tuscan air?[6]

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1. Martin, 198.

2. Ibid. 198.

3. Though, the stanza, with its rather complex pattern of rhyme and line-lengths, is meant to suggest Horace's Odes, see above, 68. Contrast the simpler and lighter Anacreontics.

4. Carey and Fowler, 410. For the combination of Christian and Epicurean in the interpretation of carpe diem in this poem, see above, 253.

5. Music appears in C.I.xvii.18-20; III.xxviii.9-16; IV.xi.34-6.

6. Carey and Fowler, 410.

The sonnet to Cyriack Skinner opens with a praise of Sir Edward Coke, which hints at the value of the active life and tempers the Horatian advice to forget study and politics:

> Let Euclid rest and Archimedes pause,
> And what the Swede intend, and what the French.[1]

Again, the pleasures are to be moderate, 'mirth, that after no repenting draws', and the sestet develops the idea of mirth in season:

> To measure life, learn thou betimes, and know
> Toward solid good what leads the nearest way;
> For other things mild heaven a time ordains,
> And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
> That with superfluous burden loads the day,
> And when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.[2]

Milton's two sonnets are conscious pastiches of Horace's symposiac odes, with their echoes of Horatian phrase, idiom and idea.[3] They have the right intimate note for an imitation of Horace, the right combination of address, compliment and general moral idea. They have, too, the right sense of complexity. This is partly of idea, with the qualified praise of pleasure, partly of structure and partly of style. Milton imitates the compressed structure of the Horatian ode, with his brief treatment of Horatian topics and his rapid transitions from topic to topic and from address to generalisation (see the transition from octave to sestet in the sonnet to Skinner) and with his allusiveness: witness the implications expressed by the brief allusion to the Sermon on the Mount. Like Horace, Milton packs a lot into a small space. With his Horatian sense of the phrase, the language has the right weight, ornateness and difficulty, but, as in the translation of the Pyrrha ode,[4] it lacks, I think, something of

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1. Ibid. 413, echoing C.II.xi.1-4.
2. Carey and Fowler, 414.
3. See furtner Finley, 63-7.
4. See above, 83.

the paradoxical ease that Horace also achieves along with the difficulty. Perhaps, too, in the realism of the scenes painted and in tone, the sonnets remind us more of the epistle to Torquatus than of the Soracte ode or the Dellius ode, with their elegiac feeling.

Vaughan has two poems in his early collection, Olor Iscanus, which are clearly inspired by Horace's symposiac poems. In both, he attains a Horatian complexity of tone, with a balance between 'care' and 'jest', to use his terms, which is based on his feeling for the contemporary situation. The first, To his retired friend, an Invitation to Brecknock, is a true invitation poem and a good example of seventeenth-century Horatian epistolary, writing, opening with about fifty lines of intimate banter. It ends with a Horatian picture of feasting - the wine reserved for the guest's arrival, the wintry weather outside, the fire within - and a Horatian carpe diem rationale for feasting, which is given a contemporary slant. Horatian scepticism is updated: Vaughan and his friend cannot do anything about the Civil War, so their best use of time, 'our short Lease', is in innocent revelry rather than in puritan acquisitiveness!

> Come then: and while the slow Isicle hangs
> At the stiffe thatch, and Winters frosty pangs
> Benumme the year, blith (as of old) let us
> 'Midst noise and War, of Peace, and mirth discusse.
> This portion thou wert born for:[1] why should wee
> Vex at the times ridiculous miserie?
> An age that thus hath fool'd it selfe, and will
> (Spite of thy teeth and mine) persist so still.
> Let's sit then at this fire, and while wee steal
> A Revell in the Town, let others seal,
> Purchase or Cheat, and who can, let them pay,
> Till those black deeds bring on the darksome day;
> Innocent spenders wee: a better use

---

1. The phrase recalls Ecclesiastes, ix.9, iii.22, v.18, texts which are also cited by Owen Felltham in Of the use of pleasure to defend lawful pleasure: 'I conceive therefore, I shall not be far from Truth, If I think with Solomon, for man to enjoy himself in those felicities of mind and body, (which God out of his Immense Liberality hath given him), be his portion', Resolves (1661), 286; see also Of Puritans, Resolves (1661), 7.

> Shall wear out our short Lease, and leave th'obtuse
> Rout to their husks; They and their bags at best
> Have cares in earnest, wee care for a jest.[1]

Note that, like Herrick, Vaughan looks back to Horace through Jonson. The indignation and confident scorn, and the element of satire here are Jonsonian: Vaughan imitates the satiric use of the let others topic, as in the Epistle. To Katherine, Lady Aubigny[2] or To Sir Robert Wroth:

> Let others watch in guiltie armes, and stand
> The furie of a rash command,
> Goe enter breaches, meet the cannons rage,
> That they may sleepe with scarres in age.
> And shew their feathers shot, and cullors torne,
> And brag, that they were therefore borne,
> Let this man sweat, and wrangle at the barre, etc.[3]

The lines also contain an echo of the New Inn ode, 'No, give them graines their fill,/Huskes, draffe to drinke, and swill'.[4] Through the contemporary setting, Vaughan gives a new vigour to the Horatian topic of the right use of time, with the witty Jonsonian antitheses between a 'stealing' and 'spending' which are innocent and the dark 'sealing' and cheating of other men (here, the Puritans) and with the Jonsonian punning antitheses of the final line between senseless care and sensible jest.

The other Horatian poem in the collection, To my worthy friend Master T. Lewes, also modernises Horatian topics. It has been suggested that it was written to console Lewes when he was sequestered from his living by the Cromwellians:[5] at any rate, the Civil war background speaks out clearly, as in To his retired friend. The poem opens with an imitation of the Sonacte ode:

---

1. Martin, 47-8. For the Civil war background of this poem, see Marilla, 169-70.
2. Herford, VIII.118-9.
3. Ibid.VIII.98-9. On the let others topic, see above, 231.
4. Herford, VI.492.
5. Marilla, 236.

> Sees not my friend, what a deep snow
> Candies our Countries wooddy brow?
> The yeelding branch his load scarse bears
> Opprest with snow, and frozen tears,
> While the dumb rivers slowly float,
> All bound up in an Icie Coat.[1]

Vaughan's picture of the wintry landscape, which has moved from Rome to Wales, is humanised, hinting at Vaughan's feelings and the state of the country. It bears signs of sorrow, 'frozen tears', and oppression, 'all bound up'. The Horatian rationale for feasting which follows is designed to cope with the 'wild Excentricks' of the contemporary scene: again, the strong sense of urgency due to the contemporary situation imparts a freshness to the Horatian arguments. Vaughan takes these from C.I.ix:

> Why any more cast wee an Eye
> On what may come, not what is nigh[2]

and C.I.xi:

> Why vex our selves with feare, or hope
> And cares beyond our Horoscope?[3]

He continues with imagery drawn from George Herbert's The Discharge[4] - the churchyard and the bottom (or clew of thread) - and ends by giving a final contemporary twist to the theme of recreation in the last two lines:

> Who into future times would peere
> Looks oft beyond his terme set here,
> And cannot goe into those grounds
> But through a Church-yard which them bounds;
> Sorrows and sighes and searches spend
> And draw our bottome to an end,
> But discreet Joyes lengthen the lease
> Without which life were a disease,
> And who this age a Mourner goes,
> Doth with his tears but feed his foes.[5]

---

1. Martin, 61.

2. Ibid, 61. See C.I.ix.13-15, quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et/ quem Fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro/adpone.

3. Ibid.61. See C.I.xi.1-3. The word 'terme' in the following line echoes Horace's finem.

4. Hutchinson, 144.

5. Martin, 61.

My last poem, Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper. To my Noble Friend, Mr. Charles Cotton, Ode, is the one which seems to me to come closest to recreating Horace's symposiac odes. Behind it we sense the presence of the Soracte ode: it is based on the same idea of cold weather outside 'dissolved' by fire and wine and cheer within, and has the same movement of thought. It is not a direct imitation, though, and it uses seventeenth-century procedures: the structure of the poem is basically that of the emblem poem, the language is conceited, especially in the second half of the poem, and there is an un-Horatian element of fancy in the description of the grasshopper. There is also a degree of incoherence in the language that Horace would not have tolerated, although this is compensated for by superb phrases.

The poem opens with the emblem of the grasshopper, which is to serve as an example to Cotton and Lovelace. The grasshopper has a long literary history,[1] and Lovelace puts it here to odd use by a combination of what may be called the Anacreontic and Aesopian strains. The Anacreontic tradition makes the insect the epitome of the mirthful life, doing nothing but drinking[2] and singing, and nourished by nature. This is the opening of Cowley's version of Anacreontea, 34:

> Happy Insect, what can be
> In happiness compar'd to Thee?
> Fed with nourishment divine,
> The dewy Mornings gentle Wine!
> Nature waits upon thee still,
> And thy verdant Cup does fill,
> 'Tis fill'd where ever thou dost tread,
> Nature selfe's thy Ganimed.
> Thou dost drink, and dance, and sing;
> Happier then the happiest King![3]

---

1. Scoular, 108-112; Allen, 35-8.

2. Two epigrams in the Anthology, IX.92 and VIII.196, emphasize the drunkenness of the grasshopper.

3. Poems, 57.

The Anacreontic grasshopper escapes the processes of time - τὸ δὲ γῆρας οὐ σε τερέι - and, in Cowley's version, of winter as well:

> Happy Insect, happy Thou,
> Dost neither Age, nor Winter know.
> But when thou'st drunk, and danc'd, and sung,
> Thy fill, the flowry Leaves among
> (Voluptuous, and Wise with all,
> Epicurean Animal!)
> Sated with thy Summer Feast,
> Thou retir'est to endless Rest.[1]

Such an insect might well be used as an argument for drinking. Lovelace catches the Anacreontic gaiety very charmingly in his opening three stanzas:

> Oh thou that swing'st upon the waving haire
> Of some well-filled Oaten Beard,
> Drunke ev'ry night with a Delicious teare
> Dropt thee from Heav'n, where now th'art reard.
>
> The Joyes of Earth and Ayre are thine intire,[2]
> That with thy feet and wings dost hop and flye;
> And when thy Poppy workes thou dost retire
> To thy Carv'd Acron-bed to lye.
>
> Up with the Day, the Sun thou welcomst then,
> Sportst in the guilt-plats of his Beames,
> And all these merry dayes mak'st merry men,
> Thy selfe, and Melancholy streames.[3]

It is significant that Lovelace is looking back to the Anacreontea here through the eyes of Casimir Sarbiewski's ode IV.23 (although he draws on the Greek poem directly in the second stanza). This can be seen clearly from the first stanza of Casimir's poem:

> O Quae populea summa sedens coma,
> Caeli roriferis ebria lacrymis,
> Et te voce, cicada,
> Et mutum recreas nemus.[4]

---

1. Ibid.
2. σὰ γάρ ἐστι κεῖνα πάντα/ ὁπόσα βλέπεις ἐν ἀγροῖς.
3. Wilkinson, 38-9.
4. Lyricorum libri IV, 178.

Lovelace has taken the opening vocative from Casimir, 'Oh thou...', although he has Anglicised the insect's habitat: the cicada δενδρέων ἐπ' ἄκρων, populea sedens coma, has become the grasshopper on his oaten beard.[1] The important point about Casimir's poem is that it has hints of sadness at time's passage and winter weather and it adumbrates a carpe diem attitude: the grasshopper is urged to arrest the sun's movement, though this is clearly seen as an unequal task and the poem ends with a reminder of the transience of pleasure:

> Post longas hiemes, dum nimium brevis
> Aestas se levibus praecipitat rotis,
> Festinos, age, lento
> Soles excipe iurgio.
> Ut se quaeque dies attulit optima,
> Sic se quaeque rapit: nulla fuit satis
> Umquam longa voluptas,
> Longus saepius est dolor.[2]

Casimir is aiming at a Horatian pathos; the phrase nimium brevis comes from the Dellius ode, nimium brevis/flores amoenae ....rosae.[3] In Lovelace, this is transformed into an Aesopian vision of winter: nature withdraws her protection from the insect:

> But ah the Sickle: Golden Eares are Cropt;
> Ceres and Bacchus bid good night;
> Sharpe frosty fingers all your Flowr's have topt,
> And what sithes spar'd, Winds shave off quite.[4]

---

1. Casimir's phrase mutum nemus perhaps helps to decide the interpretation of the rather puzzling 'Melancholy streames', which could be adjective + noun or noun + verb (i.e. melancholy streams away) - Grierson's suggestion. Is 'Melancholy streames' an Anglicisation of mutum nemus? The translation of Casimir's poem in Stephens' Miscellany poems and translations by Oxford hands (1685), 81 (reprinted in The works of Mr. Thomas Brown in prose and verse, III.117) brings out the similarity of phrasing: 'Whilst with the chearful Musick of thy voice/Thou mak'st thy self, and silent Woods rejoyce'. Perhaps, also, the metre of Casimir's poem (Asclepiads) suggested to Lovelace the idea of a four line stanza.

2. Lyricorum libri IV, 178.

3. Casimir also imitates Virgil, Georgics III.66-7, optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi/prima fugit.

4. Wilkinson, 39.

But the message of the poem is not the traditional prudential Aesopian one.[1] Instead we find the following:

> Poore verdant foole: and now green Ice: thy Joys
> Large and as lasting, as thy peirch of Grasse,
> Bid us lay in 'gainst Winter, Raine, and poize,
> Their flouds, with an o'reflowing glasse.[2]

The logic seems odd, but it is really the Horatian logic of the Soracte ode, where reminders of winter lead similarly to injunctions to make a full use of the present. Lovelace has brought out more explicitly the submerged connection between winter and old age and death which exists in Horace's ode.[3] His grasshopper is clearly an emblem of man's life, as Mt. Soracte is not, and its connection with man is directly stated, 'thy Joys...bid us'.

Lovelace's strategy for combating winter weather uses the same basic elements as Horace's in C.I.ix, but they are rather more complicatedly and paradoxically expressed. Horace recommends fire, wine, company by implication, and an act of the mind to abandon care, permitte divis cetera. Lovelace picks up the Horatian injunction:

> dissolve frigus ligna super foco
> large reponens,[4]

and expands it in two stanzas by metaphoric play with the ideas of warmth, thawing, summer and winter, and by the witty 'Metaphysical' conceit of Etna:

> Thou best of Men and Friends: we will create
> A Genuine Summer in each others breast;
> And spite of this cold Time and frozen Fate
> Thaw us a warme seate to our rest.
>
> Our sacred harthes shall burne eternally
> As Vestall Flames, the North-wind, he

---

1. See for example Whitney, A choice of emblemes, 159, 175, and see Baldwin, I.620-22, mentioning Camerarius and Caxton.

2. Wilkinson, 39.

3. Wilkinson, 129-131; Commager, 269-73.

4. C.I.ix.5-6 (my italics).

Shall strike his frost-stretch'd Winges, dissolve and flye
This Aetna in Epitome.[1]

Lovelace arranges the elements of the scene inside to fit those outside and to overcome them, by a complex handling of imagery and by conflating the metaphoric and the real. Thus, the 'Genuine Summer' of the mind is opposed to the winter of the elements, December's reign or December rain (a pun) is restored by 'show'rs of old Greeke', candle-light banishes the dark and creates 'everlasting Day'.[2] The poem ends with a clear statement, drawn from Horace,[3] of the powers of the mind rather than external circumstances to produce happiness:

Thus richer then untempted Kings are we,
That asking nothing, nothing need:
Though Lord of all what Seas imbrace; yet he
That wants himselfe, is poore indeed.[4]

The poem catches very well the blend of the Horatian symposiac ode. It has the right intimacy and the right ornateness of language.[5] It has, too, the right blend of tones, in its mingling of pathos and asperity even - 'Poore verdant foole! and now green Ice' - with balanced gaiety and affirmation, or to put it in Lovelace's terms, the 'poise' between the floods of winter and rain and the 'o'reflowing glasse'. D.C. Allen thinks that the poem is less sceptical than Horace and more Christian in its feeling for 'everlasting Day'.[6] Perhaps this is so. I am not arguing that Lovelace's poem is a simple pastiche of C.I.ix: it is an imaginative recreation in a

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1. Wilkinson, 39-40 (thaw and dissolve, my italics).

2. See further Scoular, 111-2.

3. See e.g. Epistles I.x.32-3, licet sub paupere tecto/reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos; C.III.xvi.25-28, 39-44; C.II.ii.9-12. On the beatus topic in Horace, see above, 227.

4. Wilkinson, 40.

5. For the Horatian device of oxymoron in this poem, see above, 89.

6. 42-3.

seventeenth-century context. Like the two poems by Vaughan, it reflects contemporary pressures.[1]

If we look for a local reason why Horace's symposiac poetry appealed so strongly to seventeenth-century poets, an undoubted contemporary pressure was the Cavalier hostility to Puritanism, which is clearly felt in the poems by Vaughan and Lovelace. A central dispute between the King and his Puritan critics was over the twin issues of Saints days and Sunday recreation, both of which the Puritans condemned. James had issued a Book of Sports defining what sports were lawful for Sundays, and Charles reissued it in 1633.[2] Christopher Hill has shown that there were complex factors behind the dispute.[3] It would be wrong to side sentimentally with the Cavaliers as the defenders of Merry England, and there was a large propaganda element in presenting the Puritans as killjoys. But the Book of Sports issue became a touchstone of loyalty to the King, and it is not surprising to find Cavalier poets justifying recreation with Horatian arguments: their poems fit into a context of debate about the lawfulness of recreation.

This debate suggests why poets should have been alive to the serious implications of Horace's symposiac poems. If the idea of drinking as celebration rather than roistering is stressed, then the Horatian vision can be accommodated into a Christian conception of mirth as thanksgiving and a proper response to God's bounty. This is the argument of Owen Felltham's polemical Of Puritans, where the Puritan rejection of pleasure is seen as an arrogant reversal of God's will:

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1. 'This cold Time and frozen Fate' has surely a contemporary reference. See further, Miner (b), 64-5, 285-93. Allen's identification of the grasshopper with Charles I, however, seems to me quite untenable.

2. C.V. Wedgwood, The King's Peace (paperback, 1966), 96.

3. C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (1964), Chapter V.

> To decline offences; to be carefull and conscionable in our severall actions, is a Purity, that every man ought to labour for, which we may well doe, without a sullen segregation from all society. If there be any Priviledges, they are surely granted to the Children of the King; which are those that are the Children of Heaven. If mirth and recreations be lawful, sure such a one may lawfully use it. If Wine were given to cheer the heart, why should I fear to use it for that end? ....God delights in nothing more, then in a cheerfull heart, carefull to performe his service.... As there be many, that in their life assume too great a libertie; so I beleeve there are some, that abridge themselves of what they might lawfully use. Ignorance is an ill Steward, to provide for either Soul, or Body. A man that submits to reverent Order, that sometimes unbends himself in a moderate relaxation; and in all, labours to approve himselfe, in the serenenesse of a healthfull Conscience: such a Puritane I will love immutably. But when a man, in things but ceremoniall, shall spurn at the grave Authoritie of the Church, and out of a needlesse nicety, be a Thiefe to himselfe, of those benefits which GOD hath allowed him: or out of a blinde and uncharitable pride, censure, and scorne others, as reprobates.....I shall think him one of those, whose opinion hath fevered his zeal to madness and distraction.[1]

Izaak Walton gives a similar rationale for angling in The Compleat angler, most directly expressed in Piscator's sermon on content, which was added to the fifth edition.[2] The Compleat angler, though less explicitly polemical than Fellthan's essay, is clearly aimed at the puritans.[3] In the preface, Walton jibes at the 'severe, sowre-complexion'd man' who objects to 'some innocent, harmless mirth',[4] and, throughout the book, there is a contrast between 'money-getting men' and anglers, lovers of peace and quiet and innocent recreation. And, as we have seen, his treatment of recreation seems to fall naturally into Horatian topics.

Alexander Brome's drinking-songs also provide a rationale for mirth which is directed at the puritans. They were an expression of loyalty to the King, as Walton's commendatory poem shows:

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1. Resolves (1661), 7. See also That mis-conceit has ruin'd Man, 55; Of the use of Pleasure, 283. Marilla, 107-8, compares Fellthan and Vaughan.
2. See esp. 266-7.
3. See Cooper, 69 ff.
4. A4v.

Here's a Collection in this Book,
Of all those chearful Songs, that we
Have sung so oft and merilie
As we have march'd to fight the cause
Of Gods Anointed, and our Laws.[1]

Brome's rationale is less Christian than Fellthan's or Walton's. It centres on the notion that drinkers are loyalists, innocent of the plots of the sober - 'We that tipple ha' no leisure for plotting or thinking', 'No deceit in a brimmer is found'[2] - and on the folly of avarice and industry. Brome backs his arguments with Horatian topics. In The Cure of Care, for example, he uses the heir topic to expose the folly of the avaricious, who are contrasted with the carefree drinkers:

Why should we not laugh and be jolly?
Since now all the world is mad?
All lul'd in a dull melancholly?
  He that wallows in store,
  Is still gaping for more;
  And that makes him as poor,
As that wretch that never any thing had.
How mad is the dam'nd money-monger,
That to purchase to him and his heirs,
Crowes shrivled with thirst and hunger?
  While we that are bonny,
  Buy sack for ready money,
And ne're trouble Scriviners nor Lawyers.[3]

Because of their innocent poverty, like Horace in C.III.xxix, the drinkers are immune to shipwreck, 'Nor Pyrates nor storms can affright us'.[4] And the poem ends with carpe diem:

Then let's not take care for to morrow,
But tipple and laugh while we may....[5]

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1. To my ingenious friend Mr. Brome, on his various and excellent poems: an humble eglog, Keynes, 588.

2. The Answer, Songs and other poems, 53, 54. See also The Club, 87; The Royalists Answer, 75; The Reformation, 98; The Cheerful heart, 94; The Advice, 115.

3. Ibid.65.

4. Ibid.66.

5. Ibid.67.

Brome's drinking songs do not catch the tone of Horace's poems very well: they have a more brittle Anacreontic gaiety, like the Restoration drinking-songs.[1] Contrast the last stana of Brome's The Antipolititian, an invitation to mirth, with the final stanza of The Grasse-hopper, on the same Horatian beatus topic: there is far less sense of poise:

> Those empty terms of rich and poor,
> Comparison hath fram'd,
> He hath not much that covets more.
> Want is but will, nicknam'd.
> If I can safely think and live,
> And freely laugh or sing,
> My wealth I'll not for Croesus give,
> Nor change lives with a King.[2]

Similar anti-puritan attitudes are very common.[3] Vaughan's To his retired friend opposed drinking to puritan acquisitiveness, and he takes similar attitudes in other poems.[4] In A Rhapsodie, the 'honest mirth' of the drinkers is associated with an anti-Republican stance.[5] In The Charnel-house, he draws from a traditional subject contemporary lessons aimed at the puritans:[6] the charnel house teaches him not to reject mirth utterly, but to temper it. The lines against excess are directed at the puritans:

> Henceforth with thought of thee
> I'le season all succeeding Jollitie,
> Yet damn not mirth, nor think too much is fit,
> Excesse hath no Religion, nor Wit.[7]

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1. See below, 360f. Brome translates several of the Anacreontea. Wedgwood, 104-110, uses Brome as an example of the degeneration of the tone of Cavalier poetry due to defeat. But on Brome's more Horatian poems, see above, 97f.

2. Songs and other poems, 91.

3. See e.g. Cotton, Ode, 'Come, let us drink away the time', Buxton, 220, Ode, 'The Day is sett', 223, To Mr. Alexander Brome Epode (using C.I. xxxvii), 227; Waller, For Drinking of Healths, perhaps aimed at Prynne, Thorn-Drury, I.89. See also Farley-Hills, 22; Dombras, II.126.

4. Marilla, 107-8.

5. Marilla, 132-4.

6. Marilla, 172-3.

7. Martin, 42.

It is interesting to note that there are several other inversions of the Aesopian fable of the ant and the grasshopper, besides Lovelace's The Grasse-hopper, which minister to the Cavalier/Puritan debate and use Horatian carpe diem arguments. In The Ant, Lovelace uses the insect fairly explicitly ('For thy example is become our Law')[1] as an emblem of Puritan industry and acquisitiveness. He urges it to take a holiday in season and to listen to the grasshoppers, 'thy unpay'd Musicians', He preaches to it the Epicurean creed of full living:

> Austere and Cynick! not one hour t'allow,
> To lose with pleasure what thou gotst with pain:
> But drive on sacred Festivals, thy Plow;[2]
> Tearing high-ways with thy ore charged Wain.
> Not all thy life time one poor Minute live,
> And thy o're labour'd Bulk with mirth relieve?[3]

And he reminds it of death, to show the futility of avarice:

> So scattering to hord 'gainst a long Day,
> Thinking to save all, we cast all away.[4]

Cowley gives a similarly unconventional rendering of the fable in the poem which follows the essay The shortness of Life and uncertainty of Riches, 'Why dost thou heap up Wealth, which thou must quit'. Man is to follow the example of the grasshopper, not the ant:

> Wisely the Ant against poor Winter hoords
> The stock which Summers wealth affords,
> In Grashoppers that must at Autumn die,
> How vain were such an Industry?[5]

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1. This is perhaps a reminiscence of Horace's nam exemplo est, Serm.I.i.33.

2. This line must allude to the Puritan non-observance of Saints days, see Miner (b), 112-4.

3. Wilkinson, 135.

4. Ibid. 135.

5. Essays, 451. See also Denham, Cooper's Hill, attacking the Puritan city, 'where men like Ants/Toyle to prevent imaginarie wants;/Yet all in vaine, increasing with their store,/Their vast desires, but make their wants the more', Banks, 64.

A Horatian source for such uses of the ant was a passage from Serm.I.i, contrasting the good sense of the ant with the avarice of man:

> parvola - nam exemplo est - magni formica laboris
> ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo
> quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
> quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
> non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
> quaesitis sapiens, cum te neque fervidus aestus
> demoveat lucro neque hiems, ignis mare ferrum,
> nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter.[1]

With individual variations, then, we find in Cavalier poetry and prose a rationale for mirth aimed at the puritans, based on ideas about the best use of time and the right response to life, often drawing on Horace, which is attractive in its warmth and generosity: ''Tis sin,/Nay, profanation to keep in'. But it is only fair to recall Milton's fine response to Horatian mirth in his two sonnets, or the splendid sentence from Of Education, where the rationale for enjoyment harmonises with Herrick's or Walton's:

> In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullennesse against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoycing with heaven and earth.[2]

We should recall, too, that Marvell is one of the poets whose response to the idea of recreation and leisure is most resonant.[3]

V. Public Poetry

Horace's public manner was less of an inspiration to early seventeenth-century poets than his private manner. There were not many translations of

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1. Serm.I.i.33-40, lines which Cowley translated, Essays, 439. This was a popular satire, see Appendix D.

2. Complete Prose Works (Yale ed), II.412-3. See also the recommendation of recreation in Tetrachordon, ibid.II.596-7. Milton's sentence fits into a context of humanist educational writings, which prescribe due recreation and care for the body, see Berdan 310-16, citing Vives, Elyot and Ascham.

3. Leishman (b), 24-5.

his public odes,[1] and, apart from a few popular passages,[2] they were not much used for vernacular imitation.[3]

There are one or two exceptions, the most notable being Marvell's An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland.[4] Some of Drayton's odes, for example To the Virginian Voyage or the Ballad of Agincourt, are on public and national themes, but they do not have much else in common with Horace. Fanshawe's An Ode upon occasion of His Majesties Proclamation,[5] written in his version of Sapphics, is perhaps meant to recall Horace's Roman odes, as it is on a national theme. But the real inspiration is Horace's poetry on the simple life and moral themes, for example C.II.xvi: Fanshawe writes in a gentle, courtly and personal style, and does not imitate the vatic impersonal pose of the Roman odes. Some of Milton's sonnets, notably those to Cromwell and Fairfax, make poetry out of public themes with an eye on

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1. See appendix C. Fanshawe translated a handful, see above, 57. Polwhele chose to translate the two epodes on the Civil War, VII and XVI, the second of which Fanshawe had translated in the 1648 volume. The Roman odes, because of their moral themes, were perhaps slightly more popular than the odes to Augustus.

2. Notably C.III.iii.1-8, see above, 212f.

3. Horace's public poems were imitated in the volumes of neo-Latin poems put out by the Universities to celebrate royal occasions (see Shuster, 58-60). A famous example is Marvell's Ad Regem Carolum Parodia, a parody of C.I.ii, included in Συνωδια, sive musarum Cantabrigiensium concentus et congratulatio, ad serenissimum Britanniarum regem Carolum, de quinta sua sobole (1637), K 4. See also Iam satis terris nivis et pruinae, A4; Ite, Reginam celebrate Matres, L1v; Non leve marmor, non Mareoticis, N4. Many other poems are in Horatian metres. See also Irenodia Cantabrigiensis: ob paciferum serenissimi regis Caroli e Scotia reditum (1641), Donec foedere mutuo, π4 (a parody of C.III.ix spoken by the Scots and the English and concluding with an adaptation of the last stanza of C.I.xiii); O Matre pulchra filia pulchrior, π4v; Sic te Iar trivii potens (a parody of C.I.iii), A3; Eheu recenti mens trepidat metu, C2; Qualis, serenum cum caput exerit, F.

