

Names in Allegorical Satire: Barclay's *Satyricon*

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PROPER NAMES are of importance in all imaginative literature, but they take on a special significance in satire, particularly in allegorical satire. They often provide indispensable guide-posts for identifying the objects of satire and for defining the satirist's attitude toward his victims. This importance of proper names is especially evident in the satirical roman à clef, a genre which enjoyed considerable popularity during the seventeenth century in most of the Western European literatures. In any study of this genre, it quickly becomes evident that an important place at its beginnings belongs to the work of John Barclay (1582–1621), a Scottish-French author of neo-Latin poems, essays, and prose fiction who was educated in France but spent most of his adult life in the courts of King James I and Pope Paul V. Barclay is best known for his long allegorical romance *Argenis*, published in 1621; but it is his earlier work, *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon*, published at Paris in two parts in 1605 and 1607 respectively, which is our present concern as the earliest important example of the satirical roman à clef.¹ In the approximately 150 years during which it enjoyed considerable popularity, Barclay's *Satyricon* appeared in at least 31 separate editions in its original Latin and enjoyed one German and four separate French translations. The geographical spread of its popularity seems to have been considerable; editions were published in at least 13 different cities in England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

Because of its early appearance and its wide popularity Barclay's work is of considerable interest for the study of techniques of the roman à clef. A major part of the entertainment offered by Bar-

¹ The detailed evidence for the assertions of this first paragraph can be found in my "Study of John Barclay's Satirical Narrative *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon* (1605–1607)" (unpublished dissertation, University of Chicago, 1965), especially pp. 81–84 and 139–40.

clay to his readers was the tantalizing puzzle of deciphering allegorical names (whose referents Barclay prudently refrained from making immediately evident in most cases) in order to establish an association with a contemporary person, group, or place. This deciphering is evidently much more difficult today than it was at the time of publication, because Barclay's objects of satire are often among the more ephemeral personages and events of his era. Because of the complicated interactions of his characters and the frequent lack of particularizing detail, identifying the objects of Barclay's satire is often like solving an equation in two unknowns: one must base one's arguments on the character's name and his relationships to others rather than on personal qualities.

Numerous "keys" to *Euphormio's Satyricon* were published in editions of the work and in reference works but nearly all of them derived from the detailed list of correspondences which first appeared in the Strasbourg edition of 1623 and was reprinted in nearly all succeeding Latin editions. Other evidence for contemporary understanding of Barclay's satire appears in the diary of the early seventeenth-century bibliophile, Pierre de l'Estoile,² and in a manuscript history of Barclay's alma mater (the Jesuit college of Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine), which attempts to explain passages which seem to refer to the Jesuits and the experiences of the Barclay family at Pont-à-Mousson.³ The key published in Jean Berault's French translation (*La Satyre d'Euphormion*, Paris, 1640) follows the Strasbourg list for the most part, but makes several divergent and interesting identifications. However, none of these sources can be followed uncritically, for they all bear evidences of the temptation to read clever meanings, no matter how far-fetched, into the more obscure passages. Nonetheless, reasonably certain correspondences can be established, in the great majority of the cases, from the abundance of primary sources for the history of the early

² *Mémoires-Journaux*, ed. Brunet et al. (Paris, 1880), IX, 46-49, and 348-83.

³ Nicolas Abram, *Historia Universitatis et Collegii Mussipontani ab Institutione ad Annum 1650* (Bibliothèque Municipale de Nancy, MS. No. 41). The relevant sections regarding William Barclay, our author's father, are published in Ernest Dubois, "Guillaume Barclay, Jurisconsulte Ecosais," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas 1870* (Nancy, 1872), pp. clii-clxvii. Those sections which pertain directly to John Barclay are published in A. C. Collignon, "Notes sur l'*Euphormion* de Jean Barclay," *Annales de l'Est*, XIV (1900), 499-513.

seventeenth century which have now found their way into print. And in any case the material is ample for our present concern: a study of Barclay's techniques in the creation of names for the purposes of satirical allegory.

