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CORNELL STUDIES IN ENGLISH
XV

THE LATIN POEMS
OF
JOHN MILTON

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION,
AND NOTES, BY

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MATRI MEAE

THE LATIN POEMS OF MILTON

PREFACE

If this edition of Milton's Latin poems removes any obstacle to the apprehension of their merits as poetry, and of their significance as an integral part of Milton's work or as a revelation of his personality, the object of the editor will be attained.

Of the contents of the volume nothing need here be added to my remarks, on page 186, concerning the text of the poems, save that, for the sake of conformity with what seems to be Milton's practice, *caelum* has regularly been substituted for *coelum*, and in *Epitaphium Damonis*, line 210, *Diodotus* has been changed to *Diodatus*.

In its original form my work was submitted as a doctoral dissertation at Cornell University in June, 1923. Since that time, as leisure permitted, I have completely revised it, adding somewhat to the introductory matter and to the notes, and making many changes in the translation. I regret that Professor Harris Fletcher's paper, *Grierson's Suggested Date for Milton's 'Ad Patrem'* (*The Fred Newton Scott Anniversary Papers*, Chicago, 1929, pp. 199–205), came into my hands too late to be mentioned in my discussion of that poem.

I here gladly express my obligations to those who have assisted me in my labors. My former teacher, the late Professor Albert S. Cook of Yale, as the last of many kind services to me, read my manuscript, and offered me valuable suggestions. I have to thank Professor E. K. Rand of Harvard, and Professor Charles G. Osgood of Princeton, for help and advice in various matters. The authorities of the Harvard College Library graciously allowed me to quote from Coleridge's marginal notes in his copy of Milton, which now belongs to that library. I desire also to acknowledge the assistance in proof-reading that I have received from my mother and from my friend Professor Arthur L. Woehl

of Hunter College. I owe a large debt of gratitude to two other friends. Professor James Hutton of Cornell University, who with friendly care read both the manuscript and the proofs, has by his discerning criticisms saved me from many errors and infelicities. My debt to Professor Lane Cooper, at whose suggestion this work was undertaken, can be but inadequately acknowledged. From the beginning he has shown a sympathetic interest in its progress, and with characteristic generosity has aided me with counsel and encouragement.

WALTER MACKELLAR

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INTRODUCTION

NEO-LATIN POETRY

I

Petrarch in a letter to Boccaccio once said: 'I have read in the works of Virgil, Horace, Livy, Cicero—read not once but a thousand times, not hastily but intently, and have brought to bear upon them all the powers of my mind. What I ate in the morning I digested in the evening; what I swallowed as a youth I ruminated as an old man. These works have become so familiar to me, have been so imprinted, not only upon my memory, but upon my innermost being, have become so much a part of my own nature, that, even if I should never read them again, they would yet remain firmly rooted in the depths of my soul.'[1] In a letter to his brother Gherardo,[2] he wrote with even greater enthusiasm for the study of the classics. Silver and gold, jewels and purple raiment, marble houses and caparisoned steeds, all these afford a passing pleasure; but books—and he has in mind the works of the great Latin writers—are a delight to the soul.[3] Again and again he returns to the subject, irresistibly drawn to classical literature by its revelation to him of human nature in all the fulness of intellectual and moral liberty. By labor and intent study, by unwearied search for manuscripts, by inciting others to the work, Petrarch endeavored, as his highest mission in life, to reawaken a buried and forgotten antiquity.[4] Thus the first humanist 'sought out our ancient mother.'[5]

[1] *Epistulae de rebus familiarsbus* (22.2), ed. by Fracassetti, 1859–63, 3. 123.

[2] *Ibid.* (3.18), 1. 177–8.

[3] With Petrarch on the study of the classics compare Gargantua's letter to Pantagruel (*Pantagruel* 7), Rabelais, *Œuvres*, ed. by Lefranc, 1912–22, 3. 102–8.

[4] See Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des klassischen Altertums*, 1893, 1. 35–7.

[5] On the position of the classics in the Middle Ages see Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, tr. by Benecke, 1895, pp. 79 ff.; Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 2d ed., 1906, 1. 617 ff.; Monnier, *Le Quattrocento*, 7th ed., 1. 110 ff.

His quest was richly rewarded. Diligent search brought to light manuscripts of many lost works. Unwearied study, combined with an artistic sensibility, gave him an understanding of the classics such as no man for centuries had attained. Yet Petrarch remained a pioneer—and rarely do pioneers enjoy the ripe fruit of their labors. He never was able completely to free himself from modes of thought that prevailed in the preceding age.[1] In his Latin works he never was able to achieve the elegance of his great exemplars, Virgil and Cicero.[2] Nor could it be otherwise. The reward of his labors was the impetus he gave to others who, fired with his enthusiasm, took up and carried on the work that he had begun.

After Petrarch, came the glorious company of scholars, Boccaccio, Salutati, Gasparino, Giovanni di Conversino, Poggio, Filelfo, Bruni, Ficino, Politian, Navagero, Fracastoro, and a host of others great and small,[3] true philologists, who, carrying their researches into every field of human thought, gradually reconstructed the civilization of antiquity, that became the ideal after which they sought to form the civilization of their own time.[4] So great was their devotion to antiquity, and so vigorous did the classical tradition become, that, within a century after Petrarch's death, there was in Italy a general Latinization of culture which in time more or less affected the whole of Western Europe.[5] It was a Latinization enriched by Hellenism. In the fulness of its development it produced the Scaligers, Henri Estienne, Montaigne, Colet, Linacre, Grocyn, Thomas More, and Erasmus.

[1] See Voigt, *op. cit.* 1. 26.

[2] Petrarch calls Virgil and Cicero 'the two eyes of our language'—*gli occhi de la lingua nostra* (*Trionfe della Fama* 3. 21). For his observations upon his own style, see *Epist. Fam.* (22.2), ed by Fracassetti, 3. 124–5. Criticisms of his style are to be found in Voigt, *op. cit.* 1. 32 ff.; Tatham, *Francesco Petrarca*, 1926, 2. 29; Schneider, *Petrarchae Historia Iulii Caesaris*, 1827, pp. xxxxii ff.

[3] See Sandys, *op. cit.* 2. 11 ff. For fuller accounts of these scholars, see Voigt, *op. cit.* 1. 157 ff., and Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, tr. by Middlemore, 1914, pp. 217 ff.

[4] Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–5.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 249 ff.

The story of such scholars and their work is an important chapter in human history, for they were the leaders in a great intellectual and spiritual revolution, and gave to the Renaissance its animating spirit. In every field of endeavor their influence was felt. As a result, society, the State, and the Church, architecture, painting, literature, science, philosophy, religion, all underwent profound changes. Here we are concerned only with the literature, and indeed with only a part of that—the neo-Latin poetry.

Through the period of decline after the fall of the Roman Empire of the West, and throughout the Middle Ages, Latin remained the language of the Western Church and of scholarship; thus in the eight hundred years before the birth of Petrarch there had grown up an extensive and highly diversified literature.[1] To the humanists, however, as they became acquainted with classical Latin, the Latin of the Middle Ages seemed degenerate and barbarous, the literature crude and worthless. Yet as a living medium of expression Latin lay ready at their command. There were, it is true, vernacular literatures. Dante had written his great poem in Italian; but he also thought it necessary to write a treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. More than two centuries later, du Bellay was constrained to write his *Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française*. But to the humanists it almost seemed that the vernaculars, since they were mere aggregations of dialects with small literary tradition, were not to be considered for artistic purposes. He who wrote in the dialect of his own city could be but imperfectly understood in a city a hundred miles away; he who wrote in Latin wrote not only for his own city but for the world, *urbi et orbi*. Thus ambitious men—and there were many of them in the Renaissance—were left with no choice. Moreover, as these men surveyed the literary effort, both Latin and vernacular, of the thousand years before their own time, and

[1] See Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, 1888–1902, 2. 1. 111 ff., 151 ff., 323 ff.; Voigt, *op. cit.* 2. 395; Ker, *The Dark Ages*, 1904, pp. 96 ff. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 1 (1911). 19–21, 153 ff., 537 ff.; 2 (1923). 491 ff.

compared it with the work of the authors of ancient Rome, it made a sorry showing. One poem, the *Commedia*, since it was written in Italian, might with reservations be allowed a place in the first order.[1] With this exception, all the artistic merits lay with the ancients, and by the study of them alone might art be improved. Thus, inevitably, the humanists would write Latin poetry in imitation of the classics.

In bulk what they wrote far exceeds the extant classical Latin poetry. Much of it lies buried in manuscript in European libraries; the rest—most of it not reprinted since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—though more accessible, has fallen into almost equal obscurity, neglected by students alike of the classics and the modern literatures. Much of this work after all may be not poetry, but laborious versification, and hardly deserves disinterment. Yet a considerable amount is poetry of real merit. The value of the whole, and its influence upon the development of the vernacular literatures, are problems awaiting scholarly investigation.

II

Were it desirable, still it would here be a hopeless task to attempt so much as a summary account of the Latin poets of the Renaissance, for their number is legion, their work diverse, and our knowledge of them at best fragmentary. Of those whose worth is known, a few fairly represent the best in their tradition, and reveal the perfection men of genius could attain to in the practice of the difficult art of Latin poetry. When their history shall have been written, and it at last becomes possible to determine their respective merits, scholarly judgment probably will decide that the Italians, who felt themselves to be the direct heirs of ancient Rome, and who sought to take up the thread of culture where the poets of the Silver Age had dropped it, show this art at its best in modern times. For them Latin was less a language of the past than it was for the other peoples of Europe. Virgil and Cicero were their kinsmen.

[1] See Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Among the Latin poets I here need mention, Petrarch, though not one of the greatest, justly has prominence. If on no other ground, he would be conspicuous because of his historical position. His literary fame now rests upon his Italian sonnets and canzoni, but it was hardly for these that he expected to be remembered in after-times. To him and to other humanists, the very consummation of their labors was their Latin poetry, in which, as they believed, they most nearly approached the ideal of ancient art. But Petrarch's Latin poetry is well-nigh forgotten; his great poem, the *Africa*, has been dismissed as 'unreadable.'[1] The poem, it is true, has defects, the worst doubtless arising from the limitations of Petrarch's genius. He was not an epic poet; the powers that enabled him to write exquisite sonnets were insufficient to control a subject of epic magnitude. Consequently, and especially in the first books, the *Africa* is often burdened with superfluous matter, and tedious. Nor is the structure alone faulty; the verse is monotonous, the diction often turgid, and the sentence inordinately long, and forced into metre. With these serious defects, the poem, nevertheless, is *not* unreadable. Apart from errors of structure, the faults were perhaps inevitable in reviving an art that for centuries had been neglected. Like other early Italian artists—painters, sculptors, and architects—Petrarch, whatever his artistic conceptions, was but imperfectly master of the medium in which he wrought; like those other artists, in his imperfect work he nevertheless reveals power and imagination. When his feelings are touched, he rises to eloquence.[2]

In the seventy-five years that followed Petrarch's death in 1374, Latin poets were numerous, and for the most part rude;[3] but, before a century had passed, the nurture of humanism had so enriched the Italian genius that two poets appeared whose works would almost do honor to the Silver Age. Pontano (1426–

[1] See Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[2] See *Africa*, ed. by Pingaud, 1872, pp. 42–3; Tatham, *Francesco Petrarca* 2. 29.

[3] Maphaeus Vigeius, the continuer of the *Aeneid*, alone rises above the general mediocrity.

1503), the elder of the two, will always rank among the first of neo-Latin poets; he wrote with a fluency and a grace unknown since the days of ancient Rome.[1] A versatile man, he was not only poet, but grammarian, historian, astronomer, and philosopher; and his poems are almost as varied as his interests.[2] The longest, the *Urania*,[3] which runs to several thousand verses, is an elaborate work on the stars. In another poem of considerable length, the *De Hortis Hesperidum*, he deals with the cultivation of the orange. Better than these, however, are his numerous shorter pieces—epigrams, elegies, amatory verses, and the like.

The younger of the two was Politian (1454–94), who though less elegant than Pontano and some of the yet later Italians, was surpassed by none in power of intellect and fertility of imagination. But if he was less 'correct,' if he followed less steadily the modes of expression found in Virgil and Horace,[4] this in part was because his vigorous mind refused to be circumscribed by imitation of the ancients, and forced the Latin language to express its own sentiments, even as the poets of Augustus had done in their time. Thus in his Latin poems Politian remained himself, and gave utterance to genuine emotion. In the beautiful elegy, *De Ovidii Exilio et Morte*,[5] and the noble odes, *Ad Gentilem Episcopum*[6] and *Ad Horatium Flaccum*,[7] there is no mistaking the powerful sentiment stirring in his heart. But Politian is best in the *Sylvae*, a group of four longer poems, the two finest being the *Rusticus*[8] and the *Nutricia*.[9] The *Rusticus*, with its excellent descriptions, notably that of the vintage-feast, is an account of the

[1] See Rand, *Ovid and his Influence*, pp. 153–4.

[2] See Sannazaro, *De Studiis suis, et Libris Iouiani Pontani* (*Eleg.* 1. 9.).

[3] *Pontani Opera*, Venice 1533, pp. 1–107.

[4] Hallam (*Literature of Europe* 1 (1837). 268) remarks that Politian's use of words 'unauthorized by any legitimate example' may in some measure be excused 'by the want of tolerable dictionaries, so that the memory was the only test of classical precedent.'

[5] *Eleg.* 13.

[6] *Odae* 2. In this ode to Gentile d'Urbino, bishop of Arezzo, Politian, lamenting the death of Giuliano de' Medici, finds solace in the preservation of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who had been attacked by the same band of assassins that murdered his brother.

[7] *Odae* 3.

[8] *Sylv.* 2.

[9] *Sylv.* 4.

Italian peasant's varying labors through the changing seasons of the year. The *Nutricia*, an introduction to the history of poetry in general, is an even more remarkable poem. Says John Addington Symonds:

We possess the whole of Politian in the *Nutricia*. It displays the energy of intellect that carried him on bounding verse through the intricacies of a subject difficult by reason of its scope and magnitude. All his haste is here, his inability to polish or select, his lava-stream of language hurrying the dross of prose and *scoriae* of erudition along a burning tide of song. His memory held as it were in solution all the matter of antique literature; and when he wrote he poured forth in torrents, combining them with critical remarks, for the double purpose of instruction and panegyric. Taken at the lowest valuation by students to whom his copious stores of knowledge are familiar, the vivid and continuous melody of his leaping hexameters places the *Nutricia* above the lucubrations of more fastidious Latinists.[1]

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the period in the Italian Renaissance most productive of Latin poetry, there were, among the younger contemporaries of Pontano and Politian, several gifted poets who extended the realm which they had inherited, and gave to it a brilliancy hitherto unknown. None surpassed Politian in power, but a few rose to greater refinement. The Neapolitan Sannazaro (1458–1530), famous as a Latinist of purity and elegance, though his elegies would almost bear comparison with those of Tibullus, and though he himself regarded the *De Partu Virginis*[2] as his principal work, is now chiefly remembered for his beautiful *Fisher-Eclogues*, in which the Virgilian

[1] *Renaissance in Italy: Revival of Learning*, 1881, pp. 458–9. Symonds also gives in translation the estimate of Politian by Lilius Gyraldus (*Dialogi de Poetis Nostrorum Temporum*, in *Opera Lilii Gyraldi*, 1580, 2. 388): 'Politian's learning was marvelous, his genius fervent and well-trained, his reading extensive and uninterrupted, yet he appears to have composed his verses with more heat than art, using too little judgment both in the selection of his materials and in the correction of his style. When, however, you read his *Sylvae*, the impression left upon your mind will be such that for the moment you lack nothing.'

[2] 'That the poem *De Partu Virginis* contains many fine passages, and exhibits the powers of the author, and his command of the Latin language, in a more striking point of view than any of his other writings, cannot be denied; and it is even probable that he chose this subject for the purpose of displaying the facility with which he could apply the language and the imagery of paganism to the [*Continued on page 8.*]

pastoral is transferred from shepherds and their flocks to fishermen and their nets. Of the *Salices*, an Ovidian metamorphosis, Professor Rand remarks: 'Catullus could not surpass the grace or Ovid the narrative rapidity of this perfect little poem.'[1] Vida (1489–1566),[2] Mantuan (1448–1516)[3] and Bembo (1470–1547)[4] were poets of talent, and in their day enjoyed a measure of fame; but their gifts lay rather in imitation of the ancients than in originality of conception. Without great inspiration, they faithfully walked in the footsteps of Virgil and Cicero, and by so doing secured facility in graceful expression, but excluded from their works almost all spontaniety. The versatile Fracastoro (1483–1553)[5] rises far above the three poets just mentioned. Not only was he a poet and critic of rare attainments; he was also the most eminent physician in Italy. His literary renown he mainly owes to a celebrated poem, entitled *Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico*, which displays the varied wealth of his medical knowledge and the wide range of his acquaintance with poetry. The title of the poem comes from the name of the shepherd Syphilis who tended the flocks of Alcithous, king of Atlantis, and who, because he refused sacrifice to Apollo, was smitten by the angry god with loathsome ulcers. Says Roscoe:

The means adopted for his restoration to health, and the circumstances by which the remedy was communicated to Europe, form a principal part of the subject of the poem; which throughout the whole displays a degree of elegance, and a propriety

illustration of the truths of the Christian creed. But, after all, it must be confessed that he was unfortunate in his choice; and that the work, if not deserving of reprehension for its impiety, was at least deserving of it in the estimation of a true and correct taste. To require the attention of the reader, through a poem containing nearly fifteen hundred lines, to an event over which the common feelings of mankind have agreed to throw a respectful veil, is itself injudicious, if not indelicate; but to expose the mysteries of the Christian faith in the language of profane poetry; to discuss with particular minuteness the circumstances of the miraculous conception and delivery of the Virgin, and to call upon the heathen deities to guide him through all the recesses of the mysterious rite, can only occasion disgust and horror to the true believer, and afford the incredulous a subject for ridicule or contempt' (Roscoe, *Life of Leo the Tenth*, 1827, 3. 283–4).

[1] *Ovid and his Influence*, p. 155.

[2] See Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 398–400, 471–6.

[3] See Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, 1 (1837). 310–1; Roscoe, *op. cit.* 1. 96–8.

[4] See Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 482–3.

[5] See *ibid.*, pp. 476–81; Roscoe, *op. cit.* 3. 295–308.

of poetical ornament, scarcely to be expected from so unpromising a topic. In relating the discovery of the great mineral remedy, the powers of which were then well-known, and the use of which is fully explained, the author has introduced a beautiful episode, in which he explains the internal structure of the earth, the great operations of nature in the formation of metals, and the gloomy splendor of her subterraneous temples, her caverns, and her mines. This region he has peopled with poetical beings, among whom, the nymph Lipare presides over the streams of quicksilver, into which the diseased visitant is directed to plunge himself thrice, and on his restoration to health, and his return to the regions of day, not to forget to pay his vows to Diana, and to the chaste nymphs of the sacred fount.[1]

Lucretius and Virgil were able to invest philosophy and the science of agriculture with the graces of poetry; but it is wonderful that Fracastoro, from a far more unpromising subject, could fashion a work as rich in poetry as the *Syphilis*.

A greater poet than Fracastoro was his friend Navagero (1483–1529),[2] who by his admirable character and extraordinary intellect achieved eminence among the eminent men of the age. Few of the Latin poets of the Renaissance were by nature so richly endowed or by cultivation so refined as Navagero. 'Few,' says Symonds, '...combined so much true feeling and fancy with a style more pure and natural. Some of his little compositions half-elegy, half-idyl, have the grace and freedom of the Greek Anthology. There is a simple beauty in their motives, while the workmanship reminds us of chiseling in smooth waxy marble.'[3] In the works of Navagero, if anywhere in neo-Latin poetry, there is the true spirit of poetry in the genuine antique manner. Poems like *Damon* and *Iolas*, and the short ode *Ad Bembum*, were they not known to belong to the sixteenth century, might be regarded as the work of some unknown poet in the age of Augustus.[4]

[1] *Op. cit.* 3. 304.
[2] See *ibid.* 3. 308–17; Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 485–8.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 485.
[4] We regret that the standard of excellence Navagero set for himself has lost us much of his poetry. A poem entitled *Vota Acmonis Vulcano* (*Carmina* 16) records that he burned his youthful imitations of the *Sylvae* of Statius. [*Continued on page 10.*]

But at the very time when Navagero and his brother-poets were achieving the highest glories of Italian humanism, their cause had begun to decline, and the humanists themselves were falling into disrepute.[1] As far as poetry is concerned, it is significant of the changing attitude that Ariosto (1474–1533), the greatest Italian poet of the sixteenth century, withstood the earnest solicitations of Bembo that he write in Latin, and composed the *Orlando Furioso* in Italian, preferring rather to be 'one of the first among writers in Tuscan than *barely the second* among those in Latin.'[2] Ariosto's vision, which was denied to the humanists, was soon shared by other poets who in turn chose the vernacular, and, having thus chosen, determined the course that poetry should follow.

