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Comparative study of Horace and Ben Jonson

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY

OF HORACE AND BEN JONSON

by

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This thesis has been approved by the Board of Examiners in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

W. P. Clark
Chairman of the Board of Examiners

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Dean of the Graduate School

Date Aug 18 1952
Ben Jonson, born in Westminster in 1573, is usually considered the great English Classicist of his century, and his literary output is so permeated with references to writers of antiquity that his high regard for their works is obvious. He was an ardent student of Greek and Latin, and the influence of ancient authors is very marked in his works. I have attempted to point out some of the similarities between him and Horace.

This Latin author Ben Jonson has translated, paraphrased, and imitated, and in some instances he has borrowed his thoughts. Horace's Satires, Epistles, Odes, and Epodes, which contain compliments to friends, didactic material, and literary criticism, exerted considerable influence upon Jonson's poetry. In addition to borrowing extensively from Horace, the English poet translated at least one epode and two of the odes. In general, Jonson's poetry reflects so many Horatian sentiments that it is evident Horace was one of the greatest influences on his writings.

Naturally some differences must be noticed in their literary production. The method of handling material is a result of the differences in the personalities of the writers, as well as of the condition of the times. Horace's subtle touch is perceptible in his writings, whereas Jonson's bluntness is very evident most of the time. Despite their
differences, however, both Horace and Jonson have bequeathed to posterity, through the medium of letters, a picture of their minds and characters, in addition to an image of the times in which they lived. It is the mosaic pieces of such a picture that I have attempted to put together within one frame to show that Horace's influence on Ben Jonson was great enough to make the latter the Horace of the seventeenth century, as well as the Latin bard's most ardent admirer.

For the Latin quotations and translations of the Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica I have used the Loeb edition of H. Fushton Fairclough; for the Odes and Epodes I have used the Loeb edition of C.F. Bennett.

As reference for the plays and poetry of Ben Jonson I have used Ben Jonson edited by C.H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson. In quoting lines I have given the words as found in these volumes since these are Jonson's lines rather than the modernized rendition found elsewhere.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. W.F. Clark for his invaluable suggestions in the writing of this thesis, and for his kindly encouragement given so generously during the years I have spent under his guidance. This work of mine would be most unfinished if I were not to say to him in the lines of Horace: "Non ego te meis chartis inornatum silebo." I wish here also to acknowledge a debt of gratitude
to Miss Nan C. Carpenter for a critical reading of my manuscript.

A.O'L.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I. PARALLELS IN THE LIVES OF HORACE AND BEN JONSON

II. RELATIONS OF HORACE AND BEN JONSON WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS

III. SATIRE AS A MIRROR FOR THE TIMES OF HORACE AND BEN JONSON

IV. HORACE AND BEN JONSON AS LITERARY CRITICS

V. CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Page

111
1
21
45
77
104
105
CHAPTER I

PARALLELS IN THE LIVES OF HORACE AND BEN JONSON

Though separated in time by over sixteen centuries, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, born in the little town of Venusia on December 8, 65 B.C., left a visible imprint on the writings of Ben Jonson, great English classicist of the seventeenth century. In many ways their very lives are parallel to each other, and it is little wonder that the English dramatist and poet felt a kinship with the Latin bard. Even the ages in which they lived were comparable to each other in some ways. As one star differs from another star in glory, one man's art from another's scope, so Horace and Ben Jonson differ. Yet the likenesses in their lives and the general sentiment which their writings convey are often striking, and both men left monuments in the literary world which are more lasting than bronze. It is these memorials which evidence the similarities in the lives and works of each.

Both men were of humble origin, though each looked at his parentage in a wholly different perspective. When his enemies reproached him with the fact that his father had been a libertinus, that he was only the son of a slave,
or as Suetonius says: "patre ut ipse tradit libertino et
exactionum coactore ut vero creditum est salsamentario ..."¹
("as he himself writes, a freedman who was a collector of
money at auctions, but it is believed that he was a dealer
in salted provisions"), the quick retort or shamed excuse was
not for the loyal, parent-loving Horace. Instead, his enemies
and posterity were given the memorable tribute of which any
father would be proud:

Nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, egoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
Quod non ingenios habeat clarosque parentis,
Sic me defendam. Longe mea discrepit istis
Et vox et ratio: nam si natura iuberet
A certis annis eumus remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere ad factum quoscumque parentis
Optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus, honestos
Fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
Judicio volgi, sanus fortasse tue, quod
Nollem omus haud unquam solitus portare molestum.
²
("Never while in my senses could I be ashamed of
such a father, and so I will not defend myself, as
would a goodly number, who say it is no fault of their
that they have not free-born and famous parents. Far
different from this is what I say and what I think:
for if after a given age Nature should call us to
traverse our past lives again, and to choose in keeping
with our pride any other parents each might crave --
content with my own, I should decline to take those
adorned with the rods and chairs of state. And though
the world would deem me mad, you,"³ I hope, would think
me sane for declining to shoulder a burden of trouble
to which I have never been accustomed.")

¹Suetonius, "Vita Horati", De Illustribus Viris, trans.
J.C.Rolfe, (2 vols., "Loeb Classical Library"; London;
William Heinemann, Ltd., 1914), II, 484.
²Horace Serm. i. 6. 89-99.
³Horace is addressing Maecenas in this passage.
But such were not the sentiments of Ben Jonson. He was a minister's son, born one month after his father's death, and as tradition suggests early in his youth he was put to work as a bricklayer, following the occupation of his stepfather.\(^1\) This trade, as Ben later related to Drummond, was something "which he could not endure."\(^2\) Perhaps in later life Jonson recalled his stepfather's supposed answer to his mother when the subject of sending the boy to Westminster School instead of a school within the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields was brought up: "Well, Annie, he's your boy and I'm willin' he should waste his time if you are. For a while, mind you, though, for a while."\(^3\) This might have been Ben's personal reminiscence when he introduced Ovid as the object of his father's belittling remarks against poetry in the first act of the play entitled *Poetaster*.\(^4\) Whether narrowness of means or avarice accounted for his stepfather's attitude is questionable, but at any rate Ben Jonson went on to Westminster. Though he did not graduate, he became


intermediate to advanced levels of language proficiency, especially in the context of teaching English as a foreign language. These resources are designed to provide comprehensive coverage of the English language, including grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, and are used in educational institutions worldwide. The materials are structured to cater to different learning styles and can be adapted to suit the needs of learners at various stages of proficiency. Teachers often use these resources to supplement their own teaching materials and to provide students with additional practice and reinforcement. The 존슨에이터, the Johnson Press, also famous for its production of high-quality textbooks and reference materials, is a key player in the field of educational publishing. The press has a reputation for producing materials that are both accurate and engaging, making them ideal for classroom use and self-study. The Johnson Press is committed to providing students with the tools they need to succeed in their academic pursuits.
But these occupations did not last long for either Horace or Jonson. Then, as now, war interrupted young men's ambitions, or offered them a release from work which had become a drudgery. Horace had come to study in Athens, but soon after the assassination of Caesar in March of 44 B.C., his formal schooling ended. Brutus, arriving in Athens the following autumn, presumably inspired the youthful Horace to join the republican faction. Soon he received the appointment of tribunus militum in Brutus' army, and according to his own statement he commanded a Roman legion, but this was an insignificant position since each legion had six tribunes. However, military life was short-lived for Horace and he returned to Rome in 41 B.C. when the gates

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3 Suetonius "Vita Horatii", 11, 435

4 Horace Serm. 1. 6. 46-48.
were opened to him during an amnesty. In the meantime the estate he had inherited from his father had been confiscated by Octavius because of Horace's participation in the war in support of Brutus and Cassius. However, though *decisis humilem pennis*⁰ ("his wings were clipped"), poverty had its compensations because it drove him to writing verses.³ These early verses, while they attracted general notice because they spoke in a derogatory manner about persons in high positions, also indicated exceptional talent to Vergil and Varus.⁴ Such were the events which occurred before and at the time when Horace began to write seriously.

War also offered its enticements to Ben Jonson. A release from the odious employment as bricklayer and a chance for adventure were not to be taken lightly. War was being fought in the Low Countries and Jonson enlisted. As with Horace, no Congressional Medal of Honor was given to Ben for his service to his country, and only twice does he refer to this period of his life. In an Horatian epigram "Unto True Soldiers" he speaks of it thus:

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²Horace Epist. ii. 2.50.

³Ibid., 50-52.

⁴Horace Serm. i.2; 1.7: 1.8. Cf. Norris, Ad Serm.
I swear by your true friend, my Muse, I love
Your great profession, which I once did prove;
And did not shame it with my actions, then,
No more than I dare, now, do with my pen. 1

Also in Drummond's notes another reference is made to his life as a soldier: "In his Service in the Low Countries, he had in the face of both Campes Killed one Enimie & taken opima spoilia from him." 2 This warlike achievement may have been exaggerated by Jonson since the incident could be remembered with advantage so many years after it had occurred, just as it was to Horace's advantage to minimize his war service. Yet Jonson's life proved him a fighter whether with a pen or a sword, and it is not inconceivable that he would welcome a hand-to-hand combat, and feel himself superior to his friend Horace who in the battle of Philippi left his "shield ingloriously behind." 3

When Ben returned to London, he turned to writing and acting but was not successful in these early years as he himself says in his Prologue to The Sad Shepherd. 4 That he was a member of the humbler troupes is likewise confirmed by Thomas Dekker and John Marston who satirized Ben Jonson in


3 Horace Carm. II. 7. 9-12.

the *Satiromastix* by referring to him thus: "I ha seen thy shoulders lapt in a Player's old cast Cloake, like a Slie kneve as thou art."¹ This play written by the men upon whom Jonson had shot satiric shafts in the *Poetaster* was neither humorous nor witty in itself, and such a remark could only amuse an audience if it were true. As in the case of Horace one of Jonson's friends was instrumental in bringing him into public view as an author. According to one legend, it was William Shakespeare who induced the Lord Chamberlain's men to buy *Every Man in His Humour*, which was performed before the close of 1598.²

Both Horace and Jonson lived the greater part of their lives under noble patrons. To the patrons of each, literature owes a debt of gratitude for fostering art in these men. Without his patron, Horace might have remained in the position of clerkship in the Treasury³ and his writings might have been no more than the pessimism of the Sixteenth Epode and the scurrilous lampoons of his early satire. With the battle of Philippi the hopes of the republican faction crashed, and Horace was forced to look at the future objectively. In a sense he became an opportunist. His introduction to Maecenas through the


influence of his friends Vergil and Varus was the turning point in his literary life. Through the generosity of his patron, Horace along with other poets of the Augustan Age was guaranteed a kind of Social Security which provided him with sufficient means to gratify his tastes, gave him a comfortable home,¹ and offered him the companionship of the inner circle of literati. Under such patronage poets could live for art without being encumbered with the business of making a living. However, imperial patronage demanded its price and those whom it favored found that their choice of theme was very limited.

Likewise did Jonson reap the rewards of the age of the patron. He too spent most of his life sitting at the tables of men on whom he depended largely for employment and support. Yet the essential difference in the patrons of Horace and Jonson lies in the fact that the former had many men on whom he depended at various times in his life, whereas the latter was the protégé of Maecenas, Augustus and Agrippa.² Of the two, Horace was the more fortunate because his patrons remained his bene-

¹Horace Ep. 1. 30-32, "Satis superque me benignitas tua ditavit"; cf. Carm. iii. 16. 22-23; Serm. ii. 6. 1-4; 59-77; Epist. 1. 16. 15-16.
²Agrippa was the right hand of Augustus in war. Horace said he was unable to do justice to Agrippa's achievements (Carm. i. 6.), but Augustan poets frequently professed this inability toward their patrons. Cf. W.Y. Seller, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age (London: Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 134.
factors throughout the remainder of his life.

How Horace was introduced to Maecenas, the able
adviser of the future princeps and the man who offered his
poetic friends such liberal existence, is told by the poet
himself in a satire addressed to Maecenas:

felicem dicere non hoc
Ne possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum:
Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit; optimus olim
Vergilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid esset. 1

("Fortunate I could not call myself as having won
your friendship by some chance; for 'twas no case of
luck throwing you in my way; that best of men, Vergil
some time ago, and after him Varius, told you what
manner of man I was.")

Poverty had driven Horace to write poetry, not with the
hope of making a fortune from it but rather that his works
might attract notice and eventually patronage. Horace
expressed himself freely in his early satires and epodes,
and in them are the Bohemian remnants of Rome, strange
acquaintances, coarse loves and bitter hatreds of these
early years. Naturally such writings were the talk of the
town and did not escape the notice of Maecenas. He himself
was interested in literature and religiously endeavored to
put talent to the use of the prospective order of things
in Rome. In these early writings of Horace, Maecenas must
have detected a rich vein of gold which might be developed
for the good of the future ruling clique. At any rate

1 Horace Serm. 1. 6. 52-55.
These persons, he nucleus of the New Deal, the

because the nucleus of both, having been accepted by

interest, the New Deal and the Roosevelt of the

Unquestionably then, Roosevelt's supporters, not critics.


self-seekings.

...founded on the worth, a stand your from base

the less so, as you are content to choose as

yet be shod on edge of way your Eisenhower as well

performance anyone may reach, not the office,

"This case and that are different, for through

distractions. I'll tell you, if there's a fortune

these

fluence and attempted to pass over such suspicions by these

that others suspected him of ambitions for positions in

the Roosevelt powers had been erected upon. Roosevelt undoubtedly knew

of which Roosevelt's interests to further the reforms and changes

(founded) Roosevelt's possibilities

then, nine months later, you sent for me again and made me

post men's impression of Roosevelt's influence. And Roosevelt's influence was not very prominent, but

Roosevelt wanted to see him and had him introduced by

33-2
In much the same manner the fame of *Every Man out of His Humour* brought Jonson to the notice of Queen Elizabeth but not with such a happy result as Horace's acquaintance with Maccenas. In compliment to her Majesty's presence he had written an epilogue. In his own tactless way he managed to include in it all the subjects which should be avoided in addressing Elizabeth: reference to time, suggestion that she might need a successor, and an allusion to the Earl of Essex. Nor did *Cynthia's Revels*, containing an analogy between Diana justifying the death of Actaeon and Elizabeth absolving herself from the death of Essex, bring him into her favor. Yet he enjoyed the hospitality of many other people of note in his time. He lived with his patrons or busied himself in arranging festivities at the noble houses of England, especially Althorp, Theobald, or Connington. The fine table Ben required, the society which stimulated him, and the books he needed were all provided him by the hospitality which was the fashion of his day. Among these patrons were Fane, Lord d'Aubigny, in whose house Jonson lived for five years, Sir Robert Cotton with whom he was living when his eldest son died of the plague, Richard Martin the lawyer who intervened for Jonson when he was indicted for the *Poetaster* with its Apologetical Dialogue, and the Earl of Salisbury to whom he appealed when he was

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imprisoned for his work in *Eastward Ho*.

