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Horace and Dryden

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HORACE AND DRYDEN

by

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of the
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HORACE AND DRYDEN

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INTRODUCTION

From the days when Alcuin assumed the name of Horatius Flaccus, when Metellus of Tergeneses wrote verses in imitation of the Odes and Epodes, when a monk of Toul modeled after the Satires and Epistles, the influence of Horace upon literature has been almost constant. The very qualities which prevented his belonging to any one age, his adaptability and lack of dogmatic insistence, have given him an appeal almost universal. The Horatian tradition, unbroken by temporary loss of his works, continued through the middle ages, steadily growing until it reached its zenith in seventeenth century England in the writings of John Dryden.
HORACE BEFORE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

At the very dawn of the middle ages, Horace was studied in the schools, quoted as an authority, and used as a model. Although such men as Gilbert (Sylvester II) who expounded Horace at Rheims, quote the Odes and Epodes, the didactic work attracted more attention. The lyrics fell more and more into the background, until in 1280, Hugo of Trimberg wrote,

1. As early as the ninth century, the works of Horace were studied in the schools. The satires, Epistles, and verses of moral import were memorized; the Odes and Epodes received less attention and the Carmen Saeculare almost none at all. — M. Manitus, Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz in Mittelalter, Göttingen, 1893.


3. Shortly after 936, a monk of Toul used the Satires and Epistles as a basis for the eighth part of The Calf and the Wolf and The Fox and the Lion, known as Ercbosis Captivae. In the twelfth century Metellus of Tergenæssee imitated the Odes and Epodes. — Sandys. V. I, p. 636.

Sequitur Horatius, prudens et discretus
Vitorum emulus, firmus et mansuetus;
Qui tres libros etiam fecit principales
Duosque dixtaverat minus usuales;
Epodon videlicet, et librum odarum,
Quos nostris temporibus credo valere parum
Hinc Poetrie veteris titulum ponamus
Sermones cum epistolis dehinc adiciamus."

This distinction, statistics bear out, for of the 1289 scattered quotations from Horace in the middle ages, only 25 are from the lyrics, and as many as 1039 are from the hexameters. Of these quotations, Dante contributed but seven, six from the Ars Poetica and one from the Epistles. Yet he regarded "noster magister Horatius" as one of the five great poets of antiquity.

Aside from Dante, Italian writers before the Renaissance gave little heed to Horace, for there we find but nineteen quotations, all of which are from the lyrics, and after 1265 none at all. German writers, even less influenced by Horace, contributed but two quotations, both of which were from the Carmen Saeculare. In

5. "Next comes Horace, prudent and discreet, jealous of our faults, firm and kindly; he wrote three principal books and composed two that are less familiar: a book of Epodes and one of Odes, which in our times is, I think, of little value. Hence, let us set down the title of his ancient poetry (the Ars Poetica), and let us add, also, the Satires and Epistles."


7. Sandys, V. I, p. 637.
France, however, the middle ages witnessed that tendency to imitate the Roman poet. Hildebert, Archbishop of Mans, wrote no less than ten thousand verses, using Horace and Virgil as models. Radulfius Tortarius described his journey from Balis, Caen, and Bayeaux after the manner of Horace. Gautier de Lille, not to be outdone by these scholars, bolstered his Moralium Dogma with Horatian quotations and allusions. As scholarship in mediaeval England was largely in the hands of the churchmen, it is to their writings that we turn to find the influence of Horace. Aldhelm and Alcuin were familiar with and frequently quoted the Roman poet, but they did little to further interest in him. The twelfth century revival of learning brought a renewed and deeper appreciation of Horace. John of Salisbury, probably the most learned man of the century, frequently quoted Horace along with Ovid, Virgil, Cicero and Saint Augustine. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he quoted Horace more than that mediaeval favorite, Virgil. His follower, Peter of Blois and Robert of Grosseteste and Giraldus Cambrensis quoted Horace with varying degrees of frequency. Here appeared one of the earliest versions of the Art of Poetry,


when Geoffrey de Vinsouf dedicated to Innocent III his Poetica Nova based on that of Horace.  

The full extent of this interest is seen, however, on the continent and in England from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Germany, less interested in Horace than were the Netherlands and France, produced at least one notable edition, - that of G. Fabricius.  

In the Netherlands, where the history of classical scholarship is so bound up with that of printing, it is not surprising to find a considerable number of editions of Horace. After 1557 when Horace is first mentioned there appeared the editions of such men as Theodore Poleman, Jacob Cruquinus, and Petrus Nannius. But even more important, is the edition, with comments, of Janus Dousa, to which Dryden and Dacier referred. In France, literary criticism began with the publication of Pelletier's French version of the Ars Poetica. This work seems to have inspired so many translations that J. du Bellay, one of the Pleiad, urged the duty of assimilating the classics rather than of translating them.  

Of the vast body of critical comments based on the Ars Poetica, perhaps the earliest modern attempt to treat the matter in a sympathetic manner is the Poetica (1561) of Scaliger.  

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13. Sandys, V. II, p. 188.  
Scaliger was one of the first critics to make all literary tradition depend on judicious imitation.

In Italy, where formal literary criticism had its beginnings in the late Renaissance, the De Arte Poetica of Vida was the first of a long series of works based on the Ars Poetica. Here, however, Aristotle was first consulted, and Horace was used to supplement information acquired from his predecessor. Of all the Horatian critics, Castelvetro was perhaps most quoted. Tasso and Milton laud him, even as Bentley declared that his commentary "sold for its weight in silver in most of the countries of Europe." The Horatian tradition in Italy concludes with Robertelli's edition of Horace.

Strange to say, the outstanding figure of fourteenth century England, shows little familiarity with Horace. Although there has been an idea prevalent that Chaucer knew and was well acquainted with the Roman poet, a study of his works reveals no proof for such a statement. Attempts to cite passages showing familiarity with Horace, bring but five instances, all from the Ars Poetica. Professor Lounsbury has shown that Chaucer might well have obtained all these passages second hand. Furthermore, in all of Chaucer's

15. See page immediately following.
works, not once is mention made of Horace. Professor Lounsbury says, "If this fact prove nothing more, it precludes at once the idea that the Roman poet could have been, in any sense of the word, a favorite of the English poet. Had that been the case, we are too well acquainted with both the proclivities and practices of the latter to doubt that more than one tribute of respect and admiration would have been paid by him to his successor."

Just what influence the English humanists, Erasmus and More had in furthering the appreciation of Horace, it is not easy to say. We do know, however, that Erasmus published one edition of Horace, and that Dorne, who sold 2383 books in 1520, sold seven

15. The story of Amphion's walling the city of Thebes by the agency of music (alluded to at the beginning of the Manciple's Tale), Chaucer may have known from Statius or Boccaccio. In Troilus and Cressida, Chaucer remarks that it is not well to repeat the same thing too often nor to mingle discordant things together; that one would become weary of hearing even the best harper persistently plan on one string, and that it would be ridiculous to represent a pike with the feet of an ass and the head of an ape. These remarks are similar to those made by Horace in the Ars Poetica, yet those writers from whom Chaucer had borrowed, used these statements. — Lounsbury, Studies in Chaucer, V.II, pp. 263-4. Skeat records two more references. He considers 11.355-6 of the Manciple's Tale, "Thing that is seyd3 is seyd; and forth it gooth, Though him repente, or be him leef or looth" reminiscent of Ep.I.18.71; and Melibeus 2752, "worthy and noble by the richesses" reminiscent of Ep. I.6.37. These references are likewise derived second hand.


17. British Museum Catalogue.
copies of Horace. Wyatt modeled two of his satires on those of Horace. Our poet figured in rather a different way, when Scot quoted him as a believer in witchcraft. By the time of Elizabeth, the odes had again come into their own, and were translated and paraphrased by the poets of the day, quoted by the writers of prose, and inserted piecemeal in the school books. Chiron, in Titus Andronicus, says of Integer Vitae, "Oh 'tis a piece of Horace, I know it well. I read it in the grammar long ago." The afternoon lessons of the boys of Rotherham school, a typical grammar school, were "two days in Horace and two days in Seneca's Tragedies, both of which they translated into English." How


19. "Of the Meane and Sure Estate" written to John Poius, tells of the fable of the town and country mouse. It is based on Satire, II 7. The third satire, "How to Use the Court and Himselxe therein" ironically preaches "Put money in my purse." It is an adaptation of Satire II 5. - Cambridge History of English Literature, V. III, p.195.


intimately Shakespeare knew Horace, is a question. One may safely assume that he at least had school boy knowledge of him and that he probably studied him in the seventh form. Before Shakespeare's time, there were no English translations of the Odes, and yet his plays abound in what appear to be reminiscences of them. In noting many such passages, Collins remarks "—Shylock's warning to Jessica (Merchant of Venice II 5):

'Look up my doors, and when you hear the drum
And the vile squeaking of the wry necked fife,
Clamber not you up to the casements then,
Nor thrust your head into the public streets—'
is all but a literal translation of Ode III 7, 29-30:

'Prima Nocte domum claude; neque in vias
Sub cantu querules despice tibiae,'
just as the expression in Henry V (I,1) about the summer grass

'unseen, yet crescive in his faculty'
is exactly the expression and image in the twelfth Ode of the first Book 45-6:

'CRESCIT occulto velut arbor aevo
Fama Marcelli.'

Such passages, reminiscent of the odes and satires are

many. Ben Jonson was steeped in Horace. His version of the Ars Poetica, one of the earliest English versions, was probably inspired by the Dutch critics Pontanus, Heinsius, and Justus Lipsius. The final pages on the theory of poetry are almost literally transferred from the works of Heinsius. Dryden thought these rules were English, and proclaimed, "We have as many and as profitable rules for perfecting the stage as anywhere the French can furnish." The Elizabethan critics, Sidney, Webb and Ascham, were largely dependent upon Horace's Ars Poetica. "We have in their work," says Gregory Smith, "the true awakening of the classical spirit in English literature. It is only when we have studied these beginnings and the work of the neglected successors of these essayists in the first half of the seventeenth century that we find ourselves in a position to interpret aright Johnson's dictum that Dryden is the Father of English criticism." He might well have added that the most Horatian of the English and continental writers influenced profoundly the writings of John Dryden.

25. Ker. ed. of Dryden, I p. 89. (In quoting Dryden, in all cases, I have used the old spelling found in Ker's edition.)
HORACE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

It remained for the seventeenth century, deficient in imagination, yet highly critical, to appreciate Horace fully. In Italy where the critical works were particularly stressed during the sixteenth century, we find a reaction favoring the lyrics. The Alcaic Odes, Chibrera first imitated. Following in his footsteps came Fulvio Testi of Ferrara, of whom it has been said, "had he chosen his diction with greater care he might have earned the name of the Tuscan Horace."¹

With the exception of Italy, the tendency to stress the hexameters, a tendency growing since the ninth century, reached its height. Seventeenth century Germany, Sandys characterizes as "a century of multifarious erudition rather than of minute and accurate scholarship, a century largely concerned with the exploration of Latin rather than Greek literature, but a new age of literary criticism."² This is also true of France, and, to a large extent, of the Netherlands. Latin annotated editions of Horace increased almost as rapidly as did translations and imitations. The Ars Poetica, with its precepts for the art of writing, was so thumbed

¹. Sandys, V. II, p. 279.
². Sandys, V. II, p. 306.
by writers of note that it soon became a literary
tradition. The critical Epistles and the Fourth and
Tenth Satires of the first Book took second rank.
Quotations and allusions abounded, now as mere adorn­
ment, again as absolute proof of an assertion. The
true critical spirit in the Netherlands began with the
first survey of the whole domain of classical learning
by Wolverius. This, Daniel Heinsius followed by
three important works: first, the editions of Horace
(1605 and 1612), in the second of which he made bold
to transpose the text of the Ars Poetica and to make
verbal interpretations on the text, both of which
scholarly efforts Bentley later found most distasteful;
second, the De Satyra Horatiana from which Dryden
borrowed through Dacier;³ and thirdly, the comments on
the Art of Poetry from which Jonson borrowed heavily
in Discoveries.⁴ In 1648 appeared the Treatise on
Poetry of G. J. Vossius, a man whom Evelyn called
"the learned."⁵

In France, where the spirit of inquiry predominated,

³. See p. 83 ff The Source of Dryden's Essay on
Satire.
⁵. Evelyn, Diary, III, 278 ff.
at times almost reaching disbelief, the classics were no longer loved for their own beauty, but were used for adorning and improving French literature. The Latin editions of R. Etienne (1613) published with notes by Rutgers, the pupil of Heinsius and of Tanaquil Faber were popular. But it is in such works as Dacier's Horace, which Dryden probably knew, that we see more tangible evidence of Horatian influence. Not content merely to edit Horace, Dacier translated, in an almost slavish fashion, the Odes, Epodes, Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica. Moreover, in the commentaries, he stated his reactions to the principles of writing which so many before had merely accepted. Nor is he alone in this task of analysis. In Examens, Discourses, or Prefaces, we see Corneille, Rapin, Bossu, Boileau and Saint Evremond forming critical dicta based on Horace and Aristotle. Slavishly though they follow the ancients, they were at least working for a more perfect self expression. Corneille, in his criticism, was limited to the drama; he saw the progress of correct ideas and felt himself obliged to conform to them. In his youthful work, the Examens and Discourses, (1660) Horace plays no unimportant part, though he is subordinated to Aristotle.

6. In the Jesuit Jean Hardouin (1646-1729) the spirit was extended to disbelieving the genuineness of the Odes and Ars Poetica of Horace, along with other classic works. The Satires and Epistles, however, he accepted.
Through the Art Poétique of Boileau, one of a series of five books published in 1674, Horace gained a profound influence on the continent and in England. These Horatian rules, governed the writing of poems, plays, and satires. Scudery, in his preface to Alaric, tells that among others, he had studied Horace. Even satire, which lent itself so easily to French adaptation was based largely on Horace.  

Seventeenth century England deliberately borrowed on principle. "The age was haunted by the memory of books, saturated with reminiscences, distracted with the thoughts of tradition and authority, of rules and models, and even so far as it succeeded in expressing its own temper, the terms in which it did so were largely second handed and foreign." Hence it is not surprising that the influence of Horace reaches its zenith here. The British Museum Catalogue records no fewer than thirty-four Latin editions of Horace. Of these, the most important was John Bond's "Q. Horatii Flacci Poemati Scholiis," of which there were nine editions within seventy years. Of this work, Brinsley says, "He hath by his pains made

that difficult poet Horace so easy that a very child which hath been well entered and hath read the former school authors in any good manner, may go thorough [i.e. through] with ability except in a very few places.  

Hoole and Brinsley record, with approval, that Horace was studied in the higher classes. Milton, in the Tractate on Education, advised that boys learn from Horace and his commentators "what the laws are of a true Epic Poem, what of a Dramatic, what of a Lyric, what Decorum is, and what is the grand masterpiece to observe." Sir Thomas Browne remarked that he had seen "a Grammarian plume himself over a single line of Horace and shew more pride in the construction of a single Ode than the Author in the composure of the whole book."

Schoolboy knowledge of Horace did not however, bring many translations. The British Museum Catalogue records fewer than a dozen. Most referred to was the Earl of Roscommon's translation of Horace,—a work which Creech considered such a masterpiece that he used parts of it as a model for his own translation. 

Probably Creech's Horace (1681) was more

Creech follows his original closely, at times almost slavishly, though occasionally he reaches real poetic heights. Oldham and his followers went to the other extreme. In his Preface to the translation of Horace, Oldham frankly remarked, "I resolved to alter the scene from Rome to England, to use the names of English men, places, and customs, where the parallel would permit, to give a new air to the poem, to render it more agreeable to the relish of the present age."14

As a source for satire and the "character," Horace proved valuable to Donne15 and Lodge.16 The Earl of Rochester made use of our Roman in "An Allusion to the Tenth Satire."

The full extent of the Horatian influence is seen, however, in the vast body of quotations that pervaded English literature. These were made possible by the fact that the Satires, Epistles and the Ars Poetica are collections of brilliant maxims rather than of sustained arguments; that even in the Odes, striking phrases may be gathered at random. Hence Horace's influence, and his power to direct the minds of men is uncertain, until

13. Six editions were published by 1737.
15. The "Ibam Sacra via" suggested to Donne his bore.
these quotations are taken as a whole. Schoolboy knowledge and a desire to follow the French fashion of quoting Horace led Englishmen to flaunt bits that stuck in their memory, though these were often no more than meaningless tags. That vice of over-quoting, which Dr. Johnson so condemned even in his favorite Burton, was a fault of the age. Seldon, perhaps, best voiced the feelings of his contemporaries when he said, "To quote a modern Dutch author is as if — — I were — to neglect all persons of Note and quality that know me, and bring the Testimonial of the Scullian in the Kitchen."\(^{16}\)

Even in the pulpit is this tendency revealed; Jeremy Taylor's sermons are veritable storehouses of erudition from other writers, especially from Horace. The more scholarly writers, however, show less dependence on quotations and greater depth of appreciation. Milton's Commonplace Book reveals familiarity with many classical writers, cited mainly for historical facts.\(^{17}\) In their more serious moments, Sir Thomas Browne and even Robert Herrick turned to Horace. Cowley's translations and paraphrases are well known. Seldon, whom Burton considered one of the greatest men any age has produced, was proud of the fact that he had been taught by Ben

In the seventeenth century, then, we find a distinct Horatian tradition and influence. Horace's "correctness of diction, his desire for perfection of form, his very commonplaceness, his lack of romance or ideal above the ordinary, every day rules of living," caused him to appeal to a century intensely practical. Seeking everywhere for models, the age accepted Horace through Latin, French, Italian and Spanish sources. He pervaded the literature as a moralist, satirist, critic and singer of lyrics. It remained, however, for John Dryden fully to appreciate Horace; to sum up and concentrate what he found scattered; to give precision, power, vogue and authority.

HORACE AND DRYDEN

1. DRYDEN'S EARLY KNOWLEDGE AND EXPRESSED OPINION OF HORACE

For the task of carrying on the Horatian tradition, Dryden was particularly fitted. At Westminster Grammar School, he had come under the influence of the celebrated Dr. Busby, who recognized his peculiar bent, and despairing, perhaps, of ever making the boy an exact scholar, taught him to approach the classics not so much from the philological as from the literary side. From Busby, he learned to respect the austere beauty of the ancients. With foresight, the master set him to turn Persius and Juvenal into verse. We still have preserved one of these early attempts at verse, - a translation of the Third Satire of Persius, to which Dryden refers as a "Thursday night exercise." Though he makes no mention of studying Horace, he probably was familiar with that poet, for in the typical grammar schools of the time, Horace was studied in the sixth form. From this early practice of translating came, perhaps, that love of the sound and beauty of Latin words. During his residence at Cambridge, Dryden widened his acquaintance with the Latin

1. The Cambridge ed. The Poems of John Dryden XIV.

2. Hoole and Brinsley state that Horace, Aristotle and their commentators were taught in the sixth form. - Foster Watson, The English Grammar School. p. 372.