Yet the cultivation of vernacular poetry, which now rapidly increased, did not immediately diminish the volume of Latin verse, whatever the effect upon the quality. For a hundred years after Ariosto, the two traditions developed side by side. Indeed, the *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum*, the great collection published at Florence in 1719, indicates that in Italy, in the second half of the sixteenth century, Latin poets were more numerous than ever before. A few, like the brothers Amaltei, had merit, but none approached the excellence of those in the first half of the century,

Fracastoro, who in his treatise *De Morbis Contagiosis* gives a fairly detailed account of the death of Navagero, writes: 'Notwithstanding his great talents and great activity, he was so fully occupied with the affairs of the State that he could scarcely devote any time to his studies. His correct judgment led him to appreciate with severity his own productions, and, having formed an idea that they were not sufficiently revised and polished to be published, without detracting from the high reputation which he had obtained among the learned of almost all nations, he committed all the writings which he had with him to the flames. Among these were his books *De Venatione*, or *On Hunting*, elegantly written in heroic verse, . . . and another work which I have seen, *De Situ Orbis*. . . . The orations of Navagero on the death of d'Alviano, and of the doge Loredano, which are distinguished by all the beauty of antiquity, and a few poems which were privately copied by his friends, and may be considered as the gleanings of his funeral pile, have, however, been published, and will demonstrate the exalted genius and great learning of Navagero to all future times.' See Roscoe, *op. cit.* 3. 314–5.

[1] See Burckhardt, *Renaissance in Italy*, 1914, pp. 272–81; Hallam, *Literature of Europe* 2 (1839). 45–6.

[2] Gardner, *The King of Court Poets*, p. 264; italics mine. See also Milton, *Church-Gov.* 2 (*Pr. W.* 2. 478).

an excellence never to be recaptured by the Italians. Henceforth men of other nations were to win the honors of the Latin Muse.

Even before the decline of learning and the arts in Italy, humanism had passed beyond the Alps, and Latin poets had become numerous in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. A little later, when Scotsmen were frequenting the Continental universitites, their remote land could boast of her poets.[1] As the century advanced, northern singers so rapidly multiplied that at its close they were numbered by hundreds.[2] Though much of their outpouring of song was but rude minstrelsy, there were occasional melodious voices. Of these, none has attracted more attention than that of George Buchanan (1506–82), Scottish man of letters and citizen of the world, one of the most voluminous and varied of modern Latin poets. Elegies, epigrams, odes, a long didactic poem, *De Sphaera*, two dramas, translations of the Psalms and of the *Medea* and *Alcestis* of Euripides, constitute the large body of his verse. In it there are bitter satires upon the Franciscans in *Franciscanus* and *Fratres Fraterrimi*; delicately beautiful poems on May-day, *Calendae Maiae* and *Maiae Calendae*; and salacious poems addressed to Neaera and Leonora, who, we are glad to believe, had no reality this side of the poet's imagination.[3] And there are other poems of elevated tone, as the elegy, *Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae*, and *Desiderium Lutetiae*, that betray something of Buchanan's scholarly tastes; there is the fine *Epithalamium* in honor of Francis, the Dauphin of France, and Mary, Queen of Scots, in which (lines 172–200) occurs the noble encomium of Scotland. In *De Sphaera* there is an elaborate exposition of the Ptolemaic astronomy. Through all this wide range of subjects and moods, the poetic quality is not evenly sustained,

[1] According to Dr. Johnson, 'the Latin poetry of the *Deliciae Poetarum Scotorum* would have done honor to any nation' (*Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, in Johnson, *Works*, ed. by Murphy, 1806, 8. 210).

[2] Hallam (*op. cit.* 2. 338), commenting upon the various *Deliciae Poetarum* of Gruter (Janus Gruterus or Ranusius Gherus), notes that 'according to a list in Baillet, the number of Italian poets selected by Gruter is 203; of French, 108; of Dutch or Belgic, 129; of German, 211.' See also Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay*, 1900, pp. 59, 62–3, 105; Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'Humanisme*, 1921, pp. 1–8, 141 ff., 244 ff.

[3] See Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer*, 1890, p. 140.

and false quantities will annoy the strict Latinist; yet in energy and facility Buchanan has few competitors. His merits were early recognized, and his contemporaries lavished upon him the highest praise. Henri Estienne called him 'poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps,'[1] and Joseph Scaliger, in closing his epitaph, wrote:

Namque ad supremum perducta Poetica culmen
In te stat, ne quo progrediatur, habet.
Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes;
Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit.[2]

Nor have more recent critics disagreed with the judgment of Estienne and Scaliger. Dr. Johnson remarked that Buchanan's name has 'as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern Latinity.'[3] Wordsworth went so far as to say: 'I think Buchanan's *Maiae Calendae* equal in sentiment, if not in elegance, to anything in Horace.'[4] Professor W. M. Lindsay, a scholar who is by no means unmindful of the lapses in Buchanan's Latinity, calls him 'the best writer of Latin verse, that is, of original Latin verse, since the Revival of Learning.' Lindsay continues: 'His facility in widely different styles of Latin poetry is amazing. Some of his epigrams would not have been disdained by Martial, e.g.:

Frustra ego te laudo, frustra me, Zoile, laedis,
Nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi.

His satire on the Franciscans is reminiscent of Juvenal, his *De Sphaera* of Lucretius; his elegiacs and lyrics are always pleasing, although Wordsworth exaggerated in declaring the Alcaic *May-day* to be worthy of Horace.'[5]

After the death of Buchanan, if any poet might next assume his mantle, it was Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the noble Dutch

[1] Macmillan, *George Buchanan, a Biography*, p. 109.

[2] *Buchanani Scoti Poemata*, 1687, p. 6. For epitaphs by Estienne and others see *ibid.*, pp. 6–7; for complimentary poems by Julius Caesar Scaliger, Beza, and Melville, *ibid.*, pp. 8–11. See also Hallam, *op. cit.* 2. 342–4.

[3] *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, in Johnson, *Works*, ed. by Murphy 1806, 8. 186.

[4] *Wordsworth's Literary Criticism*, ed. by N. C. Smith, p. 255.

[5] *Buchanan as a Latin Scholar*, in *George Buchanan, a Memorial*, ed. by Millar, pp. 207–8.

scholar and statesman, one of the most enlightened men of the age. To him a high place among neo-Latin poets has always been accorded; but his part in the affairs of nations, the importance of his prose works, notably the *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, and his profound and beneficent influence in the warfare against unreason, have tended to overshadow his greatness as a poet. Had he directed all his powers to the cultivation of poetry, he might well have surpassed Buchanan in that as he did in other fields; as it is, he follows after him at only a brief interval. His eminence is the more remarkable, since the most ambitious of his poems were written when he was little more than a youth—the tragedy, *Adamus Exul*,[1] at the age of eighteen, and his greatest poem, *Christus Patiens*, also a tragedy, at twenty-five. Of shorter pieces, elegies, epigrams, poems in various metres brought together in the books of *Silvae*, there are many. Two on the Eucharist, *Eucharistia* 1 and 2,[2] and the *Myrtilus*, *sive idyllium nauticum*, *ad Danielem Heinsium*,[3] and the *Epicedium Iacobii Heemskerckii*[4] deserve mention. The elegy, *Hiemis Commoda*,[5] is a poem of such grace and charm that Ovid might not have blushed to acknowledge the like as a youthful performance. In the famous epigram, *Ostenda loquitur*,[6] Grotius represents the city, in the third year of its siege, addressing the world. These, and indeed nearly all the poems of Grotius, are examples of good taste, just and noble sentiment, and classical diction. 'Of the Latin poets of that age,' says Sandys, 'Baudius may excel in fancy; Broukhusius, and the elder and younger Heinsius, in smoothness of style; but Grotius surpasses all in the success with which he reproduces the spirit of classical poetry, and clothes modern thoughts in ancient forms.'[7]

The day of neo-Latin poetry was now far spent, and entering upon a long twilight; and as yet, in England, despite the presence

[1] See *Poet. W. of Milton*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 2. 136–7.
[2] *Silv.* 1. 3, 8.
[3] *Silv.* 2. 7.
[4] *Silv.* 2. 9.
[5] *Eleg.* 1. 6.
[6] *Grotii Poemata*, 1639, pp. 293–4.
[7] *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 1908, 2. 318.

of Grocyn, Linacre, Colet, More, and other humanists who raised English scholarship to a high repute,[1] there had been no Latin poets to bear comparison with those of France, the Netherlands, and Scotland, much less with those of Italy. John Leland (1505?-52), now remembered as an antiquarian, was in his own day highly esteemed as a poet of grace and imagination.[2] John Parkhurst (1512?–75), Bishop of Norwich, a collection of whose early pieces, *Ludicra sive Epigrammata Iuvenilia*, appeared in 1573, had some skill in the composition of Latin epigrams. Walter Haddon (1516–72), by some 'accounted the master of the elegantest Latin style of any man living in the age,'[3] owes his reputation to his prose rather than to his florid verse, which Dr. Johnson thought could only 'provoke derision.'[4] John Owen (1506?–1622), 'the British Martial,' won great popularity by his hundreds of witty epigrams, that through the seventeenth century appeared in edition after edition. Another popular poet was Thomas May (1595–1650) whose *Supplementum Lucani Libri VII*, a continuation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, was published at Leyden in 1640, and ran through many editions.[5] But none of these men are poets of much originality; their merits are the merits of imitators. Moreover, after the period of Elizabeth, that so greatly enriched the national literary tradition, it was hardly to be expected that the Latin tradition would gain sufficient strength to produce a poet of the first order among the moderns. Yet at this late hour it produced Milton, who has been favorably compared with Ovid and Virgil, his masters.[6]

[1] See Hallam, *op. cit.* 1. 321–4.

[2] The most important of Leland's poems are: *De Navali Pompa qua illustrissima Anna, deducentibus civibus, ad Arcem Londiniensem advecta est* (1533), written in collaboration with Nicholas Udall in honor of the coronation of Anne Boleyn (see Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscripts* (Ballad Soc.), 1868–72, 1. 379–401); *Genethliacon illustrisssmi Eaduerdi Principis* (1537), on the birth of the Prince of Wales, later Edward VI; *Naenia in Mortem Thomae Viati* (1542), an elegy on the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder; *Cygnea Cantio* (1545), celebrating the exploits of Henry VIII. Leland's *Epigrammata* were posthumously published in 1589.

[3] Strype, *Life of Matthew Parker*, 1821, 2. 146.

[4] *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1. 87.

[5] See *ibid.* 1. 12–3, 66.

[6] See Rand, *Milton in Rustication*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 110–1, 121–2.

THE LATIN POEMS OF MILTON

The Latin Poems of Milton consist of seven elegies forming an *Elegiarum Liber*, ten pieces in various metres grouped as a *Sylvarum Liber*, and eleven epigrams, eight of which were appended to the Book of Elegies in the *Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin*, published in 1645.[1] Within the groups of poems, classified, after the common practice of neo-Latin poets, according to metre, the principle of arrangement was mainly chronological, as appears from the dates which Milton himself prefixed to many of the pieces, and from those we can assign to others. The dates have a certain interest for his activity as a Latin poet.[2] No fewer than six poems, among them *In Quintum Novembris*, were written in 1626, when he was seventeen—that *annus mirabilis* in his early career. Most of the others were written before the close of the year 1629, which saw the composition of his first notable English poem, the ode *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*. In the previous year he had written, in the *Vacation Exercise*, an encomium of his native language. After 1629, except for the period of the Italian journey, he reverted to the composition of Latin verse but intermittently; yet it was not until 1640, and in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, that he avowed his intention to write his great work in English.[3] Of Latin verse written after 1640 there are only a few short pieces, none of great merit. Like Ariosto before him,

[1] The *Apologus de Rustico et Hero* and *Ad Joannem Rousium* were added in the *Poems, &c., upon Several Occasions . . . both English and Latin*, of 1673. The Salmasian epigrams which occur in the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* (1651) and the *Defensio Secunda* (1654) Milton did not include in this later edition. Concerning *De Moro*, and *Ad Christinam, Suecorum reginam, nomine Cromwelli*, and the two bits of Latin verse on 'Early Rising,' see Appendix, pp. 361–2.

[2] Since the writing of Latin verse was long before and after Milton's time a part of the curriculum of English schools, it is probable, although there is no direct evidence on the matter, that his earliest efforts in poetry were Latin exercises at St. Paul's School. See Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice*, 1908, pp. 468–82.

[3] See *Damon*. 170–8 and notes.

Milton gradually became convinced that it was better to be among the first writers in his native tongue than barely second among those in Latin.[1]

The Latin poems are important for three main reasons: they are an integral part of Milton's works, and therefore must be studied when we trace the growth of the poet's mind; they reveal his personality from a side but dimly lighted by the English poems and the prose works; and, finally, they are good poems. Their evident artistic excellence has long been acknowledged; but their revelation of their author, and their importance as part of a larger whole, have mostly been ignored or imperfectly explained.[2] However, after a long preoccupation with the great works of Milton's later life, scholars have turned to his youth, and now a serious undervaluation of the Latin poems should be impossible.

The union of these poems with the rest of Milton's work might in part be inferred from a careful scrutiny of the Latin pieces themselves; but, fortunately for this aspect of their importance, we need not depend upon inference alone, since their author gives external evidence on his inner growth between the ages of seventeen and thirty-two, and makes clear that the Latin poems are part of a coherent and progressive life. The memorable autobiographic passage in *An Apology for Smectymnuus*[3] was written in 1642; here, in answer to Bishop Hall's scurrilous attacks upon Milton's character, the poet traces the development of his ideal of purity. His final concept might be put in the words of Scripture: 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.'[4] This ideal, very sacred in Milton's eyes, becomes the crucial doctrine in his scheme of ethics, and a unifying principle in his poetry and life. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, and *Paradise Lost* are all variously directed to its enforcement. From its beginnings it was a source of poetic impulse, and in the Latin poems

[1] See pp. 347–8; *Church-Gov.* 2 (*Pr. W.* 2. 478).

[2] See Hanford, *The Youth of Milton, an Interpretation of his Early Literary Development*, in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, 1925, pp. 89–92.

[3] *Pr. W.* 3. 116–22.

[4] Matt. 5. 8; cf. Phil. 4. 8; and cf. *Lyc.* 172–81; *Comus* 453–63, 1018–23.

it found its earliest expression. In the Elegies it is pagan and sensuous, since, in the years when they were written, Ovid and the other 'smooth elegiac poets' were Milton's chief inspiration; in the *Epitaphium Damonis* it is Christian and spiritual, since, during the interval which separates that poem from the Elegies, the ideal had been enriched by the influence of Dante and Petrarch, by the literature of chivalry, by the Platonic philosophy, and by a deeper insight into the precepts of the Christian religion.[1]

What the Latin poems specially reveal of Milton's character is more readily perceptible. Here are all the high qualities of mind and spirit regarded as pre-eminently Miltonic. But if we could find nothing more, the poems would only confirm the common view that Milton from first to last was highly serious, that all his life he was stern and unbending, devoid of humor and the lighter graces. It is precisely this false view that the Latin poems correct. There is in them much more than a high seriousness; there are grace, geniality, and fun, and a frank admission of his susceptibility to the tender emotions. It was the supposedly sober young Puritan who, under the acknowledged tutelage of Ovid, wrote that breath-taking poem, the seventh Elegy, in which he almost outdoes Ovid in his own art. It was he who with courtly grace paid compliments to Leonora and Salzilli, and who in playful mood wrote the Ode to Rouse, which has so disturbed his critics. 'What we know of Milton's character in domestic relations,' wrote Dr. Johnson, 'is that he was severe and arbitrary.'[2] And the good Doctor seems to have been of opinion that in other relations he was even less amiable. Whatever supported the views of Johnson, the Latin poems go far toward refuting them. The first and sixth Elegies, which are letters to Diodati, the fourth, a letter to Thomas Young, the address to Manso, and *Ad Patrem*, and the *Epitaphium Damonis*, bespeak human relations anything but 'severe and arbitrary.' These

[1] For an interpretation of the autobiographical passage in the *Apology*, see Hanford, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.; and compare the same writer's *Milton Handbook*, 1926, pp. 273–80.

[2] *Milton*, in *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1. 157.

poems reveal no harsh and unlovable man, but one who could be gay, and one whose heart was deeply stirred by human kindness.[1]

We come, after all, to the most important consideration—the artistic value of Milton's Latin poetry. Perhaps it would be well merely to let the poems speak for themselves—as speak they must to any thoughtful mind. Nevertheless, I quote the appreciation of certain critics. Johnson, who is not always gentle in his treatment of Milton, writes:

I once heard Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark, what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance.[2]

Landor, who devotes much space to a discussion of the Latin poems, says:

Small as is the portion of glory that accrues to Milton from his Latin poetry, there are single sentences in it, ay, single images, worth all that our island had produced before. In all the volume of Buchanan, I doubt whether you can discover a glimpse of poetry; and few sparks fly off the anvil of May.[3]

The opinion of Coleridge is even more favorable:

You may find a few faults in Milton's Latin verses; but you will not persuade me that, if these poems had come to us as written in the age of Tiberius, we should not have considered them to be very beautiful.[4]

Mark Pattison also thought well of these poems, for he says:

Milton's Latin verses are distinguished from most neo-Latin verse by being a vehicle of real emotion. His technical skill is said to have been surpassed by others; but that in which he stands alone is that in these exercises of imitative art he is able to remain himself, and to give utterance to genuine passion.[5]

[1] Aubrey says of Milton that he was 'extreme pleasant in his conversation, and at dinner, supper, etc. but satirical. . . . He was visited much by learned, more than he did desire. . . . As he was severe on one hand, so he was most familiar and free in his conversation to those to whom most sour in his way of education. . . . Of a very cheerful humor. . . . He would be cheerful even in his gout fits, and sing.' (*Collections for the Life of Milton*, in Milton, *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, 1911, pp. xxxix ff.)

[2] *Milton*, in *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1. 87.

[3] *Imag. Conv.*, 1883, 4. 106.

[4] *Table Talk* (Oct. 23, 1833), in Coleridge, *Works*, ed. by Shedd, 1884, 6. 492.

[5] *Milton*, p. 41.

Nor may we pass over the judgment of Masson, whose privilege it was to know the works of Milton as few have known them:

Milton's Latin poems...are as Miltonic, as worthy of being read, as his earlier English. There is perhaps more of autobiographical matter in them; and this ought, in itself, to give them a special interest. But merely as poetry they ought still to be known. Milton is in them in every line—the same grace, the same felicity, the same richness, the same moral seriousness. There are thunders in them too, things here and there that astonish, and take away the breath.[1]

In an excellent article, Professor Rand remarks:

If these productions be matched with the poems which Virgil had written at this age, before he had started the *Bucolics*, the palm might well be awarded to Milton. The little epic on Guy Fawkes, the work of the author's seventeenth year, shows greater poise and firmness than the little epic on the *Gnat* which Virgil wrote at sixteen; if any one doubts that Virgil could have written so learned an affair at such an age, he has only to turn to the early verse of Milton. Of course Milton had the advantage of studying the mature Virgil, and the mature Ovid. But, even so, it is something of a feat for a British lad to skip over the centuries, and vanquish young Virgil on his own field.[2]

The Latin poems, as Masson observed, are 'factitious Latin,... the Latin of an Englishman of the seventeenth century'; but he wisely adds: 'As he was a greater man intrinsically than ever Ovid was, much as he admired that sweet and unfortunate Roman, there are things in his factitious Latin nobler than anything in Ovid's flowing vernacular.'[3] May we not go even further than Masson? Was not Milton intrinsically a greater man than any of the Roman poets? He was culturally richer than they, for, besides their civilization, and that of the Greeks which had civilized Rome, he had all the treasures of Christian culture. Moreover, his moral and spiritual qualities, the range of his personality, and his intellectual power, rendered him superior to the Latin poets. And these are the elements of superiority upon which the production of great poetry depends.