Though he had been unsuccessful with Queen Elizabeth, Jonson reached the culmination of his ambitions through her successor. King James was a scholar, noted for his love of learning, and one known to be partial to men of learning. His meeting with the men who had strewn his path through Westminster with classical allusions and who had hailed him as a peacemaker and father of prosperity on the occasion of his coronation probably took place in 1604 on May Day when Sir William Cornwallis entertained both King James and Queen Anne at Highgate.¹ For Jonson this meeting culminated in a royal patron through whose generosity the English poet later received what was essentially the pension of laureate.² Lacking the popular touch, Jonson had left the common stage but he found a more discerning public as Horace had in his coterie of friends. Horace, in saying "Odi profanum vulgus et arces"³ ("I hate the uninitiate crowd and keep them far away") was referring to the multitude who could not profitably read his poetry. So too Jonson sought the companionship of the educated, and for this reason was attracted to the noblemen of his day. His circle of friends may be traced in his dedications: the Inns of Court, Lord d'Aubigny, Sir Francis Stuart, William Earl of Pembroke. Thus both Horace

¹Palmer, op. cit., p. 81.
²Ibid., p. 208.
³Horace, *Carm.* iii. 1.1.
and Jonson scorned the common crowd and gained admittance
to the circle of the intelligentsia.

At times even in their attitudes toward their bene-
factors Horace and Jonson were alike, though Horace hardly
matched the British poet in independence of spirit. Despite
the fact that both were dependent upon their patrons, each
declared his independence — Horace less often and hesitantly,
Ben frequently and openly. Both sing the praises of their
patrons, and exaggerated submissiveness can be found in both
but less flagrantly in Jonson, who oftentimes gives the
impression that he is merely reaping the just reward for his
Muse. But Horace is extremely extravagant in his eulogies to
the Emperor. Probably the most outright flattery is con-
tained in the ode to Augustus in which Horace sees Mercury
in the guise of Octavius and prays that he may remain long
on earth as the protector of Rome.¹ In another ode he
compares Augustus with Jove who, in struggling with the
giants, suggests the Emperor in his battle against the forces
of disorder.² Again he sings in allegory the praises of the
benign ruler Augustus,³ and condemns those who oppose him to
"the blind Titanic powers that sought to overthrow the fairer
order established by Zeus and the bright Olympian deities."⁴

¹Horace, Carm. 1.2. 41-52
²Horace, Carm. 111. 1.5-8
³Horace, Carm. 111. 4.42-64
⁴Paul Shorey, Horace Odes and Epodes, (rev. Paul
Shorey and Gordon J. Laing; Chicago: Benj. Sanborn and Co.
1936). Ad Carm. 111. 4.42
Throughout the Third Book of Odes Horace praises patriotism and military virtues, glorifies national ideals, purity in public life, loyalty in religion -- the chief tasks which Augustus had taken upon himself to accomplish. These are only a few examples of the "official view" which Horace developed, and his association with the Emperor by this time prompted him to make such remarks as "principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est"1 ("To have won favor with the foremost men is not the lowest glory"). But his willingness to write for the new regime is attested by the fact that he was chosen by Augustus to write the Carmen Saeculare. Peace and prosperity had marked the first ten years of Augustus' reign (27-17 B.C.), and to celebrate the new era the Emperor decided to revive the secular festivals.2

The inscription which recorded this festival was discovered in Rome, September 1890,3 and its inscribed words, Carmen compositum Q. Horatius Flaccus made Horace the poet laureate of the Empire. This, his most notable official act, was the grand finale for the occasion since it was sung on the

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1Horace Epist. 1.17.35.

2Literally these were century games because they were given only at long intervals. Three days were devoted to ceremonies, contests, and spectacles which celebrated the return to Saturn's Golden Age. Cf. Will Durant, Caesar and Christ, A History of Roman Civilization and of Christianity from their Beginnings to A.D. 325. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944), p. 325.

3Paul Shorey and Cordon J. Laing, op. cit., p. 469.
the third and last day of the festival by a choir of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls before the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Horace was proud of the recognition which had come to him, and he refers to the reputation he gained from this work.¹ Two additional odes which celebrated the glories of Augustus in laudatory terms were composed in honor of victories won by Tiberius and Drusus.² Their campaign put an end to the incursions of wild and hostile tribes on the northern border of Italy.³ They were the stepsons of Augustus, and in praising their remarkable military capacities in reality Horace praised the Emperor. In general, Horace is proud that he can say, "Me primis urbis belli placuisse domique"⁴ ("I found favor, both in war and peace, with the foremost in the State."), and the recurrence of such statements offers evidence that Horace had completely succumbed to the ideals of the ruling power.

In like fashion Ben Jonson ascended from lesser patrons to a royal one who awarded him the pension of a laureate. The "wisest fool in Christendom" was well known for his love of learning and love of classical allusions, and Jonson, whose classicism was the wonder and oftentimes the

¹Horace Carm. iv.6.29-30, 41-44; iv.3. 17-24.
²Horace Carm. iv.4; iv.14.
³Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, Ad Carm. iv.4
⁴Horace, Epist. 1.20.23.
despair of his fellow Londoners, was the natural choice when James I demanded an entertainment on passing to his coronation. But his reaction to royal recognition was characteristically Jonsonian. In *A Panegyric on the Happy Entrance of James our Sovereign* he might have written sweet phrases and unreservedly paid tribute to His Majesty, but he preferred to point out that kings are heavenly in their office but men in their persons; that there have been many bad kings in the past; and finally, that kings can do more by good example than by tyranny. In all, these remarks to the king were more like exhortations to virtue and humility than a celebration of divine right. But very close to adulation is the first epigram he wrote to King James:

*Now, best of Kings, do'st thou a sceptre bear?*
*Now, best of Poets, do'st thou laurel weare?*
*But two things, rare, the Fates had in their store,*
*And gave thee both, to shew they could no more.*
*For such a Poet, while thy dayes were greene,*
*Thou wert, as chiefe of them are said t'have bee.*
*And such a Prince thou art, wee daily see,*
*As chiefe of those still promise they will bee.*
*Whom should my muse then flie to, but the best* Of Kings for grace; of Poets, for my test?*

The two remaining epigrams to his sovereign are formal and devoid of any deliberate art to impress the king. Yet Jonson was on familiar terms with the King and dared to tell

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1 Cf. Horace *Carm.* iii. 1.5 ff. 4. 37 ff. 65 ff.
3 Ibid., viii, xxxv, and li.
him he had a bad habit of singing his verses,\(^1\) and upon his return from Scotland in 1619, he wrote to Drummond that the King was glad to see him back in England. Yet the death of his patron was a disaster for Ben because, unlike Maecenas who on his deathbed had implored Augustus: "Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor\(^2\) ("Be as mindful of Horatius Flaccus as of me"), King James had left no provision for Ben. Charles his successor was never intimate with Jonson, and the epigrams written to Charles are indications of the poverty which faced the poet in his last days. The eighty-second epigram is inscribed "To the great and good King Charles, by his Majesty's most humble and thankfull servant, Ben Jonson".\(^3\) This was a far cry from the usual signature of Ben, who in his address to the Court had signed his name after these words: "Thy servant, but not slave".\(^4\)

In addition to such famous patrons both Horace and Jonson had others to whom they left last eulogies. Maecenas' affection for Horace is indicated in his epigram which Suetonius quotes:

\[\text{Ni te visseribus meus, Horati,}
\text{Pius iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem}
\text{Nimio videas strigosiores;}
\]

\(^1\)William Drummond, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 25.
\(^2\)Suetonius, \emph{op. cit.}, II, 484
\(^3\)Ben Jonson, \emph{Underwood}, "An Epigram to Our Great and Good King Charles, On His Anniversary Day, 1629", lxxxii.
\(^4\)Ben Jonson, \emph{Cynthia's Revels}, The Court, line 24.
\(^5\)Suetonius, \emph{op. cit.}, II, 485. Nimius is unknown but must have been notorious for his leanness.
Horace's concern for Maecenas when he was about to go with Augustus to Actium is one of his tributes to their friendship. Horace fears for the safety of Maecenas and though unfit for war himself says he will accompany his friend regardless of the danger.¹ He says in part:

Cuid nos, quibus te vita si superatit
Lucunda, si contra, gravis?²

("But what of us, to whom, with thee surviving, life is a delight, but else is full of heaviness?")

This is real praise because no hope of gain impels him to flatter Maecenas whose beneficence has already enriched him "enough and more."³

Somewhat comparable to Maecenas in the life of Ben Jonson is Lord d'Aubigny. One of Ben's most sincere epigrams was written to him. Greatly indebted to him, Ben wrote a poem of gratitude which speaks for itself in comparing his attitude toward this patron with that of Horace toward Maecenas:

Is there a hope that Man would thankfull bee,
If I should faile in gratitude to thee,
To whom I am so bound, lou'd Aubigny?
No, I doe therefore, call Pesteritie
Into the debt; and reekon on her head,
How full of want, how swallowed vp, how dead
I and this Muse had beene, if thou hadst not

¹Whether Horace meant this literally or not is questionable. See Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, Ad Ep. 1
²Horace Ep. 1. 5-6.
³Ibid., 1. 31-32.
Lent timely succours, and new life begot:
So, all reward, or name, that grows to mee
By her attempt, shall still be owing thee.
And, then this same, I know no abler way
To thankes thy benefits; which is, to pay.¹

Such are the influences which molded the form
for the literary output of Horace and Ben Jonson. Their
education, their environment, and particularly their
friendship with patrons influenced the kind of writing
each did. All of these combined to bequeath to future
ages poetry and drama which is accessible to all interest-
ed in the classics, whether Latin, or English kindled by
the Horatian flame.

CHAPTER II

RELATIONS OF HORACE AND JONSON WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS

Neither the writings of Horace nor those of Ben Jonson openly discuss the political questions of their times. Both were more interested in the moral aspects of the lives of the people and though the political ages of both were very important, neither one states specifically any view which could be construed as his own personal and sincere opinion. Horace, living at a time when Roman government was intermittently in the hands of ambitious patriots who came forward to champion the rights of the poor or under proud nobles who were fighting to preserve traditions, was forced by circumstances he chose for himself to write about the reforms of Augustus as well as to praise the Emperor himself. As for Jonson, he held aloof from political issues, which is quite understandable since he had known no other government but a monarchy.

When Horace came with his father to Rome, the city was a comparatively quiet place with government under the control of Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Caesar. Events moved fast, and by the time he was about twelve years old Caesar had invaded Gaul, and Crassus had been killed by the
Parthians (53 B.C.). Pompey at the head of the senatorial party sent Caesar an ultimatum which the latter answered by crossing the Rubicon.¹ By the time Horace was seventeen, Pompey was defeated by Caesar and

\[ \text{cuncta terrarum subacta} \\
\text{Praeter atrocem animum Catonis.} \]

(“All the world subdued, except stubborn Cato’s soul”).

Feared upon the proud tradition that went with saying Civis Romanus sum (“I am a Roman citizen”), Horace was by nature and environment against Caesar, and when the tremendous news of his death reached Athens, Horace and other young Roman students such as Marcus Tullius Cicero, Messala, Bibulus, and Varius must have hailed it joyfully. When Brutus arrived in Athens new adherents to his cause were found in these young students. Horace mentions that Brutus appointed him tribune,² and in what is considered one of his earliest satires, supposedly written before the battle of Philippi, he again refers to Brutus.³ This satire is an account of a battle of wit between Persius, the half-Greek, half-Roman merchant of Clazomenae, and Rupilius Rex of

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²Horace Carm. ii. 1. 22-24
⁴Cf. Morris, Ad Serm. i. 7
Praeneste, a man who had been an adherent of Pompey's party and Praetor at the time of Caesar's death. The latter, now proscribed by Antony and Octavius, had taken refuge with Brutus. The main point of the story is Persius' pun on the name Rex which he links up with Brutus and his ancestors:

per magnos, Brute, deos te
Oro, qui reges consuertis tellare, cur non
Hunc Negeum iugulas? Operum hoc, mihi crede,
Tuerum est.

("By the great gods, I implore you, O Brutus, since it is in your line to take off 'kings', why not behead this Rex? This, believe me, is a task meet for you."

To Horace too, Brutus was a liberator as were his ancestors who had driven out the Tarquins. In addition to this there is only one other reference to his association with Brutus. After Antony, Lepidus and Octavius had formed a triumvirate and their combined forces met at Philippi, the cause of Brutus was lost. Horace tells how he retreated (non bene), unable to imitate the heroism of his leader. The hero of his "fiery youth" had died the "noble death" of Cato, and the disaster at Philippi, which left him poverty-stricken, did not increase his Republican sympathies.

Back in Rome, Horace wrote the earliest of his

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1Cf. Morris, Ad Serm. i. 8.
2Horace Serm. i. 7. 33-36.
3Morris, Ad Serm. i. 8.
4Horace Carm. ii. 7. 10.
5Horace Carm. iii. 14. 97.
6Horace Epist. ii. 2. 49.
Reform is a means of maintaining peace, order, and security.

Reform means, therefore, the destruction of the system of protection, and a democratic form of government is the only form that can be sustained. The people, no longer serving themselves from necessity, and a democratic form of government is the only one which combines the maintenance of order and justice with the safeguarding of freedom and hope for security and order.

The wealth of the business class, the people, no longer dependent on a monarchical form based upon an army, an aristocratic form, but a republic, a smooth-functioning machine. Along with orderly wisdom and help, it also depends on the existence of the state. The letter was a statement upon whose existence the equality of many parts depended. The kind of writing he engaged in resulted in a change in the kind of thinking connected with the early sees.

Go you, your enemy, vengeance, would better treat, and
enemies of the earlier satirist, perhaps the change in the

exercised of the earlier satirist; a far cry from the inventiveness, the cleverness, and the
the kindly and gentle Horace speaking upon mutual experience

of the previous one. Here the reader is introduced to
the earlier or Horace's friends is quite different in tone
the first satire written after Horace had been exiled into

especially adapted for the sake of comfort and safety.

place, Horace's writings take on a new tone. He had

the influence of this man who battled the Republican system

under which Greece had regained its former greatness. The

of Rome is known from Horace's reference to the appearance

oratory. That he was held in high respect by the citizens

needed to help his country materially, intellectually, and

was unquestionably correct in that one-man rule was needed and

when they have thought right and found wanting. Greece as a

cause adequate to change the opinions concerning the Republic

do, when he returned from Philippa the probability was as

enthusiasm with Horace was undoubtedly the Great-
worldly status and the prospects of a future to be spent in writing rather than in a clerk's office account for the changed tone. His conformity to the customs and politics of the day is attested in the pro-imperial stand he took after his introduction to Maecenas. From this time on, no rebellion against the wishes of the ruling class can be found. As time progressed he openly favored the efforts of the administration and worked for them. Poets of Horace's time were either time-servers or had ideals which differed from those of Octavius and his few advisers. To the first group Horace must be assigned since his conformity to official pressure is so evident. 1 Yet, though Horace acquiesced in the tyrannical demands for contributions to the official program of emperor-glorification, Maecenas did not regard him merely as a tool of the state since his dying words indicate that Horace was his dearest friend. 2

Neither political gossip nor Horace's own personal reaction to policies of government are revealed in his work. He had learned to praise the government or to keep silent about it. As early as 38 B.C. 3 he went to Brundisium in the company of Maecenas and two other ambassadors who were to confer with Antony whose help Caesar needed against the forces of Sextus Pompeius. Though this conference was most

1 Horace Carm. i. 2; iii. 3, 5.
2 Suetonius, op. cit., II, 484.
3 Cf. Morris Ad. Carm. i. 5
important politically, Horace by-passes the real issue, devoting only three lines to the purpose of the journey:

Rue venturus erat Mæceænas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus utereque
Legati, aversi soliti componere amicos. ¹

("Here, Mæceænas was to meet us, and noble Cocceius,
envoys both on business of import, and old hands at
settling feuds between friends.")