One of Barclay's important satiric devices consists in the atmosphere of antiquity – much more meaningful to his classically-educated contemporaries than to us – with which he surrounds the objects of his satire. The work is filled with vivid and pungent evocations of real European life at the turn of the seventeenth century, but a jarring and often comic contrast with antiquity is constantly evoked by the introduction of allusions to Greek and Roman customs and traditions, by the language itself, and in particular by the names of the characters and places.

Many of these names come directly from classical myth and literature. Several ancient place-names are directly appropriated by Barclay. His "Boeotia," for example, is described as a land in the North, running through a great territory from Eleutheria (which, as we shall see, represents France) to the Slavs.⁴ The people of Boeotia are ruled by an emperor through representatives. The inhabitants (called "Thebans," after a major city in ancient Boeotia) are obtuse, "capable of labors rather than real industry," and much addicted to alcohol. The geographical reference is evidently to the Holy Roman Empire, and a similar characterization of the German people appears in Barclay's later work on the different European nationalities.⁵

Similarly, the name of ancient Delphi, center of the worship of Apollo, is used by Barclay to designate the town in which Euphormio completes his youthful studies. The general description of the place (a small town on the banks of a river in a fertile valley), the presence of Acignians (Jesuits) as professors, and the general correspondence between Barclay himself and the protagonist of his tale make it clear that the reference is to Pont-à-Mousson, where Barclay studied and his father taught at the newly founded Jesuit university. Again, in his first part Barclay refers to "Ilium" as a city in the Netherlands which had recently withstood a disastrous

⁴ *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon*, II, 130 ff. Unless otherwise indicated, all references are made to the first editions of Barclay's work: Paris, 1605 (Part I); and Paris, 1607 (Part II).

⁵ *Icon Animorum* (London, 1614), pp. 401, 404.

siege. The reference is clearly to Ostend, which underwent a three-year siege (1601–1604), draining off enormous resources from the Spanish besiegers with very little military advantage. In the second part (which is in many ways a quite separate literary work) Ilium is described as an important capital city where much of the action takes place. As the explanation of the names of various persons living at Ilium makes clear, this must be Paris.

On the other hand, Paris appears in the first part, much more briefly, under the name of "Alexandria." The keys have been in general agreement concerning the correspondences discussed up to this point, but here most of them seem to have gone strangely astray in trying to identify Alexandria as some small provincial city (usually Bar-le-Duc). But Euphormio describes Alexandria as a "most populous city, in which there was so great a crowd of people scurrying about their business that for a while I thought this was the seed-bed out of which Jupiter sends mortals forth into the world" (I, 111^v). It seems unlikely that a cosmopolitan and well-traveled man like Barclay would have been inclined to describe a small provincial center so enthusiastically, especially since no tone of satiric irony is present. Moreover, the name itself contains a clue which was evidently overlooked by the early commentators: Barclay says (I, 112) that the name was taken from Priam's son, i.e. Alexander of Troy, more commonly known as Paris.

Several of Barclay's personal names are also drawn from classic myth and literature. The name of Amphiaraus, hero, seer, and favorite of Zeus and Apollo, is used by Barclay (II, 157^v) to designate the chief friend of King James I of England. The correspondence is not developed in any detail, but it seems clear that the reference is to Robert Cecil, James' chief minister and Barclay's principal patron at the English court, to whom the second part of *Euphormio's Satyricon* was dedicated. James himself appears twice in the first part, very briefly, under the name of "Neptunus," who is described as the owner of a great collection of jewels (I, 115) and as the deity worshipped by the lyre (symbol of Ireland) as well as by the lions of Scotland and the leopards of England (I, 81^v). James' collection of precious stones is well-known. The name was perhaps chosen in reference to Britain's growing sea-power. Barclay also compares James to Neptune in his *Carmen Gratulatorium* for that monarch's entry into England (Paris, 1603).