[1] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, I. 250.
[2] *Milton in Rustication*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 121–2.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

ELEGIARUM LIBER

ELEGIA PRIMA

Ad Carolum Diodatum

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Milton as a youth may have had many friends in London and Cambridge, but the names of only three are known—Thomas Young, his private tutor, Alexander Gill the younger, undermaster at St. Paul's School, and Charles Diodati. For all three he evidently had a very high regard, but he reserved a peculiar place in his affections for Diodati, who was 'the very half of his heart, *dimidium animae*.'[1] A record of the friendship of Milton and Diodati has survived in fragments of their correspondence —the first and sixth Latin Elegies, two of the *Epistulae Familiares*, and two letters in Greek from Diodati[2]—and in the *Epitaphium Damonis*. The record gives few details of the friendship, but is eloquent of genuine feeling, the youthful joy and enthusiasm of two kindred spirits, and at last the sorrow of the one who suffered the irreparable loss. It is doubtful whether Milton ever had a more intimate friend.

Diodati came of a noble Italian family whose home had originally been at Lucca. Thence a certain Carolo Diodati emigrated to France, but in 1572, because of Protestant sympathies, he removed to Geneva, where his sons Theodore, the father of Charles Diodati, and Giovanni, the Hebrew scholar and theologian who translated the Bible into Italian,[3] were respectively born in 1574 and 1576. While still a young man, Theodore settled in England; about 1609 he was living at Brentford, near London, engaged in the practice of medicine, and had among his patients

[1] Rand, *Milton in Rustication*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 121.

[2] Ms. *Brit. Mus. Addit.* 5016, f. 64; Masson suggests that the first Elegy may be an answer to Diodati's second Greek letter. He translates the two letters in his edition of the *Poetical Works of Milton*, 1890, 1. 255–7, and in *Life* 1 (1881). 161–3.

[3] Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (8.2.28); *Biographie Universelle* 11. 80–1.

Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth. Later he removed to London. By his first wife, an English woman, he had two sons, Charles and John, and a daughter, Philadelphia. A second marriage late in life seems to have caused a 'novercal war' with his children.[1]

The date of Charles Diodati's birth is unknown, but it is commonly supposed that he was about the same age as Milton; his entrance at Trinity College, Oxford, in February, 1621–2, three years before Milton went to Cambridge, would indicate that he was slightly the elder. Their friendship had begun at St. Paul's School in London,[2] and was not interrupted when they went to different universities.

Diodati graduated A.B. on Dec. 10, 1625, and M.A. in July, 1628. A year later he was incorporated M.A. of Cambridge.[3] Presumably a fair scholar, he contributed some Latin Alcaics to the volume published at Oxford, 1624, in memory of Camden. The course of his life after he left Oxford is not clear, but it is known that he took up the study of medicine, probably soon after 1625. He seems to have practised in the vicinity of Chester, for the first Elegy is addressed to him there; and in the earlier of the two *Familiar Letters*, Sept. 2, 1637, Milton inquires: 'How long do you intend to remain among the Hyperboreans?' Late in the summer of 1638, only a few months after Milton had gone to Italy, Charles Diodati died in London; he was buried from a Mr. Dollam's, at St. Anne's in Blackfriars, on Aug. 27, 1638. The researches of J. L. Chester in the parish-registers of London, to which this information is due, also brought to light the record of the burial of 'Mrs. Philadelphia Deodate from Mr. Dollam's' at St. Anne's, on Aug. 10 of the same year.[4] It has been assumed that 'Mr. Dollam' was a gentleman in whose house Charles Diodati and his sister Philadelphia took lodgings after difficulties at home with their elderly father's second wife.[5] The news of his friend's

[1] Milton, *Epist. Fam.*, *Pr. W.* 3. 495.
[2] See *Admission Registers of St. Paul's School*, ed. by Gardiner, 1884, p. 34.
[3] Masson, *Life* 1 (1881). 219; MS. *Brit. Mus. Addit.* 5884.
[4] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 318–9.
[5] See Masson, *Life* 2 (1894). 80–1.

death reached Milton some time during his stay in Italy. In the summer of 1639 he returned to England; about a year later,[1] in honor of his lamented friend, he wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*.

Diodati remains at best a shadowy figure, enjoying but the reflected glory of the great poet whose friend he chanced to be. Yet something of his character may be inferred from the friendship alone. To appreciate greatness, to acknowledge its superiority, and to win the esteem of a great man, are no light tokens of worth.

The *Elegia Prima*, however, has an interest apart from Diodati. Lines 9–20 contain all Milton cared at the time to say of his rustication from Cambridge, apparently in the Lent-term of 1625–6. The translation follows:

I am now in the city that is washed by the ebbing and flowing Thames, tarrying, not unwilling, under my father's kindly roof. Meanwhile I care not to revisit reedy Cam; I suffer from no longing for my forbidden hearth; I find no pleasure in bare fields that afford no gentle shade. How ill that place befits the cult of Phoebus! Nor does it suit me always to endure the threats of a harsh master, and other wrongs to which my nature will not submit. If this be exile, to have retired to my father's house, and there care-free to live in pleasant leisure, then I refuse neither the name nor the lot of an exile, and gladly enjoy such banishment.

The closing lines (89–90) add:

It is also fixed that I return to the sedgy marshes of Cam, and once more enter the hoarse murmur of the schools.

John Aubrey, who had access to Milton's brother Christopher, affords the other scrap of information on the subject. In sketching the poet's life, he says of Milton's career at Cambridge:

His 1st tutor there was Mr. Chapell; from whom receiving some unkindness (whip't him), he was afterwards (though it seemed opposite to the rules of the college), transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell [Tovey], who died parson of Lutterworth.[2]

[1] See note on *Damon*. 9–11.

[2] *Collections for the Life of Milton*, in Milton, *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, 1911, p. xl.

The words 'whip't him' must be an interpolation. What is their significance? Masson is of opinion that, since they are interpolated, they did not come from Christopher Milton, but were afterward picked up from gossip.

It is impossible to determine the nature of the trouble, but the statements of both Milton and Aubrey suggest rather some personal difficulty between tutor and student than any infraction of the rules of the University. Whatever the offence, it must have been slight, for the period of rustication was brief, since Milton did not lose a term. Dr. Johnson, while too readily accepting the story of corporal correction, wisely remarks: 'It may be conjectured from the willingness with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile that its cause was such as gave him no shame.'[1] This episode has been much scrutinized, and by some who tend to read into the details more than they actually contain. Until added evidence appears, all one may say is that Milton and Chappell, his tutor, had a disagreement resulting in Milton's temporary withdrawal from Cambridge, and in his subsequent transference to a new tutor, a Mr. Tovey.

ELEGIA SECUNDA

Anno aetatis 17

IN OBITUM PRAECONIS ACADEMICI CANTABRIGIENSIS

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Among the picturesque officers at Cambridge for the past seven hundred years have been the beadles, whose office, with its diverse functions, was once common to the mediaeval universities.[2] At first, the beadles, only two in number, were not graduates or members of the University, but 'privileged persons' who, by virtue of their academic position, claimed freedom from the jurisdiction of the town of Cambridge. In course of time,

[1] *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1. 88–9.

[2] See Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 1895, 1. 193. The term *beadle* is derived from OE. *beodan*, to announce, or to command, and the duties of the office originally were those of a crier or herald. The Latin term is *praeco*, although in old documents *bedellus* appears. See Stokes, *Esquire Bedells of the University of Cambridge*, in *Pub. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* 45 (1911). 8. At the English universities the word is conventionally spelled *bedel*, or *bedell*.

wealthy beadles made generous gifts to the University, and in other ways proved useful to it—and thus gradually became identified with it; subsequently, graduates of distinction were elected to the post.[1] At some time before 1386, the number of beadles was increased to three, and so it continued until 1863; since then two have performed the functions of the ancient office. In the fifteenth century the title Esquire Beadle, *Armiger Bedellus*, first appeared, as the beadles, in attending the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, each carried a mace.[2] The three then became known as the Senior, Middle, and Junior Esquire Beadles. The statutes of the University provided for their election by the two houses, the Regents and the non-Regents, but since the reforms of the nineteenth century they have, like the Vice-Chancellor, been elected by the Senate.[3]

The duties of the beadles it is less easy to define, for the statutes of the University, as well as a variety of historical and biographical notices and memoranda made by the beadles themselves, reveal the great diversity of their functions. 'It is impossible,' writes Stokes, 'to go into detail as to their attendance upon the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, as to their summonses to sermons, to academical congregations or disputations, as to their place in processions and religious services for the living and the dead, as to their visitation of the various schools, as to their quaint Latin and French sentences, their making "Curtesyes" to the Fathers, their "bringing home of the Doctors," and so on. ... The duties of the officers with regard to Stourbridge Fair would almost require a section to themselves.'[4]

One strange duty of the beadles was that known as 'knocking out.' At the end of the fourth year of study, a candidate for the baccalaureate degree, after examination by his college, became a 'Questionist,' and received his degree from the Vice-Chancellor, provided that he 'answered to his questions.' At this purely formal

[1] Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–20; Tanner, *Historical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 1917, pp. 20, 58–9.
[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.

proceeding, a question was asked from Aristotle's *Analytics*, and the beadles were present to 'knock out' any one who attempted to argue, by knocking so loudly upon the door that nothing else could be heard.[1] The picturesque functions of the beadle have long since ceased; at the present time his duties are almost wholly processional.

Early in Milton's third year at Cambridge (1626–7) died the Senior Esquire Beadle, Richard Ridding, M.A., of St. John's. The day of his death is unknown, but since his will was probated on Nov. 28, 1626, only two months after it was drawn, he must have died about the same time as Dr. Gostlin, the Vice-Chancellor (Oct. 21, 1626), in whose honor Milton wrote *In obitum Procancellarii medici*. Little is known of Ridding's life,[2] and that little is not a record of notable achievement; but, since he held the post of beadle for thirty years, he must have been familiar to the academic community. Naturally, then, his death might well give rise to commemorative verses.

Milton has dated the *Elegia Secunda*, 'Anno Aetatis 17,' but the numeral cannot mean *septimo decimo*, for he was nearly eighteen at the time of Ridding's death; we must then translate it freely, 'At the Age of Seventeen.'

ELEGIA TERTIA

Anno aetatis 17

IN OBITUM PRAESULIS WINTONIENSIS

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

The Bishop of Winchester in whose honor Milton wrote his *Elegia Tertia* was the learned and eloquent Lancelot Andrewes, who died Sept 26, 1626. It was natural that Milton should thus pay tribute to his memory, since Andrewes was a graduate of Cambridge, a former Master (1595–1605) of Pembroke Hall, and one of the foremost prelates of his day.

The story of Bishop Andrewes' life is accessible; we need not here recount the events of his long career.[3] His amanuensis,

[1] Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
[2] Stokes, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–5.
[3] *D. N. B.* 1. 401–5; *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 1. 973–4.

Henry Isaacson, has left a brief but fairly detailed biography[1] of his master, which, though in tone distinctly eulogistic, presents ample evidence in fact of the exemplary character of the bishop. As Master of Pembroke, Dean of Westminster, Lord Almoner, and successively Bishop of Chichester, of Ely, and of Winchester, Andrewes was scrupulous in discharging the duties these high offices imposed on him. In bestowing patronage, he never allowed favor to interfere with merit. The position of Lord Almoner he held by patent *sine computo*, and hence could not be required to give account of his expenditures; but, despite the freedom thus allowed him, there is no hint that he ever was guilty of the slightest abuse of his privilage. His will,[2] and Isaacson's *Life*, are proof of his kind and wise generosity.

Bishop Andrewes was famed for his learning, and for his eloquence as a preacher. He had caught something of the spirit of scholars like Cotton, Camden, Spelman, and Selden, and was the honored friend of Isaac Casaubon.[3] His published works, notably the *Tortura Torti* and *Preces Privatae Quotidianae*, reveal some skill in the use of Greek and Latin, and a fairly extensive knowledge of Patristic theology. Many of his sermons have been published.[4] As originally delivered, they may have been eloquent, but their style, too often marred by verbal conceits, will in no wise compare with that of Jeremy Taylor. Still, Mark Pattison believed that, had Andrewes not been a bishop, he 'might have left an eminent name in English literature.'[5]

S. R. Gardiner, the historian, says of Bishop Andrewes:

Of all those whose piety was remarkable in that troubled age, there was none who could bear comparison, for spotlessness and purity of character, with the good and gentle Andrewes. Going in and out as he did amongst the frivolous and grasping courtiers who gathered round the King, he seemed to live in a peculiar

[1] *Life and Death of Lancelot Andrewes*, in Andrewes, *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron* [etc.], in *Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.*, 1854, pp. i–xxxiii.

[2] See *Two Answers to Cardinal Perron* [etc.], Appendix G., pp. c–cxix.

[3] Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, 2d. ed., 1892, p. 291 n 3, 292–3.

[4] *Ninety-six Sermons*, in *Lib. Anglo-Cath. Theol.*, 5 vols., 1841–3.

[5] See *op. cit.*, p. 292.

atmosphere of holiness, which prevented him from seeing the true nature of the evil times in which his lot had fallen. James, indeed, reverenced and admired him, and was always pleased to hear him preach, the more readily, perhaps, because his sermons were not such as were likely to be of any real use to him. What was needed in that Court was the fearless tone and the unbending righteousness of a Latimer or a Knox to rouse the giddy crowd into a sense of the solemn realities in the midst of which they were living. The piety of Andrewes was of too effeminate a character for such a work. The ritual observances and the intellectual subtleties in which he delighted, and which in reality conveyed a sense of the Divine presence to his devotional mind, had no power to move the hearts of his thoughtless hearers, who went away interested but unchanged. Those who have the greatest admiration for the sermons which he preached before the Court cannot but feel, when they remember what the audience was to which they were addressed, that one stirring appeal in the mouth of a man who could reason of righteousness, of temperance, and of judgment, would have been worth them all.[1]

Warton believed that

Milton, as he grew old in Puritanism, must have looked back with disgust and remorse on the panegyric of this performance, as on one of the sins of his youth, inexperience, and orthodoxy; for he had here celebrated, not only a bishop, but a bishop who supported the dignity and constitution of the Church of England in their most extensive latitude, the distinguished favorite of Elizabeth and James, and the defender of regal prerogative.[2]

Warton's conclusion is hardly justified. It is true that in *The Reason of Church-Government* (3–5),[3] Milton criticized with some asperity the arguments of Andrewes in support of the episcopate; but, widely as his views of ecclesiastical authority may have differed from those of the Bishop, he was hardly the man to be blinded to personal values by a difference of opinion. On the contrary, he was rarely qualified to appreciate the moral worth of an opponent; it is a misapprehension of his character to think that he would later blush at his early encomiums of the nobility and Christian virtue in Lancelot Andrewes.

[1] *Hist. Eng., 1603–16*, 2. 33–4.
[2] Milton, *Poems upon Several Occasions*, ed. by Warton, 2d. ed., 1791, pp. 439–40.
[3] *Pr. W.* 2. 450, 453–7.

ELEGIA QUARTA

Anno aetatis 18

AD THOMAM IUNIUM, PRAECEPTOREM SUUM, APUD MERCATORES ANGLICOS HAMBURGAE AGENTES PASTORIS MUNERE FUNGENTEM

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Thomas Young, a Scot, was born at Luncarty in Perthshire in 1588, and educated at Perth Grammar-School and the University of St. Andrews, where in 1606 he received the degree of M.A. Some time before 1618 he migrated to London, there to engage in pastoral duties among the Puritans. Meanwhile, however, his chief employment seems to have been that of teacher. Masson in the following passage tells what is known of Young's early association with Milton:

It was his good fortune to happen upon one pupil who was to be immortal. It cannot be determined with certainty whether Milton had been boarded under Young's charge somewhere near London before he went to St. Paul's School, or whether Young had only been his first domestic preceptor, and had continued to be his private preceptor while he was at St. Paul's School, coming daily to his father's house in Bread Street,... and adding to the education which he was receiving from Mr. Alexander Gill, the head-master of the school, and his son and assistant, Mr. Alexander Gill the younger. The latter, perhaps, is the more probable supposition. In that case, however, Young's tutorship of Milton did not extend over the whole period of his training under the two Gills. Milton, so far as is known, went to St. Paul's School in 1620, when he was eleven years of age, and he remained there till the winter or spring of 1624–5, when he left for Cambridge. ... But Young had left England for his chaplaincy to the English merchants at Hamburg at least as early as 1622.[1]

At this time, when Puritans were faring ill in England, it was not uncommon for their clergymen to seek peace in caring for the little flocks that had taken refuge in Holland and northern Germany. Thomas Young remained at Hamburg until 1628. Shortly after his return to England he received the living of Stowmarket, in Suffolk, which he held until his death.[2] There, according to

[1] *Poet. W.* ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 261. [2] Masson, *Life* 1 (1881). 185.

tradition, Milton visited him; and in the garden of the Vicarage stands a mulberry-tree that the poet is said to have planted. We know at least that Milton was invited to Stowmarket, for in the fourth of the *Epistulae Familiares*, which is addressed to Young, he writes: 'Having an invitation into your part of the country in the spring, I shall readily accept it that I may enjoy the deliciousness of the season as well as of your conversation.'[1]

As the struggle between Puritanism and Episcopacy became intense, Thomas Young became more and more prominent. In 1639 he published his *Dies Dominica*, in defence of Puritan views on the observance of the Sabbath. By 1641 he had gained such note that the Scottish Presbyterians invited him to return to Scotland to reinforce their ranks; but he preferred to remain in England.[2] In 1642 he was a member of the Westminster Assembly. Two years later when, under parliamentary authority, Cambridge was purged of Royalists and Laudians, he was appointed Master of Jesus College, which position he held until 1660. The remaining five years of his life seem to have been spent quietly at Stowmarket.[3]

Probably Young's most notable part in the ecclesiastical strife of his time was his share in writing the pamphelet called *An Answer to a Book Entitled 'An Humble Remonstrance,'* by Smectymnuus, a reply to Bishop Hall's defence of Episcopacy and the English liturgy. This *Answer* in the main was the work of Young, but four other Puritan clergymen had assisted him, and, by way of a name for the authorship, combined their initials into 'Smectymnuus.'[4] In the pamphlet-warfare that followed, Milton came to the assistance of his friend with *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*, and *An Apology for Smectymnuus*.

This fourth Elegy, and the first and fourth of the *Epistulae Familiares*,[5] also addressed to Young, afford glimpses of a friend-

[1] *Pr. W.* 3. 490.
[2] See R. Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, ed. by Laing, 1841, 1. 366.
[3] *D. N. B.* 63. 393.
[4] Masson, *Life* 2 (1894). 218–22.
[5] *Pr. W.* 3. 487–8, 490–1.

ship creditable to both Milton and Young. The three pieces are marked by sincere respect in the pupil and a real affection for his teacher. In the Elegy there is, as Masson observes, 'a tone of tenderness...which wins from the reader a real liking for Young, and a conviction that he must have been a man of no ordinary merit.'[1]

The date of the *Elegia Quarta*, which has caused disagreement among scholars, I have dicussed in a note on its lines 33–8.

ELEGIA QUINTA

Anno aetatis 20

IN ADVENTUM VERIS

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Ever since the writer of Canticles[2] and since Meleager[3] and Horace[4] in graceful poems celebrated the coming of spring, poets never have wearied of the theme. With the neo-Latin poets of the Renaissance—Fracastoro,[5] Sannazaro,[6] Calcagnini,[7] Flaminio,[8] Buchanan,[9] Joannes Secundus,[10] Erasmus,[11] and Navagero,[12] to name but a few at random—it was a favorite subject, and the mode of treatment fairly conventional. The melting snows; beached ships launched to sail before kindly zephyrs; men shouting *Evoe!* to Dionysus; ploughmen going to the fields; shepherds and herdsmen leading their flocks to pasture; Venus with the nymphs and Graces linked in the moonlight dance; bees resuming their artful labors; birds returning to their accustomed haunts;

[1] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 262.
[2] Cant. 2. 10–13.
[3] *Anth. Pal.* 9. 363.
[4] *Carm.* 1. 4; 4. 7.
[5] *Ver, Carm. Lib.*, in Costa, *Antologia della Lirica Latina in Italia*, 1888, pp. 122–4.
[6] *Calendae Maii, Epigr.* 1. 3; *ibid.*, p. 60.
[7] *De Calendis Aprilibus, Carm. Lib.*; *ibid.*, p. 85.
[8] *Lusus Pastoralis (Fugit hiems)*; *ibid.*, p. 159.
[9] *Maiae Calendae, Eleg. Lib.*; *Calendae Maiae, Misc. Lib.*, in *Buchanani Poemata*, 1687, pp. 301–4, 399–400.
[10] *De Vere*, in *Johannis Secundi Opera*, 1651, pp. 48–50.
[11] *De Tempore Vernali; Elegia de Mutabilitate Temporum*, in *Erasmi Opera Omnia*, 1706, 8. 563, 565–6.
[12] *Veris Descriptio*, in *Carmina Quinque Illustrium Poetarum*, Bergamo, 1753, pp. 62–4.

and earth adorning herself with verdure and flowers; these elements, used by Meleager and Horace, again and again recur, and not infrequently for the Horatian purpose—to point the doctrine, *carpe diem*. Though nature renews itself, death is for us the end of all; let us then enjoy our brief span of years.