3. Dryden never doubted but that in time English could be rendered so liquid that it might even compare with the Latin of Virgil and Horace, "the softest, the sweetest, the most harmonious of all tongues." Ker's Ed. Dryden Essays, V. I, p. 214.
poets, stored his mind with old scholastic forms of speculative discourse, and become aware of new trends and processes. Dr. Johnson's statement that Dryden had only the knowledge of a clever schoolboy has been echoed by William Gifford and Churton Collins. Dryden probably had more than that. The Rev. Dr. Crichton says that he "had, to his knowledge, read over and well understood all the Greek and Latin poets." Like many of his age, Dryden probably believed that the Classics were a sufficient source for wisdom, eloquence, and beauty. At first, he accepted them without question,


6. The Greek, which he used less than Latin, he probably knew also through the Latin translations and the French of Boileau or the English of John Hall. He preferred the "severer muses of the Latins to the looseness of the Greecians." In this, he opened the trend of modern scholarship, which has been more Latin than Greek, and thereby surpassed Corneille who relied almost entirely on Aristotle. It is interesting to note that dependent as Dryden is on Corneille, he discards most of the Aristotelian quotations and allusions and supplies those of his favorite, Horace.
yet also with hot sentiment. He not only knew his poets; he respected and used them for purposes quite his own. Ovid provided a model for some odes, Virgil formed the basis for the longest translation, Persius and Juvenal served as models for classical satire. Yet these writers did not exert so profound an influence on him as did Horace, echoes of whom run through all the work. It is in the Second Miscellany (1668) that Dryden gives the reason for this appeal: —— Horace is more bounded in fancy. —— There appears in every part of his diction — 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; —— his briskness, his jollity and good humour — I have chiefly

7. At first Dryden accepted Horace along with the moderns, giving preference to neither. "I have," he says, "that veneration for Aristotle, Horace, Ben Jonson and Corneille, that I dare not serve against such heroes, — but rather fight in their protection." (Ker. Ed. Dryden p.122.) Even when he was forced to take a stand in the strife between the ancients and the moderns, he was determined that the ancients should not suffer. In the Preface to All for Love he declared, "Some of these little zanies /the modern critics/ yet go further; for they are per­secutors even of Horace himself, as far as they are able by their ignorant and vile imitations of him, by making unjust use of his authority and turning his raillery against his friends." (Ker. p. 189) Yet even though he championed the ancients, he vindicated modern art against the positive laws of the classics. In so doing, he was more consistent than "The Battle of the Books" would indicate.

8. "We are to preserve to them /the ancients/ the dignity of masters, and give that honour to their memory — part of which may be paid to us in future times." * Ker. Ed. Dryden, I, p. 55.
endeavored to copy; his other excellencies are above imitation. 9 Whether or not Dryden realized how dependent upon Horace he was, is a question. In the Essay on Satire, whose indebtedness to Dacier's Preface Sur les Satires d'Horace is greater than has usually been recognized, Dryden inserts this remark, "Horace is more copious in his instructions of human life. Juvenal is the more delightful author, -- but I owe more to Horace for my instruction. -- his instructions are more general, applicable to all occasions which can occur to us in the course of our lives. Horace is teaching in every line." 10 Again he says, "We must be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius, and in process of time a Lucilius and a Lucretius before Virgil and Horace." 11 This teacher, Dryden never lost sight of. In all his writings, from 1658 when we note the first Horatian quotation, in Heroic Stanzas until 1700 when occurs the last allusion to Horace, 12 the influence never lessens. Dryden used Horace as a master: he borrowed phrases from him directly or indirectly; the light touches in some of his verse was learned from him; in

12. It is interesting to note that the first and last reminiscences of Horace appear in the verse.
his prose work he gives Horace credit for many of his critical dicta.
2. **The Horatian Quotations**

In an age of over-quotation, Dryden is notable for his moderation. It is true that he quotes from Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and Italian critics, some of whom he probably never read. A study of Dryden's sources shows that in borrowing from some critic, (and Dryden often borrows word for word, line for line, and occasionally even page for page) he often adopts that critic's references to other authorities, ancient and modern. The Essay on Satire especially shows this tendency.

**Dryden**

Quintilian says, in plain words, "Satira quidem tota nostra est; and Horace had said the same thing before him, speaking of his predecessor in that sort of poetry, "et Graecis intacti carminis auctor." Nothing can be clearer than the opinion of the poet, and the orator, both the best critics of the two best ages of the Roman Empire, that Satire was wholly of Latin growth, and not transplanted to Rome from Athens.

**Dacier**

Quintilien ne laisse aucun doute la - dessus, quand il écrit dans le chapitre X du Livre I. Satira quidem tota nostra est. "La Satire est toute entiere a vous." C'est pourquoi Horace l'appelle dans la derniere Satire de ce Livre, Graecis intactum carmen, une Poésie incorporé aux Grecs.

In the Essay on Dramatic Poesy, much of which is based on Corneille's Discourses and Examens, Dryden

borrows comparatively few Horatian quotations, and discards almost entirely those from Aristotle. "Walter Moyle," he says in the Parallel of Poetry and Painting, "furnished me according to my request, with all the particular passages in Horace and Aristotle, which were used by them to explain the Art of Poetry by that of Painting, which, if I ever have time to retouch this Essay, shall be inserted in their places."²

Aside from quotations borrowed second hand, Dryden probably used many through preference. These Horatian quotations, scattered through all of Dryden's work do not at first seem significant. But when they are considered together, they assume an added importance. First we note that the quotations and allusions run through practically all of the work, predominating in the prose and reaching a high water mark in the Essay on Satire, with its fifty-one allusions and seven direct quotations. Even in his poetry, Dryden quotes from Horace's didactic work.³

² How many quotations Moyle gave him we do not know; but five such Horatian quotations are inserted in the Parallel. Subsequent essays of Dryden contain but six such references to the Ars Poetica.

³ When one notes this fact, Tom Brown's characterization of Dryden seems apt, "He is that accomplished person who loves reasoning so much in verse, and hath a knack of writing it smoothly."
Though the tendency to quote and allude to Horace never lessened, we find a gradual change in the manner of using Horace. The earlier works abound in direct quotations and allusions. Then, for a time we note shorter, often inexact, quotations, showing that Dryden was probably quoting from memory. And later, we find more allusions than direct quotations.  

4. The Horatian quotations and allusions have the following distribution:

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<td>Preface to Annus Mirabilis</td>
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<td>Essay on Dramatic Poesy</td>
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<td>Preface to Troilus and Cressida</td>
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<td>To the Earl of Roscommon</td>
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<td>Preface to Sylva (the Second Miscellany)</td>
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<td>Preface to Albion and Albanus</td>
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<td>A Discourse Concerning the Origin and Progress of Satire</td>
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<td>Preface to the Fables</td>
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<td>To the Dutchess of Ormond</td>
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Dryden undoubtedly found some of Horace's work much more to his liking than others. The one hundred and four Horatian quotations are taken from but eleven of a possible one hundred and forty poems. As one would expect, the Ars Poetica, rich in maxims for the writer and critic, furnished the greater number—sixty in all, some long, others short. The few lines

5. They have the following distribution:


Epoda, 16.37.
which Dryden failed to quote are, with one exception, elaborations of those which he used. Thus, if the Ars Poetica were lost, it could be largely reconstructed through Dryden's references. Next in popularity, was the first Epistle of the Second Book of which Dryden quoted thirteen passages, covering lines 49-185, in which Horace, after discussing the strife between the ancients and the moderns, championed the moderns though upholding the ancients. The tenth Satire of the first book, with its rules for the writing of Satire, was frequently used. The other Horatian Allusions and poems are more scattered and are used casually. They are important only as showing that Dryden quoted Horace rather than any other writer who could have furnished the same material.

6. Significantly enough, these lines A.P. 322-387, praise the Greek writers.

7. Dryden assumed this same position in the Essay of Dramatic Poesy.
3. DRYDEN'S TRANSLATIONS OF HORACE

As early as 1680 appeared Dryden's first translations,—three epistles from Ovid. The work was popular, for the age was interested, or thought it was interested in the classics. Dryden knew his public and, noting the success of his first attempt, produced the First Miscellany,¹ the first collection of translations since the middle of the sixteenth century.² Early in the century had come a change in the theory of translation from Ben Jonson's advocacy of the literal version. Chapman and Harington had urged a free translation with an attempt to reproduce the spirit rather than the letter; while Denham had found many followers who preferred to be true to the sense, but truer to the form of the ancient poet. Dryden summed up the three modes, calling them metaphase, or literal translation; paraphrase, in which the sound rather than the words of the translation are followed, and imitation, in which both the sense and sound are changed at will.³ These three possible methods, then were offered the translators of

1. This edition contained the following translations: Excerpts from five books of Lucretius; three idylls of Theocritus; and four poems of Horace - Ode I.3; Ode I.9; Ode III.29 and the Second Epode.


Horace. Curiously enough, Dryden's immediate predecessors, Roscommon, Dacier, and Creech, united in adopting the first method,—that of literal translation. The Earl of Roscommon, whose translation of Horace attracted great attention, believed that the purpose of translation was to convey the ancient treasures into English literature. The latitude which the translators since Denham had allowed themselves, probably made him cautious. At any rate, he objected to unnecessary digressions, and proclaimed that he should be "No longer His translator, but He." Naturally then, his translation has more judgment than invention. Dacier and Creech the other popular translators of Horace, likewise clung closely to the original. The prose version of Dacier dulls the rhythm and gracefulness of the Odes;

4. In the Reasons for Mr. Bayes's Changing His Religion, Tom Brown circulated the story, that Dryden, jealous of Creech's Lucretius, urged him to undertake a translation of Horace, a task for which he was wholly unfit. Malone, I, 505-511 has successfully refuted the story.

5. Dacier's work contained the Latin version, a French translation, and a Commentary. In the preface, Dacier notes his indebtedness to Fevre. Casual references show that the work was well known. In Congreve's Double Dealer we have this reference: Brisk: "I presume your ladyship has read Brown?" Lady F.: "O, yes, and Rapin, and Dacier upon Aristotle and Horace."

6. Creech translated all of Horace's writings. His work was edited six times within fifty-three years.
while that of Creech gives the effect of so many lines being sung with measured beat.

Creech

In vain the Gods design'd, in vain,
In vain they did the Lands divide
By an unfriendly tide,
If impious Ships can cross the Main,
In vain the Gods design'd, in vain,
In vain they did the Lands divide
By an unfriendly tide,
If impious Ships can cross the Main,
Man, forced by an imperious will
Does make all haste to be undone,
And very eagerly rush on
To court forbidden ill.

Prometheus brought
Celestial Fire
When first by wicked arts he stole,
To give his clay a Soul
And kindle his absurd Desire.

But vengeance soon pursued Deceit
For thence began unknown Disease
Thence cruel Fevers first did seize
And took their fatal Heat.

And lazy Death did mend her pace
Our life contracted to a span
Death came in haste on man
And stopt his yet unfinished Race

Horatius

Nequiquam deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiae
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
Audax omnia perpeti
gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas
Audax Lapeti genus
Ignem fraude mala
gentibus intulit.
Post ignem aetheria
domo Subductum macies et
Terris incubuit cohors
Semotique prius tarda necessitas
Leti corripuit gradum.

Dacier

C'est en vain que la sagesse de Dieu a mis l'Ocean pour les bornes de la terre, si l'impiete des hommes a invente des vaisseaux pour passer ces gouffres dont ils ne devoient point approcher. Il n'est rien que l'homme n'ose entreprendre, il s'abandonne avec fureur à tout ce qui de Japhet a volé le feu du ciel, pour le donner aux hommes par une fraude funeste & sa posterite; ca aprés ce sacrilege, la langueur, a une affreuse cohorte de fièvres, auparavant inconnues, se sont l'— pandues sur la terre; a la mort, qui ne venoit que fort lentement, a precipité ses pas. Dedale s'est expose au vuide des airs avec des ailes qui n'avoient pas été donnes à Phomme, L'Acheron a été force par Hercule: Rien enfin n'est impossible aux mortels: nous attaquons le ciel même par notre folie et continuant dans nos crimes, nous ne donnons pas le temps a Jupiter de quitter le foudres que dans sa colère il tient toujours levées sur nous.
The year following the publication of Creech's *Horace*, Dryden published the Second Miscellany, containing his translation of *Horace*. For this work of translation, Dryden was particularly well fitted. His lack of creative power, his desire to say things in a downright way could be well utilized in this field. Moreover, Dryden profoundly respected the classics and considered the translator's position one of honor. In the preface to the Second Miscellany, he stated his principles of translation. Of the three modes of translation, Dryden preferred paraphrase, an effort to walk with rather than at the heels of a writer. While quick to recognize the value of a scholarly translation, he put literary excellence above verbal exactitude. He insisted that a translator be master of both languages, but if this were impossible, "let him know best his own language."

Dryden must have been familiar with these earlier translations of Horace. That of the Earl of Roscommon, he quoted in the Preface to Ovid's *Epistles*, and mentioned

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8. Although his critical opinions on many topics changed again and again, his principles governing translation remained almost unchanged. In the *Virgil*, written thirty years after he first formulated his theory of translation, he followed these early principles.

9. See page immediately following.
in the Preface to the Second Miscellany.

The fact that Dryden refers to his debt to "the ingenuous and learned translator of Lucretius" has caused some to believe that Dryden based his Horatian translation on that of Creech. It is true that Dryden probably knew Creech's translation, for that work was inspired by and dedicated to Dryden. Yet one can hardly agree with Mr. Van Doren, who says, in speaking of Dryden's version of Ode III.29, "He did appropriate his predecessors' best phrases." A comparison of even the most similar passages shows that in every case the translations are verbal translations of Horace.

9. Concerning the first of these methods (of translation), our master Horace has given us this caution:

\[ Nec verbum curabis reddere, fidus \]
Interpres--
Nor would for word too faithfully translate,
As the Earl of Roscommon has excellently put it. Again, in speaking of translation, "- Horace has indeed avoided both these rocks in his translation, of the first three lines of Homer's Oddysseus, which he has contracted into two:

\[ Die mihi, musa virum, captae post tempora Troyae Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes. \]

Muse, speak the man, who, since the seige of Troy So many towns such change of manners saw.

Earl of Roscommon.

Ker. Ed. Dryden, I. p. 239.

10. In the dedication, Creech lauds Dryden: 'Tis you, Sir, that have advanced our Dramatick to its Height, and showed that Epick Poetry is not confined to Italy and Greece.— "Tis Horace, Sir, whom You have considered worth Your Study and Imitation that flies to You for Protection, and perhaps will beg it against the Injuries I myself have done him. Dedication Creech's Horace (1684).
Dryden

Leave for awhile thy costly country seat
And, to be great indeed forget!
The nauseous great pleasures of the
Make haste and come;
Come, and forsake thy cloying store;
Thy turret that surveys from high
The smoke, and wealth and noise of Rome;
And all the busy pagentry
That wise men scorn, and fools adore:
Come, give thy soul a loose, and taste the pleasures of the poor.

Horace

Fastidiosam desere copiam et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis;
Omitte mirari beatae
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.

Creech

From thy disgusting plenty fly,
Thy Palace leave that mounts on high
And hides her head in bending clouds;
Admire no man (but quickly come)
The Wealth, the Noise and Smoke of Rome,
That happy Mansion of future Gods.

and again:

Happy the man, and happy he alone
He who can call today his own;
He who secure within can say:
"Tomorrow do thy worst, for I have lived today

Be fair, or foul or rain, or shine
The joys I have possessed in spite of fate are mine.
Nor heaven itself upon the past has power;
But what has been has been,
And I have had my hour.

He's master of himself alone,
He lives and makes each Day his own:
He lives, that can distinctly say,
It is enough, for I have lived today:

Vel sole pura, non tamen irritum
Quodcumque retro est, efficiet neque spread o'er the skies:
Diffinget infectum—He cannot make the Pleasures void,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.

Nor sour the Sweets I have enjoyed,
Nor call that back which winged Hours have born away.

11. Ker p.199; Horace Od.III,29.9-12; Creech, p. 118.

12. Ker p.200; Carm.III,29.41-8; Creech p. 119.
Some phrases are similar; Creech calls fortune maliciously jocose;" Dryden speaks of "Fortune with malicious joy," a very literal rendering of "Fortuna saevo laeta negatim."

Regardless of what one may consider the merit of the translations, of Horace, and critics differ widely, at least the poems are interesting as beginnings, and compare favorably with the later and more perfect work. That Dryden understood Horace, can not be doubted; but whether his verses will teach others to understand Horace is a question. For Dryden seldom succeeded in bestowing individuality anywhere; his translations read very much alike. The versions are almost all good poems in Dryden's statelier rhythm, yet they lack Horace's simplicity, brevity, precision of phrase, the concinnitas, qualities which have always baffled translators. As the English language could not give an equivalent for the terse, elliptical Latin of Horace, Dryden found it necessary to amplify and embellish.13

For instance, Horace's

"sole dies referente siccos"

became:

13. The third Ode of the first book he expands from forty to fifty-five lines; the ninth ode of the first book from twenty-four to thirty-eight; the twenty-ninth ode of the third book from sixty-four to one hundred and four; the Second Epode from seventy to one hundred and two lines.
"The sun --
-- with his sultry breath infects the sky;
The earth below is parched; the heavens above us fry."

Again Horace's

"Deprome quadrimum Sabina,"

was enlarged to

"Produce the wine, that makes us bold,
And sprightly wit and love inspires;
For what hereafter shall betide,
God, if 'tis worth his care, provide."

A modern touch enters when Dryden questions,

"What benefit the new Lord Mayor;"

and with a suggestion of contemporary drama, Horace's

Alfius, the usurer, became Morecraft.

Other portions, however, are accurate adaptations. One of the best amplifications follows:

"Fortune, that with malicious joy
Does man her slave oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
Is seldom pleased to bless;
Still various and unconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her while she's kind;
And when she dances in the wind,
And shakes her wings, and will not stay,
I puff the prostitute away." 14

14. Thackery, who was fond of this last line, quoted it frequently.
In the Second Epode, Dryden writes with true classical feeling.

"Thus, ere the seeds of vice were sown,
Lived men in better ages born,
Who plow'd with oxen of their own
Their small paternal field of corn."

The twenty-ninth Ode of the Third Book, Dryden considered his masterpiece, but he attained success here only by transforming it into a Pindaric and greatly amplifying it. He required more space than Horace ever would allow.

The following centuries have been divided as to the merit of these translations. Fox preferred Dryden's versions to the original, and Dr. Johnson was fond of reading them. But the practical twentieth century varies in judgment: Fredrick Harrison declares, with more gusto than justice, that they are the "sing song of Dryden's cheap treble rhymes;" Churton Collins considers them "disgraceful and slovenly;" while Saintsbury praises them with considerable reservations.
4. INFLUENCE OF HORACE ON DRYDEN'S VERSE

The influence of Horace upon Dryden's verse other than the translations, at first seems only a matter of externals. Yet it goes deeper than that. As early as 1660, Dryden had set for himself an ideal of verse, that of correctness, toward which he constantly strove. The translation of some twenty thousand couplets, necessarily influenced his style, and furthered that ideal. It is true that as Dryden often worked under pressure, he could not have that latitude which brings complete assimilation. Yet he constantly kept before him Horace's precepts for poetry, even as he recognized that many of Horace's excellencies were beyond his grasp. Clearness, regularity, balance and precision he acquired; but Horace's briskness, urbanity, and conciseness—qualities which have always baffled translators—he never attained. These qualities were most nearly achieved in the Religio Laici, which Dryden admitted was an imitation of Horace's Epistles.