Actually the satire is a recital of events of the journey
and a delightful picture of the personal relations of the
author with his friends Mæceænas, Vergil, Varius and Plotius
Tucca. These were safe topics and ones which Horace could
write upon without endangering his own position.

Still another instance which proves that Horace was
avoiding political issues occurs when he recalls that he
was stopped by people on the streets of Rome and questioned
about the affairs of the day:

Frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor:
Quicumque obvius est me consulit: "O bone, nam te
Seire, deos quosiam propter exigtias, oportet,
Numquid de Dacis audisti?" "Nil equidem." "Ut tu
Semper eris desideri?" "At omnes di exigitent me,
Si quiescet." "Quid? militia promissa Triquetra
Presidia Caesar, an est Italæ tellure daturus?"
Iurantem me scire nihil mirantium ut usum
Scilicet egregii mortales antiquae silenti.²

("Does a chilly rumor run from the Rostra through the
streets? Whoever comes my way asks my opinion: 'My good
sir, you must know -- you come so much closer to the gods;
you haven't heard any news about the Dacians, have you?'
'None whatever.' 'How you will always mock at us!'
'But heaven confound me if I have heard a word!' 'Well,
is it in the three-cornered isle, or on Italian soil, that

¹Horace Serm. i. 5. 27-29.
²Horace Serm. ii. 6. 50-58
The home of Regeence.

Therefore Cerre. I. 37. 1-4.

In an unimportant office but now, by changing his position
Hitherto he had been a strenuous person earning a position

And the sympathy for the imperfect power was cultivated.

...vestige of reputaion these Horace ever had. Here undoubte-

ably, his attendance to the house on the Regeenque had ceased any

"Now is the time to dress the flowing part, now with

...tread lightly, none pede libidinosum, none pede libidinosum

...the song of triumph

...Horace wrote in this song of triumph

...form of government. When were the first Chippete had

...thought they had been destroyed or hostile to the new

...endeared by surmounting their interests in independence even

...after action many men went among the times and

...histories published

...wounded, not that Horace declared to come

...surprise, etc. of the rest but Horace declared in this

...Both questions had undoubtedly been discussed in

...the settlement of lands was the reward promised to veterans

...end Antony, and Cassius was sent against them in 26 B.C.

At this time the Bayeux were waiting between Brest.

...sooth, the men of all men remarkable and professors

...when I swear I know nothing, they wanted at me, I far-

...Cesar means to give the soldiers their promised lands.!
creed which was perhaps weak at its best, he found himself able to live in comparative ease and to devote himself to his muse. The ideals of Brutus which had inflamed his youthful patriotism had by now given way to ideas of personal advancement which Horace evidently hoped to secure through closer relationship with the Princeps. Thus he paved the way for the realization of his own aims in the satire he wrote immediately following the capture of Alexandria.\textsuperscript{1}

In this he refers to Caesar as \textit{invictus} (unvanquished), and contemplates praising his ruler in his poetry. He says:

\begin{quote}
 nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
 Verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aures\textsuperscript{2}
\end{quote}

("Only at an auspicious moment will the words of a Flaccus find with Caesar entrance to an attentive ear."")

In this playful piece there is a serious anxiety beneath the jest upon \textit{mala et bona carmina} ("good and bad verses"). The lines are addressed to Trebatius, a famous lawyer of Cicero's time, and Horace was anxious to secure his legal advice. In the Augustan Age freedom of speech was restricted by law, and therefore Horace had to be especially careful that no libelous remarks came from his pen. At a later period, probably after the publication of the three books of the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[2] Horace \textit{Serm.} ii. 1. 18-19.
\end{footnotes}
Odes he enjoyed the favor of Augustus, but in the meantime
life had become easier for him, and following the lines of
least resistance, he apparently preferred ease and acceptance
of dictatorship to fighting for political right.

Official pressure coupled with a desire for
recognition caused Horace to write the odes which are so
flattering to the Princeps. In the second ode of the first
book, written before the title of "Augustus" had been con-
ferred upon Octavius, Horace refers to him as pater atque
princeps. In this Horace laments the signs of the times and
fears a return to civil wars. He begs the gods to prevent
the ruin of the state and suggests that Mercury had assumed
the guise of Octavius who he hopes will remain with the
Romans for a long time, enjoying the triumphs due him for
his victories at Dalmatia, Actium, and Alexandria. This
deification of the Princeps is sheer adulation on Horace's
part. Again in a prayer to Jupiter he places Augustus
second only to the "Father and Guardian of the human race."

\[1\] W.Y. Sellar, op. cit., p. 28.

\[2\] According to Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, Horace
Odes and Epodes, p. 145, the allusion in line 49 is to
triumphs celebrated in August B.C. 29; Octavius was princeps
Senatus from B.C. 29 to his death. Evidence points to the
date between his return from the east, B.C. 29, and renewal
of imperium in January 27, and most probably to the latter
part of B.C. 28 when Octavius talked of laying aside his
authority. The title of Augustus was conferred in 27 B.C.
University Press, 1926), p. 49.

\[3\] Horace Carm. 1. 12. 49-52.
and even assigns him a place in the starry citadels, sipping nectar with the gods.¹ Another ode² welcomes Augustus, returning in B.C. 24 from the west where he had been engaged in subduing the Cantabrians.³ Finally, he sets the name and fame of Caesar among the stars.⁴ In so many instances such as these Horace tends more toward emperor glorification than to sincere praises of the success of Augustus, so that one concludes that some of these selections were written under pressure. Suetonius seems to substantiate this in saying that Augustus "cumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quantum addere"⁵ ("compelled him to add a fourth to his three books of lyrics after a long silence"), and that Augustus, piqued because no mention had been made of him in several sermones he had read "forced" from Horace the selection which begins with these words:

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus
Res Italas armis tueris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes, in publica commoda peecem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar. ⁶

(“Seeing that single-handed thou dost bear the burden of tasks so many and so great, protecting Italy’s

¹Horace Carm. iii. 3. 11-12.
²Ibid., iii. 14.
³Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, Ad. Carm. iii. 14
⁴Horace Carm. iii. 14. 1.
⁵Suetonius, op. cit., II, 487-488
⁶Horace Epist. ii. 1. 1-4.
realm with arms, providing it with morals, reforming it by laws, I should sin against the public weal, Caesar, if I wasted thy time with long discourse*). 

Thus in the capacity of "laureate of the Roman Empire"

Horace wrote the odes of Book IV. In one of these Horace, addressing Augustus who has spent three years in the West,¹ tells him that his people yearns for him as a mother yearns for an absent son. For, Horace says, when Augustus is there --

Tutus bos etena rura perambulat,
Nutrit rura Ceres aimaque Faustitas,
Pacatum voltant per mare navitae;
Culpari metuit fides.

Nullis polluitur casta domus stupria,
Nos et lex maculosum eduimit nefas,
Laudantur simili prole puerperae,
Culpam poena premit comes.

Quis Parthum paseat, quis gelidum Scythen,
Quis Germania quos horrida parturit
Fetus, incolui Caesare? ²

("The ox in safety roams the pastures; Ceres and benign Prosperity make rich the crops; safe are the seas o'er which our sailors course; Faith shrinks from blame; polluted by no stain, the home is pure; custom and law have stamped out the taint of sin; mothers win praise because of children like unto their sires; while Vengeance follows close on guilt. Who would fear the Partian, who the icy Scythian, who the hordes rough Germany doth breed, while Caesar lives unharmed?").

By the time he wrote this ode (16 B.C.)³ he had completely followed the trend of the times: early opposition, gradual

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² Horace *Carm.* iv. 5. 17-28.
conformity, and final surrender. These lyrics of Horace are the outgrowths of a guarantee of his own personal security rather than his public spirit or patriotic instincts, and the opportunism in his acceptance of emperor-worship is evident in his complete capitulation to the new order of Augustus.

In the same way, the period of history in which Jonson lived was a very trying one. It was marked by a revival of letters, the study of the ancient classics, the rise of the middle class, the colonization of America, and the Reformation. Individual enterprise was at its height under Elizabeth because her own ambitions\(^1\) to carry on a war with Spain and one with Ireland, to assist the Protestants of France and Holland, to inaugurate great schemes for American colonization, to fit out expeditions to harass the colonies, and to plunder the commerce of Spain -- compelled her to allow her subjects much freedom. Yet thought had its boundaries in this era too, and political affairs were very complicated. Statesmen, by the necessities of their position, were compelled to be compromising in their measures, and everyone under Elizabeth was forced to be wary, vigilant, politic and crafty. "Loyalty of heart and largeness of brain"\(^2\) were two requisites in serving this despotic queen.

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\(^2\) Ibid.
As in Horace's time, it was found easier to drift along in the stream of events than to oppose such a strong current as existed in Jonson's Britain.

Such were the conditions in England when Ben was writing and this was the only type of government he was to know. The stormier days of Mary were merely a legend to Jonson, and his only reference to that period in history is his allusion to his father who was imprisoned by the Queen of Scots because of reform doctrines he had adopted during the reign of Edward.¹ Under James conditions were much the same, and in his last days Ben could observe the decline that was to come during the reign of Charles. Ben's London was already a great city and the center of European commerce, and government in England had already reached its "Augustan Age" when Ben began to write. Therefore he was never forced to make the decision Horace had to make in reference to the attitude he expressed in writing about his rulers and their government.

Yet Jonson was not a conformist as is proved by his many entanglements with the law, as well as his outspoken comments and unsolicited advice to the dignitaries of his age. His troubles with the government began early, and for the part he took in finishing Thomas Nashe's satiric comedy, The Isle of Dogs, he spent some time in the Marshalsea prison.² This play Jonson had been employed to finish when

² Ibid., p. 15.
Referred to Mr. Pitt, who, since the latter
chose to retire, maintained a friendship with the
earlier editor. The case of Mr. Pitt, who had been one of Johnson's
correspondents with the law and attended him from his
earliest editor, as he was called into
covered his life. "The Johnson case," he declared, "was the proper
occasion for the "Keeper," to raise a friendly warning. He properly
found the "Keeper" to have caught him, but he was put on the
Drammondo, where were set to catch him, but he was put on the
sufficiency of the law, as he retraced his steps to fulfill
conformable to law, and thus in strict terms, he under oath
added to the suspension of the authorities by adopting the
right of the people, however, he
beheaded with proper speed, which ended in the death of
begging of a series of troubles with the government. His
This was Johnson's first encounter with the law and the
along with Carter's defence and Robert's were important
sedition and sedition matter. It a refusal of Johnson
of the peaceouse on the Bench, the court continued very
the trial counsel of Mr. Pitt, that was placed in one
the performance in the theatre, a charge was brought before
were tried to London, leaving his play incomplete. After
could brook no ridicule of any kind, the result was Cynthia's
tells in which Marston and Thomas Dekker found themselves
ludicrously imitated in the characters of Hedon and Anaides.
This was the beginning of the Poetomachia, or poets' war,
which lasted for the next two years. In the Poetaster
Jonson presented himself as the good poet and thereby caused
much public resentment which added to the number of his
enemies. 1 His Apologetical Dialogue, in which he uttered his
last words on the poets' war, was suppressed by authority. 2
It was an unrepentant apology for the libelous remarks his
contemporaries found in his play.

Yet even more serious trouble with authority lay
in store for Jonson. He was called before the Council and
accused by the Earl of Northampton of "popery and treason"
in the play Sajaun. 3 Some satirical implications were
probably seen in this play, and possibilities of the
charge of treason might be found in the fact that the play
had a traitor for its hero. Passages cut from the original
version may have contained speeches on which were based
such charges but the actual issue of this summons is not
known. 4 Jonson's Catholicism too might have served as

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1 Palmer, op. cit., p. 60.
3 Ibid., p. 37.
4 Ibid.
a pretext for the accusation, though he himself believed
Northampton to have had personal reasons.\footnote{William Drummond, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 14.} The outcome of
this charge was not related by Jonson as certainly Drummond
would have recorded it if it had been told to him.

Another misadventure of Jonson's was his part in
writing \textit{Eastward Ho}. John Marston and George Chapman\footnote{Palmer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 85} had
written this comedy of London life, and in it were included
a number of topical allusions to the hungry Scots who had
come flocking to London in the King's train. In some way
Jonson had contributed, and when the play was printed (1605)
Sir James Murray called for retribution.\footnote{William Drummond, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 12.} Because of this
Jonson and his two collaborators spent some time in prison
and the report was "that they should then had their ears
cutt and noses."\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}} However, Jonson's friends, particularly
Robert, Earl of Salisbury, came to his help and again he
was released. So for the English bard there were many years
of friction with authorities but always fate or friends
intervened and brought an unexpected release. His was not
the deliberate purpose of avoiding entanglements with the
government as Horace's seems to have been, and perhaps it
was his unhappy faculty for saying the right thing at the
wrong time which brought Jonson into trouble so often.

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For the most part, Horace strode the middle path and never had the courage to express himself freely as Jonson did. The former had been "reconstructed" as the latter never needed to be. Self-preservation was evidently uppermost in Horace's mind, and he was careful to avoid any derogatory remark or even one which might be interpreted as such. Jonson could have avoided some of his encounters with the law, but he was endowed, happily or otherwise, with a spirit which asserted itself in a way which is more easily understood in our day than the fawning obeisance of Horace.

There is far less flattery in Jonson's works than in Horace's. The British poet rarely pleased any man's vanity. Perhaps Drummond's observation that "He never esteemed a man for the name of a Lord" sum up Jonson's attitude in general toward others. His comments upon Elizabeth are the antithesis of anything Horace ever wrote about the house of the Julii. But in some instances his attitude toward James is comparable to Horace's ingratiating attitude toward Augustus. The King had a genuine love of learning, and he approved of erudite gatherings such as that of the Antiquarian Society to which Camden, Cotton, Carew, Bacon and Jonson belonged -- a gathering which recalls

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1 William Drummond, op. cit., p. 15.
2 Ibid.
the group in Rome made up of Maecenas, Vergil, Varus, and Horace. But like Ovid\(^1\) and Gallus\(^2\) in Augustan times, there were people like Selden who "misused their learning to support truth against royal opinion,"\(^3\) and found that James was not the friend of those who spoke against his regime. Selden was summoned to appear before the High Commission Court at Lambeth Palace because of his book entitled The History of Tithes. This book was suppressed by the High Court after Selden gave a written acknowledgment of his blame for having published his book which he said incurred "both his Majesties and your Lordships displeasure."\(^4\)

\(^1\) Ovid was banished to Tomis. The real reason was not the immorality of Ars Amatoria but something which could not be made known. There remained something which closely affected the Emperor's private life. Licentiousness of Julia was the worst of hindrances to Augustus' attempts to reform public morals. Probably Ovid was employed by her in an intrigue which was detected by Augustus. Cf. H.J. Rose, op. cit., pp. 325-326.

\(^2\) Gallus was a soldier and poet who "owing to unguarded speech when prefect of Egypt had the misfortune to forfeit the favour of Augustus. He committed suicide." Cf. J.Might Duff, The Writers of Rome, p. 62.

\(^3\) C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson, op. cit., I, 35.