While Milton preserved many traditional elements when he took up this theme in the *Elegia Quinta*, he treated it with characteristic originality, and produced a work that, compared with others of its kind, is like a theme with variations. But the Elegy is remarkable not alone for its elaboration and wealth of adornment; it possesses a rare spontaneity and abandon, and moreover its main emphasis is upon love. Although at the close the poet thinks of the winter that is to come, there is no suggestion of *carpe diem*. Milton had read Ovid to good purpose, and caught much of his spirit. This poem of youth and love and the spring breathes the atmosphere of the *Heroides*, *Amores*, and *Ars Amatoria*. The Elegy 'is Pagan from beginning to end,' writes Professor Rand, 'joyous in spirit, sensuous in flavor, perfect in form. Really if Milton had written it on musty parchment, and had somebody discover it, the classical pundits of his day would have proved beyond question by all the tests of scholarship that a lost work of Ovid had come to light.'[1]

Professor Hanford believes that 'in subject and general conception this piece...depends upon the *Maiae Calendae* of Buchanan,' which he says it resembles also in detail; he admits, however, that in Buchanan love is a subsidiary theme, and that 'there is nothing to correspond to Milton's description of the effect of the coming of spring on his inspiration as a poet.'[2] Hanford might further have remarked that the general tenor of the *Maiae Calendae* is expressed in the following lines:

> Carpite dum fas est fugitivae gaudia vitae....
> Dum nos ergo sinunt fata invidiosa, senecta
> Temporis utatur vere, juventa suo—

sentiments of Buchanan that are alien to Milton. It is too much

[1] *Milton in Rustication*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 111.
[2] *The Youth of Milton*, in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, 1925, p. 116.

to say that the Elegy 'depends upon' the *Maiae Calendae*. Resemblances there may be, but in details that Milton may have learned from other poets.

Anno aetatis 20, like the dates affixed to the preceding poems, we must freely translate to accord with what seems to be Milton's usage, taking 20 as a cardinal number, 'At the age of twenty' sets the time of composition as the spring of 1629.

ELEGIA SEXTA

Ad Carolum Diodatum, Ruri Commorantem

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

The detailed allusion in lines 79–88 to a poem in honor of 'the peace-bearing king of heavenly race' fixes the date of the present Elegy. The poem alluded to can only be the ode, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, which, as we learn from the first edition (1645), was 'compos'd 1629.' Shortly after the ode was written, or while it was under revision, Milton wrote the *Elegia Sexta*, an epistle in verse to Charles Diodati. As the prefatory note in the original edition explains, Diodati had himself written to Milton on December 13 from a place in the country where he apparently was a guest, and had asked that, if his verses were but mediocre, their defects might be excused, since he had written amid the festivities with which his friends had received him.

Milton's reply is of great autobiographical significance. He first meets Diodati's apology for the latter's inferior verses with bantering reminders that Bacchus loves song, and song loves Bacchus; that Ovid in exile wrote bad verses for want of conviviality; that Horace, when he sang of Glycera and Chloe, drank deep of the four-year-old wine. There is more in this vein, but the poem is not wholly given to banter, and the serious character of Milton quickly appears. Thus early is there indication that his thoughts were turning to nobler and more exacting themes than those of Ovid and Horace. In lines 49–78 he says that the poet 'who tells of wars, and of heaven under Jove to manhood grown, of pious heroes, and of demigods, the leaders of men—who sings now of

the sacred decrees of the gods above, and now of that deep realm guarded by the barking dog'—must in all ways live abstemiously. The epic poet must in all the activities of life subject himself to a stern discipline.[1]

Milton's subsequent life convinces us that, when he enunciated this item in his theory of poetry, it had more than a general application; he primarily had himself in mind. The development of his great purpose is easily traced. At twenty-one he had thought of the character and function of the epic poet. Some three years later, as we know from *Ad Patrem*, he had determined on a literary career. By the time *Mansus* was written, perhaps near the beginning of the year 1639, he meditated a British epic[2] comparable to Virgil's epic of the Roman empire. How far his final achievement transcended even this lofty purpose, only *Paradise Lost* will reveal.

ELEGIA SEPTIMA

Anno aetatis undevigesimo

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

The *anno aetatis undevigesimo* of the heading, and line 14 of the poem itself, fix the date of the *Elegia Septima* as May, 1627, Milton's nineteenth year. In time, then, it follows next after the *Elegia Quarta*. His reason for thus placing it out of order may have been, as Masson suggested, that it is 'more decidedly and thoroughly a love-poem than any of the others',[3] or Milton may have wished to produce a climactic effect. In the first Elegy there is passing mention of the fair ladies to be seen in the parks of London; in the fifth, Cupid's activity is recognized as one of the usual phenomena of spring; but here there is a frank confession of love—a love at first sight, which, alas! was never requited, because the fair one who aroused the passion was seen but once,

[1] On Milton's ideal poet, see Langdon, pp. 154–75.

[2] Cf. *Damon*. 162–8. See also Masson, *Life* 2 (1894). 112–3, for other subjects from British history which were among Milton's literary projects; cf. Jones, *Milton and the Epic Subject from British History*, in *PMLA*. 42 (1927). 901–9.

[3] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 268.

then lost for ever. There is no means of weighing the truth of the confession; but its vividness, and its tone of genuine emotion, almost persuade us that it is more than a poetic fiction. It describes the poet's youthful contempt for Cupid, and the sportive god's merciless revenge; and ends with the cry that doubtless comes from the heart: 'Take away my longings then; yet nay, take them not; I know not why, but all love is sweet pain. But if any maiden hereafter will be mine, in kindness let one arrow pierce us both, and make us lovers.' Here we have Milton's nearest approach to an Ovidian episode, presented with such classical imagery as Ovid himself might have used.[1]

The poem bears certain resemblances to Buchanan's *Neaera*—resemblances of greater importance than those between the *Elegia Quinta* and Buchanan's *Maiae Calendae*—yet we hesitate to say with Professor Hanford that the present Elegy 'depends upon'[2] *De Neaera*. Buchanan may have supplied Milton with various suggestions, but upon these Milton wrought with characteristic originality, so that the dependence is of a very free sort.

Was Milton in later life ashamed of this poem? It is followed by ten lines of apology, which, for want of a better title, we may call the Postscript. The question is, to what are they a postscript? To the seven Elegies, or merely to the last one? Milton himself separated them from the seventh by a score across the page; he did not, like some of his editors, make these lines the end of the *Elegiarum Liber*, and detach the epigrams that follow to form a separate book. It is only after the epigrams that he appended the words *Elegiarum Finis*. If he intended to offer a general apology or recantation, it is strange that he did not place it at his clearly indicated 'end' of the *Elegiarum Liber*; and it would be even stranger to single out the Elegies as the items for which to apologize. It might be urged that *Haec . . . vana trophaea*, being plural, cannot refer to only one poem, yet the objection is hardly pertinent. Succeeding references—*admissum . . . jugum, extinctis . . .*

[1] See Rand, *Milton in Rustication*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 111–2.

[2] *The Youth of Milton*, in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne*, 1925, pp. 115–6.

flammis, and *Cincta rigent multo pectora nostra gelu*, with the final allusion to Cupid and Venus—clearly point to the seventh Elegy. The apology itself is not enough to convince one that in later life this lover's complaint cost Milton much regret; nor is there good reason why it should. Accordingly, in the light of his mature judgment, it was published in 1645, and again in 1673. The poet who is ashamed of a youthful work will find better means for its suppression.

If a precedent for the Postscript were necessary, Milton doubtless found it at the close of the *Georgics* (4.559–66) of Virgil:

> Haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam
> Et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
> Fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
> Per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
> Illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
> Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
> Carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
> Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

[EPIGRAMMATA]

IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

The dates of the four short pieces on the Gunpowder Plot, and the date of the lines on the inventor of gunpowder, are unknown; as Masson suggests, the poems probably were written at Cambridge, as, apparently, was *In Quintum Novembris*, the much longer poem on the same subject. Since the Fifth of November was regularly celebrated with prayer and thanksgiving, and general rejoicing, as the anniversary of the day on which the nation was saved from great peril, Milton might be expected to contribute to the Protestant enthusiasm; the epigrams and *In Quintum Novembris* may be his offerings for different years.

When James I came to the throne in 1603, he at first inclined to treat Roman Catholics leniently, and, as a result, their numbers in England promptly increased. But the respite from persecution was brief. In 1604 the burdens of the law began once more to weigh heavily upon them; in February, there appeared a proclamation directing the banishment of all Roman Catholic priests; in November, recusancy-fines were demanded from thirteen wealthy Catholics. Thus, hard-pressed, and despairing of redress, a small group of men, all of good family, chief of whom were Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, Robert Winter, Ambrose Rokewood, Robert Keyes, Sir Everard Digby, Francis Tresham, and Guy Fawkes, conspired together for the relief of their fellow-Romanists. Their aim was the repeal of all the Elizabethan legislation against Roman Catholics, and the establishment of Catholic supremacy in England; these objects to be gained by destroying the King, raising open revolt, and even bringing in armed assistance from the Spaniards in Flanders. The conspiracy, now known as the Gunpowder Plot, progressed so far that a large quantity of gunpowder was stored in a cellar beneath the

House of Lords, ready to be set off when the King, the Lords, and the Commons should assemble there for the opening of Parliament on the fifth of November, 1605. Certain of the conspirators at this point became anxious for the safety of those in Parliament who were of their own faith. On the 26th of October, Lord Monteagle received the celebrated anonymous letter warning him to absent himself from the opening of Parliament. He immediately communicated with the Government. The cellar under the House of Lords was searched; Guy Fawkes was there found on guard, and, upon the discovery of the gunpowder, at once arrested. The other conspirators attempted to escape, but were captured and executed.[1]

A recent writer can say of the plotters that 'they erred from ignorance, from a perverted moral sense rather than from any mean or selfish motive, and exhibited extraordinary courage and self-sacrifice in the pursuit of what seemed to them the cause of God and of their country.'[2] Milton was writing, possibly twenty-five years after the event, when Protestant England was still keenly aware of the horror of November 5, 1605. It is not strange, then, that his tone is more severe.

Cowper, in translating the Latin poems, omitted the four epigrams on the Gunpowder Plot as well as *In Quintum Novembris*, but included the lines on the inventor of gunpowder. Dr. Johnson remarks that 'some of the exercises on Gunpowder Treason might have been spared.'[3]

AD LEONORAM

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

The singer to whom the three epigrams *Ad Leonoram* are addressed was Leonora Baroni, a Neapolitan, who in her day was said to have one of the finest voices in the world. Her mother also, the beautiful Adriana Baroni, was an accomplished musician. Milton, it appears, heard Leonora on one of his two visits to Rome

[1] Gardiner, *Hist. Eng.*, *1603–16*, 1. 216 ff.; *Cal. State Pap.*, *Venice* 10. 288 ff.
[2] *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 12. 729.
[3] *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1. 162.

—probably on the first, October and November, 1638, so Masson believes, because during that visit he attended a magnificent concert in the palace of Cardinal Barberini, the friend of English visitors in Rome. Milton left a record of the concert in a letter to Lucas Holstenius, Librarian of the Vatican; he speaks of the true Roman magnificence of the entertainment, but says nothing of having heard Leonora—nor does he again mention her. Masson remarks that 'to hear Leonora sing was the greatest musical pleasure that Rome could offer, and there can have been no Englishman then in Rome that could appreciate it more exquisitely than Milton.'[1]

What Milton heard Leonora sing is unknown; but Edward Philips[2] gives the names of a few musical composers whose works Milton purchased in Italy and carried back to England—Luca Marenzo, Monteverde, Orazio Vecchi, Cifra, and the Prince of Venosa. Possibly songs—madrigals, and the like—by these musicians were first recommended to Milton by the voice of Leonora.

The praise of this famous singer must have been current in Rome about the time of Milton's visits. Maugars, who obviously intended not merely to offer a graceful compliment, speaks of her art in laudatory terms:

She sings with a bold and generous modesty and an agreeable gravity. Her voice reaches a large compass of notes, and is exact, and loud, and harmonious; she softens and raises it without making grimaces. Her raptures and sighs are not lascivious; her looks have nothing impudent, nor does she transgress a virgin modesty in her gestures. In passing from one key to another, she shows sometimes the divisions of the enharmonic and chromatic kind, and with so much art and sweetness that everybody is ravished with her fine and difficult method of singing.[3]

Giovanni Baptista Doni, the musician alluded to in Milton's letter to Holstenius,[4] declares that Leonora and her mother would

[1] *Life* 1 (1881). 803–4.
[2] *Life of Milton*, in Milton, *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, 1911, p. lxiv.
[3] *Discours sur la Musique d'Italie*, quoted by Bayle, *Hist. Crit. Dict.*, 1734–8, 1. 663.
[4] *Pr. W.*, 3. 499.

suffer no injury by comparison with Sappho.[1] So greatly, indeed, was Leonora admired that many wrote verses in her honor, and there is a volume of pieces in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish, printed at Rome in 1639, under the title *Applausi Poetici alle Glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*. Much of the applause doubtless was extravagant, much of it conventional. Milton himself might be accused of extravagance. But withal in his poems to Leonora there is an unmistakable tone of respect and sincere, not conventional, admiration.

APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO

[Edition of 1673]

We have no means of dating this poem, except that, since it is not in the edition of Milton's poems in 1645, presumably it was written later than that. Masson thinks that 'there is a touch of political significance in it, belonging to a time when Milton's thoughts had become steeped in politics.'[2]

Whatever its significance, the fable of the peasant and his landlord was not original with Milton. The same story, called 'a fable taken out of Mantuan,'[3] appears in William Bullokar's *Aesop's Fables in True Orthography*, published at London in 1585.[4] Bullokar gives two renderings, one in prose, the other in verse, both so close to Milton's Latin version that this last might well be a translation. The moral is the same as that of *The Hen that laid the Golden Egg* and of *The Dog and its Shadow*, a theme common among fables from Aesop to La Fontaine.[5]

[1] *De Praestantia Musicae Veteris*, 1647, 2. 57.

[2] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 272.

[3] I have been unable to determine whether it is properly ascribed to Mantuan. But see Gilbert Cousin (Cognatus), *Sylva Narrationum*, 1561, p. 89.

[4] See Plessow, *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay (1726); nebst Neudruck von Bullokars "Fables of Aesop" 1585*; in *Palaestra* 52 (1906). 48–9. Plessow reproduces Bullokar's curious phonetic spelling which adds several letters to the English alphabet.

[5] See Aesop, *Fab.* 24, 136; Avianus, *Fab.* 33; Babrius, *Fab.* 123; La Fontaine, *Fab.* 5. 13 (*Œuvres*, ed. by Regnier, 1883, 1. 404–6). See also McKenzie and Oldfather, *Ysopet-Avionnet: the Latin and French Texts*, in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 5 (1919). 276–7.

IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM AND IN SALMASIUM

[*Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651, and *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, 1654]

Claude de Saumaise (1588–1653), better-known as Claudius Salmasius, at the age of nineteen had won from Casaubon, his teacher, the remark, *juvenis ad miraculum doctus*; at twenty had edited the *De Primatu Papae* of Cabasilas; and at forty-four had succeeded to the chair of Scaliger at Leyden. In the early days of the English Commonwealth he was a scholar of European renown. Through forty years of tireless activity he had produced work after work which attested his encyclopaedic learning.[1] Richelieu and Mazarin repeatedly sought by the offer of pensions and public offices to induce him, Protestant though he was, to make his residence in France; but he steadily refused their flattering invitations, preferring the liberty he enjoyed in Holland, and excusing himself by saying: 'Ma plume n'est pas à vendre, et je ne sais pas flatter.' In 1645, however, he ended these invitations to leave Leyden by publishing his own treatise *De Primatu Papae*, in which he attacked the primacy of the Pope.

In that controversial period, Salmasius had frequently been consulted; and, particularly after the beginning of the Civil War in England and Scotland, his advice was sought in ecclesiastical matters. As a Protestant, he naturally had shown himself sympathetic with the Scottish Covenanters and the English Parliamentarians; and though later, to their disappointment, he advocated a limited episcopacy, they yet had the satisfaction of knowing that he agreed with them in their abhorrence of Independency and the sects.[2] In the belief that he was their fellow-laborer in the Protestant cause, they had, before the execution of Charles I, begged him to aid them by attacking the

[1] His *magnum opus*, which appeared in 1629, was the *Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Julii Solini Polyhistora*, a voluminous commentary on the *Polyhistor* of Solinus, which is largely based upon the *Natural History* of Pliny.

[2] Masson, *Life* 4 (1877). 165–6.

schismatics, and he actually had undertaken a study of Independency and the English Church. But ere long they were to be sorely disappointed in him—betrayed by him, as it must have seemed to them.

When they were expecting him to make common cause with them, his services were solicited on behalf of Charles II, then an exile at The Hague, because of the supposed propriety of securing the aid of a man so eminent. But, as time proved, his fame rested upon qualities that did not fit him for this task. Unfortunately, Salmasius undertook it, and, in the rôle of professional advocate, published, near the end of the year 1649, his *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I ad Regem Carolum II*, with an attack upon the Commonwealth. Laden with a wealth of Greek and Latin quotations, the book is throughout ponderous; the thought, lacking inspiration, never rises to any height. Subject and author were ill-suited to each other; as Mark Pattison observes: 'Salmasius was a man of enormous reading and no judgment. . . . With all his reading, . . . he was still at sixty quite unacquainted with public affairs.'[1] Gibbon more bluntly calls him 'a pedant puffed up with an useless erudition.'[2]

In England it was felt that, with all its defects, the *Defensio Regia* might have serious consequences for the young Commonwealth, if not at home, certainly on the Continent; therefore it must be answered. Milton was asked to write the reply, and early in 1651 produced his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*; in his chapter 8 occurs the epigram *In Salmasii Hundredam.*[3] Excitement followed throughout Europe, because Milton's book fell like a mortal blow upon the head of Salmasius, who had recently gone to Sweden to adorn the Court of Queen Christina. The general success of Milton's *Defence*, it was said, reduced Salmasius to utter chagrin, cost him the favor of the Queen, and so under-

[1] *Milton*, 1926, p. 106.
[2] *Misc. Wks.*, 1814, 5. 209.
[3] *Pr. W.* 1. 169.

mined his health that he shortly died.[1] At the time of his death he was engaged upon a reply to Milton; though incomplete and no longer of special interest, this was published in 1660—after monarchy had been restored, and Milton, 'fallen on evil days,' was removed from participation in controversies.[2]

The quarrel, then, did not end with the death of Salmasius. The year after he died there appeared an anonymous book entitled *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Caelum*, which was at once a royalist invective against the Commonwealth, and a violent and scurrilous attack upon Milton.[3] In the same year Milton replied with his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, in which, reverting to his former adversary, he inserted the epigram *In Salmasium*.[4]

It is regrettable that Milton and Salmasius were involved in an unhappy quarrel of as little credit to either. Milton, by nature far superior to Salmasius, and free from his pedantry, undertook the defence of the English people with a thorough conviction of the righteousness of his cause—so thorough, indeed, that he willingly sacrificed his eyesight in performing what he conceived to be a duty to the cause of liberty. Unhappily, instead of defending the English people, he spent much effort in a violent, and not always veracious, personal attack upon Salmasius.[5] The two Latin epigrams from the *Defensio Prima* and the *Defensio Secunda* show the lengths he could go to in the use of Latin billingsgate. Salmasius had not been consistent in defending the royalist cause, divine right, and episcopacy, after previously

[1] This probably exaggerates the effect of Milton's book, for Salmasius' death apparently resulted from gout and the harsh remedies of physicians. See Haag, *La France Protestante*, 1846–59, 9. 161.

[2] My account of the life of Salmasius is derived from Haag, *op. cit.* 9. 149–73; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 1867, 43. 360–4; Clement, *De Laudibus et Vita Claudii Salmasii* in *Claudii Salmasii Epistolarum Liber Primus*, 1656, pp. iii–lxiv; Masson, *Life* 4 (1877). 162–75, 251–71.