1. "Spenser and Milton are the nearest in English to Virgil and Horace in the Latin, and I have endeavored to form my style by imitating their masters," he says in the Dedication of the Aeneid. Ker. Ed. p. 223.

2. In the Preface to Religio Laici, he says, "I have studied him [Horace], and hope the style of his Epistles is not ill imitated here." Cambridge ed. Dryden's poems, p. 162.
Van Doren divides seventeenth century personal Epistles and complimentary addresses into three groups: the Horatian, the Ovidian, and the modern type, carried to perfection by Jonson. Thus, having to praise men and books, Dryden never lacked a model; of the three types, he preferred the more modern, and used least of all the Horatian. Even in those complimentary poems which are most Horatian it is often difficult to point out exact resemblances, though one feels the spirit of Horace. Britannia Rediviva, one of the most Horatian, appears to be modeled largely on Ode two, book one. The lines,

"Hail, son of Pray'rs by holy violence,
Drawn down from heav'n, but long banished thence,
And late to thy paternal sky retire"

are paraphrases of Horace's

"Serus in caelum redeas diuque" (Carmina I.2.24-5).

Other poems show a distinct Horatian influence. Annus Mirabilis contains an almost literal translation of Horace's "quos optimus

Fallere et effugere est triumphos,"

which has become,

"Proud to have got off with equal strokes,
Where 'twas a triumph not to overcome."
The verses immediately preceding are probably modeled on the fourth ode of the fourth book. The Prologue at Oxford (1688) has a unique instance where Dryden incorporated,
without translation, Horace's

"Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis."

Critics, finding lines so like those of Horace, and knowing Dryden's tendency to borrow, have been tempted to find indebtedness where none exists. Familiar as Dryden was with that writer, it was inevitable that he should adopt many of his expressions. Yet it seems absurd to say that when Dryden wrote

"And shedding trees began the ground to strew

With yellow leaves,"

he was deliberately modeling after Satire I.1.36, or that

"For in a round what order can be shewed,

Where all the parts so equal perfect are?"

is a deliberate imitation of Horace's

"ipso totus, teres atque rotundus."

Such coincidences prove little.
5. THE HORATIAN INFLUENCE IN THE SATIRE AND "CHARACTER"

Mr. Headlam, in discussing the history of satire in England, says "From the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, all the world wrote satires." Of these satirists, the greatest was John Dryden. And although he had before him the models of Lodge, Donne, Hall, Overbury, and Butler, he again turned almost instinctively to the classics.

While he was a school boy at Westminster, he had written his first satire, a translation of Persius, which he called "a Thursday Night Exercise." His next venture was the Prologue and Epilogue to Amboyna, which consists almost entirely of lines from a satire on the Dutch. Occasionally his prologues and epilogues treated satirically the manners and customs of the day. But it was at the age of fifty, that Dryden, with no wish of his own, began his first vehement satire, Absalom and Achitophel,—the forerunner of a group of scathing invectives. Very aptly did he justify the declaration in the Rehersal, "The town! why what care I for the town? I'gad the town has used me as scurvily as the

2. The Rehersal, by Buckingham.
players have done; but I'll be reveng'd on them too: I will lampoon and print 'em too, i'gad. Since they will not admit of my plays, they shall see what a satirist I am."

His definition and theories of satire are embodied in the Origin and Development of Satire. And, although many of the ideas advanced are from Dacier, one may at least believe that the sentiments are those of Dryden. At any rate, the theories advanced are those on which he based his satires. "Satire," he says, is a kind of poetry without a series of actions invented for the purging of our minds, in which human vices, ignorance and errors and all things besides, which are produced from them in every man, are severely reprehended; partly dramatically, partly simply, and sometimes in both kinds of speaking, but for the most part figuratively and occultly; consisting in a low, familiar way, chiefly in a sharp and pungent manner of speech; but partly also in a facetious, and civil way of jesting; by which either hatred, or laughter, or indignation is moved."

Using this definition as an ideal, he compared Persius, Juvenal, and Horace. Persius, whom Donne and Hall had so slavishly imitated, he dismissed summarily. Horace, and Juvenal are more to his liking; he hardly

3. Ker. II. p. 72, ff.
knows which he prefers. Horace's method of attack appeals to him: "he laughs to shame all follies and instructs by example rather than by severity of precept."

Dryden agrees with Horace that "public nuisances" are fit objects of satire. And finally he states, in comparing Horace and Juvenal, "I am profited by both; I am pleased by both, but I owe more to Horace for my instruction and more to Juvenal for my pleasure."

Yet Dryden's satires can hardly be called Horatian. Polish, simplicity, and directness are indeed Horatian qualities; but the stinging invective, the increased severity of attack in The Medal and MacFlecknoe remind one rather of Juvenal. Dryden, however, was not venomous in his satire.

"Spiteful he is not, though he wrote a satire." Unlike that of both of his models, however, Dryden's Satire is directed almost entirely against particular persons; that of the great Roman satirists against typical follies or vices.

Though the satires as a whole cannot be called Horatian, one branch of them -- the "character" -- often seems modeled on that of Horace. The "character" is as old as literature. With Theophrastus, it was a moral exercise. As a branch of satiric art, it was

4. Ker, II. p. 82.
5. Absolom and Achitophel, Part II.
elaborated first by Horace and Juvenal, who, by this device especially strengthened their satire. The two Romans, of course, used different methods in sketching personalities. Horace worked with a smile, delighting in scraps of action and dialogue, and smiling at the men he depicted; Juvenal preferred to use the scornful epithet. During the previous century, Greene and Nash had exposed many a rascal, and Donne and Hall had flayed the London gallants. Though Dryden admitted knowing the work of his predecessors, he saw their errors, and does not seem to have borrowed from them, though he followed their masters. He recognized that the sketching of characters was no easy task, and remarked, "'Tis not reading, 'tis not imitation of an author, which can produce this fineness; it must be inborn; it must proceed from a genius, and particular way of thinking which is not to be taught. - How easy it is to call rogue and villain, and that wittily! But how hard to make a man appear a fool, a blockhead, or a knave without using any of those approbrius terms! - The character of

6. In the Discourse on Satire Dryden remarked that "[Donne] followed Horace so very close that of necessity he must fall with him." Ker Ed. Dryden p. 102

Zimri is in my estimation worth the whole poem; it is not bloody, but it is ridiculous enough; and he for whom it was intended was too witty to resent it as an injury. If I had railed, I might have suffered for it unjustly; but I managed my work more happily, perhaps more dextrously."

And, indeed, Dryden did succeed in this art. Many a public man sat unconsciously for these portraits. Even classes and sects were characterized. His authority, that of a knowing and smiling man was strengthened by his imagination and competent cynicism. From 1681 until 1700, almost every poem contains a character. Of the characters, Zimri seems to be Horatian, a model of Tigellis. Even more Horatian, I believe, is Bishop Burnett, who seems to have been suggested by the bore. The following lines, summing up the character of the Bishop, are a summary of Horace Sat. I.9:

"Invulnerable in his impudence,  
He dares the world; and eager of a name,  
He thrusts about, and justles into fame.  
Frontless, and satire proof he scoursthe streets,  
And runs Indian-muck at all he meets.  
So fond of loud report, that, not to miss  
Of being known, his last and utmost bliss  
He rather would be known for what he is."9

8. *Horace Sat. I.3.* Professor J. C. Collins points out this similarity.

As I have shown, parts of the Hind and the Panther are modeled after Horace. The large pictures there and in Absolom and Achitophel are distinctly Horatian.

Dryden's love for elaboration and delineation of character caused Prior to write the Travesty of the Hind and the Panther. Prior has Bayes say,¹⁰ "I tread in no man's steps; and to show you how far I can outdo anything that ever was writ in this kind, I have taken Horace's design, but I'gad I have so far outdone him that you shall be ashamed of your old friend. You remember him in the story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse: what a plain, simple thing it is; it has no life and spirit in it, I'gad, than a hobby horse; and his Mice talk so meanly, such common stuff, so like mere Mice, that I wonder it has pleased the world so long. But now will I undeceive Mankind, and teach 'em to heighten and elevate a Fable. I'll bring you in the very same Mice disputing the depth of Philosophy, searching into the fundamentals of Religion, quoting texts, Fathers, Councils, and all that, I'gad, as you shall see either of them make an Asse of a country vicar. Now, whereas Horace keeps to the dry naked story, I have more copiousness than to do that, I'gad. Here I draw you the general

¹⁰. The writings of M. Prior, Ed. by A. R. Waller, in 2 V, 1906, 1907 (Cambridge English Classics V.2.6.79 ff.)
Characters, and describe all the beasts of the Creation; there I launch out into long digressions, and leave my mice for twenty pages altogether; then I fall into Raptures, and make the finest Soliloquies as would ravish you.
6. THE HORATION INFLUENCE ON THE CRITICAL DICTA

The critical positions of Horace and Dryden are strikingly similar. Both entered early into the field of literary criticism, and both, having offended certain of their contemporaries, found it necessary to defend themselves and justify the positions they had assumed. At least these critical opinions were written under the stress of bitter personal quarrels. When their fame was more secure, when they were less exposed to envy, they spoke with greater authority. Success as a poet, coupled with interest in criticism had strengthened their opinions, though both were led to lavish praise on their patrons and friends. Occasionally both lack breadth of outlook, and are prone to praise the most mediocre poets, yet each had the ability to judge his own work impartially. Horace and Dryden, alike strove to serve the

1. Horace had aroused the wrath of the admirers of Lucilius by criticising their favorite poet, saying that he "flowed muddily along," (Sat. I.10 and II.1.). Dryden had bitterly criticised and satirized Buckingham, Settle, Shaftesbury, Rochester and Shadwell.

2. The amateur poets on the staff of Tiberius (Sat.I.4.141; A.P.241ff; 382,416); Virgil and various others (Sat.I.10.81ff; Od.I.6.1ff; Od.IV.2.33ff) received their share of praise from Horace. The Earl of Mulgrave (Ker.II.18ff) Charles Lord Buckhurst (Ker.I.25ff) and many others, the English Critic praised.

3. Horace considered Velgius and Varius renowned writers. Od.I.6.2. Dryden called Boileau a second Horace, Waller and Walsh he highly praised. (Ker.II.p.289.)
literary interests of their own country. Horace bor-
rowed from the Greeks, Dryden from the French; for
each seemed to feel that the lessons to be learned,
from the neighboring country had not yet been exhausted.
However, it is of his own literature that each is thinking.

It has been said that Horace lacked the broad
sympathy and power of deep penetration so essential to
the great critic. Yet one must consider how far he
attempted to play that role. His critical writings
are few, comprising but two satires, the Ars Poetica,
and two epistles. Only in the last of these, does he
leave the Greek models and rely on his own judgment.
These are probably the best of his critical utterances.

There is no doubt but that the Latin critic had a
great and lasting influence on Dryden's critical work;
but whether that influence is first or second handed
is a question. A study of Dryden's sources shows
clearly to what extent he knew Horace through that
poet's own work.

From the very time they were written, Dryden's
criticisms have called forth widely divergent opinions.
Some, noting many of his apparent contradictions, have
denied them solid worth; others, seeing how he disen-
tangled the thread of literary criticism have found there
great vitality.
Felix Bobertag, after a careful analysis of Troilus and Cressida and The Essay on Dramatic Poesy, concluded that Dryden's criticism was merely a tangled web. Swift, always hostile to Dryden, declared they were "merely writ at first to raise the author's price a shilling." Dr. Johnson on the other hand, believed, "Dryden may be properly considered the father of English criticism, as the writer who first taught us to determine upon principles the merit of criticism. — His compositions are the effects of a vigorous genius operating upon large materials. — He imported these materials and manufactured them according to his skill."

It was this gathering power, the ability to see the materials to be incorporated in his own work, and eventually to become a part of English literary criticism, that led many to accuse Dryden of plagiarism. And Dryden did borrow. Rapin, Corneille, Boileau, St. Evremond, Dacier, Ronsard, and Castelvetro furnished for him many a preface. From Johnson and Sidney he borrowed less frequently. Tirso de Molina and Cervantes


5. Wm. E. Bohn, Development of John Dryden's Literary Criticism, Modern Lang. Ass. Publ. 1907 No. XXII

may have given him suggestions. Heinsius, Scaliger and Rigaltius he knew largely through the French and English. But in borrowing from these men, Dryden was only following tradition.

French literature was in vogue in England for various reasons political and social. It was just the kind of a literature to appeal to a critic: "It was classical, conscious of ancient culture; it was a tradition." Hence French literary criticism was likely to encourage Dryden, in his distaste for Elizabethanism and draw his attention to itself. Moreover, French literature made England conscious of her own vague literary aspirations and supplied her with the definite ideas she had always lacked. Dryden probably saw this, and borrowed on the principle of imitation. In almost no other way, can his pilfering be accounted for.

The Theory of Imitation

Many a time, Dryden was accused of plagiarism. Some of the charges, he could not deny for his enemies had proof that he had copied or borrowed. Hence he wisely neither admitted nor denied anything. He rather attempted to justify himself on the theory of imitation.

In the Dedication of Aeneas, Dryden says, "The poet who borrows nothing is yet to be born. He and the Jew's Messais will come together. 'Tis one thing to copy and another to imitate from Nature. The copier is that servile imitator to whom Horace gives no better name than animal; he will not allow him to be a man. Raphael imitated Nature; they who copy one of Raphael's pieces imitate but him; for his works are their original. They translate him as I do Virgil, and fall short of him as I do Virgil." In the Mock Astrologer, he calls those ridiculous who say he stole his plots, and says, "But in general the employment of a poet is like that of a curious gunsmith or watchmaker; the iron or silver is not his own; but they are the least part of that which gives the value; the price lies wholly in the workmanship." In the Preface to Troilus and Cressida, he states his belief that imitation is really emulation: "We ought not to regard a good imitation as a theft, but as a beautiful idea of him who undertakes to imitate by forming himself on the invention and work of another man. Those great men, whom we propose to ourselves as patterns of our imitation serve as a torch which is lifted up before us to enlighten our passage

8. Ker. V.II.p.198
9. Ker. V.I.p.147
and often elevate our thoughts as the conception we have of the genius. "\textsuperscript{10} How far this doctrine of imitation might be carried, he did not say" since Horace does not. \textsuperscript{11} He did, however, urge the poet like the painter to use his own genius. For this he again turned to Horace's advice, "Tu nihil dices faciesne Minerva, without invention a painter is but a copier and a plagiary of others." \textsuperscript{12}

Nature

This theory of borrowing or imitation, was but a phase of the doctrine of imitating Nature. This doctrine owed its origin to Aristotle, and its most effective phrasing to Horace. Dryden recognized this fact for he says, "Those propositions of mine which are laid down in my discourse as helps to the imitation of Nature, are not mine,—nor were they ever pretended to be, but derived from the authority of Aristotle and Horace, and from the rules and examples of Ben Jonson and Corneille." \textsuperscript{13}

Imitating nature seems to have meant whatever the author thought right. It might mean the\textsuperscript{14} use of heroic

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} Ker. II. p. 206.
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Ker. I. p. 189.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Ker. II. p. 138.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Ker. I. p. 125.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} In tracing the origin of heroic poetry, Dryden says, "the knowledge of Nature was the original rule, and that all poets ought to study her as well as Aristotle and Horace, her interpreters." Ker. I.p.183.
\end{itemize}
couplets, observing the unities, copying reality, or sound reasoning. In these interpretations of Nature, Dryden relied upon Horace. Other than deciding that imitation of Nature implied "delight (to) all ages," he did not attempt to define the term though it occurs so frequently in his writings as to become almost a byword. At first, he probably used the term because everyone else did. But gradually the real conception of nature as signifying good taste and regularity began to assume prominence in his mind. Under this guise, Nature became fastened upon literary criticism.

15. Dryden considers a good play merely "an imitation of Nature. If Nature be to be imitated, then there is a rule for imitating Nature rightly; - — a plot should not be so ridiculously contrived as to crowd two several countries onto one stage; to cramp the accidents of many years or days into the representation of two hours and a half, a conclusion drawn — — in twelve or twenty four hours; and the place be limited to that spot where the play is supposed to begin: and this is called nearest Nature: for that is concluded most natural, which is most natural, which is most probable, and nearest to that which it presents." Ker.I.p.124.

16. This idea, Horatian though it be, was derived from Corneille's La Tres Unities. "The principal, and most important part of painting is to know what is most beautiful in nature, and most proper for art, so in poetry. To imitate Nature well is the perfection of both arts." Ker.II.p.136-7.

Translation

The theory of imitation found a surer vein for expression in the translations of the time. Today, when Mr. Frederick Harrison declares\(^\text{18}\) that "Among all the intellectual advances of our age, none is more important than the sense of a high literary standard in the art of translation," he is merely echoing the thoughts of the seventeenth century. For that age, attempting to find the source for the greatness of the classics, turned naturally to translation.

The French critics, desirous of enriching the vernacular by borrowing from the classics, gave the first stimulus to the art. Du Bellay urged a free translation, a method which at least gave genius full play; Pelletier and a host of others advocated a literal translation; while d'Ablanecourt declared for paraphrase. Yet, even though all of these critics advocated interpretation of the classics, they really strove to enrich the vernacular. As Mr. Springarn says, "justice to a dead author counted for little in comparison with justice to the living tongue.\(^\text{19}\)

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\(^{18}\) Frederick Harrison, The Art of Translation, The Forum, June, 1921.

These theories of translation were carried into Elizabethan England, where two distinct schools of translation flourished. One, led by Ben Johnson advocated the literal version. Fearing the laxity of the French, Jonson declared for a translation:

"- - - - - - so wrought
As not the smallest joint or gentlest word
In the great mas or machine there is stirred."

The opposing school, fostered by Chapman and Harrington, championed the freer version; and though their methods were lax, they were far from the modernization of d' Ablaincourt.

Both of these methods were carried into the seventeenth century. Andrew Marvel, declared that "he who risked the slightest emendation of the original is translation's thief;" while Denham strove to be "true to his author's sense, but truer to his fame."

John Dryden, however, was the first to sum up these methods, calling them "metaphrase, or turning an author word by word and line by line from one language into another; -- paraphrase, or translation with latitude --; and imitation, where the translator, (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty not

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only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion. With the judgment of a true critic Dryden saw the danger of both extremes, and chose a mean, advocating and using paraphrase. In this he followed Horace, and consciously so. As Horace had cautioned against the first of these methods,

"Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus
Interpres,"

Dryden avoided it. With pride, he pointed to Horace's "translation of the first three lines of Homer's Odysseus, which he has contracted into two," and concluded that Horace was guided by paraphrase. But even as Dryden advocated approach to sense rather than words, he failed to see the great danger which attended such a practice. For the century soon turned sense to spirit, spirit to fame and brought a new work to replace the old.