\(^4\) John Selden, "Table Talk", Chronicle of some of the principal events in the Life, Works and Times of John Selden; (London: Alex Murray and Son, 1869), pp. 5-6.
Like Livy and Pollio in the Augustan Age, Ben Jonson managed to remain in the good graces of James by being silent about the political issues of the day, but he is more akin to Horace in his remarks in the Part of the Kings Entertainment in passing to his Coronation:

I tender thee the heartiest welcome, yet
That ever king had to his empire seat;
Neuer came man, more long'd for, more desir'd
And being come, more reverence'd, lou'd, admir'd. 3

He even approaches Horace in setting Augustus next to Jupiter when he attributes to James a heavenly quality by saying to him:

With like devotion doe I stoop t' embrace
This springing glory of thy godlike race. 4

Continuing, he describes James as "His countries wonder, hope, love, joy, and pride." 5 In this same celebration

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1Livy: "Imperial embargo on the publication of proceedings in the senate limited the material for contemporary records. The desire to avoid ruffling susceptibilities was largely accountable for choice of subjects, remote in time and locality which characterizes Fenestella, Arruntius, Trogus and Livy himself." J.W. Duff, A Literary History of Rome, p. 635

2Pollio: The new regime had deprived him of a career in the state as an orator. He compensated himself for loss of a statesman's influence by drawing around himself a coterie of authors, and in trenchant literary criticism found vent for an outspokenness no longer permissible in politics. He closed his History of the Civil Wars with Philippi, in discreet wisdom of Horace's warning that, in such a task of risk and hazard, his march lay "across fires smouldering neath treacherous cinder-crust" (Carm. ii. 1. 7.). Cf. J.W. Duff, A Literary History of Rome, pp. 612-613.

3Ben Jonson, Part of the Kings Entertainment in passing to his Coronation, lines 534-537.

4Ibid., lines 340-341; Cf. Horace, Carm. i. 12. 51-52; iii. 5. 2-4.

5Ibid., line 542.
there was a large frieze on which Jonson quoted two lines from Horace:

Jurandasque tumum per nomen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes. 1

("We set up altars to swear by in your name, and confess that nought like you will hereafter arise or has arisen ere now.")

These few examples show that Ben, too, allowed himself to flatter James, but perhaps he was more excusable for this than Horace because the fashion was long-standing in England, new in Rome.

Often in flattering passages however, Jonson and Horace appended some exhortation to their praise. In A Penecyre on the Happy Entrance of James, Our Sovereign, after depicting James coming into the state attended by Themis (tradition), Dice (justice), Eunomia (good law), and Irene (peace), then recounting the joy of the populace at his entrance, Ben allows Themis to advise the King:

that Kings
Are here on earth the most conspicuous things:
That they by Heau'n are plac'id upon his throne,
To rule like Heau'n; and have no more, their owne,
As they are men, than men. 2

Again she says:

That princes, since they know it is their fate
Oft-times to have the secrets of their state

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1 Ben Jonson, Part of the Kings Entertainment in passing to his Coronation, Lines 426-427. Cf. Horace Epist. II. 1. 18-17.

2 Ben Jonson, A Penecyre on the Happy Entrance of James, Our Sovereign, Lines 77-81.
Horace Catull. 111. 4. 66-68.

Jane Our Soveretm. 111. 253-256.
Open Johnson, 4 Penetrate on the Happy Inteance of

Horace Catull. 111. 4. 77-40.

Jane, Our Soveretum, 111. 253-256.
Open Johnson, 4 Penetrate on the Happy Inteance of

"")

They're they hate,
But what that in the soul's been on all
that
some years among southerns,
In these! dear dear ones,
All Lederman at quadrant of puncte, and to run by this
The central epxes more right sun!

such advance in science:

advocate to the new soveretum, and perhaps Horace approved
This was the Susetstive way the British poet had of Glazing

In all these known facts our principle exalted.
When they are led, then when they are collected,
That at least of their eperience, more is old
To offer sense of Inteance, or fesert.
Indeed the reasons, and in the reasons himseve
Must with a tender (yet & nestandez) hand

The mere that those who would with Jane, command,
To James, Johnson apprehends such thoughts as these:

"Geller and sein takes her seat behind the perpeanum."
Get then dear, you don't place (not the recess-point

Post elegant seat after case,
best erect seat of the
Sentiment saddle on domian, neve
Red Teamer of which

Perhaps the closest Horace comes to this is in these lines:

In publishace erects what face and form they bear.
Perhaps to fame, should take more care, and fear.
His reference to "power" may be a veiled hint to Augustus, but the ode is not one specifically addressed to the Emperor. Both Jonson and Horace write declarations of loyalty to their sovereigns too. Jonson addresses King James thus:

Neuer had land more reason to fejoyce,
Nor to her blissse could ought now added bee,
Save, that shee might the same perpetuall see.
Which when time, nature, and the fates deny'd,
With a twice louder shoute againe they cry'd,
Yet, let blest Britaine aske, (without your wrong,) Still to have such a King, and this king long.

Parallel to this are Horace's words to Augustus when the latter affected to talk of laying down his authority:

Serus in caelum redeas, diique
Lastus interis populo Quirini,
Neve te nostris vitiiis iniquum
Oior aura: 3
Tollat; ....

("Late mayest thou return to the skies and long mayest thou be pleased to dwell amid Quirinus' folk; and may no untimely gale waft thee from us angered at our sins.")

So Horace and Ben Jonson, living in ages far-removed from each other, viewed their respective governments in a somewhat similar way. Neither one wrote upon political issues which were of prime importance at the time, and neither one recorded any personal views upon the policies of the rulers. In the course of events at Rome, Horace chose

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1Ben Jonson, A Panegyric on the Happy Entrance of James Our Sovereign, lines 158-162.

2Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, Ad. Carm. i. 2

3Horace Carm. i. 2. 45-49.
To conform to the new regime, but some instances connected
with his "reconstruction" would find no parallel in
Jonson. The latter was not given to such kowtowing, as his
many encounters with the law prove. Horace praised Augustus,
most often to extremes; Jonson praised James in the same
way, but did not extend such flattery to Elizabeth or
Charles. Both mixed judicious advice with their praise,
but Jonson openly directed his advice to King James whereas
Horace wrapped his in aphorisms which were applicable to
all men of power. Essentially, then, each made use of the
aurea mediocritas recommended by Horace himself, and wrote
nothing which revealed any debatable issue of the times in
which each lived.
CHAPTER III

SATIRE AS A MIRROR FOR THE TIMES
OF HORACE AND JONSON

Although neither Horace nor Jonson wrote directly about the condition of state affairs, yet both wrote about types of individuals who were living around them, and satire was the means they used to clarify these types. Many definitions of the term satire have been devised since its innovation in Roman literature, and in addition to variety of meaning it is now used as a literary device in prose and dramatic works and no longer confined to its original form of hexameter line. Originally the word "satire" came from the Latin word satura which meant a dish of various fruits annually offered to the gods (lentia satura), and from this evolved the idea of a mixture.\(^1\) As a species of poetry peculiar to the Romans, it first received a regular poetic form from Ennius. Later the word was used to describe the miscellaneous entertainments given by strolling players who amused their audiences by remarks directed toward prominent

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men, unpopular institutions, or open scandals.\textsuperscript{1} Lucilius, writing about 132 B.C.,\textsuperscript{2} followed the Old Comedy of Greece as represented by Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes in attacking the infamous.\textsuperscript{3} Fragments of his early Roman satire have the characteristic form of hexameter verse. But the earliest occurrence\textsuperscript{4} of the word \textit{satura} in an extent text is found in Horace who says: "Sunt quibus in satura videar nims acer\textsuperscript{5}" ("There are some critics who think I am too savage in my satire"), and throughout his works the word occurs only twice.\textsuperscript{6} This is probably due to the fact that Roman writers did not ordinarily designate their works or refer to other works by literary terms.\textsuperscript{7}

Though the definition of satire has varied, yet the motives which prompted its early use are the same.\textsuperscript{8} The follies or vices of the times were the subjects upon which the writers of satire bent their efforts, and the

\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{4}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{5}Horace \textit{Serm.} ii. 1. 1.
\textsuperscript{6}\textit{Ibid.} ii. 1. 1; ii. 6. 17.
\textsuperscript{7}J.W. Duff, \textit{Roman Satire: Its Outlook on Social Life}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{8}Cf. \textit{supra} note 3.
methods changed with the personality of the writer. Bitter sarcasm, Socratic irony, mocking ridicule, trenchant wit—all are the instruments the satirists use to expose, censure, or deride evils of every kind. The function of satire must be constructive or instructive if the social criticism it offers is to be of value, and thus in essence the satirist becomes a preacher. The objects of satire must necessarily be real things while the author must be more than an ordinary onlooker. He must have the gift of observation and be able to present figures vividly to the reader. The true satirist shows society its individual and collective villainy, cowardice, and hypocrisy. Then it holds these human failings before a mirror for all to see, for as one definition explains:

Satire is a sort of glass wherein beholders do generally discover everybody's face but their own; which is the chief reason for the kind reception it meets with in the world and that so very few are offended with it.2

To fulfill his obligation to society, the satirist must be "the one man picked out of ten thousand, an honest man".3 Otherwise his work degenerates into mere flattery.

Satire then, understood as a means by which wicked-

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1 Cf. sermons and sermons.
3 Gilbert Cannan, op. cit. I, 15.
ness or folly is censured, was the field in which both Horace and Ben Jonson worked. In the majority of their output the satiric can be found. It appears in the epodes, satires, odes and even in the literary epistles\(^1\) of Horace, while in Jonson it can be found in most of his plays, in many of the longer epigrams, and in some of his miscellaneous verse. The characteristic vices and follies of their times offered a variety of subjects to both men. The quest for wealth with its accompanying greed and avarice, legacy-hunting, the empty vanities of the nobles, the poetasters, and the parvenu were topics common to both Horace and Jonson. Other topics were peculiar to the times of each, and therefore may appear in one and not the other. For Horace some of the latter were the epicure, and men who pretended knowledge of Stoic paradoxes; for Jonson, the treatment accorded the stage by the military and law, the prevalence of poisoning, the superstition of alchemy, and the Puritan as a persecutor of the stage were contemporary matters which became the object of his satiric pen. Both were keen observers of men, and the combination of character and circumstance gave them material of constant interest. Saint Paul's Cathedral, the innumerable taverns throughout London, and the theatres themselves were peopled with men and women whose fantastic affectation supplied Jonson with as

\(^{1}\)Horace Epist. ii. 1. 34-39, satiric questions upon admiration of old poetry; ibid., ii. 1. 117, satire on the notion that anyone can be a poet; Epist. ii. 3, 1-5, satire on the violation of literary unity.
abundant material for ridicule as the new eccentric characters swarming along the Appian Way or frequenting the Forum did for Horace. The everyday occurrences of their lives were incorporated into their works with the result that Horace left a vivid picture of conditions in Roman times before and under Augustus, while Jonson left one of England under Elizabeth, and James, as well as a prelude to the events which brought about the downfall of Charles.

Yet Horace's type of satire differs from that of Jonson in some important ways. The former writes openly, avoiding extravagance in thought and expression, and prefers the golden mean in all things. He writes about human follies or vices as a good-humored moralist who is pointing out his own mistakes as well as those of human beings in general. Barely is the caustic remark to be found in Horace. In his satire one finds the good-natured commentary upon the foibles and follies of men with whom he lived, whereas in Jonson's satire the playful irony is generally lacking and Jonson confines himself to ridicule or open criticism. As he himself says in the Induction to Every Man Out of His Humour:

With an armed and resolved hand,
I'll strip the ragged follies of the time
Naked as at their birth . . .
... and with a whip of steel,
Print wounding lashes in their iron ribs.

The gentle art of Horace by which he presents some failing of human nature in its most glaring form, holds it up for
amusement, and says, after we have enjoyed the story he
has told about another person, or even himself, "de te
fabula narratur"¹ ("the story is about you!") is unmatched
by Jonson. The latter, lacking the personal note which
endears Horace to his readers, relies more upon indignation
and sometimes even malice to make his satire potent. Jonson
was a far more trenchant satirist than Horace, and his
judgments of men and their follies were most biting and
severe. No one was exempt from his judgment, and perhaps
there is some truth in Drummond's saying that Jonson would
rather lose a friend than a jest.²

Both Jonson and Horace saw a kinship between
satire and comedy. Sometimes the humor found in Horace
accompanies a deep seriousness, but often it is found in
the witticisms he has to offer in his comments about the
characters he draws. Jonson's characters are essentially
comic owing to the fact that they are saturated with some
quality which makes them ludicrous. Both writers make use
of the anti-climax in their writings, by adding a little
satiric tag to their lyrics. Typical of this in Horace is
the epode in which Alfius sings the praises of country
scenery in sixty-six lines, after which the epode concludes

Hacce ubi locutus faenerator Alfius,
Jam, iam futurus rusticus,
Omnem rededit Idibus pectuniam,
Quaerit Kalendis ponere.³

¹Horace Serm. 1. 1. 69-70.
²William Drummond, op. cit., p. 27.
³Horace Ep. 2. 67-70.
("When the usurer Alfius had uttered this, on the very point of beginning the farmer's life, he called in all his funds upon the Ides -- and on the Kalends seeks to put them out again!")

Comparable to this is one of Jonson's epigrams in which he skillfully sketches the character of Don Surly as a man who prides himself on his vices and thinks that they are proofs of his greatness. In the last lines Jonson advises him:

Surly, vse other arts, these only can
Stile thee a most great foole, but no great man.1

Another familiar device in literature which Horace and Ben Jonson employed was the use of names to suggest types of characters or the vices they represented. Satire results in their attributing to a character a dominant characteristic which obliterates all other qualities, and it was thus they created characters whose very names proclaim them to be misers, voluptuaries, spendthrifts, zealots, gluttons, or other extremists whose weakness overtops their other qualities. In Horace such characters are found as Pantolabus, literally meaning "taking everything", and specifically referring to a parasite; Porcius, "relating to swine", and transferred by meaning to the glutton who swallowed the cake whole at a dinner; Opimius, defined as "well-fed" or "fat", and denoting a wealthy man; Novius from the root of the word for "new" and connoting an

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1Ben Jonson, Epigrammes, xviii, lines 21-22.
"upstart"; Avidius derived from "avidus" (greedy) and indicating a "miser". Momentanus and Naevius were names originally used by Lucilius to represent the spendthrift type and taken over with this meaning by Horace. Nasidienus because of his ostentation signified the typical parvenu in the early Empire, and this name was used with the same connotation in later Latin literature. In like manner the "humours" of Ben Jonson promise satire, and the names of his characters proclaim their satirical purpose -- Subtle, Morose, Fastidious, Brisk, Sir Epicure Mammon, Sir Amorous la Foole, Carlo Buffone, Zeal-of-the-land Busy, Pertinax Surly. Others represent their nearest of kin in the animal kingdom such as Volpone (the fox), Vulture (the vulture), Cerwine (a raven), Mosca (the gadfly). Still others like Bobadill, the braggart incarnate, become living qualities of the failings or vices they represent.

Both Horace and Jonson, moreover, used satire as a means of personal criticism as well as a prod for moral reform. Horace maintained that personal satire should be subordinate to the moral purpose of satire, and generally his works bear out this idea. Some authorities have suspected thin disguises for real names in Cervius for

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1H. Fushton Fairclough, Ad Serm. i. 1. 102
2J.W. Duff, Roman Satire, p. 72.
Servius, and Catius for Matius, but taken as a whole his purpose was to satirize classes rather than individual shortcomings. On the other hand, Jonson was not so discreet. Admittedly¹ he wrote "on Marston" and with him included Thomas Dekker in the Postmaster. Two other conspicuous cases in which characters were identified with particular individuals have been found in his plays. Volpone supposedly satirized Sutton, the founder of Charterhouse, and Lanthorn Leatherhead in Bartholomew Fair was identified with Inigo Jones.² How many less conspicuous figures were touched by the "razor edge of his pen" it is impossible to say, but from his own remarks there were individuals who would take his comments or characterizations as personal affronts. Unlike the later poet Horace had specifically said "But my pen will never attack any person."³ This use of more frequent personal satire by Jonson, then, is a difference between his writings and those of Horace. While recognizing these differences, one is able to find in Jonson and Horace likenesses which establish their close resemblance in satiric writing.