Barclay's most daring personal insinuation against King Henri IV of France is his biting description of the marriage (October 5, 1604) of a lady of the court (Jacqueline de Bueil, Countess of Moret, one of Henri's paramours) to Philippe de Harlay, Comte de Cesy, merely for the sake of *convenance*. In satirizing this event (a well-known bit of court gossip in the first decade of the seventeenth century) Barclay aptly borrows names from Plautus' play *Casina*, in which a young slave-girl is married to a slave in order to cover up a love-affair with the master. "Casina," the girl in Plautus' play, corresponds in Barclay to Mme. de Moret; Barclay's "Olympio" refers to the duped groom, the Comte de Cesy; and "Cleostrata," Casina's governess in Plautus, refers either (as the early keys thought) to Henriette d'Entragues, Marquise de Verneuil, Henri's best known mistress who had to be placated, or more probably to Charlotte de la Trimouille, princesse de Condé, who reared the orphaned Jacqueline de Bueil and was said to have made the arrangements for the marriage.⁶ A "Juno," presumably representing the queen, Marie de Medicis, also appears in Barclay's incident, though not in Plautus. Since neither Cleostrata nor Juno is described by Barclay in detail, it is impossible to be completely certain about these two very plausible correspondences.

It was possibly Terence who provided the name for Barclay's protagonist, "Euphormio." One of Barclay's early editors, Gabriel Bugnot,⁷ speculates that "a Phormio appears in the comedies of Terence as the title of a play and a character; he plays the role of a certain garrulous parasite: perhaps I might say that Euphormio is a *good* parasite (if there can be a good one)." All commentators agree that Euphormio represents, at least to some degree, Barclay himself, especially in the second part, where many of the incidents closely parallel facts which we know about Barclay's life. The only other suggestion for the origin of the name was also hazarded by Bugnot, who thinks it may be derived from the Greek εὐφορμίζω ("to sing," "to play an instrument"). However, the Greek word is rare, and both the manner of derivation and the explanation of the meaning seem far-fetched.

⁶ See Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, ed. Antoine Adam (Dijon, 1960-61), I, 62, 743.

⁷ *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon*, ed. Gabriel Bugnot (Leyden, 1674), sig. *7.

A larger group of names consists in Latinisms and especially Hellenisms coined or taken over by Barclay to describe the function or the characteristics of the persons and places in question. Among place-names, for instance, "Eleutheria" (from ἐλευθερία, "freedom") stands for France, where Euphormio hoped to achieve full freedom from his slavery. "Lusinia" (from λύσις, also meaning "freedom" or "liberation") may possibly refer to Barclay's native Lorraine, or to the homeland of his ancestors, Scotland, but there are no particularizing details; basically it functions in the background of Euphormio's tale as his nativeland, a Utopia, unaffected by the evils of European society, which stands in marked contrast to the corrupt regions in which the story takes place. Barclay's description of "Marcia," a city built on water, clearly refers to Venice; the name is evidently derived from St. Mark, the city's patron. "Scolimorrhodia" (from σκόλυμος, "thistle," and ῥόδον "rose") stands for Great Britain, the word being derived from the emblems of Scotland and England respectively. A number of particularizing details make this identification certain: one must sail from Eleutheria to reach Scolimorrhodia, and it is possible to be blown off course and land in the country of the Thebans (Germanic peoples); it is in Scolimorrhodia that Euphormio meets a Puritan (Catharinus) and finds refuge at the end of his search for security in a friendly and magnificent court.

Throughout both parts of Barclay's work there occur many personal names coined in the same way as the place names just cited. In some cases, especially in Part I, it is impossible to discern the historical referent (if, indeed, one was intended), but the derivation of the name is obvious enough. Thus "Callion" (from καλλίων, "quite fine, handsome") is Euphormio's vain and ostentatious master. "Pedo" ("flat-footed"), one of Euphormio's fellow-slaves, has an appropriately plebeian name. "Anemon" (from ἄνεμος, "wind"), Euphormio's fickle friend, appropriately has a name suggesting inconstant variation. The historical individual behind Barclay's "Doromisus" ("gift-hater," from δῶρον and μισέω), however, is certain: Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully, duc de Rosny, chief minister of Henri IV. His name is ambiguous; as Barclay pointed out in his *Apologia for Euphormio's Satyricon* (Paris, 1610), it may mean either "hater of giving gifts" or "hater of receiving them." In self-defense Barclay claimed that he intended the second