4. Below, 300f.

5. Above, 56-7.

Horace.[1] Like Horace, Milton combines address, 'in a style which is neither traditionally ceremonious nor intimate,'[2] with ethical generalisations (see the sestet of the sonnet to Fairfax), he assumes a vatic tone, and uses several Horatian motifs - for example, the list of victories,[3] in the sonnet to Cromwell, and the theme of foreign peoples,[4] in the sonnet to Fairfax. But the sonnet form is, of course, too brief for a true imitation of the long public odes, and Milton's poems do not have the sweep and impetus of e.g. C.I.xxxvii or C.IV.iv.

Jonson's A speach according to Horace is 'in the spirit of Horace's attacks on national degeneracy' in C.I.xxxv.33-40, C.III.ii.1-6 and C.III. xxiv.54-8,[5] and there are some recollections of Horatian topics in Cowley, who twice echoes Horace's questions pointing the horror of Civil War in C.II.i:

> quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
> campus sepulcris inpia proelia
> testatur auditumque Medis
> Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?
>
> qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
> ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
> non decoloravere caedes?
> quae caret ora cruore nostro?[6]

> In what Playne or what River hath not beene?
> Warres story, writ in blood (sad story) seene?[7]

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1. See Finley, 56-62.

2. Trickett, 17. Finley compares the long opening phrases of address of the sonnets to Cromwell, Fairfax and Vane with e.g. C.IV.v.1-5; IV. xiv.1-6.

3. E.g. C.II.ix.19-24; I.xii,53-6.

4. E.g. C.IV.xiv.41-52.

5. Herford, XI.81-2. An Epistle to a Friend, to perswade him to the Warres is in a similar spirit. Both take a vatic tone about national matters, but neither is of course an ode, and both are more satiric than Horace.

6. C.II.i.29-36.

7. In commendation of the time we live under the Reign of our gracious K. Charles, Ode V of Sylva, Essays, 64.

> What English Ground but still some moysture beares
> Of young mens blood, and more of Mothers teares?
> What aires unthickned with some sighs of Wives!
> And more of Mayds for their deare Lovers lives![1]

An ode in Miscellanies, On his Majesties Return out of Scotland,[2] contains the topics of the benefits of peace from C.IV.v.17-32,[3] in stanza 3, and of the plea for foreign rather than civil war from C.I.xxxv.38-40, in stanzas 6 and 7. Both this ode and the ode from Sylva, which are written in elaborate stanzas perhaps meant to recall Horace,[4] contain a sententious element which is probably imitated from Horace's political odes: neither is very distinguished, however.

This does not amount to very much. It was in private poems that the early seventeenth century excelled, and Horace's public odes had to wait till the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries for extensive translation and imitation.[5]

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1. The Civil War, Pritchard, 73.

2. Poems, 22.

3. See also Waller's To the King, Upon His Majesty's Happy Return, ll.109-120, Thorn-Drury, II.39.

4. See above, 68.

5. Prior, for example, has two lengthy and grandiose imitations of C.III.ii and IV.iv, Wright and Spears, I.112, 230. See Appendix C and D. Foxon, English Verse 1701-1750 A Catalogue of separately printed poems (1975), I.356-7 (note the entries under C.IV.v).

CHAPTER VIII

Andrew Marvell

Recognition has been given to Horatian qualities in Marvell's poetry,[1] and one hesitates to add to the bulk of exegesis on him. Nevertheless, a picture of Horatianism in the seventeenth century would be incomplete without some attention paid to Marvell. He does not, like Ben Jonson, use Horace to define his poetic programme, and he only proclaims himself an imitator of Horace in two poems, the youthful Ad Regem Carolum Parodia and An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland, but he is in some ways the most Horatian of the seventeenth-century poets, although of course his voice is sui generis.

The adjective 'Horatian' is ambiguous, because there are so many aspects of Horace which poets can imitate. Nor does imitation of some Horatian topics make a poet fundamentally very like Horace. Conversely, though he does not make very great use of specific Horatian detail, Marvell is akin to Horace in spirit.

The large differences from Horace are obvious. Marvell was not a professional poet like Horace (or Jonson). Most of his lyric poems were probably written together in a short period of his life, and his panegyrics of Cromwell and his satires took only occasional moments during his public life. His corpus is a small one, and we do not feel that he took his art as seriously as Horace and developed his gifts so fully - although there is careful art in all his poems. Many of his themes owe nothing to Horace: the three stanzas on the pursuits of body, mind and soul in The Garden, which are omitted from the more conventional and classical treatment of

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1. See esp. Leishman (b), 22-5 and passim. On the debt of An Horatian Ode to Horace, see esp. Wilson, Syfret, Coolidge. On the debt of Hortus and The Garden, see Potter.

retirement in Hortus, have no parallels in Horace or any classical poet.[1] Although there is some similarity in their combinations of prose and lyrical words,[2] Marvell's style is not like Horace's, but seventeenth-century, with its elaborate conceits and numerous puns.[3] The pleasure he takes in conceited natural description, as in the flower passage in Upon Appleton House, and the elements of fancy and grotesquerie in his poetic imagination, see the famous salmon-fishers' passage, are remote from Horace and characteristic of his period.[4] The light grace of his handling of the octosyllabic couplet bears no relation to the elaborate and weighty language of the Odes. The structures of his lyric poetry are arguments in the manner of Donne not of Horace: logic and mock-logic are common elements of his poetry. His wit is less quiet and more exuberant, issuing in absurd logic,

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1. On the relationship of the Latin and English poems, see Williamson; C.E. Bain, 'The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell', Phil.Q. xxxviii (1959), 438-443; W.A. McQueen, 'The Missing Stanzas in Marvell's Hortus', Phil.Q. xliv (1965), 173-9. More interesting than the question of precedence, which is not determinable, are the differences between Latin and English versions: desunt multa must, I think, be an editorial guess. Compare the Latin version of Cowley's 'Hail, old Patrician Trees', which omits the most audaciously witty stanza, no. 7, with the anti-feminist joke. Hortus is treated as a Horatian-Epicurean poem by Potter. It is true that the retirement theme is treated more classically than in The Garden, with a more explicit rejection of life in the city and ambition (see lines 8-9) and the second reworking of the Horatian 'let others' topic (lines 16-19). But umbra and otium are words which are not restricted to Horace, and the topic of the rejection of the love of women for the love of trees is not Horatian, but Marvellian and modern, nor are the metre (hexameters), nor the style.

2. See above, 88-9.

3. See Legouis, 65-77. We may note too that his Latin style is not like Horace: diffuse, repetitive, antithetical, witty and conceited, if it is like any Latin poet, it is more like Ovid. But Marvell's Latin is really seventeenth-century, see Legouis, 25; McQueen and Rockwell, 3-5. It is interesting to note that Hortus is more diffuse than The Garden, though less abstract. There is one possible reminiscence of Horace: brevibus plantis in line 50 may recall breve lilium, C.I.xxxvi.16, or brevis flores...rosae, C.II.iii.13-14. But otherwise the style is not Horatian: note the witty idiom of the second 'let others' topic in lines 16-19.

4. For 'Clevelandism' in Marvell, see Leishman (d), 221-50.

hyperboles, ingenious and fantastic comparisons and puns, for example the 'Half-anders' of The Character of Holland.

Nevertheless, there is a basic similarity, I think, between Marvell and Horace in their approach to poetry and in their poetic temperaments. Marvell is not the same kind of poet as Jonson, or as Horace as Jonson saw him. He is not the Renaissance humanist moral poet: he has not Jonson's massive and consistent vision of life.[1] Contrast his Upon Appleton House with To Penshurst. The latter is a serious interpretation of Epode II and C.II.xviii, with its characteristic Jonsonian distinctions between real and apparent greatness, being and seeming.[2] In the opening section of Upon Appleton House, Marvell shows that he understands the genre, making the Jonsonian distinctions between use and show, in his praise of the humility of the house and its owner compared with other grander houses, but even this section gives far more of an impression of play and burlesque. The whole poem is very detached: the focus is the poet's mind as it ranges over the house and gardens, registering witty impressions.[3] Marvell understood the Jonsonian-Horatian pose,[4] 'Sworn Enemy to all that do pretend', as can be seen from Tom May's Death, where he parodies it in Jonson's indignant speech to Tom May in the Underworld:

> When the Sword glitters ore the Judges head,
> And fear has Coward Churchmen silenced,
> Then is the Poets time, 'tis then he drawes,
> And single fights forsaken Vertues cause.
> He, when the wheel of Empire, whirleth back,

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1. See above, 147f.

2. See above, 148-9.

3. See Rivers, 105-8.

4. Marvell could also imitate the Horace Donne adapted from Serm.I.ix in his first and fourth satires. Marvell's Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome imitates the rough arrogant abrupt tone and the run-on complets, in yet another version of the encounter with the bore.

> And though the World's disjointed Axel crack,
> Sings still of ancient Rights and better Times,
> Seeks wretched good, arraigns successful Crimes,
> But thou base man first prostituted hast
> Our spotless knowledge and the studies chast.[1]

Here, Marvell is surely recalling Jonson's adaptation in Poetaster of Horace's portrait of the good man in C.III.iii as the good poet:[2] his own lines recall Horace's line si fractus inlabatur orbis, 'And though the World's disjointed Axel crack'. He capture very well Jonson's characteristic Horatian pose: his proud claim of poetic integrity, his indignant scorn at poetasters and profaners of the poetic art who write for profit not truth, 'Most servil' wit, and Mercenary Pen'.[3] Marvell captures, too, something of Jonson's style, its plain forthrightness and concrete imagery, its public manner and uncompromising 'severe' tones. In Marvell's poem, Jonson's laurel wand rules over all the poets in Hades, including Horace - 'And Horace patiently its stroke does take'. But this is not Marvell's characteristic stance. Like Horace,[4] he admired the ability to change: his Cromwell is not the Stoic man of C.III.iii, unchangeable, but is heroic through Machiavellian powers of adaptability.[5] Marvell's use of C.II.x to praise Cromwell's opportunism in The First Anniversary gives a different slant from earlier imitations of Horace's lines on the mean.[6] Jonson's ghost is perhaps meant to be seen as a rather old-fashioned figure.

Both Marvell and Horace tend to a relaxed inclusiveness of attitude:

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1. Margoliouth, I.96.
2. See above, 129-30.
3. See for example, To Katherine, Lady Aubigny, ll.1-20, and above, 124-140, passim.
4. See above, 220-1.
5. See An Horatian Ode, ll.1-44; The First Anniversary of the Government under O.C. ll.131-52, 229-38, 265-78.
6. See below, 295. Thus, Marvell anticipates the Restoration view which saw Horace as advocating time-serving, see below, 361-2.

variety of theme and tone is a hallmark of their poetry. They are less committed to a single view of life than Jonson: their poems proclaim inconsistent attitudes.[1] Like Horace, Marvell responds to private and public issues: he celebrates the life of retirement and the life of action, just as in one poem he will celebrate the artifice of gardens and in another praise the 'sweet Fields'.

To my mind, many modern critics have gone astray in their reaction to this phenomenon. It is wrong, I think, to try to force consistency on Marvell's poems, although many have tried to do so.[2] There is a risk of distorting poems in order to fit a thesis.[3] A modern critical habit is to read Marvell's poems as though they were debates about his difficulties, in which he comes down for retirement or for action, soul or body. But neither Marvell's nor Horace's poems are simply an expression of personal views: nor do we value them purely on such terms. We should not worry about consistency, nor seek to provide the kind of explanation which Coolidge provides for Horace, arguing that the political odes and the private odes are meant to complement one another:

> Each attitude has its place in the complete life of humanity, and neither is rightly understood without recalling the other. This idea of the interrelation of successive motives in life can be seen as Horace's <u>apologia pro vita sua</u> and, in fact, the unifying principle of the books of Odes.[4]

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1. I am speaking here of Marvell's lyric poetry not of the late satires, in which he takes a more consistent stand: his political satire is not in the tradition of Horatian satire.

2. See E.W. Tayler, <u>Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature</u> (1964), 142-68, and J.H. Summers, 'Marvell's "Nature"', <u>E.L.H.</u> xx (1953), 121-135, both reprinted in <u>Marvell</u>, ed. N. Wilding (1969), and G.de F. Lord, 'From Contemplation to Action: Marvell's Poetical Career', <u>Phil.Q.</u> xlvi (1967), 207-224. I prefer the approach of Leishman (d) and Kermode.

3. Especially with <u>To his Coy Mistress</u>, see the Summers' article and Martz, 167-9.

4. 117.

But Horace's motive for writing poetry wasn't apologetic or confessional, nor was Marvell's. It is similarly anachronistic to see Marvell as a seventeenth-century Yeats, brooding on the innumerable choices open to man to express his spirit. Marvell may bring seventeenth-century dilemmas into his poetry, but his aim is not primarily self-expression.

Like Horace, Marvell's method was to take a traditional theme and see what could be made of it. Thus, in To his Coy Mistress, he takes the seduction theme of e.g. Carew's To A.L. Perswasions to love[1] and explores its emotional potential in three paragraphs of sharply contrasted tones. It is a great poem on its own terms without our having to relate it to the themes of other poems. The combination of art and life in To his Coy Mistress or the Damon poems is similar to that of such poems as C.I.v, C.I.ix or C.III.ix. In all, the approach to experience is through literature: and there is a similar elegance, which distances the subject, and a perfect control and clarity of expression. The poetic approach is to formalise and fix life in its fragility, however slight the subject, through art, and this is what moves us.[2]

The lack of commitment to theme results in a certain detachment of tone, often issuing in irony, self-mockery and humour of various sorts, and in a varying of tone within a single poem from the serious to the playful.[3] It was in response to this variation of tone in Marvell's poetry that T.S. Eliot made his famous, but much abused, definition of wit:

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1. Not that of the Horatian carpe diem, see above, 249f.

2. In this literary approach, Marvell is like Herrick, but his greater tonal range and strength make him closer to Horace than Herrick is. A. Alvarez, The School of Donne (1961), chapter 5, has written on the literariness of Marvell's poetry. His description is accurate but unsympathetic: he dislikes the control and feels that it extinguishes life. Similar attacks, essentially Romantic, are often made against Horace.

3. See Leishman (b), 23-33, 90-3.

> a recognition, implicit in the expression of every experience, of other kinds of experience which are possible.[1]

This helps to define the complex tone of both Marvell's and Horace's poetry. They seldom luxuriate in one mood, and the heroic or rapturous are often undercut. But it is not at all the same thing as to say that they veil their uncertainties in ironies and ambiguities. Modern critics like to stress the tensions beneath the elegant surfaces of their poetry and to describe their irony as defensive.[2] To my mind, both Horace and Marvell attain a genuine urbanity and a poise which is not tense and collapsing, but relaxed and delightful. 'Delight' is a word to be employed about their poetry: they seem to feel delight in creation and we experience delight in reading.

Thus, humour is a major ingredient in both Horace's and Marvell's poetry. Both have a wide range of different types of humour, from the obvious jocularity of Fleckno or Tom May's Death or some of the satires of Book I to the more subtle. Though there are differences, there are overlaps. Both poets enjoy mock heroic,[3] which is a sophisticated form of humour, in its blending of high and low: it is dependent on literary sense and on control. There is a similar kind of humour, too, in the blandly-asserted absurdities of C.I.xxii and stanza 1 of The Garden, or in the elegant mockery of C.I.xvi and stanza 8 of The Garden. Similar, also, are Horace's absurd picture of himself in C.II.xx turning into a swan and Marvell's picture of himself in the wood at Appleton House almost turning into a bird or a tree

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1. Selected Essays (3rd ed. 1951), 303.

2. For example, see Commager, 99-159, 291-306, on Horace; Hartz, 151-190, on Marvell.

3. See, for example, the fable of the town and country mouse in Hor.II.vi, and Upon Appleton House, where Marvell matches up everything in the 'lesser world' of the house and garden with great events in the greater world, in a manner akin to mock-heroic.

(here, Marvell is casting himself in Horace's favourite role of complacent philosopher):[1]

> Thus I, easie Philosopher,
> Among the Birds and Trees confer:
> And little now to make me, wants
> Or of the Fowles, or of the Plants.
> Give me but Wings as they, and I
> Streight floting on the Air shall fly:
> Or turn me but, and you shall see
> I was but an inverted Tree.
> Already I begin to call
> In their most learned Original....[2]

In these mock raptures, there is the same ability to see the grotesque in the self. All these examples of Horace's and Marvell's humour are essentially good-humoured, which is, as a rule, characteristic.[3] And there is a similar blend of seriousness in the humour. Thus, in C.I.xxii, the preposterous claims of lovers are enjoyed while they are mocked, or, in C.II.xvi, Horace's habitual self-mockery is mingled with an awareness of personal achievement. Similar blends of tones are found in many of Marvell's poems, for example The Picture of little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers or The Garden. The special appeal of the latter poem lies in its blend of serious and light tones, which do not vitiate each other, and in the superb control with which Marvell modulates from one to the other. The blend is similar to that of such poems as C.I.xxii or C.II.xvi,[4] but Marvell goes further in tonal contrast, on the light side with puns, outrageous mock logic and the anti-feminist joke of stanza 8, and on the serious side, in the middle stanzas, with the descriptions of imaginative repose and ecstasy, though there is playfulness here too.

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1. See above, 147.
2. Margoliouth, I.80.
3. The humour of the later satires, especially The last Instructions to a Painter, is of a more acid kind.
4. Potter notes, 150, that the blend of tones in The Garden is more complex and Horatian than in the simpler Hortus.

Marvell and Horace share a realism of attitude and a sense of human limitation. Like Horace and Jonson,[1] Marvell uses nature as a standard for criticising human achievements in The Mower against Gardens, although this is perhaps not meant to be taken very seriously. The awareness of limitation leads to the dry insistence on death as an end to human desire in To his Coy Mistress, which is close to Horace's constant reminders of death as an end of human hopes in its austerity.[2] Even more similar to Horace is the quiet reminder of mortality in The picture of little T.C. in a Prospect of Flowers. In The Garden, the passage describing the ecstasy of the soul is followed by a gaily-stated reminder of human imperfection and the Fall, which brings the poem back to earth.[3] This realism extends to Marvell's treatment of politics, both in An Horatian Ode, with its stress on the force of circumstances, and in the harsh The last Instructions, where the heroic canvas of Waller's Instructions to a Painter is measured up against the realities of the political scene in a brilliant exposé of incompetence and villainy.

Marvell, I have argued, is like Horace in the way in which literary ideas form the starting point for his poems. Like Horace, he is a brilliant manipulator of topoi. Before turning to An Horatian Ode, which is his most sustained recasting of ideas from Horace, I want to look at his handling of several Horatian topics. A striking example is his deployment of the

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1. See above, 165-6.

2. Contrast Herrick's poems in the vein of the Greek Anthology, see above, 169. But there is a more Donnian defiance of natural processes in Marvell's poem than in Herrick's or Horace's, see above, 248, note 5. I do not want to suggest that Horace and Marvell are identical in attitude and tone. The hints of the tragic in the treatment of love in the Damon poems are different from Horace's mockery of love, and the moments of transcendence in The Garden and the last paragraph of To his Coy Mistress are remote from Horace, who only envisages transcendence, more conventionally, through art.

3. See J. Bennett, Five Metaphysical Poets (1964), 119-120.

boat motif of the first stanza of C.II.x, which was commonly imitated in a more straightforward way.[1] Marvell uses Horace's definition of the mean to praise Cromwell's opportunism in a vivid passage in The First Anniversary:

> So have I seen at Sea, when whirling Winds,
> Hurry the Bark, but more the Seamens minds,
> Who with mistaken Course salute the Sand,
> And threat'ning Rocks misapprehend for Land;
> While baleful Tritons to the shipwrack guide.
> And Corposants along the Tacklings slide.
> The Passengers all wearyed out before,
> Giddy, and wishing for the fatal Shore;
> Some lusty Mate, who with more careful Eye
> Counted the Hours, and ev'ry Star did spy,
> The Helm does from the artless Steerman strain,
> And doubles back unto the safer Main.[2]

J.M. Wallace has shown[3] how the figure of the 'lusty Mate' is drawn from a popular contemporary political analogy, justifying revolutionary measures in, to mix metaphors, a diseased state. But the setting so concretely evoked here comes straight from Horace's poem. (In Wallace's analogues the situation is vaguer and more obvious: the pilot and crew are drunk or asleep and the ship is near the rocks). Horace's advice to Licinius is:

> Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
> semper urgendo neque, dum procellas
> cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
> litus iniquum.[4]

In Marvell's poem, the crew are ignoring the latter part of the advice, while Cromwell seizes the right moment to press into the deep.

Another example, equally striking, is the first stanza of The Garden, where Marvell gracefully and wittily adapts the Horatian motif of the rejection of the pursuits of other men:[5]

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1. See above, 225-6.
2. Margoliouth, I.115.
3. J.M. Wallace, 'Marvell's 'lusty Mate' and the Ship of the Commonwealth', M.L.N. lxxvi (i) (1961), 106-10.
4. C.II.x.1-4.
5. See above, 231.

> How vainly men themselves amaze
> To win the Palm, the Oke, or Bayes;
> And their uncessant Labours see
> Crown'd from some single Herb or Tree.
> Whose short and narrow verged Shade
> Does prudently their Toyles upbraid;
> While all Flow'rs and all Trees do close
> To weave the Garlands of repose.[1]

In Marvell's hands, the simple topic has been transformed into a characteristic piece of absurd mock logic. The pursuits of the active life are here judged and rejected by means of their literal rewards: the garlands which are tokens of success[2] provide worse shade than the many trees and flowers

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1. Margoliouth, I.51.

2. If 'Bayes' here are to be understood as the reward for the poet, Marvell is introducing a further twist to the Horatian topic, rejecting poetry, which Horace had embraced in preference to other pursuits in C.I.i, where he claims the ivy crown: me doctarum hederae praemia frontium/dis miscent superis, 11.29-30. The other garlands are unambiguous: the 'Palm' is the reward for athletes (see C.I.i.5, palma nobilis, see N.-H, 6: athletes are the first category of men whom Horace rejects) and the 'Oke' is the civic crown, awarded to the man who saved the life of a fellow citizen in battle, see Coriolanus, I.iii.15. But 'Bayes' could stand for either military victory or for poetry. Horace sometimes refers to ivy as the poetic crown (e.g. C.I.i.29, see N.-H, 13), sometimes to bay (e.g. C.III. xxx.15-16). Bay is also the garland of the triumphant general (see C.II. i.15-16). Bay or laurel (the latter being an incorrect translation of laurus) often signify poetry in seventeenth-century poetry - see e.g. Lycidas, line 1, and the note in Carey and Fowler, 239; Cowley, On the Death of Mr. William Hervey, stanza 9, Poems, 34. Dryden is called 'Bays' in Buckingham's Rehearsal, and 'Town-Bays' in Marvel's On Mr. Milton's Paradise lost, 1.47, may also refer to Dryden. In Waller, bays or laurel are used both for poet and general, for poet in To his worthy Friend, Master Evelyn, 1.37, Thorn-Drury, II.22; To Mr. Creech, 1.18, II.90: for general in To my Lord of Falkland, 1.14, I.76; A Panegyric to my Lord Protector, 1.184, II.17; On a War with Spain, 1.102, 105, II.27; On St. James's Park, 1.119, II.44. Marvell himself uses laurel for naval victory in On the Victory obtained by Blake over the Spaniards, 1.118, Margoliouth, I.123. But in To his Noble Friend Mr. Richard Lovelace, upon his Poems, he uses 'Bayes' in a poetic context (1.8, Margoliouth, I.3) and the parallel with The Garden is made closer by a reference to 'the Civicke crowne', 1.12. To understand 'Bayes' as poetic victory gives the wittier sense and would be a characteristic Marvellian twist to a topos. But Potter, 140, assumes that Hortus and The Garden contain the traditional Horatian rejection of the active life for poetry, and he is supported by the address to Apollo and the Muses in Hortus, 1.16 (and perhaps by line 49) and by the fact that, in The Garden, Apollo and Pan prefer the laurel and reed, emblems of poetry, to sex.

available to man in the garden, which weave metaphorical 'Garlands of repose'.[1] Thus, Marvell absorbs very successfully this rather hackneyed classical theme into the 'modern' texture of his poem, in contrast, for example, to Mildmay Fane in To Retiredness, where the classical topic traditionally expressed,[2] with its obvious Roman colour, does not harmonise very well with the stanza celebrating religious meditation.[3]

The whole of The Garden could be viewed as a modernisation of the theme of Epode II, the praise of country life, introducing two new ideas, the superiority of solitude to company and the superiority of nature to women.[4] One could contrast its witty Metaphysical manner with Jonson's more soberly classical To Penshurst or To Sir Robert Wroth. Similarly, in Young Love and The Picture of little T.C., Marvell performs ingenious variations on the theme of C.II.v, the theme of too young for love.[5] Or, as P. Legouis notes,[6] The Mower against Gardens is a witty extension of the theme of C.II.xv, Horace's rather unconvincing attack on luxury in houses and gardens, into an attack on all gardens as perversions of nature, which Marvell has adorned with the grafting imagery drawn from Randolph's Upon Love fondly refus'd for Conscience sake.[7]

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1. Kermode; 232-3.

2. Quoted above, 231.

3. Hortus contains another variation of the 'let others' theme in lines 16-19, where Marvell gives a witty twist to Horace's rejection of armenta in C.I.xxxi.5-6: Me quoque, vos Musae, et, te conscie testor Apollo,/ Non Armenta juvant hominum, Circique boatus,/Mugitusve Fori; sed me Penetralia veris/Horroresque trahunt muti, et Consortia sola, Margoliouth, I.54.

4. Leishman (d), 296. Cowley's The Wish contains the poet's mistress, and his 'Hail, old Patrician Trees' was written after Marvell's poem.

5. Leishman (d), 165-88.

6. Margoliouth, I.261.

7. Leishman (d), 132-5, and F. Kermode, 'Two Notes on Marvell', N. & Q. cxcvii (1952), 136-7.

Like Horace, Marvell is a master of tactful panegyric, and he employs several panegyric devices from Horace in his prefatory poem for the second edition of Paradise Lost. A characteristic Horatian touch is the way he slights his own talent in order to heighten Milton's epic sublimity: Milton, who can dispense with rhyme through his sureness of sense, is contrasted with the fashionable herd of rhymsters who disguise their poverty of sense with rhyme, among whom Marvell includes himself, doing the same thing:

> I too transported by the Mode offend,
> And while I meant to Praise thee, must Commend.[1]

Rather as Horace elevates his style when praising Augustus' exploits,[2] Marvell raises his style when praising Milton's epic sublimity, though implicitly he casts himself as a lesser poet:

> That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign
> Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane.
> And things divine thou treatst of in such state
> As them preserves, and Thee inviolate.
> At once delight and horrour on us seize,
> Thou singst with so much gravity and ease;
> And above humane flight dost soar aloft,
> With Plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.
> The Bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing,
> So never Flags, but alwaies keeps on Wing.[3]

It should be noted, too, that the opening lines contain another panegyric device. The poem praises Milton's sublimity, and the doubts with which it opens are not genuine doubts but are foil, to heighten the greatness of Milton's achievement.[4]

It is worth pointing out here that the panegyrics of Horace and Marvell are often misread. Modern critics, not understanding the conventions of

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1. Margoliouth, I.139.

2. E.g. Serm.II.i.13-15; Epistles II.i.250-6.

3. Margoliouth, I.138.

4. They do not imply the reservations and dubieties which E. Miner, The Metaphysical Mode from Donne to Cowley (Princeton, 1969), 206-6, sees in the poem.

panegyric and mistaking the tone of address, exaggerate the paraenetic element in Marvell and Horace. Thus, Horace is often understood to be urging his addressees to do something, when in fact he is praising them for doing it: this is especially the case with his odes to Augustus.[1] Similarly, in The First Anniversary, Marvell is certainly praising Cromwell, in a series of astute compliments, rather than offering him advice on whether to take the crown.[2] Again, Upon Appleton House is often read as an attempt to persuade Fairfax to return to public affairs.[3] This is surely wrong. The poem is a skilful encomium of Fairfax and his daughter Mary. There is both humorous and serious praise, as A. Alvarez notes.[4] The playful hyperboles of the section on the house are a compliment to Fairfax's good sense and modesty, and those of the final section on Maria are appropriate for an address to a pupil. The section on the garden[5] is a serious tribute both to Fairfax's military prowess and to his moral greatness in abandoning glory in his retirement:[6] there is no implication that he is misusing his abilities. Like some of Horace's odes, Marvell's praise is here addressed to people with whom he was intimate and who could be relied on to understand his tone of address, with its mixture of serious and playful.[7] This is ad hominem

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1. See Hubbard (a), 20-1; N.-H, xviii.

