

Know then thy-self, presume not God to scan;
The proper Study of mankind is *Man*.³⁴

Buried in the surrounding debris in the title-page engraving are contrary maxims, largely taken from scholasticism, though not without reference to contemporary debates. The reasons for rejection of the tag furthest left, and most important, 'a priori', are made clear by Warburton's note on those who take the 'high Priori road' in the *Dunciad*: 'those who, instead of reasoning from a *visible World* to an *invisible God*, took the other road; and from an *invisible God* (to whom they had given attributes agreeable to certain metaphysical principles formed out of their own imaginations) reasoned *downwards* to a *visible world* in theory, of Man's Creation'.³⁵ The next phrase is 'substantiae immateriales' (immaterial substances), an important idea in the first part of Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, the centre of a series of questions about men and angels.³⁶ Next comes 'locus [est] ubi', which I suspect, on the basis of the sketchy skulls that lie beneath, is short for 'Hic locus est ubi mors gaudet succerre vitae' (this is the place where death delights in aiding the living), the inscription over the University of Padua's anatomical theatre. Then comes 'universale a parte rei' (the universal part of the thing), a much despised position in the debate about universals, and said by Bayle to be 'a mere subtlety of Metaphysics, and . . . generally exploded now by the best Philosophers as a dispute about words only'; it is also mocked in the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*.³⁷ Finally come 'ens rationis' (an abstract logical entity) and 'Essentia intelligibil[es]' (intelligible essences), both instances of the abstract knowledge rejected here by Pope and by Bolingbroke in his philosophy.³⁸ The engraving is well proportioned in relation to its pages, but neither inventor nor engraver is identified, and, in comparison with its companions by Kent, it lacks boldness and clarity; the mottoes seem to testify to a lack of confidence in the visual symbols' ability to speak to the reader. I suspect Pope was the inventor and that he may have had help from Bolingbroke.

At the end of the 'Design', explaining his conception of the poem, Pope placed the vignette that had been adapted from the end of the *Odyssey* to illustrate *Satire* II.i with the motto 'UNI ÆQVVS VIRTVTI ATQ. EIVS AMICI'. That symbol of friendship complemented and highlighted the meaning of the head-piece that then appeared on the first page of the poem. The early editions of the epistle, with the title *An Essay on Man. Address'd to a Friend*, had begun 'Awake! my LÆLIUS', the name Laelius being used to declare the importance of friendship.

34. *An Essay on Man*, ed. Maynard Mack (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), *Twickenham*, 3.1:53, lines II.1–2. I have used the typography of *Works* II quarto.

35. *The Dunciad in Four Books*, ed. Valerie Rumbold (Harlow: Longman, 1999), 331–2, line IV.471n. Subsequent references will be to this edition.

36. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* (Alba: Editiones Paulinae), 426–8 (Part 1; quest. 88; arts. 1–2).

37. Pierre Bayle, *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical* (London: J. Roberts, 1734), 1:396; *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discourses of Martinus Scriblerus*, ed. Charles Kerby-Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 120–2, 124.

38. G. Anderson mentions the attitude to 'a priori' (passim) and both 'universale a parte rei' and 'ens rationis' in his *A Remonstrance against Lord Viscount Bolingbroke's Philosophical Religion* (London, 1756), 20.