

Dryden



THE POEMS OF JOHN DRYDEN

VOLUME FOUR 1693–1696

Edited by Paul Hammond and David Hopkins

Longman Annotated English Poets

GENERAL EDITOR: JOHN BARNARD

FOUNDING EDITOR: F. W. BATESON

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THE POEMS OF
JOHN DRYDEN

– Volume IV –

1693–1696

EDITED BY
PAUL HAMMOND
AND
DAVID HOPKINS

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2000 by Pearson Education Limited

Published 2013 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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ISBN 13: 978-0-582-42384-8 (hbk)

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

Typeset by 35 in 10/11.5pt Bembo

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Preface

For acknowledgements and an account of editorial procedures pertaining to this volume please see the Preface to Volume III.

Paul Hammond and David Hopkins

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Plate 4. Title page of *An Ode, on the Death of Mr. Henry Purcell* (London, 1696), from a copy in Leeds University Library. Reproduced by permission of the Librarian.

Chronological Table of Dryden's Life and Publications

For documentation and further details see Winn, Macdonald and *Letters*.

- 1631 (9 August) D. born at Aldwinckle, Northamptonshire, the son of Erasmus Dryden and Mary Pickering; brought up in the nearby village of Titchmarsh; probably educated initially at the village school.
- 1644 Possible date of D.'s entry to Westminster School, London (scholars' conjectures range from 1642 to 1646).
- 1649 Publication of *Lachrymae Musarum*, a collection of elegies on the death of Lord Hastings, to which D. contributed.
- 1650 Admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, as a Westminster scholar; his tutor was John Templer.
Contributes commendatory verses to John Hoddesdon's *Sion and Parnassus*.
- 1652 (19 July) D. punished by the Master and Seniors for his (unspecified) disobedience to the Vice-Master.
(August) D. writes 'Carmen Lapidarium' on the death of John Smith.
- 1654 (February) D. graduates BA and subsequently leaves Cambridge.
(June) Death of D.'s father, Erasmus (buried 14 June). He leaves D. a farm, but insufficient income to make him financially independent.
- 1657 (19 October) D. signs a receipt for £50 from John Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary of State; how long he had been employed by the government is not known, but he was probably introduced by his cousin Sir Gilbert Pickering, Cromwell's Lord Chamberlain.
- 1657–60 D. has some form of employment with the bookseller Henry Herringman during these years, and may have written occasional prefaces and advertisements for books published by him.
- 1658 (3 September) Death of Cromwell.
(23 November) D. walks in Cromwell's funeral procession along with Milton and Marvell as the Secretaries of the French and Latin Tongues.
- 1659 (January) *Heroic Stanzas* printed in *Three Poems Upon the Death of his late Highness Oliver*.
- 1660 D. contributes a commendatory poem to Sir Robert Howard's *Poems*; he is lodging with Howard in London at around this time.

- (*May*) Restoration of the monarchy and return of Charles Stuart as King Charles II.
 (*June*) Publication of *Astraea Redux*.
- 1661 (*April*) Publication of *To His Sacred Majesty* on the coronation.
- 1662 (*January*) Publication of *To My Lord Chancellor*.
 (*September*) Publication of commendatory verses in Walter Charleton's *Chorea Gigantum* (dated 1663).
 (*19 November*) D. elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (proposed by Charleton).
- 1663 (*5 February*) First performance of D.'s first play, *The Wild Gallant*, at the Theatre Royal, Vere Street; subsequently performed at court *23 February*, probably due to the influence of Lady Castlemaine; D.'s verses 'To the Lady Castlemaine' (circulated in MS) may date from this occasion, or from the play's printing in 1669.
 (*1 December*) D. marries Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, and sister of Sir Robert Howard.
 Late in 1663 or early in 1664 *The Rival Ladies* performed at the Theatre Royal, Bridges Street.
- 1664 (*January*) *The Indian Queen* performed at the Theatre Royal; first recorded performance on *25 January* in the presence of the King.
 (*c. November*) *The Rival Ladies* published.
- 1665 (*February/March*) *The Indian Emperor* performed at the Theatre Royal.
 (*March*) *The Indian Queen* published in Sir Robert Howard's *Four New Plays*.
 (*5 June*) London theatres close because of the plague. Around this time D. leaves with his wife for her father's country estate at Charlton, Wiltshire. During his year at Charlton D. works on *Secret Love*, *Of Dramatic Poesy* and *Annus Mirabilis*.
- 1666 (*27 August*) D.'s first son, Charles, born.
 (*2-5 September*) Fire of London.
 (*November*) London theatres reopen.
 (*November/December*) Likely date for the performance of the revised version of *The Wild Gallant*, with a new Prologue and Epilogue.
- 1667 (*January*) *Annus Mirabilis* published.
 (*March*) *Secret Love* performed at the Theatre Royal.
 (*15 August*) *Sir Martin Mar-All* performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
 (*Autumn*) *Of Dramatic Poesy* and *The Indian Emperor* published.
 (*7 November*) *The Tempest* performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
- 1668 D.'s second son, John, born.
 (*January*) *Secret Love* published.
 (*February*) 'Prologue to *Albumazar*' spoken.
 (*13 April*) D. appointed Poet Laureate.

- (*Spring*) D. signs contract with the King's Company to write three plays a year in return for a share of the profits.
 (12 *June*) *An Evening's Love* performed at the Theatre Royal.
 (*Autumn*) *Sir Martin Mar-All* published. Shadwell's *The Sullen Lovers* published with a preface attacking D.'s remarks on Jonson. Sir Robert Howard's *The Duke of Lerma* published with a preface attacking D.'s views on the use of rhyme in plays. D. replies in 'A Defence of An Essay of Dramatic Poesy' prefixed to the second edition of *The Indian Emperor* (*early September*).
- 1669 (*Spring*) *The Wild Gallant* published.
 (2 *May*) D.'s third son, Erasmus-Henry, born.
 (*June*) *Tyrannic Love* performed at the Theatre Royal.
- 1670 (*c. February*) *The Tempest* published.
 (18 *August*) D. appointed Historiographer Royal.
 (*Autumn*) *Tyrannic Love* published.
 (*December*) *The First Part of The Conquest of Granada* performed at the Theatre Royal.
- 1671 (*January*) *The Second Part of The Conquest of Granada* performed at the Theatre Royal.
 (*c. February*) *An Evening's Love* published.
 (*November*) *Marriage A-la-Mode* performed at the Theatre Royal.
 (7 *December*) First performance of Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*, in which D. is satirized as Mr Bayes.
- 1672 The song 'Farewell, fair Armida' appears in various printed miscellanies.
 (25 *January*) Theatre Royal destroyed by fire.
 (*February*) *The Conquest of Granada* published.
 (26 *February*) 'Prologue to *Wit without Money*' spoken.
 (*Summer: after 4 July*) 'Prologue and Epilogue to *Secret Love*, Spoken by the Women'.
 (*Summer or Autumn*) *The Assignation* performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
- 1673 (*Spring*) 'Prologue to *Aviragus* revived' spoken. Probable date of first performance of *Amboyna*. D.'s poems and plays extensively attacked in *The Censure of the Rota* and *The Friendly Vindication*; he is defended in *Mr Dreyden Vindicated* and *A Description of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi*.
 (*June*) *Marriage A-la-Mode* and *The Assignation* published.
 (*July*) 'Prologue and Epilogue at Oxford' spoken.
 (*Autumn*) *Amboyna* published.
- 1674 *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco* published (written jointly by D., Crowne and Shadwell).
 (26 *March*) 'Prologue and Epilogue Spoken at the Opening of the New House'.
 (*Spring*) *The State of Innocence* written, but not staged, because of the expense.