2. Pace J.M. Wallace, 'Andrew Marvell and Cromwell's Kingship: "The First Anniversary"', E.L.H. xxx (1963), 209-235.

3. E.g. M.J.K. O'Loughlin, 'This Sober Frame: A Reading of Upon Appleton House', in Andrew Marvell, ed. G.de F. Lord (New Jersey, 1968), and Lord, article cit.

4. Op.cit., 111-3.

5. See esp. stanzas xliv-xlv, Margoliouth I.73.

6. See also Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow, esp. stanzas ix and x, Margoliouth I.62.

7. See Leishman (b), 21-3 and passim.

poetry, like Horace's:[1] Alvarez also makes the attractive suggestion that the elements of sophisticated fancy, for example the flower passage and the grasshopper passage, were aimed at entertaining Marvell's young pupil.

An Horatian Ode, along with the closer imitation of certain Horatian features, shows the same originality and individuality observable in other poems: the Horatian mode is recast into a Marvellian one.

Why did Marvell call his poem a 'Horatian Ode'? Like R. Syfret,[2] I think this is an important question, which should determine our approach to the poem. First, the title, An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland, establishes the genre of the poem as the Roman genre of the poem celebrating a triumph, the homecoming of a victorious general from foreign conquest, like C.I.xxxvii, C.III.xiv, C.IV.ii or C.IV.v, which prays for Augustus' return. This is an important point to which I shall return later.

Marvell certainly had C.I.xxxvii in mind, the poem which celebrates Augustus' final conquest of Egypt and Cleopatra's suicide. His opening two stanzas contain a clear reminiscence of the first stanza of Horace's ode, with its prescription for the moment:

> Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
> pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
> ornare pulvinar deorum
> tempus erat dapibus, sodales.[3]

> The forward Youth that would appear
> Must now forsake his Muses dear,
> Nor in the Shadows sing
> His Numbers languishing.
> 'Tis time to leave the Books in dust,
> And oyl th'unused Armours rust:
> Removing from the Wall
> The Corslet of the Hall.[4]

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1. See above, 99. For intimate address, modelled on Horace's Epistles, see also A Letter to Doctor Ingelo: lines 1-10 recall e.g. Epistles I.iii. 1-21; iv.1-5; xi.1-6.

2. 169.

3. C.I.xxxvii.1-4 (my italics).

4. Margoliouth, I.91 (my italics).

Following Horace's ode, Marvell's poem immediately switches back into the past, to look at the past conflict which has formed the present moment:

> antehac nefas depromere Caecubum
> cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
> regina....[1]
>
> So restless Cromwel could not cease....[2]

The hunting imagery of Marvell's poem - Charles I as hunted animal, Cromwell as falcon, the English soldiers as hunters of the Scots - is derived from Horace's similes for Augustus and Cleopatra of hawk and dove and hunter and hare.[3] The portrait of Charles I at the scaffold owes something to Horace's vignette of Cleopatra's suicide: like her, he is non humilis, 'He nothing common did or mean'.

Apart from the genre and these specific ideas from C.I.xxxvii, Marvell imitates certain general features of Horace's style in the Cleopatra ode and others, which justify the adjective 'Horatian'. The stanza is meant, I think, to recall the Alcaics of C.I.xxxvii.[4] It is the same stanza as that devised by Fanshawe for imitating Alcaics and the Asclepiads of the pattern in C.I.xiv. We cannot tell if Marvell hit on it independently or whether he had seen a manuscript with some of Fanshawe's translations.[5] It is not a perfect representation of Alcaics: falling into two distinct couplets, it does not convey the complex and subtle movement of Horace's stanza, with the slow third line released by the dactyls of the fourth.[6] (It is perhaps

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1. C.I.xxxvii.5-7.
2. Margoliouth, I.91. Marvell has gone back from 1650 to 1642, see Wilson, 326, note 1.
3. See also C.IV.iv.1-16, 50.
4. Pace Legouis, 87.
5. See above, 61, note 3, and Simeone.
6. Described by Wilkinson, 152.

more suitable as a representation of the simpler Asclepiads of C.I.xiv where the third and fourth lines are metrically akin). But what Marvell is aiming at conveying is the weight and the excited forward movement of the Alcaics of C.I.xxxvii: he wants both the sense of energy and enthusiasm and the sense of control and assurance of Horace's handling of the metre, and he wants the impact of the first stanza, with its emphatic rhythms:

> Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
> pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
> ornare pulvinar deorum
> tempus erat dapibus, sodales.[1]

Marvell's choice of metre is certainly an important part of the poem's effect. It helps him also to achieve the brevity which is another Horatian feature of style that he is imitating. The ideas and images are succinctly expressed, and Marvell moves on quickly from point to point, without elaborate connection, in the manner of Horace's Odes. Another related Horatian feature is the concreteness of many of the images.[2] Consider the opening stanzas again:

> The forward Youth that would appear
> Must now forsake his Muses dear,
> Nor in the Shadows sing
> His Numbers languishing.
> 'Tis time to leave the Books in dust,
> And oyl th'unused Armours rust:
> Removing from the Wall
> The Corslet of the Hall.[3]

Here, the abstract idea of 'it is time for war' is expressed in vivid concrete details of what men have to do at such a time, just as in the Cleopatra ode the abstract idea of 'victory' is expressed by the details of what men do to celebrate. In fact, the details of Marvell's stanzas, the changing of books for armour, seem to have been inspired by a passage in C.I.xxix:

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1. C.I.xxxvii.1-4.

2. See above, 85.

3. Margoliouth, I.91.

cum tu coemptos undique nobilis
libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum
mutare loricis Hiberis,
pollicitus meliora, tendis?[1]

Both brevity and concreteness combine tellingly in the moving vignette of Charles I at the scaffold, which takes up only three stanzas:

That thence the Royal Actor born
The Tragick Scaffold might adorn:
While round the armed Bands
Did clap their bloody hands.
He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable Scene:
But with his keener Eye
The Axes edge did try:
Nor call'd the Gods with vulgar spight
To vindicate his helpless Right,
But bow'd his comely Head,
Down as upon a Bed.[2]

Other Horatian features of style which aim at similar expressive impact are the questions and exclamations:

What Field of all the Civil Wars,
Where his were not the deepest Scars?
What may not then our Isle presume
While Victory his Crest does plume!
What may not others fear
If thus he crown each Year![3]

Marvell is aiming to reproduce from the style of the Odes not the elaborate art and word-patterning but the clear force of language, the precision of vocabulary and the economy of effect.

Along with these Horatian stylistic features go certain more 'modern' ones. Though the images are kept brief in the Horatian manner, many are typical Metaphysical conceits, more witty, abstract and logical than Horace's imagery[4] - for example, the scientific imagery of vacuum and penetration

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1. C.I.xxix.13-16. See also Lucan I.239-43 for the taking down of armour. Another Horatian feature are the personified abstractions of lines 37-8, see C.I.xxxv.17-24; IV.v.18-24; Carmen Saeculare, 57-60.

2. Margoliouth, I.92-3. For a comparison with the Regulus ode, see above, 89.

3. Margoliouth, I.92, 94. See above, 158, note 2.

4. See above, 85-6.

(11.41-2) or the conceit of the emergent Cromwell as the lightning bursting through the clouds (11.13-24), with the pun on 'side' and the witticism about the laurels, traditionally held to be proof against lightning.[1] Marvell is trying to combine the concrete economical vigour of Horace's images with the intellectual abstract power of the Metaphysical conceit. He succeeds very well in the image of the falcon, inspired by Horace:

> He to the Commons Feet presents
> A Kingdome, for his first years rents:
> And, what he may, forbears
> His Fame to make it theirs:
> And has his Sword and Spoyls ungirt,
> To lay them at the Publick's skirt.
> So when the Falcon high
> Falls heavy from the Sky,
> She, having kill'd, no more does search,
> But on the next green Bow to pearch;
> Where, when he first does lure,
> The Falckner has her sure.[2]

This simile expresses a more complex idea than Horace's comparison of Augustus to a hawk: Cromwell has not only the force and power of the hawk but he is tamed and has the discipline of training. It is a vehicle for Marvell's conception of Cromwell as both supreme leader and servant of the people, as irrepressible force and disciplined virtue: 'How fit he is to sway/ that can so well obey'.[3] It has the lucid elegance of Horace with an added analytic power.

This is, I think, Marvell's general procedure in his handling of Horace. He retains the clean vigour of the Horatian ode, while infusing some of the intellectual and argumentative power of the Metaphysical lyric. Thus, he imitates the abrupt transitions of Horace's odes - 'What Field?',

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1. The theatrical metaphor of 11.53-6 and the punning conceit about the Pict (11.105-8) are also examples of modern wit: Marvell's poem is not pure Horatian pastiche.

2. Margoliouth, I.93-4.

3. On this simile, see further Nevo, 108; Rivers, 109; Coolidge, 118.

'And now', 'But thou' - but there are more signs of connection and continuous argument - 'so', 'though', 'for'. Marvell has also increased the intellectual complexity of his poem by broadening the time scheme of C.I.xxxvii. Horace's ode passes from present to past, which allows for a certain variety of tones: triumph for the present victory, fear of Cleopatra while she remained a threat to Rome, admiration for her at her death when she is no longer a threat. Other political odes, for example C.I.ii or C.I.xxxv, move between gloom and fear for the past and Civil War to hope for the future and foreign conquest. Marvell includes present, past and future in his wide vision of events, switching from exciting present, to doubtful past, to brilliant future. This allows him to present a complex attitude to Cromwell. His past career is treated impartially: he is neither condemned, like Lucan's Caesar,[1] nor lauded, but he is treated as a kind of interesting phenomenon. In the past, too, is Charles' tragic death. But with the switch to the present:

> And now the Irish are asham'd
> To see themselves in one Year tam'd,[2]

and the prophecy of future conquest:

> What may not then our Isle presume
> While Victory his Crest does plume![3]

the tone becomes much more obviously that of panegyric, enthusiastic and optimistic. I return to the point I made earlier that the poem is a triumph poem and the focus is on Cromwell's foreign conquest. We shouldn't exaggerate the part played by Charles I in the poem. In one way this

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1. Syfret's view of the classical parallels - that the echoes from Lucan express Marvell's fears about Cromwell, while the echoes from Horace express his hopes, in the contrast between Julius Caesar and Augustus - is attractive, but she overemphasises the fears.

2. Margoliouth, I.93.

3. Ibid. I.94.

exactly parallels the tribute to Cleopatra: the personal qualities of the defeated king are praised but not his political capability. We tend to see the poem as a treatment of the Civil War, but we should give full weight to the, perhaps less sympathetic to us, triumphant visions of foreign conquest:

> What may not then our Isle presume
> While Victory his Crest does plume?
> What may not others fear
> If thus he crown each Year:
> A Caesar he ere long to Gaul,
> To Italy an Hannibal,
> And to all States not free
> Shall Clymacterick be.
> The Pict no shelter now shall find
> Within his party-colour'd Mind;
> But from this Valour sad
> Shrink underneath the Plad:
> Happy if in the tufted brake
> The English Hunter him mistake;
> Nor lay his Hounds in near
> The Caledonian Deer.[1]

Cromwell's present success and future glory balance his more doubtful past:[2] the optimism of these stanzas is an important strand in a poem of various colours.[3] This part of the poem is like the later political odes of Book IV, for example C.IV.v, xiv and xv, where Horace, now praising an established ruler, adopts a more adulatory, even sentimental tone.[4] Marvell's prophecies

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1. Ibid. I.94.

2. In The First Anniversary, Marvell develops further the idea of Cromwell's destructive and creative roles. In the ode, the 'bleeding Head' of Charles is seen as a good augury for the founding of the new state: in the later poem, Cromwell becomes, in the last words, 'the Angel of our Commonweal', who, 'troubling the Waters, yearly mak'st them Heal', Margoliouth, I.119.

3. It is quite impossible, I think, to take the concluding part of the poem as an ironic exposé of Cromwell: the idea that the Irish tribute is meant to be taken ironically seems to me untenable. We may not like to think of Marvell as an imperialist and admirer of slaughter, and, today perhaps, we can hardly read the lines unironically, but they are no more absurd than the notion in On the Victory obtained by Blake over the Spaniards that the only blessing the Isle of Teneriffe lacks is to have Cromwell for its king (lines 39-44, Margoliouth, I.120) or than the tribute of the foreign kings in The First Anniversary (lines 349-94), Margoliouth, I.117-8).

4. Compare the brief, objective-sounding reference to Augustus in C.I.xxxvii. 14-21 with the sentimental opening of C.IV.v.1-16. On the change in Horace's political odes, see Commager, 226-234.

of foreign conquest and submission recall Horace's picture of Augustus' power:

> te Cantaber non ante domabilis
> Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
> miratur, o tutela praesens
> Italiae dominaeque Romae.
>
> te fontium qui celat origines
> Nilusque et Hister, te rapidus Tigris,
> te beluosus qui remotis
> obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
>
> te non paventis funera Galliae
> duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae,
> te caede gaudentes Sygambri
> compositis venerantur armis.[1]

Marvell has, as it were, combined the darker tones of the earlier political poems, with their elements of regret and fear, with the optimistic tones of the later odes, also adding the tragic sense of history which we find memorably in C.II.i, the Pollio ode.[2]

Marvell, I think, chose Horace as his model because, compared with the raptureus and excessive style of seventeenth-century panegyric,[3] his panegyrics of Augustus allowed for some intelligence in their approach to the subject of praise. Horace's treatment of his material in the Cleopatra ode is 'realistic and political',[4] not romantic and marvellous. C.I.xxxvii provided a model for a relatively cool and detached tone: Marvell imitates the dryness of the hunting similes in, for example, his lightning and falcon similes. It also provided a certain complexity of attitude: while victory is celebrated, a tribute to Cleopatra's noble death ends the poem. Classical scholars argue about whether this tribute is genuine or whether it is simply propaganda for Augustus, to make his conquest more glorious by providing him

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1. C.IV.xiv.41-52. See also C.IV.v.25-8; xv.21-24; III.iii.42-56.
2. See G.R. Hibbard, 'The Early Seventeenth Century and the Tragic View of Life', Renaissance and Modern Studies V (1961), 5-28.
3. For an account of Caroline and Cromwellian panegyric, see Nevo.
4. N.-H, 408. See also 410.

with a noble enemy, and possibly even to cover over the fact that he encouraged her suicide.[1] Horace's tribute, I am inclined to think, is a genuine and moving one: Marvell, at any rate, was impressed by it.[2] But Marvell's poem is a more serious and reflective account of the Civil War and the political situation in the summer of 1650 than Horace's ode is of Augustus' victory in the East. Horace distorts the historical events, obfuscating the fact that the war was part of the Civil War, fought against Antony and Romans, not a foreign war.[3] He portrays Cleopatra as an Egyptian barbarian incapable through depravity, not, as she in fact was, a Greek and an intelligent woman.[4] Marvell, we feel, gives a more accurate and impartial account of the conflicts of his time: the contrast between the disciplined, successful Cromwell and the graceful and noble, defeated king seems to sum up a whole ideological conflict.[5] An Horatian Ode also contains more strands than Horace's political poems: Marvell celebrates Cromwell's retirement,

> Who, from his private Gardens, where
> He liv'd reserved and austere,
> As if his highest plot
> To plant the Bergamot,[6]

bringing in the ethos of retirement, which Horace keeps out of sight in his political odes.[7] Horace does not always retain that poise of mind and irony

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1. N.-H, 407-11. For a different view, see Wilkinson, 45; Commager, 88-97.

2. But Coolidge's views of the parallels which Marvell wished to draw between his own change of political views and Horace's are far-fetched: Marvell, after all, had not read Steele Commager!

3. N.-H, 409.

4. Newman, 32.

5. See Nevo, 106. Cowley's The Civil War is much more partisan.

6. Margoliouth, I.92.

7. But the tribute to retirement should not be exaggerated: Cromwell is being praised for giving it up. See also the opening stanzas, where poetry and books are slighted in favour of war: the element of regret here can be over-stressed.

which we value in him in his political poems:[1] in An Horatian Ode, Marvell retains his realism.[2]

But there is some similarity in the methods of the two poets with history. They both distort historical events in order to present a coherent picture to the imagination. Horace compresses the historical events, making Cleopatra's suicide follow close on the battle of Actium, to heighten his portrayal of Cleopatra. Marvell similarly distorts history in his portrait of Cromwell, exaggerating the number of wounds he had received in battle and playing up his political cunning with the fictitious story of the trapping of Charles, in order to make him conform to the 'ideal' Machiavellian statesman.[3] The tendency is towards myth rather than history.

The latter point has been made by A.J.N. Wilson. He argues that the poem should not be taken as a political declaration but as a piece of imaginative exploration, an attempt to view Cromwell in a Roman setting and to give modern events a color Romanus.[4] I think this is substantially the right approach. We cannot use the poem as a statement of Marvell's views at this time. Arguments about what stage of his political development it represents tend to be circular. It is an interesting question how he came to write the poem to Lovelace, An Horatian Ode, Tom May's Death and The First Anniversary in succession and how they relate to his own changing views, but it seems to me insoluble on the data we have. Although he agrees

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1. But see C.II.i, where he combines historical realism, a sense of tragedy and the 'lighter plectrum'.

2. The Irish tribute excepted.

3. See Wilson, 331, 332, 333-4, 339-40.

4. Wilson is especially good on the color Romanus, which includes the attitude taken to otium; the relation between Cromwell and Fate; Cromwell as et proelio strenuus et consilio bonus; the Scots being seen as barbarians like the Scythians; the 'imperialistic vaticinations' drawn from Horace's political odes; the ghosts of the conclusion. He thinks the ode is 'not so much Horatian as boldly Roman', but here I disagree.

that there is no irony in the panegyric, Wilson thinks that we cannot drawn the inference from the ode that Marvell was committed to Cromwell. It is certainly true, I think, that the fact that there is no account of religious issues and that the idea of Fate in the poem is pagan does not allow us to make inferences about Marvell's view of the conflict at this time: it is more likely to be caused by the Roman setting. We cannot say with J. Mazzeo, on the strength of An Horatian Ode and The First Anniversary alone, that Marvell progressed from a Machiavellian secular view of Cromwell to a religious and Messianic one.[1] The celebrated impartiality of the ode, also, does not necessarily reflect Marvell's attitudes (although it may): it could be due to his attempt to reproduce the impersonal tone of C.I.xxxvii. The brevity which causes so much difficulty in interpretation is certainly a Horatian feature. The poem is in great contrast to The First Anniversary, which is much closer to Waller's mode of panegyric,[2] with its Baroque exaggeration and ornateness, its piling up of lengthy and complex similes, many of them biblical, its monotone of enthusiastic praise: Cromwell is said to be the pivot of the Universe, and his fall from his horses and recovery is indirectly compared to the Resurrection in the elaborate sun simile.[3] The solid and weighty heroic couplets of The First Anniversary and the lyrical enthusiasm and urbane clarity of An Horatian Ode have a very different effect, but the contrast between the two poems could be a purely poetic contrast, due to the different models, and not based on any ideological change.

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1. J.A. Mazzeo, Renaissance and Seventeenth-Century Studies (1964), chapters, 8 and 9. Wilson thinks that the imperialistic view of the last half of the poem may, similarly, be more due to Horace than to Marvell's own opinions.

2. Though it is more intelligent - see esp. the passage on building the Commonwealth, in lines 67-98. The poem takes a rational look at Cromwell's peculiar constitutional position, see Rivers, 110-115.

3. Lines 99-100, 175-220, 321-342. C.IV.v.5-8 is perhaps another source for the sun simile.

On the other hand, An Horatian Ode cannot be wholly accounted for as Horatian pastiche. Wilson notes that Marvell's attitude to Civil War is not the typical Roman attitude of horror,[1] and that the emphasis placed on Cromwell's recasting of the state 'into another Mold' is the opposite of the way in which Augustan poets celebrate Augustus' rule: Augustus liked to be seen as the restorer of the Republic not as the iconoclast. The view of Cromwell which the poem presents is Marvell's own concept, not drawn from Horace. His own are the ideas of Cromwell's velocity and activity, of Cromwell ruled by and ruling Fate, of Cromwell as the man who went from virtuous retirement to active life and who seized the moment, of Cromwell as the self-disciplined servant of the people as well as the ruler and as destructive and creative agent. We may note that they are all paralleled in The First Anniversary, where Marvell expands them further and adds the Apocalyptic Messianic overtones.[2]

There is an undoubted element of mystery in the poem. The title is paradoxical. Horatian odes were public panegyrics: their aim was to praise not to judge. Marvell's poem seems to have been a private poem:[3] we cannot feel that it would have wholly pleased Cromwell. There is an undoubted oddity in this. However, we should be grateful for whatever motive it was that caused Marvell to write a poem we value so much for its intelligence and rationality. It is one of the finest poems inspired by Horace that the century produced, certainly the finest of those inspired by his political

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1. Contrast Cowley's The Civil War, ll.1-108, see above, 284-5. See Horace, C.I.ii.21-4; xxxv.33-40; II.i.29-36; Epode VII, XVI.

2. Thus the passage on Cromwell as the emergent leader 'thorough his own Side' is paralleled by the more favourable version in The First Anniversary the 'lusty Mate' passage, quoted above. See further Nevo, 97-115.

3. See Wilson, 326-7. J.M. Wallace's view that the poem is a public 'deliberative oration' does not seem plausible, 'Marvell's Horatian Ode', P.M.L.A. lxxvii (1962), 33-45.

odes. The combination of cool judgement[1] and lyrical enthusiasm, of the objective and the engaged, is very striking. Marvell has made the Horatian form his own, reshaping the ideas he has taken from the Roman poet through his individual sensibility and poetic powers - which is very Horatian.

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1. The authoritative public utterance and classic judgement of the poem are Jonsonian, although the vision is not.

CHAPTER IX

Abraham Cowley

Cowley is a transitional figure in a study of the response to Horace in the seventeenth century. In certain ways, he heralds the Restoration. His theory of free translation was the basis of the Restoration techniques of variatio. He was the creator of a high 'Pindaric' style for lyric poetry, which was to some extent to oust the Horatian 'mixed' manner, and he translated three odes of Horace in this Pindaric manner, initiating a Restoration fashion.[1] On the other hand, his approach to Horace was the serious one of the earlier part of the century. The retirement theme, in which he was particularly interested, attracted other writers of the same period: The Wish and 'Hail, old Patrician Trees' have links with poems by Marvell and Fane.[2] In his last work, Several Discourses by way of Essays, in Verse and Prose, he looks backwards, picking up much of what earlier poets had found interesting in Horace and giving full treatment to the ideas of the liberty and richness of the regulated soul which had preoccupied them.[3] Indeed, the Essays can be seen as an anthology, with commentary, of passages from Horace admired by earlier writers. In turn, Cowley handed on these passages and his view of Horace to a group of writers of the post-Restoration period.[4]

Horace's appeal for Cowley may be seen clearly from a passage in Of Agriculture:

> The next Man whom we are much obliged to, both for his Doctrine and Example, is the next best Poet in the world to Virgil; his dear friend Horace, who when Augustus had desired Mecaenas to perswade him to come and live domestically, and at the same Table

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1. See below, 346, 363f, 365f.
2. See Williamson; Bradbrook, 44-5.
3. See above, 227-8.
4. See below, 370f.

> with him, and to be Secretary of State of the whole World under him, or rather joyntly with him, for he says, ut nos in Epistolis scribendis adjuvet, could not be tempted to forsake his Sabin, or Tiburtin Mannor, for so rich and so glorious a trouble. There was never, I think, such an example as this in the world, that he should have so much moderation and courage as to refuse anoffer of such greatness, and the Emperour so much generosity and good Nature as not to be at all offended with his refusal, but to retain still the same kindness, and express it often to him in most friendly and familiar Letters, part of which are still extant. If I should produce all the passages of this excellent Author upon the several Subjects which I treat of in this Book, I must be obliged to translate half his works; of which I may say more truly than in my opinion he did of Homer, Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid Turpe, quid utile, quid non, plenius et melius Chrysippo, et Crantore dicit.[1]

Horace is seen as providing a model for good living, both in his life and writings, and regarded as a serious moral poet, whose prime subjects are retirement and moral philosophy. Cowley's view of Horace was a selective one: Horace interested him primarily as the poet of the Sabine farm, the purveyor of an Epicurean retirement philosophy and a lover of peace and the simple life. It was rather a different view from Jonson's more stern and Stoic interpretation, issuing in a milder, more relaxed tone, though a serious one. Cowley simplifies some of Horace's ironies and his mock-complacent stance: a characteristic note which he develops is one of naive enthusiasm for his ideals, as seen in the exaggerated account of Horace's rejection of Augustus' offer, just cited.[2]

Looking back over his life and work, in Of My self, Cowley felt that the Horatian viewpoint was his true one:

> As far as my Memory can return back into my past Life, before I knew, or was capable of guessing what the world, or glories, or business of it were, the natural affections of my soul gave me a secret bent of aversion from them, as some Plants are said to turn away from others, by an Antipathy imperceptible to themselves, and inscrutable to mans understanding. Even when I was a very young Boy at School, instead of running about on Holy-daies and playing

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1. Essays, 408. (Planius is the correct reading).

2. See above, 51.

> with my fellows; I was wont to steal from them, and walk into the fields, either alone with a Book, or with some one Companion, if I could find any of the same temper.[1]

He points to its continuity in his work from the early poem, A Vote, to The Wish, in The Mistress. But until the Sex Libri Plantarum and the Essays, the work of the Restoration and disillusionment with ambition, Horace was only one among many masters, Donne, Virgil, Pindar.

As Cowley says, the Horatian strain may be traced back to his juvenilia. Sylva, or, Divers Copies of Verses, made upon sundry occasions, a section of poems added to the second edition of Poeticall Blossomes in 1636 and written while he was still a schoolboy at Westminster, contains several poems which show acquaintance with Horace. There are several echoes of Horace in the sequence of 6 Odes,[2] three of which, numbers II, IV[3] and VI, are on moral themes, number II being a rejection of riches and a praise of the simple life. To his very much honoured Godfather, Master A.B. employs the Horatian topic of 'not rich gifts, but verses'.[4] Most important is A Vote, in which Cowley establishes, suprisingly firmly, a Horatian role, 'my soules picture', as a lover of the mean of C.II.x, 'too low for envie, for contempt too high', and a note which characteristically goes with it. One or two lines remind us of Jonson:

> Some honour I would have,
> Not from great deeds, but good alone,
> Th'ignote are better than ill knowne,[5]

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1. Essays, 456.

2. Ode I is a variation on C.III.xxx (see above, 109); Ode V contains a reminiscence of C.II.i.33-6 (see above, 284) Ode VI perhaps imitates C.III.xxix.41-8 in its final 6 lines.

3. Ode IV is a translation of Casimir's Odes I.ii, itself based on the Horatian non semper topic.

4. See above, 109-110.

5. Essays, 50.

with the characteristic Jonsonian moral discriminations, that between 'great' and 'good' being a favourite of Jonson's.[1] We may recall that according to Clarendon, Cowley attributed his success to 'the example and learning of Ben Johnson'.[2] But the dominant note is one of mild and sweet charm:

> Bookes should, not businesse, entertaine the light,
> And sleepe, as undisturb'd as death the night.
> My house a cottage more
> Then palace, and should fitting be
> For all my use, no luxurie.
> My garden painted ore
> With natures hand, not arts and pleasures yield,
> Horace might envie in his Sabine field.[3]

Cowley ends the poem with an adaptation of the famous lines from C.III.xxix which express the Epicurean creed:

> Thus would I double my lifes fading space,
> For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.
> And in this true delight,
> These unbought sports, and happy state,
> I would nor feare, nor wish my fate,
> But boldly say each night,
> To morrow let my Sunne his beames display,
> Or in clouds hide them; I have liv'd to day.[4]

The structural ideas of the poem owe something to Horace. It opens with eight stanzas rejecting the pursuits of other men, an idea perhaps suggested by C.I.i or C.I.xxxi,[5] although the satiric treatment recalls Donne, for example The Will. The last three stanzas constitute a 'vote', a genre suggested by C.I.xxxi, Serm.II.vi and Epistles I.xviii, which was to become popular in the Restoration because of Cowley's example.[6]

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1. See above, 149, note 2, 160-1.
2. Life, I. 28.
3. Essays, 50. (A comma should be inferred after 'arts'; 'should' must be understood with 'yield').
4. Essays, 50. C.III.xxix.41-8.
5. See above, 231.
6. See below, 375f.