One of the most conspicuous features of social life in Augustan times with which Horace dealt in many of his

¹Drummond, *op. cit.* p. 18
³Horace *Satyr. ii*. 1. 39-41
"yet a freed-man cut him in two with an axe."

...
To Horace wealth was good only when in use, and its generous use he thought admirable.\(^1\) In fact, to him the true king was one who "ingentes oculo inretertospectat acervos" ("can gaze upon huge piles of treasure without casting an envious glance behind").\(^2\) To him true riches did not mean revenues, and he considered that man blest to whom the gods had given enough and no more.\(^3\) Money was the coveted prize of Horace's day, but he hoped to win his fellow Romans over to the idea that the happy life could be reached by moderation. Health and wealth, he says, are not companions, and the man "to whose lot sufficient falls, should covet nothing more."\(^4\) To Horace, avarice was the underlying cause of misery in men's lives, and the cure he recommended was the practice of moderation:

\[
\text{Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,}
\]
\[
\text{Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.}\]

("There is measure in all things. There are, in short, fixed bounds, beyond and short of which right can find no place.")

As for himself, he says:

\[
\text{haut paravero,}
\]
\[
\text{Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam}
\]

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1Horace Carm. ii. 2. 1-8.

2Ibid. ii. 2. 23-24.

3Horace Carm. iii. 16. 43-44.

4Horace Epist. i. 2. 46.

5Horace Serm. i. 1. 106.
-56-

Discinctus aut perdam nepos. ¹

("I will not lay up treasure, either to bury in the ground, like miser Chremaces, or to squander like some reckless spendthrift.")

Ben Jonson, likewise directs his satire against the wealthy. Volpone is a masterpiece of satiric drama which depicts creatures greedily seeking power and wealth. In this play whose subject is the attraction and power of wealth Jonson's satire falls upon the fools as well as the knaves. The Fox is no miser but a Momentanus,² a spendthrift who uses his wealth as a token of mastery.

In lines addressed to his gold, he says:

Deare saint Riches, the dumbe god, that gin'tst all men tongues;
That canst doe nought, and yet mak'st men doe all things;
The price of soules; even hell, with thee to boot,
Is made worth heaven! Thou art vertue, fame,
Honour, and all things else! Who can get thee,
Ree shall be noble, valiant, honest, wise.³

His love of power and wealth knows no bounds, and he is pictured as the most selfish and unfeeling of voluptuaries. But Mosca assures the audience in Horatian lines⁴ that it is not by miserliness that his master has grown rich:

And, besides, sir,
You are not like the thresher, that doth stand

¹Horace Ep. 1. 32-34.
²Horace Serm. 11. 1. 22.
³Ben Jonson, Volpone I. 1. 81-87.
⁴Horace Serm. 11. 3. 111-119.
With a huge stafe, watching a heape of corne,  
And, hungrie, dares not taste the smallest graine,  
But feeds on mallowes, and such bitter herbs;  
Nor like the merchant, who hath filled his vaults  
With Romagnia, and rich Canadian wines,  
Yet drinks the lees of Lombards vineger:  
You will not lie in straw, whilst moths and wormes  
Feed on your sumptuous hangings and soft beds.₁

Mere possession of wealth means nothing to Volpone, but  
the power it gives him to manipulate other men is what he seeks. As the play ends justice is meted out to Volpone,  
the monster of greed, who had by his lust for power tried to add to his wealth:

₁st Advocates:...Thou, Volpone,  
By bloud and ranke a gentleman, canst not fall  
Vnder like censure; but our judgment on thee  
Is, that thy substance all be straight confiscate  
To the hospital of the Incurabili:  
And since the most was gotten by imposture,  
By feigning lame, gout, pulse, and such diseases,  
Thou art to lie in prison, crampt with irons,  
Till thou bee'st sick, and lame indeed. Remove him.₂

The play is a vignette of life, or to use the motto which Jonson himself used for this drama: "Simul et jucunda, et idonea dicere vitae".₃ ("The play is both entertaining and helpful to life").

Another one of the social evils of Horace's time was the practice of seeking legacies. In his age it had become as prevalent as political bribery has in the present.

₁Jonson, Volpone I. i. 52-61
₂Tbid. V. viii. 117-125.  
₃Horace Epist. ii. 3. 334.
If you can do a bit of it, drop in some teakettles.

For appearance, sake, it might be well to pantomime.

or the wealthy men and after the defeat has been announced

as a final bit of advice he suggests that, after the death

If he have a son at home or a frivolous wife.

announced upon the citadels of the better name and cause,

calls the better men into council, do you become his

Jesus, without the place he be, and with a weapon in his

in the form of whatever of the partaker of which and which

But some day a case, Great or small, he contested

...spouse, done all justice will be done to me.

thereafter, came the age of culture and commerce

good for money and good for wear in this life also

Anchored under jennies are seen, floating ultimate

when some more force of press, some connections.

In the city advance the sheer pressures give to artless

Art is contempt for the fortune-hunters of this day is evident

who need edifice in the proper methods for obtaining a Leisure

most ironic piece of art to the better artistic culture, and to make those

be their position, rest the need of money. In one of the

Integrity of fortune hunters who, though they might be of

our family connections, and they are the objects of the

and now fall to the lot of many freedom to the cultivation of

~wealth in the hope of becoming a beneficialary. It is to friends, and such a custom led to the cultivation of

It was customary to leave estates, whether large or small.
Thus Horace assumes an ironical seriousness and ridicules one of the vices of his times. Yet even here is the Horatian touch: the legacy-hunter is not presented as a villain but as a comic character.

Jonson's characters Voltore, Corbaccio, Corvino, and Mosca in Volpone have a kinship with the legacy-hunters Horace satirized. At any cost, no matter how despicable, each hopes to be the heir to the fortunes of Volpone. As the Fox, supposedly dead, listens to the harangue of the would-be heirs, one recalls the old woman from Thebes who by the terms of her will tried to elude her heir and was buried in this manner according to Horace:

cadaver
Umetum oleo large nudes umeris tulit heres,
Scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo,
Quod nimium institerat viventi. ¹

("Her corpse, well oiled, her heir carried on his bare shoulders. She wanted to see whether she could give him the slip when dead. I suppose, when she was living, he harrassed her too much.")

The well-known fable of the fox and the crow used by Horace is found in Volpone in the discussion of Mosca and the Fox upon a gift one of the legacy-hunters has brought to the latter --

Mosc. Hugs, Massic, and antique, with your name inscrib'd and arms engraven.
Volp. Good! and not a foxe Stretch'd on the earth, with fine delusive sleights

¹Horace Serm. ii. 5. 85-86.
Mocking a gaping crow? ha, Mosca!1

The Fox encouraged the legacy-hunters as long as he was the recipient of gifts. Later Mosca tells Corvino that he has sent the other legacy-seekers home with "Nothing bequeath'd them, but to cry, and curse."2 This speech was adapted from Horace who had said to another fortune-hunter:

invenietque
Mil sibi legatum, praeter plorare, suisque.3

("And he shall find that nothing is left to him and his but to whine.")

In addition to the avaricious and the legacy-hunters, Horace and Ben satirized the men whom they judged as worthless poets of their own times. Quality Horace was interested in; quantity received but scorn from him. Many of his contemporaries, especially the rich, did copious writing merely to secure notoriety for themselves. Horace refers often to this indiscriminate writing. Challenged to a scribbling contest with Crispinus who wanted to find out who could "write the most",4 Horace praises the gods because they fashioned him "of meagre wit and lowly spirit, of rare and scanty speech."5 With such poetasters as

1Ben Jonson, Volpone, I. 1. 93-96.
2Ben Jonson, Volpone, I. v. 36-37.
3Horace Serm., ii. 5. 68-69.
4Horace Serm., i. 4. 14-16.
5Ibid., 17-18.
Crispinus represented, Horace had no desire to compete.
Nor did he care to be among those who gathered an admiring
audience to listen to their compositions. Rather
bitterly does he sum up the public attitude toward the
prolific writer:

\[
\text{Mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno}
\]
\[
\text{Scribendi studio; pueri patresque severi}
\]
\[
\text{Fronde comas vincti censant et carmina dictant.}^1
\]

("The fickle public has changed its taste and is
fixed throughout with a scribbling craze; sons and
grave sires sup crowned with leaves and dictate
their lines.")

The skilled and unskilled alike were writing poetry in
his day and he had no high regard for the second-rate poet.

Ben Jonson too had detractors among his contem-
poraries as the 'Apologetical Dialogue' to the Postester
proves. The object of his writing this play is given in
his own words:

Three yeeres,
They did prouoke me with their petulant stiles
On every stage; And I at last, vnwilling,
But weary, I confesse, of so much trouble,
Thought, I would try, if shame could vinne vpon
them.

And therefore chose Avgustus Caesars times,
When wit, and artes were at their height in Rome,
To show that Virgil, Horace, and the rest
Of those great master-spirits did not want
Detractors, then, or practisers against them:
And by this line (although no paralel)
I hop'd at last they would sit downe, and blush.\(^2\)

Added to the general indictment of the players, accusing

\(^1\)Horace Epist. ii. 1. 108-110.
\(^2\)Ben Jonson, Postester "Apologetical Dialogue,"
lines 96-107
breathes, and stomach of those tumorous heates."
Horne was ordered to give him pills, "what should prove the
upon the sentence given to Cæcilius, the poetaster,
him in the fifth act. In this Horace ends Veretall deede
play on Horace (Cæcilius) and the verse addressed to
have drawn to the opposite side. Johnson concentrates the
"better natured" whom they (presumably Horace and Becker)
contempoerously and only refers the hostility of some
very desired to name. He seems upon his own detestors
but as he adds, he touches but a few of them, and those
seizes. To ascertain the exerted some of the players,
true, and according, by those whom share no merit in them.
seizes. As Horace he "now stands text of independence, self-
seizes. As Horace he "now stands text of independence, self-
Great Roman lawyer, for his opinion on the writing of
the person of the Roman poet he appears to triumph a
and using the first satire of Horace' second book, in
Johnson felt that his satire had caused his unpopularly.
in the Getsemanist by Horace and Becker, like Horace' 
and answers many of the accusations brought against him
personal attack on individual actors. Johnson anticiptates
them of Greece and Prsxie upon honest citizens? be the
-96-
to get rid of his high-sounding words which are "a signe of a winde braine". Vergil's pronouncement is:

Looke, you take
Each morning, of old Gates principles
A good draught, next your heart; that walke vpon,
Till it be well digested: Then come home,
And taste a piece of Terence, sucke his phrase
In stead of lycorice; and, at any hand,
Shun Platya, and old Ennius, they are meates
Too harsh for a weake stomache. Vse to reade
(But not without a tutor) the best Greckees:
As Orpheus, Hysaeus, Pindarvs,
Hesiod, Callimachvs, and Theocrite,
High Homer, but beware of Lycophron;
He is too darke, and dangerous a dish.
You must not hunt for wild, out-landish termes,
To stuffe out a peculiar dialect;
But let your matter runne before your words:
And if, at any time, you chance to meet
Some Gallo-belgick phrase, you shall not straight
Facke your poore verse to glue it entertainment;
But let it passe; and doe not thinke your selfe;
Much dammified, if you doe leave it out;
When, not your understanding, nor the sense
Could well receive it. This faire abstinence,
In time, will render you more sound, and cleere;
And this haue I prescrib'd to you, in place
Of a strict sentence: which till he performs,
Attire him in that robe. And hence-forth, leaue
To beare your selfe more humbly; not to swell,
Or breathe your insolent, and idle spight,
On him, whose laughter, can your worst affright.2

In this play Horace and Vergil represent the higher type of writer, and Horace, "the master of both vertue, and wisdome"3 is the dramatic counterpart of Crispinus.

Men of high estate and the lofty nobles were also

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1Ben Jonson, Poetaster V. iii. 495
2Ibid., 531-566.
3Ben Jonson, "Timber; or Discoveries", Ben Jonson 1641: Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden 1619, ed C. E. Harrison (London: John Lane, the Bodley Head Ltd., reprint 1923), p. 98.
the objects of the satire of Horace and Jonson. In the hands of Horace such people often became comic characters. He does not ridicule unworthy nobles, but he subtly tells his readers that he would not exchange his lot for that of the four-hundred. In gentle reproof of the empty vanities of the nobles he explains why the blessings of his life are greater than those of the man who has achieved either social recognition or political ambition:

nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus et comes alter, uti ne solus ruse peregreve eirem, plures calones atque caballil pascendi, ducenda petorrita. nunc mihi curto ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum, mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos: obicest nemo sordes mihi, quas tibi, Tilio, cum Tiburte via præstores quinque sequuntur te pueri, lasonum portantes oenophorumque.
hoc ego commodius quam tu, praetellare senator,
militus atque aliis vivo.

("For at once I should have to enlarge my means, to welcome more callers, to take one or two in my company so as not to go abroad or into the country alone; I should have to keep more pages and ponies and take a train of wagons. Today, if I will, I may go on a bob-tailed mule even to Tarentum, the saddle-bag’s weight galling his loins, and rider his withers. No one will taunt me with meanness as he does you, praetor Tilio, when on the Tibur road five slaves follow you carrying a commode and a case of wine. In this and a thousand other ways I live in more comfort than you, illustrious senator."")

This is certainly not an enviable picture of the man of power, but it is an example of Horace’s method of satirizing the man who has won political office and its resultant social status. It represents Horace’s attempt to cure a

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1Horace Serm., 1. 6. 100-111.
social evil without stirring up great enmity between
classes or hostility toward himself.

The nobility were also the object of Jonson's
deft thrusts. After the execution of Mary, courtiers
exchanged gaiety and their former fashions for fantastic
refinements. It was at these formal but affected manners
of the Court that Jonson directed *Cynthia's Revels.*
Though he lived with the great, he could not resist
satirizing the absurd manners and euphuistic language of
the courtiers and court ladies.¹ This play contains the
puerile games which passed for witty amusements at Court.
The game of "substantives and adjectives" is played with
such gravity that it becomes ridiculous, and one wonders
what the reaction of courtiers was since they were
present at the performance. Only the tactless Jonson could
have Mercury describe a courtier as one who has essentially
two parts: pride and ignorance.² But perhaps the common
people made the play a success because they undoubtedly
were delighted by the silly tricks of the courtiers whom
Ben exposed to ridicule. Yet the fopperies and the
affectations were typical of this class of people, and
in their portrayal Jonson fulfilled one of the primary
functions of satire.