[3] Masson, *Life* 4 (1877). 459–65; 5 (1877). 213–25.

[4] *Pr. W.* 1. 234.

[5] There is nothing in the life of Salmasius to justify Milton's charge in the first epigram that for the sake of money he would have given his support to the Pope, whom he had previously opposed in the *De Primatu Papae*.

maintaining very nearly their opposites; but in justice it must be said that he acted rather as a professional advocate than as an adherent to principles. Milton, in turn, may be at least partly excused for his violence, because he fell short of the custom of his time in abuse. Extenuation in the case of either man is at best difficult. Both Milton and Salmasius erred in judgment, and brought lasting reproach upon their honored names.[1]

[1] Voltaire (*Œuvres Complètes*, 1878, 14. 133) says: 'Milton . . . le [Salmasius] réfuta comme une bête féroce combat un sauvage.' Hobbes (*Behemoth*, 1682, p. 369), commenting upon Milton's two Defences, remarks that 'they are both good Latin, and hardly to be judged which is better, and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is worse.'

SYLVARUM LIBER

Anno aetatis 16

IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

About the same time as the death of the University Beadle, Richard Ridding, in whose honor Milton wrote the *Elegia Secunda*, occurred, Oct. 21, 1626, the death of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Gostlin. Both men by position were notable in the academic community of Cambridge; thus it is altogether likely, since it was the custom of the day, that other students celebrated them in verse; but if so, I can discover only the two poems by Milton extant.

John Gostlin, or Goslyn (1566?–1626), a native of Norwich, was admitted to Cambridge—Venn[1] says, to Caius College—in 1582. He graduated A.B. in 1585–6 as a student of Peterhouse.[2] In 1590 he took the degree of M.A., and in 1602 that of M.D. In 1607, upon the death of Dr. Legge, Master of Caius, 'seven of the fellows chose Dr. Gostlin master, but because there was some ambiguity in one of the seven, the Earl of Salisbury, then Chancellor, vacated the election, and appointed Mr. Branthwayt, fellow of Emanuel, master.'[3] Gostlin withdrew to Exeter, where for a number of years he practised medicine. In 1614 he was elected to Parliament as member for Barnstaple. Four years later, despite the King's recommendation that a divine be chosen, Gostlin was elected Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge. He was appointed Regius Professor of Medicine in 1623,[4] and in 1625 was for the second time elected Vice-Chancellor.[5]

[1] *D. N. B.* 22. 265.

[2] *Grace Book* Δ, 1910, p. 395.

[3] *Harl.* MSS. 7038; cf. *Cal. State Pap., Domestic, 1619–23*, p. 32.

[4] *Cal. State Pap., Domestic, 1619-1623*, pp. 605, 613, 619.

[5] Fuller, *Worthies of England*, 1840, 2. 489, and *Hist. Univ. Camb.*, 1840, pp. 226, 229; Caius, *Annals of Gonville and Caius College*, ed. by Venn, 1904, pp. 215, 288, 325–9.

The date of the poem is given in the editions both of 1645 and of 1673 as *Anno aetatis 16*—an obvious mistake, for when Gostlin died in October, 1626, Milton was nearly eighteen.

Milton's verses in honor of Gostlin, as Masson remarked, 'turn a good deal on the truism that even the most skilful medical man must die, like others, when his time comes';[1] yet, for all the obviousness of their central thought, they are perhaps the most successful of Milton's early commemorative poems. He has clothed the truism in a rich mythological imagery, entirely removed from commonplace. Had strength of arm, he says, had words of witchcraft, had the arts of medicine, aught availed against the powers of Death, then Heracles and Sarpedon, Circe and Medea, Aesculapius and Chiron, had yet lived. Had the physician's skill availed, Gostlin had not now been mourned. Then, with a felicitous stroke, Milton, as a pattern for his matter, uses the story of Aesculapius put to death by Zeus, because he was, by his medical skill, even raising men from the grave; for Aesculapius and Zeus, Milton substitutes Gostlin and Persephone. Here may be, as some will have it, but a conventional lament devoid of warmth or personal feeling; but here also is a well-constructed poem replete with poetic imagery.

IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS

Anno aetatis 17

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Nothing need here be added, on the Gunpowder Plot, to the main facts of the unhappy event as given above;[2] nor is it necessary to duplicate my remarks upon the literary merits of *In Quintum Novembris*;[3] yet one or two aspects of the poem must still be considered.

In discussing the group of undated epigrams on the Gunpowder Plot, I suggested, following Masson, that all the poems on that subject were written at Cambridge as contributions in different

[1] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 283.
[2] See pp. 36–7.
[3] See p. 19.

years to the public observance of Guy Fawkes Day.[1] That *In Quintum Novembris* was written there is rendered almost certain by the date, *Anno aetatis 17*, which places it in 1626, presumably in autumn, when Milton, nearly eighteen, was just beginning his third year at the University. The probability is heightened because in Milton's day, and long after,[2] the anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason commonly was celebrated at the universities with prayers of thanksgiving and versified outpourings of Protestant fervor.[3] To such celebrations it would be but natural for Milton to contribute, particularly in the autumn of 1626 when he seems to have been specially willing to use events of academic interest as occasions for commemorative verses.[4]

The subject manifestly appealed to Milton; the number of his poems inspired by it would indicate that. There are five, if we omit the related epigram on the inventor of gunpowder; more, that is, than on any other theme treated in his early poems. Better evidence of the appeal, however, is found in the poems themselves; for all are marked by energy of thought and a fertility of imagination not always to the same degree present in the youthful works even of Milton. All are animated by a righteous indignation against the perfidious foe. Particularly are these qualities evinced by *In Quintum Novembris*, one of the two most elaborate and original of the Latin poems. Such qualities are present because the subject has laid strong hold upon the poet, has fired his imagination, and wrought within him a deep moral conviction.

Why did the subject thus lay hold upon Milton? In the first place, as a story of daring, though nefarious, effort, and an action of almost epic magnitude, the conspiracy would fire the imagination of a young poet who, some three years later, had plainly

[1] See p. 36.

[2] Boswell says that the fifth of November was celebrated 'with great solemnity at Pembroke College, and exercises upon the subject of the day were required' (*Life of Johnson*, 1904, 1. 42). Gray, apparently while a student at Cambridge, wrote a Latin poem of thirty-four lines entitled *In 5tam Novembris* (*Poet. W.*, ed. by Bradshaw, 1912, pp. 128–9).

[3] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 271, 283.

[4] See *Eleg.* 1, *Eleg.* 2, *Procan.*, and *Praesul.*

given much thought to the character and function of the epic poet.[1] Moreover, Milton was a decided Protestant; and, for an ardent Protestant writing in 1626, it is difficult now fully to estimate the import of the plot which had filled England with frenzied horror and dread. Liberty, both civil and religious, was imperiled by the power responsible for the fires of Smithfield, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Armada, and all the iniquities of the Inquisition. Thus, with the memory of the great national danger still fresh, and with a keen sense of the ever-present menace of the old foe, what wonder that Protestant Englishmen feared and hated Rome? What wonder that Milton, becoming propagandist, availed himself of a poem on the anniversary of the nation's deliverance to defend the cause of righteousness and liberty which he held most dear?

In Quintum Novembris, born of this partisan inspiration, has not been received with unanimous critical favor. Cowper, we have seen, omitted from his translation of the Latin poems all the pieces on the Gunpowder Treason, because, as he explained, 'the matter of them is unpleasant,' and because 'they are written with an asperity which, however it might be warranted in Milton's day, would be extremely unseasonable now.'[2] But Landor, though he remarked upon the poor ending of *In Quintum Novembris*, thought the poem 'a wonderful work for a boy of seventeen.'[3] And Warton, too, could find value in the piece, for he observed 'that this little poem, as containing a council, conspiracy, and expedition of Satan, may be considered as an early and promising prolusion of Milton's genius to the *Paradise Lost*.'[4] These opinions fairly represent the two views that in general have been taken by critics of the poem.

Landor and Warton render Milton fuller justice than did Cowper, but Cowper's criticism may not be quickly set aside. Cowper's sensibilities were alike offended by the matter and the

[1] See *Eleg.* 6. 49–78, and pp. 32–3.
[2] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Milford, p. 598 n.
[3] *Imag. Conv.*, 1883, 4. 103.
[4] Milton, *Poems upon several Occasions*, ed. by Warton, 2d. ed., 1791, p. 497.

tone of the pieces on the Gunpowder Plot. The matter, it is true, is unpleasant, and the tone is harsh; for murder, and treachery, and sin in high places never can wear a lovely aspect, and naturally evoke a harsh tone. But whether or not we shall condemn a poem in which such matter and tone appear must depend upon the spirit in which they are employed. Milton surely was moved only by the worthiest motives, including a sense of outraged justice. His spirit here is the one that later, in the face of another crime done in the name of religion, cried out:

> Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.

Anno aetatis 17

IN OBITUM PRAESULIS ELIENSIS

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely, to whom this poem is devoted, was born at Yarmouth, Norfolk, in 1556, the son of a seafaring man of some means. Educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1580–1 he received the degree A.B., in 1584 M.A., in 1591 B.D., and in 1602 D.D. On Jan. 17, 1595–6, Whitgift appointed him rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside. From 1617 to 1619 he was Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and at the same time Bishop of Bristol; but when, in 1619, Lancelot Andrewes was translated from the see of Ely to that of Winchester, Felton, his friend, succeeded him as Bishop of Ely. In this office he continued until his death in 1626. He left no writings, and from what we know of him it is hard to determine precisely his theological position. Among contemporaries he enjoyed the reputation of 'a profound scholar, a painful preacher, conspicuous for his hospitality and charity.'[1] Fuller says that he had 'a sound head and a sanctified heart, was beloved of all good men, very hospitable to all, and charitable to the poor.'[2] Fuller also remarks upon the 'great conformity' between Andrewes

[1] *Parkins* Mss., Pembroke College, Cambridge.
[2] *Church Hist.*, 1837, 3. 359.

and Felton, both, as he says, 'scholars, fellows, and masters of Pembroke Hall; both great scholars and painful preachers in London for many years, with no less profit to others than credit to themselves; both successively bishops of Ely.'[1]

Like the other commemorative pieces, this poem is mainly conventional; but, if anything, it has more warmth of feeling than the others—more than one detects even in the poem to Lancelot Andrewes, who, of the dignitaries thus honored by Milton, was in every way the most eminent and most worthy of veneration. More than half the poem consists of a speech by the soul of the departed Bishop, who describes his flight from earth through the spheres of the stars to the portals of Heaven. The concluding verses, as Moody observed, are 'premonitory of Milton's power to suggest the vastness of cosmic space.'[2]

NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM
[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Among Milton's *Epistulae Familiares* there is one dated 'Cambridge, July 2, 1628,' and addressed to his former tutor in St. Paul's School, Alexander Gill the younger. In the letter occurs the following passage:

One of the Fellows of our College, who was to be the respondent in a philosophical disputation for his degree, engaged me to furnish him with some verses, which are annually required on this occasion; since he himself had long neglected such frivolous pursuits, and was then intent on more serious studies. Of these verses I sent you a printed copy, since I knew both your discriminating taste in poetry, and your candid allowances for poetry like mine.[3]

It may be well to explain that, at Commencement in Cambridge, part of the ceremonies in each faculty consisted of Latin debates known as 'acts' or 'disputations.' The leader, or respondent, of each debate read the theses he was to sustain, and then was

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] *Poet. W. of Milton*, ed. by Moody, 1899, p. 354.
[3] *Pr. W.* 3. 489.

attacked by the opponents. During the reading, the University beadles distributed to all the Doctors present printed copies of verses on the subject under debate.

It was such verses that Milton supplied for one of the Fellows of Christ's at the Commencement on July 1, 1628. If they are included among the Latin poems we now possess—a reasonable supposition—they must be either *Naturam non Pati Senium* or *De Idea Platonica*. Editors commonly have assumed that they were the poem on Nature, or have adduced arguments favoring this identification; Masson, however, who has most to say on the point, had no decisive evidence on either side. He found in a manuscript[1] of Baker, the Cambridge antiquary, the names of the divinity-respondents in the Commencement of 1628, with the subjects of their theses, but no mention of the respondent in the philosophical 'act,' or of his subject.[2]

The probability that the subject of the philosophical disputation was related to that of *Naturam non Pati Senium* rests upon the fact that the theory of degeneration was then arousing great interest. The effort to overthrow that theory was just beginning; it was to end in the great quarrel between 'the ancients' and 'the moderns.' In 1616 appeared Godfrey Goodman's *Fall of Man*; in 1620, Tassoni's *Miscellaneous Thoughts*; and in 1627, George Hakewill's *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, or an Examination and Censure of the common Error touching Nature's perpetual and universal Decay*. This last book, it has been supposed by Masson and other editors, may have furnished the subject for the philosophical disputation in 1628. How great was the popularity of Hakewill's book I cannot say; Professor Bury, however, though he admits that it ran to three editions, evidently attaches less popularity to it than did Masson, for he says:

It can hardly have attracted the attention of many except theologians. The writer's object is to prove that the power and providence of God in the government of the world are not consistent with the current view that the physical universe, the

[1] *Harl.* Mss. 7038.
[2] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 291–2.

heavens and the elements, are undergoing a process of decay, and that man is degenerating, physically, mentally, and morally.[1]

The passage sounds like Milton on the problem of the degeneration in physical nature; further, both Milton and Hakewill assert that the universe in the end will be destroyed by fire.[2]

Since at best we are dealing in probabilities, let us admit that the subject of the philosophical disputation in 1628 may have been the Paltonic idea as understood by Aristotle, and that then the verses Milton supplied for the occasion would be *De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles intellexit*. Within a few years thereafter Cambridge had become a centre of Platonic studies, and still later gave its name to a group of Platonists.[3]

DE IDEA PLATONICA QUEMADMODUM ARISTOTELES INTELLEXIT

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Nothing is known of the date or occasion of this poem, but, as editors commonly have assumed, it probably was an academic exercise. As we have just[4] admitted, this piece may have been written for the philosophical disputation at the Commencement of 1628. Or, later, it may have served in the private academies of Italy when Milton was called upon to 'give some proof of his wit and reading.'[5]

The poem is a mild burlesque wherein Milton assumes the part of a thoroughgoing and literal-minded Aristotelian who would know the identity of the idea, or archetype, of man, and its abiding-place. With pleasant irony he asks the Muses, and their mother, Memory, and Eternity: Who is this archetypal first being? Does he dwell unborn in the mind of Jove, or drowse by the waters of Lethe; does he, like some huge giant, wander in

[1] *Idea of Progress*, 1920, p. 88.
[2] Cf. Spenser, *Two Cantos of Mutability*; and see Bury, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–97.
[3] Consult Mullinger, *Platonists and Latitudinarians*, in *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* 8. 311–34.
[4] See p. 50.
[5] *Church-Gov., Pr. W.* 2. 477.

distant regions of the earth? The seers of old knew him not. Is he but the invention of Plato? If so, Plato must recall the poets exiled from the State, or, as the greatest fabler of them all, must himself, Plato, go forth an exile.

The problem thus humorously treated is basic in the philosophical systems of Plato and Aristotle. For Plato, ideas, as universals, alone have true being, are the essence of things,[1] and therefore are the specific and primary subject-matter of philosophy.[2] If ideas are not real as self-subsistent, substantive entities,[3] neither true being[4] nor true knowledge[5] is possible. Knowledge is impossible without ideas, because sensible existence lacks permanence and self-consistency, and, without these, knowledge is inconceivable. True being must be capable of being ideally known; material phenomena have not true being, since they cannot be ideally known. Ultimate reality, then, belongs, not to phenomena, the sensibly perceived, but to the rational, the logically thought.

To this doctrine Aristotle in the *Metaphysics* again and again objects. Ideas, he maintains, are incapable of explaining either being or knowledge. According to Plato they do not exist *in* the objects which partake of their nature; but how, Aristotle asks, can substance be separated from that of which it is the substance? Furthermore, Plato does not satisfactorily explain the relation between ideas and things. As for knowledge, that is knowledge of the *οὐσία*, which is in things; whereas ideas place this essence outside them.[6] 'The main defect to Aristotle's eyes in the ideal theory,' says Wallace, 'was that Plato considered ideas as transcendant, and separate from things of sense, and failed to give through them any explanation of life and change. Aristotle therefore concludes that since, for scientific as opposed to empirical knowledge, there must be an universal element, since

[1] *Soph.* 246.
[2] *Parm.* 135.
[3] *Phaedo* 75; *Crat.* 439; *Rep.* 10. 596–7.
[4] *Soph.* 246.
[5] *Crat.* 440; *Laws* 12. 965.
[6] *Meta.* 1. 9. 990^{b} —1^{b}; 7. 8. 1033^{b}; 13. 4. 1078^{b} —9^{a}; 13. 5. 1079^{b}.

individuals are unlimited and infinite, and as such unknowable, the idea must be, not something outside the many, but rather in, and predicable of, the manifold phenomena of sense.'[1]

Where, it may be asked, did Milton become acquainted with the Platonic doctrine of ideas and the Aristotelian strictures upon it? The question need hardly be raised. From his own statements in the postscript to *Elegy* 7, and in *An Apology for Smectymnuus*,[2] we know that he had studied 'the divine volumes of Plato.' Further study could hardly omit the Aristotelian criticism of the Platonic theory. But it is likely, too, that Milton knew something of the Italian Platonists of the Renaissance, who for a century or more after 1450 all but worshiped Plato. Their leader was Gemistos Pletho (*c.* 1355–1450), the Byzantine scholar, who was chiefly responsible for the foundation of the Platonic Academy at Florence, and who there in 1440 wrote his *De Platonicae atque Aristotelicae Philosophiae Differentia*,[3] a bitter invective against Aristotle. Controversy was soon rife. George of Trebizond defended Aristotle in his *Comparatio Platonis et Aristotelis*, and Theodore of Gaza in his *Ἀντιῤῥητικον*. Cardinal Bessarion, a Platonist, answered them with *In Calumniatorem Platonis*. But the most famous of the Italian Platonists was Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), who translated all the works of Plato from Greek into Latin. Among his followers, whom he called *Complatonici mei*, perhaps the best-known was Pico della Mirandola. With the more famous works at least of these southern scholars it seems highly probable that Milton was acquainted.

[1] *Outlines of the Philosophy of Aristotle*, 1883, p. 66; see also Ross, *Aristotle*, 1923, pp. 157–9.

[2] *Pr. W.* 3. 119.

[3] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 160. 889–932; chapter 20 of this treatise is on the Platonic idea.

AD PATREM
[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

Milton prefixed no date to this poem, but the subject-matter points to the year 1632 or 1633, and the period immediately after he left Cambridge, when he resided at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Lines 73–6 seem clearly to refer to Horton.

The subject of the poem is Milton's decision to enter none of the professions, but to devote his life to literature. And the occasion would appear to be that his father had raised some objection to this course, for in line 17 the poet says:

Nec tu, vatis opus, divinum despice carmen;

and again in line 56:

Nec tu perge, precor, sacras contemnere Musas.

Nor, off-hand would it seem strange if the elder Milton, a prosperous man of business, objected to his son's choice of poetry as an occupation; poetry often has struck men of business with the uncertainty of its material rewards. But Milton's father was no ordinary man of business.

He was the son of Richard Milton, yeoman, of Stanton St. John's, Oxfordshire,[1] a devout Roman Catholic, who so resolutely adhered to the old faith that twice in 1601 he was heavily fined for nonconformity. His son John, the poet's father, was born about 1563.[2] Of his early life nothing seems to be known, except that he became a Protestant, and was disowned by his father. How he was employed after the break with his family does not appear; but either in Oxfordshire or in London he must for several years have engaged in some business, since the next we hear of him is his admission to the Company of Scriveners in London, in February, 1599–1600, after he had for some time served as apprentice to a scrivener named Colbron. Since it was unusual for a man to become apprentice when past thirty, it has

[1] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 296. See also Aubrey, *Collections for the Life of Milton*, in Milton, *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, 1911, p. xxxvii.
[2] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 296; Masson, *Life* 1 (1881). 23.

been thought that something unusual in his circumstances led him to turn scrivener so late; but what the circumstances were is unknown.[1] In 1600 he married Sarah Jeffrey,[2] and set up his home and place of business at the sign of the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, Cheapside. There his children were born,[3] and there he lived and worked for more than thirty years. Says Masson:

The household in Bread Street seems to have been a peculiarly peaceful and happy one with a tone of pious Puritanism prevailing in it, but with the liberal cheerfulness belonging to prosperous circumstances and to ingenious and cultivated tastes. For one thing, music was perpetual in it. The scrivener was not only passionately fond of music, but even of such note himself as a musical composer that, apart altogether from the fame of his great son, some memory of him might have lingered among us to this day. Madrigals, songs, and psalm-tunes of his composition are to be seen yet in music-books published before his son was born, or while he was but in his boyhood, and not in mere inferior music-books, but in collections in which Morley, Wilbye, Bull, Dowland, Ellis Gibbons, Orlando Gibbons, and others of the best artists of the day, were his fellow-contributors. Thus in the *Triumphs of Oriana*, a collection of madrigals in honor of Queen Elizabeth, published in 1601, one of the pieces is John Milton's; in the *Teares and Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule*, a collection of sacred songs, edited in 1614 by Sir William Leighton, knight, three of the songs are to John Milton's music; and in Ravenscroft's *Whole Book of Psalmes*, a compendium of Church-music published in 1621, the two tunes called *Norwich* and *York* are of John Milton's composition. As *York* tune is a favorite to this day, there may be said to remain, through it, some direct thrill in the English air from the spirit of Milton's father. But what music round about himself while he lived! There must have been frequent musical evenings, with one or more musical acquaintances present, in the house in Bread Street; books of music and musical instruments were parts of its furniture; and the young poet was taught by his father both to

[1] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 296; Masson, *Life* 1. 25.