Another early work begun while Cowley was at Westminster, the pastoral play, Loves Riddle, elaborates a Horatian picture of retirement. In a speech spoken by the disguised Callidora, combining Epode II with pastoral ideas, Cowley draws a picture of the blessedness and kingship of the retired soul.[1]

Cowley's mature pre-Restoration poems, collected in The Works of 1656, consisting of Miscellanies, The Mistress (first published in 1647), Pindarique Odes and Davideis, do not contain much of Horace. Cowley is more interested in experimenting with Donnian wit, pseudo-Pindaric enthusiastic raptures and the epic style. There are the occasional Horatian touches. In Miscellanies, as well as the translation of the Pyrrha ode, there is a picture of a philosophical evening, in On the Death of Mr. William Hervey, inspired by Serm.II.vi.[2] In The Mistress, there is a second vote poem, The Wish, similar in feeling to A Vote and containing a similar recipe for happiness, a small house and large garden, a few friends and many books. The third stanza identifies Horace as the inspiration of this feeling with an adaptation of Horace's prayer in Serm.II.vi:

> Oh, Fountains, when in you shall I
> My self, eas'd of unpeaceful thoughts, espy?
> Oh Fields! Oh Woods! when, when shall I be made
> The happy Tenant of your shade? [3]

In Pindarique Odes, as well as the translation of C.IV.ii. there is the Horatian conclusion to To Dr. Scarborough, urging relaxation with a reminder of death,[4] and a Horatian plea, in To the New Year, not to look into the future, similar to C.I.xi or ix:

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1. Essays, 88-9, quoted above, 71.
2. Quoted above, 261.
3. Poems, 88. See Serm.II.vi.60-4.
4. Quoted above, 260.

> Into the Future Times why do we pry,
> And seek to Antedate our Misery?
> Like Jealous men why are we longing still
> To See the thing which onely seeing makes an Ill[1]

In Davideis, Cowley's description of the priestly college, in Book I, employs Horatian ideas of simplicity and wealth.[2]

Finally, in the preface to The Works of 1656, there is a foretaste of Cowley's role in the Essays, in a passage in which he announces that he is going to stop writing poetry and retire from the world:

> My desire has been for some years past (though the execution has been accidentally diverted) and does still vehemently continue, to retire my self to some of our American Plantations, not to seek for Gold, or inrich my self with the traffick of those parts (which is the end of most men that travel thither; so that of these Indies it is truer then it was of the former,
> Improbus extremos currit Mercator ad Indos
> Pauperiem fugiens...)
> But to forsake this world for ever, with all the vanities and Vexations of it, and to bury my self there in some obscure retreat (but not without the consolation of Letters and Philosophy)
> Oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis. 3

It is difficult to judge how seriously Cowley meant this announcement to be taken: perhaps it was an ironic fiction to highlight the difficulties of writing poetry in a corrupt and war-torn age.[4] At any rate, Cowley is casting himself into a Horatian role as the quotations indicate: he disclaims identity with the merchant figure,[5] who symbolises avarice,[6] and proclaims himself as the retired philosopher.[7]

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1. Poems, 208.
2. See p.259, esp. 'more is but clog' etc, and p.263-4.
3. Ibid. 8.
4. It is thus explained by R. Hinman, Abraham Cowley's World of Order (Harvard, 1960), 19-24.
5. Epistles I.i.45-6 (Cowley misquotes slightly).
6. See above, 228.
7. The line is from Epistles I.xi.9, perhaps spoken by Bullatius, and probably meant to be sentimental, see McGann, 61.

This is the dominant role of the post-Restoration works, the Sex Libri Plantarum and the Essays,[1] in which Cowley devoted himself to the themes of gardens and retirement and to the pose of the small man, writing on small subjects and opposed to ambition. In the preface to the Sex Libri Plantarum, Cowley adopts this Horatian modest pose:

> Non est itaque in hoc opere styli illius Heroici requirenda Majestas (qua pro comperto habeo nullam unquam Plantam fuisse usam;) quoniam nullo hic modo Volare animus est, sed pauca quaedam in Horto spatia sanitatis partim gratia, partim delectationis, Ambulando conficere.[2]

The poem reminds us closely of Evelyn's Acetaria and Kalendarium Hortense in its combination of love of natural phenomena - flowers and trees - the theme of simplicity, vegetarianism, Roman poetry and idyllic feeling.[3] Cowley opposes gardens to war and luxury. He ends Book III with an account of the Wars of the Roses and opens Book IV with a praise of the simple country life, which he translated for the Essays:

> Blest be the man (and blest he is) whom [e're]
> (Plac'd far out of the roads of Hope or Fear)
> A little Field, and little Garden feeds;
> The Field gives all that Frugal Nature needs,
> The wealthy Garden liberally bestows
> All she can ask, when she luxurious grows.
> The specious inconveniences that wait
> Upon a life of Business, and of State,
> He sees (nor does the sight disturb his rest)
> By Fools described, by wicked men possest.[4]

Book V contains some lines praising vegetarianism, in the account of Pomona's feast in the New World,[5] and Book VI several passages praising the simplicity

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1. Verses written on Several Occasions (1663) contained some of the translations from Horace later inserted in the Essays, Serm.II.vi, Epistles I.x, C.III.xvi.

2. Poemata Latina, b6.

3. See below, 373-4, 328, 332-3.

4. Essays, 419.

5. Poemata Latina, 254.

of the past, before the lust for gold and war caused man to invent ships and depopulate the forests:

> Hinc olim juvenis Mundi melioribus annis
> Fortunatarum domuum non magna supellex
> Tota petebatur; Sellas, Armaria, Lectos,
> Et mensas dabat, et Lances, et pocula Fagus.
> His celebrare epulum Veteres et festa solebant
> Vina coronati Divis libare benignis,
> His retinere (opus haud fuerat placare) faventes.
> Nulla scyphos unquam infamarunt toxica tales:
> Sed sitis exhausit plenos secura, nec illud
> Arcana evenit ligni virtute potentis.
> Paupertas fuit Antidotum contra omne Venenum....[1]
>
> Foelix illa aetas mundi justissima Nymphe,
> Cum dabat umbra domum vivam tua, cum Domus ipsa
> Decidua Dominos pascebat fruge quietos,
> Solaque praebebant sylvestria poma secundas
> Gramineis epulas mensis; nondum arte magistra
> Arbor Adulteriis praetulerat Insita nostris....[2]
>
> O Dryas, humani comes et Patrona laboris:
> Si sapiunt, stabilique volunt requiescere sede,
> En Domus es Domino multum diuturnior ipso.
> Si possunt patrio contenti vivere fundo,
> Das juga dura boum, stivamque, axesque gementes,
> Omnia agricolis vitae prompta arma beatae....[3]

The metre , hexameters,[4] points to the main source of inspiration for the work, with its detailed evocation of natural phenomena, - the Georgics.

The Essays are more closely tied to Horace. Cowley had other sources ancient and modern, chiefly,Virgil, Martial, Claudian, Seneca, Cicero and Montaigne, but Horace is the predominant one. Like the first book of the Epistles, the Essays make up a continuous investigation of happiness,[5] which is defined with the aid of Horace: as I said above, they are a

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1. Ibid. 324-5.
2. Ibid. 336.
3. Ibid. 337.
4. Rather shakily handled, see praetŭlerat, dĭŭturnior and omnia left in hiatus.
5. For Epistles I as a treatise on the Democritean εὐθυμια , see McGann.

commentary on favourite passages from Horace. Thus, the first essay, Of Liberty, is a reworking of Serm.II.vii, working up to the question and answer, 'Quisnam igitur Liber? Sapiens, sibi qui Imperiosus.'[1] Cowley gives a free translation of the definition which had fascinated Jonson and others;[2] like them, he takes it straight:

> Who governs his own course with steddy hand,
> Who does Himself with Sovereign Pow'r command;
> Whom neither Death, nor poverty does fright,
> Who stands not aukwardly in his own light
> Against the Truth: who can when Pleasures knock
> Loud at his door, keep firm the bolt and lock.
> Who can though Honour at his gate should stay
> In all her Masking Cloaths, send her away,
> And cry, be gone, I have no mind to play.[3]

Like Horace's satire, the essay is built up round the Stoic paradox, 'ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος', which Cowley illustrates by three sets of men (Horace's poem had concentrated on the third category 'the Voluptuous'):

> The great dealers in this world may be divided into the Ambitious, the Covetous, and the Voluptuous, and that all these men sell themselves to be slaves, though to the vulgar it may seem a Stoical paradox, will appear to the wise so plain and obvious that they will scarce think it deserves the labour of Argumentation.[4]

In the detailed working out of this proposition, Cowley draws on other poems by Horace. His description of the ceremonies enslaving the ambitious man utilises Horace's description of the trivial business of his life in Rome, in Serm.II.vi, from which he quotes.[5] With the life of the great man,

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1. Essays, 385.
2. See above, 212f.
3. Essays, 385. Cowley also utilises from Serm.II.vii Horace's cry o totiens servus (l.70) (which comes in a passage which Jonson imitated see above, 228) and the idea in lines 78-82 that the master is as much a slave as his servant (pages 381-2).
4. Ibid. 377-8. See also stanza 1 of the Ode. Upon Liberty.
5. Ibid. 382-3. Serm.II.vi.33-4, 59.

he contrasts the unceremonious life which Horace describes in Serm.I.vi:

> My life, (sayes Horace, speaking to one of these Magnifico's) is a great deal more easie and commodious then thine, In that I can go into the Market and cheapen what I please without being wondred at; and take my Horse and ride as far as Tarentu..., without being mist.[1]

Stanza 4 of the Ode. Upon Liberty, which follows the essay, drawn a similar picture of the free life, also echoing Serm. I.vi.[2]

In stanza 2, Cowley urges the great man to relax, using the due time topic[3] and drawing on Epistles I.v and C.III.xxix to make a very Horatian picture of moderate mirth:

> Make an Escape; out at the postern flee,
> And get some blessed Houres of Libertie,
> With a few Friends, and a few Dishes dine,
> And much of Mirth and moderate Wine.
> To thy bent Mind some relaxation give,
> And steal one day out of thy Life to Live.[4]

In the ode, Cowley embraces a mean, in stanza 1, as he did in A Vote, and living in the present, in stanza 5, as he did in To the New Year.

As well as ideas of liberty, Cowley explores ideas of the wealth and kingship of the virtuous soul which had appealed to earlier writers.[5] It was shown above[6] how, in Of Avarice, he quotes Sir Henry Wotton's The Character of a Happy Life, when embroidering these themes, and plays around with the phrase magnas inter opes inops, which also appealed to Walton. He translates several important sources for these themes, C.III.xvi, Serm.I.i.1-79[7] and Epistles I.x. The figure of the covetous man, in Of

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1. Ibid. 383. Serm.I.vi.100-128.
2. Ibid. 390.
3. See above, 260.
4. Essays, 389. Epistles.I.v.31; C.III.xxix.43.
5. See above, 227-8.
6. 204.
7. Jonson had underlined the two lines with which Cowley concludes in his copy of Parthenio, see above, 153.

Liberty, is a very Horatian figure: Cowley uses the heir topic.[1]

The shortness of Life and uncertainty of Riches and the poem which follows, 'Why dost thou heap up Wealth', bring in the time factor which is so important an Horatian argument and had been adopted by other seventeenth-century poets arguing about the best use of time:[2] Cowley quotes from C.I.xi and C.I.iv;

> If we could but learn to number our days (as we are taught to pray that we might) we should adjust much better our other accounts, but whilst we never consider an end of them, it is no wonder if our cares for them be without end too. Horace advises very wisely, and in excellent good words, spacio brevi spem longam reseces, From a short Life cut off all Hopes that grow too long. They must be pruned away like suckers that choak the Mother-Plant, and hinder it from bearing fruit. And in another place to the same sence, Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.[3]

Cowley translates other favourite poems and passages. There are translations of C.III.i, Epode II and the fable of the town and country mouse from Serm.II.vi, all dealing with the theme of content. Cowley quotes two lines from C.II.xvi, another important source for the theme, in The shortness of Life and uncertainty of Riches.[4] Two other key phrases which he translates are those on solitude which had appealed to Herrick:[5]

> nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis
> nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit[6]

and secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.[7] Cowley plays around with

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1. See Essays, 384: 'He heapeth up Riches and knows not who shall enjoy them'. On the heir, see above, 229.

2. See above, 258f.

3. Essays, 449. C.I.xi.6-7; C.I.iv.15.

4. Lines 17-18, Essays, 449. Montaigne had quoted the rest of the stanza in De la Solitude, one of Cowley's modern sources, Rat, 234.

5. See above, 178, and Appendix A.

6. Epistles I.xvii.9-10. Jonson underlined line 9 in Parthenio.

7. Epistles I.xviii.103.

these lines at the beginning of Of Obscurity, punning on the two meanings of fallere, which serves for both ἐξαπατᾶν and λανθάνειν ; the source of Horace's phrases was Epicurus' injunction, λαθὲ βιώσας . Cowley calls the man who has escaped notice the 'Innocent Deceiver of the world'.[1] Finally, in The danger of Procrastination, Cowley quotes and translates the lines in Epistles I.ii, on the topic of begin now,[2] which had appealed to Jonson and others.[3]

As part of his role as the Horatian retired philosopher, Cowley represents himself, following Horace,[4] as the modest man, content with small things. In Of Greatness, protesting that he eschews ambition, he echoes what in Horace is a strongly ironic avowal of inconsiderableness, a response to the despised Crispinus:

> I know very many men will despise, and some pity me, for this humour, as a poor spirited fellow; but I'me content, and like Horace thank God for being so. Dii bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli Finxerunt animi.[5]

He continues with a praise of littleness reminiscent of Herrick:[6]

> I confess, I love Littleness almost in all things. A little convenient Estate, a little chearful House, a little Company, and a very little Feast, and if I were ever to fall in love again (which is a great Passion, and therefore, I hope, I have done with it) it would be, I think, with Prettiness, rather than with Majestical Beauty.[7]

In Of My self, he slights his own abilities,[8] and contrasts himself, 'the

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1. Essays, 399.
2. Epistles I.ii.40-3. See Essays, 454.
3. See Appendix D.
4. See above, 175-6.
5. Essays, 429. Serm.I.iv.17-18.
6. See above, 117, 176f.
7. Essays, 429.
8. Ibid. 455-6.

Hyssop', with 'the princely Cedars'.[1] Cowley's modesty is disarming, with its air of naivety: there is less irony than with Horace, but still an element of calculation, as with Herrick.[2]

Cowley's persona in the Essays is less complex than Horace's in Epistles I, and his search for happiness is consequently more simply treated. Horace introduces complexities through shifts in his role. Thus, in Epistles I.xiv, he represents himself as the consistent man, the sapiens, always longing for the country, in contrast to his fickle bailiff: in Epistles I.xv, however, he admits to changeableness:

> nam tuta et parvola laudo,
> cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis;
> verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
> vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
> conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.[3]

Horace is always ready to undermine his role as philosopher: his complacency is a mock complacency.[4] His shifts in role suggest complexities in the relation between man's professed philosophy and his circumstances, his ideals and his actions. In De l'Incommodité de la Grandeur, which Cowley refers to in Of Greatness, Montaigne underlines similar ambiguities in his opening sentence: 'puisque nous ne la pouvons aveindre, vengeons nous à en mesdire.'[5] In contrast to this, Cowley protests his sincerity:

> Since we cannot attain to Greatness, (saies the Sieur de Montagn) let's have our revenge by railing at it: this he spoke but in Jest. I believe he desired it no more then I do.... But the Reader may think that what I now say, is of small authority, because I never

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1. Ibid. 456.
2. See above, 179-80.
3. Epistles I.xv.42-6. See also Epistles I.viii.12, and above, 220.
4. See above, 147.
5. Rat, 894. See further above, 222-4.

> was, nor ever shall be put to the tryal: I can therefore only make my Protestation,
> If ever I more Riches did desire....[1]

Cowley's tone is simpler than Horace's or Montaigne's: he is content with a note of simple enthusiasm for his ideals. This note is partly created by a frequent hyperbole of statement, as in the enthusiastic praise of Horace quoted above.[2] In general, the treatment of country life is idealised (The dangers of an Honest man in much Company being a partial exception), and the Essays are a straightforward presentation of an ideal.

The Epicureanism of the Essays is also derived from Horace.[3] Cowley had some technical acquaintance with Epicurus' teaching: he was probably interested in his physical theory, and he may have read Gassendi[4] and known Charleton.[5] He understood Epicurus' pleasure doctrine. In Of Liberty, he defines the free man as 'not he who blindly follows all his pleasures.... but he who rationally guides them',[6] and relates how

> Metrodorus said, That he had learnt Ἀληθῶς γαστρὶ Χαρίζεσθαι, to give his Belly just thanks for all his pleasures. This by the Calumniators of Epicurus his philosophy was objected as one of the most scandalous of all their sayings; which, according to my Charitable understanding may admit a very virtuous sence, which is, that he thanked his own Belly for that moderation in the customary appetites of it, which can only give a Man Liberty and Happiness in this World.[7]

In the poem following The Garden, Cowley again alludes to Epicurus' pleasure doctrine:

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1. Essays, 428.
2. Or the sentence from Of Agriculture quoted above, 199.
3. On Cowley's Epicureanism, see Mayo, 166-70; Walton, 106-107; Nethercot (a), 124-130; Nethercot (b), 265-7.
4. See Nethercot (a), 128-130.
5. See above, 257, note 1.
6. Essays, 384.
7. Ibid. 385. The Greek phrase really means 'truly to gratify the belly'.

> When Epicurus to the World had taught,
> That Pleasure was the chiefest Good,
> (And was perhaps i'th'right, if rightly understood)
> His Life he to his Doctrine brought,
> And in a Gardens shade that Sovereign Pleasure sought:
> Whoever a true Epicure would be,
> May there find cheap and virtuous Luxurie.[1]

He mentions Epicurus' retirement favourably in Of Obscurity,[2] and, in The danger of Procrastination, he recounts an episode dealing with the riches theme:

> Epicurus writes a Letter to Idomeneas (who was then a very powerful, wealthy, and (it seems) bountiful person) to recommend to Him who had made so many men Rich, one Pythocles, a friend of his, whom he desired might be made a rich man too; But I intreat you that you would not do it just the same way as you have done to many less deserving persons, but in the most Gentlemanly manner of obliging him, which is not to adde any thing to his Estate, but to take something from his desires.[3]

The extract from the poem following The Garden indicates the nature of Cowley's interest in Epicurus. The Epicureanism of the Essays is not technical: the basic source is not philosophical writing but poetry, as Cowley acknowledges in Of My self, where he cites A Vote, the poem which contains Horace's Epicurean credo, as proof of his early attachment to the idea of contented obscurity, and comments

> You may see by it, I was even then acquainted with the Poets (for the Conclusion is taken out of Horace;) and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them which stampt first, or rather engraved these Characters in me.[4]

Epicureanism had an emotional appeal for Cowley: it harmonised with his tastes, his appreciation of Horace's Sabine farm poetry and his love of gardens, and it issued in his work, along with his reading of Horace, in an emotional tone of idyllic and innocent enjoyment, seen, for example, in

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1. Ibid. 424.
2. Ibid. 398.
3. Ibid. 453.
4. Ibid. 457.

the poem following The Garden. Cowley shares this tone with Evelyn,[1] for whom the latter poem was written, in thanks for his dedication of the Kalendarium Hortense,[2] which is similar in feeling. In his Introduction to the Kalendar, Evelyn describes the life of the gardener:

> For when we have so much celebrated the life and felicity of an excellent Gard'ner, as to think it preferable to all other diversions whatsoever; it is not because of the leisure which he enjoys above other men; ease and opportunity which ministers to vain and insignificant delights; such as fools derive from sensual objects: we dare boldly pronounce it, there is not amongst men a more laborious life than is that of a good Gard'ner; but because a labour full of tranquillity and satisfaction, natural and instructive, and such as (if any) contributes to piety and contemplation, experience, health, and longevity, munera nondum intellecta Deum: in sum, a condition it is, furnished with the most innocent, laudable, and purest of earthly felicities, and such as does certainly make the nearest approaches to that blessed state, where only they enjoy all things without pains.[3]

This is very close in feeling to, for example, this passage from Of Agriculture:

> I shall onely instance in one Delight more, the most natural and best natur'd of all others, a perpetual companion of the Husbandman; and that is, the satisfaction of looking round about him, and seeing nothing but the effects and improvements of his own Art and Diligence; to be alwayes gathering of some Fruits of it, and at the same time to behold others ripening, and others budding: to see all his Fields and Gardens covered with the beauteous Creatures of his own Industry; and to see, like God, that all his Works are Good.[4]

As can be seen from both these extracts, this tone is one which accommodates Christian feeling easily. Cowley found no difficulty in effecting a loose synthesis of his Epicureanism with Christianity:[5] It is a different brand from the libertine Epicureanism of Rochester, reacting from Christianity.[6]

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1. And with Charleton, see above, 256.
2. Quoted below, 332-3.
3. Upcott, 430.
4. Essays, 403.
5. Mayo, 169-170.
6. See below, 358f.

Horace had some influence on the form of the Essays. Like Epistles I, they are a collection of separate pieces, and the search for happiness is treated in the informal, fragmented, repetitive way of Horace's volume. They proceed similarly, with rapid transitions between loosely-related moral topics and with strings of examples, illustrative anecdotes and allusions. The danger of Procrastination, for example, opens abruptly with a discussion about Cowley's personal situation and proceeds with an anecdote about Epicurus, before it comes to its main subject, the 'begin now' topic, which Cowley illustrates with a comic story from recent history and an account of Julius Caesar and with allusions to Horace and Persius. Epistle and essay were related forms:[1] Bacon had said that Seneca's Epistulae Morales were 'but Essaies'.[2] Indeed two of Cowley's essays take the form of a letter, The Garden and The danger of Procrastination (the former was actually sent as a thankyou letter to Evelyn), so that it is not implausible that Cowley composed with an eye on Horace's Epistles.

The strong personal colouring of the Essays[3] is another feature for which Horace's Epistles provided a model. According to Sprat, Cowley's motive for writing the Essays was a private one; they were intended as a vindication of his behaviour:

> The last pieces that we have from his hands are Discourses, by way of Essays, upon some of the gravest subjects that concern the Contentment of a Virtuous Mind. These he intended as a real Character of his own thoughts upon the point of his Retirement.... And a little before his death he communicated to me his resolutions to have dedicated them all to my Lord St. Albans, as a testimony of his entire respects to him, and a kind of Apology for having left humane Affairs, in the strength of his Age, while he might still have been serviceable to his Country.[4]

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1. See E.N.S. Thompson, The Seventeenth-Century English Essay (University of Iowa Humanistic Studies III no. 3, Iowa, 1926), 90-93.

2. In the unpublished dedication to Prince Henry, written for the 1612 edition of the Essays, see Bacon's Essays, ed. W. Aldis Wright (1963), xii.

3. See Walton, 95, 118.

4. Spingarn, II.137-8.

The general theme of the search for happiness, particularly in the later essays, The Garden, Of Greatness, The dangers of an Honest man in much Company, The danger of Procrastination and Of My self, has a constant personal reference. The final essay, Of My self, puts the whole argument in an autobiographical context, telling of Cowley's schoolboy love for retirement and the poets, his experience of great place during the Interregnum and his hopes of retreat in old age. The technique is similar to Horace's in Epistles I. Bishop Hurd made the link between Cowley and Horace: for him the personal element constituted 'the supreme charm' of their work.[1]

Cowley's personal Horatian manner is very different from the Baconian impersonal tradition of the essay. One could contrast Bacon's Of Great Place, where the fruits of Bacon's personal experience have been transmuted into brilliant impersonal apophthegm, with Cowley's Of Greatness. The latter opens with a personal disclaimer of ambition and continues with an appeal to personal taste - 'I confess, I love Littleness almost in all things' - and the formulation of the author's ideal house and garden.[2] The father of the personal tradition in the essay was Montaigne, and Cowley was, no doubt, partially inspired by him, as well as Horace: he mentions him in Of Solitude and Of Greatness.[3] But Cowley does not pursue Montaigne's passion for self-analysis.[4] More literary than Montaigne in his self-dramatisation, he is closer to Horace in sticking to description of personal habits and tastes.

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1. II.261-2.

2. Essays, 431-2. Note also the personal aside, 'you would wonder how Caesar and I, should be like one another in any thing', p.434.

3. Ibid. 392, 428. These essays draw on De la Solitude and De l'Incommodité de la Grandeur, respectively. See Walton, 104-6.

4. See above, 222-4.

It may be noted here that Cowley's poetry, also, is full of personal revelation,[1] demonstrating the completeness of the revolution in lyric writing begun by Donne and Jonson and assisted by Horace.[2]

Dr. Johnson cast doubts on the sincerity of Cowley's role in the Essays as retired philosopher who has seen through the vanities of worldly ambition. In his life, he recounts how Cowley hoped for preferment after the Restoration in the shape of the mastership of the Savoy, retiring to the country when disappointed. He recalls ironically the 1656 preface:

> He thought himself now safe enough from intrusion, without the defence of mountains and oceans; and, instead of seeking shelter in America, wisely went only so far from the bustle of life as that he might easily find his way back, when solitude should grow tedious.[3]

And he laughs at the unidyllic picture of his retreat which Cowley gives in a letter to Sprat, 'which I recommend to the consideration of all that may hereafter pant for solitude'.[4] For his contemporaries, however, Cowley became a symbol of the Horatian ideal. In Sprat's hagiographical life, he is seen as practising all the Horatian virtues plus Christian faith, in a way that recalls Lady Fanshawe's portrait of her husband.[5] Sprat's account of Cowley's retirement follows Of My self:

> He was now weary of the vexations and formalities of an active condition. He had been perplexed with a long compliance to Foreign Manners. He was satiated with the Arts of Court, which sort of life, though his virtu had made innocent to him, yet nothing could make it quiet. These were the reasons that moved him to forego

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1. See e.g. On the Death of Mr. William Hervey, Poems, 32; The Complaint, 435; Ode. Mr. Cowley's Book presenting it self to the University Library of Oxford, stanza 5, p.411; Ode. Sitting and Drinking in the Chair, made out of the Reliques of Sir Francis Drake's Ship, stanza 4, ll.3-4, p.413.

2. See above, 91f.

3. Hill, I.16.

4. Ibid. I.16.

5. See above, 55-56.

> all Public Employments, and to follow the violent inclination of his own mind, which in the greatest throng of his former business had still called upon him, and represented to him the true delights of solitary Studies, of temperate pleasures, and of a moderate Revenue, below the malice and flatteries of Fortune.[1]

Sprat makes Cowley an exemplar of Horatian moderation and self-control:

> His thoughts were never above nor below his condition. He never wished his Estate much larger. Yet he enjoyed what he had with all innocent Freedom; he never made his present life uncomfortable by undue expectations of future things. Whatever disappointments he met with, they only made him understand Fortune better, not repine at her the more....[2]

Similarly, Evelyn, in the dedication of the Kalendarium Hortense to Cowley, paints a picture of his retirement as a Horatian idyll: Cowley is seen as an exemplar of controlled, innocent and rational enjoyment. Evelyn's description incorporatesnadapted quotations from The Wish, Cowley's translation of Martial V.xx, from Miscellanies, and Virgil's description of the old Corycian peasant: primis vere rosam atque autumno carpere poma:[3]

> ....whilst you still continue in the possession of your self, and of that repose which few men understand, in exchange for those pretty miseries you have essay'd. Oh the sweet evenings and mornings, and all the day besides which are yours:
>
> while Cowley's made
> The happy tenant of the shade:
>
> And the sun in his garden gives him all he desires, and all that he would enjoy; the purity of visible objects and of true Nature, before she was vitiated by imposture or luxury:
>
> Books, wise discourse, gardens and fields
> And all the joys that unmixt Nature yields.
>
> You gather the first roses of the spring, and apples of autumn; and as the philesopher in Seneca desir'd only bread and herbs to dispute felicity with Jupiter, you vie happiness in a thousand easy and sweet diversions not forgetting the innocent toils which you cultivate, the leisure and the liberty, the books, the meditations, and, above all, the learned and choice friendships that you enjoy. Who would not, like you, cacher sa vie? 'Twas the wise impress of Balzac, [4] and of Plutarch before him; you give it lustre and inter-

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1. Spingarn, II.127, and see 128.

2. Ibid. II.141.

3. Georgics, IV.134.

4. Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1597-1654) lived on his estate on the Charente during the Thirty Years War. Some of his letters praise retirement and describe his country estate.