His further theories of translation, excellent though they are, are not derived from Horace. The two Horatian verses quoted by Dryden, comprise the Roman poet's directions for translation. Yet one must remember that Dryden's theory did not stop with the

24. Ker.V.I.p.239.
preference of paraphrase. His skill as a poet, strengthened by his ability as a critic, showed him the necessity for a fuller interpretation. "Mastery of his own language and that of his author,—" ease, grace, and melody" he considered essential qualities. Yet, though he insisted that the translator take great care to interpret aright, both in thought and form, the classics, he believed that the ideal of translation had been reached when the author made his original into a work of his own time.

These ideas of translation were carried into the following century, approved by Dr. Johnson, and echoed by Rosetti. Even in the practical twentieth century, these ideas appear almost unchanged. In the Forum


26. In the Idler No. 68 and 69 (1759) Dr. Johnson stated his belief that Dryden had fulfilled the functions of a translator.

27. Rosetti (Preface to the Italian Poets — 1861) declared that the only true motive for putting poetry into a fresh language must be to endow a fresh nation, as far as possible, with one more possession of beauty."— Spingarn, Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century. V.I. p. LVII.
June 1921, appeared "The Art of Translation" by Frederick Harrison. And, although Mr. Harrison ridicules both Dryden's translations and theories, of translation, his own are little more than a re-wording of those of his predecessor. His laws for translation, "exact rendering of the full meaning — some echo of the original form, clarity, grace, and vigor in the new version" are strangely like those set forth by Dryden in "The Preface to Ovid's Epistles" and in the Dedication of the Aeneid. When Mr. Harrison says that "exact sense of the original and harmony of form" was no concern of Dryden, he is in error. Dryden says that the "we should conform in genius to his to give his thoughts either the same turn, if our tongue will bear it, or, if not, to vary but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance." And again Dryden tells us that "the wretched translator must make what music he can in the expression, and for this reason, it cannot be so sweet as that of the original." Moreover, parts of the translation of Virgil, are almost pure echoes of form.

Words

"There is," Dryden said, "one way of improving the language, which poets especially have practiced in all ages: that is, by applying received words to a new signification; and this, I believe, is what is meant by Horace, in that precept which is so variously construed by expositors:

'Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum

Reddiderit junctura novum.'

Thus Dryden, believing that this "innovating" of words would help make the English language "the softest, sweetest, the most harmonious," again followed the precept of Horace. The "Horatii curiosa felicitas" he lauded even as he considered the Roman poet a "great refiner of the Roman tongue." Ben Jonson and Fletcher, had begun the innovating of words, and had established the precedent. This Dryden recognized; yet he justified the practice by referring to Horace. "In approving that poet's coining of Latin words, he says, "how much more may I challenge the privilege to do it with the same prerequisites from the best and most judicious of writers."

32. Horace, A.P.47.
34. Ker. V.I.p.171.
The pre-requisite, moderation, was likewise Horatian.
" - for Horace himself was cautious to obtrude a new word on his readers and makes custom and common use the best measure of receiving it into our writings:

'Multa renascentur quae nunc cecidere, cadentque Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi.'

The translation of Virgil abounds in words brought over almost direct from the Latin. But Dryden's innovating did not stop with the introduction of purely classic words. One of the most interesting examples of his method of coining words is seen in the adoption of the word protatick which Scaliger had used. Corneille borrowed it from Scaliger, and introduced it as a French word. Dryden in borrowing from Corneille the material for The Essay of Dramatic Poesy, borrowed protatick and coined it as a new English word.

36. Ker. p. 51. This statement with the quotation, Dryden received direct from Corneille's First Discours.
37. A.P. 70-3.
d. Theories of the Drama

Early Theories

Samuel Johnson was the first eighteenth century critic to comment on Dryden's theory of poetry. He remarked, "Two arts of English poetry were written in the days of Elizabeth by Webb and Puttenham from which something might be learned, and a few hints had been given by Jonson and Cowley; but Dryden's Essay on Dramatic Poesy was the first regular and valuable treatise on the art of writing." Although we should like to grant Dryden this distinction, it must be done so with considerable reservations. For Dryden's Essay on Dramatic Poesy, which embodies the first expression of his theories of poetry and drama, is taken largely from Corneille's Essays (1660) and supplemented largely by Ben Jonson's Timber or Discoveries (1620-35). Through these two critics, he borrowed much of the material from Quintilian, Cicero, Horace, and the modern critics, Heinsius, Scaliger, Erasmus, and Pontanus. At times, Jonson had con-

40. It is interesting to note that this English version of the Art of Poetry preceded that of Boileau, (whom Dryden considered a second Horace), by seven years. Hence the statement that Boileau had crystalized for Dryden the theory of poetry, cannot be given too much credence.

41. Spingarn, (in Modern Philology April 1905, The Sources of Jonson's Discoveries) has shown the extent of Jonson's borrowing from these modern critics. G. Noyes in an unpublished dissertation has shown that in naming the parts of a play, he quotes a half page of Casaubon.
considered it unnecessary to say that his theories of poetry and drama were taken almost bodily from the Dutch critics. Dryden, believing that Jonson's rules were English, declared, "We have as many and as profitable rules for perfecting the stage as anywhere the French can furnish us."

Ker's statement, agreeing with that of Bolingbroke that Dryden "received more from the Spanish and Italian critics than from any others," seems hardly probable when one notes the extent of Dryden's borrowing from Jonson and Corneille.

In opening the Essay, Dryden said that "this incorrect Essay was written in the country and without the aid of books or advice of friends." But in the Defense of an Essay, he frankly admitted that many of his remarks were taken from "the authority of Aristotle and Horace and from the rules and examples of Ben Jonson and Corneille." I can find no passages taken from "Timber or Discoveries," in which Dryden did not openly acknowledge his debt. None of the Horatian quotations used by Jonson proved acceptable to Dryden. In acknowledging his debt to Corneille, Dryden was not so frank. At times, he referred to his French critic; but more often he neglected to do

42. Ker. V.I.p.27.
Although he borrowed few passages verbatim, the thought he often left unchanged. The following passages show his tendency to borrow:

Dryden

— in the instructive part they have erred worse instead of punishing vice and rewarding virtue, they have often shown a prosperous wickedness and an unhappy piety: they have set before us a bloody image of revenge in Medea, and give her dragons to convey her safe from punishment, a Priam and Astyanax murdered, and Cassandra ravished, and the lust and murder ending in victory of him who acted them; in short there is no indecorum in our modern plays —.

Corneille

La seconde utilité du poème dramatique se rencontre en la naïve peinture des vices et des vertus, qui ne mauque jamais à faire son effet, quand elle est bien achevée, et que les traits en sont si reconnoissables qu'on ne les peut confondre l'un dans l'autre ne prendre le vice pour vertu. Celui-ci se fait alors toujours aimer, quoique malheureuse; et celui-la se fait toujours haïr, bien que triomphant. Les Anciens se sont fort souvent contentes et cette peinture, sans se mettre en peine les adultere tuent Agamemnon impunément; Medee en fait autant de ses enfants, et Atrée de ceux de son frère Thyeste, qu'il lui fait manger. Il est vrai qu'a bien considerer ces actions qu'ils choissoient pour la castastrophe de leurs tragedies, c'étoient des criminels qu'ils faisoient punir, mais par descrimes plus grands que les leurs.

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Often, he referred to the French critic as an authority.\textsuperscript{44}

\textbf{Dryden} \\
There ought to be one action, says Corneille, that is one complete action which leaves the mind of the audience in a full repose; but this cannot be brought to pass by many other imperfect actions which conduce to it, and hold the audience in a delightful suspense of what will be.

\textbf{Corneille} \\
Il n'y doit avoir qu'une action complete qui lasse l'esprit de l'auditeur dans le calme; mais elle ne peut le devenir que par plusieurs autres imparfaites, qui lui servent d'acheminent, et tiennent cet auditeur dans une agréable suspension?

But Dryden was too great a critic merely to accept some one's opinions; hence he at times disagreed with the French critic: \textsuperscript{45}

\textbf{Dryden} \\
— a play ought to be, a just and lively image of human nature, representing its passions and humours, and the changes of fortune to which it is subject, for the delight and instruction of mankind.

\textbf{Corneille} \\
Il ne faut pas prétendre, dit ce philosophe, que ce genre de poésie nous donne toute sorte de plaisir, mais seulement celui qui lui est propre; et pour trouver ce plaisir qui lui est propre, et le donner aux spectateurs, il faut suivre les préceptes de l'art, et leur plaire selon ses règles. — Il faut que le poète traite son sujet selon le vraisemblable et le nécessaire.

\textsuperscript{44} Ker. I.p.41; Corneille, Troisieme Discours, Tom I.\textsuperscript{45} Ker. I.p.36l Corneille Tom I.p.16-17.
Of the nineteen Horatian passages in the Essay on Dramatic Poesy, probably fourteen are taken from Corneille’s Essays. The overwhelming number of quotations from Aristotle, Dryden neglected almost entirely.

This Essay especially shows Dryden’s ability to use borrowed material for purposes quite his own. Unlike that of Corneille, Dryden’s essay was written as a dialogue. The purpose was to debate the merit of the ancients and moderns, and the French and English. Corneille’s arguments for the merit of the French stage, Dryden often used to show the superiority of the English over the French. 46

In 1758-9, Lessing took over, almost bodily, the Essay on Dramatic Poesy, calling it “Literaturbrief.” His purpose was to show the superiority of the English over the French and to point out the weakness of the Corneille theories. And in doing this, he used Corneille’s own arguments. 47 Lessing’s work proving popular, furthered the belief of the English dramatic supremacy.

46. Ker. I.p.16-7-8.

47. Baumgartner has shown how Lessing embodied Dryden’s theories. The German and the Englishman used identical arguments favoring English dramatic supremacy, enumerated the same British dramatists; and proclaimed Shakespeare’s genius. — “On Dryden's Relation to Germany in the Eighteenth Century” — University of Nebraska Studies 1907 p. 324.
Later Addison used the Essay as a model for The Dialogue upon Medals.

Later Theories

Unlike Horace, Dryden was not primarily interested in discussing the drama. The critical writings of the Roman poet, few though they are, deal largely with this field. And although Horace touched lightly upon many subjects, he gave minute directions for the writing of drama—especially tragedy.

It has been said of Dryden that he was always searching, never quite finding. Hence we find him trying to make his way into many provinces often touching them but lightly. Even in the field of the drama, he is not quite at home. At the very time that he was producing his plays, Dryden was writing his criticisms of the drama. Hence, although he earnestly sought new rules, new outlets for that art, his lack of experience proved a great handicap. Corneille, who wrote his criticisms of the drama after he had written his plays, probably first stimulated Dryden. Yet our critic gave little heed to him after the writing of the Essay of Dramatic Poesy. Rymer, Bossu and Rapin gave him the views of the moderns; Horace and Aristotle, those of the ancients.

In beginning the Essay on Dramatic Poesy, Dryden
says, "all desired the favor of him to give the definition of a play; and they were the more importunate, because neither Aristotle nor Horace, nor any other, who writ of that subject, had ever done it." The definition which he then gives is a revision of Horace's definition of a poem,—"a just and lively human nature representing its passions, and humours, and the changes of fortune to which it is subject for the delight and instruction of mankind." Corneille had dared omit instruction in his definition. Later he explained this definition, saying that "a play should represent nature, and yet be true to life." "All of these properties," he says, "Horace has hinted to a judicious observer: 1. Notandi sunt tibi mores; 2. aut famam sequere; 3. aut sibi convenientia finge; 4. servetur ad imum qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet." In other words, he believed that those playwrights were most successful, who adapted their genius to their age.

When he first mentioned the Unities, Dryden said, "Out of these two Aristotle's Poetics, and Horace's Art of Poetry, have been extracted the famous Rules which the French call Des Trois Unitez, or the Three Unities, which ought to be observed in every play."

51. Ker. I. p. 38. This is taken from Corneille's Des Trois Unitez.
Though he believed that these Unities should be respected, his interpretations so modified as almost to change them. Following the examples of Corneille, he declared that, "Unity of Action is sufficiently preserved if all the imperfect actions of the play are conducing to the main design. — variety, if ordered, will afford a greater pleasure to the audience." He pointed to Horace's:

"Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet."

Corneille who paved the way for Dryden had declared that the time allotted the ancients was too short to finish a great action. Hence, by concentration and compression he restricted the time of his story. Dryden went further than Corneille, and though he did not discard the theory, advocated a free interpretation of it. "'Tis easy," he says, "for speculative persons to judge severely; but if they would produce to public view ten or twelve pieces of this nature, they would give more latitude to the rules than I have done." With apparent satisfaction he

54. This is from Corneille's Troisieme Discours.
showed how bare were the plots of the ancients; and 
how even Euripides, in trying to observe the unities, 
ridiculously had a victor go forty miles and return in 
one day. He agreed with Corneille, that tragedy 
should be an event of not more than twenty-four hours 
to thirty hours, and that the event of comedy should not 
exceed the time of presentation.

Unity of Place had been a matter of great concern 
to Corneille, who finally decreed that the place might 
be changed without a change of scene. The spectators, 
he said, were not to ask too many questions. Dryden 
did not accept this. His first conviction was that, 
55 'Unity of place, however it might be practised by 
them [the ancients] was never any of their rules: we 
neither find it in Aristotle, Horace, or any who have 
written of it till in our age the French poets first 
made it a precept of the stage.' "Noting how the 
French, in their strict observance of Unity of place 
had often removed from their plays the most beautiful 
parts, Dryden condemned this French Unity of Place.

55. Ker. V. I. p. 48. This idea was, as Mr. Ker 
has shown, borrowed from Scaliger's Poetics VI.3. In 
the second edition of an Essay on Dramatic Poesy, 
this statement was withdrawn.
He suggested, however, that parts of a play be related rather than acted. 56 "Nor does this contradict the opinion of Horace, where he tells us, 'Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.'"

For he says immediately after,

'— non tamen intus Digna qui promes in scenam multa tolles Ex oculis, quae mox narret facundia praesens'

Among which he recounts some:

'Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet Aut in a vem Procne mutetur Cadmus in Anguem etc.' 57

Again following the Roman poet, he says that this relating of parts of a play will please the audience, 58 "or else Horace is in the wrong when he commends Lucilius for it." Yet he cautions that too much should not be related for "One advantage the drama has above the other, namely that it represents to view what the poem only does relate; and Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures, quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, as Horace tells us." 59

56: Ker. I.p.64. This same thought, without the quotation, is in Corneille's La Dramatique Poétique.


The continuity of joining or joining of scenes he advocated, pointing to the authority of "the Ancients" and "the French." 60

The unwinding of an extremely elaborate plot, so common in the plays of Ben Jonson, Dryden considered tiresome. "Horace," he says, 61 "has judiciously observed:

'Creditur ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
Sudoris minimum; sed habet comedia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniae minus."

In drawing characters, Dryden followed Horace's advice not to take all blemish from them nor to show all the faults. Homer, he praises as a great creator of characters, each of which has 62 "the divinae particulam aurae."

Like Horace, Dryden did not formulate many rules for comedy. In fact, his theory is fragmentary and does not correspond with his practice. In general, he agreed with the Roman poet, that 63 "comedy presents us with the imperfections of human nature." Yet he cautioned that comedy should not take too many liberties.

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62. Ker.II.p.157. and Horace, Sat.II.2.79.
In discussing heroic plays, a sixteenth and seventeenth century device, Dryden makes no use of Horace. Mr. G. R. Noyes, in discussing the French influence in the writings of John Dryden, says that "The Essay on Heroic Plays shows no use of French critics."

In discussing tragedy, Dryden remarked that he would have followed closely the ancients, had not their plots been too regular and too small for English tragedy. Shakespeare, he considered his model;Bossu, Rymer and Rapin his masters. Strangely enough; he makes little use of Corneille. In using Horace's rules for tragedy, Dryden attempted to bridge the gap between the ancients and the moderns. The Italians and the French critics, by studying the precepts of Aristotle and Horace, and having the examples of the Grecian poets before their eyes, have; he says, "given us the rules for modern tragedy."

In the Essay on Dramatic Poesy (1668) he had said that tragedy is to beget admiration, compassion or concernment;" and was "always founded upon some known history: according to that of Horace, 'Ex noto fictum carmen sequar.'"

This, in general, was Corneille's theory. Nine years later, Dryden added his belief that tragedy "should instruct delightfully." Distinctly Horation is the opinion that tragedy "is an imitation of one entire, great, and probable action; not told, but represented; which by moving in us fear and pity, is conducive to the purging of those two passions in our minds." And, with Horace, he agrees that tragedy should be "pompous and magnificent," "great in nature and such thoughts as quality and court education might inspire." In this, Dryden probably was influenced by Bossu and Rapin "the best of modern critics."

70. Ker.I.p.246ff.
71. Ker.I.p.211.
Dryden's theories of Poetry are found in no one essay, but pervade all. As many of these essays are mere unoriginal learning, gleaned from sources ancient and modern, they represent a storehouse of the opinions of the day. Yet Dryden was too great a critic merely to accept the statements of others. Much, he added; some he discarded; and at times he even ventured to disagree with authorities ancient and modern.

In stating his theory of poetry, Dryden summed up and elaborated the ideas of Bacon, Jonson, and Sidney. He first declared that poetic genius was the gift of Nature. "How to improve it, many books may teach us; how to obtain it, none; that nothing can be done without it, all agree," he says and then proves his point by Horace, "Tu nihil invicta faciesne Minerva, without invention a poet is but a copier and a plagiarist of others."

This quotation was probably furnished Dryden by Walter Moyle. As I have said, Moyle furnished the Horatian quotations for the Parallel of Poetry and Painting.

This tendency to restate the opinions of modern critics, strengthening them with Horatian quotations, is noted in all of Dryden's critical work.

So then, Dryden continues, the first happiness of the poet's imagination is properly invention or finding of the thought, the second is fancy, or the variation, deriving or moulding of that thought as the judgment represents it proper to the subject; the third is elocution, or the art of clothing and adorning that thought so found and varied, in apt, significant, and sounding words; the quickness of imagination is seen in the invention, the fertility in the fancy, and accuracy in the expression.73 Dryden, perhaps unconsciously was here following Cicero and Horace. One Roman poet however, gave equal stress to art, which he believed could be acquired, and genius, that gift of the Muses.74 In adding that "no poet should pretend to write who cannot temper his fancy with his judgment," Dryden was following the precept of Horace, derived however, through Rapin.75

Like his predecessors, Bacon and Sidney, Dryden regarded poetry as an imitative art, "Indeed,* he says, "the poet dresses truth, and adorns nature, but does not alter them:

'Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris.'"76

73. Ker. I.15.
74. Horace, AP. 296, 408 and 455ff. Dryden quoted none of these passages.
75. Rapin, Reflexions sur la Poétique en general, 5. Ed. 1686.
In his insistence upon rules for the writing of poetry, Dryden likewise referred to Horace, and advised that all poets study Aristotle and Horace, both of whom embodied the rules for imitation of nature. In heeding rules, Dryden showed most clearly his tendency to rely on the ancients. For them, rules had been almost the final decree. And Dryden, dependent as he was upon them, followed them in this even as his love of freedom led him to attempt to reconcile freedom and authority. When he gives Horace's rules for the writing of poetry and states that the ancients are and ought to be our masters, he remarks that his style is an imitation of the divine Shakespeare. Dryden agreed with Horace's decree that a poem should have a likeness to Nature, either as Nature was, or as the poet fancied she should be. But if no latitude is to be allowed a poet, you take from him not only his license of quidlibet audendi, but you tie him up in a straighter compass than you would a philosopher, he says, and quotes Horace, Ars Poetica, lines 9-10. Yet he would have the poet moderate in Licentia Poetica, even as the Roman poet had said.