In Horace's day there were many men of low station

¹Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels,* IV. i. 136-214.
²*Ibid.,* II. ii. 77-78.
who suddenly acquired wealth. Such was the opportunity offered to one of lowly estate in Augustus' regime. Because of his wealth his place in society changed, but, as Horace observes, his nature did not. To win the favor of those in higher positions, elaborate dinners were given, and the obsequiousness and unreserved flattery which followed often brought rewards. Horace delights in ridiculing the ostentation of the typical parvenu. Men of fashion and literary men who flock to enjoy the exquisite dinner prepared by the host who fancies himself a learned epicure show themselves as the fair-weather friends they are. These were the ill-bred fellows who made use of their napkins to conceal amusement at their host's display. The fiasco of a dinner party which this satire describes is also directed against the affected erudition of epicures. The long lists of foods enumerated, the methods of preparation explained, and the odd or realistic effects in the arrangement of food on platters represent the host as an aspiring epicure who, by this elaborate dinner, hoped to find favor with Maecenas. The absurd solemnities are the objects of Horace's irony. In his time the new-made millionaire drew invective from many sources. Horace speaking for the multitude says:

Iupis et agnis quanta sortite obtigit,
Tecum mihi discordia est,
Hibericis perusta funibus latus

Horace Serm., 11.8.
Et crura dura compede. ¹

("As great as is the enmity between lambs and wolves, by Nature's laws decreed, so great is that twixt me and you—you whose flanks are scarred by the Spanish rope, and whose legs are callous with hard shackles.")

In his time these newly-rich were walking the Appian Way, sitting in knights' places at the theatre, and even commanding the soldiers of Rome.

Somewhat akin to such pretenders are the Londoners whom Jonson ridicules in "The New Crie". These were men who feigned knowledge about the "states of Christendome". Jonson ends this epigram in this satiric note:

and therefore doe not onely shunne Others more modest, but contemne vs too, That know not so much state, wrong, as they doe.²

So too his English "monsieur" whom he depicts in another epigram is the essence of ostentation:

Would you beleevve, when you this Monsieur see, That his whole body should speake French, not he? That so much skarfe of France, and hat, and fether And shooe, and tye, and garter should come hether, And land on one, whose face durst never bee Toward the sea, farther then halfe-way trees? That he untransell'd should be French so much As french-men in his companie, should seem Dutch? Or had his father, when he did him get, The French disease, with which he labours yet? Or hung some Monsieurs picture on the wall By which his damme conceiued him, clothes and all? Or is it some french statue? No, 't doth move, And stoupe, and cringe. 0 then, it need must prove The new french-taylors motion, monthly made, Daily to turne in Favls, and helpe the trade.³

¹Horace Ep., 4. 1-4.
²Ben Jonson, Epigrammes, xci. 38-40.
³Ibid., "On English Monsieur", lxxviii.
In general Horace gives little note to women in his writings. Two excoriating epodes are addressed to coarse women whom he had evidently known.\(^1\) Another he addresses to a false sweetheart who, though she had professed undying love for Horace in former days, has now deserted him.\(^2\) This epode concludes with Horace saying that her new lover is doomed and, as for himself, he in turn will laugh. This type of banter is nowhere found in satiric pieces Jonson wrote concerning women. Most of his lyrics addressed to them bear out the summary C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson give of his attitude toward the fair sex:

Not merely was chivalry alien to his nature, but even the most admirable qualities of individual women had to conquer their way to his recognition through a medium of cynical distrust and disparagement of the sex at large. In this very collection, only a couple of pages from the beautiful morning hymn to the Countess of Bedford, the reader comes upon an epigram which suggests in the plainest terms that all women are harlots.\(^3\)

Ben emphasizes two sins of women almost to the exclusion of all others: pride and lechery. Extravagant personal adornment was censured by him in the Elizabethan vanity of such women as Livia, Semiphronia, and Fulvia.\(^4\) In the poem entitled "A Satirical Shrub" he certainly bears out

\(^1\)Horace Ep., 8, 12
\(^2\)Horace Ep., 15. 3-10.
\(^4\)Characters in Catiline.
Your face there's none can like by candle light.

Indeed, her presence some men might delect,

Ben Sze of her.

Particular praise was written about Cecily Blustroad, and found in the epigram he wrote on the "court pleasure." This perhaps the most spirited remarks addressed to a woman are:

Yet art thou fatter than thy waists,
To take the week's or make them stout and snubbed,

If every and trifles, these end snubbed,

I know thou wouldest set but a step
And all the food to be sold,

Yet art thou both staunch and pure,

I know too, that thou skill'd and pardon,

And that greenest of the elves are betes.

Then compare the souls of the fairer sex!

I know thy former are studied and

Comparison of the world with a woman:

Or again the cleverest of women is apparent in this:

The dinner, and be the dining of us all,

But she is such as she might not bare

Peruse'd, and ponder'd if she were no more

I could not foresee her bold stand

Though the sign of all her sex, (the same

And that point'd out upon men kind-

than all indifferent made into one起来

Do not you make to know her, she is worse

how professed I am, or I should tell

Know I the woman; and you do see

The judgment of the authorities cited above. He says:
Other topics which are an index to the society of their times were treated by Horace and Jonson. These have no direct relation, but are included because of the satiric element found in them. In these particular instances the satire is aimed at the tendencies of a particular time, whereas the previous ones were of a more universal application. Thus in Horace's writings can be found many references to Stoicism while in Jonson the problems of poisoning, alchemy, and Puritanism are treated.

Drawing whatever suited him from the philosophies which came in from Greece, Horace swore allegiance to no school of philosophic thought. A man of his temperament -- full of the joy of living -- was unable to adhere to the austerity of Stoic teaching, and he is found ridiculing some of the Stoic paradoxes of his day. That all men but the philosophers are slaves is the topic in the seventh satire in the Second Book. Davus, the slave, talking with his master, opens with a moral sermon on inconsistency in virtue. Better than this is the steadiness in vice which he illustrates in the example of the gambler who, because gout so stiffened his fingers that he was unable to pick up the dice, hired somebody to do this for him. There is comedy in this little dialogue which satirizes the Stoic whose diatribes the poet imitates. It may also be considered a satire on the egotism of people who set themselves up as authorities to explain half-truths which they only half-
understand. Actually Davus was merely reporting lessons of wisdom which a servant of Crispinus had overheard at his master's door, and therefore was expounding doctrines about which he knew very little. In another sermon Horace is speaking with Damasippus, a man who has been converted to Stoicism by the maxim that all men except the wise are insane. This doctrine gives Horace an opportunity to ridicule the airs and manners of the Stoic preachers of his age. But here too, in the longest of his satires, the poet employs a light humorous vein. Thinking he is exempt from all categories of insanity, he turns the laugh upon himself when he allows Davus to tell him to what class of fools he belongs. The slave, by right of the privileges given to him during the Saturnalia, tells him that he, in aping greater men, is like the frog who tried to swell into the ox's size, that he writes verses, and that he has a terrible temper. At last Horace ends the dialogue with: "O maior tandem parcas, insane, minori" (O, greater one, spare, I pray, the lesser madman). In this satire the Stoic paradox has been changed to fit the poet's purpose. In stealing the wares of the Stoics, Horace is as clever as Mercury was in his theft from Apollo. By skillful maneuvering, Horace has brought the Stoic to his

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1Horace Serm., ii. 3.
2Ibid., line 326.
3Horace Carm., 1. 10. 9-12.
Ananda and made me wear this cursed suite to-day.

My wife comes to me, lasts! and changes the cup?

How God forbid! Oh me! I remember how

be poisoned. Jealousy prompts Kitty to examine

husband's clothes or even the wine he drank at dinner that

when merrily suggests to the former, and that her

common vice of the day. In it, Kitty becomes very unformed,

Johnson could not have incorporated into this dream a more

year, two men were hanged for poisoning the queen's saddle.

upon the queen's own letter from 1794 to 1796, and in the letter

poisoning her Esteems. In fact, many attempts were made

Removal here? Queen of Scots? In the Tetten穰tion by

In those days too, Elizabeth heretofore was deemed for not

man who had distanced the virtuous of women for Leterston.

physician-in-chief to Queen Elizabeth was named as the

a perpetual louder at this time, Doctor Fry-Jones, who was

was quite an art in the days of Elizabeth, and the use

times is found in every man in this hundred. Poisoning

one of the most characteristic traits of Jonson's

can place mid the crowd of men.
See, if heav'n suffer murder undiscover'd!
I feel me ill; give me some mithridate.
Some mithridate and oile.¹

Apprehensively he continues, imagining that he feels the poison beginning to operate upon him. This, in Jonson's day, was no idle fear, and people were kept in a constant state of agitation by the ever-present dread of poisoning.

Still another drama of Jonson's which reflects a true image of the time is The Alchemist. The background for this play is a contemporary superstition. In 1610 the claims of the alchemists were respected by the Courts of Europe,² and both the wise and ignorant were haunted by dreams of transmuting baser metals to gold. So the alchemist, pretending knowledge of the philosopher's stone by which such marvels could be brought about, was a well-known figure in Ben's day. The drama is a detailed exposure of an obsolete art. Jonson rebukes the deception and satirizes the follies which give knaves such as Subtle, Face, and Dol an opportunity to prey upon such people as Sir Epicure Mammon, a rich man drawn to them by dreams of greater wealth, Dapper a clerk, hoping to secure a spirit that will bring him luck and make him a successful gamester, Drugger the tobacconist inquiring how to build his shop so that he may be lucky in his trade, Tribulation, Wholesome,

¹Ben Jonson, Every Man in His Humour, IV. viii.
²William Gifford, op. cit., II. 2.
and Ananias, the Puritans from Amsterdam preparing to deal with the powers of darkness in the interest of their church. Essentially Jonson is describing forms of imposture which continue as long as the mysteries of nature continue, and there are unscrupulous persons to exploit them for their own profit. Jonson ends this play ironically with the ablest villain successfully outwitting the rest and making peace with authority.

In Ben's day the Puritans were attacking stage plays as a corrupting influence upon the populace. Tragedies, they decided, were examples of murders and treacheries which honest citizens should not have set before them, while comedies showed nothing but intrigue and wantonness. Therefore they declared that plays were the avowed enemies of virtue and religion. In October, 1616, Ben wrote *Bartholomew Fair* which expressed his attitude toward Puritanism. In this play one finds the best parallel to the humor of Horace. There is nothing bitter in it; Jonson is tolerant as he looks upon the common life of the time. Iniquities are neither condoned nor condemned, but somehow the zealous zeal-of-the-land Busy becomes the inconsistent Puritan who at one time exhorts his company not to look at the vendors or showmen because their wares are "the wares of the devils and the whole Fair is the shop of Satan", and at another time devours two and a half

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pigs and drinks a "pailful". Zeal-of-the-land Busy attacks Lanthorn Leatherhead, a hobby-horse seller, but the latter says that his show has been licensed by the Master of the Revels. But the Puritan concept of all plays is indicated in the answer given by Busy, the fanatic religionist:

The Master of (the) Rebells hand, thou hast; Satan's; hold thy peace, thy securility, shut vp thy mouth, thy profession is damnable, and in pleading for it, thou dost plead for Baal. I have long open-ed my mouth wide, and gaped, I have gaped as the oyster for the tide, after thy destruction: but cannot compass it by suit, or dispute; so that I looke for a bickering, are long, and then a battell.1

This is satire on the jargon of the Puritans in their public prayers and preaching.2 In the last sentence of the quotation there is also a prediction of the events which are to come to England. This drama was an attack upon the hypocrisy and ignorance of the persecutors of the stage.

Both Horace and Jonson through the medium of satire paint a picture of the types of people of their own times. Some of the characters are peculiar to Rome or to England, but yet the type of person or the folly personified is universal. Both Jonson and Horace had noble aims in view, and each tried to cope with the maladies of his

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1Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, V. v. 19-25.

2Francis Cunningham in The Works of Ben Jonson quotes Barchard in his Contempt of the Clergy: "Our souls are constantly gaping after thee, O Lord, yea verily, our souls do gape even as an oyster gapeth".
own generation. They wanted to teach their audience to improve its morals and to correct its taste. Mankind interested both of these authors, and consequently both drew types to interest mankind. Human nature is analyzed by them, and their shrewd observance of the activities of man resulted in their leaving true pictures of their own times. Though Horace and Jonson sometimes differed in method, each adhered to the fundamental idea of teaching through his literary works.
CHAPTER IV

HORACE AND BEN JONSON AS LITERARY CRITICS

Classical plainness plus a repudiation of literary affectations distinguished Ben Jonson from his contemporaries. His genius was not of the true Elizabethan form, and the fantastic comedies, romantic tragedies, and the histories of England being written by his fellow dramatists such as Marston, Dekker, Fletcher, Beaumont, and Shakespeare, were beyond his sphere. Ben was the champion of "art", and his realism left no room for romance. His own high regard for old writers such as Horace, Martial, Juvenal, Seneca the elder, and Quintilian, can be traced in all his literary legacy to posterity. According to his theory one need only add his own experience to the observations of the ancients to enrich his composition.¹ Knowledge he ranked with wisdom and truth, and for the "Scio\l", busy in the "outsides of learning", he had nothing but contempt. His own counsel is veiled under the wisdom of the ancients, and his subject matter is restricted

¹Ben Jonson, "Timber or Discoveries", op. cit., p. 13.

²Ibid., p. 9.

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by the classical ideal of speaking of common things. His writings, for the most part, combine unimaginative, commonplace ideas with pure taste, sobriety, and proportion. The unknown depths of the soul, the godlike heights of speculation, the research along untrodden paths were not within his realm. To establish more firmly the principles and characteristics of a literary art based on Greek and Roman literature as a standard was his purpose in the role of writer and critic. In short, as Tucker Brooke says of Jonson: "He has set himself to express his judgments of modern matters in English sentences of completely Roman compactness and economy". 1

Thus championing the cause of the ancients, Ben Jonson naturally found a wealth of material in Horace's contribution to literary criticism. The Roman poet was a man of letters, and one of his chief interests was the improvement and reform of Latin poetry. In connection with the teaching he received in Rome he mentions that he studied the poems of Livius Andronicus and speaks of having read the Iliad 2 before he went to the university at Athens. Here he probably attended the lectures of Cratippus the Peripatetic, and Theonnestus the Academician, and acquired

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2Horace Epist. II. 2. 41-42.
his knowledge of their doctrines in addition to studying Archilochus and Alcasus.\(^1\) In later life too he alludes to his reading of Eupolis, Plato, and Menander,\(^2\) the Greek poets who represented the Old, Middle, and New Comedy respectively. Also he mentions Cratinus and Aristophanes as "true poets",\(^3\) so they were among the Greek writers with whom he was familiar. This close acquaintance with the best of Greek models\(^4\) led him to advocate a classical standard to those who would listen to his advice, and to condemn those falling short of it. He himself was convinced of the greatness of his predecessors, though he was not blind to their defects,\(^5\) and like Jonson looked upon them as "Guides, not Commanders".\(^6\) Already the quarrel between the ancients and moderns\(^7\) had begun, and Horace is found

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\(^1\)Paul Shorey and Gordon J. Laing, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. x-xi.
\(^2\)*Horace Serm.*, ii. 3. 11-12.
\(^3\)*Ibid.*, i. 4. 1.
\(^5\)*Horace Serm.*, i. 10. 54-71
\(^6\)Ben Jonson, "Timber or Discoveries," *op. cit.*, p. 10.
\(^7\)Horace protests against those who can see no good in the moderns. He says it is envy of contemporary merit that accounts for undue praise of the old writers and depreciation of the new. He himself would deal fairly with older Latin writers, and he assumes the greatness of the early Greeks. But he saw that the favor and the feeling of the old writers were not enough to produce immortal works like those produced by the genius of Greece. The work that had to be done in his time was to find the mastery of form, rhythm, style, proportion, and moderation which would secure for Romans a passport to immortality which had been secured for masterpieces of Greek literature. Cf. *Epist.*, ii. 1. 76-79
relating the development of Roman literature from the time

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latino. 1

("Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive and brought the arts into rustic Latium").