meaning, as a compliment to the minister's incorruptibility. However the first possibility is at least equally appropriate in Euphormio's tale, for he finds that the powerful minister refuses him any recognition despite considerable merit. If the second possibility was really intended (of course it is possible, even probable, that the ambiguity was entirely intentional), the name is evidently ironic, for Barclay portrays Doromismus as quickly moved by a bribe from an inept but rich young office-seeker. Another figure of the French court is named "Geragathus" ("a good old man," from γέρον and ἀγαθός) – probably Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529–1607), whose sons are appropriately described by Barclay. Elsewhere, though, the same historical figure is referred to as "Longinus" – presumably an allusion to his senile slowness in expediting public business, which is alluded to by several contemporary commentators on the French court.⁸ "Trifartitus," a member of the imperial court, has a name ("thrice-stuffed," cp. Latin *farcio*) appropriate to his obesity. The Strasbourg key suggests that the reference is to George Lodowick, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, sent by the Emperor on a diplomatic mission to London in the late fall of 1605. This identification seems probable enough, but the particularizing details are not sufficient to allow for certainty. Two of Euphormio's revered counselors, "Themistius" and "Theophrastus," have names suggesting the protagonist's reasons for admiring them (Themistius, "a man of the law," "righteous one," from θέμις; Theophrastus, "divine speaker," from θεός and φράζω). It seems highly probable that Themistius stands in a general way for Barclay's father, William Barclay; in this case the name would be still more appropriate, since the elder Barclay was a professor of jurisprudence. Theophrastus has been identified by most of the keys as Cardinal du Perron, French ambassador in Rome, but the meager facts mentioned in Euphormio's description correspond more closely to Philippe de Cospéan, Barclay's probable teacher at Paris,⁹ a man noted for his eloquent preaching. For both counsellors, the details are not really sufficient to prove a certain correspondence.

⁸ See Tallemant, I, 201; Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully, *Mémoires de Sully* (Paris, 1814), IV, 310–11; Barclay, *Sylvae* (London, 1606), "De Pomponio," p. 46.

⁹ See the biographical sketch of Barclay in Bugnot's edition (cited in note 7), sig. **1.

One fairly lengthy section in Barclay's second part (II, 85–96^v) is devoted to an involved allegorical description of the wars between the United Provinces of Holland and the Spanish rulers of the Netherlands. A large number of the personal and local names in this description are coinages such as those now under discussion. The country itself is called "Icoleon" ("lion-like," from εἰκών and λέων), apparently in reference to the courageous perseverance of the Dutch Protestants through an entire generation of bloody wars. Icoleon is described as a region in the North, formerly governed by "Hippophilus" ("horse-lover" from ἵππος and φίλος, but also very nearly an anagram for the name of Philip), Philip II, well known for his love of hunting and equestrian exercises. Hippophilus is referred to as the king of "Melandria" ("the land of the dark-skinned," from μέλας, "black" and ἀνὴρ, "man"), a country with a great empire disturbed by disputes over trade in the Indies. The reference can only be to Spain.

Several of the protagonists of the Dutch war are also given Hellenic names coined by Barclay. Besides Hippophilus, there is "Argyrostratus" ("silver-army," from ἄργυρος and στρατός), i.e. Ambrose Spinola, the wealthy Spanish commander who lost most of his fortune in extremely costly campaigns in the Netherlands; "Despotikyrius" ("his lord's master" from δεσπότης and κύριος), i.e. the Duke of Lerma, strong-willed first minister and financial advisor of the weak Spanish king, Philip III; "Neopalaeus" ("a modern ancient" from νέος and παλαιός), i.e. the famous classical scholar, Lipsius; "Nearius" (probably from νεαρός, "fresh, youthful"), i.e. Maurice, count of Nassau and Prince of Orange, youthful head of the native armies in Holland; and "Leucus" (λευκός, "white"), probably John Neyen, Spanish Franciscan and advisor to Philip III. Some of the keys have suggested a different identification for Leucus, thinking that the reference was to Père Coton, famous Jesuit advisor of the French Henri IV. However, Leucus is described as "the master of secret devotion" for the Spanish king and as an important participant in negotiations for a truce in the Netherlands. The name was probably chosen ironically to suggest the candor which should have characterized a diplomat-priest whom Barclay accuses in fact of much hypocrisy.