- 1675 (July) 'Prologue and Epilogue at Oxford' spoken.
(February) Epilogue written for a performance of *Calisto* at court.
(17 November) *Aureng-Zebe* performed at Drury Lane.
(Winter) Rochester's *An Allusion to Horace* (which includes an attack on D.) circulates in MS.
- 1676 (February) *Aureng-Zebe* published.
(11 March) 'Epilogue to *The Man of Mode*' spoken.
(June) Death of D.'s mother (buried 14 June).
(July) 'Prologue at Oxford' spoken. Publication of Shadwell's *The Virtuoso*; its Dedication has an implicit attack on D.
(July/August) *Mac Flecknoe* composed, and put into circulation in MS.
- 1677 (February) *The State of Innocence* published.
(12 May) 'Prologue to *Circe*' spoken.
(Autumn) 'To Mr Lee, on his *Alexander*' published in Lee's *The Rival Queens*. D. writes 'Heads of an Answer to Rymer' on the endpapers of Thomas Rymer's *The Tragedies of the Last Age* (1677).
(December) *All for Love* performed at the Theatre Royal.
- 1678 (c. February) 'Epilogue to *Mithridates*' spoken.
(11 March) *The Kind Keeper* performed at Dorset Garden.
(March) 'Prologue to *A True Widow*' spoken. *All for Love* published.
(Autumn) *Oedipus* (by D. and Lee) performed at Dorset Garden.
- 1679 (March) *Oedipus* published.
(c. April) *Troilus and Cressida* performed at Dorset Garden.
(July) 'Prologue at Oxford' spoken.
(Summer) 'Prologue to *Caesar Borgia*' spoken.
(Autumn) *Troilus and Cressida* published by Tonson, marking the beginning of his association with D. *The Kind Keeper* published (dated 1680).
(c. December) 'Prologue to *The Loyal General*' spoken.
(18 December) D. attacked and badly injured in Rose Alley, probably because he was thought to have a hand in Mulgrave's *An Essay upon Satire*.
- 1680 (February) *Ovid's Epistles* published, with Preface and three translations by D.
(July) 'Prologue at Oxford' spoken.
(November) *The Spanish Friar* performed at Dorset Garden.
- 1681 (c. February) 'Epilogue to *Tamerlane the Great*' spoken.
(March) *The Spanish Friar* published.
(19 March) 'Epilogue Spoken to the King' at the Oxford Parliament.
(Spring) 'Prologue and Epilogue to *The Unhappy Favourite*' spoken.
(June) *His Majesties Declaration Defended* published.

- (July) 'Prologue at Oxford' spoken.
 (October) 'Prologue and Epilogue spoken at *Mithridates*'.
 (November) *Absalom and Achitophel* published, followed by many rejoinders.
- 1682 (February) 'Prologue and Epilogue to *The Loyal Brother*' spoken.
 (15/16 March) *The Medal* published, followed by rejoinders.
 (21 April) 'Prologue to His Royal Highness' spoken.
 (May) Publication of *The Medal of John Bayes*, an outspoken attack on D., probably by Shadwell.
 (31 May) 'Prologue to the Duchess' spoken.
 (July) *The Duke of Guise* ready for performance, but banned by the Lord Chamberlain.
 (October) *Mac Flecknoe* printed in a pirated edition.
 (November) *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel* published. *Religio Laici* published. 'Prologue and Epilogue to the King and Queen' spoken.
 (28 November) *The Duke of Guise* performed at the Theatre Royal.
 (c. December) 'Prologue and Epilogue to *The Princess of Cleves*' spoken.
- 1683 Song 'High state and honours' printed in *Choice Ayres and Songs*.
 (February) *The Duke of Guise* published, followed by pamphlets attacking it.
 (Spring) *The Vindication of The Duke of Guise* published.
 (May) Vol. I of *Plutarch's Lives* published, containing D.'s 'Life of Plutarch'.
 (Autumn) Soame's *The Art of Poetry* published, with revisions by D.
- 1684 (November) 'Epilogue to *Constantine the Great*' spoken.
 'To the Earl of Roscommon' published in Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse*. 'To Mr L. Maidwell' written and left in MS. First version of *King Arthur* composed.
 (February) *Miscellany Poems* published, with contributions by D.
 (March) Probable date of D.'s letter to Laurence Hyde, asking for help in securing payment of his salary.
 (April) 'Prologue to *The Disappointment*' spoken.
 (July) *The History of the League* published.
 (Autumn) 'To the Memory of Mr Oldham' published in Oldham's *Remains*. *Albion and Albanus* staged before the King.
- 1685 (January) *Sylvae* published, with contributions by D.
 (6 February) Death of Charles II; accession of James II.
 (March) *Threnodia Augustalis* published.
 (3 June) Revised version of *Albion and Albanus* performed at Dorset Garden.
 (11 June) Duke of Monmouth lands at Lyme Regis; defeated at the Battle of Sedgemoor (6 July), and executed (15 July).

- (*Summer*) Publication of commendatory verses in Northleigh's *The Triumph of our Monarchy*.
- (*November*) Publication of 'To the Pious Memory of Mrs Anne Killigrew' in her *Poems* (dated 1686).
- 1686 D.'s conversion to the Church of Rome is not precisely datable, but probably occurred in 1685; on 19 January 1686 Evelyn recorded: 'Dryden the famous play-poet & his two sonns, & Mrs Nelle (Misse to the late . . .) were said to go to Masse; & such purchases were no greate losse to the Church.'
D. contributes to *A Defence of the Papers*, a work defending papers on Catholicism attributed to Charles II and Anne Hyde.
- 1687 (*May*) *The Hind and the Panther* published. D. says in the address 'To the Reader' that it had been written 'during the last Winter and the beginning of this Spring; though with long interruptions of ill health, and other hindrances'.
(*Summer*) Publication of commendatory verses in Higden's *A Modern Essay on the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal*.
(*July*) Publication of Montague and Prior's satirical *The Hind and the Panther Transvers'd*.
(22 November) St Cecilia's Day celebration, at which D.'s 'A Song for St Cecilia's Day' was performed; the printed text appeared around this time, and was probably distributed at the performance.
(*December*) Composition of 'On the Marriage of Anastasia Stafford'.
- 1688 Lines on Milton printed in Tonson's new edition of *Paradise Lost*.
Publication of Tom Brown's attack on D., *The Reasons of Mr Bays Changing his Religion*.
(*June*) Publication of *Britannia Rediviva*, celebrating the birth of a son to James II and Queen Mary (on 10 June).
(*July*) Publication of D.'s translation of Bouhours's *The Life of St Francis Xavier*.
(5 November) Prince William of Orange lands at Torbay.
(11 December) James II flees London, but is captured and returned; finally escapes to France.
- 1689 (*January*) Convention Parliament offers the crown to William and Mary. As a result of the Revolution D. loses his offices as Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal (replaced by Shadwell); he returns to the theatre to make a living.
(*November*) Contributes Prologue for performance of Behn's *The Widow Ranter*.
(4 December) *Don Sebastian* performed at the Theatre Royal.
- 1690 Tom Brown publishes another attack on D., *The Late Converts Expos'd*.
(*January*) *Don Sebastian* published.