77. Ker.I.p.200. This statement is brought over from Rymer.
Like many of his contemporaries, Dryden followed Horace when he sought to state the field of poetry. "The subject of a poet," he says, "is a great action of some illustrious hero. It is the same in painting; not every action, nor every person is considerable enough to enter the cloth." Thus, like Corneille and Rymer, he failed to see that all human life is a fit subject for poetry.

As Dryden was himself a model of correctness, he necessarily stressed perfection of form. Admirer as he was of the ancients, he found in them many precepts which would justify his practice. Horace had advocated the necessity of "limae labor" and of vigorous self-criticism if one would be a poet. These theories Dryden tested in his poetry, and strongly advocated for others. But even more to his fancy were the Horatian precepts for the for the usage and coining of words. When accused of writing roughly, he immediately said that his words were adapted to his subject, and quoted Horace to prove his point. Again he praised Virgil.

83. His prose, far superior to his poetry, falls short of this. The very lack of polish seems to have made it animated and vigorous.
85. Ker.p.17 and Horace, A.P.47.
"for the very sound of his words is somewhat co-natural to the subject,— and this is it which Horace means in his Epistle to the Pisos—

'Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum.'"

Thus, relying on Horace, he declared that "Poetry requires ornament; and that is not to be had in our Teuton monosyllables; and, therefore, if I find any elegant word in a classic author, I propose it to be naturalized by using it myself." His final caution, that the poet use specific words, he derived from Horace,

"Descriptas servare vices, operum colores,
Cur ego si nequeo ignoroque poeta salutor?"

In the discussion of rhyme, Dryden frequently changes his opinion. In the Preface to Annus Mirabilis (1666) he bewails the fact that "the learned languages have certainly a great advantage of us in not being tied to us in the slavery of rhyme." Two years later, in the Essay on Dramatic Poesy, he stoutly defended and advocated rhyme, here quoting Horace as

87. Ker. II. p.12.
an authority. "Heroic rhyme is nearest nature as being the noblest kind of modern verse.

'Indignatur enim privatis et prope socco
Dignio carminibus narrari caena Thyestae,' says Horace, and in another place,

'Effutire leves indigna tragœdia versus.'"88

He likewise used Horace as an authority for the statement that rhyme should be used, as it is unlike discourse, and helps cover defects.89 But, he gradually found rhyme distasteful, and in the Preface to Aurengzebe (1676) admitted that he was weary "of his long loved Mistress Rhyme.

"Passions too fierce to be in fetters bound
And Nature flies him like enchanted ground."

This same feeling toward rhyme he expressed in The Preface to Albian and Albanus, where he says that it is preposterous that rhyme should take the place of reason.90 Yet, in his own poems, rhyme prevails.

Following Horace's theory of poetry as Dryden does, it is strange to find the two differing as to the function of poetry. For Horace, the function of poetry

89. Ker.I.114 and Horace, A.P.361-4;149-150.
was to please and to instruct. Dryden, though granting that instruction might be an aim, doubted whether it was the primary importance. In the Essay on Dramatic Poesy (1668) he says, "for delight is the chief, if not the only end for poesy, instruction can be admitted, but in the second place, for poesy only instructs as it delights." And in the Preface to All for Love (1679), he merely says, "Poetry which is a picture of Nature, must please." Yet his own poetry, especially the Satires, seem written primarily to instruct.

Dryden considered poetry such a great art, that he advocated "keep(ing) out a crowd of little poets who press for admission, and are not of quality." "Horace," he says, "would no more allow such poets a place among the critics than would Demetrius the Mimic and Tigelius, the buffoon." Yet, he urged that the critic judge not too harshly. This he asked, using Horace as authority, "— if we can persuade ourselves by

95. Ker.I .p.89.
the candor of that poet, who though the most sever of critics, has left us this caution by which to moderate our censures,—

'— ubi plura nitent in carmine non ego paucis
Offendar maculis — e'—
f. Satire

When one reads "The Essay on Satire," and notes the frequent allusions and references to Horace, he is inclined to believe that the Roman critic inspired that work. It is true that Dryden derived most of his assertions from Horace, and his indebtedness he readily declared. Yet he neglected to say that many of these ideas were derived through the modern critics. Scott says, "Dryden was, I suspect, contented rather to know something from them than to put himself to the trouble of compiling more valuable material. Such is the disquisition concerning the word satire, which is chiefly extracted from Casaubon, Dacier and Rigault."

This assertion, probably taken from Dryden's own statement as to his authorities, is largely true. Yet, I am inclined to believe that Rigaltius, Dryden knew through Dacier. At any rate, none of the Horatian material used by Rigaltius proved acceptable to the English critic. His indebtedness to the French critic is undoubted. In borrowing from him some five hundred and seventy lines, almost word for word; clause for clause, and sentence for sentence, Dryden likewise carried over the allusions and quotations from Livy, Quintilian, Virgil, Horace, Diomedes, Ennius, Scaliger and Heinsius. In the following the parallelism is apparent.
Quintillian says, in plain words, "Satira quidem tota nostra est;" and Horace had said the same thing before him, speaking of his predecessor in that sort of poetry, "et Graecis intacti carminis auctor." Nothing can be clearer than the opinion of the poet, and the orator, both the best critics of the two best ages of the Roman Empire, that Satire was wholly of Latin growth, and not transplanted to Rome from Athens. Casaubon judged better, and his opinion is grounded on sure authority, that Satire was derived from Satura, a Roman word, which signifies full and abundant, and full also of variety, in which nothing is wanting in its due perfection. It is thus, says Dacier, that we say a full color, when the wool has taken the whole tincture, and drunk in as much of the dye as it can receive. According to this derivation from satur comes satura; or satira, according to the new spelling; as optumus and maxumus are now spelled optimus and maximus. Satura as I have formerly noted, is an adjective, and relates to the word lanx, which is understood; and this lanx, in English a charger, or large platter, was yearly filled with all sorts of fruits, which were offered to the gods at their

96. Ker. II.p.53,54. and Dacier p.234.
festivals as the premices, or first gatherings. These offers of several sorts thus mingled, it is true, were not unknown to the Grecians, who called them παρεδείγματα a sacrifice of all sorts of fruits; and πρέμπτα when they offered all kinds of grain. Virgil has mentioned those sacrifices in his Georgics:

Lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta

and in another place, "lancesque et liba feremus:" that is, we offer the smoking entrails in great platters, and we will offer the chargers and the cakes.

The sord satura has been afterwards applied to many other sorts of mixtures; as Festus calls it a kind of olla, or hotchpotch, made of several sorts of meats.

Laws were called leges satureae, when they were of several heads and titles, like our tacked bills of Parliament. And "per saturam legem ferre," in the Roman senate, was to carry a law without telling the senators, or counting voices, when they were in haste. Sallust uses the word, "per saturam sententias exquirere," when the majority was visible on one side. From hence it may probably be conjectured, that the Discourses, or Satires, of Ennius, Lucilius, and Horace as we now call them, took their name; because they are full of various matters and are also written on various subjects as Porphyrius says. But Dacier affirms that it is not immediately from thence that these satires are so ensemble, n'etoient pas inconnues aux Grecs, qui les appelloient --, quand ils offroient des legumes. Le Grammairien Diomede a parfaitement expliqué & la coutume des Romains, & le mot satura, dans ce passage: Lanx referita variis multisque primitiis sacris Ceres inferebatur, & a copia &- saturitate rei satura vocabatur, cujus generis lancium &- Virgilius in Georgiques meminit, cum hoc modo dicit:

Lancibus -- pandis fumantia reddimus exta.

Et:

-- lancesque et liba feremus. On portoit aux Sacrifices de Ceres un bassin "rempli de toutes fortes de premices: & à "cause de cette abondance, ce bassin étoit appelle satura. Virgile a perlé de ces bassins dans ses Ge'orgiques, quand il sit: Nous offrons les entrailles toutes fumantes dans de grands bassins -- les gateaux." De là mot satura fut appliqué a plusieurs autres mêlanges. Car on appella satura, Satire, une forte de mets fait de plusieurs choses. Ce mot passa même aux ouvrages de l'esprit: car on appella Leges saturas des Loix qui contenoient plusieurs Chefs, ou plusieurs Titres: comme par exemple la Loi Julia Papia Poppoea, que fut appellee Miscella, ce qui est la meme chose que Satura. De là vint cette façon ce parler: per saturam Legem ferre, quand on faifoit une Loi, sans recueillir & compter les voix, en opinant à la hâte, & tous ensemble confusément sur plusieurs chefs, ce qu'on appelloit proprement per saturam sententias exquirere, comme parle Saluste apres
called; for that name had been used formerly for other things, which bore a nearer resemblance to those discourses of Horace. In explaining of which, continues Dacier, a method is to be pursued, of which Causaubon himself has never thought, and which will put all things into so clear a light, that no further room will be left for the least dispute.

These remarks on the origin of satire, Dacier, in turn, had derived from the Latin poet and his interpreters, Scaliger and Heinsius. Horace had expressed these opinions in the first epistle of the second book, and to a larger extent, in the tenth satire of the first book.

At times, Dryden plainly admits his indebtedness. After a labored and flattering dedication, he remarks, "I am now almost at my depth; at least by the help of Dacier I am swimming to it." And, as the following passage shows, he swims alongside of the French critic, for some time.

97. Ker. II. p. 53.
Dryden

Of Pacuvius, who succeeded him, there is little to be said, because there is so little remaining of him; only that he is taken to be the nephew of Ennius, his sister's son; that in probability he was instructed by his uncle, in his way of satire, which we are told he has copied; but what advances he made we know not.

Lucilius came into the world when Pacuvius flourished most. He also made satires after the manner of Ennius, but he gave them a more graceful turn, and endeavoured to imitate more closely the vetus comœdia of the Greeks, of which the original Roman satire had no idea, till the time of Livius Andronicus. And though Horace seems to have made Lucilius the first author of satire in verse amongst the Romans, in these words —

"...Quid cum est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem?"

he is only thus to be understood; that Lucilius had given a more graceful turn to the satire of Ennius and Pacuvius, not that he invented a new satire of his own: and Quintilian seems to explain this passage of Horace in these words:

"Satira quidem tota nostræ est; in qua primus insignem laudem est Lucilius."

Thus, both Horace and

Dacier

Après Ennius, on eut Pacuve, qui fit aussi des Satires, à l'exemple d'Ennius qui étoit son Oncle, ou selon d'autres son Ayeul maternel. Lucilius naquit dans le temps que Pacuve étoit dans sa force. Il fit aussi des Satires, mais il leur donna un tour nouveau; & il tâcha d'imiter de plus près le caractère de la vieille Comédie Greque, dont on n'avait dans l'ancienne Satire Romaine qu'une idée fort imparfait, & telle qu'on pouvoit la trouver dans un Poème que la Nature seul avoit dicté, avant que les Romains eussent pensé à imiter les Grecs, & à s'enrichir de leurs dépouilles. C'est ainsi qu'il faut entendre ce passage de la I. Satire du Liv II.

"—— Quid, cùm est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem?"

Et quoi, quand Lucilius osâle premier fai re de cette sorte de vers? Horace n'a en garde de couloir dire qu'on n'eut pas fait des Satires avant Lucilius, puisque Lucilius avoit éré precedé par Ennius & par Pacuve, dont il n'accoit fait que suivre l'exemple. Il a voulu seulement faire entendre, que Lucilius avoit donné une nouvelle façon à ce Poème, qu'il l'avoit embelle, & que par cette raison il en devoit être considéré comme le
Quintilian give a kind of primace of honour to Lucilius amongst the Latin satirists. For, as the Roman language grew more refined, so much more capable it was of receiving the Grecian beauties in his time. Horace and Quintilian could mean no more, than that Lucilius writ better than Ennius and Pacuvius; and on the same account we prefer Horace and Lucilius. Both of them imitated the old Greek Comedy; and so did Ennius and Pacuvius before them. The polishing of the Latin tongue, in the succession of times, made the only difference; and Horace himself, in two of his satires, written purposely on this subject, thinks the Romans of his age were too partial in their commendations of Lucilius; who writ not only loosely, and muddily, with little art, and much less care, but also in a time when the Latin tongue was not yet sufficiently purged from the dregs of barbarism; and many significant and sounding words, which the Romans wanted, were not admitted even in the times of Lucretius and Cicero, of which both complain.

But to proceed:—Dacier justly taxes Casaubon, saying, that the Satires of Lucilius were wholly different in specie from those of Ennius and Pacuvius. Casaubon was led into that mistake by Diomede the premier Auteur. Quintilien a en la même pensée, quand il a écrit dans le Chap I du Liv X Satira quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius. La Satire est toute entière à nous. Lucilius est le premier qui y ait acquis une forte grande réputation." Il faut donc bien s'empêcher de donner dans le sentiment de Casaubon, qui fur la foi de Diomede a cru, que la Satire d'Ennius, & celle de Lucilius, étoient entierement differentes. Voici les propres termes de ce Grammairien, qui ont trompe ce judicieux Critique: Satira est carmen apud Romanos, non quidem apud Graecos-- maledictum,--ad carpenda hominum vitia, archanae Comoediae charactere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius, & Horatius-- & Persius. Sed olim carmen, quod ex variis Poematibus constabat, Satira dicebatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius-- & Ennius. La Satire est ches les Romains, & non pas ches les Grecs, un Poème mordant & compose sur le modèle de l'anciene Comedie, pour reprendre les vices, tel que les Poesies de Lucilius, d'Horace, & de Perse. Mais autrefois on donnoit le nom de satire à un Poeme mêlé de diverses sortes de vers, comme Ennius & Pacuve en ont compose." On voit manifestement, que Diomede separe la Satire de Lucilius de celle d'Ennius & de Pacuve. La raison qu'il donne de cette distinction est ridicule, & absolument fausse.
grammarian, who in effect says this: Satire amongst the Romans, but not amongst the Greeks, was a biting invective poem, made after the model of the ancient Comedy, for the reprehension of vices; such as were the poems of Lucilius, Horace and of Persius. But in former times the name of Satire was given to poems which were composed of several sorts of verses, such as were made by Ennius and Pacuvius; more fully expressing the etymology of the word satire, from satura, which we have observed. Here 'tis manifest, that Diomedes makes a specifical distinction betwixt the satires of Ennius, and those of Lucilius. But this, as we say in English, is only a distinction without a difference; for the reason of it is ridiculous, and absolutely false. This was that which cozened honest Casaubon, who, relying on Diomedes, had not sufficiently examined the origin and nature of those two satires; which were entirely the same, both in the matter and the form: for all that Lucilius performed beyond his predecessors, Ennius and Pacuvius, was only the adding of more politeness and more salt, without any change in the substance of the poem. And though Lucilius put not together in the same satire several sorts of verses, as Ennius did, yet he composed several satires, of several sorts of verses, and mingled them with Greek verses: one poem consisted

Ce grammairien n'avait pas assez examiné la nature & l'origine de ces deux Satires, qui étoient entièrement semblables, & par la matière, & par la forme. Car Lucilius n'avait fait qu'y ajouter un peu plus de politesse, & plus de fel, sans presque y rien changer: & s'il n'avait fait diverses Piece, comme Ennius, il avoit fait diverses Pieces, dont les unes étoient toutes entieres de vers hexameters, & les autres toutes entieres de vers iambes, & de vers trochaïques, comme on peut le voir par ses fragments. En un mot, si les Satires de Lucilius son differentes de celles d'Ennius, parce que le premier a beaucoup ajouté au travail de l'autre, comme Casaubon l'a pretendu, il s'ensuivra de la, que celles Horace & celles de Lucilius seront aussi entièrement differentes; puis qu'Horace & n'avoit pas moins encheri sue les Satires de Lucilius, que celui-ci avoit encheri sur celles d'Ennius & de Pacuve. Ce passage de Diomede a aussi trompé Douza le fils. Ce que je n'é dis pas pour mettre en vue quelque legere faute de ces grands Hommes: mais seulement pour faire voir avec quelle exactitude & avec quelle défiance il faut lire leurs Ouvrages, quand ils 'agit d'une chose aussi obscure & aussi ancienne que celle-ci. J'ai fait voir ce que c'étoit que l'ancienne Satire d'Ennius; & enfin j'ai prouvé suffisamment, que les Satires d'Ennius & de Pacuve,
only of hexameters, and another was entirely of iambs; a third of trochaics, as is visible by the fragments yet remaining of his works. In short, if the satires of Lucilius are therefore said to be wholly different from those of Ennius, because he added much more of beauty and polishing to his own poems, than are to be found in those before him, it will follow from hence that the satires of Horace are wholly different from those of Lucilius, because Horace has not surpassed Lucilius in the elegance of his writing, than Lucilius surpassed Ennius in the turn and ornament of his. This passage of Diomedes has also drawn Douss, the son, into the same error of Casaubon, which, I way, not to expose the little failings of those judicious men, but only to make it appear, with how much diffidence and caution we are to read their works, when they treat a subject of so much obscurity, and so very ancient, as is this of Satire.

Having thus brought down the history of Satire from its original to the times of Horace, and shown the several changes of it, I should here discover some of these graces which Horace added to it, but that I think it will be more proper to defer that undertaking until I make the comparison betwixt him and Juvenal. In the meanwhile, following the order of time, it will be de Lucilius & de Horace, ne sont qu'une meme espece de Poeme que n'a recu sa perfection que de ce dernier. Il est temps de parler de cette seconde espece de Satire que j'ai promis d'expliquer, & qui est née aussi de l'ancienne Satire. C'est celle que l'on appelle Varronienne, ou la Satire Menippée; parce que Varron, le plus savant des Romains, en fut le premier Auteur, & qu'il imita dans cet Ouvrage les manieres de Menippe Gadarenien, Philosophe Eynique.

Cette Satire n'etoit pas seulement melee de plusieurs sortes de vers: varron y avait fait un melange de Grec & de Latin. Quintilien, apres avoir parle de la Satire de Lucilius, ajoute: Alteverum, illud est, et prius Satirae genus, quod non sola carminum varietate mistum condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus. L'autre & la premiere espece de Satire, C'est celle que sit Varron, le plus favant des Romains, et dans laquelle il ne se contenta pas de meler plusieurs sortes de ce passage est, en ce que Quintilien assure, que cette Satire de Varron est la premiere. Car comment cela pourroit il etre, puis que varron etoit beaucoup plus jeune que Lucilius? Quintilien n'a pas voulu dire, la Satire de Varron sut la premiere dans l'ordre des tems; il savoit bien, qu'a cet egard elle etoit la derniere: mais il a voulu faire entendre, que cette Satires des Ennius & de Pacuve, que s etoient donnez
necessary to say somewhat of another kind of satire, which also was descended from the ancients; 'tis that which we call the Varronian Satire, (but which Varro himself calls the Menipean,) because Varro, the most learned of the Romans, was the first author of it, who imitated, in his works, the manner of Menippus the Gadarenian, who professed the philosophy of the Cynics.