> pretation. I assure you, Sir, it is what in the world I most inwardly breathe after and pursue, not to say that I envy your felicity, deliver'd from the gilded impertinences of life, to enjoy the moments of a solid and pure contentment.[1]

Other writers provided tributes, including Katherine Philips and John Rawlet,[2] and Cowley was the inspiration of a group of post-Restoration writers who praised Horatian retirement.[3]

It will have emerged from the above analysis of Cowley's use of Horace that his interest was predominantly in theme, though the Essays do make use of the form of the Epistles. In his poetry, Cowley does not attempt to imitate the style and structure of Horace's poems, but recasts his ideas in a contemporary idiom. In this, he is closer to Marvell than to Jonson and Herrick. It has been seen that in his translation of C.III.i, he reclothed Horace's poem in a new, more connected, structure and more abstract style, with Metaphysical conceits.[4] This is characteristic of his original poems as well. In The Wish, for example, Cowley embroiders the motif from Serm. II.vi with conceits - the beehive (stanza 1) and the mint (stanza 3) - and with witty topics of a modern kind, close to Marvell, for example the mock-logic of stanza 4 (lines 5-8) or stanza 5 (lines 5-8),[5] and the 'only' or 'nought but' topic in stanza 4, which allows for ingenious wit in matching up things in the city and the country:

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1. Upcott, 429. When Evelyn wrote his defence of the active life, Public Employment and an Active Life, in reply to Sir George Mackenzie's A Moral Essay, preferring Solitude to Public Employment, he felt obliged to apologise to Cowley in a letter, Upcott, xvii-xviii.

2. See below, 370.

3. See below, 370f.

4. See above, 72-4. It may be noted that he treats Pindar in analagous way, tightening connecting links and introducing what Gilbert West called 'puerile concetti'. See P. Wilson, 74-8; Maddison, 373-382.

5. Reminiscent of the mock-logic of stanzas 1 and 4 of The Garden.

> Pride and Ambition here,
> Only in far fetcht Metaphors appear;
> Here nought but winds can hurtful Murmurs scatter,
> And nought but Eccho flatter.[1]

In 'Why dost thou heap up Wealth', Cowley redeploys some Horatian traditional images, the boat imagery of C.II.x:

> Be prudent, and the shore in prospect keep,
> In a weak Boat trust not the deep,[2]

and the plant imagery suggested by the phrase from C.I.xi which Cowley quotes in the essay, spatio brevi spem longam reseces.[3] Cowley expands Horace's brief metaphor:

> Thou Sow'st and plantest, but no Fruit must see,
> For Death, alas! is sowing Thee....
>
> Yet Death at all that subtilty will laugh,
> Death will that foolish Gardner mock,
> Who does a slight and annual Plant engraff,
> Upon a lasting stock.[4]

He also adds new un-Horatian images, lightning (stanza 10) and the lark (stanza 13).

Earlier poets had blended Horace with Metaphysical wit. A much odder process was Cowley's recasting of 3 odes by Horace - the opening of C.IV.ii, C.III.i and C.III.xvi - into pindarics.[5] Horace's economy is dissipated in the large unwieldy stanzas into Cowley's characteristic diffuseness and repetitiveness to an even greater degree than in the other translations and the stanzaic poems. In addition, some of Horace's intimacy of tone is lost.

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1. Poems, 88. See Upon Appleton House, stanzas 42 and 43, and also Fane, To Retiredness, stanzas 5 and 6, Otia sacra, 173; Benlowes, Theophila, Canto XII, stanza xli, in Saintsbury, I.448; Dryden, 'How blest are Shepherds', lines 1-4, Kinsley, II.569.

2. Essays, 452.

3. 'The metaphor is from pruning vines', N.-H, 141.

4. Essays, 450, 451.

5. Musgrove, II.429-30.

Cowley's translation of C.III.i alters the tone of address, although this ode is anyway grander and more impersonal than is usual with Horace. Horace, after the first stanza, does not address anyone, making statements about the life of the great in the third person, and he ends with a personal declaration. Cowley harangues a crowd of great men:

> And all you Men, whom Greatness does so please,
> Ye feast (I fear) like Damocles,[1]

and he abandons the personal close altogether: the general effect of the poem is much more pompous than its original. The translation of C.III.xvi is similar: Cowley abandons the address to Maecenas and Horace's personal tone. Where Horace talks of a personal lot, segetis certa fides meae, Cowley generalises:

> A Field of Corn, a Fountain and a Wood,
> Is all the Wealth by Nature understood.[2]

The intimacy which allows for self-mockery, definitely present in Horace's poem -iure perhorrui/late conspicuum tollere verticem, nil cupientium/nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum/partis linquere gestio[3]- disappears in Cowley's rendering, and the tone is inflated:

> Let all the World, slave to this Tyrant be,
> Creature to this Disguised Deitie,
> Yet it shall never conquer me,
> A Guard of Virtues will not let it pass,
> And wisdom is a Tower of stronger brass.
> The Muses Lawrel round my Temples spread,
> 'T does from this Lightnings force secure my head.
> Nor will I lift it up so high,
> As in the violent Meteors way to lye.
> Wealth for its power do we honour and adore?
> The things we hate, ill Fate, and Death, have more.[4]

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1. Essays, 435.
2. Ibid. 442.
3. C.III.xvi.18-19, 22-4.
4. Essays, 442.

Cowley conceived of Pindar as a sublime poet, and, though he was not very good at the sublime, we can see him here, I think, trying to elevate Horace's tone. This essentially misguided attempt was carried further in the Restoration.[1]

Cowley's couplet translations of Horace - the pleasant and relaxed version of Epistles I.x, the informal, chatty translation of Serm.I.i ('which take in his own familiar stile')[2] and the charming, mock-heroic rendering of the fable of the town and country mouse - are much more successful in conveying Horace's feeling. Some of his Pindarics are written in a quieter, more Horatian manner, for example the ode following The Garden and the Ode. Upon Liberty. The stanzaic poems, The Wish or 'Hail, old Patrician Trees',[3] are also quieter in tone and contain a Horatian blend of humour and seriousness: they are less uniform in tone than later imitations of Horace.[4]

But Cowley's Pindaric translations highlight the fact that Cowley, always more diffuse and abstract than Horace, was less interested than earlier poets in Horace as a writer of lyric poetry. Their great diffuseness, together with the abstractness and generality and the consequent heightened didactic, moralising tone, have the effect of making ode closer to epistle. Sprat's odd comment that the metre of the Pindaric odes 'is chiefly to be preferr'd' because of its 'near affinity with Prose'[5] is suggestive. It is significant that Cowley's translations of the hexameter

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1. See below, 365f.

2. Essays, 438.

3. Stanza 7 contains the same anti-feminist joke as stanza 8 of The Garden, Leishman (d), 306-7; Bradbrook, 45. Cowley's serio-comic blends are similar to Marvell's, see above, 291-3.

4. See below, 365f.

5. Spingarn, II.132.

poems should be his most successful: he was more interested in Horace as a writer of satires and epistles than of odes, and in this, too, he heralds the Restoration.[1]

It may seem that my comments tend towards the conventional view of Cowley as a decadent Metaphysical and precursor of the Restoration and eighteenth-century formal manner.[2] I would not wish to fit Cowley into this Procrustean stereotype. In many ways, his treatment of Horace shows that he belongs in spirit to the earlier part of the century. Cowley felt himself to be a misfit in the Restoration scene - see his disillusioned preface to the Cutter of Coleman-Street.[3] His view of Horace is clearly very different from the libertine approach of Rochester and others.[4] It is different too from the rational eighteenth-century approach.[5] He does not speak in the measured tones of the later essayist, for example Addison, confident that all rational men will agree:[6] he speaks as a lonely voice in a crowd, predicting that his liking for retirement will make him 'likelier thereby to fall into the contempt, then rise up to the estimation of most people'.[7] His tone is not that of the man of the world, bland and common-sensical: he speaks with more enthusiasm and naivety. His experiences in Charles II's entourage do impart a seriousness and idealism to his quest for innocence. The Essays have an element of urgency: they are not just

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1. See below, 369-70.
2. See for example Walton, 45-120, passim. The stereotype is attacked by Rawlinson.
3. Trickett, 28-9.
4. See below, 358f.
5. See above, 1, and below, 361-2, 383.
6. See Rawlinson, 338, 339. On the later essay, see Thompson, 57-65, 106.
7. Essays, 456, and see 429.

facile and sentimental.[1] The dangers of an Honest man in much Company, in particular, has a strong satiric note. Cowley re-employs the satiric idea of Serm.II.iii, ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται:

> I have been drawn twice or thrice by company to go to Bedlam, and have seen others very much delighted with the fantastical extravagancie of so many various madnesses, which upon me wrought so contrary an effect, that I alwayes returned, not onely melancholy, but ev'n sick with the sight. My compassion there was perhaps too tender, for I meet a thousand Madmen abroad, without any perturbation....[2]

Cowley rejects all human intercourse, even with people in the country: he abandons his earlier Pastoral approach to the country:

> I thought when I went first to dwell in the Country, that without doubt I should have met there with the simplicity of the old Poetical Golden Age: I thought to have found no Inhabitants there, but such as the Shepherds of Sir Phil.Sydney in Arcadia, or of Monsieur d'Urfe upon the Banks of Lignon; [3] and began to consider with my self, which way I might recommend no less to posterity the Happiness and Innocence of the Men of Chertsea: but to confess the truth, I perceived quickly, by infallible demonstrations, that I was still in Old England, and not in Arcadia, or La Forrest.[4]

The Jonsonian sense of threatened integrity and claustrophobia in this essay:

> The truth of it is, that a man in much business must either make himself a Knave, or else the world will make him a Fool: and if the injury went no farther then the being laught at, a wise man would content himself with the revenge of retaliation; but the case is much worse, for these civil Cannibals too, as well as the wild ones, not only dance about such a taken stranger, but at last devour him[5]

was too emotional and 'extravagant' for eighteenth-century taste: in his commentary, Bishop Hurd found Cowley guilty of misanthropy:

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1. Rawlinson, 336-9.
2. Essays, 446.
3. A reference to L'Astrée of Honoré d'Urfé (1567-1625), a prose Pastoral Romance.
4. Essays, 446-7.
5. Ibid.443.

> There are some very dark shades in the following picture of human life, or rather of the age in which the writer lived; which is not much to be wondered at, if that age be truly characterized by one, who had great experience of it-
>
> Dark shades become the portrait of our time
> Here weeps Misfortune, and here triumphs Crime.
>
> Waller.
>
> - Or, the true account of the matter may be only this; Virtue is, always, a little of a misanthrope; and the pure virtue of Mr. Cowley, clouded by chagrin, and, perhaps, a constitutional melancholy, could scarce fail of taking somewhat too much of that character. Yet his good sense and good temper have generally kept him from any extravagance in the expression of it, except, perhaps, in this chapter.[1]

Paradoxically, the prose Essays, with the lyric fervour of their recasting of Horace, are the most poetic part of Cowley's oeuvre: their tone sets them in the context of the earlier part of the century.

In conclusion, I am inclined to agree with J.B. Leishman that Cowley's Horatian strain was his best, that love-poetry 'too often deflected' him 'from that semi-Horatian reflective and moral poetry where his true bent lay and where we can still hear what Pope called 'the language of his heart'',[2] Certainly, Cowley is more successful in imitating Horace than in imitating Pindar, as Steele felt.[3] Cowley had no true understanding of Pindar's poetry,[4] nor was he able to sustain a grand style, lapsing too often into bathos, pomposity or frigidity. He had, on the other hand, a genuine, if limited, response to Horace's poetry.[5] His sceptical temper and rationalism[6]

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1. II.229.

2. Leishman (d), 78.

3. 'I saw Pindar walking all alone, no one daring to accost him till Cowley joyn'd himself to him, but, growing weary of one who almost walk'd him out of Breath, he left him for Horace and Anacreon, with whom he seemed infinitely delighted', The Spectator, ed. D.F. Bond (1965), no. 514, Oct. 20, 1712, IV.329.

4. See P. Wilson, 62-86, passim.

5. Sprat says he had ' a peculiar Reverence' for Horace, Spingarn, II.136.

6. See W.K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England (1932-1940), IV.231-39, and the interesting discussion by Nevo, 119-133.

made him in sympathy with Horace: like Jonson and Herrick, he shares Horace's rational untranscendental approach to experience, witness the end of To Dr. Scarborough,[1] with its Horatian reminder of human limitations. He undoubtedly had a strong feeling for the theme of retirement, achieving a freshness when writing on it which is lacking from some other parts of his work. His love of gardens and natural phenomena impresses us as an authentic stimulus to creation; in natural description, he is more concrete and detailed than Horace.[2] Even if it was failure which drove Cowley to Horace, it brought out a genuine side of him: we are inclined to agree with the passage of Pope quoted by Leishman:

> Forgot his Epic, nay Pindaric Art,
> But still I love the language of his Heart.[3]

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1. Quoted above, 260.

2. Horace's cry, o rus, in Serm.II.vi.60 becomes, in The Wish, 'Oh, Fountains... Oh Fields! Oh Woods!' Poems, 88. See also, for example, Essays, 432; Sex Libri Plantarum; Hymn. To Light.

3. Butt, IV.201.

CHAPTER X

The Restoration and After

A new Horace is born in the Restoration, or, more accurately, several new approaches to Horace are pursued. It might appear from Appendix C that there was complete continuity of attitude with the earlier part of the century: the same poems are favourites for translation - C.III.ix, C.II.x and Epode II. Nevertheless, in the changing literary and philosophical climate, the approach to Horace was changing. We do not want to oversimplify a complex picture. There were undoubtedly some fine responses to Horace in the period. Dacier's commentary contains new insights into Horatian humour and a truer understanding of some poems than earlier. Dryden shows a sensitive appreciation of certain stylistic features of Horace's poetry. There are some fine poetic recreations of the Horatian outlook, of rational enjoyment and civilised intercourse: the age was qualified to understand Horace's rational ethos. But, undoubtedly, there was some coarsening of response and a tendency to miss the serious in Horace (or sometimes to overplay it), and the Odes became a less fruitful source of inspiration for lyric poetry. Here, I can only sketch in the main lines of approach.

I. Commentary

In the Restoration, though the classics were still read for their moral lessons, there was growing up a greater emphasis on the dulce in art[1] and a more purely literary approach to ancient authors.

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1. See e.g. Dryden, A Defence of An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, esp. Watson I.113; and Spingarn, I. lxxxi-lxxxvii; Sutherland, 406-7.

André Dacier's commentary on Horace reflects this change. He wrote not for the learned but for the cultivated reader of both sexes[1] (the audience of the Restoration miscellanies also). His commentary is much closer to a modern commentary than its predecessors. It shows an increased historical awareness,[2] and it has an increased literary-critical bias,[3] laying less emphasis on the improving morals to be found in the Odes.[4] Dacier is enthusiastic about the literary qualities of the poems, pointing out their 'beautez'[5] and noting literary strategies.[6] He is concerned to characterise the style of the Odes,[7] and he is sensitive to shifts of tone.[8] He is alive to the humour in poems which earlier commentators had taken seriously, for example Epode II:

> Cette piece est un chef-d'oeuvre en son genre, et on ne sauroit rien voir de plus plaisant qu'un usurier qui persuadé du bonheur et de la tranquillité de la vie champestre en fait une peinture fort vive, et retire sur l'heure tout son argent, mais vaincu le lendemain par son avarice il ne cherche qu'à le replacer le mesme jour sans se souvenir des belles idées qu'il avoit euës. C'est une Ode purement satirique, et elle est d'autant plus fine et plus picquante, qu'on croit toûjours que c'est Horace qui parle, et qu'on ne sent le poison qu'a la fin. 9

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1. See I.a2v-a3.
2. See I.a4v. He attempts to provide chronology and information about the addressees. Particularly good are his remarks on the addressee of C.II.x: he sees the need to discover the circumstances of the addressee to interpret the poem, II.196, 196.
3. See I.a4v.
4. Though he has an eloquent passage on the moral efficacy of the Satires, VI.i3v-i4.
5. For the sake of literary appreciation, not, like Parthenio, with the aim of teaching imitation.
6. See his comments on C.III.xiv.
7. See his comments on C.III.xxix, C.III.iii, C.IV.iv, C.III.ix, C.I.v.
8. See his comments on C.I.iii, C.III.xiv.
9. V.38. Contrast Blasius Bernadus' comment, quoted above, 25. Blondel in the Comparaison also notes the humour (Sherburne, 23).

Dacier also dismisses the conventional view that C.I.xxxiv is a serious account of a conversion from Epicureanism, viewing it as 'une raillerie continuelle contre les Stoiciens'.[1]

Dacier's commentary, together with a piece he includes entitled Discours sur Horace, by an unnamed 'homme de qualité',[2] and François Blondel's Comparaison de Pindare et d'Horace,[3] present a picture of Horace changed in several respects from the earlier Renaissance one. Due to the increased interest and knowledge of Epicureanism in the later seventeenth century,[4] Horace is now an Epicurean. Dryden's confident comment about Horace's Epicureanism could have derived from reading either Dacier or Blondel. Dacier thought that C.I.ix, as well as C.I.xxxiv, contained mockery of the Stoic view of Providence.[5] Blondel, as Dacier acknowledges, had also noted the humour of C.I.xxxiv:

> He treats of the Causes of his Conversion in a manner so Buffoon-like, that there is no Man but perceives he speaks not as he thinks, 6

and he cites Epistles I.iv.15-16 to prove Horace's Epicureanism.

The Discours sur Horace characterises Horace's philosophy as good-humoured and practical, 'une Philosophie d'usage,' another common Restoration conception:

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1. I.377-8. For modern views, see Fraenkel, 253-7; N.-H, 376-9. Dacier, however, did not see mockery of the Stoics in Serm.II.vii.
2. Translated into English in The Gentleman's Journal, June 1694, Y4.
3. Translated into English by Sherburne.
4. See Mayo.
5. I.142-3. Dryden's translation of C.I.ix, with its rather scornful dismissal of the Gods and its urgent attack on Fortune, was perhaps influenced by Dacier's interpretation: 'Horace parle..selon l'esprit d'Epicure, qui ne croyoit pas que les Dieux reglassent nos jours, qu'il fasoit uniquement dépendre du hazard et de la fortune.' He certainly knew Dacier's Preface sur les Satires d'Horace, in vol.VI of the commentary, which he draws on in A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire.
6. Sherburne, 8. Dr. Johnson held a similar view: 'Sir, he was not in earnest: this was merely poetical', Boswell, Life of Johnson, ed. G.B. Hill, revised L.F. Powell (1934), IV.215.

> 'Tis at Table, while he is entertaining his Friends, or his Mistriss, and when his humor is as gay as can be imagined, that he reads us Lectures of Practical Philosophy, and shews us how in his Prosperity he arms himself against the attacks of an adverse Fortune. Other Teachers of Morality have represented Virtue under a sullen and morose Character, and have told us, that the paths which lead to it are very rough and uneasie, and but little frequented: Our Poet, on the other side, describes it accompanied with all the Charms and Graces that can make it appear worthy our highest Love and Admiration; it is very consistent, he tells us, with all the pleasant freedoms of Conversation, nor does it disdain to attend us in our softest hours. 1

In these French accounts, we find several ideas of Horace that are also found in English writers of the period. Horace is characterised by Blondel as 'a very great Lover of his Pleasures'[2] and as 'the Father of all pleasant Gallantry'.[3] Dacier speaks of the 'galanterie' of the Odes: C.I.v is 'si galant' and C.III.ix shows 'la galanterie fine et aisée de la Cour'.[4] The writer of the Discours considers C.II.xii 'un chef-d'oeuvre de délicatesse' and calls Horace 'galant dans les sujets enjoüez'.[5] Blondel and the writer of the Discours stress the refinement of the Augustan age: the former writes that it was

> every way the most Gallant, the most Polite, and the most Illuminated of all that preceded, or since succeed it, [6]

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1. Gentleman's Journal, June 1694, Y4v-Z.
2. Sherburne, 17. He also retails a much heightened version of Horace's sexual pleasures from Suetonius: 'Horace before his Death, caus'd several Glasses, or Mirrors to be plac'd on every side of his Chamber, that he might at once see divers Lascivious Postures, and entertain himself to the last with voluptuous Thoughts', Sherburne, 35.
3. Sherburne, 85.
4. I.88, III.212.
5. II.a3.
6. Sherburne, 85.

and the latter calls Augustus 'Prince d'un esprit poli et cultivé par les belles Lettres'.[1] These are all ideas pursued by English writers.

II. Translation

In 1730, John Hanway could write that Horace 'has been Translated, Paraphras'd, or Criticiz'd on, by Persons of all Conditions, and both Sexes.'[2] During the latter half of the seventeenth century, innumerable translations of single odes of Horace appeared in print in miscellanies.[3] But the great popularity of Horace for translation reflects not so much a love of Horace as an interest in the techniques of translation. In the Restoration, translation had become a fashionable exercise, almost a craze.[4] Translators now sought not to give an accurate account of the content of the originals nor to reproduce their spirit but to produce a lively version - see the revealing comment of Peter Motteux, praising Tom Brown's vulgar modernised versions of Horace:

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1. II.a2v.

2. Translations of several Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace (1730), A2v.

3. There were three editions of Brome's anthology of Horatian translations, with changes, and many translations in Dryden's series of miscellanies, The Gentleman's Journal and other miscellanies. Many of these were collected together in 1715, first in a pirated edition and then by Tonson. See further Appendix B. There were also MS. miscellanies with a quota of Horace translations: e.g. Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet. 173, which contains a section headed 'Select Pieces out of Horace', fol.27.v, many of which are from printed miscellanies, and Bodl. MS. Firth c.15, see Vieth(b), 25-6.

4. Translation in the Restoration has been much studied. See esp. the very full thesis by Musgrove, which has much on translations of Horace, and also Amos, 135-178; Trickett, 145-51; Brooks(b); Spingarn, I.xlviii-lviii.

> You have seen before some of Mr. Thomas Brown's Imitations of Horace, and I doubt not but you will like the following Odes. Tho he hath copied them after that great Master, they have all the life and beauty of Originals. And it were to be wished, he would give us more of them in this modern dress; for Poetry barely translated, like Wine poured out of one Vessel into another, seldom fails to lose most of its spirit, which a free Paraphrase, or an Imitation full of Wit and Humor preserve. 1

Often their idea of translation is closer to what might be called variatio,[2]

> where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run division on the ground-work, as he pleases. 3

A translation is a variation on a theme, and the variations can be more or less virtuoso and distant from the theme.[4] All sorts of techniques were employed: burlesque, facetious and sprightly humour, Pindarisation, modern stylistic devices, clever modern parallels,[5] and any kind of novel experiment.[6] Horace was especially popular because he wrote short poems, suitable for experiments with

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1. Gentleman's Journal, Jan. 1691/2, 13.
2. Similar to school exercises in amplification and variation, see Jacobsen, 116-9, on Erasmus' De Copia, and Hoole's directions for reading Horace, 197-8.
3. Preface to Ovid's Epistles, Watson, I.268 (my italics).
4. See e.g. Dryden's version of C.III.xxix and Congreve's of C.I.ix, and see Musgrove, II.476-484, III.776-777.
5. On modernisation, see Brooks (b); Musgrove, II.509-546; Trickett, 102-5. The Restoration use of modernisation is often less a serious alignment of old and new than a game, the search for 'a Modern pat Equivalent' (Henry Killigrew's phrase, Epigrams of Martial, A6v), which will surprise the reader (contrast earlier examples, above, 40-44). As used by the translators of Horace, it seldom seems to rise above the limited and trivial, a vehicle for abuse in satire and amusement in lyric, although Pope and Johnson were to use it more seriously.
6. Cowley was initiator of all this, in his translations of C.I.v, Serm.II.vi, C.III.i. etc.

the new techniques.[1] Though there are a handful of good translations of Horace in the period,[2] too many are marred by tasteless enlivening.

Thomas Creech's volume of translations stands slightly apart from the miscellany translations. Like the earlier translators, he translated a substantial part of Horace, and, in his introduction, he rejected the new methods of translation, Cowleian paraphrase and contemporary references.[3] On the whole, he eschews the enlivening techniques and the spirited mode of Flatman and Tom Brown, and his translations present a different Horace, a rather dull and pompous moralist, another way in which Horace appears in the Restoration and after.[4]

Creech writes throughout in a heavy dull manner, which though less individual, may be seen as descended from Cowley; his version of C.III.i echoes Cowley's verbally and imitates the worse aspects, the inflation and pomposity. Creech's versions are still fairly free compared with earlier seventeenth-century translations, and are much expanded, being recast into a conventional Neo-classical diction, where each noun is given an adjective:[5] a typical intrusion are purling streams and springs.[6] The result is turgid: the economy and originality of Horace's language are lost. Creech's versions lack the informality and intimacy of the Odes, which Fanshawe had to some

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1. Musgrove, II.471, 537, 542, and passim, demonstrates that the new techniques, modernisation, Pindarisation etc., were especially applied to Horace. The Brome volume was a herald of many of the new techniques, see Brooks (b), and the changes made between the 1st and 2nd editions reflect the new fashions, see Brooks (b); Musgrove, II, Chapter viii, passim, III.571-2.
2. E.g. those by Dryden, Sedley's C.II.viii, Otway's C.II.xvi.
3. A7, A7v.
4. See also Addison's translation of C.III.iii (Musgrove,III.705), Hughes' version of C.II.xvi.
5. See e.g. his version of C.III.i.
6. Musgrove gives a list of such phrases, III.650-654.

extent captured, and also their humour. When he does try to be light, he falls into the usual Restoration trap and over-lightens the tone of his original. In his translation of C.I.ix, for example, like Dryden and Congreve, he misses the seriousness of Horace and overdoes the sexual element.

Gone is the ability to respond to the blending of serious and light, and gone, too, is the lyricism which earlier poets had striven for. Contrast Creech's version of C.IV.vii with Fanshawe's:[1] note the dull diction, the addition of adjectives to every noun and the conventionalising of the lines on the seasons:

> The Snows are gone, and Grass returns again,
> New Leaves adorn the Widow Trees
> The unswoln Streams their narrow banks contain,
> And softly role to quiet Seas:
>
> The decent Nymphs with smiling Graces joyn'd,
> Now naked dance i'th'open Air
> They frolick, dance, nor do they fear the Wind
> That gently wantons thro their Hair.
>
> The nimble hour that turns the Circling Year
> And Swiftly whirls the pleasing Day,
> Forewarns Thee to be Mortal in thy Care
> Nor cramp thy Life with long delay:
> The Spring the Winter, Summer wasts the Spring,
> And Summers beauty's quickly lost,
> When drunken Autumn spreads her drooping Wing
> And next cold Winter creeps in Frost. 2

Another exceptional volume is J.H.'s translation of the Odes and Epodes.[3] Though published in 1684, these translations are written in a much earlier style. They are very literal and highly compressed, and they eschew modernisation. They use stanzas similar to those of

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1. Quoted above, 64.
2. 138.
3. On J.H. see Appendix B, note iii.

'Unknown Muse' and Fanshawe,[1] and they often seem close in rhyme-words and phrasing to the two earlier volumes, especially to 'Unknown Muse'.[2] My guess is that they were written in the 1650s,[3] and drew on 'Unknown Muse' and Fanshawe.

III Dryden

As the Horace of the early seventeenth century had been Jonson's, so the Horace of the post-Restoration period was Dryden's. His critique of Horace in the Preface to Sylvae is especially startling if one recalls Jonson's tribute in Discoveries, showing the great change in attitude:

> His morals are uniform, and run through all of them [his works]; for let his Dutch commentators say what they will, his philosophy was Epicurean; and he made use of gods and providence only to serve a turn in poetry .... The most distinguishing part of all his character seems to me to be his briskness, his jollity, and his good humour. [4]

The latter remark seems imperceptive, suggesting a narrowing of response from that of earlier poets, who had been alive to the subtleties of tone and feeling in Horace.

Various factors lie behind Dryden's judgement. The first is personal, Dryden's poetic temperament was different from Horace's: according to Mark Van Doren, he has the Pindaric temper, 'impassioned and superlative, and ... inspired by the spectacle of human glory'.[5]

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1. Many have a trochaic element like 'Unknown Muse's' translations, e.g. C.I.ix; C.I.xxiii; C.II.ix; C.II.xiv.
2. Compare J.H.'s versions of C.I.xxiii; C.II.xiv; C.II.vi; C.II.xv; C.IV.vii with 'Unknown Muse's' and his versions of C.II.iii and C.II.xvi with Fanshawe's.
3. See further Appendix B, note iii.
4. Watson, II.30-1.
5. 192.

Many of the Horatian themes to which earlier poets had responded did not speak to his poetic interests, for example the themes of transience and the rejection of display, or that of the acceptance of natural limitations which appealed to Jonson and later to Pope. His fascination with the heroic and sublime led him away from Horace. He preferred Juvenal in the field of satire,[1] and his early panegyrics are in the heroic style of Waller, very different from the Horatian panegyric mode created by Marvell in An Horatian Ode. Characteristically, the poems of Horace which he admired were the more heroic and grand ones. He praised the epistle to Augustus for its elevated style,[2] and, of the odes he translated, the one which 'infinitely pleased me in the reading'[3] was C.III.xxix, one of the grandest of Horace's odes.[4]

A historical reason is that Dryden misunderstood Horace's philosophy because his view of Epicureanism was coloured by various contemporary philosophical trends which he read into Horace. He connected the physical theory of Epicurus with that of Hobbes, and his picture of the Epicurean materialist universe was coloured by the darker shades of the Hobbesian world, despite the fact that Epicurus was not a determinist.[5] Dryden objected strongly to the idea of a world without hope of immortality.[6] And his view of Epicurus' pleasure ethic was

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1. See A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire, esp. Watson, II.129-30.
2. Watson, II.130.
3. Watson, II.31.
4. Dacier speaks of its 'expression ... sublime', III.480, and the 1694 Delphin of its dictio grandis, 238. Similarly, they both praise C.I.iii for its grandeur.
5. See Watson, II.25, and Hooker; Bredvold (a) and (b), 47-72. On Hobbes and Epicurus, see Mayo, 115-127.
6. Watson, II.26.

coloured by the libertine ethics of the supposed followers of Hobbes, Rochester and the court rakes. Dryden's interpretation of Horace's Epicureanism can be seen, I think, causing a certain distortion of tone in his translation of C.I.ix. Perhaps following Dacier, he dismisses the gods with more scorn than Horace,[1] and his invitation to pleasure, emphasised as sexual, is more urgent: Horace's balanced serenity has been transmuted into a more febrile gaiety.