- (*May*) Politically controversial Prologue for Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Prophetess* spoken and immediately suppressed.
 (*October*) *Amphitryon* performed at the Theatre Royal; printed at the end of the month.
 (*December*) Prologue for Harris's *The Mistakes* spoken.
- 1691 D. contributes Preface to Walsh's *A Dialogue concerning Women*.
 (*February/March*) Publication of Purcell's music for *The Prophetess*, with a dedication to the Duke of Somerset drafted for Purcell by D.
 (*May/June*) *King Arthur* performed at Dorset Garden (originally written in 1684); published *early June*.
- 1692 (*c. February*) Publication of commendatory verses in Southerne's *The Wives' Excuse*.
 (*March*) Publication of *Eleonora*, mourning the Countess of Abingdon.
 (*April*) *Cleomenes* performed at the Theatre Royal; it is published in *May*. D. contributes a 'Character of Saint-Evremond' to a translation of his *Miscellaneous Essays*.
 (*September*) Contributes Prologue to the anonymous *Henry the Second*.
 (*October*) Publication of *The Satires of Juvenal and Persius* (dated 1693).
- 1693 D. contributes 'A Character of Polybius' to *The History of Polybius*.
 (*July*) Publication of *Examen Poeticum*, with contributions by D.
 (*December*) 'To My Dear Friend Mr Congreve' published in Congreve's *The Double Dealer* (dated 1694).
- 1694 (*January*) *Love Triumphant* performed at the Theatre Royal.
 (*March*) *Love Triumphant* published.
 (*15 June*) D. signs contract with Tonson for a complete translation of Virgil, which occupies most of the next three years.
 (*July*) *Annual Miscellany for the Year 1694* published with contributions by D.
- 1695 (*June*) D.'s translation of Du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* published.
- 1696 (*February*) Contributes Epilogue to *The Husband his own Cuckold* by his son John, and adds a Preface when it is printed in *July*.
 (*Spring: before June*) *An Ode on the Death of Mr Henry Purcell* published (Purcell died 21 November 1695).
- 1697 (*July*) Publication of *The Works of Virgil*.
 (*22 November*) *Alexander's Feast* performed at the St Cecilia's Day celebration; the printed text appeared about this time, and was probably distributed at the performance.
- 1698 (*February*) Commendatory verses published in Granville's *Heroick Love*.

- (*March*) Publication of Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* including criticism of D.'s plays.
- (*June*) Commendatory verses published in Motteux's *Beauty in Distress*. D.'s translation of *Annals* Book I published in *The Annals and History of Cornelius Tacitus*.
- 1699 (*20 March*) Contract for *Fables* drawn up with Tonson.
(*October*) D. plans to translate Homer and seeks patronage for the project.
- 1700 (*March*) *Fables Ancient and Modern* published.
(*April*) *The Pilgrim* performed (adapted from a play by Fletcher).
(*1 May*) Death of D.; buried on *2 May* in St Anne's Church, Soho; reburied in Chaucer's grave in Westminster Abbey, *13 May*.
(*June*) *The Pilgrim* published.
Various poems published in memory of D., including *Luctus Britannici* (*June*) and *The Nine Muses*, by women admirers (*September*).
- 1704 *Poetical Miscellanies: The Fifth Part* includes material by D.
- 1709 *Ovid's Art of Love* includes Book I translated by D. (written in 1693).
- 1711 D.'s 'The Life of Lucian' (written *c.* 1696) published in *The Works of Lucian*.
- 1717 D.'s 'Aesacus transformed into a Cormorant' (written *c.* 1692) published in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*.

Abbreviations

The Works of Dryden

AA	<i>Absalom and Achitophel</i>
2AA	<i>The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel</i>
AM	<i>Annus Mirabilis</i>
EDP	<i>Of Dramatic Poesy, An Essay</i>
EP	<i>Examen Poeticum</i> (1693)
HP	<i>The Hind and the Panther</i>
MF	<i>Mac Flecknoe</i>
MP	<i>Miscellany Poems</i> (1684)
RL	<i>Religio Laici</i>

Journals

BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BNYPL	<i>Bulletin of the New York Public Library</i>
CQ	<i>Cambridge Quarterly</i>
DUJ	<i>Durham University Journal</i>
EA	<i>Études Anglaises</i>
ECS	<i>Eighteenth-Century Studies</i>
EIC	<i>Essays in Criticism</i>
ELH	<i>English Literary History</i> (now known as 'ELH')
ELN	<i>English Language Notes</i>
EMS	<i>English Manuscript Studies</i>
ES	<i>English Studies</i>
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HLB	<i>Harvard Library Bulletin</i>
HLQ	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MLQ	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
MPH	<i>Modern Philology</i>
N & Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
PBSA	<i>Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America</i>
PLL	<i>Papers on Language and Literature</i>
PLPLS	<i>Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Literary and Historical Section)</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i> (now known as 'PMLA')
PP	<i>Past and Present</i>
PQ	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>

PTRS	<i>Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society</i>
RECTR	<i>Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
RS	<i>Renaissance Studies</i>
SB	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
SC	<i>Seventeenth Century</i>
SECC	<i>Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture</i>
SEL	<i>Studies in English Literature 1500–1900</i>
SP	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
SRev	<i>Southern Review</i>
TCBS	<i>Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society</i>
TN	<i>Theatre Notebook</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
YES	<i>Yearbook of English Studies</i>

Other abbreviations

<i>Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>
BL	British Library, London
BodL	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>Carm.</i>	Horace, <i>Carmina</i> ('Odes')
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i>
<i>Ecl.</i>	Virgil, <i>Eclogues</i>
Ed.	The present editor
Eds	The general consensus among previous editors
FQ	Spenser, <i>The Faerie Queene</i>
<i>Geo.</i>	Virgil, <i>Georgics</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
<i>Il.</i>	Homer, <i>The Iliad</i>
Johnson	Johnson's <i>Dictionary</i>
LS	<i>The London Stage</i> (see Bibliography for details)
<i>Met.</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>
NT	New Testament
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edition (1989)
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
OT	Old Testament
PL	Milton, <i>Paradise Lost</i>
POAS	<i>Poems on Affairs of State</i> (see Bibliography for details)
PR	Milton, <i>Paradise Regained</i>
<i>s.d.</i>	stage direction
<i>Serm.</i>	Horace, <i>Sermones</i> ('Satires')
SR	<i>The Stationers' Register</i>
TC	<i>The Term Catalogues</i>
tr.	translated by
UL	University Library

Note on the use of abbreviated titles for Dryden's poems

Each poem has been given a standardized short title which is used throughout, except that the full original title is given at the beginning of each poem.

Bibliography

This bibliography lists only the editions used for principal references and quotations, and those works of scholarship and criticism which are cited by author or short title. In this bibliography the place of publication is London unless otherwise stated, but in the rest of this edition the place of publication is not given. Throughout the edition the date given for plays is the date of their appearance in print, unless first performance is specified.

The Works of Dryden

- Christie *The Poetical Works of John Dryden*, edited by W. D. Christie (1870)
- Day *The Songs of John Dryden*, edited by Cyrus Lawrence Day (New York, 1932)
- Derrick *The Miscellaneous Works of John Dryden*, edited by Samuel Derrick, 4 vols (1760)
- Hales *Alexander's Feast, Mac Flecknoe, and St Cecilia's Day*, edited by J. W. Hales (1883)
- Ker *Essays of John Dryden*, edited by W. P. Ker, 2 vols (Oxford, 1900)
- Kinsley *The Poems of John Dryden*, edited by James Kinsley, 4 vols (Oxford, 1958)
- Letters* *The Letters of John Dryden*, edited by Charles E. Ward (Durham, NC, 1942)
- Malone *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, edited by Edmond Malone, 3 vols (1800)
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I ii 34–56), and by volume and page number for the prose and for the editorial commentary (e.g. i 2–3). When a note in the present edition draws upon or discusses material in the equivalent note in *Works*, this is signalled by a simple citation (*Works*) without further references. The same applies to the citation of other editors.