This sort of Satire was not only composed of several sorts of verse, like those of Ennius, but also mixed with prose; and Greek was sprinkled amongst the Latin. Quintilian, after he had spoken of the satire of Lucilius, adds what follows: "There is another and former kind of satire, composed by Terentius Varro, the most learned of the Romans; in which he was not satisfied alone with mingling its several sorts of verse." The only difficulty of this passage is, that Quintilian tells us, that this satire of Varro was of former kind. For how can we possibly imagine this to be, since Varro must consequently be after Lucilius? But Quintilian meant not, that the satire of Varro was in order of time before Lucilius; he would only give us to understand, that the Varronian Satire, with a mixture of several sorts of verse, was more after the manner of Ennius and Pacuvius, than of Lucilius, who was more severe, and more correct, and gave himself less liberty in the mixture of his verses in the same poem.

We have nothing remaining
of those Varronian satires, excepting some inconsiderable fragments, and those for the most part much corrupted. The titles of many of them are indeed preserved, and they are generally double; from whence, at least, we may understand, how many various subjects were treated by that author.

Such passages as I have said, abound. Both conclude that Roman satire was begun by Ennius, furthered by Lucilius and completed by Horace. Both agree that satire results from a desire to purge the passions and punish the wicked. Yet Dryden makes some changes. He says that Livius Andronicus first introduced satire on the Roman stage; and, with startling frankness when speaking of the spelling of satire, he tells us that "it is false spelled throughout this book; for it is here written Satyr: which, not having considered at the first, I thought it not worth considering afterwards. But the French are more nice, and never spell it any other way than satire."

But, although Dryden followed Dacier closely, he referred much more frequently to the Roman poet. To Dacier's seven allusions and quotations, Dryden added forty-seven allusions and four quotations. At times, he seems to have been unwilling merely to accept Dacier's quotations from Horace, and enlarged them. For example,

99. Ker.I.58
100. Ker.I.67.
Dacier's two verse quotations from the first epistle of the second book, Dryden enlarged to a sixteen line quotation and translation. After this, he followed Dacier closely.

This idea of Satire, distinctly Horatian, and with little attempt to distinguish between satira and satura, prevailed until the eighteenth century. At the beginning of that age, Dryden's Essay made its way into Germany. Flogel, after reading it, remarked that Dryden was an authority on satire; while Blankenburg called him "the one authority." Even today, we find critics respecting if not entirely accepting, Dryden's theories on satire. Few, however, recognize the source of this much praised work.

101. Ker.II.p.48-49. This is one of Dryden's few translations from Horace.


103. R.E.J. Tiddy in the lecture Satura and Satira (found in G. S. Gordon's ed. English Literature) and Cecil Headlam (in Selections from the British Satirists and the Classics,) constantly refers to Dryden, never to Dacier.
CONCLUSION

To trace the influence of Dryden upon subsequent literature, is to a large extent, to trace the influence of Horace.

We have seen how this many-sided Roman poet influenced English literature from the very beginning of the middle ages. That period, with its innate love of authority, respected him as a satirist, moralist, and literary critic. The Renaissance, with the spread of humanistic learning, brought Horace into the curriculum of school and university. The many versions of the Ars Poetica, and imitations of the Satires and Epistles are but evidence of the great appreciation of the hexameters. Occasional quotations in the writings of Shakespeare, Milton, and Jonson show the less direct, more subtle influence.

But it is John Dryden who summed up and concentrated what he found scattered. In the writings of none of his predecessors, do we find such an all pervading influence. Some, like Radulfus Tortarius, had imitated a satire; others, like Burton, had quoted from an epistle or an ode; or like Vida, had modeled after the Ars Poetica. But John Dryden so absorbed most of Horace's writings that they became part and of his life and thought.
At first, he, like his contemporaries, was interested in translation and imitation. Realizing, as he said, that Horace's many excellencies were beyond his grasp, he translated but a few odes. And, although we cannot consider these his best translations -- his Virgil is far superior -- yet they outrank those of his contemporaries. It is in his epistulary verse that Dryden is most like Horace. His praise of men rings with a Roman grandeur. Many of the satires are decidedly Horatian. Some, like the Hind and the Panther, have the Horatian framework, phraseology, and "characters."

Throughout all of Dryden's critical work run quotations, allusions, or reminiscences of Horace. At first, Dryden believed that Horace had so anticipated all problems, that it was unnecessary to do more than follow him. Later, relying more on himself, he critically examined the Roman poet, and frequently modified his dictates to suit the needs of seventeenth century England. Yet, he rarely misinterpreted the poet.

Strongly influenced by his contemporaries, yet towering head and shoulders above them, by virtue of his intellect and eloquence, Dryden became the leader of the century. In this position, he transmitted the influence of Horace. His verse paved the way for that of Pope and Swift, both of whom were subject to the
Roman poet. His prose, even more Horatian than his verse, was the fore-runner of that of Addison and Steele. These eighteenth century writers carried on the Horatian tradition. Of the two, Addison did most to further, and best interpreted the spirit of the poet.

Through their interpretation, Horace's boast has been fulfilled:

"— usque ego postera crescam laude recens."

Od. III. 30. 7-8.
APPENDIX

References to Horace in the
Writings of John Dryden
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### DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENCES

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HEROIC STANZAS
1568

"For in a round what order can be shew'd,
Where all the parts so equal - perfect are?"
Noyes p.4 L.20-2 Christie considers
that this is reminiscent of
et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus.
Horace, Sat.II.7.86
It seems hardly probable.

PREFAE TO ANNUS MIRABILIS
1666

"Descriptas servare vices, operumque colores
Cur ego, si nequeo ignoroque poeta salutor?"
Horace, A.P. L.86-7

(In calling Virgil the most wonderful writer),
"Materiam superbat opus." The very sound of
his words have often somewhat that is connatural
to the subject----; and this is it which Horace
means in his Epistle to the Pisos---
'Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum."
Ker I. p.17 Horace, A.P. L.47
(In speaking of the fact that he modeled *Annus Mirabilis* and "innovated" the Latin words he would introduce into England)

"---so I hope that they are neither improper, nor altogether inelegant in verse; and in this Horace will again defend me---

Et novae fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadant, parce detorta."
Ker I. p.17 Horace, A.P. L.52-3

(In noting that some considered Dryden’s verses to her Highness, the Dutchess, had little merit),

"They said I did *humerum serpere*,—that I wanted not only height of fancy, but dignity of words, to set it off. I might well answer with that of Horace, *Nunc non erat his locus*.

Ker I. p.18 Horace, A.P. L.28
L.19

"*humerum serpere*" is incorrectly quoted,

"Serpit humi tutus mimium timidusque procellae."
Horace, A.P.28

(Speaking of Horace’s coining of Latin words from Greek), "---how much more justly may I challenge that privilege to do it with some prerequisites
from the best and most judicious of Latin writers?"
Ker I. p.18

"---I wrong the public to detain you longer" is like "---in publica peccem si longa sermone morer tua tempore Caesar?"

Horace, Epistula II.1.3

ANNUS MIRABILIS
1666

"Proud to have got off with equal stakes,
When 't was a triumph not to overcome."
Noyes p. 38 L.534-5 From Horace, Od. IV.4.51-2

"----- quos optimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphos."

ESSAY ON DRAMATIC POESY
1668

"--- Fungar vice cotis acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet, exors ipsa fecendi."

Motto from Horace, A.P. 304

THE ESSAY OF DRAMATIC POESY
1668

(In telling the Earl that he is fortunate to have
led a group of poets),

"---pars indocili melior grege; mollis et expers
Ignominata perprimat cubile."

Ker I. p. 24 Horace, Epod. XVI. 37, 8

(This was borrowed from Corneille's Essays (1660).

(In praising his own age),

"For you hear your Horace saying,
Indignor quidnam reprehendi, non quid crasse,
Compositum, illepidive putetur sed quia nuper."

Horace, Ep. II. 1. 76-7

And after

Si melior dies, ut vina, poemata reddit
Scire velim pretium chartis cuotis arroget annus?"

Ker I. p. 33 Horace, Ep. II. 1. 34

(This was taken through Corneille.)

(In desiring a definition of a play),

"---neither Aristotle, nor Horace, nor any other
who writ of that subject, had ever done it."

Ker I. p. 35

(In speaking of the greatness of Roman wit),

"---and may judge of Variss, by the testimonies
of Horace, Martial, and Velleius Paterculus."
Ker I. p. 42

from
Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
Victor Maeonii carminis alite--.

Horace, Od. I. 6

or
"---forte epos acer ut nemo Varius ducit."

Horace, Sat. I. 10. 44

or
"---quid Plantoque dabit Romanus Vergilio
Varioque?"

Horace, A. P. 54-5

(The first of these quotations (Od. I. 6) came
through Corneille's Essays.)

"---we are deprived of a great stock of wit in the
loss of Menander among the Greek poets and of
Caecilius Africanus and Varius among the Romans."
Ker I. p. 42

The above is probably taken from
"Vincere Caecilius gravitate Terentius arte."

Horace, Ep. II. I. 59

(Through Corneille)
"He (Ben Johnson) was not only an imitator of Horace, but a learned plagiary of all others."
Ker I. p.43

"---but what poet first limited to five the number of the acts, I know not; only we see it so firmly established in the time of Horace, that he gives it for a rule in comedy; Neu brevior quinto, nee sit productior actu."
Ker I. p.45

This is misquoted from
"Neve minor, neve sit quinto productior actu."
Horace, A.P. 189
(Through Corneille)

"Unity of place, however it might be practised by them (ancients) was never any of their rules: we neither find it in Aristotle, Horace, or any who have written of it, till in our age the French poets first made it a precept of the stage."
Ker I. p.48

(In speaking of the measure of receiving new words into our writings):

Multa renascentur quae nunc cecidere cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula est, volet usus
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus
et normia loquendi."

Ker I. p.51

Horace, A.P.70-3

(Through Corneille)

(In speaking of the ancients)

"---they writ love as it was then the mode to make it; and I will grant thus much to Eugenius, that perhaps one of their poets, had he lived in our age, si foret hoc nostrum fato delapsus in aevum (as Horace says of Lucilius), he had altered many things; (Horace, Sat.I.10.68) not that they were not natural before, but that he might accomodate himself to the age he lived in. Yet in the meantime, we are not to conclude anything rashly against those great men, but preserve to them the dignity of masters, and give that honor to their memories, quos Libitina sacravit, part of which we expect may be paid to us in future times."

Ker I. p.55

The latter is misquoted,

"Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit."

Horace, Ep. II.1.49

(In saying that the English plays are as well
written as the French),

"I will commit this cause to my friend's management; his opinion of our plays is the same with mine: and besides, there is no reason that Crites and I who have now left the stage, should re-enter so suddenly upon it, which is against the laws of comedy.

Ker I. p.56

The above is reminiscent of,

"— Media inter carmina poscunt,
Aut ursum aut pugiles; nam plebecula gaudet."

Horace, Ep. II.1.185

--- Horace, A.P. 240

(In speaking of the ancient plays),

"---they are always grounded upon some known history: according to that of Horace, Ex noto fictum carmen sequar;"

Ker I. p.58

Horace, A.P. 240

--- Horace, A.P. 151-2

(In speaking of the plot of the French plays),

"Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet unum."

Ker p.58

Horace, A.P. 151-2
(In remarking that Shakespeare often makes nature ridiculous),

"Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi."

Ker I. p. 59

Horace, A.P. 188

(In speaking of the relating of parts of a play rather than of acting them),

"Nor does this contradict the opinion of Horace, where he tells us,

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Horace, A.P. 180-2

For he says immediately after,

---non tamen intus
Digna geri promes in scenam; multa tolles
Ex oculis, quae mox narret facundia praesens.

Horace, A.P. 182-4

Among which he recounts some:

Nec pueros coram pupulo Medea trucidet.

Horace, A.P. 185

Aut in avem Progne mutetur,
Cadmus in anguem etc.

Ker I. p. 64 (These were borrowed through Corneille)
The last is misquoted from,
"Aut in avem Procone vertatur, Cadmus in anguem."
Horace, A.P.187

(In speaking of the unwinding of ornate plots),
"Tie this which Horace has judiciously observed:
Creditur ex medio quia res accessit, habere
 Sudoris minimum; sed habet comedia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniae minus."
Ker I. p.86

(In speaking of unbiased criticism),
"---use the candor of that poet, who though the most severe of critics has left us this condition by which to moderate our censures.---- ---ubi plura nitent in carmine non ego paucis Offendar maculis;
Ker I. p.89

(In calling the judgment of the people mere lottery),
"Est ubi recte putat, est ubi peccat. Horace says it of the vulgar judging poetry."
Ker I. p.100

Author quotes from memory from
Interdum vulges rectum videt; est ubi peccat.
Horace, Ep. II.1.63
"Indignatur enim privatis et prope socco
Dignis carminibus narrari coena Thystae

A.P. 90,1

says Horace

and in another place

Effutire leves indigna tragocedia versus."

A.P. 321

"The comic scene revolts at being told
In verse of tragic texture strong and bold."

(The quotation, A.P.90-1, was derived through
Corneille.)

Ker I. p.101

"But if no latitude is to be allowed a poet, you
take from him not only his license of quid
libet audendi but you tie him up in a straighter
compass than you would a philosopher."

Ker I. p.103

This is reminiscent of

---Pictoribus atque poetis
Quid libet audendi semper fuit sequa potestas."

Horace, A.P.9,10

(Through Corneille)
(In advocating the use of rhyme, for it is unlike discourse and helps to cover defects),
"For so says Horace,
Ut pictura poesis erit etc."
Horace, A.P. 361-4

and
"Haec amat obscurum, vult haec sub luce videri,
Judicis argutum quae non formidat acumen."
Horace, A.P. L.149

and
"---et quae
Desperat tractata mitescere poese, relinquit."
Ker I. p.114

"Indeed the poet dresses truth, and adorns nature, but does not alter them:
Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris."
Ker I. p.115

"Those propositions which are laid down in my discourse as helps to the better imitation of Nature, are not mine (as I have said) nor were
ever pretended to be, but derived from the authority of Aristotle and Horace, and from the rules and examples of Ben Johnson and Corneille."

Ker I. p.125

"I am only a champion by succession, and no more able to defend the right of Aristotle and Horace, than an infant Dimock to maintain the title of a king."

Ker I. p.110

PREFACE TO THE MOCK ASTROLOGER

1671

"And Horace tells you that the old comedy amongst the Grecians was silenced for the too great liberties of the poets:

"---In vitium libertas excidit et vim

Dignam legi regi: Lex est accepta, chorusque Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi."

Ker I. p.137

Horace, A.P. 232-4

"Of which he gives you the reason in another place, where, having given the precept,

Neve immunda crepent, ignominosque dicta,
he immediately subjoins,
Offenduntur enim quibus et ecuus, et pater res."

Ker I. p.138 Horace, A.P.247 A.P.248

OF HEROIC PLAYS, AN ESSAY
(Prefixed to the Conquest of Granada) 1672

"One advantage the drama has above the other, namely that it represents to view what the poem only does relate; and 'Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures, quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus', as Horace tells us."

Ker I. p.154 Horace, A.P. 180

(In speaking of Achilles),
"---and Horace gives the same description of him in his Art of Poetry:
Honoratum si forte, reponsie Achillem
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis acer,
Jura neget sibi nata, mihi non arroget armis."

Ker I. p.156 Horace, A.P.120-3

(In speaking of leaving his work),
"That there are errors in it,
I deny not,
Ast opere in tanto fas est obrepere somnum."
Ker I. p.158 Horace, A.P. 360

DEFENSE OF THE EPILOGUE
1672
(In defending the ancients),
"Whoever censures me for this inquiry, let him
bear his character from Horace:
Ingeniis non ille favet, plaudit sepulis,
Nostra sed impugnant; nos nostraque lividus odit.
He favors not dead wits, but hates the living."
Ker I. p.163 Horace, Ep. II. 1.88

"It was upbraided to that excellent poet (Horace)
that he was an enemy to the writings of his pre­
decessor, Lucilius, because he had said, Lucilium
lutulentem fluere, that he ran muddy."
Ker I. p.163 Horace, Sat.I.10.68
This is incorrectly quoted from
"At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum saepe ferentem
Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis."
Sat.I.10.68

"But Horace makes Lucilius himself to justify him
from the imputation of envy, by telling you that he would have done the same, had he lived in an age which was more refined:

Si foret nostrum fato delapsus in aevum,
Detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur, etc

Ker I. p.163 Sat. I.10.68-70

(In speaking of the genius of Shakespeare and Fletcher),

"That their wit is great, and many times their expression noble, envy itself cannot deny:

Neque ego illis detrahere ausim
Haerentem capiti multa cum laude coronam:
But the times were ignorant in which they lived."

Ker I. p.165 Sat. I.10.48

"They who have lately written with most care, have, I believe, taken the rule of Horace for their guide; that is, not to be too hasty in the receiving of words, but rather to stay till custom has made them familiar to us.

Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus, et norma loquendi."

Ker I. p.170 Horace, A.P. 72
"And therefore, though he innovated little, he may justly be called a great refiner of the Roman tongue. This choice of words and heightening of their natural signification, was observed in him by the writers of the following ages; for Petronius says of him, et Horatii curiosa felicitas. By this grafting on has our own age been beautified by Shakespeare, Fletcher and Jonson."

Ker I. p.171

---

"There is yet another way of improving language---by applying received words to a new signification, and this, I believe is what is meant by Horace in that precept which is so variously construed by expositors:

Dixeris egregie, notum si callida
Reddiderit junctura verbum novum."

Ker I. p.171

Horace, A.P. 47,8

---

"And in this way he (Horace) himself had a particular happiness; using all the trophies, and particular metaphors, with that grace which is observable in his Odes, where the beauty of expression is often greater than that of thought;
as in that one example, amongst an infinite number of others, *Et vultus nimium lubricus aspici.*"

Ker I. p.171

Horace, *Od. I.* 19.8

**THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY FOR HEROIC POETRY AND POETIC LICENCE**

1677

(In speaking of having borrowed from Milton's *Paradise Lost*,)

"Tis malicious and unmanly to snarl at the little lapses of a pen, from which Virgil himself stands exempted. *Horace* acknowledges that honest Homer nods sometimes: he is not equally awake in every line; but he leaves it also as a standing measure for our judgments,

---*Non ubi plura nitent in carmine paucis Offendi maculis, quas aut incuria fudit, Aut humana parum cavit natura*---."

Ker I. p.179

Horace, A.P. 351-3

(In calling heroic poetry the greatest work of human nature),

"Horace as plainly delivers his opinion, and par-
particularly praises Homer in these verses—

Trojani Belli scriptorem maxime Lolli,
Dum sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Cantore dicit."

Horace Ep. I.2.1-4

And in another place, modestly excluding himself from the number of poets, because he only writ odes and satires, he tells you a poet is such a one —--cui mens divinior atque os magna sonaturum."