[2] Masson, *Life* 1. 30.

[3] There were in all six children, of whom three lived to maturity: Anne, later Mrs. Philips, and, by a second marriage, Mrs. Agar; John Milton, the poet; and Christopher Milton, who became a judge, and was knighted. See Masson, *Life* 1. 39–40.

sing and to play on the organ. But the scrivener's designs for his children went beyond their mere training in his own art. It was his care to give them the best education possible, and to grudge nothing of his means towards that end. From the first there is proof that his heart was bound up in his son John, and that he had conceived the highest expectations of what that son would turn out to be.[1]

About 1632, or possibly a little earlier, the scrivener, having prospered in business, having provided his sons with the best education England could afford, and being now nearly seventy, retired, removing from London to the quiet village of Horton. Also in 1632 Milton completed his seven years' residence at Cambridge, took the degree of Master of Arts, and left the University. It then became necessary to decide upon his future. To one endowed as he was by nature and worldly fortune, any of the learned professions was open; but he chose none of them. With characteristic certainty of purpose, he rather chose to devote all his energies to literature, and now wished to settle with the family at Horton, there by reading and meditation to prepare for the work of his life. Although the elder Milton must have been aware of his son's extraordinary gifts, he may yet have doubted the wisdom of granting to a young man of twenty-four the unlimited leisure Milton now sought. Whatever his objection to his son's resolve—and we need not believe that it ever became formidable—we know that the father complied with his son's wishes. A father who was to be addressed in Latin hexameters might well comply. That he saw the wisdom of his compliance may be inferred from the circumstance that, after six years of the leisure his son desired, the father provided means for an expensive Continental journey—one of the great formative experiences in Milton's life.

Little remains to be told of the father. His wife died on April 3, 1637, and was buried in Horton Church. Some time about the beginning of the Civil Wars, the old man went with his son Christopher and the latter's wife to live in Reading. After the

[1] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 297–8.

siege and capture of Reading by the Parliamentarians, he came to London to live with his son John at the house, in Aldersgate Street, which but recently had been deserted by its young mistress, the former Mary Powell.[1] In 1645 they moved to a larger house in the Barbican, and there in March, 1646–7, the elder Milton died at the advanced age of eighty-four.

AD SALSILLUM

Poetam Romanum, Aegrotantem

Scazontes

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

During his visit to Italy in 1638–9, Milton received complimentary verses from several Italian poets of his new acquaintance. Four of these compositions, and Carolo Dati's encomium in prose, he published in 1645 by way of preface to his own Latin poems.[2] Among them is Giovanni Salzilli's extravagant quatrain to which Milton's *Ad Salsillum*, presumably written at Rome, is a reply.

The scazontic, or 'limping,' measure which Milton employs is a variation upon iambic trimeter produced by substituting in the last foot a spondee or a trochee for the expected iambus. In order to obtain the full effect of what seems a false emphasis, the fifth or penultimate foot ought always to be an iambus; this rule, however, Milton has not strictly observed.

'The scazons to Salzilli are,' Landor thought, ' a just and equitable return for his quatrain; for they are full of false quantities, without an iota of poetry.'[3] Johnson was more lenient; in the *Milton* he says: 'Here [at Rome] Selvaggi praised him in a distich, and Salzilli in a tetrastic; neither of them of much value. The Italians were gainers by this literary commerce; for the encomiums with which Milton repaid Salzilli, though not secure against a stern grammarian, turn the balance indisputably

[1] Philips, *Life of Milton*, in Milton, *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, 1911, p. lxvii.

[2] See *Milton's Poems, 1645*, Type-facsimile, Oxford, 1924, pp. 3–10.

[3] *Imag. Conv.*, 1883, 4. 104.

in Milton's favor.'[1] Commenting on line 23 of the poem, Warton says: 'I know not any finer modern Latin lyric poetry than that from this verse to the end. The close . . . is perfectly antique.' Johnson's measured praise is nearer the truth than Landor's censure or Warton's less unqualified admiration; for the poem, though florid and unsubstantial, has a courtly grace that is suitable to the occasion.

Little is known of Giovanni Salzilli; says Masson:

The phrase 'a Roman poet' might now mislead us. Rome then swarmed with wits and men of letters, meeting together in clubs or academies, of which there may have been about twenty in all. There must have been at least five hundred authors of one kind or another in Rome then, of whom the majority were 'poets' habitually or on occasion. Only a selection of these figure now in the standard histories of Italian literature; and of these Salzilli is not one. He must have been of considerable note in Roman society in his day, however; for I find him a leading contributor to a volume published at Rome in 1637 and dedicated to Cardinal Cesarini under the title of *Poesie de' Signori Accademici Fantastici*, i.e., *Poems by Members of the Academy of the Fantastics*. There are fifty-one contributors to this volume; but Salzilli's contributions occupy twenty-two pages out of a total of 272, and consist of eleven sonnets, two canzoni, one canzonetta, and one descriptive poem. Probably he was a young man and habitually an invalid. He was in bad health, at all events, when Milton addressed to him these *Scazontes*.[2]

MANSUS

[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

About the end of November, 1638, after spending two months in Rome, Milton proceeded to Naples. He says:

There I was introduced by a certain recluse, with whom I had traveled from Rome, to John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a nobleman of distinguished rank and authority, to whom Torquato Tasso, the illustrious poet, inscribed his book on friendship. During my stay, he gave me singular proofs of his

[1] *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1. 95.
[2] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 308–9.

regard; he himself conducted me round the city, and to the palace of the viceroy, and more than once paid me a visit at my lodgings. On my departure he gravely apologized for not having shown me more civility, which he said he had been restrained from doing, because I had spoken with so little reserve on matters of religion.[1]

Giovanni Battista Manso, born at Naples in 1570 (or 1561?), of an ancient and illustrious family, is less known for his published works than for the generous patronage he bestowed upon artists and men of letters. Rich, and without heirs, he devoted his wealth to the encouragement of the arts, and in an age of Maecenases became one of the most distinguished patrons of learning. With a view to establishing a great college where the young Neapolitan nobles might find instruction in religion, science, the 'fine' arts, gymnastics, and all other disciplines suitable to the culture of a gentleman, he founded the Accademia degli Oziosi, which met at his villa. Having thus made a beginning, he obtained permission from the Spanish Court to leave his fortune, which would otherwise have become the property of the State, for the endowment of the Collegio de' Nobili.[2]

The most notable experience, however, in Manso's life as patron was his friendship with Torquato Tasso, who in 1588 arrived in Naples, a broken man, but lately released from confinement as a pauper-lunatic.[3] Despite his fame as the author of *Aminta* and *Gerusalemme Liberata*, despite his period of honored leisure at the ducal Court of Ferrara, Tasso's life as a whole was unhappy. In the darkness of its closing years, Manso, with characteristic kindness, did what could be done to care for the wretched poet.[4] At Manso's villa, Tasso in 1594 completed *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, and at least began his dialogue on friendship, *Il Manso, ovvero dell' Amicizia*.[5]

[1] *2 Def., Pr. W.* 1. 256.

[2] *Biographie Universelle* 26. 376; *Grande Encyclopédie* 22. 1176; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* 8. 1. 1. 2. 14.

[3] Solerti, *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, 1895, 1. 594 ff.

[4] *Ibid.* 1. 797 ff.

[5] *Opere di Torquato Tasso*, 1821–33, 9. 273–315. See also Solerti, *op. cit.* 1. 724, 782; Tiraboschi 8. 1. 1. 2. 14.

After Tasso's death, Manso befriended and protected another poet, Giambattista Marino[1] (1569–1625), Milton's *dulciloquum Marinum.*[2] It is Marino's chief distinction to have rendered popular the ornate style known as Marinism, characterized by extravagant figures and gorgeous and sensuous conceits.[3]

Manso's own principal literary works are: *I Paradossi, ovvero dell'Amore, Dialoghi* (1608), five dialogues, in each of which Tasso is a speaker; *L'Erocallia, ovvero dell'Amore e della Belleza, Dialoghi XII* (1618), another set of dialogues; *Vita di S. Patrizia Vergine* (1619); *Vita di Torquato Tasso* (1619); and a collection of poems in the affected style of Marino, entitled *Poesie Nomiche.*[4] Milton would seem to imply[5] that Manso also wrote a life of Marino, but of that I have found no other notice. Of the foregoing works only the *Vita di Torquato Tasso* is of special value.

Not least among Manso's claims to our respect it is that, in return for his kindly attentions to Milton, he was celebrated by this great poet in a noble poem, one that, as Dr. Johnson remarked, 'must have raised an high opinion of English elegance and literature.'[6] Landor, who severely criticized *Ad Salsillum,*[7] had for this poem only exclamations of praise:

How gloriously he bursts forth again in all his splendor for Manso, who before had enjoyed the immortal honor of being the friend of Tasso!

> Diis dilecte senex! te Iupiter aequus oportet
> Nascentem et miti lustrarit lumine Phoebus,
> Atlantisque nepos; neque enim nisi carus ab ortu
> Diis superis poterit magno favisse poetae.

And the remainder of the poem is highly enthusiastic. What a glorious verse is

> Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges![8]

[1] See Solerti, *op. cit.* 1. 710; *Biographie Universelle* 26. 674–5; Borzelli, *Il Cavalier Giovan Battista Marino*, 1898, pp. 6 n., 12, 15, 20, 51, 71, 176, 183; Menghini, *La Vita et le Opere di Giambattista Marino*, 1888, pp. 271–4.

[2] *Mansus* 9.

[3] See *Grande Encyclopédie* 23. 190.

[4] A few of these poems appear in Croce, *Lirici Marinisti*, 1910, pp. 32–5.

[5] *Mansus* 20–1.

[6] *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1. 96.

[7] See p. 57.

[8] *Imag. Conv.*, 1883, 4. 104–5.

EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS
[Editions of 1645 and 1673]

A few months after his return from Italy, when still suffering the first pain of bereavement, Milton wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, a pastoral elegy on his late friend, Charles Diodati.[1] This was to be almost his last, as it is his greatest, effort in Latin verse.[2] The nature of the poem, and its occasion, obviously suggest comparison with *Lycidas*, but the differences between the two pieces are far more notable than their similarities. Virgil affords the main inspiration for *Lycidas*, the Greeks for the *Epitaphium*. In *Lycidas* Milton lays aside the shepherd's pipe, and puts the trumpet to his lips; he has caught Virgil's elusive art of transfusing pastoral with epic elements.[3] The *Epitaphium* is purely pastoral, with nothing of the epic element, and is a return to the manner of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus.[4] The English landscape vanishes, and in its stead arises the Arcadian world where Thyrsis sings of his love and sorrow for Damon, as of old he sang while tending his sheep in Sicilian pastures. His fellow-shepherds and -shepherdesses, Amyntas, Hyas, Chloris, and the rest, gather about Milton, as of old they came in sympathy with their sorrowing companions. And as his sheep, little knowing his sorrow, press around him, Thyrsis again and again cries out:

Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni;

as long ago he had cried:

Ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς—

when he sang of Daphnis.[5] Thus the *Epitaphium Damonis* faithfully observes the conventions of its kind.

[1] For the death of Diodati and the date of the poem, see pp. 21–2, 333.

[2] After 1640 Milton apparently wrote only *Ad Ioannem Rousium* and the Salmasian epigrams.

[3] See Rand, *Milton in Rustication*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 126.

[4] See Kerlin, *Theocritus in English Literature*, 1910, pp. 40–1.

[5] Theocritus 1. 64, 70, 73, 76, etc. (Begin, ye Muses dear, begin the pastoral song!—tr. by Lang). For other refrains see Theocritus 2. 17, 22, 27, etc.; Bion 1. 6, 15, etc.; Moschus 3. 8,13, 19, etc.; Phineas Fletcher, *Nisa Ecloga* 16, 28, 44, etc. See also my note, pp. 333–4.

But the conventions are only a means to an end, and hence are of secondary importance. If we yield first place to the Arcadian world, with its dim unreality, like that of an antique tapestry, and people it with men and satyrs and gods of the woodland, all equally unreal, the pastoral poem never will be inspired by the breath of life, and we never shall grasp its true motive. The reason why the pastoral poem is now dead and dishonored is that too many poets gave themselves up to unreality; their art fell upon evil days, and died of its own inanition. Evil tongues have done the rest.[1] The imaginary world, however, is merely a setting for man, and is valuable only as it reveals the action of the human spirit. Indeed, it little matters how unreal the landscape be, if the poet has truly represented human life—if only he has been moved by the deep impulses in human nature from which pastoral poetry springs, by the reaction against a world that is too much with us, by the search for peace and freedom.[2]

In the *Epitaphium Damonis*, though much may seem unreal, the human spirit is the animating force. Milton in other works achieved glories for which here we may look in vain. *Lycidas* is a grander conception; *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso* are more brilliant, and informed with deeper thought. A comparison with *Paradise Lost* is futile—as well compare a miniature with a great fresco. Yet nowhere has Milton written with greater sincerity than in the *Epitaphium*; nowhere has he given a more spontaneous utterance to deep personal feeling. With inevitable truth he expresses the sorrow of one who has suffered irreparable loss. Happy memories of days with his friend, fears for the loneliness of the future, hopes and ambitions which now there is none to share, vain regrets that he was not at Diodati's bedside to say farewell, all crowd upon him with almost overwhelming force. The cares of the present intrude upon his sorrow, and he

[1] See Broughton, *Theocritean Element in . . . Wordsworth*, 1920, pp. 1–2; Chambers *English Pastorals*, 1895, pp. xv–xvi.

[2] See Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, 1906, pp. 2, 6–7; Broughton *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.

almost impatiently thrusts them aside with the repeated plaint: 'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you'—a refrain that subtly heightens the emotional intensity of the poem, and emphasizes its unity. But intense as the emotion is, it is impressive by its restraint. Milton finally so masters his grief that he can say: 'I shall weep no more. Away then tears! Damon dwells in the purity of heaven, for he himself is pure.' In this resignation there is hope, not the despair of the Roman poet who in his lament for his brother cried:

> Accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,
> Atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale.[1]

Jan. 23, 1646

AD IOANNEM ROUSIUM

Oxoniensis Academiae Bibliothecarium

[Edition of 1673]

The occasion of *Ad Ioannem Rousium*, and its date, are stated with unusual precision. Milton had sent to John Rouse, Bodley's Librarian, for deposit in the Bodleian, copies of all the works he had published up to the beginning of the year 1647. On the way from London to Oxford, the little volume of *Poems both English and Latin*, published by Moseley in 1645, either slipped from the parcel, or was stolen. Rouse detected the loss, and asked for a second copy. In complying with this request, Milton enclosed in the new copy, between the English and the Latin poems, the manuscript ode to John Rouse. Both book and manuscript are still preserved in the Bodleian.[2] Therewith is also the volume of eleven pamphlets Milton had sent Rouse with the copy of the poems that went astray; an otherwise blank leaf at the front contains a Latin inscription[3] in Milton's autograph, addressed to

[1] Catullus 101. 9–10.

[2] Facsimiles of parts of the MS. are given as a frontispiece in the Oxford Milton (1900), and in Sotheby, *Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*, 1861, p. 114.

[3] See Sotheby, *op. cit.*, p. 120; *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1. 330–1.

Rouse, with a list of contents for the volume; at the end of the list comes the item: *Poemata Latina et Anglicana, seorsim.*[1]

John Rouse, or Rous, was born in Northamptonshire in 1574, matriculated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, Feb. 19, 1590–1,[2] took the Bachelor's degree at Balliol, Jan. 31, 1598–9,[3] was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1600,[4] and proceeded M.A., March 27, 1604.[5] Little more is heard of him until he was elected Bodley's Librarian in 1620, the post he held until his death on April 3 (?), 1652.[6] 'He appears,' says Macray, 'to have discharged his trust in the Library with faithfulness, and at least to have deserved some mention at the historiographers' hands for the Appendix to the Catalogue which he issued in the year 1635.'[7] Accounts have survived of two incidents which reveal Rouse's solicitude for the well-being of the Library. On one occasion, Anthony à Wood tells us,[8] the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Reynolds, and the Proctors, were bent upon breaking open Bodley's chest in search of money, but were prevented by Rouse, who assured them that there was nothing in the chest. At another time he refused, with the true spirit of the librarian, to lend Charles the First a copy of the *Histoire Universelle du Sieur d'Aubigné*, because, without respect of persons, the statutes of the Library forbade the removal of a book.[9] At his death he bequeathed to the Bodleian the sum of twenty pounds.[10] It is uncertain whether Milton was personally acquainted with him; they may have met at Oxford in 1635 when

[1] If Warton's almost incredible story be true, these two volumes, about 1720, while John Hudson was Librarian, were thrown out as duplicates, and Nathaniel Crynes, who afterward bequeathed his library to the Bodleian, was allowed to take what he pleased for himself; but he was too much of a royalist and churchman to take anything bearing the name of Milton; consequently the books remained in the Bodleian. The story may be true, for Hudson has frequently been charged with ignorance and neglect (Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 1890, p. 57).

[2] *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. by Clark, 1885–9, 2. 2. 182.

[3] *Ibid.* 2. 3. 212.

[4] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (Early Series), 1891–2, 3. 1290.

[5] *Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. by Clark, 1885–9, 2. 3. 212.

[6] Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 1890, pp. 56, 107.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[8] *Fasti Oxonienses*, ed. by Bliss, 1820, 2. 116–7.

[9] Macray, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Milton was incorporated M.A.[1] At all events Rouse, though no ardent partisan in the Civil War, had Parliamentary leanings that doubtless would enlist the sympathy of Milton.

Critics have dealt more sharply with the ode to Rouse than with any other of the Latin poems. Says Landor:

It may be well to say little of the *Presentation of the Poems to the Bodleian*. Strophes and antistrophes are here quite out of place; and on no occasion has any Latin poet so jumbled together the old metres. Many of these are irregular and imperfect.

Ion Actaea genitus Creusa

is not a verse; *authorum* is not Latin.

Et tutela dabit solers Rousi

is defective in metre. This Pindaric ode to Rouse the Librarian is indeed fuller of faults than any other of his Latin compositions. He tells us himself that he has admitted a spondee for the third foot in the Phaleucian verse, because Catullus had done so in the second. He never wrote such bad verses, or gave such bad reasons, all his life before. But beautifully and justly has he said:

Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet.[2]

Symmons, who would fain admire, can grant that the diction of the ode is 'pure, and, equally with the matter, eminently poetic';[3] but he censures the structure even more severely than does Landor;

When he constructed this ode to Rouse, which is now a wild chaos of verses and no verses heaped together confusedly and licentiously, Milton must be regarded as imprudent for not taking any one model of acknowledged authority, by a perfect assimilation to which, in the construction and the combination of his metres, he might have secured himself from error and reprehension. Inattentive and lawless he must certainly be deemed, either for not noticing, or for not following, the rule of systematizing which the moderation of the Latin poets chose to affect, rather than to indulge in that inexhaustible variety, that rapid interchange of numbers, which enchants and astonishes in the tragic solemnity of the chorus of the Grecian Muse,

[1] Masson, *Life* 1 (1881). 624–6.
[2] *Imag. Conv.*, 1883, 4. 105–6.
[3] *Life of Milton*, 1806, p. 230.

or in the wild roll of her dithyrambic. ... To disapprove, then, of the general plan and construction of this ode is only to admit that, in matters of this nature, innovation is dangerous and to be avoided.[1]

The note Milton appended to the ode, a note his critics have too little regarded, shows that he knew what he was about. As Rand says, the lines are an experiment in Latin verse, imitating 'the glorious freedom and glorious formalism of a Greek chorus, with strophes and antistrophes, changing metres, and occasional free verse.'[2] Milton in the main has followed the bidding of his ear, attending, as he says, not so much to ancient rules of versification as to propriety of reading—*commode legendi*. This term is ambiguous, but seems to mean the exact expression of his thought in rythmic language. He has made innovations, and a poem the like of which is hardly to be found in Latin; yet one is reluctant to condemn him, for, whatever else it be, the piece is not unmusical. Milton's ear rarely betrayed him.