Classical works

Classical writers are quoted from the Loeb Library, unless there is a particular reason for citing the editions which Dryden is known to have used (for these see Bottkol's article, and the headnotes to Dryden's translations). Translations are generally based on the Loeb versions, but are adapted where necessary.

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- Etherege *The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege*, edited by H. F. B. Brett-Smith, 2 vols (Oxford, 1927)
- Evelyn *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E. S. de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford, 1955)
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- POAS *Poems on Affairs of State*, edited by George De F. Lord et al., 7 vols (New Haven, Conn., 1963–75)
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THE POEMS

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134 The First Satire of Juvenal

Date and publication. Printed in *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis* (1693), reprinted 1697. See headnote to 'Discourse Concerning Satire' in Volume III for further details, and for D.'s sources. In addition to the previous translations which D. consulted throughout his work on Juvenal, for this satire he also used Thomas Wood's *Juvenalis Redivivus, or, The First Satyr of Juvenal taught to speak plain English* (1683), a free imitation which transposes the poem to Restoration England, and includes complimentary references to D.

The First Satire of Juvenal

Argument of the First Satire

The poet gives us first a kind of humorous reason for his writing: that being provoked by hearing so many ill poets rehearse their works, he does himself justice on them by giving them as bad as they bring. But since no man will rank himself with ill writers, 'tis easy to conclude that if such wretches could draw an audience, he thought it no hard matter to excel them, and gain a greater esteem with the public. Next he informs us more openly why he rather addicts himself to satire than any other kind of poetry. And here he discovers¹ that it is not so much his indignation to ill poets, as to ill men, which has prompted him to write. He therefore gives us a summary and general view of the vices and follies reigning in his time. So that this first satire is the natural groundwork² of all the rest. Herein he confines himself to no one subject, but strikes indifferently³ at all men in his way: in every following satire he has chosen some particular moral which he would inculcate, and lashes some particular vice or folly (an art with which our lampooners⁴ are not much acquainted). But our poet being desirous to reform his own age, and not daring to attempt it by an overt act of naming living persons, inveighs only against those who were infamous in the times immediately preceding his; whereby he not only gives a fair warning to great men that their memory lies at the mercy of future poets and historians, but also with a finer stroke of his pen brands even the living, and personates them under dead men's names.

¶134. *Argument.* ¹ *discovers*] reveals. ² *groundwork*] foundation of the structure (OED 1). ³ *indifferently*] impartially, without discrimination. ⁴ *our lampooners*] writers of satires against individuals: cp. 'Discourse Concerning Satire' ll. 193–228.

I have avoided as much as I could possibly the borrowed learning of marginal notes and illustrations,⁵ and for that reason have translated this satire somewhat largely. And freely own (if it be a fault) that I have likewise omitted most of the proper names because I thought they would not much edify the reader. To conclude, if in two or three places I have deserted all the commentators, 'tis because I thought they first deserted my author, or at least have left him in so much obscurity that too much room is left for guessing.

The First Satire

- Still shall I hear, and never quit the score,
 Stunned with hoarse Codrus' *Theseid* o'er and o'er?
 Shall this man's elegies and t' other's play
 Unpunished murder a long summer's day?
 5 Huge *Telephus*, a formidable page,
 Cries vengeance, and *Orestes*' bulky rage
 Unsatisfied with margins closely writ
 Foams o'er the covers, and not finished yet.
 No man can take a more familiar note
 10 Of his own home, than I of Vulcan's grot,
 Or Mars his grove, or hollow winds that blow

⁵ *marginal notes and illustrations*] such as those provided in the translations by Stapylton and Holyday.

1–2. Cp. Stapylton: 'Shall I *but* heare still? never quit the score? / Vext with hoars *Codrus Theseids* o're & o're?' (*Works*). *quit the score*] repay the account; revenge the injury (*OED* score 11b).

2. 'Codrus, or it may be Cordus: a bad poet who wrote the life and actions of Theseus' (D.'s note). The variant reading *Cordus* is recorded by Prateus and Schrevelius.

5–6. *a formidable page*, / *Cries vengeance*] D.'s addition.

5. *Telephus*] 'the name of a tragedy' (D.'s note); probably an imitation of the play by Euripides (now known only in fragments) about the son of Hercules.

6–8. *rage*, *Foams*] D.'s additions.

6. *Orestes*] 'another tragedy' (D.'s note); again, probably an imitation of Euripides' play on the madness of Orestes. *Orestes*] Kinsley; *Orestes's* 1693.

7–8. Cp. Stapylton: 'writ / . . . not finish yet' (*Works*).

10. *grot*] grotto, cave. Stapylton has '*Vulcan's grotto*'.

11. *Mars his grove*] 'Some commentators take this grove to be a place where poets were used to repeat their works to the people, but more probably both this and Vulcan's grot or cave, and the rest of the places and names here mentioned, are only meant for the common places of Homer in his *Iliads* and *Odyssees*' (D.'s note). The *commentators* include Prateus, and the Scholiast cited by Schrevelius.

- From Etna's top, or tortured ghosts below,
 I know by rote the famed exploits of Greece,
 The Centaur's fury, and the golden fleece.
 15 Through the thick shades th' eternal scribbler bawls,
 And shakes the statues on their pedestals.
 The best and worst on the same theme employs
 His Muse, and plagues us with an equal noise.
 Provoked by these incorrigible fools,
 20 I left declaiming in pedantic schools,
 Where with men-boys I strove to get renown,
 Advising Sulla to a private gown.
 But since the world with writing is possessed, }
 I'll versify in spite, and do my best }
 25 To make as much waste paper as the rest. }
 But why I lift aloft the satyr's rod,
 And tread the path which famed Lucilius trod,

12. *Etna*] From Prateus, or Lubinus' gloss quoted by Schrevelius.

13. D.'s addition. *exploits*] Accented on the second syllable.

14. *Centaur's fury*] At the wedding feast of Pirithous, king of the Lapiths, the Centaurs tasted wine for the first time, and drunkenly assaulted the bride. The ensuing battle is described by Homer in *Odyssey* xxi 295–302 and by Ovid in *Met.* xii 210–535, and represented on the metopes of the Parthenon. Juvenal specifies Monychus, but Prateus and Schrevelius say that this name could stand for all Centaurs.

16. D. follows Holyday's note in interpreting *convulsa marmora* ('shaken marbles') as referring to statues rather than columns (*Works*).

17. *The best and worst*] 'that is, the best and the worst poets' (D.'s note). Cp. Wood: 'the *best* and worst *wits*'; Stapylton: 'the best Poets, and the worst'.

19. D.'s addition, using Lubinus' gloss quoted in Schrevelius, *Cum ergo toties ab aliis vexatus sum* ('since therefore I have been so often vexed by others').

20. i.e. left the schools which taught rhetoric.

21. D.'s addition.

22. 'This was one of the themes given in the schools of rhetoricians, in the deliberative kind: whether Sulla should lay down the supreme power of dictatorship, or still keep it' (D.'s note). *Sulla*] Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix (c. 138–79 BC), Roman dictator, who retired to private life shortly before his death.

24. *I'll versify in spite*] D.'s addition.

26–8. Wood adapts Juvenal's lines to apply them to D.: 'But why the Ground must raging Fancy choose, / Which sharp and noble *Dryden* oft does use, / "Lashing full stretch his fiery foaming Muse?" (4).