Ker i. p.181 Horace, Sat.I. 4.43

"Virgil and Horace, the severest writers of the severest age, have made frequent use of the hardest metaphors and of the strongest hyperboles—."

Ker i. p.182

"Thus I grant you that the knowledge of nature was the original rule; and that all poets ought to study her, as well as Aristotle and Horace, her interpreters."

Ker i. p.183

"Will you arraign your master, Horace, for his hardness of expression, when he describes the death of Cleopatra, and says she did asperos tractare
serpentes, ut atrum corpore conhiberit venenum, because the body in that action performs what is proper to the mouth?"

Ker i. p.184 Horace, Od. I.37.26

(In saying that bold figures should be used to denote passion),
"---for then, si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi, the poet must put on the passion he endeavors to represent---."

Ker I. p.185 Horace, A.P. 102

(In speaking of the bold use of imagery),
"How far these liberties are to be extended, I will not presume to determine here, since Horace does not."

Ker i. p.189

"Horace a little explains himself in this subject of licentia poetica in these verses---
Pictoribus atque poetis
Quid libet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas---
Sed non, ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus haedi."
He would have a poem of a piece."

Ker I. p.189  
Horace, A.P. 9-10  
A.P.12-13

PREFACE TO ALL FOR LOVE
1679

"Horace was certainly right when he said that no man is satisfied with his own condition."

Ker I. p.196

Dryden probably refers to Horace, Sat.1.1.1-3

Qui sit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam tibi sortem seu ratio dederit seu fors obicerit, illa contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentie?"

(In saying that many a man not meant to be a poet has pried at poetry),

"Maecenas took a better course. ---finding himself far gone in Poetry, which Seneca assures us was not his talent, he thought it his best way to be well with virgül and with Horace; and that he might at least be a poet at the second hand."

Ker I. p.198

(Of modern patrons),
"They are for persecuting Horace, and Virgil in the person of their successors."

and

"Some of their little zanies yet go further; for they are persecutors even of Horace himself, as far as they are able, by their ignorant and unjust use imitations of him, by making unjust of his authority and turning railery against his friends."

Ker I. p. 198

(Horace would no more allow these poor poets), "a place among the critics, than would Demetrius the mimic and Tigellius the buffoon.

---Demetri, teque Tigelli,
Discipulorum inter jubes plorare cathedras."

Horace Sat. I. 10. 90

With what scorn he would look down on such miserable translators who make doggerel of his Latin, and mistake his meaning, misapply his censures and often contradict their own."

Ker I. p. 198

(În speaking of a hated critic),

"---Horace would have taught him to have minced
the matter, and to have called it readiness of thought and a flowing fancy; for friendship will allow man to christen an imperfection by the name of some neighbor's virtue—-

bellem in amicitia sic erraremus; et isti Errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.

Ker p. 199 Horace, Sat. I. 3. 41, 2

"Horace likewise gives it for a rule in his art of poetry---

"---Vos exemplaria Graeca Nocturna verseste manu, verseste diurna."

Ker I. p. 200 Horace, A.P. 268, 9

PREFACE TO TROILUS AND CRESSIDA 1679

(In speaking of the masters of criticism), "Aristotle, with his interpreters, Horace and Longinus, are the authors to whom I owe my lights,---"

Ker I. p. 207

(In speaking of the manners of a play), "All these properties Horace has hinted to a
judicious observer:

1. Notandi sunt tibi mores; 2. Aut formam sequere;
3. Aut sibi convenientia finge; 4. servetur ad imum, 
qualis ab incepta processerit, et sibi constet."

Ker I. p.215 Horace, A.P. 156
A.P. 119
A.P. 126

"My Indian potentate was well skilled in the
sea for an inland prince, and well improved since
the first act—. The image had not been amiss
from another man at another time: sed non erat
hisce locus: he destroyed the concernment which
the audience might have had for him."

Ker I. p.224 Horace, A.P. 19

THE PROLOGUE AT OXFORD
1680

"To prove this true, if Latin be no trespass,
Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis.
But Aeschylus, says Horace in some page,
Was the first mountebank that trod the stage:"

Noyes p.87 L.3-6 Horace, A.P. 276,7
"In the first rank of these did Zimri stand; A man so various, that he seemed to be Not one, but all mankind's epitome: Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong; Was everything by starts, and nothing long; But in the course of one revolving moon Was chemist, fiddler, statesman and buffoon: In squand'ring money was his peculiar are: Nothing went unrewarded but desert."

Noyes p.116 L.543-560 Reminiscent of Sat. I.3

"(Of) metaphase or turning an author word by word, and line by line from one language into another,----our master Horace has given us this caution: Nec verbum verba curabis reddere fidus Interpres---- Nor word for word too faithfully translate, as the Earl of Roscommon has excellently phrased it."

Ker I. p.237. Horace, A.P.133,4
"(I) will pass over the naked familiarity of his (Ovid's) expression to Horace."
Ker p. 231

"Nor was his (Ovid's) acquaintance less with the famous poets of his age than with the noblemen and ladies.

He tells you himself, in a particular account of his own life that Macer, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius and many others of them were his familiar friends, and that some of them communicated their writings to him----."
Ker I. p.233 (The above is misquoted from Tristia Liber IV. Eleg.9)

"(Tibullus and Propertius) rambled from one subject to another, and conclude with somewhat, which is not of a piece with their beginning:

"Purpureus late qui splendeat unus et alter Assuitur pannus----"
As Horace says; though the verses are golden, they are not patched into the garment."
Ker I. p.235 Horace, A.P.15,16
"We see Ben Johnson could not avoid obscurity in his literal translation of Horace, attempted in the same compass of lines: Nay Horace himself could scarce have done it to a Greek poet:—

Brevis esse laboro obscurus fio:
either perspicuity or gracefullnees will frequently be wanting."

Ker I. p.239 Horace, A.P. 25

"Horace has indeed avoided both these rocks in his translation of the three first lines of Homer's Odysseus, which he has contracted into two:—

Dic mihi musa virum captæ post tempora Trojæ,
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, et urbes."

Ker I. p.239 Horace, A.P.141-2

TO THE EARL OF ROSCOMMON
1684

(In praising Roscommon),
"Scarce his own Horace could such rules ordain,
Or his own Virgil sing a nobler strain."
Noyes, p.174

Roscommon translated

Horace, Carm. I. 22
Carm III.6. and the Art of Poetry
"For the last half year I have been troubled with the disease (as I may call it) of translation;—never suspecting but that the humour would have wasted itself in two or three Pastorals of Theocritus, and as many Odes of Horace."

"There are a sort of blundering, half-witted people who make a great deal of noise about a verbal slip; though Horace would instruct them better in true criticism

non ego paueis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
Aut humana parum. cavit natura.

Horace, A., P. 351-3.

(Of Horace),

"Take him in parts, he is chiefly to be considered in his three separate talents, as he was a critic, a satirist, and a writer of Odes. His morals are uniform and run through all of them; for let his Dutch commentators say what they will, his philosophy
was Epicurean; and he made use of God and Providence only to serve a turn in poetry. But since neither his Criticisms, which are the most instructive of any that are written in this art, nor his Satires, which are incomparably beyond Juvenal's, (if to laugh and rally is to be preferred to railing and declaiming,) are no part of my undertaking, I confine myself wholly to his Odes."

Ker p. 266

"But Horace is of the more bounded fancy, and confines himself strictly to one sort of verse or stanza in every Ode. 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 and audere of Horace himself."

Ker p. 267  Horace, Ep.II.1.66
(In praising Horace),

"But the most distinguishing part of all his character seems to be his briskness, his jollity, and his good humour; and these I have chiefly endeavored to copy; his other excellencies, I confess, are above my imitation. One Ode which infinitely pleased me in the reading, I have attempted to translate in Pindaric verse; 'tis that which is inscribed to the present Earl of Rochester—.

'Tis his darling in the Latin, and I have taken some pains to make it my master-piece in English: for which reason I took this kind of verse—"

Ker p. 267

"In the meantime,

---fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quae ferrum valet, expers ipsa secandi."

Ker p. 269

Horace, A.P. 304-5

PREFACE TO ALBIAN AND ALBANUS
1677

"In Odes, Pindar should be the authority, and we are bound, according to the practise of Horace and Mr. Cowley, to copy him."

Ker p. 271
THE HIND AND THE PANTHER
1687

(In describing the swallow),
"From hence she had been held of heav'ly line
Endued with particles of divine wit."
Noyes p. 240 L. 1727-8

Williams suggests this is reminiscent of
"---divinae particulas aurae."
Horace, Sat, II.2.79

"And shedding trees began the ground to strew
With yellow leaves,---"
Noyes p.241 L.1732

Christie suggests the similarity of this
verse to "simul inversum contristat Aquarius
Annum."
Horace, Sat. I. 1.36

BRITTANIA REDIVIVA
1688

"---but long be banished thence,
And late to thy paternal skies retire!"

This may be an imitation of
"Serue in caelum redeas---"
Horace, Carm. I.2.45
"Invulnerable in his impudence,
He dares the world; and, eager of a name
He thrusts about and justlee into fame.
Frontless and satire proof he scorns the streets,
And runs Indian--muck at all he meets.
So fond of loud report, that, not to miss
Of being known (his last and utmost bliss)
He rather would be known for what he is."

Noyes p.250       This is a summary of Sat.I.9

DEDICATION OF THE EXAMEN POETICUM
1693

(In speaking of self centered critics),

"Horace took note os such men in his age---
Non ingeniis favet ille sepultis
Nostra sed impugnat; nos nostraque lividus odit."

Ker II p.4

The above is misquoted from

"Ingeniis non ille favet---"

Horace, Ep.II.1.88,9

"There is a sort of merit in delighting the
spectators---or else Horace is in the wrong when
he commends Lucillius for it."

Ker II. p.7
(If wit be pleasantry he (Ovid) has it to excess; but if it be propriety, Lucilius, Horace, and, above all, Virgil are his superiors."
Ker II. p.9

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE ORIGINAL AND PROGRESS OF SATIRE 1693
(In speaking of the art of poetry), "---Johnson, who, by studying Horace, had been acquainted with the rules, yet seemed to envy to posterity that knowledge---." Ker II. p.17

(In speaking to the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex), "---like Horace, you only expose the follies of men without arraigning their vices; and in this excel him, that you add that pointedness of thought, which is visibly wanting in our great Roman."

"Martial says of him, (Ovid) that he could have excelled Varius in tragedy, and Horace in lyric verse---." Ker II. p.24
(In addressing the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex),
"---you had equalled them, if our language had not yielded to the Roman majesty, and length of time had not added a reverence to the works of Horace. Ker II. p.25

"---if I could only cross the seas, I might find in France a living Horace and a Juvenal, in the person of the admirable Boileau."
Ker II. p.26

"---in my opinion, obsolete words may be laudably revived, when either they are more sounding or more significant, than those in practice; and when their obscurity is taken away, by joining other words to them, which clear the sense; according to the rule of Horace for the omission of new words."
Ker II. p.29

(In prophesying fame to the Earl),
"---Ne, forte, pudori
Sit tibi Musa lyrae solere, et cantor Apollo."
Ker II. p.39 Horace, A.P. 406,7
(In saying that good writing demands clearness),
"'Tis the curiosa felicitas which Petronius ascribes to Horace in his Odes."
Ker II. p.40

"It is just the description that Horace makes of such a finished piece,
---Ut sibi quivis
Speret idam, sudet multum, frustraque laboret,
Ausus idem."
Horace, A.P. 240, 3

(Speaking of the epic poet),
"And, after all, he must have studied Homer and Virgil as his patterns; and Vida and Boeau as their commentators."
Ker II. p.43

(In saying that poetry probably sprang from the rejoicing at festivals),
"And the ancient Romans, as Horace tells us, paid their thanks to Mother Earth, to Vesta, to Silvanus and their Genius in the same manner."
Ker p. 46
"---Horace possibly might seem to him to have shown the original of all Poetry in general,---; though it is plainly otherwise---

Agricolae prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
Corpus, et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem
Cum sociis operum, et puere, et conjuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi;
Fescennia per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

Horace, Ep. II. 1. 139-146

Our brawny clowns of old who turn'd the soil,
Content with little, and inur'd to toil
At harvest-home with mirth and country cheer,
Restor'd their bodies for another year;
Refreshed their spirits and renew'd their hope
Of such future feast, and future crop.
Then, with their fellow joggers of the ploughs,
Their little children and their faithful spouse,
A sow they slew to Vesta's deity
And kindly milk, Silvanus poured to thee;
With flow'rs and wine their Genius they adored;
A short life and a merry was the word.
From flowing cups, defaming rhymes ensue,
And at each other homely taunts they slew."
(The above is one of Dryden's few Horatian translations)

*Ker II, p. 47-8* The first two verses came through Dacier.

"The rude Satire of the Romans was also punished by a law of the Decemviri, as Horace tells us, in these words---

Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter; donec jam saevus apertam
In rabiem verti coepit jocos, et per honestas
Ire domos impune minax; doluere cruento
Dente lacesiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super commun: quin etiam lax
Poenaque lata, malo quae nellet carmine quemquam
Describi: vertere modum, formidine, fustis
Ad benedicendum delectandum quae quo redacti."

*Ker II. p.49* Horace, Ep.II.1.147-155

(In speaking of the Greek invective poems),
"Those silli were indeed invective poems, but of a different species from the Roman poems of
Ennius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Horace, and the rest of their successors."

Ker II. p.51 (This comes through Dacier.)

(In speaking of satires written against particular persons),
"
"...such as were the iambics of Archilochus against Lycambes, which Horace undoubtedly imitated in some of his Odes and Epodes, whose titles bear sufficient witness of it."

Ker II. p.52

Quintillian says in plain words, Satira quidem tota nostra est; and Horace said the same thing before him, speaking of his predecessor in that sort of poetry, Et Gracis intacti carminis auctor."

Ker II. p.53 Horace, Sat. I.10.66 (Through Dacier)

(In saying that satire is derived from satura, meaning a mixture),
"From hence it may probably be conjectured, that the Discourses, or Satires of Ennius, Lucilius and Horace took their name... But Dacier affirms
that it is not immediately from thence that these satires are so called; for that name had been used formerly for other things, which bore a nearer resemblance to those discourses of Horace."

Ker. II. p. 55.

"And then Quintilian and Horace must be cautiously interpreted when they affirm that Satire is wholly Roman, and a sort of verse, which was not touched by the Grecians."

Ker p. 58. (Through Dacier)

"—satire—was—begun by Ennius, pursued by Lucilius, and completed afterwards by Horace."

Ker II. p. 58.

"Ennius confines not himself to one sort of verse as Horace does —— Horace has thought him worthy to be copied; inserting many things of his own into his own Satires, as Virgil has done into his Aeneids:"

Ker II. p. 60.

"Though Horace seems to have made Lucilius the
first author of satire in verse among the Romans, in these words,--

-- Quid? Cum est Lucilius Ausus

Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,--

he is only thus to be understood.

Ker II. p.62 Horace, Sat. II.1.62,3 (Through Dacier)

"Horace himself, in two of his satires, written purposely on the subject, thinks the Romans of his age were too partial in their commendation of Lucilius, who writ not only muddily, with little art, and much less care --."

Ker. p. 62.

"-- both Horace and Quintilian give a kind of privacy of honour to Lucilius, amongst the Latin satirists. -- Horace and Quintilian could mean no more, than that Lucilius writ better than Ennius and Pacuvius; and on the same account we prefer Horace to Lucilius. -- Horace himself, in two of his satires, written purposely on this subject, thinks the Romans of his age were too partial in their commendations of Lucilius."

Ker. p. 62.
(In calling Roman satire a biting invective poem),

"... such as were the poems of Lucilius, of Horace, and of Persius." -- the satires of Horace are wholly different from those of Lucilius, because Horace has not less surpassed Lucilius in the elegance of his writing, than Lucilius surpassed Ennius in the turn and ornament of his."

Ker II. p. 64.

"I have spent much time on the translation of Juvenal and Persius; and it behooves me to be wary, lest, for, that reason, I should be partial to them, or take a prejudice against Horace."

Ker II. p. 69.

"Heinsius and Dacier are the most principle of those who raise Horace above Juvenal and Persius. Scaliger the father, Rigaltius, and many others, debase Horace, that they may set up Juvenal; and Casaubon, who is almost single, throws dirt on Juvenal and Horace, that he may exalt Persius whom he understands particularly well, -- "

Ker. II. p. 69. (Through Dacier)
(In speaking of Persius),

"- - I think not equal in the main to --
Juvenal or Horace, and yet in some things to be
preferred to both of them. *
Ker II. p. 70.

---

(In commenting on the measures and words of Persius),

"- - he is evidently beneath Horace and Juvenal
in both."
Ker. II. p. 70

---

"- - Horace -- writ when the language was at the
height of its perfection;"
Ker p. II p. 70.

---

"To consider Persius yet more closely; he rather
insulted over vice and folloy, than exposed them,
like Juvenal and Horace; yet he is mainly below
Horace, because he borrows most of his great beauties
from him; -- Casaubon -- has written a treatise --
wherein he shows a multitude of his translations
from Horace, and his imitations of him, for the credit
of his author; which he calls imitatio Horatiana."*
Ker II p. 71.
(In commenting on Persius, as characterized by Scaliger),

"- - he is - - after all unworthy to come into contact with Persius and Horace."
Ker II. p. 72.

"- - Pindar is obscure in some place; - and even Horace and Juvenal - - amongst the Romans."
Ker II. p. 73.

"I think that he (Persius) cannot be allowed to stand competition with either Juvenal or Horace."
Ker. II. p. 74.

"Herein then it is, that Persius has excelled both Juvenal and Horace. He sticks to his own philosophy; he shifts not sides, like Horace, who is sometimes an Epicurean, sometimes a Stoic, sometimes an Eclectic, as his present humour leads him."
Ker II. p. 77.

"For he (Casaubon) says that Horace, being the son of a tax gatherer, or collector as we call it,
smells everywhere of the meanness of his birth and education; his conceits are vulgar, like the subjects of his satires; that he does plebium sapere, and writes not with that elevation which becomes a satirist; --. 'Tis granted that the father of Horace was libertinus, that is one degree removed from his grandfather, who had been a slave. But Horace, speaking of him, gives him the best character of a father which I ever read in history --. He bred him in the best school, and with the best company of young men; and Horace, by his gratitude to his memory, gives a certain testimony that his education was ingenious. After this, he formed himself abroad by the conversation of great men. Brutus found him at Athens, and was so pleased with him, that he took him thence into the army and made him tribunus militum, a colonel in a legion, which was the preferment of an old soldier. All this was before his acquaintance with Maeceneas, and his introduction into the court of Augusutus and the familiarity of that great Emperor; which, had he not been well-bred before, had been enought to civilise his conversation, and render him accomplished and knowing in all the arts of complacency and good
behavior; and, in short, an agreeable companion for the retired hours and privacies of a favorite, who was first minister. So that, upon the whole matter, Persius may be acknowledged to be equal with him in those respects, — —. If the advantage be anywhere, 'tis on the side of Horace; as much as the court of Augustus Caesar was superior to that of Nero. — — It will appear hearafter that Horace writ not vulgarly on vulgar subjects, nor always chose them, his style is constantly accommodated to his subject, either high or low.