The whole poem is an 'envoy' to its volume, and as such may trace its line of descent at least as far back as the *Tristia* of Ovid, which begins with a similar address. Ovid again uses the envoy in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (4.5), and Martial has several examples of it.[3] In the *Silvae* (4.4) of Statius it occurs once. The last twelve stanzas of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* are an envoy of the same sort.[4] Perhaps the best-known address to a modern book is Spenser's at the beginning of *The Shepheardes Calendar*.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 236.
[2] Rand, *Milton in Rustication*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 115.
[3] *E. g.*, 1. 70; 2. 1; 3. 2, 4, 5; 4. 86, 89; 7. 97.
[4] See Tatlock, *The Epilog of Chaucer's Troilus*, in *Mod. Phil.* 18 (1921). 113–47.

THE LATIN POEMS

JOANNIS MILTONI

LONDINENSIS

POEMATA

QUORUM PLERAQUE INTRA
ANNUM AETATIS VIGESIMUM
CONSCRIPSIT

NUNC PRIMUM EDITA

LONDINI
TYPIS R. R. PROSTANT AD INSIGNIA PRINCIPIS, IN
COEMETERIO D. PAULI, APUD HUMPHREDUM
MOSELEY. 1645

POEMS

BY

JOHN MILTON

OF

LONDON

MOST OF THEM WRITTEN BEFORE THE
END OF HIS TWENTIETH YEAR

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

LONDON
PRINTED BY R. R., AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY HUMPHREY
MOSELEY AT THE SIGN OF THE PRINCE'S ARMS
IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD
1645

ELEGIARUM LIBER

ELEGIA PRIMA

Ad Carolum Diodatum

Tandem, care,[1] tuae mihi pervenere tabellae,
  Pertulit et voces nuntia charta tuas;
Pertulit occidua Devae Cestrensis ab ora
  Vergivium prono qua petit amne salum.
Multum, crede, iuvat terras aluisse remotas
  Pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele caput,
Quodque mihi lepidum tellus longinqua sodalem
  Debet, at unde brevi reddere iussa velit.
Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda,
  Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.
Iam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,
  Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.
Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles.
  Quam male Phoebicolis convenit ille locus!
Nec duri libet usque minas perferre magistri,
  Caeteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.
Si sit hoc exilium, patrios adiise penates,
  Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,
Non ego vel profugi nomen sortemve recuso,
  Laetus et exilii conditione fruor.
O utinam vates nunquam graviora tulisset
  Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro!
Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero,
  Neve foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.
Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Musis,
  Et totum rapiunt me, mea vita, libri.
Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri,

[1] chare.

A BOOK OF ELEGIES

ELEGY I

To Charles Diodati

At last, dear friend, your letter has reached me, and the messenger tablet has borne me your words from the western marge of Chester's Dee, where with swift falling stream it seeks the Vergivian brine. Great joy it is, believe me, that distant lands have fostered a heart that loves me and a head so true, and that the region remote which withholds my charming companion will soon at my behest return him to me.

I am now in the city that is washed by the ebbing and flowing Thames, tarrying, not unwilling, under my father's kindly roof. Meanwhile I care not to revisit reedy Cam; I suffer from no longing for my forbidden hearth; I find no pleasure in bare fields that afford no gentle shade. How ill that place befits the cult of Phoebus! Nor does it suit me always to endure the threats of a harsh master, and other wrongs to which my nature will not submit. If this be exile, to have retired to my father's house, and there care-free to live in pleasant leisure, then I refuse neither the name nor the lot of an exile, and gladly enjoy such banishment. Would that no heavier blow had fallen on the lamentable bard who was exiled to the land of Tomis. In naught would he then have yielded to Ionian Homer, nor would the first praise be yours, O vanquished Maro.

Here I may freely give my time to the tranquil Muses; and here my books, which are my life, absorb me wholly. When I am weary with these, the splendors of the winding theatre call

Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.
Seu catus auditur senior, seu prodigus haeres,
Seu procus, aut posita casside miles adest,
Sive decennali foecundus lite patronus
Detonat inculto barbara verba foro;
Saepe vafer gnato succurrit servus amanti,
Et nasum rigidi fallit ubique patris;
Saepe novos illic virgo mirata calores
Quid sit amor nescit, dum quoque nescit amat.
Sive cruentatum furiosa Tragoedia sceptrum
Quassat, et effusis crinibus ora rotat.
Et dolet, et specto, iuvat et spectasse dolendo.
Interdum et lacrymis dulcis amaror inest:
Seu puer infelix indelibata reliquit
Gaudia, et abrupto flendus amore cadit;
Seu ferus e tenebris iterat Styga criminis ultor,
Conscia funereo pectora torre movens;
Seu maeret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili,
Aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos.
Sed neque sub tecto semper nec in urbe latemus,
Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.
Nos quoque lucus habet vicina consitus ulmo,
Atque suburbani nobilis umbra loci.
Saepius hic, blandas spirantia sidera flammas,
Virgineos videas praeteriisse choros.
Ah quoties dignae stupui miracula formae
Quae possit senium vel reparare Iovis!
Ah quoties vidi superantia lumina gemmas,
Atque faces quotquot volvit uterque polus;
Collaque bis vivi Pelopis quae brachia vincant,
Quaeque fluit puro nectare tincta via,
Et decus eximium frontis, tremulosque capillos,
Aurea quae fallax retia tendit Amor;
Pellacesque genas, ad quas hyacinthina sordet
Purpura, et ipse tui floris, Adoni, rubor!

me forth, and the babbling stage summons me to its applause. Sometimes it is the grasping old man or spendthrift heir who speaks, the lover or the soldier with helmet doffed who is here; again it is an advocate grown rich on a ten year's suit who thunders forth his barbarous jargon to the untutored court. Often the sly servant aids the enamored son, and on every side cheats the stern father under his very nose; there often the maiden, marveling at the unwonted glow of passion, knows not what love is—yet, not knowing, loves. Then raging Tragedy brandishes her gory sceptre, and rolls her eyes beneath disheveled locks. As I look upon her, the sight pains me, yet in the pain there is pleasure. Sometimes in tears the sweet and the bitter are mingled: as when perchance an unhappy boy leaves his joy untasted, and, torn from his love, perishes lamented; or when the cruel avenger again has crossed the Styx from the abode of the shades, stirring with baleful torch the hearts that are conscious of sin; or when the house of Pelops, or of noble Ilus, mourns, or Creon's house suffers for its incestuous sires.

But not always do I live secluded within doors, nor even within the city; neither do I let the spring pass by in vain. I visit, too, the neighboring grove thick-set with elms, and near the city a place celebrated for its shade. There one may often see the bands of maidens pass, stars that breathe seductive flames. Ah, how often have I stood amazed at the marvelous beauty of a form which might rejuvenate even the old age of Jove; ah, how often have I seen eyes brighter than jewels, brighter than all the stars that turn about either pole; necks which surpass the arms of twice-living Pelops, and the galaxy that flows with pure nectar; how often seen the surpassing beauty of brow and light-blown hair, golden snares set by deceiving Love; and how often seen alluring cheeks, to which hyacinthine purple, and even the blush of your flower, O Adonis, are pale. Give place, O heroines,

Cedite laudatae toties Heröides olim,
Et quaecunque vagum cepit amica Iovem;
Cedite Achaemeniae turrita fronte puellae,
Et quot Susa colunt, Memnoniamque Ninon;
Vos etiam Danaae fasces submittite Nymphae,
Et vos Iliacae, Romuleaeque nurus;
Nec Pompeianas Tarpeia Musa columnas
Iactet, et Ausoniis plena theatra stolis.
Gloria virginibus debetur prima Britannis;
Extera, sat tibi sit, foemina, posse sequi.
Tuque urbs Dardaniis, Londinum, structa colonis,
Turrigerum late conspicienda caput,
Tu nimium felix intra tua moenia claudis
Quicquid formosi pendulus orbis habet.
Non tibi tot caelo scintillant astra sereno,
Endymioneae turba ministra deae,
Quot tibi conspicuae formaque auroque puellae
Per medias radiant turba videnda vias.
Creditur huc geminis venisse invecta columbis
Alma pharetrigero milite cincta Venus,
Huic Cnidon, et riguas Simoentis flumine valles,
Huic Paphon, et roseam posthabitura Cypron.
Ast ego, dum pueri sinit indulgentia caeci,
Moenia quam subito linquere fausta paro;
Et vitare procul malefidae infamia Circes
Atria, divini Molyos usus ope.
Stat quoque iuncosas Cami remeare paludes,
Atque iterum raucae murmur adire Scholae.
Interea fidi parvum cape munus amici,
Paucaque in alternos verba coacta modos.

once so often lauded, and whatever mistress captivated wandering Jove. Give place, O Achaemenian maidens with foreheads high-turreted, and all you who dwell in Susa and Memnonian Nineveh; and even you, O Grecian nymph, and you Trojan and Roman women, acknowledge yourselves inferior. Let not the Tarpeian Muse boast of Pompey's porch, and of the theatre thronged with Ausonian stoles. To the virgins of Britain first glory is due; and as for you, ye foreign women, let it be enough that you may follow after. And you, London, a city built by Dardanian colonists, with tower-crowned head conspicuous far and wide, happy are you beyond measure in holding within your walls whatever beauty this pendulous orb contains. Not so many stars, ministrant troops of Endymion's goddess, shine upon you from heaven serene, not so many as the maidens bright with gold and beauty who are seen shining through your streets. Hither, it is believed, came kindly Venus, borne by her twin doves, and attended by her quiver-bearing soldiery, preferring this to Cnidos and the valleys watered by Simöis, to Paphos and to rosy Cyprus.

But as for me, while yet the indulgence of the blind boy permits, I am preparing with what haste I can to leave these happy walls, and with the aid of divine moly to guide my steps far from the infamous halls of faithless Circe. It is also fixed that I return to the sedgy marshes of Cam, and once more enter the hoarse murmur of the schools. Meanwhile accept the small tribute of a faithful friend, even these few words coaxed into alternate measures.

ELEGIA SECUNDA

Anno Aetatis 17

IN OBITUM PRAECONIS ACADEMICI CANTABRIGIENSIS

Te, qui conspicuus baculo fulgente solebas
Palladium toties ore ciere gregem,
Ultima praeconum praeconem te quoque saeva
Mors rapit, officio nec favet ipsa suo.
Candidiora licet fuerint tibi tempora plumis
Sub quibus accipimus delituisse Iovem,
O dignus tamen Haemonio iuvenescere succo,
Dignus in Aesonios vivere posse dies,
Dignus quem Stygiis medica revocaret ab undis
Arte Coronides, saepe rogante dea.
Tu si iussus eras acies accire togatas,
Et celer a Phoebo nuntius ire tuo,
Talis in Iliaca stabat Cyllenius aula
Alipes, aetherea missus ab arce Patris;
Talis et Eurybates ante ora furentis Achillei
Rettulit Atridae iussa severa ducis.
Magna sepulchrorum regina, satelles Averni,
Saeva nimis Musis, Palladi saeva nimis,
Quin illos rapias qui pondus inutile terrae?
Turba quidem est telis ista petenda tuis.
Vestibus hunc igitur pullis, Academia, luge,
Et madeant lacrimis nigra feretra tuis.
Fundat et ipsa modos querebunda Elegeia tristes,
Personet et totis naenia moesta scholis.

ELEGIA TERTIA

Anno Aetatis 17

IN OBITUM PRAESULIS WINTONIENSIS

Moestus eram, et tacitus, nullo comitante, sedebam.
Haerebantque animo tristia plura meo,
Protinus en subiit funestae cladis imago
Fecit in Angliaco quam Libitina solo;

ELEGY II

At the Age of Seventeen

ON THE DEATH OF THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY BEADLE

Conspicuous with your shining staff, you were wont so often to summon the Palladian band; but, beadle as you were, fell Death, the last of all beadles, has seized you, and shows no favor even to his own office. Although your temples were whiter than the plumes under which we have heard that Jove disguised himself, O yet were you worthy to renew your youth with a Haemonian potion, worthy like Aeson to relive your early days, worthy that Coronides, at the frequent prayer of a goddess, should with his healing art recall you from the waves of Styx. If you were ordered by your Apollo to go as a swift messenger to summon the gowned ranks, you stood like wing-footed Cyllenius in the Trojan halls, sent from the ethereal citadel of his father; stood like Eurybates, when before the face of angry Achilles he announced the stren commands of his lord, the son of Atreus. O great queen of sepulchres, attendant of Avernus, too cruel to the Muses, too cruel to Pallas! Why not seize those who are useless burdens to the earth? At that crowd should you aim your arrows. Therefore, Cambridge, mourn in sable robes for this man, and let his dark bier be wet with your tears. Let complaining Elegy pour forth her sad measures, and let a melancholy dirge sound through all the schools.

ELEGY III

At the Age of Seventeen

ON THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

Silent and alone I sat in sorrowful mood, and many griefs laid hold upon my soul, when, lo! suddenly arose the phantom of the deadly plague which Libitina sent upon England, when bitter

Dum procerum ingressa est splendentes marmore turres
Dira sepulchrali Mors metuenda face,
Pulsavitque auro gravidos et iaspide muros,
Nec metuit satrapum sternere falce greges.
Tunc memini clarique ducis, fratrisque verendi,
Intempestivis ossa cremata rogis;
Et memini Heroum quos vidit ad aethera raptos,
Flevit et amissos Belgia tota duces.
At te praecipue luxi, dignissime praesul,
Wintoniaeque olim gloria magna tuae;
Delicui fletu, et tristi sic ore querebar:
'Mors fera, Tartareo diva secunda Iovi,
Nonne satis quod silva tuas persentiat iras,
Et quod in herbosos ius tibi detur agros,
Quodque afflata tuo marcescant lilia tabo,
Et crocus, et pulchrae Cypridi sacra rosa?
Nec sinis ut semper fluvio contermina quercus
Miretur lapsus praetereuntis aquae?
Et tibi succumbit liquido quae plurima caelo
Evehitur pennis, quamlibet augur, avis,
Et quae mille nigris errant animalia silvis,
Et quod alunt mutum Proteos antra pecus.
Invida, tanta tibi cum sit concessa potestas,
Quid iuvat humana tingere caede manus?
Nobileque in pectus certas acuisse sagittas,
Semideamque animam sede fugasse sua?
Talia dum lacrymans alto sub pectore volvo,
Roscidus occiduis Hesperus exit aquis,
Et Tartessiaco submerserat aequore currum
Phoebus, ab Eöo littore mensus iter.
Nec mora, membra cavo posui refovenda cubili;
Condiderant oculos noxque soporque meos,
Cum mihi visus eram lato spatiarier agro—
Heu! nequit ingenium visa referre meum.
Illic punicea radiabant omnia luce,
Ut matutino cum iuga sole rubent;

Death, fearful with her sepulchral torch, entered the gleaming marble palaces of the great, smote the walls heavy with jasper and gold, and feared not with her scythe to mow down troops of nobles. Then I remembered that famous duke and his revered brother-in-arms, whose bones were consumed on untimely pyres; I remembered the heroes that all Belgia saw caught up to heaven, the lost leaders whom she wept.

But I chiefly lamented for you, most noble Bishop, once the crowning glory of Winchester. I melted in tears, and thus sadly complained:

'O cruel Death, goddess next in power to Tartarean Jove, is it not enough that the forests suffer under your wrath, that power is given you over the grass of the field, that the lily, the crocus, and the rose sacred to lovely Cypris, droop at the touch of your withering breath? Nor do you permit the oak that stands by the river to gaze for ever at the flow of the passing water. And the birds, as many as are borne on wings through the liquid heaven—although they are diviners of the future; all the thousand wild beasts that wander in the dark forests; the dumb herds that find shelter in the caves of Proteus; all succumb to you. You are envious? But, endowed with such power, what joy is it to stain your hands with human blood, to sharpen your unerring bolts to pierce a noble breast, and to drive a soul half-divine from its home?'

While thus in tears I pondered such matters deep in my heart, dewy Hesperus arose from the western wave, and Phoebus, having finished his course from the shores of dawn, had submerged his chariot in the Iberian ocean. Straightway I laid myself on my yielding bed to find repose, and night and sleep had closed my eyes, when, as it seemed, I was wandering in a wide field—but, alas! I have no gift to tell what I saw. There all things glowed with a purple light, as when the mountain-peaks grow red in the morning sun; and, even as when Iris has scattered her

Ac veluti cum pandit opes Thaumantia proles
Vestitu nituit multicolore solum;
Non dea tam variis ornavit floribus hortos
Alcinoi Zephyro Chloris amata levi.
Flumina vernantes lambunt argentea campos,
Ditior Hesperio flavet arena Tago.
Serpit odoriferas per opes levis aura Favoni,
Aura sub innumeris humida nata rosis:
Talis in extremis terrae Gangetidis oris
Luciferi regis fingitur esse domus.
Ipse racemiferis dum densas vitibus umbras
Et pellucentes miror ubique locos,
Ecce mihi subito praesul Wintonius astat!
Sidereum nitido fulsit in ore iubar;
Vestis ad auratos defluxit candida talos;
Infula divinum cinxerat alba caput.
Dumque senex tali incedit venerandus amictu.
Intremuit laeto florea terra sono;
Agmina gemmatis plaudunt caelestia pennis;
Pura triumphali personat aethra tuba.
Quisque novum amplexu comitem cantuque salutat,
Hosque aliquis placido misit ab ore sonos:
'Nate, veni, et patrii felix cape gaudia regni;
Semper abhinc duro, nate, labore vaca.'
Dixit, et aligerae tetigerunt nablia turmae;
At mihi cum tenebris aurea pulsa quies;
Flebam turbatos Cephaleia pellice somnos.
Talia contingant somnia saepe mihi!

rich offspring, the earth was luxuriant in many-colored robes. Chloris, the goddess beloved of gentle Zephyr, did not adorn the garden of Alcinous with flowers so varied. Through verdant fields flowed silver streams whose sands shone a richer gold than those of Hesperian Tagus. Through the fragrant leaves the soft breath of Favonius trembled, the moist breath born beneath countless roses. Such a place, it is supposed, is the home of royal Lucifer, in a land on the farthest shores of the Ganges. As I gazed in wonder at these sunlit spaces everywhere, and the deep shadows under the clustering vines, lo! suddenly before me stood the Bishop of Winchester. From his face shone a heavenly light like the radiance of the stars, his robe of dazzling white swept down to his golden sandals, and a white fillet encircled his divine head. As the venerable man in such raiment advanced, the flowery earth trembled with joyous sound. The heavenly hosts clapped their jeweled wings, and the clear air resounded with the triumphal horn. Each saluted his new companion with embrace and song, and one with placid lips uttered these words:

'Come, my son, take of the joy and gladness of your Father's kingdom, and from hard labor henceforth and for ever be free.'

He spoke, and the winged companies touched their harps. But my golden peace was dispelled with the night, and I wept for my dreams shattered by the mistress of Cephalus. May such dreams often return.

ELEGIA QUARTA

Anno aetatis 18

AD THOMAM IUNIUM,

PRAECEPTOREM SUUM, APUD MERCATORES ANGLICOS HAMBURGAE AGENTES PASTORIS MUNERE FUNGENTEM

Curre per immensum subito, mea littera, pontum;
I, pete Teutonicos laeve per aequor agros;
Segnes rumpe moras, et nil, precor, obstet eunti,
Et festinantis nil remoretur iter.
Ipse ego Sicanio fraenantem carcere ventos
Aeolon, et virides sollicitabo Deos,
Caeruleamque suis comitatam Dorida Nymphis,
Ut tibi dent placidam per sua regna viam.
At tu, si poteris, celeres tibi sume iugales,
Vecta quibus Colchis fugit ab ore viri;
Aut queis Triptolemus Scythicas devenit in oras,
Gratus Eleusina missus ab urbe puer.
Atque, ubi Germanas flavere videbis arenas,
Ditis ad Hamburgae moenia flecte gradum,
Dicitur occiso quae ducere nomen ab Hama,
Cimbrica quem fertur clava dedisse neci.
Vivit ibi antiquae clarus pietatis honore
Praesul, Christicolas pascere doctus oves;
Ille quidem est animae plusquam pars altera nostrae;
Dimidio vitae vivere cogor ego.
Hei mihi, quot pelagi, quot montes interiecti,
Me faciunt alia parte carere mei!
Carior[1] ille mihi quam tu, doctissime Graium,
Cliniadi, pronepos qui Telamonis erat;
Quamque Stagirites generoso magnus alumno,
Quem peperit Lybico Chaonis alma Iovi.
Qualis Amyntorides, qualis Philyrëius Heros
Myrmidonum regi, talis et ille mihi.