A literary-historical reason is Dryden's attitude to lyric, which is typical of his period, when lyric was divided into high and low, ode and song, ornate and simple, the Killigrew ode and the light songs from the plays. We can see the separating process at work in Dryden's translations of Horace. C.I.ix becomes a lighter piece, in a jaunty rhythm, whereas C.III.xxix becomes grander. Following Creech, Dryden turns it into Pindarics, the metre of the grand ode, and the tone becomes less intimate and more sententious: any hint of playfulness disappears (see for example stanza III). Lyric was not in any case Dryden's prime interest: in the dedication of the Aeneis, he dismisses lyric as fit for the trifling French.[2] Thus, he was not strongly motivated to look deeply into Horace: he was not interested in the complex lyric techniques which Horace had offered to earlier poets, blends of tone and of diction.

Dryden did appreciate certain elements of Horace's style in the Odes as the Sylvae critique shows:

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1. Though I do not agree with the view expressed in the California edition that Dryden was deliberately criticising Epicureanism, III.293-4.

2. Watson, II.238.

> That which will distinguish his style from all other poets is the elegance of his words, and the numerousness of his verse; there is nothing so delicately turned in all the Roman language. There appears in every part of his diction, or (to speak English) in all his expressions, a kind of noble and bold purity. His words are chosen with as much exactness as Virgil's; but there seems to be a greater spirit in them. There is a secret happiness attends his choice, which in Petronius is called curiosa felicitas, and which I suppose he had from the feliciter audere of Horace himself. 1

But there is an element of danger here. 'Noble and bold purity' is a fine phrase if it refers to Horace's precision of language. Dryden's translations demonstrate that he was appreciative of the clarity and finality of Horace's style, witness the 'Happy the Man' stanza from C.III.xxix or the lucidly-outlined vignette of the first stanza of C.I.ix (contrast Congreve's fussy version). But one suspects that Dryden also implies a Wallerian decorousness, an avoidance of the shocking. Elsewhere, he calls Horace 'a great refiner of the Roman tongue'.[2] In his later years, the period of his translations, Dryden began to place much greater emphasis on correctness and propriety in style.[3] Ovid and Cowley, the favourites of his youth, are criticised for their freedoms with language, and Virgil and Horace are set up as masters of a correct style.[4] Such an emphasis undervalues the element of the surprising in Horace.[5] Rachel Trickett describes well the perfect pure language which Dryden was trying to create out of English in his later years.[6] Such a style, though supple and lucid in

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1. Ibid. II.31. And see also II.125, 203, I.177, 201.
2. Ibid. I.177.
3. See esp. the preface to the translation of du Fresnoy's De arte graphica, the dedication of the Aeneis and the preface to the Fables.
4. See Watson, II.163, 242, 280.
5. See above, 87-89.
6. 74-9.

Dryden's hands, lacks some of the Horatian richness. Dryden bequeathed a slightly too refined notion of classical style - witness the contrast between Pope's and Jonson's translations of C.IV.i.[1]

Dryden was more interested in Horace's hexameter poems than in the Odes. He experimented with various types of the sermo. Many of his panegyric epistles are written in a more elevated style than Horace's, but in his prologues and epilogues and some of his prose dedications,[2] he experimented with a more informal literary causerie, and he claimed that he was imitating Horace's epistolary style in Religio Laici.[3] His skill in manipulating different levels of style[4] may owe something to Horace's hexameter poems: though his final judgement on Horace's satiric style in The Discourse is adverse, earlier, he notes that 'his style is constantly accommodated to his subject, either high or low'.[5]

Dryden also imitated Horace's panegyric epistles in some of his panegyric epistles to friends. He admired Epistles I.iv to Tibullus, which he employs to praise Sedley in the dedication to The Assignation. He also admired the grander epistle to Augustus, and its discussions of literary history may be felt behind e.g. To the Earl of Roscomon, on his Excellent Essay on Translated Verse, To my Dear Friend Mr.

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1. See above, 2-3.
2. He says that the dedication of the Aeneis is modelled on Epistles II.i and the Ars Poetica, Watson,II.232. Two good examples are the dedication of The Assignation and the preface to All for Love. In these, Dryden makes brilliant use of Jonson's strategy in Poetaster of projecting his literary quarrels back into the world of Horace's Satires. I am sorry that I do not have the space to elaborate this.
3. Kinsley, I.311.
4. See for example the Panther's tale of the swallows in The Hind and the Panther, Kinsley, II.514-5, which incorporates 2 lines of Horace.
5. Watson, II.125.

Congreve and To Sir Godfrey Kneller. The tone of such pieces, that of a man speaking intelligently to cultivated equals who share his assumptions, is modelled on Horace's Epistles, and the ease with which Dryden introduces himself into the poems is also reminiscent of the Epistles.[1]

In the dedication of The Assignation, Dryden develops the idea of Horace as model of civilised behaviour, another important Restoration image of Horace. He compares Horace's circle to his own:

> Certainly the poets of that age enjoyed much happiness in the conversation and friendship of one another. They imitated the best way of living, which was to pursue an innocent and inoffensive pleasure; that which one of the Ancients called eruditam voluptatem. We have, like them, our genial nights, where our discourse is neither too serious, nor too light, but always pleasant, and for the most part instructive: the raillery neither too sharp upon the present, nor too censorious on the absent; and the cups only such as will raise the conversation of the night, without disturbing the business of the morrow. [2]

Here, Dryden is responding to e.g. the country meal of Serm.II.vi or to Epistles I.v.[3]

Dryden is a very various poet, and it is only fair to point out that, at times, he strikes a beautiful Horatian note.[4] One example is The Epilogue Spoken to the King ... March the Nineteenth 1681. Writing amidst all the turmoil of the Exclusion crisis, after alluding to current affairs, Dryden recommends to the audience relaxation into a fuller humanity and abandonment for an evening to other of life's claims, art and enjoyment, in lines of a fine poise and graciousness:

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1. See e.g. To Kneller, 11.89-101; To Congreve, 11.64-73.
2. Watson, I.186.
3. Note the 'morning after' topic, see above, 262-3.
4. There are also one or two brilliant reworkings of Horatian motifs, see the portrait of Shaftesbury in Absalom and Achitophel, 11. 159-162, Kinsley, I.221, and The Hind and the Panther, I.128-133, Kinsley, II.473, both clever variations of C.II.x.1-4.

> But while your daies on publick thoughts are bent
> Past ills to heal, and future to prevent;
> Some vacant houres allow to your delight,
> Mirth is the pleasing business of the Night,
> The Kings Prerogative, the Peoples right.
> Were all your houres to sullen cares confind,
> The Body wou'd be Jaded by the Mind.
> 'Tis Wisdoms part betwixt extreams to Steer:
> Be Gods in Senates, but be Mortals here. 1

This is more than just a Cavalier attack on Puritan morality: it is a fine response to the ethos of Horace's symposiac poems.[2] The tone of Dryden's later work is often nearer to Horace than his earlier work.[3] We often find a note of genial acceptance of life, which is akin to Horace, heralded in the translation of C.III.xxix, where Dryden attains the right poise and serenity in the 'Happy the Man' stanza and the right gaiety in the final stanza. Similar is the mood of To my Honour'd Kinsman, John Driden, of Chesterton, a modernisation of Epode II, with its celebration of a balanced way of life, and also of the conclusion of Theseus' speech in Palamon and Arcite, where Boethius seems to have become Horace.[4] The culmination of this mood is the superbly poised vision of The Secular Masque, dry, but hopeful and gay, a fine reinterpretation of that comic spirit which Dryden saw as Horace's chief characteristic.

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1. Kinsley, I.210-211.
2. See also a passage in the dedication of the Pastorals, Watson, II.222, on enjoying the present.
3. On Dryden's Horatian old age, see Trickett, 77.
4. 'To thank the gracious Gods for what they give,/Possess our Souls, and while we live, to live', Kinsley, IV.1528 (note the imitation of vixi, see above, 252, note 1.

IV Restoration Wits

The same responses to Horace as are found in Dryden can be traced in other writers of the period. First, there is the image of the dedication of The Assignation. Horace becomes the period ideal, the man of the Town, with contemporary standards of good taste in conduct and in speech[1] - see Oldham's translation of the Ars Poetica, where Horace's notions of propriety of language are recast from the angle of 'men of breeding and of quality',[2] and his translation of Serm.I.ix, where the bore is cast as the 'familiar fop' and 'coxcomb' of Restoration Comedy, who is ignorant of good manners and is the foil to the man of sense.[3] (Contrast Jonson's use of the poem in Poetaster to expose ignorance and malice.) Horace is often praised for wit and gallantry. Captain Ayloffe speaks of 'the gallant easie Wit of Horace',[4] and some notes to Roscommon's translation of C.I.xxii describe the ode as 'so Polite and Gallant, as never to be sufficiently commended' ... 'In all the Books of Chivalry there is nothing more gallant'[5] - a very different approach to the poem from earlier ones. This kind of notion affects the tone of some translations.[6]

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1. See R. Sharrock, 'Modes of Satire', in Restoration Theatre, Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies no. 6, ed. J.R. Brown and B. Harris (1965), 128-131.
2. See Dobrée, 155-6, 'In my opinion' etc. A.P. 244-250.
3. See Sharrock, 129, and for the ethos of Restoration Comedy, Fujimura, chapters I-III. See also Rochester's Timon, based on Boileau's 3rd satire (in turn based on Serm.II.viii) but drawing also on Serm.I.ix for the opening. Here again, the protagonist is a man of sense, who despises the out-dated and stupid mores of his hosts. Boileau is partly responsible for the 'manners' approach to Horace, Sharrock, 129.
4. The miscellaneous works of the honourable Sir Charles Sedley, A4v.
5. Poems by the Earl of Roscomon (1717), 108, 110.
6. E.g. the translation of C.I.vi in Tonson's miscellany, 15-16.

The idea of Horace as the man of elegance and civilisation was to be a standard eighteenth-century approach - see, for example, Hurd's comment: 'Horace's familiarity is that of a perfectly polite and elegant speaker, as well as of an easy well-bred man'.[1] It was to be most effectively exploited by Pope in Moral Essays and Imitations of Horace, which are most nearly paralleled towards the end of our period by Congreve, in two very successful Horatian epistles, both addressed to Sir Richard Temple, later Viscount Cobham, the patron and friend of Pope, Of Pleasing and Letter to Viscount Cobham.[2]

Again, Horace was often lightened and trivialised. Creech described him as 'loose Horace, whose Verses have all-most as many Nudities as his Closet'.[3] Otway found his poetry provocative:

> But when to give our minds a Feast indeed,
> Horace, best known and lov'd by thee, we read,
> Who can our Transports, or our longings tell,
> To taste of Pleasures, prais'd by him so well?
> With thoughts of Love, and wine, by him we're fir'd,
> Two things in sweet retirement much desir'd:
> A generous Bottle, and a Lovesome She,
> Are th'onely Joys in nature, next to Thee,[4]

and Prior viewed him as the presiding genius of his sexual pleasures and nights-off:

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1. II.220.
2. Dobrée, 323, 400.
3. T. Lucretius Carus, b3v. The allusion is to Suetonius, quoted above, 32.
4. Ghosh, II.444.

> While with Labour Assiduous due pleasure I mix
> And in one day attone for the Busyness of Six
> In a little Dutch Chaise on a Saturday Night
> On my left hand my Horace and on my right
> No Memoire to compose and no Post-boy to move
> That on Sunday may hinder the softness of Love ... [1]

Many Restoration translations lighten and vulgarise Horace.[2]

One cause of this approach was neo-Epicureanism. The cult of pleasure and hedonism of various kinds were fashionable among courtiers such as Waller, Saint-Evremond, Temple, Rochester, Etherege, Wycherley and others, and there was an upsurge of interest in Epicurus and Lucretius.[3] Though accurate accounts of Epicurus' teaching about pleasure could be found in Charleton and Stanley, the hedonistic philosophy of Rochester and the Restoration wits, perhaps best entitled libertinism, was not a technical philosophy. It was a popular philosophy, compounded of many sources, principally Hobbes, Montaigne and Epicurus. It was a rationale for a life-style, a position of attack against conventional morality, rather than a logically worked out philosophy.[4] A recurrent emphasis was that the senses were a surer guide to happiness than reason, the theme of Rochester's A Satyr

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1. Wright and Spears, I.158.

2. See e.g. Flatman's versions in the second edition of Brome, e.g. C.III.xxvi (see Musgrove, III.921-2); Stepney's version of C.III.vii in Tonson, 98, and anon's of C.II.iv, p.52; many versions in The Gentleman's Journal, e.g. Tom Brown's C.II.xi, Jan.1691/2, p.13, and C.I.xxvii, March 1691/2, p.10; Mr. J.G.'s C.III.xxi, Nov.1692, p.13, and C.I.xxxviii, April 1692, C1v; Sir J.G.'s C.II.xi, April 1692, B4; W.Pittis' C.III.xxvi, June 1693, 190; anon, C.III.xxvi, Aug. and Sept. 1694, 227; anon,C.III.ix, April 1692,10

3. Mayo.

4. See Monk, Five Miscellaneous Essays by Sir William Temple, xix-xxiv; Fujimura, 39-57; Underwood, 10-40; Mayo, 147-163, 170-5; Marburg, 12-25. In Sur la Morale d'Epicure, for example, Saint-Evremond distorts Epicurus' pleasure ethic in order to fit it to his own beliefs, see Mayo, 88-90.

against Reason and Mankind.[1]

Such attitudes colour readings of Horace, who was often made to back up libertine doctrines. In an anonymous manuscript translation of C.III.xxi, there is a significant addition, with no parallel in the Latin, to the passage on the powers of wine, adumbrating the Rochesterian philosophy:

> With ease thou leap'st Morality's weak Fence,
> And bravely hunt'st the noble Game of Sense.[2]

Carpe diem is often employed as an argument for abandonment to sensual, usually sexual, pleasures, see for example 'Since Death on all lays his impartial hand'.[3] It is similarly distorted in translations of Horace, see for example the version of C.I.iv[4] in Dryden's first miscellany, an erotic fantasy, or Tom Brown's version of C.I.ix:

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1. See esp. ll.94-111. This poem demonstrates some differences between the hedonism of Horace and that of 'libertinism'. The tone is too cynical for Horace, and the bias too anti-rational. Rochester has transformed his source, Boileau's eighth satire, which was modelled on Horace and attacked, not reason itself, but man's irrationality and false reasoning: influenced by Montaigne and Hobbes, he attacks reason itself. It may also be noted that Hobbes had poured scorn on the idea of felicity as repose of mind, defining it as 'a continuall progresse of the desire, from one object to another', Leviathan, ed. Waller, 62. For Rochester, also, man is 'void of all rest'. See also his letter to his wife, Hayward, no LXX, p.288.

2. Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet.152, fol. 129v. See also Ashton's translation of Serm.II.vi.60-5, 'when all my care shall be,/For health, and pleasure my philosophy' (my italics), in Etherege, Letterbook, ed. S. Rosenfeld (1928), 364-5, see Vieth (b), 266-70.

3. The poem has been variously attributed to Rochester, Etherege and the deist, Charles Blount, see Etherege, ed. Thorpe, 134-6: it is printed by Thorpe, 59.

4. Not by Rochester, see Appendix B, note iv.

> We'll have no more of Business; but, Friend, as you love us,
> Leave it all to the Care of the Good Folks above us.
> Whilst your Appetite's strong, and good Humour remains,
> And active, brisk Blood does enliven your Veins,
> Improve the sweet Minutes in Scenes of Delight,
> Let your Friend have the Day, and your Mistress the Night ...[1]

Two lines are added in John How's translation of C.II.xi to conclude the poem which crystallise the Restoration idea of Horace's carpe diem philosophy:

> The rest let's leave to the unseen Powers,
> This Moment and this Glass is ours. 2

Original poems on symposiac themes also tend to distort the Horatian invitation to pleasure, in contrast to earlier poets. In some of Cotton's drinking poems, for example, Horatian mirth degenerates into boisterousness - see for example Clepsydra, where the sophistication of the Horatian voice has been transformed into the pose of the Restoration man of sense:

> The moralist perhaps may prate
> Of vertue from his reading,
> 'Tis all but stale and foisted chat
> To men of better breeding, 3

or Chanson à Boire, where there is no sense of achieved self-mastery:

> He ne'er can recover
> The day that is over,
> The present is with us and threatens no ill;
> He's a Fool that will sorrow
> For the thing call'd to-morrow,
> But the hour we've in hand we may weild as we will.[4]

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1. Tonson, 21. See also Gentleman's Journal, Feb. 1691/2, p.9, attributed to Brown, March 1691, p.10. See also the translation of C.I.xi by Peter le Neve, Bodl. MS.Eng. poet.d.152, fol.9v, where the sexual element is heightened, and Congreve's version of C.I.ix.
2. A collection of poems by several hands, 200. On the Epicureanisation of Horatian translations in the Restoration, see Røstvig(b), 238-252.
3. Buxton, 218.
4. Ibid. 216.

The larger resonances of the idea of recreation, to which earlier poets responded, tend to disappear.[1]

In other writers, we find the idea of Horace as a master of accommodation and a philosopher of worldly common sense. This is the view adumbrated in Letters supposed to have passed between M.De St. Evremond and Mr. Waller. These are fictional letters by Dr. John Langhorne,[2] which offer us an eighteenth-century view of the image of Horace held by two Restoration rationalists and men of the world. In one, 'Saint-Evremond' writes:

> Teach me, dear Waller, like thee, to sail down the Current of Life, without Fear or Disorder, obedient to every Gale, and complying with every Tide! Teach me, like thee, on whatever Shore I am thrown, to make it my optata Arena. - Horace, and Aristippus, and Epicurus, those Philosophers of Common Sense, shall assist you in the Work of Conversion.[3]

As with the view of Horace as a libertine, this view is in complete contrast to earlier seventeenth-century views: Horace has become a trimmer instead of the Stoic exponent of constancy. It is interesting to note that the steering imagery of C.II.x is now used to express the new conception, together with the phrase from Epistles I.i, quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. We find it in the passage just quoted, and in 'Waller's' reply, which recommends being born by the current,[4] and in Etherege:

> Humble to fortune, not her slave,
> I still was pleased with what she gave,
> And with a firm and cheerful mind
> I steer my course with every wind
> To all the ports she has designed.[5]

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1. See also e.g. Rochester's Anacreontics; Sedley, Out of Lycophron, Pinto, I.40, Song, cxxxi, II.196, The Toper, II.197; Flatman, The Unconcerned, Saintsbury, II.349; Prior, Quid sit futurum, Wright and Spears, I.455; Oldham, The Careless Good Fellow, Dobrée,133.
2. Mayo, 175-7.
3. I.66-7. This is a fair pastiche of Saint-Evremond's style and philosophy, see e.g. Sur la Morale d'Epicure, Oeuvres meslées,III.460.
4. 70-1.
5. Thorpe, 47.

This approach to Horace continues in the eighteenth century. Matthew Green's The Spleen is a neat exposition of Horatian 'plain common sense' and 'how I do myself demean/In stormy world to live serene',[1] in which he recommends gliding with the current:

> Happy the man, who innocent
> Grieves not at ills, he can't prevent;
> His skiff does with the current glide,
> Not puffing pull'd against the tide;
> He, paddling by the scuffling crowd,
> Sees unconcern'd life's wager row'd,
> And when he can't prevent foul-play,
> Enjoys the folly of the fray. 2

Pope introduces a similar metaphor into his imitation of Epistles I.i to elucidate Horace's philosophical position, 'And win my way by yielding to the tyde'.[3] This conception of Horace, like the earlier view, seems an over-simplification, though in an opposite direction: it makes him too glib and smug.

It should be noted that one or two poems from this period offer a fine response to Horatian rational enjoyment. Otway's translation of C.II.xvi attains something of the poise and dignity of the original. Wycherley's To an Ingenious Young Man, so sollicitous for the Future that he neglected the Present gives a serious exposition of carpe diem, recognising that it involves a mental attitude not just a programme of pleasure. Prior has a neat little invitation poem to Harley, An Extempore Invitation to the Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer, 1712 (we have now reached the eighteenth century), employing the topics of the small man and humble food to compliment the great statesman. Congreve's Letter to Viscount Cobham offers a fine expansion of the philosophy of its original, Epistles I.iv.

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1. Williams, 28, 6.
2. Ibid. 17. See also ll. 357-364, p.16, and 814-835, p.31.
3. L.34, Butt, IV.281.

Congreve ends the poem by casting himself in the role of Horace:

> Come, see thy Friend, retir'd without Regret,
> Forgetting Care, or striving to forget;
> In easy Contemplation soothing Time
> With Morals much, and now and then with Rhime,
> Not so robust in Body, as in Mind,
> And always undejected, tho' declin'd;
> Not wondering at the World's new wicked Ways,
> Compar'd with those of our Fore-fathers Days,
> For Virtue now is neither more or less,
> And Vice is only varied in the Dress;
> Believe it, Men have ever been the same,
> And all the Golden Age, is but a Dream. 1

The mixture of dry realism and genial acceptance here is a fine reinterpretation of Horace and product of the period's scepticism and rationalism.

Another cause for the lightening process was the polarisation of lyric into the great ode and lesser ode or song, a phenomenon which lasted into the late eighteenth century.[2] The great ode was, inevitably after Cowley's Pindarique Odes, associated with Pindar, and also with the Longinian sublime.[3] And so, inevitably, the lesser ode became associated with Horace[4] - inevitably, because

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1. Dobrée, 401-2.

2. See Boileau, L'Art Poetique, Chant II.58-70; Mulgrave, An Essay upon Poetry, Spingarn, II.288, 289-90; Sir Thomas Blount, De re poetica, Concerning the Pindarique Ode, 65-8, Concerning Songs or Sonnets, Madrigals, Rondelays, etc, 69-71; Ambrose Philips, The Guardian, no xvi, March 30, 1713. Horace had set a precedent in A.P, 83-5, lines often quoted by writers on the lyric, e.g. Philips; Gildon, The laws of poetry, 122; Trapp, Lectures on poetry, 211; E.Young, 'On Lyrick Poetry', in Ocean. An ode (1728), D2. See further Maclean.

3. See Maddison; Shuster; P.Wilson, passim. On the sublime and Longinus, see S.H.Monk, The Sublime A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII - Century England (Ann Arbor paperback ed. 1960).

4. See esp. Philips: 'Sappho, Anacreon, and Horace, in some of his shorter Lyricks, are the compleatest Models for little Odes or Sonnets'. Also Blount, citing Rapin, 69; John Aikin, Essays on song-writing, ix, 14, and passim; Hugh Blair, Lectures on rhetoric, II.355. Boileau in the passage cited in note2 was thinking of Pindar and Horace as exemplifying the two types, as he uses the swan-bee antithesis of C.IV.ii to characterise the two kinds, and alludes to the coquette of C.I.ix to characterise the subject matter of lighter odes.

there existed in the Restoration, with its love of antithesis, an antithesis between Pindar and Horace,[1] which, like Dryden's antithesis between Homer and Virgil,[2] was an antithesis between the poet of nature and the poet of art.[3] P. Wilson demonstrates that the antithesis was created partly by substituting Horace for the more unfamiliar Bacchylides in Longinus' comparison of flawed sublimity and flawless mediocrity, and partly by taking seriously Horace's humorous comparison of himself and Pindar in C.IV.ii to the bee and the swan, the laborious and the sublime, a comparison which is exaggerated in Cowley's rendering. We may find this antithesis in the conclusion of Blondel's Comparaison:

> Pindar has some things more surprizing than Horace, and comes nearer, as we may say, to what is Divine. His Works have a Natural Liberty. It seems the only force of his Genius hath produc'd them without the aid of any Foreign Succour ... But for Horace, he hath a larger extent of Knowledge than Pindar, more Equalness, more Sweetness, and Jovialness, and much fewer Defects. His Thoughts likewise are very noble, and his Diction much more correct and pure,[4]

and in a note by Noel D'Argonne:

> Pindare a plus d'élévation qu'Horace: Horace a plus de délicatesse, d'agrément et d'egalité que Pindare. L'un donnoit plus a l'entousiasme et l'autre au bon sens. 5

Such ideas could easily be applied to the contrast between the great ode and the song.[6]

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1. The comparison of Pindar and Horace goes back to Ascham, The Scholemaster, 119.
2. Preface to the Fables, Watson, II.274-77.
3. P. Wilson, 115-121.
4. Sherburne, 87-8.
5. Noel D'Argonne, Mêlanges d'histoire et de litterature, par M. de Vigneul Marville (4th edition, 1725), II.137. P.Wilson also cites O.Borrichius, Dissertationes academicae de poetis (Frankfurt, 1683), 25; J.Tollius, 'Animadversionum Criticarum ad Longinum Gustus', in his edition of De sublimitate (Utrecht, 1694), 349, 350; E.Fenton, Poems on several occasions (1717),219; Pope, The Temple of Fame, Butt, III.272-4. See also Prior, A Satyr on the modern Translators, II.161-2, Wright and Spears, 23.
6. E.g. in Mulgrave's prescriptions for song and ode, song is to be flawless, while ode is allowed a certain latitude, as fancy, not judgement, rules it: i.e. the Longinian antithesis, suggesting the Horace Pindar antithesis. See the Boileau passage, for the swan-bee antithesi

All this was not at all helpful for the true appreciation of Horace's Odes. Restoration and eighteenth-century critics were prevented by the conventional categories from recognising the 'mixed'[1] nature of Horace's Odes: they could only speak of variation between odes not within them.[2] There now became two logical ways of imitating Horace. One was to remodel his odes along the lines of the Restoration conception of the grand ode of Pindar, as in Cowley's rendering of C.III.i, Dryden's of C.III.xxix. and innumerable other examples in the various miscellanies.[3] The typical result was a loss of the Horatian components of concision, humour and intimacy. In a letter to Samuel Say, John Hughes explains why he has translated C.II.xvi into Pindarics. Sapphics are too light a metre for the grand moral theme: the uniform repeated stanza makes him think of the song, not of the great ode:

> The Sapphic measure is indeed very musical, and what Horace seems best to have practised, but it seems too soft, and fit only to be employed on love, and pleasant easy subjects; it is too much confined, like the usual measure of our songs; and the lofty sense of some of his odes soars above it. Our English Pindaric is undoubtedly more majestic, and the various length and shortness of the lines, as well as the mixture and returns of the rhyme, well-chosen; and therefore, as I said before, it is the most proper for such odes as have any thing of the sublime in them. I wonder Horace, did not introduce something like it into his language, being so great an admirer of Pindar. [4]

This passage is very revealing of the attitude to the lyric of late-seventeenth century poets. Their conception of the grand ode blinded

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1. See above, 87-9, 90-1.
2. See, e.g. Blondel (Sherburne, 75-77); Trapp, 211f; Blair, II.358-9; Pope, The Temple of Fame, 11.228-9, Butt, II.273.
3. See Musgrove, II.476-85, 537-40; P.Wilson, 200-202.
4. Letters, by several eminent persons deceased. Including the correspondence of John Hughes, Esq. (1772), III.27-8.

them to Horace's true character and made them prefer grandiose rhapsodic pseudo-feeling to the Horatian balance and realism, witness Hughes' version of C.II.xvi printed in Dryden's sixth miscellany.