In the seventeenth century a similar controversy over the merits of modern and older writers broke forth, and Jonson set himself up as a critic just as Horace had in his age.

Though time proves the capriciousness of literary opinion, critics in every age hope to find the touchstone by which their opinions may become infallible. Literary men, styling themselves critics, grope for an undiscoverable law to judge contemporary or near-contemporary writers, and hope to set up rules which will offer the possibility of immortality to writers. Yet some writers who have set up "monuments more lasting than bronze" have often been misjudged or overlooked by critics of their own age. Other writers who have been given the bays by their friends have glided into oblivion, and their monuments have been swept away by the sands of time. Even a man who is considered as the Critic par excellence erred in his judgment of his own contemporaries. 2 Thus the blunders of critics themselves have become notorious, and time alone becomes the final judge of literary worth.

1Horace Epist., ii. 1. 156-157.

From this point of view Horace and Ben Jonson prove neither better nor worse critics than men in succeeding ages. Their critical judgments were passed favorably upon some authors whose works have survived the onslaught of time, favorably upon some whom succeeding ages have deemed of little worth, and unfavorably upon some who have come down in literary history as writers of immortal works.

Probably the most often repeated comment of Ben Jonson's was his appraisal of William Shakespeare:

I remember, the Players have often mentioned it as honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing, (Whatsoever he penned) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted. And to justifie mine owne candor, (for I lov'd the man, and doe honour his memory (on this side Idolatry) as much as any.) Hee was (indeed) honest, and of an open, and free nature: had an excellent Phanteisie; brave notions, and gentle expressions: where-in hee flow'd with that facility, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop'd: Sufflaminandus erat: as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his owne power; would the rule of it had beene so too. Many times hee fell into those things, could not escape laughter: As when hee said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him: Caesar thou dost me wrong. He replied: Caesar did never wrong, but with just cause: and such like, which were ridiculous. But hee redeemed his vices, with his vertues. There was ever more in him to be praysed, then to be pardoned.¹

Thus it was that Jonson with his strong classical leanings attacked the irregularities and the carelessness of the English bard whose works secured his immortality. Likewise other authors of his time were the targets for his

¹Ben Jonson "Timber: or Discoveries", op. cit., pp. 28-29.
remarks condemning diffusiveness and formlessness: Spenser and euphuisms, Montaigne and essays in general. Similarly he attacked other writers by referring to them as

Tamerlanes, and Tamer-chams, of the late age, which had nothing in them but the scenicall strutting, and furious vociferation, to warrant them then to the ignorant gapers.1

But for Francis Bacon, Jonson had the highest praise and speaks of him as a writer "who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred to insolent Greece or haughty Rome".2

In the same fashion Horace treats his contemporaries and other Latin writers. Concerning the merits of his friends, his judgment has sometimes been erroneous, but most notable of his correct judgments were his remarks upon Vergil. In one of his Epistles Horace reminds Augustus that Vergil's Aeneid is a credit to the Emperor's selection of him as a man to write an epic depicting the greatness of Rome.3 Previously he had praised Vergil for the simplicity and charm found in the Elegies.4 Before he had read the Aeneid he had placed Rufus Varus in the foremost rank among epic bards,5 but he recognized the

1Ben Jonson, "Timber or Discoveries," op. cit., p. 33.
2Ibid., pp. 37-38
3Horace Epist., ii. 1. 245.
4Horace Serm., i. 10. 44-45
5Ibid., lines 43-44.
Remain a debatable question since the attention is directed
whether these were added to the preparation of Catullus or not

In Troiae Carmina and Carmina
never read, nor that age, whose skill the society
interprets them—writers from the top Hermogenes has
who wrote the comedies more successfully, therefore we should
effectually than Catullus. Therefore these Great men

Horace thus mentions Catullus;
discussing the style by which old writers had won success.
In many have had him in mind in two additional remarks. In
poets, yet Horace mentions him repeatedly only once, and
the historians were one of the most prominent of the pre-Augustan
verdant of topes and composed in a variety of meters, and
directly Catullus extant works were written upon
were accessible to Horace but he never mentions them

On the other hand, the three poems of Catullus were
introduced by time.

In this instance Horace's judgment of VERTILIA has not been
assumed cannot judge the works of his friends impartially
and though a critic
ship of both these men through whose influence he had been
superiority of VERTILIA's Genius. Horace rendered the friend-
against *simitus iste*, a man named Demetrius who is otherwise unknown. Nevertheless the tone is slighting toward Catullus. Perhaps for political reasons it was better for Horace to maintain a discreet silence, or perhaps he had just a tinge of human jealousy whereby he was reluctant to concede that Catullus was a great lyricist. Horace had claimed for himself the distinction of introducing lyric measures to Rome and thus had ignored the works of Catullus. But again he clarified this assertion by saying that he was the one who first introduced Alcaeus to Rome. As Catullus had written no Alcaic measures, this latter statement may indicate that there was no opposition toward Catullus on the part of Horace. Authorities differ in opinion as to whether or not Horace opposed Catullus and if so, upon what grounds. Yet the fact remains that there are few references to Catullus in Horace and definitely no outspoken praise of him.

About his other predecessors Horace was more explicit. In giving a summary of conventional literary

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1Morris *Ad Serm.*, 1. 10. 79
2Horace *Carm.*, iii. 30. 8-14.
3Horace *Epist.*, 1. 19. 25 ff.
opinions of the day he says the public refer to Ennius as *sapiens et fortis* ("wise and valiant"), and he also recalls that Lucilius had called Ennius *alter Homerus* ("a second Homer").¹ Public opinion thought highly of writers such as Naevius, Pacuvius, Plautus, and Terence, but Horace says:

Interdum volgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.  
*Si vetere* *s* *ita miratur landatque poetas,*  
Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.²

("At times the public see straight; sometimes they make mistakes. If they admire the ancient poets and cry them up so as to put nothing above them, nothing on their level, they are wrong".)

Then continuing his contrast between the treatment of living writers and of those no longer living, Horace states his own position as critic:

*Non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi*  
*Esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo*  
*Orbilius dicitcre; sed amenda videri*  
*Pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror,*  
*Inter quae verbum emiscit si forte decorum, et*  
*Si versus paulo concinnior unus et alter,*  
*Infuse totum ducit venditque poema.*³

("Mark you! I am not crying down the poems of Livius—I would not doom to destruction verses which I remember Ortilius of the rod dictated to me as a boy; but that they should be held faultless, and beautiful, and well-nigh perfect, amazes me. Among them, it may be a pleasing phrase shines forth, or one or two lines are somewhat better turned—then those unfairly carry off and sell the whole poem").

In speaking of Lucilius he says that the earlier writer

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¹Horace *Epist.* II. 1. 50.
²Ibid., lines 63-65.
³Ibid., lines 69-75.
was much too wordy and careless\textsuperscript{1} but later praises him for his wit\textsuperscript{2} and even goes so far as to say that Lucilius is a better man than himself.\textsuperscript{3}

In addition to critical evaluation of their predecessors and contemporaries, Horace and Jonson wrote for posterity what they considered the requisites of aspiring writers as well as standards to which they should adhere. The resemblance between their ideas is very marked and the Horatian flame bursts forth from Jonson in many instances. But just how closely he agreed with Horace has to be gleaned from his Discoveries, his prologues, inductions, notes to the readers, and the works themselves, although the systematic Jonson had written his observations on Horace his Art of Poetry. In his notes to the readers in Sejanus his Fall, he explains that the selection lacks a proper chorus because it is impossible to observe the old majestic setting:

Nor is it needful, or almost possible, in these Our Times, and to such Auditors, as commonly Things are presented, to observe the cold state, and splendour of Drammatick Poemes, with preservation of any popular delight. But of this I shall take more seasonable cause to speak; in my Observations uppon Horace his Art of Poetry which (with the Text translated) I intend, shortly to publish.

\textsuperscript{1}Horace Serm., i. 4. 11-13.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., i. 10. 1-4.
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., ii. 1. 28-29
To this opus on Horace, Jonson frequently alludes, and the literary world has reason to regret that it, along with the scholar's notes of "twice-twelve years" reading in the classics, was destroyed by the fire which consumed his study, as he tells in his *Execution upon Vulcan*:

All the old Venusine in Poetrie  
And lighted by the Stagirite, could spie,  
Was there made English:....

These comments and notes from Aristotle, plus the account of his journey to Scotland, an unfinished drama on Persephone, and a history of the reign of Henry V were irreplaceably lost, and only the text of the translation from Horace remained.

In the estimation of both authors the poet must be a man of genius, and if he lacks this, he becomes intolerable. To Horace there was no middle rank for a poet, because with him he associated both genius and a heavenly afflatus. He must be excellent by nature or he was no poet at all:

*Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque Magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.*

("If one has gifts inborn, if one has a soul divine and tongue of noble utterance, to such give the honor of that name.")

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2*Horace Epist.,* 11. 3. 372-373.
3*Horace Serm.,* 1. 4. 43-44.
In addressing one of the Fiscos he says: "Tu nihil invitas dices faciesve Minerva"¹ ("You will say nothing and do nothing against Minerva’s will"). Here he is reminding his friend that one should write only if he has a natural capacity for composing.

Native talent was likewise set up as the first requisite for a poet by Ben Jonson:

First, wee require in our Poet, or maker, (for that title our Language affords him, elegantly, with the Greeke) a goodness of naturall wit. For, whereas all other Arts consist of Doctrine, and Precepts: the Poet must bee able by nature, and instinct, to powre out the Treasure of his minde; and, as Seneca saith, Aliquando secundum Anascreontem insanire Jucundum esse: by which hee understands, the Poetical Rapture. And according to that of Plato: Frustra Poeticae fores sui compos pulsavit: And of Aristotle: Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit. Nec potest, grande aliquid, a supra casteros locui, nisti meta mens. Then it riseth higher, as by a devine instinct, when it conteynes common, and knowne conceptions. It uttereth somewhat above a mortall mouth. Then it gets a loft, and flies away with his Ryder, whether, before, it was doubtfull to ascend. This the Poets understood by their Helicon, Pegasus, or Parnassus; and this made Ovid to boast:

Est, Deus in nobis; agitante caelestis illo: Sedibus aethereis spiritus ille venit.

And Lipsius, to affirm: Scio, Poetam neminem praestantemuisse, sine parte quadam superiora divinae auras. And, hence it is, that the comming up of good Poets, (for I minde not mediocres, or imos is so thinne and rare among us; Every beggerly Corporation affords the state a Major, or two Bailiffs, yearly: but solus Rex, aut Poeta.

¹Horace Epist., ii. 3. 385. The phrase invitas Minerva is explained by Cicero, De Off. i. 31. 10, as meaning adversantes et repugnante natura. Cf. Fairclough, Ad Epist., ii. 386
non quotennis nascitur.  

Both agree that *ingenium* ("talent, genius") is indispensable to success, but to it must be added art, meaning training or education. Horace said it was often asked whether a praiseworthy poem was due to nature or art. In answer he says:

> ego nec studium sine divite vena,  
> Nec rude quid prosit video ingenium: alterius sic  
> Altera poscit opem res et confurat amic.

("For my part, I do not see of what avail is either study, when not enriched by Nature's vein, or native wit, if untrained; so truly does each claim the other's aid, and make with it a friendly league".)

Ben agrees that it is only when art and nature are combined that a poet can attain perfection. He quotes from the ancients when he says:

> It is the assertion of Tully If to an excellent nature, there happen an accession, or confirmation of Learning, and Discipline, there will then remain somewhat noble and singular. For, as Simylus saith to Stobaeus ... without Art, Nature can never bee Perfect; & without Nature, Art can clayme no being.

And again:

> But Arts and Precepts availe nothing, except nature be beneficciall, and ayding. And therefore these things are no more written to a dull disposition, then rules of husbandry to a barren Soyle. No precepts will profit a Fools; no more then beauty will the blind, or musike the deafe.

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1Ben Jonson, "Timber: or Discoveries", *op. cit.*, p. 91-92.  
2Horace *Epist.*, ii. 3. 409-411.  
3Ben Jonson, "Timber: or Discoveries", *op. cit.*, p. 94.  
4Ibid., p. 68.
To write well, the first essential is knowledge as both Horace and Ben agree, and this can be cultivated by reading the best authors. Horace recommended reading Greek models¹ and especially the matter set forth in "Socratic pages".² Ben likewise advises the aspiring poet:

But, that, which wee especially require in him is an exactnesse of Studie, and multiplicity of reading, which maketh a full man, not alone enabling him to know the History, or Argument of a Poeme, and to report it: but so to master the matter, and Stile, as to shew, hee knowes, how to handle, place or dispose of either, with elegancie, when need shall bee. And not thinke, hee can leape forth suddainely a Poet, by dreaming hee hath been in Parnassus, or, having washt his lips (as they say) in Helicon. There goes more to his making, then so.³

Ben also adds:

But, our Poet must beware, that, his Studie bee not only to learne of himself; for hee that shall affect to doe that, confesseth his ever having a Foole to his master. Hee must read many; but ever the best and choisest; those, that can teach him anything, he must ever account his masters, and reverence: among whom Horace, and (he that taught him) Aristotle, deserv'd to bee the first in estimation.⁴

Also the poet must be prepared to take endless care in composition. Both critics unquestionably spoke from experience as to the value of industry in writing, and both insist upon limae labor. Horace cautions the beginning

¹Horace Epist., ii. 3. 268-269; line 131 (Homer); line 79 (Archilochus); line 279 (Aeschylus).
²Ibid., line 310.
³Ben Jonson, "Timber: or Discoveries", op. cit., p. 94.
⁴Ibid., p. 95.
Saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint Scripturis, neque te ut miremur tIBia labore, Contentus paucis lectoribus.  

("Often must you turn your pen to erase, if you hope to write something worth reading, and you must not strive to catch the wonder of the crowd, but be content with the few as your readers.")

Likewise he speaks of the Roman who has tried to imitate Sophocles, Thespis, and Aeschylus, but who in his ignorance hesitates to blot.  

Again in writing to the sons of Piso he instructs them to condemn poems which:

\[
\text{non} \\
\text{Multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque} \\
\text{Praesectum deciens non castigavit ad unguem.} \\
\]

("Many a day and many a blot has not restrained and refined ten times over to the test of the close-cut nail.")

To Horace \textit{exercitatio} was so important that he felt that Rome's greatness in military achievement and renown would not exceed her place in the world of letters if her poets would give more time and attention to revision.  

Unceasing practice is also the keynote in En's advice to the potential poet:

\begin{quote}
If his wit will not arrive suddenly at the dignities of the Ancients, let him not fall out with it, quarrell, or be over hastily Angry: offer, to turn it away from Study, in a humor; but come to it again
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Horace Serm.}, i. 10. 72-74.
\item \textit{Horace Epist.}, ii. 1. 166 ff.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, 3. 222-224.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, 289-291
\end{itemize}
upon better cogitation; try an other time, with labour. If then it succeed not, cast not away the Quills, yet; nor scratch the Wainscott, beate not the poore Deske; but bring all to the forge, and file, againe; tourns it a newe. There is no Statute Law of the Kingdome bids you bee a Poet, against your will; or the first Quarter. If it come, in a yeares, or two, it is well. The common Rymers powre forth Verses, such as they are, (ex tempore) but there never come from them one Sense, worth the life of a Day....Indeed, things, wrote with labour, deserve to be so read, and will last their Age.¹

These lines remind one of Horace's remark concerning Lucilius who, he said,

> in hora saepe ducentos,  
> Ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno;²

("Often in an hour, as though a great exploit, he would dictate two hundred lines while standing, as they say, on one foot.")