Most of Barclay's coinages for personal names discussed up to this point have referred to the temperament or characteristics of the

individuals in question. In addition there are a number of similar Hellenisms and Latinisms which designate the function or role in society of the allegorized personages. Thus the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II is referred to simply as "Aquilus" (from *aquila*, "eagle"), in allusion to the symbol of his office. A Puritan whom Euphormio meets in Scolimorrhodia is named "Catharinus" ("the pure one," from *καθαρός*). In Euphormio's lengthy discussions of ecclesiastical affairs, monks are designated as "philosophi," prelates as "poimenarchi" ("ruling shepherds," from *ποιμήν* and *ἄρχων*), and the Pope as "Gephyrius" (from *γέφυρα*, "bridge"; cp. Latin *pontifex*). The ruler of Eleutheria (Henri IV of France) is called "Protagon" ("first in battle," from *πρῶτος* and *ἄγων*) and the king of Scolimorrhodia (James I of England) is called "Tessaractus" ("four-fold king," from *τέσσαρα* and *ἄναξ* — an allusion to the British ruler's traditional claim to the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and France). Finally, a minor official in Protagon's court, mentioned only in passing, is named "Cursor." The keys plausibly hazard the guess that the reference is to the master of Henri's "coursers" (as *contrôleur général des postes*), Guillaume Fouquet, marquis de la Varenne, who was also an important assistant in the amorous king's romantic intrigues.

The easiest names to identify in Barclay's tale are simply anagrams or translations for the real names. Among the anagrams, for instance are "Acignius" (Ignatius Loyola), "Labetrus" (Archduke Albert, governor of the Hapsburg Netherlands), and "Sibronius" (Brisson, eminent jurist and first president of the Parliament of Paris, hanged by political enemies in 1591). A number of anagrammatic names appear in the allegory about the wars in the Netherlands: "Albagon" (the former Spanish governor, the Duke of Alva — note the suffix *ἄγων*, "battle, struggle," suggesting the Duke's bellicose ferocity); "Charridotus" (Richardot, president of the Council of the Lowlands, instrumental in negotiations for a truce); "Liphippus" (Philip III, current ruler of Spain), "Lisipus" (Lipsius) and "Vanarra" (Navarre).

In several cases real personal names are simply translated into Greek or Latin. Thus Louis Pothier, immensely wealthy secretary of state under Henri IV, is called "Figulus" ("Potter"). Monsieur de Neuf-Ville, Marquis de Villeroy, another advisor of Henri, is called "Neapolitanus" (from *νέος* and *πόλις* — a Greek translation of his

surname). The Spanish Infanta, Isabella, wife of Archduke Albert, is called "Pedaea" (from $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$, "child," "infanta"). Nicolas Brulard (or Bruslart), chancellor of France from 1607 on, is called "Torrentius" (both the real and the allegorical name meaning "burning").

Finally, two allegorical names were derived partly through phonetic similarities and partly through translation. Pierre Jeanin, another important French courtier, is called "Janicularis" — a play on words, adding a Latinized ending to his name and extending it to suggest the two-faced Roman god Janus. The Count of Egmont, beheaded by the Duke of Alva at the beginning of the Dutch wars, is called "Aegorus." The name seems to be formed by a combination of the first syllable of his real name with the Greek $\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (mountain, "mont").

It is evident, then, that the first of the satirical romans à clef made constant and clever use of a relatively few techniques to name a set of allegorical figures. These techniques were extremely important for Barclay's satirical purposes. They contribute considerably to the maintenance of the classical atmosphere which he used for satiric contrasts and for comic juxtaposition. Without the names as they stand, very many of Barclay's characters would not be identifiable, and (as the numerous keys and discussions of his work suggest) his tale would certainly have been less amusing to his contemporaries. The careful choice of names was an essential element in the technique of the roman à clef as initiated by Barclay.