The other way to imitate Horace was to bring him into line with modern prescriptions for the song,[1] which was essentially un-Horatian in several important respects. Devoted to 'gallantry or drinking',[2] it was supposed to be uniformly gay and sprightly.[3] And it was supposed to be written in a simple style on one topic.[4] But Horace's style is not neo-classically pure: it does not aim at perfect regularity, smoothness and ease.[5] Mulgrave's metaphor of the smooth ring and Philips' of 'a little Image in Ennamel' do not seem especially suitable to describe the Odes. The lack of metaphor and other rhetorical devices disqualify the song as a version of the Horatian ode. Also, pace Ambrose Philips, it is Horace's constant technique in the Odes to interweave two or three themes.[6]

The songs of Dryden, Rochester, Sedley, Dorset, Mulgrave, Etherege, Wycherley, Congreve, Prior and Philips follow the pattern described by Mulgrave and Philips.[7] These lyrists were felt by contemporaries to be following Horace. Ayloffe compares Horace and the moderns:

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1. See Musgrove, II.468, 485-8, 540-2. Some translations were actually set to music, see The Gentleman's Journal, July 1692, p.24, for Peter Motteux's version of C.IV.x, set to music by Mr. Damascene, p.32; and Bodl.MS.Mus.c.26, fol.139v, for How's version of C.II.xi set as a two part song by Mr. Bishop.
2. Gildon, 89.
3. Blair, II.355; Aikin, 17.
4. Philips; Aikin, 12.
5. See above, 88.
6. See above, 72.
7. See further J.H. Wilson, 85-108, and Peltz.

> The gallant easie Wit of Horace is not always much superiour to the Normanbys, the Dorsets, the Rochesters, and the Sedleys. [1]

Elijah Fenton wrote of Dorset in a dedication to his son:

> And, my Lord, Your Father came the nearest of all the Moderns to Horace, in the Sweetness and Gallantry of his Lyricks, [2]

and J.H. links Dorset, Prior and Horace:

> smooth Prior's Muse,
> Deep, Clear, Concise, yet copious in One,
> By None, but Dorset's Flaccan-Air, out-done. [3]

Prior, late in the tradition, more polite and mild than his predecessors,[4] was especially linked with Horace. He cast himself in a Horatian role, see Written in the Year 1696, and his letters are full of Horatian allusions.[5] John Aikin singles out a poem by Prior, 'If Wine and Musick have the Pow'r' as 'truly Horatian'.[6]

More modern critics have also felt Prior's lyrics to be 'truly Horatian',[7] but certain reservations should be made, bearing in mind what I have already said about the Restoration song. In some of his lyrics, Prior captures something of the spirit of Horace's love poetry. The witty brevity of 'The Merchant, to secure his Treasure' and its detached mockery of lovers' strategems may remind us of Horace, but there is an element of the arch and trite, which Horace avoids, for example in the Pyrrha ode, by the elaboration of language and metre.

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1. The miscellaneous works of the honourable Sir Charles Sedley, A4v.
2. Oxford and Cambridge miscellany poems (1708), A2v.
3. Leighton-Stone-Air, A Poem (1702), quoted Harris, 240.
4. See further Trickett, 142-5.
5. See Goad, 365-9, 91-4.
6. 111.
7. Goad, 98, 107-110; Peltz, 114-6; H.M.O. White in Orazio nella Letteratura Mondiale, 105, 107; Burgevin, 66-8.

In A Better Answer, Prior recalls C.III.ix in order to evoke the realism of Horace's attitude to love and to persuade his mistress to make up their quarrel:

> Then finish, Dear CLOE, this Pastoral War;
> And let us like HORACE and LYDIA agree:
> For Thou art a Girl as much brighter than Her,
> As He was a Poet sublimer than Me. 1

We may feel that Prior comes closer to the human spirit of Horace's poem than do some earlier renderings, for example Hall's. But the poem, with its jaunty anapaestic rhythm and its colloquial language, is too slight for a Horatian imitation and lacks the emotional resonance of C.III.ix.

The same is true of the majority of late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century love lyrics. The poets often use Horatian motifs[2] and adopt similar attitudes to love.[3] They treat love with Horatian detachment, realism and sophistication: they enjoy, like Horace, dealing with love's ironies and complexities. We may think of Mulgrave's The Warning, Etherege's 'Ye happy youths, whose hearts are free', much of Congreve, e.g. 'Love's but the Frailty of the Mind' and 'Tell me no more I am deceiv'd', and Prior's twenty-four songs. As with Horace, the fickleness and changeableness of lovers

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1. Wright and Spears, I.451.
2. E.g. the fawn motif of C.I.xxiii, see Etherege's To a Lady Who Fled the Sight of Him, Thorpe, 5; Congreve's 'Ah stay! ah turn!, Dobrée, 377; the sea of love of C.I.v, see Sedley's 'Love still has something of the Sea', Pinto, I.19; Cotton's Woman, Buxton, 138; Flatman's The Humourist and The Penitent, Saintsbury, III.340, 345; Prior's The Lady's Looking-Glass, Wright and Spears, I.198. The theme of the aged coquette, recalling C.IV.xiii, was a favourite of lyric as well as satire and drama, see Dorset's 'Tell me, Dorinda, why so gay' and The Antiquated Coquet, Johnson, 198, 201. Female coquetry and faithlessness are favourite Restoration topics, see Congreve's 'Fair Amoret is gone astray', Dobrée, 284; Wycherley's To a False fickle Mistress, Summers,III.49; Mulgrave's The Warning and To a Coquet Beauty, Johnson, 29,38. C.I.v, C.II.viii and Epode XV were favourites for translation, see esp. Sedley's elegant translation of the Barine ode. Both Dryden and Congreve heighten the picture of coquetry at the end of C.I.ix in their translations. Rochester's The Disabled Debauchee, Vieth, 166, was perhaps inspired by C.III.xxvi.
3. Horace's love poems are more popular for translation in this period than earlier, see Appendix C.

are favourite topics. Congreve's ironic The Reconciliation, like C.III.ix, deals with the theme of the rapid reversals of mood of lovers. Philips' 'From White's and Will's' mocks at the coquetry of the woman and the fickleness of the man. Mulgrave's The Reconcilement, another poem on the reconciliation theme of C.III.ix, advocates a rational attitude to lovers' quarrels. Occasionally a poem attains a certain Horatian resonance, e.g. Sedley's 'Love still has something of the Sea', with its blend of detachment and feeling. But most of the poems are too light for imitations of Horace; they stick to one theme and they do not succeed in elevating the small.

In this period, the main poetic interest shifts from the lyric to satire, and consequently Horace's Satires become a more fertile source of inspiration than the Odes. The stylistic range of Restoration satire is even greater than that of Horace's Satires, but, with their flexibility of style, they did provide a starting point for experiments with the sermo.[1] The kind of complexity and richness, the blends of serious and light tones and high and low language, which we miss in the lyrics of the period may be found in many passages of satire, for example in the De Ruyter passage in Marvell's The last Instructions to a Painter, with its combination of heroic-Shakespearian, serious irony and jest,[2] in many passages of Dryden,[3] and in Rochester's portrait of Corinna, in A Letter from Artemisia in the Town to Chloe in the Country, which, like C.IV.xiii, combines the satiric and the pathetic.[4] These passages herald the complexities of Pope's satires,

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1. By e.g. Rochester and Oldham.
2. Ll.523-560. See Nevo, 175-8; Farley-Hills, 84-5.
3. See R.A. Brower, Alexander Pope The Poetry of Allusion (1959), 6-7; Nevo, 256-8, on Corah in Absalom and Achitophel, and Trickett, 63-4, on The Hind and the Panther, III.279-97.
4. Ll.193-208. See Trickett, 93.

which were certainly influenced by Horace's hexameter poems: like the Epistles, they are full of personal emotion.[1] The ease with which Pope introduces an allusion to death into the elegant banter of The Rape of the Lock, deepening the tone and reminding us of our natural limitations, may remind us of Horace and of Ben Jonson's interpretation of Horace:

> Then cease, bright Nymph! to mourn the ravish'd Hair
> Which adds new Glory to the shining Sphere!
> Not all the Tresses that fair Head can boast
> Shall draw such Envy as the Locke you lost.
> For, after all the Murders of your Eye,
> When, after Millions slain, your self shall die;
> When those fair Suns shall sett, as sett they must,
> And all those Tresses shall be laid in Dust;
> This Locke, the Muse shall consecrate to Fame,
> And mid'st the Stars inscribe Belinda's Name! 2

V The Cowleians

There was a group of writers - poets and essayists - after 1660 who continued in an earlier tradition of Horatian imitation. Chief among them were Charles Cotton, John Norris, Katherine Philips, Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, Lady Mary Chudleigh, John Evelyn and Sir William Temple.[3] Poets we do not normally associate with them, for example Oldham and Wycherley, sometimes wrote poems in their vein. We find many tributes to Cowley in the work of this group, echoing Sprat's idealisation of him in An Account,[4] and the influence

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1. See his translation of Epistles II.ii.55-7. For Pope's use of Horace, see esp. Brower.
2. Butt, II.137. See Trickett, 169.
3. On the poets of this group, see Røstvig (b), 252-310.
4. See esp. Katherine Philips, Upon Mr. Abraham Cowley's Retirement Ode, stanza V, in Saintsbury, I.577 and John Rawlet, On Solitude, stanza 17, Poetick miscellanies, 67. See also Oldham, Dobrée, 75; J.S., The innocent epicure, 59; John Tutchin, Poems on several occasions, 7, 13, 15; Mary Chudleigh, Poems on several occasions, 26, 61.

of Cowley in theme and form is dominant in all of them. They imitate the Cowley of the Essays and of moral-reflective poems on Horatian themes, and they all follow the serious moral interpretation of Horace found in the Essays in contrast to the lightened conception of Horace prevalent in the Restoration. We may suspect that Katherine Philips and Anne Finch knew Horace only through Cowley: others of the group knew Horace directly,[1] but their conception of Horace was derived from Cowley. Through him, they reached back to the themes that had appealed to earlier seventeenth-century poets - the liberty and wealth of the controlled soul, the praise of simplicity and moderation and of a contented and rational existence.

The way in which these writers interpret Horace through Cowley may be neatly demonstrated by the way they adopt Cowley's scheme in Of Liberty, whereby he divides the enslaved of Serm.II.vii into three categories, 'the Ambitious, the Covetous, and the Voluptuous'.[2] One example is in Oldham's Horatian Pindaric, Counterpart to the Satire against Virtue, which is heavily endebted to the Ode. Upon Liberty:[3] stanza 5 echoes stanza 1 of the Ode.[4]

Cowley's Essays were the model for several essayists. Not all were as slavish imitators as John Tutchin, whose essay, A Discourse of Life, written in prose and verse, on the theme of man's search

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1. For their translations, see Appendix C.
2. See above, 321.
3. See further Brooks' edition of Oldham, IV. 1133-1139, passim.
4. See also Mulgrave's The Rapture, Johnson, 88; Rawlet's On Psalm 39, 6,7, Poetick miscellanies, 96; Walsh's The Retirement, Letters and poems, 107; Anne Finch's A Pindarick Poem Upon the Hurricane, Reynolds, 252; Cotton's Contentation, Buxton, 251.

for happiness, is a crude précis of the Essays:[1] his praise of Horace follows Cowley's in Of Agriculture:

> It was a noble and resolute act of Horace, to chuse the melancholy Dome in the Tiburtine Wood, before the place of Secretary to Augustus. He was too much a Poet, to be pleased with any kind of Lustre, beside the Ornaments of the Mind; and certainly never Man appear'd in more splendor upon that account than he. He was too well acquainted with the folly of Noise and Tumult: He could not be ignorant of the pleasure of a Country Retirement, who had all the Muses for his instructors. 2

Both Temple's Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or, Of Gardening and Evelyn's Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets contain a blend of moral philosophy, gardens and poetry - often Horace - which is reminiscent of the Essays.

Temple's essay demonstrates very clearly the eclectic approach of seventeenth-century writers to philosophy, who take what appeals to them from any school and blend it with other beliefs.[3] Through a bit of verbal juggling, Temple equates the systems of the Stoics and the Epicureans, Both, he says, 'concluded that happiness was the chief good, and ought to be the ultimate end of man':

> The Stoics would have it to consist in virtue, and the Epicureans in pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the Stoics made the pleasure of virtue to be the greatest happiness; and the best of the Epicureans made the greatest pleasure to consist in virtue; and the difference between these two seems not easily discovered. 4

Temple goes on to list the generalised Horatian precepts that appealed to seventeenth-century writers:

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1. Compare p. 140 with Essays, 386.
2. 141-2. See Essays, 408.
3. On Temple's philosophy, see Marburg, 1-25; Monk, xviii-xxxii, passim; Mayo, 90-5.
4. Monk, 6.

> All agreed the greatest temper, if not the total subduing of passion, and exercise of reason, to be the state of the greatest felicity, to live without desires or fears, or those perturbations of mind and thought which passions raise; to place true riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much, and true pleasure in temperance, rather than in satisfying the senses; to live with indifference to the common enjoyments and accidents of life, and with constancy upon the greatest blows of fate or of chance; not to disturb our minds with sad reflections upon what is past, nor with anxious cares or raving hopes about what is to come; neither to disquiet life with the fears of death, nor death with the desires of life; but in both, and in all things else, to follow nature; seem to be the precepts most agreed among them. 1

Like Cowley, Temple clearly understands Epicurus' pleasure ethic, and the tone of his essay is closer to Cowley's Essays than to other Restoration versions of hedonism. His essay is really a panegryic of the simple life of the gardener, supported by appeals to Epicurus and the poets.[2] Temple praises Horace in similar terms to Cowley's:

> For Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace, they deserve, in my opinion, the honour of the greatest philosophers, as well as the best poets of their nation or age ... Horace, besides the sweetness and elegancy of his lyrics, appears, in the rest of his writings, so great a master of life, and of true sense in the conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean strain of his philosophy to refuse being secretary to Augustus, when so great an Emperor so much desired it, 3

and he ends his essay, imitating Cowley, on a personal note, casting himself in a Horatian role of lover of retirement[4] and quoting and translating Epistles I.xviii.96-112 to characterise his retreat.[5]

Evelyn's Acetaria opens with an account of vegetables and how to make a salad, and goes on to a praise of simple diet and a discourse on content with little. As with Cowley, the philosophy mostly

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1. Ibid. 6-7.
2. See pages 10, 15-16.
3. Monk, 9-10.
4. 34.
5. 34, 35.

comes from the poets. There are several quotations from Cowley himself ('the sweet poet, whom I can never part with for his love to this delicious toil')[1] and several from Horace - two from Serm.II.ii, Ofellus' speech on plain living.[2] Evelyn ends the essay with a passage in praise of simplicity, which reminds us of Horace and Cowley:

> There was then also far less expensive grandure, but far more true state; when Consuls, great statesmen (and such as atchiev'd the most renown'd actions), supp'd in their gardens; not under costly, gilded, and inlaid roofs, but the spreading platan; and drank of the chrystal brook, and by temperance and healthy frugality, maintain'd the glory of sallets, ah, quanto innocentiore victu! with what content and satisfaction! 3

and with quotations from Serm.II.vi and the Sex Libri Plantarum.[4]

Lady Mary Chudleigh's Essays upon several subjects in prose and verse were also influenced by Cowley's Essays. Though less attractive and brilliant, her essays, like Cowley's, are a search for happiness and peace of mind, which is found in the rejection of ambition and avarice and in contraction of desire and self-rule: they are full of Horatian passages.[5] Echoing Sprat's declaration that Cowley's Essays were 'a real Character of his own thoughts upon the point of his Retirement',[6] she claims in To the Reader that the 'following Essays were the Products of my Retirement'[7], and, like Cowley, though less skilfully, she attempts to relate the moral themes

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1. Upcott, 793. See 763, 785-6, 793, 799.
2. Ibid. 782, 797.
3. Ibid. 797. See also Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, II.20-33.
4. Serm.II.vi.1; Plantarum, IV.1 f (Upcott, 799).
5. See pp. 58, 60, 72, 85, 119, 125, 133.
6. Spingarn, II.138.
7. A4.

to her own experience, to her struggles to master various disappointments and the death of her daughter.

It would take too long to list all the poems on Horatian-Cowleian themes by the poets of this group.[1] We could point to the continuity through Cowley of some of the Horatian moral images that appealed to earlier writers e.g. the heir,[2] the simple meal,[3] the merchant.[4] But I shall confine myself here to looking at the 'vote' poem.

The vote poem was an expression of the poet's chosen life-style, and thus it merges with poems which contain a recipe for the happy

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1. Røstvig picks out many of the important poems. I think that she overemphasises the Epicureanism of these poets as a distinguishing feature from earlier seventeenth-century poets. Mary Chudleigh, whose heroes were Socrates and Epictetus (see Essays, 71-2, 119-127, 37-8), was certainly as much influenced by Stoic doctrines of indifferentia and ἀπάθεια . On the importance of Stoicism in the Restoration, see Miner (a), 1032 and passim. In general, the moral topics used are the common property of Stoics and Epicureans, employed not technically but to fit in with Christian beliefs, as with the writers of the earlier part of the century. The important things is that these later writers are often close in tone to earlier writers.

2. Cowley, Essays, 384; Oldham, A Satire. Addressed to a Friend, Dobrée, 221; Flatman, On Poverty, in Saintsbury, III.364; Rawlet, On Psalm 39, 6, 7, Poetick miscellanies, 97; Wycherley, Upon the Idleness of Business, Summers, III.105, 107-8, Upon Avarice, IV. 51-2; Chudleigh, The Inquiry, Poems, 106.

3. Cowley, Essays, 431; Cotton, The Answer, Buxton, 115-6; Tate, The Banquet, Poems (1667), 68-9; Rawlet, An account of my Life in the North, Poetick miscellanies, 90; Anne Finch, The Petition for an Absolute Retreat, Reynolds, 69-70; Chudleigh, The Song of the Three Children, Poems, 57, Of Anger, Essays, 140; Pomfret, The Choice, Chalmers, VIII.307.

4. Cowley, Poems, 8; Wycherley, Ease, Summers, IV.181; Congreve, To the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin, Dobrée, 342; Chudleigh, Of Avarice, Essays, 201.

life.[1] The Horatian sources were C.I.xxxi, Serm.II.vi. 60-7 and Epistles I.xviii.104-112. The opening of Serm.II.vi provided a model for a fulfilled vote, and Epode II was, of course, a favourite description of the happy life.[2] There had been a few vote poems on the model of these passages before Cowley, for example, Herrick's His wish, which is modelled on Epistles I.xviii:

> It is sufficient if we pray
> To Jove, who gives, and takes away:
> Let him the Land and Living finde;
> Let me alone to fit the mind.[3]

But it was undoubtedly Cowley who was the model for Restoration writers, among whom the form became very popular. Cowley had written several poems on this pattern, A Vote, The Wish, and a Latin poem, which concludes Of Liberty.[4] The Essays also contain a vote passage in prose[5] and several prose recipes for happiness.[6] These poems and passages contain all the ingredients of the Restoration vote poems - friends, books, a small house and large garden and a life of Horatian moderation.[7]

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1. On the vote poem, see Røstvig (b), 41, 213-5, 250-1; Rivers, 15, 19.
2. Other classical models were Martial's various epigrams on the happy life translated by Cowley, I.lv; II.liii; II.90; X.xlvii; X.xcvi; V.xx; Essays, 386; 387; 455; 460; 461; Poems, 38; and also Seneca's chorus from Thyestes and Claudian's De sene Veronensi, both translated by Cowley, Essays, 399, 447; and Virgil, Georgics, II.458-540, Essays, 409. There were several neo-Latin poems of this kind, e.g. Lipsius' Laus et Votum Vitae Beatae (Iusti Lipsii epistolarum selectarum, Centuria prima, 13), translated by John Ashmore and William Sancroft (Bodl. MS. Sancroft 48, fol.27v). Ashmore's translation will be found along with other similar neo-Latin poems in the appendices to Certain selected Odes, The Praise of a Country Life and Of a Blessed Life, p.94. See also De Constantia, Book II.ii.
3. Martin, 59. See also, His wish, 294; His wish to God, 371. His Grange, or private wealth, 246, and A Thanksgiving to God, for his House, 349, could be regarded as fulfilled votes. See also Rowland Watkyns, The Wish, Flamma sine fumo, 63; Fane, To my Gracious God, Otia sacra, 121; Shirley, The Garden, Gifford, VI.454-5.
4. Essays, 386.
5. Essays, 420.
6. Ibid. 386, 399, 431-2, 447.
7. Pace Rivers, 19, Røstvig (b), 250-1, the form of the vote poem perhaps always implies something of a preference for moderation.

John Oldham's Counterpart to the Satire against Virtue ends with a vote, in stanza 9, in which, again echoing the Ode. Upon Liberty, he wishes for a life of Pindaric liberty.[1] His A Satire. Addressed to a Friend also contains a vote passage, in which he wishes for a life of freedom, on the model of Horace's life in Serm.I.vi and Serm.II.vi:

> 'T has ever been the top of my desires,
> The utmost height to which my wish aspires,
> That Heaven would bless me with a small estate,
> Where I might find a close obscure retreat;
> There, free from noise and all ambitious ends,
> Enjoy a few choice books, and fewer friends,
> Lord of myself, accountable to none,
> But to my conscience, and my God alone:
> There live unthought of, and unheard of die,
> And grudge mankind my very memory. 2

John Norris' The Retirement, modelled on The Wish,[3] is a fulfilled vote,[4] with the Horatian topics of self-rule and the rejection of state affairs. Freedom follows Cowley in rejecting the life of the great man fettered in state and formulates an ideal of freedom in a modest retreat:

> Let my sand slide away apace,
> I care not, so I hold the glass.
> Let me my Time, my Books, my Self enjoy,
> Give me from cares a sure retreat;
> Let no impertinence my hours employ,
> That's in one word, kind Heaven, let me ne're be great.[5]

There are many other examples.[6] A special variant was the angling vote,

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1. Dobrée, 243. Compare Cowley, Essays, 391.
2. Dobrée, 225.
3. See ll.1-4, A collection of miscellanies, 24.
4. See also Sitting in an Arbour, 40.
5. Ibid. 141.
6. Cotton, The Retirement, stanza x, Buxton, 51; Roscommon, Ode upon Solitude, stanza iii, Johnson, 239; Otway, Epistle to R.D. from T.O, ll.123-134, Ghosh, II.446; Tutchin, Poems on several occasions, 147-8; N.Tate, The Choice, Poems (1667), 115; Walter Pope, The Old Man's Wish, The theater of musick, ed. H.Playford (1685), I.50; Mary Chudleigh, On the Death of .... the Duke of Glocester, Poems, 1-2; Anne Finch, The Petition for an Absolute Retreat, Reynolds, 68; Prior, Written at Paris, 1700, Wright and Spears, I.188, Down-Hall, stanza vii, I.551; Pomfret, The Choice, Chalmers, VIII.307; Henry Coley, Dimidium facti, qui bene coepit, Merlinus Anglicus junior (1694), C 2v.

which looks back, not only to Horace and Cowley, but to The compleat angler. The innocent epicure: or, the art of angling. A poem, by J.S, is prefaced with a translation of Epistles I.x and contains a tribute to Cowley:[1] it looks back to Walton's treatment of the innocent recreation of angling. The poem ends with a long vote passage, which includes the Horatian topics of the simple house and the moderate diet, combined with the landscape of fishing and a stress on the 'plain honest truth' of the angler which recalls Walton:

> Blest might I live an honest Country Swain,
> And with content in little compass Reign:
> No spacious Fabricks would I care to boast,
> Convenient Neatness would delight me most;
> Where from my Shades I could with joy survey
> Expanding Meads that on each side me lay;
> Just in the mid'st a Rivulet should pass,
> With pleasing Murmurs, and transparent grace:
> If falling Waters reach'd from far my Ear,
> 'Twould raise the Landskip, and depress my care:
> Far off some good old Tow'r shou'd strike my view,
> And teach the certain state of things below.
> There neighb'ring grandeur might unenvi'd reign,
> While I'm allow'd by all the Happy Man:
> Lov'd by my Friends, and if I must have Foes,
> Envi'd for my plain honest truth by those. 2

The metamorphosis of Horace into a fisherman is an amusing development.

An important feature to note about the Cowleian-Horatian poems of the late seventeenth century is that they cultivate the personal note, which was an important part of Cowley's response to Horace. Lady Mary Chudleigh was certainly following Cowley when she declared of her poems, echoing his phrase 'my soules picture' from A Vote,

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1. 59.
2. 62. The compleat angler contains several vote poems, The Anglers wish, 123; 'Let me live harmlesly', 47. See also Thomas Heyrick, A Pindarique Ode in Praise of Angling, stanza xiv, Miscellany poems, 109-110. On the innocent recreation of angling see also Cotton, To my dear and most worthy Friend, Mr. Isaac Walton, Buxton, 27; The Angler's Ballad, 31; The Retirement, 48.

> They were the Employment of my leisure Hours, the innocent Amusement of a solitary Life: In them they'll find a Picture of my Mind, my Sentiments all laid open to their View. 1

John Norris, also, adopts Cowley's personal approach: many of his poems are devoted to his personal tastes and life-style, and he adopts Horatian personal motifs to characterise himself, for example the boat imagery of C.III.xxix and C.II.x:

> Give me a place less high, and more secure,
> This dangerous good I can't endure.
> The peaceful banks which profound silence keep
> The little Boat securely passes by,
> But where with noise the waters creep
> Turn off with Care, for treacherous rocks are nigh.[2]

Norris' poetry has undoubted charm due to the personal impact.[3] My Estate, for example, gives a nice personal twist to the Horatian ideas of the freedom of the small man and the limited tenure men have over land (from Serm.II.ii.129-135): Norris addresses the rich man:

> Nay (what you'd think less likely to be true)
> I can enjoy what's yours much more than you.
> Your meadow's beauty I survey
> Which you prize only for its hay.
> There can I sit beneath a tree
> And write an Ode or Elegy.
> What to you care, does to me pleasure bring,
> You own the Cage, I in it sit and sing. [4]

John Rawlet, also, in An account of my Life in the North, like earlier seventeenth-century poets, characterises his life in Horatian terms, employing the standard topic of simple diet:

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1. Poems, A4.
2. A collection of miscellanies, 143. See also The Discontent, 131. In The Refusal, 36, he imitates Horace's question in C.III.i.41-8.
3. See Walton, 141-157, on Norris' poetry.
4. A collection of miscellanies, 74.

> Since you, dear friend, wonder how here I live,
> This homely Verse a brief account shall give;
> I live, if not in pleasure, yet at ease,
> Not in loud laughters, but in silent peace;
> And tho I rarely meet with merriment,
> I more a stranger am to discontent:
> Here's no excess, nor are things needful scant;
> I seldom feast, but yet I never want.
> No dainties here to luxury invite,
> Our food serves well the sober appetite,
> Which need not be with poignant Sawces drest,
> Our healthful Hunger of all Sawce is best. 1

Rawlet was a clergyman, and the account of his parishioners which follows perhaps fits in rather oddly with the Horatian details.

The most successful Horatian self-characterisation is to be found in Cotton's poems. Cotton has a Horatian capacity for self-mockery, which is a little lacking in the poets of this group. In the Epistle to Sir Clifford Clifton, he gives a humorous self-portrait, external and internal, on the pattern of Epistles I.xx. 20-28,[2] and in one of three epistles to John Bradshaw, he gives a picture of his life in Beresford Hall on the Horatian pattern modernised, substituting Northern squire for Roman farmer, again in a humorous vein:

> And now I'm here set down again in peace,
> After my troubles, business, Voyages,
> The same dull Northern clod I was before,
> Gravely enquiring how Ewes are a Score,
> How the Hay-Harvest, and the Corn was got,
> And if or no there's like to be a Rot;
> Just the same Sot I was e'er I remov'd,
> Nor by my travel, nor the Court improv'd;
> The same old fashion'd Squire, no whit refin'd.[3]

Cotton portrays himself in an innocent rural setting, like Horace in Epistles I.xviii by the Digentia:

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1. Poetick miscellanies, 90. See Serm.II.ii.14-22.
2. Beresford, 269-70.
3. Buxton, 98-9.

My River still through the same Chanel glides,
Clear from the Tumult, Salt and dirt of Tides, 1

and he ends his poem with a recollection of the end of C.III.i:

I'll not exchange my Cottage for White-hall,
Windsor, the Louvre, or th'Escurial. 2

Cotton is the best of these late seventeenth-century imitators of Cowley, making a distinctive contribution to seventeenth-century Horatian poetry. Many of his poems were, in fact, written during the Interregnum, and he seems to belong in spirit to the earlier period. I have commented above on the trivialisation of carpe diem in some of his drinking poems, but he often attains a richer and more Horatian tone, for example in Winter Quatrains, where he turns, with a Horatian movement, reminiscent of The Grasse-hopper, from the contemplation of the winter scene outside, celebrated in witty seventeenth-century imagery, to the scene within doors, and offers wine and friendship as strategems to combat the cold and gloom:

There under Ground a Magazine
Of Sovereign juice is cellar'd in,
Liquor that will the Seige maintain,
Should Phoebus ne're return again ...

Then let the chill Scirocco blow,
And gird us round with Hills of Snow;
Or else go whistle to the Shoar,
And make the hollow Mountains roar.

Whilst we together jovial sit
Careless, and Crown'd with Mirth and Wit;
Where though bleak Winds confine us home,
Our Fancy round the World shall roam. 3

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1. Ibid. 99.
2. Ibid. 99.
3. Buxton, 20-1. See also The New Year to Mr. W.T, ibid. 30-1.