According to Horace, Lucilius was one poet who had given neither time nor attention to his writings.

> Cum flueret luteulentus, erat quod tollere velles;  
> Garrulus atque piger scribendi ferrae labores,  
> Scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror.³

("In his muddy stream there was much that you would like to remove. He was wordy, and too lazy to put up with the trouble of writing—of writing correctly, I mean; for as to quantity, I let that pass.")

Thus Horace and Ben contended that art which supplements genius can be acquired by personal effort and study, and that the true poet may attain the bays with a combination of ingenium and patient industry.

In the aim of the poet Ben and Horace were in

¹Ben Jonson, "Timber: or Discoveries," op. cit., pp. 92-93.  
²Horace Serm., 1. 4. 9-10  
³Ibid., lines 11-13.
wholehearted agreement too. Jonson chose for his motto in *Volpone* the famous lines of Horace on the purpose of writing poetry:

> Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae<br> > Aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.¹

("Poets aim either to benefit, or to amuse, or to utter words at once both pleasing and helpful to life").

Likewise, in the first two lines of the Prologue to *Epistole*, Ben says:

> The ends of all, who for the scene doe write, are, or should be, to profit and delight.

Thus he paraphrases the lines of Horace which give the vote of all to the poet "qui miscuit utile dulci, Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo."² ("who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader").

Again Ben speaks on this same topic in the *Alchemist*:

> Though this pen<br> > Did never aim to griese, but better men;<br> > How e'er the age, he lives in, doth endure<br> > The vices that she breeds, about their cure.<br> > But when the wholesome remedies are sweet,<br> > And, in their working, gaine, and profit meet,<br> > He hopes to find no spirit so much diseas'd<br> > But will, with such faire correctives, he pleas'd."³

In the same spirit he explains to his hearers the kind of play *Bartholomew Fair* promises to be: "merry, and as full of

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¹Horace Epist., 11. 3. 333-334.
²Ibid., lines 343-344.
noise, as sport: made to delight all, and to offend none. Provided they have either, the wit, or the honesty to think well of themselves. This play is an example of the advice Horace gave in his sententious remark that "ridiculum acri/fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res". (Jesting often cuts hard knots more forcefully and effectively than gravity).

That a poet should function as a molder of morals is another criterion set up by Horace when he gives the duties and privileges of the poet in these lines:

Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat,
Torquet ab obscenis iam mune sermonibus aures,
Vox etiam pectus praecptis format amicis,
Asperitatis et invidiæ corrector et iure,
Rectæ facta referat, orientia tempora notis
Inruit exemplis, insper solatur et aegrum.3

("The poet fashions the tender, lisping lips of childhood; even then he turns the ear from unsavory words; presently too, he moulds the heart by kindly precepts, correcting roughness and envy and anger. He tells of noble deeds, equips the rising age with the famous examples, and to the helpless and sick at heart brings comfort").

This theory Horace puts into practice in the Odes, especially in Book III when he comes forward to instruct a Rome which is about to enter an altered world. Ben Jonson reiterates the sentiments of Horace in his dedication

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1Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, Induction, lines 82-84.
2Horace Serm., i. 10. 14-15.
3Horace Epist., ii. 1. 128-131.
to Volpone:

For, if men will impartially, and not a-squint, looke toward the offices and function of a Poet, they will easily conclude to themselves, the impossibility of any mans being the good Poet, without first being a good man. He that is said to be able to informe yung-men to all good disciplines, inflame growne-men to all vertues, kepe old-men in their best and supreme state, or as they decline to child-hood, recover them to their first strength; that comes forth the interpreter and arbiter of nature, a teacher of things divine, no less than humane, a master in manners; and can alone, (or with a few) effect the businesse of man-kind: this, I take him, is no subject for pride, and ignorance to exercise their rayling rhetorique upon.¹

Such examples then, prove that the ideas of the am and function of the poet were the same to Jonson and Horace. Horace had learned from Aristotle’s Poetics; Jonson had learned from Aristotle and Horace.

Consistency in characterization² was another literary canon Horace advocated and one which Jonson followed religiously in all his characters. His “humours” amount to the same thing as Horace’s decorum, and his characters are so consistently constructed that each bears out one trait only. His characters surely carry out Horace’s advice:

Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
Perfidus Ixion, Io vagae, tristis Creastes.
Si quid inexpertum scenae committis et aude
Personam formare novam, servetur ad iussum,

¹Ben Jonson, Volpone, Dedication, lines 20-31

²Aristotle, Poetics, trans. S.H. Butcher (Chicago, Illinois: Henry Regnery Company, 1949), Section xv, p. 22: “The fourth point is consistency; for even though the original character, who suggested the type, be inconsistent, still he must be consistently inconsistent.”
In the case of a poem, both require proportion and unity. In the
language of a house, the parts of a house must be taken as a whole
without regard to the structure. In the language of art, the parts of
any picture must be so knit together that
the whole is more than the sum of the parts. According to the theory
of Johnson in his Dictionary, "denatured to the utmost the
poet with a partner and a sculptor whose combined
works must be united and understood. The poet with a partner and a sculptor
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following passage he refers to the violation of unity of time:

Though needs make many Poets, and some such
As art, and nature have not betterd much;
Yet ours, for want, hath not so loud the stage.
As he dare serve th' ill customs of the age:
Or purchase your delight at such a rate,
As, for it, he himselfe must justly hate.
To make a child, now swaddled, to proceed
Man, and then shouts vp, in one beard and weeds
Past threescore yeeres: or with three rustic swords
And helpe of some few foot-and halfe foote words,
Fight over Yorke and Lancasters long iarres:
And in the tyring-house bring wounds, to scarres.¹

Horace had said that the work must be uniform² and cautioned the writer that

Qui variare cupidit res prodigaliter unam,
Delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.³

("The man who tries to vary a single subject in monstrous fashion is like a painter adding a dolphin to the woods, a boar to the waves").

The Aristotelian advice given by Horace was accepted by Ben Jonson. His love of clarity and system, in addition to his knowledge of the classics, drove him to types of characters with one dominant trait, and feeling that this should be the accepted method of characterization, he suggested it as the method to be followed in the portrayal of people in all plays.

Both have similar ideas on themes for comedies and

¹Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, Prologue, lines 1-16.
²Horace Epist., ii. 3. 23.
³Ibid., lines 29-30.
tragedies. Horace made the difference clear by illustrating that the feast of Thyestes was unfit to be told in the tone of the comic sock. Each style of writing, he thought, should follow the rules laid down for it. In like manner Jonson hopes that his audience will be pleased to see—

deeds and language, such as men do use,
And persons, such as comedy would choose,
When she would shew an image of the times,
And sport with human follies, not with crimes.2

Thus Jonson and Horace make the distinction between comedy and tragedy which is from the precept of Aristotle, who assigns the ridiculous as the immediate subject of comedy but makes the crimes of men the particular object of a tragic poet.3 Thus Jonson did not allow Volpone and Moxon the lofty strains of Catiline, nor does Sejanus appear in the guise of a comic person. Each keeps his own place according to the rules laid down by Horace and his predecessor.

The guidance of a competent judge was insisted upon by Jonson and Horace. The latter praises Quintilius as a frank and sincere critic and says to him:

Quintilio si quid recitares, "corrige, sodes,
Hoc, "alabat, "et hoc". melius te posse negares
Dis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat
Et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
Si defendere debilem quam vertere malles,
Nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanea,
Quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.4

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1Horace Epist., 11. 3. 69-92.
2Ben Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, Prologue lines 1-24.
4Horace Epist., 11. 3. 438-444.
("If you recited anything to Quintilius he would say: 'Correct this if you will, and this.' If you insisted, after two or three vain attempts, that you were not able to better the passage, he advised you to blot it out, and return your ill-shaped verses to the anvil. If you preferred defending your mistake to amend ing it, he would waste not a word more, would spend no fruitless toil, to prevent your loving yourself and your work alone without a rival.")

As far as Horace was concerned Quintilius had no peer and embodied all the qualities of honor, loyalty, and truth.

Using him as a model, Horace gives the function of the true critic:

Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertis,  
Culpabit duros, incomptis allinet atrum  
Transverso calamo sigum, ambitiosa recidet  
Ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,  
Arguet ambiguus dictum, mutanda notabit,  
Fiest Aristarchus; nec dicit: "Cur ego amicum  
Offendam in nugis?" Hae nugae serio ducet  
In mala derisum semel exceptumque sinister.

("An honest and sensible man will censure lifeless lines, he will find fault with harsh ones; if they are graceless, he will draw his pen across and smear them with a black stroke; he will cut away pretentious ornament; he will force you to flood the obscure with light, will question the doubtful phrase, will mark what should be changed, will prove an Aristarchus. He will not say, 'Why should I give offence to a friend about trifles?' These trifles will bring that friend into serious trouble, if once he has been laughed down and given an unlucky reception.")

To this passage Jonson refers in his Discoveries when he

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1Horace Carm., i. 74.

2The name of Aristarchus, famous as an Homeric scholar of Alexandria in the second century B.C., had become proverbial as that of a keen critic. Cf. Fairclough, Ad Epist., ii. 3. 452.

3Horace Epist., ii. 3. 445-452.
explains that the office of a true critic is not to
damne an innocent Syllabe but lay the words
together, and amend them; judge sincerely of the
Author and his matter, which is the signe of solid
and perfect learning in a man. Such was Horace an
Author of much Civilitie; and (if any one among the
heathen can be) the best master, both of vertue, and
wisdom; an excellent, and true judge upon cause and
reason; not because he thought so; but because he
knew so, out of use and experience.1

That good diction was also important for success-
ful writing was pointed out by Ben and Horace. Ben pre-
ferred "pure and neat Language...yet plaine and customary."2
to him the best style of writing combined lucid expression
with careful reasoning and clear thinking, or as he says:

The congruent, and harmonious fitting of parts
in a sentence, hath almost the fastening, and
force of knitting, and connection: As in stones
well squar'd, which will rise strong a great way
without mortar.3

Horace too advocates the use of common words put together
so skilfully that the familiar word produces an air of
novelty.4 That he thought a discreet coinage of words
should be allowed since usage is the law of speech is proved
by these lines:

Licuit semperque licebit
Signatum praesente nota producere nomen.5

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1Ben Jonson, "Timber: or Discoveries" op. cit.,
pp. 97-98.
2Ibid., p. 78.
3Ben Jonson, "Discoveries", op. cit., p. 76.
4Horace Epist., ii. 3. 46-48.
5Ibid., lines 58-59,
Horace emphasizes the thought that, in spite of a critic's advice to a poet, the forms of speech are not determined by an individual but by usage, "quem penes arbitrium est et ius, et norma loquendi",\(^1\) ("within whose power lies the judgment, the right, and the standard of speech"). Thus Ben and Horace agreed that the language of poetry should be written as far as possible in the language used and understood by those who read it. Evidently both recognized that poets do not write for poets alone, but for men. As Horace said:

\[
\text{mortalia facta peribunt,}
\]
\[
\text{sedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.}^2
\]

("The achievements of men pass; still less may endure the repute and charm of modes of speech").

Horace and Jonson commented also on the attitude of the audience and its acceptance of the dramas which were staged in their times. Horace relates that the audience has degenerated to the point that it listens no longer for the noble words but takes delight in seeing troops of soldiers and horses passing by, or kings being dragged in. Or in the middle of a play the audience calls for "a bear or for boxers" since it seems these are the things the rabble prefers.\(^3\) Comparable to this is Jonson's descrip-

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\(^1\)Horace Epist., 11. 5. 72
\(^2\)Ibid., lines 68-69
\(^3\)Ibid., 1. 182-193
tion of the state of the theatre in his day. He says:

If thou art one that tak'st vp, and but a Pre-
tender, beware of what hands thou receiv'st thy com-
modities; for thou wert neuer more fair in the way
to be cos'n'd (then in this Age) in Poetry, especially
in Playes: wherein, now the Concupiscence of Daunces
and of antickes so raigneth, as to runne away from
Nature, and be afraid of her, is the onely point of
art that tickles the Spectators...For they commend
Writers as they doe Fencers or Wrestlers; who if they
come in robustuously, and put for it with a great deal
of violence, are receiv'd for the brauer fellowes;
when many times their own rudenesse is the cause of
their disgrace, and a little touch of their Adversary
gives all that boisterous force the foyle...But I
give thee this warning, that there is a great dif-
fERENCE between those, that (to gain the opinion of
Copie) utter all they can, how ever unfitly; and those
that use election and a meane. For it is only the
disease of the unskillfull to thinke rude things great-
er then polish'd; or scatter'd more numerous then
compos'd.1

He addresses the audience again and asks it to make
a difference between "Poetique elues and Poets", and advises
that all who "dabble in the inke and defile quills" are not
poets.2 Such were the writers whom Ben Jonson censured. To
him nothing was more preposterous than to praise as the
best writings those "which a man would scarce vouchsafe to
wrap any wholesome drug in; he would never light his
tobacco with them".3 This remark reminds one of Horace's
statement that sooner or later the work of a poor poet is
found worthless, and that his books will serve as wrapping

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1Ben Jonson, The Alchemist. To The Reader, lines 1-6; 15-21; 30-35.
paper for "tus et odores et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis"¹ ("frankincense and perfumes and pepper and everything else that is wrapped in sheets of useless paper"). Time then, according to Horace and Ben, is the best judge of worth.

Thus in Jonson's writings can be found many of the ideas Horace had in De Arte Poetica and his other writings on literary criticism. Both authors are appealing for a fuller consciousness of the poet's mission. Both are inculcating obedience to certain standards of writing, and advocating unwavering care in composition. With the poet both associate genius, inspiration, and impeccable style. Horace's ideas are so merged in Jonson that at times it is difficult to separate them from the English writer's own ideas. For these reasons the following commendatory poem is fitting for Ben Jonson in reference to his use of Horace:

'Twas not enough, Ben Jonson, to be thought
Of English poets best, but to have brought,
In greater state, to their acquaintance, one
Made equal to himself and thee; that none
Might be thy second: while thy glory is
To be the Horace of our times and his.²

¹Horace Epist. II. 1. 269-270.
CONCLUSION

In such ways, then, as I have pointed out, are found the similarities between Horace and Ben Jonson. Within their early lives were molding influences which determined the development of the men themselves. Horace's education under the moral guidance of his father led him to keep observation of men and manners while the intellectual guidance of the best teachers of Rome and Greece developed in him a desire for the most exact kind of writing. In turn, Horace himself became one of the greatest influences upon the writing of Ben Jonson. The latter's teacher, William Camden, had laid the foundation upon which Jonson's love of Horace and his imitation of the Roman poet grew. Within their very lives were some parallels, more or less marked, but the final test of their relation to each other must be judged by the poetry each wrote. The unmistakable Horatian quality if found throughout Ben Jonson's works. Much of the content of Horace is also found in Jonson: his ideas, his sentiments, his purpose in writing, his rules for good writing. Jonson's poetry, therefore, is the torch which carries the flame of Horace's genius to succeeding ages, and the echoes of the Latin bard are nowhere in greater abundance than in the works of the great English classicist.

-104-
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-107-


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