Ker II. p. 77–8.

*The comparison betwixt Horace and Juvenal is more difficult;— —. If it be only argued in general, which of them was the better poet, the victory is already gained on the side of Horace. Virgil himself must yield to him in the delicacy of his turns, his choice of words, and perhaps the purity of his Latin. He who says that Pindar is inimitable is himself inimitable in his Odes. But the contention betwixt these two masters is for the prize of Satire; in which controversy all the Odes and Epodes of Horace are to stand excluded. I say this, because Horace
has written many of them satirically, against his private enemies, — —. But Horace has purged himself of this choler before he entered on those discourses which are more properly called the Roman Satire. He has not now to do with a Lyce, a Canidia, a Cassius Severus, or a Menas; but, it is to correct the vices and follies of his time, and to give the rules of a happy and virtuous life.  
Ker II. p. 79.

(In declaring a public nuisance is a fit subject for satire),

"All those, whom Horace in his Satires, and Persius and Juvenal have mentioned in theirs, with a brand of infamy, are wholly such."
Ker. II. p. 80.

"It must be granted by the favourers of Juvenal, that Horace is the more copious and profitable in his instructions of human life; but in my particular opinion — —, Juvenal is the more delightful author. I am profited by both, I am pleased with both; but I owe more to Horace for my instruction, and more to Juvenal for my pleasure. — — That Horace is
somewhat the better instructor of the two, is proved from hence, that his instructions are more general, Juvenal's more limited. — Horace — gives the most various advice, and most applicable to all occasions which can occur to us in the course of our lives — . * Ker p. 82.

"Horace is teaching us in every line, and is perpetually moral: He had found out the skill of Virgil, to hide his sentences; to give you the virtue of them, without showing them in their full extent; which is the ostentation of a poet, and not his art. — Folly was the proper quarry of Horace, and not vice; — . There are blinds and follies, even in the professor of moral philosophy; and there is not any sect of them that Horace has not exposed. — the divine wit of Horace left nothing untouched; — he entered into the utmost recesses of nature; found out the imperfections even of the most wise and grave, as well as the common people; discovering even in the great Trebatius, to whom he addresses the First Satire, his hunting after business, and following the court as well as in the
persecutor Crispinus, his impertinence and impor
tunity. 'Tis true, he exposes Crispinus openly,
as a common nuisance; but he rallies the other as
a friend, more finely. — Horace laughs to shame
all follies, and insinuates virtue rather by
familiar examples than by the severity of his pre-
cepts."

"But after all, I must confess, that the delight
which Horace gives me is but languishing. Be
pleased still to understand that I speak of my own
taste only: he may ravish other men; but I am too
stupid and insensible to be tickled. When he
barely grins himself, and — only shows his
white teeth, he cannot provoke me to any laughter.
His urbanity, that is, his good manners, are to be
commended, but his wit is faint; and his salt, if
I may dare to say so, almost insipid."
Ker II. p. 84.

(In speaking of Juvenal),
"— his thoughts are as just as those of Horace,
and much more elevated. — Horace is always on the
amble, Juvenal on the gallop:—. He goes on with more impetuosity than Horace, but as securely;—.
The low style of Horace is according to his subject, and that is generally grovelling. I question not but he could have raised it; for the First Epistle of the Second Book, which he writes to Augustus, (a most instructive satire concerning poetry), is of so much elegance in the numbers, that the author plainly shows the sermo pedestris, in his other Satires, was rather his choice than his necessity."

Ker II. p. 85.

Sermo pedestris is probably a reminiscence of— dolet sermone pedestri—

Horace, A. P. 95.

(IN speaking of Lucilius),

"Horace therefore copes with him in that humble way of satire, writes under his own force, and carries a dead weight, that he may match his competitor in the race. This, I imagine, was the chief reason why he minded only the clearness of his satire and the clean-ness of expression, without ascending to those heights to which his own
vigor might have carried him. — He could not
give an equal pleasure to his reader, because he
used not equal instruments. The fault was in the
tools, and not in the workman. — Virgil could
have written sharper satires than either Horace
or Juvenal if he would have employed his talent
that way."
Ker II, p. 85-6.

(In saying that a reader is unsatisfied with a
deficit of numbers and sound),
"— and this being the manifest defect of Horace,
'tis no wonder that, finding it supplied in
Juvenal, we are more delighted with him. — The
meat of Horace is more nourishing, but the cookery
of Juvenal more exquisite; so that, granting
Horace to be the more general philosopher, we cannot
deny that Juvenal was the greater poet, I mean in
satire. His thoughts are sharper; his indignation
against vice is more vehement; his spirit has more
of the commonwealth genius; —. After all, Horace had
the disadvantage of the times in which he lived;
they were better for the man, but worse for the
satirist. — Juvenal had a wider field than Horace.— —
There was more need of a Brutus in Domitian's days, to return and mend, than of a Horace. — If we make Horace our minister of state in Satire, and Juvenal of our private pleasures, I think the latter has no real bargain of it."
Ker II. p. 86-7.

"When Horace writ his Satires, the monarchy of his Caesar was in its newness, and the government but just made wasy to the conquered people."
Ker II. p. 88.

"Horace, as he was a courtier, complied with the interests of his master; and avoiding the lashing of greater crimes, confined himself to the ridiculing of petty vices and common follies; excepting only some reserved cases, in his Odes and Epodes, of his own particular quarrels, which either with permission of the magistrate, or without it, every man will avenge, though I say not that he should. — upon this account, — I conclude, that the subjects which Horace chose for satire are of a lower nature than those of which Juvenal has written."
Ker. II. p. 90-1.
"Horace was a mild admonisher, a court satirist, fit for the gentle times of Augustus."

Ker II. p. 91

"Heinsius urges in praise of Horace, that, according to the ancient art and law of satire, it should be nearer to comedy than tragedy; not declaiming against vice, but only laughing at it. Neither Persius nor Juvenal were ignorant of this, for they had both studied Horace."

Ker II. p. 91.

"So that they (Persius and Juvenal), thought the imitation of Lucilius was more proper to their purpose than that of Horace."

Ker II. p. 92.

(In quoting Holyday),

"- - a perpetual grin, like that of Horace, does rather anger than amend a man. I cannot give him up the manner of Horace in satire so easily."

Ker II. p. 92.

(In speaking of Zimri),

"- - you see I have preferred the manner of Horace- - in this kind of satire, to that of Juvenal, and I
think reasonably. Holyday should not have arraigned so great an author, for that which was his excellency and his merit: or if he did -- he might expect that someone might possibly arise -- to rectify his error, and restore to Horace that commendation of which he has so unjustly robbed him. -- this way of Horace was the best for amending matters, as it was the more difficult. -- that of Horace was a pleasant cure with all the limbs preserved entire;"

Ker II. p. 94.

"This manner of Horace is indeed the best, but Horace has not executed it altogether so happily, at least not often. -- Juvenal has railed more wittily than Horace has railed. Horace means to make his readers laugh, but he is not sure of the experiment. -- Horace, for aught I know, might have tickled the people of his age; but among the moderns he is not so successful."

Ker II. p. 95.

(In criticising the satires of Horace).

"I am sorry to say it, for the sake of Horace; but certain it is, he has no fine palate who can
"IF, on the other side, any one suppose that I have commended Horace below his merit, when I have allowed him the second place, I desire him to consider, if Juvenal, a man of excellent, natural endowments, besides the advantages of diligence and study, and coming after him, and building upon his foundations, might not probably with all these helps, surpass him; and whether it be any dishonour to Horace to be thus surpassed, since no art or science is at once begun and perfected, but that it must pass through many hands, and even through several ages. If Lucilius could add to Ennius, and Horace to Lucilius, why, without any diminution to the fame of Horace, might not Juvenal give the last perfection to that work? Or rather, what disreputation is it to Horace, that Juvenal excels in the tragical satire, as Horace does in the comical? I have read over attentively by both Heinsius and Dacier, in the commendation of Horace; but I can find no more in either of them, for the preference of him to Juvenal, than the instructive
"I cannot give a more just idea of the two books of Satires made by Horace, then by comparing them to the statutes of the Sileni. They were figures, which had nothing of agreeable, nothing of beauty, on their side; but when anyone took the pains to open them, and search into them, he there found the figures of all the deities. So, in the shape that Horace presents himself to us in his Satires, we see nothing at the first view which deserves our attention. It seems that he is rather an amusement for children, than for the serious consideration of man. But, when we take away his crust, and that which hides him from our sight, when we discover him to the bottom, then we find all the divinities in full a assembly, that is to say, all the virtues which ought to be the continual exercise of those who seriously endeavor to correct their vices."

Ker II p. 97. (Taken direct from Dacier)

(In speaking of Dacier's estimate of Horace,
Dryden quotes Dacier),

"In these two books of Satire, 'tis the business of Horace to instruct us how to combat our vices, to regulate our passions, to follow nature, to give bounds to our desires, to distinguish betwixt truth and false-hood, and betwixt our conceptions of things themselves; to come back from our prejudiced opinions, to understand exactly the principles and motives of all our actions; and to avoid the ridicule into which all men necessarily fall, who are intoxicated with those notions which they have received from their masters, and which they obstinately retain, without examining whether or no they be founded on right reason.

'In a word, he labours to render us happy in relation to ourselves; agreeable and faithful to our friends; and discreet, serviceable and well-bred in relation to those with whom we are obliged to live, and to converse. To make his figures intelligible, to conduct his readers through the labyrinth of some perplexed sentence, or obscure parentheis, is no great matter; and as Epictetus says, there is nothing of beauty in all this, or
what is worthy of a prudent man. — —

Let Horace go off with these encomiums, which he has so richly deserved."
Ker II. p. 97-8.

(In closing his comparison of Horace, Juvenal and Persius),

"— — let Juvenal ride first in triumph; — — let Horace, who is the second, carry off the quivers and the arrows, as the badges of his satire, and the golden belt, and the diamond batton; and let Persius, the last of the three worthies, be contented with this Grecian shield, — —."
Ker II. p. 99.

(In speaking of satire),

"— — some definition of it should be given. Heinsius — makes it for me, in these words, 'Satire is a kind of poetry, without a series of action, invented for the purging of our minds; in which human vices, ignorance, and errors, and all things besides, which are produced from them in every man, are severely reprehended; partly dramatically, partly simply, and sometimes in
both kinds of speaking, but for the most part figuratively and occultly; consisting in a low familiar way, chiefly in a sharp and pungent manner of speech; but partly, also, in a facetious, and civil way of jesting; by which either hatred, or laughter, or indignation, is moved.' — Where I cannot observe, that this obscure and perplexed definition or rather description, of satire, is wholly accommodated to the Horatian way. — ."

Ker II. p. 100.

(In commenting on Heinsius's definition of satire),

"— consisting in a low familiar way of speech — is the proper character of Horace; — . If Horace refused the pains of numbers, and the loftiness of figures, are they (Persius and Juvenal) bound to follow so ill a precedent?"

Ker II. p. 101.

(In remarking that Donne's Satires would have appeared more charming, had he more carefully chosen his words and numbers),
"But he followed Horace so very close, that of necessity he must fall with him; -- ."
Ker II. p. 102.

"'Tis certain that the divine wit of Horace was not ignorant of this rule, -- that a play, though it consists of many parts, yet must be one in action, and must drive on the accomplishment of one design; for he gives this very precept, sit quodvis simplex duntaxat et unum; yet he seems not to mind it in his Satires, many of them consisting of more arguments than one; the second with-dependence on the first."
Ker II. p. 103. Horace, A. P. 23.

"I know it may be urged in defence of Horace, that this unity is not necessary, because the very word satura signifies a dish plentifully stored with all variety of fruit and grains. Yet Juvenal -- has chosen to follow the methods of Persius, not of Horace; -- "
Ker II. p. 103.
Horace begins his Art of Poetry by describing such a figure, with a man's head, a horse's neck, the wings of a bird, and a fish's tail; parts of a different species jumbled together, according to the mad imagination of the dauber; and the end of all this, as he tells, you afterward, is to cause laughter; a very monster in a Bartholomew Fair, for the mob to gape at for their two pence."

Ker II. p. 132.

Dryden refers to Horace A. P. 1-9
(Probably through Walter Moyle)

"Thus amongst the moderns, the Italian and French critics, by studying the precepts of Aristotle and Horace, and having the example of the Grecian poets before their eyes, have given us the rules for tragedy;"

Ker II. p. 134.

(In speaking of Walter Moyle),

"He had—furnished me, according to my request, with all the particular passages in Aristotle and
Horace which were used by them to explain the Art of Poetry by that of Painting; which, if I ever have time to retouch this Essay, shall be inserted in their places."

Ker II. p. 138.

"Tu nihil invita dices faciesne Minerva.

Without invention, a painter is but a copier, and a poet but a plagiarist of others.


(Through Moyle)

(In advising that all extraneous matter should be omitted),

"In poetry Horace calls these things versae inopes rerum; mugoeque canorae; these are the lucus et ara Dianae which he mentions in the same Art of Poetry."

Ker. II. p. 140. Horace, A. P. 322.

A. P. 16

"Opera colors is the very word which Horace uses to signify words and elegant expressions of which he was such a master in the Odes."

Ker II. p. 148. Horace, A. P. 86

(Through Moyle)
DEDICATION OF THE AENEAS

1697

(In speaking of Homer's characters),

"— from him their great creator, they have
each of them the divinae particula aurae."
Ker II. p. 157. Horace, Sat. II. 2. 79

(In commenting on Achilles),

"Horace paints him after Homer, and delivers
him to be copied in the stage with all those
imperfections."
Ker. II. p. 160.

(In remarking that many a good reading makes a
poor stage presentation),

"— and those not only the speciosa miracula as
Horace calls them of transformations of Scylla,
Antiphates, and the Laestrygonians, which cannot
be presented even in operas."
Ker II. p. 160

Dryden refers to — speciosa dehinc
miracula. Horace, A. P. 144.

"I design not a treatise on Heroic Poetry, but
write in a loose, epistolary way, somewhat tending to that subject, after the example of Horace in his *First Epistle of the Second Book to Augustus Caesar* and in that to the Pisos which we call his *Art of Poetry*; in both of which he observes no method that I can trace, whatever Scaliger the Father, or Heinsius may have seen, or rather think they have seen."
Ker II. p. 164.

(In condemning petty poets),

"Maevius would be defening your Lordship's ears with his

Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum;
Mere fustian as Horace would tell you from behind."
Ker II. p. 165. Horace, A. P. 137.

(In saying that the fated armour of Achilles was really used in an allegorical sense),

"I sinsist not on this, because I know you believe not there is such an art; though not only Horace and Persius, but Augustus himself thought otherwise."
Ker p. 182.
"Augustus, 'tis true, had once resolved to re-build that city and there to make the seat of Empire; but Horace writes an Ode on purpose to deter him from that; though declaring the place to be accursed, and that the gods would as often destroy it as it should be raised."
Ker II. p. 172.

(In remarking that in the Aeneid, the friends of Maecenas and Augustus are rewarded, the enemies, discredited),
"genus irritabile vatum, as Horace says."
Ker II. p. 173.

"'Tis one thing to copy, another to imitate from nature. The copier is that servile imitator to whom Horace gives no better a name than that of animal; he will not allow him to be a man."
Ker p. 198.

"As for what Horace says in his Art of Poetry, that no machines are to be used, unless on some extraordinary occasion,
Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus—
that rule is to be applied to the theater, of
which he is then speaking."
Ker p. 211
Horace, AP. 191-2

(In speaking of Virgil),

"— who flourished in an age when his language
was brought to its last perfection, for which it
was particularly owing to him and Horace."
Ker. p. 214.

(In speaking of Horace and Virgil),

"— those two friends had consulted each other's
judgment, wherein they should endeavor to excel;
and they seem to have pitched on propriety of
thought, elegance of words, and harmony of numbers.
According to this model, Horace writ his Odes and
Epodes: for his Satires and Epistles, being
intended wholly for instruction, required another
style:

Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri:
and therefore, as he himself professes, are sermoni
propiora nearer prose than verse."
(In speaking of his translation of Virgil),

"I hope, from the candour of your lordship, and your often experienced goodness to me, that, if the faults are not too many, you will make allowances with Horace --

-- si plura nitent in carmina non ego paucis
Offender maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura."

Ker p. 216

Horace, A.P. 351-3.

"The triumvir and proscriber had descended to us in a more hideous form than they now appear, if the Emperor had not taken good care to make friends of him (Virgil) and Horace."

Ker p. 219.

"Spencer and Milton are the nearest in English to Virgil and Horace, in the Latin and I have endeavored to form my style by imitating their masters."

Ker p. 223.

DEDICATION OF THE PASTORALS

1687

(In addressing the Right Honorable High Lord
Clifford), "You have, besides, the fresh rememberance of your noble father, from whom you can never degenerate.

- - Nec imbellem ferores

Progenerant aquilae columbam."

Noyes p. 420.

Horace, Carm.IV.4.31.2

DEDICATION OF THE GEORGICS

1697

"- - Horace in his First and Second Book of Odes, was still rising, but came not to his meridian till the Third; after which his judgment was an overpoise to his imagination; he grew too cautious to be bold enough; for he descended in his Fourth by slow degrees, and in his Satires and Epistles was more a philosopher and a critic than a poet."

Noyes p. 441.

"- - yet poets have a right of recording it to all posterity:

Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori."

Noyes p. 442

Horace, Carm.IV.8.28.
"Let him venture, says Horace, qui zonam-perdit."
Noyes. p. 443 
Horace, Ep.II.2.40.

PREFACE TO THE FABLES

1700

"- - it must be owned that supposing verses are never so beautiful or pleasing, yet if they contain anything which shocks religion or good manners, they are at best what Horace says of good numbers without good sense, versus inopes rerum, mugaequœ canorae."
Ker II. p. 251. 
Horace, A.P. 322.

"Chaucer was likewise an astrologer, as were, Virgil, Horace, Persius, and Mantius."
Ker II. p. 254.

(In speaking of Chaucer),

"As he knew what to say, so he knows also where to leave off; a consistence which is practiced by few writers, and scarcey by any of the ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace."
Ker II. p. 258.
"We must be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius, and in process of time, a Lucilius, and a Lucretius, before Virgil and Horace."
Ker II. p. 259.

(In remarking that Henry IV "favored" Chaucer),
"Augustus had given him the example, by the advice of Maecenas, who recommended Virgil and Horace to him; - -.
Ker II. p. 260.

"If the first end of a writer be to be understood, then as his language grows obsolete, his thoughts must grow obscure:
Multa renascentur quae nunc cecidere; cadentque Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus, Quem penes arbitrium est et just et norma loquendi."

"those who have written commentaries on those poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, have explained some vices, which without their interpretation had been unknown to modern times."
Ker II. p. 273.
"— Demetri, teque Tigelli
Discripulorum inter jubeo plorare cathedras."


"To Her Grace
The Dutchess of Ormond
With the Following Poem of
Palaman and Arcite
From Chaucer
(1700)
"Even this had been your elegy, which now
Is offer's for your health, the table of my vow."

Noyes p. 751 l. 130.

The "tabula vota" of Horace

Carm. I. 5. 13 and Sat. II. 1. 33
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