26. D.'s addition. The image may come from *ferulae* ('rod') earlier in Juvenal's l. 15. The phrasing suggests that D. is thinking here of the proposed derivation of 'satire' from 'satyr'. (For the disputed etymology of 'satire' see headnote to 'Discourse Concerning Satire'). Cp. l. 132*n*.

27. 'Lucilius, the first satirist of the Romans, who wrote long before Horace' (D.'s note). Gaius Lucilius (c. 180–102 BC) was noted for the urbanity, humour and vituperation of his satires. Only fragments of them survive.

- Attend the causes which my Muse have led:
 When sapless eunuchs mount the marriage-bed,
 30 When mannish Mevia, that two-handed whore,
 Astride on horseback hunts the Tuscan boar;
 When all our lords are by his wealth outvied
 Whose razor on my callow beard was tried;
 When I behold the spawn of conquered Nile,
 35 Crispinus, both in birth and manners vile,
 Pacing in pomp, with cloak of Tyrian dye
 Changed off a day for needless luxury,
 And finding oft occasion to be fanned,
 Ambitious to produce his lady-hand,
 40 Charged with light summer-rings his fingers sweat,
 Unable to support a gem of weight:
 Such fulsome objects meeting everywhere,
 'Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear.
 To view so lewd a town, and to refrain,

28. *Attend*] listen to (*OED* 1).

29. Wood has 'Marriage Bed' as a rhyme.

30-1. The Emperor Domitian (ruled AD 81-96) encouraged women to fight in the arena.

30. D.'s addition, apart from the name. '*Mevia*: a name put for any impudent or mannish woman' (D.'s note, drawing on Schrevelius). D.'s phrasing in his note recalls Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* III iii 219: 'A woman impudent and mannish grown' (preserved verbatim in D.'s play, IV ii 38). D.'s *impudent* (shameless, immodest (*OED* 1)) was probably suggested by Schrevelius' *impudentiam* and *impudica*. *Mevia* is otherwise unknown. *two-handed*] strapping (*OED* 3); cp. 'Lucretius: Against the Fear of Death' l. 150. D. omits Juvenal's detail *nuda* . . . *mamma* ('bare-breasted'), but his *whore* may have been prompted by Schrevelius' note that her appearance was perhaps designed to arouse the lust of the spectators.

31. *Astride*] i.e. not riding side-saddle as women usually did. Cp. Rochester, 'Artemisia to Chloe': 'Shortly you'll bid me ride astride, and fight' (l. 2).

32. *outvied*] Thus Stapylton.

33. *Whose razor*] 'Juvenal's barber, now grown wealthy' (D.'s note).

34. *spawn, conquered*] D.'s additions.

35-41. D.'s expansion of Juvenal's ll. 27-9.

35. *Crispinus*] 'an Egyptian slave, now by his riches transformed into a nobleman' (D.'s note, drawing on Prateus or Schrevelius).

37. D. follows Schrevelius' interpretation of Juvenal's l. 27, *humero revocante lacernas* ('hitching up cloaks on his shoulder').

39. *Ambitious*] eager (*OED* 2).

40. *Charged with light summer-rings*] 'The Romans were grown so effeminate in Juvenal's time, that they wore light rings in the summer, and heavier in the winter' (D.'s note).

42. D.'s addition. *fulsome*] disgusting, offensive (*OED* 5, 6).

- 45 What hoops of iron could my spleen contain?
 When pleading Matho, borne abroad for air,
 With his fat paunch fills his new-fashioned chair,
 And after him the wretch in pomp conveyed
 Whose evidence his lord and friend betrayed,
- 50 And but the wished occasion does attend
 From the poor nobles the last spoils to rend;
 Whom ev'n spies dread as their superior fiend, }
 And bribe with presents, or when presents fail
 They send their prostituted wives for bail.
- 55 When night-performance holds the place of merit,
 And brawn and back the next of kin disherit;
 For such good parts are in preferment's way,
 The rich old madam never fails to pay
 Her legacies, by nature's standard given:
- 60 One gains an ounce, another gains eleven;
 A dear-bought bargain, all things duly weighed,
 For which their thrice-concocted blood is paid,
 With looks as wan as he who in the brake
 At unawares has trod upon a snake,

45. *spleen*] temper, passion (*OED* 6, 7); indignation (*OED* 8b). See 'The Tenth Satire of Juvenal' l. 47n.

46. *pleading Matho*] Thus Holyday (*Works*). 'Matho: a famous lawyer, mentioned in other places by Juvenal and Martial' (D.'s note). In Juvenal's *Satire* vii 129 he has become bankrupt.

47. Juvenal says that the chair was *Plena ipso* ('full of himself'): the *lectica* was big enough for two. *chair*] litter or sedan chair.

50. *the wished occasion*] Echoes *AA* l. 208, on Shaftesbury's exploitation of Titus Oates's Popish Plot. Wood 5–6 adapts this passage in Juvenal to refer to Oates. *attend*] wait for.

52. *superior fiend*] D.'s image.

57. *such*] i.e. such people. *in preferment's way*] i.e. they open the way to advancement.

58. *madam*] For Juvenal's *vesica* ('bladder'; used for 'vagina').

59. Juvenal is more explicit: the legacy which each gigolo receives is in proportion to the size of his penis.

61–2. Cp. Holyday's note: '*Sanguis* ["blood"] . . . is here put *pro Semine* ["for semen"] . . . For in Nature is but a perfecter concoction and preparation of the Blood. Yet this, by that Preparation, is so much enspirited, that to lose one dram of *Semen*, weakens as much as the loss of 60 ounces of blood' (Kinsley). *thrice concocted blood*] ejaculated semen. In seventeenth-century physiology three stages of 'concoction' were distinguished: (1) digestion in the stomach and intestines; (2) the process whereby the chyme so formed is turned into blood; (3) secretion (*OED*).

63. *in the brake*] D.'s addition. *brake*] undergrowth.

- 65 Or played at Lyons a declaiming prize,
 For which the vanquished rhetorician dies.
 What indignation boils within my veins,
 When perjured guardians, proud with impious gains
 Choke up the streets, too narrow for their trains! }
 70 Whose wards, by want betrayed, to crimes are led
 Too foul to name, too fulsome to be read!
 When he who pilled his province 'scapes the laws,
 And keeps his money though he lost his cause:
 His fine begged off, contemns his infamy,
 75 Can rise at twelve, and get him drunk ere three:
 Enjoys his exile, and, condemned in vain,
 Leaves thee, prevailing province, to complain!
 Such villainies roused Horace into wrath,

65. *at Lyons*] 'a city in France, where annual sacrifices and games were made in honour of Augustus Caesar' (D.'s note). Prateus and Schrevelius (citing Suetonius, *Caligula* xx) note that Caligula held a public speaking competition in Lyons, at which the losers were made to lick away their writings, or were flogged, or thrown into the river. Stapylton's note says that 'the vanquished were . . . to eat their own Orations, or in default of such obedience to be drowned'. *prize*] contest (*OED* *prize* *sb.*²).

68. D.'s alliteration on *p* and *g* imitates Juvenal's scornful repetition of *-um* and *p-* in his ll. 46–7.

69. *too narrow for their trains*] D.'s addition.

71. Juvenal implies, and Schrevelius makes it clear, that the dispossessed wards turn to prostitution. Holyday says: 'when a young Ward a *Pathique* turns'.

72–7. 'Here the poet complains that the governors of provinces being accused for their unjust exactions, though they were condemned at their trials, yet got off by bribery' (D.'s note). Juvenal names Marius Priscus, prosecuted and banished in AD 100 for his financial malpractice as Proconsul of Africa.