The poets of this Cowleian group found a tonal mean between the 'sublime' raptures of the grand ode and the lightness of the lesser ode or song. In To the Reader, John Norris rejects the lyric styles of his period:

> 'Tis with this as with our Music. From grave, majestic, solemn strains, where deep instructive sense is sweetly convey'd in charming numbers, where equal address is made to the Judgment and the Imagination, and where Beauty and Strength go hand in hand, 'tis now for the most part dwindled down to light, frothy stuff, consisting either of mad extravagant Rants, or slight Witticisms, and little amorous Conceits. 1

These poets based their style of lyric on the Cowley not of Pindarique Odes but of the moral-reflective Horatian poems, and when they wrote Pindarics, they wrote them in the quieter vein of the Ode. Upon Liberty, harmonising more with Sprat's conception of the Pindaric as close to prose[2] than with the more usual conception of it as the most exalted type of poetic utterance, furthest from rational discourse.[3] In reaching back to the Horatian moral themes which interested earlier poets, they sometimes attained, Cotton particularly, a level of tone which is closer to Horace's poetry than is most Restoration lyric, and something of the seriousness of the Odes. But we should note that for them, as for Cowley, Horace was primarily a 'great ... master of life' (Temple's phrase) rather than a great master of lyric technique. Like Cowley's, their poetry tends to the abstract, and they are more interested in Horace's themes than in the stylistic and structural devices that interested earlier poets. Thus, on the whole more conventional than Cowley and less fervent, these late seventeenth-century poets point forward to the

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1. A Collection of miscellanies, a4-a4v.
2. See P. Wilson, 166-7, 170.
3. See M.H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp (N.Y.1953), 86; P. Wilson, passim.

eighteenth-century conception of Horace as a poet not of lyric feeling but of a rational approach to living. Indeed, we can trace the line direct from the Restoration vote poem to Matthew Green's The Spleen, a poem which combines definition and vote, and adumbrates the eighteenth-century commonsensical interpretation of Horace:

> Thus shelter'd, free from care and strife,
> May I enjoy a calm thro' life,
> See faction, safe in low degree,
> As men at land see storms at sea ..... 1 etc.

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1. Williams, 27.

Appendix A

Herrick's A Country life and the Illustrium poetarum flores

line 1 'Thrice, and above, blest'.
and also lines 141-4 'Live, and live blest; thrice happy Paire; Let Breath,/ But lost to one, be th'others death./And as there is one Love, one Faith, one Troth,/Be so one Death, one Grave to both.'
C.I.xiii.17-20 felices ter et amplius/quos inrupta tenet copula nec malis/divolsus querimoniis/suprema citius solvet amor die.
De concordia, 119; De felicitate, 197; De matrimonio, 307.

lines 7-8 'By studying to know vertue; and to aime/More at her nature, then her name'.
and also lines 102-3 'And be not onely thought, but prov'd/To be what I report thee'.
Epistles I.xvi.17 tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis.
De beatitudine, 90; De bonitate, 97; De credulitate, 129.

lines 19-20 'those who have the itch/Of craving more, are never rich.'
C.III.xvi.42-3 multa petentibus/desunt multa.
De avaritia, 82.
C.III.xxiv.62-4 scilicet inprobae/crescunt divitiae, tamen/curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.
De avaritia, 83.
(scabiem lucri, Epistles I.xii.14 not in Mirandula)

lines 22-3 'because thou art content/With that Heav'n gave thee with a warie hand'.
C.III.xvi.43-4 bene est cui deus obtulit/parca quod satis est manu.
De frugalitate, 220.

lines 59-60 'Making thy peace with heav'n, for some late fault/With Holy-meale, and spirting-salt'.
C.III.xxiii. 19-20 mollivit aversos Penatis/farre pio et saliente mica.
De sacrificio, 446.

lines 65-67 'Th'industrious Merchant has; who for to find/Gold, runneth to the Western Inde,/And back again, (tortur'd with fears) doth fly'.
Epistles I.i.45-6 inpiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,/per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis.
De avaritia, 81
C.I.i.15-16 luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum/mercator metuens
De paupertate, 383.

line 68 'Untaught, to suffer Poverty'.
C.I.i.18 indocilis pauperiem pati.
De paupertate, 383.

lines 75-6 'A heart thrice wall'd with Oke, and Brasse, that man/Had, first, durst plow the Ocean'.
C.I.iii.9-12 illi robur et aes triplex/circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci/conmisit pelago ratem/primus.
De navigatione, 352.

lines 93-6 'But thou liv'st fearlesse; and thy face ne'r shewes/ Fortune when she comes, or goes./But with thy equall thoughts, prepar'd dost stand,/To take her by the either hand.'
Serm.II.vii.84 quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent.
Serm.II.vii.88 in quem manca ruit semper fortuna.
De libertate, 290.
C.II.iii.1-2 aequam memento rebus in arduis/servare mentem.
De adversitate, 15.
(C.III.xxix.53-56, laudo manentem etc. not in Mirandula.)

lines 135-6 'But to live round, and close, and wisely true/To thine owne selfe'.
Serm.II.vii.86 et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus.
De libertate, 290.

line 139 'There to disport your selves with golden measure'.
C.II.x.5 auream...mediocritatem.
De mediocritate, 308.

There are still one or two quotations from Horace in Herrick's poem which I cannot find in Mirandula: line 1, 'my soules halfe', animae dimidium meae, C.I.iii.8; 1.108, 'or with the first, or second bread', vivit siliquis et pane secundo , Epistles II.i.123; 1.136, 'and knowne to few', qui natus moriensque fefellit, Epistles I.xvii.10; the allusion in 11.99-100 to C.IV.iv.57-60. There is also a possible reminiscence of C.I.xvii. 1-9 in 11. 51-2; 11. 113-4 on the simple diet derive from C.I.xxxi. 15-16 or Epistles I.xii.7-8; and the picture of the wife in 11.31-42 recalls Epode II.39-48, as well as Martial X.xlvii.10.

Appendix B

A list of books of translations and some notes

Thomas Drant, A medicinable morall, that is, the two bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of Saint Hierome (1566).S.T.C. 13805.

Thomas Drant, Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Pistles, and Satyrs Englished (1567). S.T.C. 13797.

[John Ashmore], Certain selected Odes of Horace, Englished (1621). S.T.C. 13799.

T[homas] H[awkins], Odes of Horace the best of lyrick poets (1625. Also 1631, 1635, 1638, 1652.) S.T.C. 13800, 13801, 13802, 13803, Wing H 2770, 2771.

Henry Rider, All the Odes and Epodes of Horace (1638. Also 1644). S.T.C. 13804, Wing H 2767.

J[ohn] S[mith], The lyrick poet, Odes and Satyres (1649). Wing H 2772.

[Richard Fanshawe], Selected parts of Horace, prince of lyricks (1652). Wing H 2786.

[Unknown Muse], All Horace his lyrics (1653). Wing H 2766.

[Ed. Alexander Brome], The poems of Horace, consisting of Odes, Satyres, and Epistles, rendred in English verse by several persons (1666. Also 1671, 1680). Wing H 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784.

[Thomas Creech], The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace (1684. Also 1688, 1711, 1715, 1718, 1720, 1730, 1737 etc.) Wing H 2774, 2775.

J[ohn] H[arington], The Odes and Epodon of Horace, in five books (1684). Wing H 2773.

Published by A. Bell, T. Varnam, J. Osborn, J. Brown and J. Baker, The Odes and Satires of Horace, that have been done into English by the most eminent hands (1715).

Published by Jacob Tonson, The Odes and Satyrs of Horace, that have been done into English by the most eminent hands (1715. Also 1717, 1721, 1730).

Some Notes

i) 'Holyday's Horace'

The following passage from the entry on Barten Holyday in the D.N.B. is perhaps the source of a widespread confusion:

> In 1653 he published: 'All Horace his Lyrics, or His Four Books of Odes and his Book of Epodes Englished', 8vo. Wood remarks: 'This translation is so near that of Sir Thomas Hawkins, or that of Hawkins so near this, that whether, of the two is the author remains to me as yet undiscovered.'

All Horace his lyrics appeared anonymously in 1653: a prefatory poem states that it is by 'an unknown Muse'. If one compares the translations in this volume with those of Hawkins, Wood's comment appears to be nonsense: they are quite dissimilar. In fact, Wood was commenting on quite a different volume of translations, as the full quotation from Athenae Oxonienses shows: 1

> Odes of Horace. Lond. 1652. oct. Whether printed before that time I know not. This translation is so near that of Sir Tho. Hawkins, printed 1638 in oct. or that of Hawkins so near this, that whether of the two is the Author, remains to me, as yet, undiscovered. 2

This is a volume which appeared in 1652 with the following title:

> Horace. The best of lyrick poets. Containing much morality, and sweetnesse. Together with Aulus Persius Flaccus his Satyres. Translated into English by Barten Holyday.

This volume consists of two parts: first, a reprint of the 1625 selection of Hawkins' translations from the Odes (i.e. the 1st edition of Hawkins) and secondly, a reprint of Barten Holyday's translation of Persius. The title was perhaps intentionally misleading: the book was probably piratically printed. 3 (It is interesting to note that the Bodleian copy of this volume, Malone 361, has 'Holydays Horace' on the spine). If Wood thought that the 1625 translations of Hawkins were by Holyday, his comment makes perfect sense: Hawkins had made slight revisions in later editions, so that the 1625 and 1638 translations are in truth 'near' each other. (Compare, for example, his two translations of C.I.i and contrast the translation in the 1653 volume.)

Though modern scholars have recognised that the 1653 Horace is in no sense a plagiary of Hawkins, 4 they still assume that it is

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1. See Musgrove, I. 203-4; Cameron, 70.
2. Athenae Oxonienses (1691-2), II.170.
3. Musgrove, 203-4.
4. The new C.B.E.L. is an exception: it still says that All Horace his lyrics is based on Hawkins' versions. Cameron also, rather oddly, says that the 1653 volume is based on Hawkins, 70-1.

by Holyday.[1] Is there any reason for this? If Wood had been misled by the title of the 1652 volume, there is no a priori reason to suppose that there was a genuine Holyday's Horace.

A possible source of confusion is Brome's anthology. In the following passage, Brome is explaining how he compiled his volume:

> I made bold to take in all such parts of HORACE, as have been Englished by the Lord Embassadour Fanshaw; and what were omitted by him, I supplyed with such as have been done by Sir Thomas Hawkins, or Dr. Holiday, or both, for they are both the same; and whether of the two is the Author, remains to me undiscovered: What were not touched by these, I gathered out of Mr. Cowleys and other Printed Books; and such as were not Translated by others, my self and several friends of mine at my request have attempted. [2]

Now Brome's method when compiling the versions of the Odes was in fact to use Fanshawe first, and if there was no version by him to use Hawkins 1638, and if there was no version by Hawkins to use the 1653 anonymous version (except for C.I.vi, where he printed a version by Cotton.) But it is clear that when he speaks of the similarity between Hawkins and Holyday, he is speaking of the similarity between the 1638 volume and the 1652 volume. He is not speaking of the 1653 volume which must be included under the heading of 'other Printed Books'. (Indeed otherwise this would only refer to William Cartwright's version of C.IV.xiii). It should be noted that Brome initials Fanshawe's and Hawkins' versions R.F. and T.H. but he leaves the 1653 versions anonymous. His volume does not give any ground for supposing that the 1653 volume was by Holyday.

Perhaps it was, but there seems to be a need for further evidence than Wood's comment. [3] I should not like to give a judgement on internal evidence alone: both the 1653 version of Horace and Holyday's Persius translation are literal, and neither is very distinguished. [4] Prima facie it seems unlikely that Barten Holyday, ex-student of Christ Church and Archdeacon of Oxford, friend of Ben Jonson and author of a successful translation of Persius, should have published translations of Horace anonymously.

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1. With the exception of Cameron, 70-1. See e.g. Brooks (a), 200; Musgrove, 203-4; Edden, 150.

2. A5-A5v.

3. Musgrove, 204, and note, p.226, speaks of a copy of All Horace his lyrics in the B.M. catalogue dated 1652 and with the initials B.H. on the title page. But I cannot find this in the current printed catalogue. Nor does it seem to be true that the motto timui mutare modos et carminis artem was used elsewhere by Holyday (it is not in his Persius translation): this has particular relevance to the Horace translation, which attempts to recreate the original metres. I have looked in the Stationer's Register but can find no entry.

4. Both are prefaced by verse arguments.

ii) Contributors to Brome's Horace

These are identified by Brooks (a) and Cameron. I have only two further points to make. First, the anonymous translation of C.IV.vii, which is in both the 1660 and 1671 volumes, is by Robert Creswell (or Cresswell). An earlier version, signed R.C., may be found in an autograph MS of Robert Creswell's, Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. f.24. Creswell was Abraham Cowley's room-mate in Trinity College, Cambridge. [1] In Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet.246, there is a letter, dated May 12, 1638, addressed to Falkland, in which he recommends to him Cowley, 'my ingenious chamber fellow'. [2] According to Sprat, the Latin epistle in the preface to the Sex Libri Plantarum was addressed to Creswell, then in orders. [3] Creswell was an old Westminster, like Cowley, and a minor poet. More manuscript poems will be found in Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. f.24, Bodl. MS. Rawl. poet. 147 and 246. There are Latin and English poems in two collections of academic verse, Συνωδια (1637), [4] and Irenodia (1641). [5] Loiseau writes of his poems:

> Ce sont soit des revues satiriques de la vie de collège, soit des chansons à boire, soit des contributions aux recueils de poèmes académiques. [6]

Secondly, a minor point, Sir T.A. is not 'a fresh contributor' to the 1671 edition: [7] the 'Sir T.A.' to whom the version of C.I.xxix is attributed is a misprint for Sir T.H. (i.e. Thomas Hawkins).

iii) J.H.

According to the new C.B.E.L. [8], J.H. is John Harington, 1627-1700 (not to be confused with Sir John Harington, the translator of Orlando Furioso, or with James Harrington, as by Wing), who also wrote The history of Polindor and Flostella, 1651, The Grecian Story, 1684, and A Pindarick ode on the death of ... Charles II, 1685. (To the Reader in The history of Polindor and Flostella is signed John Harington: The Grecian story is clearly by the same author, as it is simply a revamping of the 1651 volume, changing the metre from octosyllabics to pentameters: a list of 'Books lately Printed for William Crook' at the back of The Grecian story says that the Horace translations are by 'the Author of this Book'). Perhaps the Horace translations were also written in the 1650s and Harrington dug them out when revising The history of Polindor and Flostella, which would account for their outmoded style: alternatively, Harington, in middle age, continued writing in the fashions of his youth.

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1. On Creswell, see J. Loiseau, Abraham Cowley Sa vie, Son Oeuvre (Paris, 1931), 59-61, 484; Nethercot (b), 42-3, 59, 222.
2. See G.C. Moore Smith, 'Abraham Cowley and Lord Falkland', N. & Q. 12th Series ix (1921), 305-6.
3. Spingarn, II. 136.
4. B4v.
5. K4v, I4.
6. 60.
7. Brooks (a), 201.

iv) The 1715 anthology

Vieth (a) gives an account of the two 1715 volumes. The first was a piratical version by five London publishers, drawn from Dryden's series of miscellanies. The second was Tonson's retaliation, with the same title and a stern note to his rivals. Vieth notes that the pirate misattributes the anonymous version of C.I.iv in The First Miscellany and the version of C.III.ix from The Third Miscellany to Rochester. It was followed by John Hayward, but Tonson, the original publisher of the miscellanies, explicitly discountenances these attributions, leaving the version of C.I.iv anonymous and attributing that of C.III.ix to 'Lord Ratcliff', i.e. Edward Radclyffe.

Appendix C

Translations of the Odes and Epodes

My main aim here is to give some idea of the relative popularity of different poems in the two periods. First, I list versions in anthologies, saying if the poem is selected by Ashmore, Hawkins 1625 and Fanshawe, and if two versions appear in Brome 1666 and 1671, and listing versions in Tonson (which includes all the versions from Dryden's series of anthologies) and other anthologies. (G.J. = The Gentleman's Journal). Then I list individual translations, marking MS ones with an asterisk and their number in Crum, First-Line Index.

Odes

C.I.i Maecenas atavis

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
Tonson: 2 anonymous versions
John Polwhele* R277
William Sancroft* M65

C.I.ii Iam satis terris

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
Tonson: Arthur Maynwaring
Marvell: Latin parody

C.I.iii Sic te diva

Fanshawe
Tonson: Dryden
J.F.* S 896

C.I.iv Solvitur acris hiems

Fanshawe
Tonson: anon
Robert Southwell* 2 versions S363, S364

C.I.v Quis multa gracilis

Ashmore, Fanshawe
Brome I; 2 versions (1 by Cowley)
Tonson: Horneck, Cowley, Milton
William Browne
William Sancroft* W576
Nahum Tate

C.I.vi Scriberis Vario

Tonson: Captain R.S.
G.J. Jan. 1691/2: anon
Cotton (in Brome)

C.I.viii Lydia, dic

Fanshawe
G.J. Jan. 1691/2: Tom Brown;
April 1693: Mr. R.B.
Tate: Evelyn
Cotton

C.I.ix Vides ut alta

Fanshawe
Tonson: Dryden, Congreve, Tom Brown
G.J. Feb. 1691/2: Tom Brown
Sancroft* S283
Sherburne
Philip Ayres
Tom Brown (different version)

C.I.xi Tu ne quaesieris

Brome I: 2 versions
Sancroft* S276
Glanvill, 2 versions
Manning* D265
Peter le Neve* F474

C.I.xiii Cum tu, Lydia

Ashmore, Fanshawe
Tonson: Glanvill
G.J. March 1691/2: Thomas Sergeant
Collop, Temple

C.I.xiv O navis, referent

Polwhele* P258

C.I.xv Pastor cum traheret

Tonson: Mr. S.W.

C.I.xviii Nullam, Vare, sacra

Fanshawe

C.I.xix Mater saeva

Tonson: Congreve
G.J. Jan. and Feb. 1694: Mr Gale
H. Killigrew

C.I.xxi Dianam tenerae

G.J. Dec. 1692: Latin parody
Stephens: F. Willis

C.I. xxii Integer vitae

Ashmore, Hawkins I
Brome I: 2 versions
Tonson: 2 versions by Roscommon, Yalden, Mr. J.H.
G.J. March 1691/2: Mr. E.C.

Sancroft* T826
Rawlet

C.I.xxiii Vitas inuleo

Ashmore
4th Misc: Glanvill
G.J. July 1693: Motteux
Sancroft* T2255
H. Killigrew

C.I.xxiv Quis desiderio

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
A. Hammond* B184
Glanvill

C.I.xxvi Musis amicus

Ashmore
G.J. Sept 1693: Mr. Mitchel
Polwhele* B289
Sancroft* H600

C.I.xxvii Natis in usum

Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
G.J. March 1691/2: Tom Brown
Gildon, 1692: anon

C.I.xxviii Te maris et terrae

Hawkins I
Tonson: Prior

C.I.xxix Icci, beatis

Tonson: Duncombe

C.I.xxxi Quid dedicatum

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
Tonson: Mr. J.H.
G.J. Sept. 1693: John Tutchin
John Oldham

C.I.xxxiii Albi, ne doleas

Tonson: J.H.
Polwhele* B617

C.I.xxxiv Parcus deorum

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome II: 2 versions
G.J. May 1694: Mr. J. Philips

C.I.xxxv O diva, gratum

Hawkins I
G.J. Nov. 1692, Dec. 1692: Mr. R.T.

C.I.xxxvii Nunc est bibendum

Fanshawe
G.J. June 1692: J. Mitchel

C.I.xxxviii Persicos odi

G.J. April 1692: Mr. J.G.
Tate: anon

C.II.i Motum ex Metallo

Fanshawe

C.II.ii Nullus argento

Hawkins I, Fanshawe

C.II.iii Aequam memento

Ashmore (attrib. to Jonson),
Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: anon
G.J. Oct 1692: Mr. J.G.
Glanvill

C.II.iv Ne sit ancillae

Fanshawe
Tonson: The Lord G., Yalden, Duke
Tutchin

C.II.v Nondum subacta

Tonson: Mr. B.H.

C.II.vi Septimi, Gadis

anon* M636

C.II.vii O saepe mecum

Brome II: 2 versions

C.II.viii Ulla si iuris

Fanshawe
Tonson: Duke
Gildon, 1701: Sedley, Mr. Allen
Tate: Francis Fane

C.II.ix Non semper imbres

Hawkins I

C.II.x Rectius vives

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
Tonson: Mr. T.B., John Norris
2 anonymous versions
G.J. May 1692: anon
Tottel: Surrey, 2 anonymous versions
Sidney
Sancroft* I718
Sterrill* L455
Manning* W2830
Lovelace, Advice to my best Brother

C.II.xi Quid bellicosus

Hawkins I
G.J. Jan. 1691/2: Tom Brown;
April 1692: Sir J.G.
A Collection 1693: John How
Glanvill

C.II.xii Nolis longa ferae

Tonson: Glanvill, anon
Tate: Francis Fane

C.II.xiii Ille et nefasto

Fanshawe
Crashaw, English & Greek

C.II.xiv Eheu fugaces

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I : 2 versions
Tonson: Congreve, anon
Polwhele* 0739
Oldham
Tutchin

C.II.xv Iam pauca aratro

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: Chatwood
G.J. Aug. 1692: Mr. Mitchel

C.II.xvi Otium divos

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: Otway, anon, Hughes
Tutchin

C.II.xvii Cur me querelis

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tate: Francis Fane
William Hammond, To the Same, being sick of a Fever

C.II.xviii Non ebur neque aureum

Ashmore, Hawkins I

C.II.xx Non usitata

Brome II: 2 versions
Tate: anon

C.III.i Odi profanum volgus

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: Cowley

C.III.ii Angustam amice

Hawkins I
Tonson: Mr. J.B., Prior
(under C.II.ii)

C.III.iii Iustum et tenacem

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: Walsh, and 2 anonymous versions
Behn: anon
anon* N344
Addison

C.III.iv Descende caelo

Fanshawe

C.III.v Caelo tonantem

Fanshawe

C.III.vi Delicta maiorum

Hawkins I
Tonson: Roscommon
Behn: anon

C.III.vii Quid fles, Asterie

Fanshawe
Tonson: Mr. Stepney

C.III.ix Donec gratus eram

Ashmore, 3 versions, Hawkins I,
Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
Brome II: 3 versions (1 by Flatman)
Tonson: Lord Radclyffe, 2 anonymous versions, Duke
G.J. April 1692: anon
Poetical Rhapsody: Francis Davison (see also no.194)
The Academy of complements: anon
Jonson
Herrick
Patrick Hannay
John Collop
Stanley
Cotton
Oldham
Tutchin
Henry Killigrew
anon, burlesque version* W1891 W1997
Wotton, A Dialogue betwixt God and the Soul
John Hall, A Sea Dialogue

C.III.x Extremum Tanain

G.J. Sept. 1692: Motteux

C.III.xi Mercuri-nam

Fanshawe

C.III.xiii O fons Bandusiae

G.J. Aug. and Sept. 1694: Mr J Debnam

C.III.xiv Herculis ritu

Hawkins I
Glanvill

C.III.xvi Inclusam Danaen

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: Cowley

C.III.xxi O nata mecum

G.J. Nov. 1692: Mr. J.G.; March 1693: William Pettis

Behn: anon
Gildon, 1701: Rowe
anon* 0459

C.III.xxiv Intactis opulentior

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Glanvill

C.III.xxv Quo me, Bacche

Behn: anon
Gildon, 1701: W.S.
Glanvill

C.III.xxvi Vixi puellis

G.J. June 1693: anon: August and Sept. 1694: anon

C.III.xxvii Inpios parrae

Fanshawe
Behn: anon

C.III.xxviii Festo quid

Hawkins I
Glanvill

C.III.xxix Tyrrhena regum

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: Dryden, Temple
Sir John Beaumont

C.III.xxx Exegi monumentum

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe

C.IV.i Intermissa, Venus

Gildon, 1701: Rowe
Ben Jonson
Prior, Cantata

C.IV.ii Pindarum quisquis

Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions (1 by Cowley, ll.1-32)
Tonson: Cowley

C.IV.iii Quem tu, Melpomene

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Herbert, Latin parody

C.IV.iv Qualem ministrum

Fanshawe
Behn: anon
Prior, An Ode 1706

C.IV.v Divis orte bonis

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: anon
Glanvill

C.IV.vii Diffugere nives

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions (1 by Robert Creswell)
Tonson: Temple, anon
Tottel: anon
J.F.* S825
anon* T1339

C.IV.viii Donarem pateras

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe

C.IV.ix Ne forte credas

Fanshawe
Tonson: Stepney
Polwhele* B267

C.IV.x O crudelis adhuc

Brome II: 2 versions
Tonson: Manning
G.J. July 1692: P. Motteux; Aug. 1692: P. Motteux
anon* T2867
Sherburne

C.IV.xi Est mihi nonum

Pestell* P171

C.IV.xii Iam veris comites

Hawkins I
G.J. July 1692: W.P.

C.IV.xiii Audivere, Lyce

Hawkins I
Brome I: 2 versions (1 by Cartwright)
Tonson: anon
Tate: 2 anonymous versions
Stephens: Tom Brown
anon* (11.17-28) MS.Don.b.9, fol.18
Oldham* S860

C.IV.xv Phoebus volentem

Hawkins I

Carmen Saeculare

Behn: anon

Epodes

Epode I Ibis Liburnis

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tonson: Chetwood

Epode II Beatus ille

Ashmore, Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Brome I: 2 versions
Tonson: Dryden, Cowley
Lodge
Jonson
Sir John Beaumont
William Browne, The Happy Life
Randolph
Cotton
Thomas Fletcher

Epode V At o deorum

John Polwhele* B657

Epode VII Quo, quo scelesti

Hawkins I, Fanshawe
Tate: anon
Polwhele* W1738
Richard Duke

Epode VIII Rogare longo

G.J. July 1692: R.G.

Epode XIII Horrida tempestas

Hawkins I

Epode XIV Mollis inertia

Fanshawe
Tom Brown

Epode XV Nox erat et caelo

Tonson: Yalden
G.J. June 1692: 2 versions
Cotton
Nahum Tate

Epode XVI Altera iam teritur

Fanshawe
Polwhele# C7

Appendix D

Some favourite lines and passages

C.I.i.15-18 See p.228, 384.

C.I.iii.9-20 See p.216, 385.
Also Fane, Cui in calamitatibus soli sit fidendum; Waller, The Battle of the Summer Islands, Canto II. 28-9, Of a War with Spain, 11.51-2; Peacham, Promio et poena, 43.

C.I.iv See pp.76-9, 180-1, 192, 246-249, 253, 323.

C.I.xiii.17-20 See pp.33-4, 35, 283, 384.
Also Howell, Jacobs, I.129.

C.I.xxii
11.1-8 See 15, 37, 211.
Also Whitney, Murus aeneus, sana conscientia, 67.
11.17-24 See p.211.
Also Philip Ayres, Constancy.

C.II.ii See p.87, 200, 227, 276.
Also
11.1-4 Fellthам (1661), For Ordering of Expences; Mirandula De avaritia.
11.5-8 Fellthам (1661), Of free Dispositions; Mirandula, De liberalitate.
11.9-12 Fellthам (1628), Of a Mans selfe; Peacham, Arbiter ipse mei 82; Vaenius, 80; Mirandula, De regno, De animo.
11.13-16 Vaenius, 110; Mirandula, De avaritia.

C.II.iii.1-2 See p.194, 215, 385.
Also Mirandula, De adversitate.

C.II.ix.1-8 See p.190-193.
Also Vaenius, 160; Mirandula De vicissitudine rerum.

C.II.x. See pp.36-7, 144, 175, 190-2, 203, 209-10, 215-6, 218, 224-6, 229, 235. 294-5, 315, 334, 354, note 4, 361-2, 379, 385.
Also
11.1-8 Mirandula, De mediocritate.
11.9-12 Lists of examples in A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions, p.152, pp.183-4; The Paradise of Dainty Devices, note to no.38, p.247. Also England's Parnassus, nos.22, 525, 1403; Campion, 'Though far from joy, my sorrowes are as far'; Hall, A Defiance to Envy, 1.1f.; 'Farewel ye guilded follies', 11.15-16, in Donne, Poems, ed. H.Grierson (1912), I.466; Herrick, To his worthy Friend, M.Tho. Falconbirge; Habington, To Castara, The vanity of Avarice, Perdam Sapientiam Sapientum, Et Exaltavit Humiles; Farley, Kalendarium, G8; Brome, To his Friend Mr.I.B. being at London; Whitney, Nimium rebus ne fide secundis, 59, Feriunt summos fulmina montes, 140; Vaenius, 98.
11.13-15 Mirandula, De constantia, De fortitudine.
11.21-4 Whitney, Marte et arte, 47; Mirandula, De constantia.

C.II.xvi See p.181, 182, 227, 230-1, 232, 323.
Also
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