72–4. D.'s expansion of Juvenal's ll. 47–8, following Schrevelius' glosses. D. omits Juvenal's *Dis Iratis* ('the gods being made angry'). *pilled*] pillaged, plundered. *contemns*] disregards, sets no store by.

75. Juvenal says that Marius was drinking from the eighth hour (2 p.m.), and Prateus and Schrevelius note that the Roman custom was to wash at the eighth hour and dine at the ninth: so Marius was already in his cups at the time when Romans would normally still be preparing for dinner. D. makes the times fit the likely routine of a Restoration rake: cp. 'I Rise at Eleven, I Dine about Two, / I get drunk before Seven, and the next thing I do; / I send for my *Whore*' (*Poems on Several Occasions By the Right Honourable, the E. of R*— (1680) 59). Wood 7 had made his equivalent to D.'s ll. 65–6 a comment on Rochester: 'When in Pox, Gout, and stink *Amyntas* lies, / That was so brisk, so gay, so witty, and so wise' (an echo of the *Satire against Reason and Mankind*, ll. 29–30).

77. *prevailing province*] Thus Holyday (*Works*). *prevailing*] victorious in the lawsuit which the province brought against Marius.

78. '*Horace*, who wrote satires. 'Tis more noble, says our author, to imitate him in that way than to write the labours of Hercules, the sufferings of Diomedes and his followers, or the flight of Daedalus who made the labyrinth, and the death of his son Icarus' (D.'s note).

- And 'tis more noble to pursue his path
 80 Than an old tale of Diomede to repeat,
 Or labouring after Hercules to sweat,
 Or wandering in the winding maze of Crete; }
 Or with the wingèd smith aloft to fly,
 Or fluttering perish with his foolish boy.
 85 With what impatience must the Muse behold
 The wife by her procuring husband sold?
 For though the law makes null th' adulterer's deed
 Of lands to her, the cuckold may succeed:
 Who his taugt eyes up to the ceiling throws,
 90 And sleeps all over but his wakeful nose.
 When he dares hope a colonel's command,
 Whose coursers kept, ran out his father's land;
 Who yet a stripling Nero's chariot drove,
 Whirled o'er the streets, while his vain master strove }
 95 With boasted art to please his eunuch-love.
 Would it not make a modest author dare
 To draw his table-book within the square

79. D.'s addition.

80. *Diomede*] Diomedes was one of the Greek leaders at the siege of Troy, and features prominently in the *Iliad*. On his voyage home some of his followers were turned into birds (Virgil, *Aen.* xi 273-4) and he found that his wife had been unfaithful.

81-4. *labouring, wandering, fly, fluttering perish*] D.'s additions, wittily associating the poetry with its subject matter, where Juvenal just lists the topics.

82-4. The labyrinth on Crete was built by Daedalus, the *wingèd smith* of l. 83. In order to escape from the island he devised wings for himself and his son Icarus. But the boy flew too near the sun, the wax in his wings melted, and he fell into the sea.

85. D.'s addition.

86-8. Holyday explains: 'Adulterers used to bequeath their whole Estates to their Adulteresses: which enormity *Domitian* endeavour'd to prevent by a Law, by which he made all such infamous Women incapable of Legacies; who did notwithstanding delude the Law, by making their own Husbands Pandars to their Lust, and so causing the Legacies to be given to Them' (Kinsley).

90. *wakeful nose*] Cp. 'waking nose' (Stapylton).

91. *a colonel's command*] D.'s deliberate anachronism.

92. *coursers*] racehorses.

93. Schrevelius explains that Juvenal's *Automedon* was Nero's charioteer.

94-5. *strove / With boasted art to please*] D. translates two senses of *jactaret*: (i) move vigorously; (ii) boast, show off.

95. *his eunuch-love*] 'Nero married Sporus, an eunuch; though it may be the poet meant Nero's mistress in man's apparel' (D.'s note). *eunuch-love*] Translates *lacernatae amicae* ('[female] friend or lover wearing a man's cloak'). The commentators cited by Schrevelius interpret it as referring to Sporus.

96. *Would it not make*] Thus Stapylton. *a modest author dare*] D.'s addition.

97. *table-book*] notebook.

- And fill with notes, when lolling at his ease,
 Maecenas-like, the happy rogue he sees
 100 Borne by six wearied slaves in open view,
 Who cancelled an old will, and forged a new:
 Made wealthy at the small expense of signing
 With a wet seal, and a fresh interlining.
 The lady next requires a lashing line
 105 Who squeezed a toad into her husband's wine:
 So well the fashionable med'cine thrives,
 That now 'tis practised ev'n by country wives,
 Pois'ning without regard of fame or fear,
 And spotted corps are frequent on the bier.
 110 Would'st thou to honours and preferments climb?
 Be bold in mischief, dare some mighty crime
 Which dungeons, death or banishment deserves:
 For virtue is but dryly praised, and starves.
 Great men to great crimes owe their plate embossed, }
 115 Fair palaces, and furniture of cost, }
 And high commands: a sneaking sin is lost.
 Who can behold that rank old lecher keep
 His son's corrupted wife, and hope to sleep?
 Or that male-harlot, or that unfledged boy,
 120 Eager to sin, before he can enjoy?
 If nature could not, anger would indite

98-9. Cp. Stapylton: 'Lolling *Maecenas*-like' (*Works*).

99. *Maecenas-like*] 'Maecenas is often taxed by Seneca and others for his effeminacy' (D.'s note, drawing on Schrevelius). Gaius Maecenas (*d.* 8 BC), a patron of poets including Horace, was famous for his luxury.

103. The will is altered by moistening the seal to detach it from the tablets, and adding new clauses between the lines. For methods to prevent such forgeries see Suetonius, *Nero* xvii.

109. *corps*] Normal seventeenth-century plural of 'corpse'.

112-13. Cp. Stapylton: '*deserves*, / . . . *Virtue's prais'd*, but *sterves*' (*Works*). The rhyme *deserves* / . . . *starves* was a good one: 1693 has the spelling *sterves*, and 'er' was often pronounced 'ar' in this period.

116. *a sneaking sin is lost*] D.'s addition. *sneaking*] mean (*OED* 2); petty, paltry (*OED* 3).

118. *and hope to sleep*] 'The meaning is, that the very consideration of such a crime will hinder a virtuous man from taking his repose' (D.'s note).

119. *male-harlot*] For *sponsae turpes* ('wicked brides'), which Prateus and Schrevelius gloss as *pueri viris nubentes* ('boys married to men'); Stapylton has 'Men-brides'.

119-20. *unfledged . . . enjoy*] For *praetextatus adulter* ('adulterer wearing the toga praetexta', the purple-edged toga worn by pre-pubescent boys).

121-2. Cp. Stapylton: '*If nature will not, scorne a verse indites*, / Such stuffe as I, or *Cluuienus* writes.' *indite*] inspire, put into words (*OED* 1, 3).

Such woeful stuff as I or S——ll write.

- Count from the time since old Deucalion's boat,
 Raised by the flood, did on Parnassus float;
 125 And scarcely mooring on the cliff implored
 An oracle how man might be restored;
 When softened stones and vital breath ensued,
 And virgins naked were by lovers viewed;
 Whatever since that golden age was done,
 130 What human kind desires, and what they shun,
 Rage, passions, pleasures, impotence of will,
 Shall this satirical collection fill.

- What age so large a crop of vices bore,
 Or when was avarice extended more?
 135 When were the dice with more profusion thrown?
 The well-filled fob not emptied now alone,
 But gamblers for whole patrimonies play;
 The steward brings the deeds which must convey
 The lost estate: what more-than-madness reigns,

122. S——ll] Thomas Shadwell (for whom see *MF*, headnote), whose translation of Juvenal's *Satire* x appeared in 1687. Juvenal names Cluivienus, not otherwise known, whom Schrevelius surmises to have been a bad poet of Juvenal's time. *Works* notes that Wood (16) had substituted Barten Holyday.

123. 'Deucalion and Pyrrha, when the world was drowned, escaped to the top of Mount Parnassus, and were commanded to restore mankind by throwing stones over their heads: the stones he threw became men, and those she threw became women' (D.'s note). The story is told by Ovid, and translated by D. in 'The First Book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*' ll. 474–557.

125. *scarcely mooring on the cliff*] D.'s addition. *scarcely*] with difficulty (imitating the Latin *vix*: *OED* 3, citing examples only from D.).

126. *how man might be restored*] D.'s addition, translating Prateus' gloss *quo pacto reparari genus humanum posset* (*Works*).

127. *softened stones, vital*] Thus Bidle (*Works*).

131. *impotence of will*] For *discursus* ('bustle'). From Prateus' gloss *hominum inconstantiam animi* ('inconstancy of men's mind').

132. *satirical*] For *farrago* ('mixed fodder'), synonymous with *satura*, one of the suggested etymologies of 'satire'; cp. l. 26*n*, and 'Discourse Concerning Satire' ll. 1257–8*n*.

136. *fob*] small pocket in the waistband of breeches, for carrying a watch or money. *alone*] only: i.e. gamblers bet not only the contents of their purses, but their entire inheritance.

137. *patrimonies*] Cp. Schrevelius' gloss *patrimonium* (*Works*).

138–9. *steward . . . estate*] D.'s expansion of *dispensatore . . . Armigero* ('the steward carrying his weapons'), using Prateus' and Schrevelius' explanation that the steward provides the funds for his heroic exploits at the gaming table as a squire provides arms for his master.

- 140 When one short sitting many hundreds drains,
 And not enough is left him to supply
 Board-wages, or a footman's livery?
 What age so many summer-seats did see?
 Or which of our forefathers fared so well
- 145 As on sev'n dishes at a private meal?
 Clients of old were feasted; now a poor
 Divided dole is dealt at th' outward door,
 Which by the hungry rout is soon dispatched:
 The paltry largess, too, severely watched
- 150 Ere given, and every face observed with care
 That no intruding guest usurp a share.
 Known, you receive: the cryer calls aloud
 Our old nobility of Trojan blood,
 Who gape among the crowd for their precarious food. }
- 155 The Praetor's and the Tribune's voice is heard;
 The freedman justles and will be preferred;
 'First come, first served', he cries, 'and I, in spite
 Of your great lordships will maintain my right.
 Though born a slave, though my torn ears are bored,
- 160 'Tis not the birth, 'tis money makes the lord.

142. *Board-wages*] meals supplied to servants as part of their wages.

146. *Clients of old were feasted*] D.'s addition. Holyday explains: 'It was at first the custome of the *Romans*, after their Clients had graced them with their attendance, to have them home with them, and give them a good Supper . . . But afterward they changed their bounty into a lighter and cheaper doal, which one distributed to them at the outward threshold' (*Works*).

148. *rout*] crowd, mob.

153. *of Trojan blood*] The Romans claimed descent from the Trojan prince Aeneas.

154. Translating *vexant limen* ('they crowd the threshold'). *precarious*] depending on the favour of another, uncertain (*OED* 1), the sense of its Latin root *precarius*.

156. *freedman*] a freed slave. *justles*] normal seventeenth-century form of 'jostles'. *will be preferred*] For *prior est* ('is first'), from Prateus' gloss *videturque praeferendus* ('and seems to be preferred') (*Works*).

157–8. *in spite / Of your great lordships*] D.'s addition. *my right*] Translating Prateus' gloss *jus meum* rather than Juvenal's *locum* ('place') (*Works*).

159. Translating *quamvis / Natus ad Euphratem, molles quod in aure fenestras / Arguerint, licet ipse negem* ('although born by the Euphrates, which the soft holes in my ears might prove, even were I to deny it'). D.'s note reads: '*though my torn ears are bored*: The ears of all slaves were bored as a mark of their servitude, which custom is still usual in the East Indies, and in other parts, even for whole nations, who bore prodigious holes in their ears, and wear vast weights at them.'

160. D.'s addition, drawing on the commentators' explanation that this degree of wealth bought the man a place among the nobility.

- The rents of five fair houses I receive:
 What greater honours can the purple give?
 The poor patrician is reduced to keep
 In melancholy walks a grazier's sheep:
 165 Not Pallas nor Licinius had my treasure;
 Then let the sacred Tribunes wait my leisure.
 Once a poor rogue, 'tis true, I trod the street,
 And trudged to Rome upon my naked feet.
 Gold is the greatest god, though yet we see
 170 No temples raised to Money's majesty,
 No altars fuming to her power divine,
 Such as to Valour, Peace and Virtue shine,
 And Faith, and Concord: where the stork on high
 Seems to salute her infant progeny,
 175 Presaging pious love with her auspicious cry. }
 But since our knights and senators account

162. *the purple*] royal or consular rank (*OED* 2b); the purple-edged toga of a Roman senator.

163. *The poor patrician*] 'the poor nobleman' (D.'s note).

164. *melancholy*] D.'s addition. *walks*] tracts of land used for pasturing sheep (*OED* 12). *grazier*] one who grazes or feeds livestock for the market; D.'s addition, following Prateus' and Schrevelius' note that the impoverished nobleman is tending someone else's sheep.

165. *Pallas nor Licinius*] Pallas, a slave freed by Claudius Caesar and raised by his favour to great riches. Licinius was another wealthy freedman belonging to Augustus' (D.'s note).

166. The inverted comma here is editorial, and responds to the sense of closure provided by the emphatic feminine rhyme in ll. 165–6; but it is not certain at what point this speech ends, for it could be continued to l. 168 or even l. 175.

167. *a poor rogue*] D.'s addition.

170. *to Money's majesty*] Thus Stapylton.

171. *fuming*] i.e. with the smoke from sacrifices; D.'s addition.

173–5. *Concord . . . cry*] For *Quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido* ('Concord who crackles when her nest is greeted'). D.'s note reads: '*Where the stork on high, etc.* Perhaps the storks were used to build on the top of the temple dedicated to Concord'. As *Works* notes, D. is drawing on Prateus: *Concordia, in cuius aedis fastigio aves nidificantes sonitum edunt & crepitant, quoties ad nidos redeunt, & pullos quasi salutant, pabulum afferentes . . . Alii . . . Ciconias significari volunt, quia pietas illis inest admirabilis* ('Concord, on the roof of whose building nesting birds cause noise and clatter, as often as they return to the nests, and as if they were greeting their young, bearing food . . . Others wish storks to be meant, because an admirable piety is attributed to them'). *salute*] Cp. Bidle's 'saluting' (*Works*). *auspicious*] Schrevelius says that storks are auspicious.

176. *knights and senators*] For *summus honor* ('highest office'), following Schrevelius' enumeration of senators, magistrates, praetors and tribunes (*Works*).

- To what their sordid begging vails amount,
 Judge what a wretched share the poor attends,
 Whose whole subsistence on those alms depends!
 180 Their household fire, their raiment, and their food
 Prevented by those Harpies, when a wood
 Of litters thick besiege the donor's gate,
 And begging lords, and teeming ladies wait
 The promised dole: nay some have learned the trick
 185 To beg for absent persons, feign them sick,
 Close mew'd in their sedans for fear of air,
 And for their wives produce an empty chair:
 'This is my spouse: dispatch her with her share. }
 'Tis Galla.' 'Let her ladyship but peep.' }
 190 'No, sir, 'tis pity to disturb her sleep.'
 Such fine employments our whole days divide:
 The salutations of the morningtide
 Call up the sun; those ended, to the hall
 We wait the patron, hear the lawyers bawl,

177. *sordid*] D.'s addition, drawing on *sordes* ('baseness') in Schrevelius (*Works*). *vails*] dole given to one in an inferior position (*OED* 4b, citing this line).

181. *Prevented by those Harpies*] D.'s addition. D.'s note reads: '*Prevented by those Harpies*: He calls the Roman knights etc., "Harpies", or devourers: in those days the rich made doles intended for the poor, but the great were either so covetous or so needy that they came in their litters to demand their shares of the largess; and thereby prevented, and consequently starved, the poor.' *Prevented*] taken possession of beforehand (*OED* 13, and cp. 5, 6). *Harpies*] the winged creatures who snatch food away from Aeneas and his companions in Virgil, *Aen.* iii 212–58. *wood*] D.'s image.

185–6. *feign . . . air*] D.'s addition. Prateus has the gloss *ex aegritudine quiescens* ('asleep because of illness'), and explains that litters were sometimes closed against harmful vapours in the air (*Works*). *mew'd*] shut up.

188–90. 'The meaning is that noblemen would cause empty litters to be carried to the giver's door, pretending their wives were within them: "'Tis Galla, that is, my wife". The next words, "Let her Ladyship but peep", are of the servant who distributes the dole: "Let me see her, that I may be sure she is within the litter." The husband answers, "She is asleep, and to open the litter would disturb her rest"' (D.'s note, drawing on Lubinus' explanation, quoted by Schrevelius). *dispatch her*] Thus Stapylton (*Works*).

191–3. D.'s grandiloquent phrasing matches Juvenal's ironic praise in l. 127 of the parasites' elegantly ordered day.

192. For *sportula* ('dole'). D. draws on Prateus' gloss *primum clientes mane conveniunt ad salutandos patronos* ('first the clients gather in the morning to greet the patrons') (*Works*).

194. Prateus says that patrons were accompanied to the forum by their clients (*Works*). *wait*] accompany as a servant (*OED* 9). *hear the lawyers bawl*] D.'s addition.

- 195 Then to the statues, where amidst the race
 Of conquering Rome, some Arab shows his face }
 Inscribed with titles, and profanes the place: }
 Fit to be pissed against, and somewhat more.
 The great man, home conducted, shuts his door;
 200 Old clients, wearied out with fruitless care,
 Dismiss their hopes of eating, and despair.
 Though much against the grain, forced to retire,
 Buy roots for supper, and provide a fire.
 Meantime his lordship lolls within at ease,
 205 Pampering his paunch with foreign rarities:
 Both sea and land are ransacked for the feast,
 And his own gut the sole invited guest.
 Such plate, such tables, dishes dressed so well
 That whole estates are swallowed at a meal.
 210 Ev'n parasites are banished from his board
 (At once a sordid and luxurious lord):
 Prodigious throat, for which whole boars are dressed
 (A creature formed to furnish out a feast).
 But present punishment pursues his maw:
 215 When surfeited and swelled, the peacock raw

195. *'Next to the statues, etc.* The poet here tells you how the idle passed their time in going first to the levées of the great, then to the hall, that is, to the temple of Apollo, to hear the lawyers plead, then to the market place of Augustus, where the statues of the famous Romans were set in ranks on pedestals; amongst which statues were seen those of foreigners such as Arabs etc., who for no desert, but only on the account of their wealth or favour, were placed amongst the noblest' (D.'s note). Prateus and Schrevelius explain that Juvenal's *triumphales* were the triumphal statues of great men erected on the rostra in the forum.

195–6. *amidst . . . Rome*] D.'s addition.

197. *and profanes the place*] D.'s addition.

199. D.'s addition, drawing on Schrevelius: *ubi veteres clientes . . . suum patronum . . . deduxerunt . . . rusus domum* ('when the old clients had accompanied their patron back home') (*Works*).

200. *with fruitless care*] D.'s addition.

202. D.'s addition.

203. Cp. Stapylton: 'they must buy *rootes* and *fire*' (*Works*).

205. D.'s addition.

209. Cp. Wood: 'Whole Estates they swallow' (*Works*).

211. *sordid*] mean, ungenerous (a Latinate sense not recorded in the *OED*, though cp. its sense 6). D. preserves Juvenal's paradox *Luxuriae sordes* ('meanness of luxury').

214. *present*] immediate. *maw*] stomach (*OED* 1); voracious appetite (*OED* 1b).

215. *raw*] Probably not 'uncooked' but rather 'undigested' (*OED* 1c, citing only an example from 1533, though cp. sense 6d).

- He bears into the bath, whence want of breath,
 Repletions, apoplex, intestate death.
 His fate makes table-talk, divulged with scorn,
 And he, a jest, into his grave is borne.
- 220 No age can go beyond us: future times
 Can add no farther to the present crimes.
 Our sons but the same things can wish and do;
 Vice is at stand, and at the highest flow. }
 Then, satire, spread thy sails, take all the winds can blow. }
- 225 Some may, perhaps, demand what Muse can yield
 Sufficient strength for such a spacious field?
 From whence can be derived so large a vein,
 Bold truths to speak, and spoken to maintain;
 When godlike freedom is so far bereft
- 230 The noble mind, that scarce the name is left?
 Ere *scandalum magnatum* was begot,
 No matter if the great forgave or not:
 But if that honest licence now you take, }
 If into rogues omnipotent you rake, }
- 235 Death is your doom, impaled upon a stake; }

216–17. *want . . . apoplex*] D.'s addition. *Repletions*] state of the body after eating to excess (*OED* 1); suggested by Schrevelius' *repletione*.

218. *table-talk*] From Holyday (*Works*).

223. *at stand*] at a standstill, incapable of going further (*OED* 7). *at the highest flow*] at the highest point of the incoming tide (*OED* *flow sb.* 4).

227–32. D.'s expansion of *unde illa priorum / Scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet / Simplicitas, cujus non audeo dicere nomen? / Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius, an non?* ('whence that simplicity of our predecessors which freed them to write with a heated spirit, whose name [i.e. simplicity's name] I do not dare to speak? What does it matter whether Mucius forgives what is said, or not?'). The reference is to earlier satirists like Lucilius, who satirized P. Mucius Scaevola. Schrevelius notes that Mucius was a strong and wise man who took patiently what was said of him.

229. *freedom*] Schrevelius glosses *Simplicitas* as *Libertas*, and explains that Domitian had suppressed liberty.

231–4. For *Pone Tigillinum* ('put down Tigillinus'), a bloodthirsty prefect of the Praetorian Guard under Nero. *scandalum magnatum*] Thus Wood (*Works*): the offence of publishing a malicious report against any person holding a position of dignity. For a recent case see *AA* ll. 632–77*n*.

235. *Death is your doom*] D.'s addition. *doom*] sentence, punishment (*OED* 2). *impaled*] Juvenal says that offenders are *fixo gutture* ('fixed through the throat', i.e. hung up with a hook); *Works* notes that D. follows Prateus' *adacto per corpus stipite* ('with a stake driven through the body').