[1] charior

ELEGY IV

At the Age of Eighteen

To His Tutor, Thomas Young, now performing the duties of Chaplain to the English Merchants at Hamburg

Away, my letter, speed through the boundless sea; go, seek the Teutonic lands over the smooth expanse of the deep; have done with lingering delays, and let nothing, I pray, thwart your going, nothing stay the haste of your course. I shall myself implore Aeolus, who restrains the winds in his Sicilian cave, and the green gods, and cerulean Doris with her company of nymphs, to give you a peaceful journey through their realms. But procure for yourself, if you may, the swift team wherewith Medea in flight rode from the face of her husband, or that with which young Triptolemus reached the Scythian shores, a welcome messenger from the city of Eleusis. And when you descry the yellow sands of Germany, turn your course to the walls of rich Hamburg, which, as the legend runs, derives its name from Hama, slain, it is said, with a Cimbrian club. There dwells a pastor, renowned for his simple piety, instructed to feed the flocks of Christ. In truth he is more than half my soul, and I am forced to live half my life without him. Alas, how many seas, how many mountains, intervene and part me from my other dearer self! Dearer is he to me than were you, Socrates, wisest of the Greeks, to Alcibiades of the stock of Telamon; dearer even than the great Stagirite to his noble pupil, whom a Chaonian mother bore to Libyan Jove. What the son of Amyntor and what the half-divine son of Philyra were to the king of the Myrmidons, such is this man to me. He was my guide when I was first thread-

Primus ego Aonios illo praeeunte recessus
Lustrabam, et bifidi sacra vireta iugi,
Pieriosque hausi latices, Clioque favente
Castalio sparsi laeta ter ora mero.
Flammeus at signum ter viderat arietis Aethon
Induxitque auro lanea terga novo,
Bisque novo terram sparsisti, Chlori, senilem
Gramine, bisque tuas abstulit Auster opes;
Necdum eius licuit mihi lumina pascere vultu,
Aut linguae dulces aure bibisse sonos.
Vade igitur, cursuque Eurum praeverte sonorum;
Quam sit opus monitis res docet, ipsa vides.
Invenies dulci cum coniuge forte sedentem,
Mulcentem gremio pignora cara[1] suo;
Forsitan aut veterum praelarga volumina Patrum
Versantem, aut veri Biblia sacra Dei,
Caelestive animas saturantem rore tenellas,
Grande salutiferae religionis opus.
Utque solet, multam sit dicere cura salutem,
Dicere quam decuit, si modo adesset, herum.
Haec quoque, paulum oculos in humum defixa modestos,
Verba verecundo sis memor ore loqui.
Haec tibi, si teneris vacat inter praelia Musis,
Mittit ab Angliaco littore fida manus.
Accipe sinceram, quamvis sit sera, salutem;
Fiat et hoc ipso gratior illa tibi.
Sera quidem, sed vera fuit, quam casta recepit
Icaris a lento Penelopeia viro.
Ast ego quid volui manifestum tollere crimen,
Ipse quod ex omni parte levare nequit?
Arguitur tardus merito, noxamque fatetur,
Et pudet officium deseruisse suum.
Tu modo da veniam fasso, veniamque roganti;
Crimina diminui quae patuere solent.

[1] chara.

ing the Aonian shades, and the sacred greenswards of the cloven hill; he first led me to drink of the Pierian water, and favored by Clio I thrice wet my lips with Castalian wine. But thrice has flaming Aethon passed the sign of the Ram, and newly clothed his fleecy back with gold; and twice, Chloris, you have bestrewn the old earth with new grass, and twice Auster has swept away your wealth, since my eyes were permitted to feast on his face, or my ears to drink in the sweet music of his voice.

Go, then, and in your course outstrip the roaring East Wind. Whatever admonition you may need, circumstances will teach, and you yourself will see. You will find him perhaps sitting with his charming wife, fondling on his knee the pledges of their love; or perchance turning over some stout volume of the ancient Fathers, or the holy Scriptures of the one true God; or shedding the heavenly dew upon the souls of feeble men, which is religion's sublime work of healing. But only let it be your care to greet him, as the custom is, and to speak as would befit your master were he present. Fix your shy glances for a brief space on the ground, then remember with modest lips to speak these words:

'If in the midst of battles there is leisure for the gentle Muses, a faithful hand sends you these verses from the shores of England. Though it be late, accept this cordial greeting; and may it be the more welcome because it is late. Late indeed, but true, was the greeting that chaste Penelope, daughter of Icarius, received from her tardy husband. But why should I wish to blot out so manifest a fault, which even the offender himself could in no wise excuse? He is justly charged with delay; he confesses his fault, and is ashamed to have left a duty unfulfilled. But forgive me, since I thus confess and crave your favor, for sins confessed are half-atoned.

Non ferus in pavidos rictus diducit hiantes,
Vulnifico pronos nec rapit ungue leo.
Saepe sarissiferi crudelia pectora Thracis
Supplicis ad moestas delicuere preces;
Extensaeque manus avertunt fulminis ictus,
Placat et iratos hostia parva Deos.
'Iamque diu scripsisse tibi fuit impetus illi,
Neve moras ultra ducere passus Amor;
Nam vaga Fama refert—heu nuntia vera malorum!
In tibi finitimis bella tumere locis,
Teque tuamque urbem truculento milite cingi,
Et iam Saxonicos arma parasse duces.
Te circum late campos populatur Enyo,
Et sata carne virum iam cruor arva rigat.
Germanisque suum concessit Thracia Martem;
Illuc Odrysios Mars pater egit equos.
Perpetuoque comans iam deflorescit oliva;
Fugit et aerisonam Diva perosa tubam,
Fugit, io! terris, et iam non ultima Virgo
Creditur ad superas iusta volasse domos.
Te tamen interea belli circumsonat horror,
Vivis et ignoto solus inopsque solo;
Et, tibi quam patrii non exhibuere penates,
Sede peregrina quaeris egenus opem.
Patria, dura parens, et saxis saevior albis
Spumea quae pulsat littoris unda tui,
Siccine te decet innocuos exponere foetus,
Siccine in externam ferrea cogis humum,
Et sinis ut terris quaerant alimenta remotis
Quos tibi prospiciens miserat ipse Deus,
Et qui laeta ferunt de caelo nuntia, quique
Quae via post cineres ducat ad astra docent?
Digna quidem Stygiis quae vivas clausa tenebris,
Aeternaque animae digna perire fame!
Haut aliter vates terrae Thesbitidis olim
Pressit inassueto devia tesqua pede,

The wild beast with gaping jaws does not rend its trembling prey; the lion with wounding claw will not tear his cowering victim. Even the cruel hearts of Thracian lancers have often yielded to the sorrowful appeals of a suppliant. Uplifted hands will stay the thunderbolt, and a little offering appease the angry gods.

'He has long been moved to write to you, and now love will suffer him no longer to delay, for uncertain rumor—alas! a truthful messenger of evils—reports the districts round about you rife with war, you and your city besieged by ravaging armies, and the Saxon leaders already prepared for conflict. Enyo is devastating the surrounding fields far and wide, and blood drenches the earth now sown with the flesh of men. Thrace has yielded Mars to Germany, and thither the father of war now urges his Odrysian horses. The ever-verdant olive now withers, and the goddess of peace who hates the blare of the brazen trumpet has fled from the earth; and, lo! the just Virgin is believed not to have been the last to flee to a home in the heavens. Yet where you dwell alone and helpless in a foreign land, about you still resounds the horror of war. Poor, you must seek in foreign parts the sustenance that your fatherland denies you. O Fatherland, ruthless parent, harsher than the white cliffs where the foaming waves beat on your shores, does it become you thus to cast off your innocent children, thus, O heart of iron, to drive them forth upon a foreign soil? And will you permit those whom God himself in his providence sent to bear you glad tidings from heaven, and to teach you the way that leads through death to heaven—will you permit them to seek their sustenance in lands remote? You are worthy then to live confined in Stygian darkness, and to perish from the everlasting hunger of the soul! Even so the Tishbite prophet trod of old with unaccustomed feet the

Desertasque Arabum salebras, dum regis Achabi
Effugit, atque tuas, Sidoni dira, manus.
Talis et, horrisono laceratus membra flagello,
Paulus ab Aemathia pellitur urbe Cilix;
Piscosaeque ipsum Gergessae civis Iesum
Finibus ingratus iussit abire suis.
At tu sume animos, nec spes cadat anxia curis,
Nec tua concutiat decolor ossa metus.
Sis etenim quamvis fulgentibus obsitus armis,
Intententque tibi millia tela necem,
At nullis vel inerme latus violabitur armis,
Deque tuo cuspis nulla cruore bibet.
Namque eris ipse Dei radiante sub aegide tutus;
Ille tibi custos, et pugil ille tibi;
Ille Sionaeae qui tot sub moenibus arcis
Assyrios fudit nocte silente viros;
Inque fugam vertit quos in Samaritidas oras
Misit ab antiquis prisca Damascus agris;
Terruit et densas pavido cum rege cohortes,
Aere dum vacuo buccina clara sonat,
Cornea pulvereum dum verberat ungula campum,
Currus arenosam dum quatit actus humum,
Auditurque hinnitus equorum ad bella ruentum,
Et strepitus ferri, murmuraque alta virum.
'Et tu—quod superest miseri—sperare memento,
Et tua magnanimo pectore vince mala;
Nec dubites quandoque frui melioribus annis,
Atque iterum patrios posse videre lares.'

lonely paths of the desert and the rugged wastes of Arabia, when he fled from the hand of king Ahab and from you, O relentless Jezebel. Thus Cilician Paul, tortured and bleeding from the stripes of the harsh-sounding scourges, was cast out of the Aemathian city. Thus the ungrateful people of fishy Gergessa bade even Jesus depart out of their coasts.

'But take courage; and, though hope be spent with care, let it not fail; let not wan fear send a shudder through your bones. For though you are beset with gleaming arms, and a thousand darts threaten death, yet no weapon shall wound your defenceless breast, no spear shall drink your blood. You shall dwell in safety under the radiant aegis of God. He will be your protector and your champion—he who in the silence of night overthrew the hosts of Assyria beneath the walls of the citadel of Zion, and put to flight those whom venerable Damascus from her ancient plains sent forth upon the fields of Samaria. He made their king tremble, and terrified their dense cohorts, when on the empty air the clear-voiced trumpet sounded, when horny hoofs beat the dusty plain, and the routed chariot shook the sandy ground, and there was heard the neighing of horses rushing to battle, the clash of steel, and the deep roar of men's voices.

'But remember still to hope—for hope is left even to the wretched—and with high-souled courage conquer your misfortune. Doubt not that in future you will enjoy happier times, and once more see your native home.'

ELEGIA QUINTA

Anno aetatis 20

IN ADVENTUM VERIS

In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro
Iam revocat Zephyros, vere tepente, novos;
Induiturque brevem Tellus reparata iuventam,
Iamque soluta gelu dulce virescit humus.
Fallor? an et nobis redeunt in carmina vires,
Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?
Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo—
Quis putet?—atque aliquod iam sibi poscit opus.
Castalis ante oculos, bifidumque cacumen oberrat,
Et mihi Pyrenen somnia nocte ferunt;
Concitaque arcano fervent mihi pectora motu,
Et furor, et sonitus me sacer intus agit.
Delius ipse venit—video Peneide lauro
Implicatos crines—Delius ipse venit.
Iam mihi mens liquidi raptatur in ardua caeli,
Perque vagas nubes corpore liber eo;
Perque umbras, perque antra feror, penetralia vatum;
Et mihi fana patent interiora deum;
Intuiturque animus toto quid agatur Olympo,
Nec fugiunt oculos Tartara caeca meos.
Quid tam grande sonat distento spiritus ore?
Quid parit haec rabies, quid sacer iste furor?
Ver mihi, quod dedit ingenium cantabitur illo;
Profuerint isto reddita dona modo.
Iam, Philomela, tuos, foliis adoperta novellis,
Instituis modulos, dum silet omne nemus.
Urbe ego, tu silva, simul incipiamus utrique,
Et simul adventum veris uterque canat.
Veris, io! rediere vices; celebremus honores
Veris, et hoc subeat Musa perennis opus.
Iam sol, Aethiopas fugiens Tithoniaque arva,
Flectit ad Arctoas aurea lora plagas.

ELEGY V

At the Age of Twenty

On the Approach of Spring

Time as it moves in its ceaseless round now with the warmth of spring recalls the Zephyrs. Earth refreshed assumes her brief youth, and the ground released from the frost turns softly green. Is it only my fancy, or does fresh strength return to my song, and is it the gift of spring to inspire my genius? Yes, from spring comes genius waxing strong; and—who would believe it?—my powers are already demanding for themselves some new task. Before my eyes hover the Castalian spring and the twin peaks of Parnassus, and dreams by night bear to me the fountain of Pirene. My heart burns, stirred by a secret throb, and a divine rapture and tumult within impel me. Phoebus himself comes; I see his locks encircled with the laurel of Daphne; Phoebus himself descends. My mind is quickly caught up into the heights of the limpid heavens, and free from the body I pass through the wandering clouds. Amid the shades and through the innermost shrines of the poets I am borne, and the secret fanes of the gods lie open before me. My soul perceives all that is done on Olympus, and the dark secrets of Tartarus escape not my sight. What lofty utterance will my soul pour from parted lips? What will this madness, what this sacred frenzy, bring forth? Spring, that gave me inspiration, will my inspiration celebrate in song. His gifts repaid shall be his reward.

Now, O Philomela, hidden by the opening leaves you begin your song, while as yet all the woods are still. I in the city, you in the forest, together let us begin our song on the coming of Spring. Lo, changing Spring has returned; let us sing praises in his honor; and let the Muse once more assume her perennial task. The sun now fleeing from Ethiopia and the Tithonian fields turns his golden reins to the regions of the north. Brief is now

Est breve noctis iter, brevis est mora noctis opacae,
Horrida cum tenebris exulat illa suis.
Iamque Lycaonius plaustrum caeleste Boötes
Non longa sequitur fessus ut ante via;
Nunc etiam solitas circum Iovis atria toto
Excubias agitant sidera rara polo,
Nam dolus, et caedes, et vis cum nocte recessit,
Neve Giganteum dii timuere scelus.
Forte aliquis scopuli recubans in vertice pastor,
Roscida cum primo sole rubescit humus.
'Hac,' ait, 'hac certe caruisti nocte puella,
Phoebe, tua celeres quae retineret equos.'
Laeta suas repetit silvas, pharetramque resumit
Cynthia, luciferas ut videt alta rotas,
Et tenues ponens radios, gaudere videtur
Officium fieri tam breve fratris ope.
'Desere,' Phoebus ait, 'thalamos, Aurora, seniles;
Quid iuvat effoeto procubuisse toro?
Te manet Aeolides viridi venator in herba;
Surge; tuos ignes altus Hymettus habet.'
Flava verecundo dea crimen in ore fatetur,
Et matutinos ocius urget equos.
Exuit invisam Tellus rediviva senectam,
Et cupit amplexus, Phoebe, subire tuos.
Et cupit, et digna est; quid enim formosius illa,
Pandit ut omniferos luxuriosa sinus,
Atque Arabum spirat messes, et ab ore venusto
Mitia cum Paphiis fundit amoma rosis?
Ecce, coronatur sacro frons ardua luco,
Cingit ut Idaeam pinea turris Opim;
Et vario madidos intexit flore capillos,
Floribus et visa est posse placere suis.
Floribus effusos ut erat redimita capillos,
Taenario placuit diva Sicana deo.
Aspice, Phoebe; tibi faciles hortantur amores,
Mellitasque movent flamina verna preces;

the course of night, few the hours of her darkness, when she dwells in exile in her horrid shades. And northern Boötes now weary pursues through a shorter span the heavenly wain. Now even less numerous stars through all the heavens keep watch as wonted sentinels about the courts of Jove; for fraud, murder, and violence retreat with the night, and the gods fear not the onslaughts of the giants. Perhaps some shepherd says as he reclines at the summit of a crag, while the dewy earth grows red beneath the rising sun:

'This night, surely this night, O Phoebus, you have lacked the fair one who restrains your swift steeds.'

When from on high Cynthia sees the bright rays of the sun, she lays aside her own pale beams, gladly returns to her forests, and resumes her quiver, seeming to rejoice that by her brother's aid her task is made so brief.

'Come, O Aurora, leave the chamber of your aged husband,' Phoebus cries; 'what joy is it to lie in that cold bed? The Aeolian hunter awaits you on the greensward. Up! Lofty Hymettus holds your flame.'

With blushing cheek the goddess shyly confesses her fault, and urges to greater speed the horses of the morning. Earth with new life casts off her hated age, and is eager, O Phoebus, to receive your loving caresses. She desires them, and is worthy of them; what indeed is more fair than she when voluptuously she bares her all-sustaining breast, and breathes of the harvests of Arabia, and, with the delicate scent of the balsam, from her lovely lips pours forth the fragrance of Paphian roses. Behold, her lofty brow is crowned with a sacred wood, as the tower of pines encircles Ops on Ida; she entwines her dewy hair with various flowers, and has seemed to be able to please her lover with her flowers, just as the Sicanian goddess, when she had wreathed her flowing locks, pleased the god of Taenarus. Look, O Phoebus, a willing love awaits you; the breezes of spring are laden with honey-sweet prayers. Fragrant Zephyr softly claps

Cinnamea Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer ala,
Blanditiasque tibi ferre videntur aves.
Nec sine dote tuos temeraria quaerit amores
Terra, nec optatos poscit egena toros;
Alma salutiferum medicos tibi gramen in usus
Praebet, et hinc titulos adiuvat ipsa tuos.
Quod si te pretium, si te fulgentia tangunt
Munera—muneribus saepe coemptus amor—
Illa tibi ostentat quascunque sub aequore vasto,
Et superiniectis montibus, abdit opes.
Ah, quoties, cum tu clivoso fessus Olympo
In vespertinas praecipitaris aquas,
'Cur te,' inquit, 'cursu languentem Phoebe diurno
Hesperiis recipit caerula mater aquis?
Quid tibi cum Tethy? quid cum Tartesside lympha?
Dia quid immundo perluis ora salo?
Frigora, Phoebe, mea melius captabis in umbra.
Huc ades; ardentes imbue rore comas.
Mollior egelida veniet tibi somnus in herba.
Huc ades, et gremio lumina pone meo.
Quaque iaces circum mulcebit lene susurrans
Aura per humentes corpora fusa rosas.
Nec me, crede mihi, terrent Semeleia fata,
Nec Phaetonteo fumidus axis equo.
Cum tu, Phoebe, tuo sapientius uteris igni,
Huc ades, et gremio lumina pone meo.'
Sic Tellus lasciva suos suspirat amores;
Matris in exemplum caetera turba ruunt.
Nunc etenim toto currit vagus orbe Cupido,
Languentesque fovet solis ab igne faces.
Insonuere novis lethalia cornua nervis,
Triste micant ferro tela corusca novo.
Iamque vel invictam tentat superasse Dianam,
Quaeque sedet sacro Vesta pudica foco.
Ipsa senescentem reparat Venus annua formam,
Atque iterum tepido creditur orta mari.

his cinnamon-scented wings, and the very birds seem to offer you their flattery. Not without a portion does Earth rashly seek your love, nor in want does she beg the longed-for bridals; she kindly gives you the healing herbs for medicines, sustaining thereby your renown as a healer. If splendid recompense, if illustrious gifts, can move you—for love is often bought with gifts—she lays before you all the wealth hidden beneath the vast deep and under the towering mountains. Ah, how often, when, wearied by the steep ascent of heaven, you have plunged headlong into the western sea, how often does she cry:

'Why, O Phoebus, fainting after your daily course, must the cerulean mother receive you in the Hesperian waters? What have you to do with Tethys? What are the Tartessian waves to you? Wherefore do you bathe your hallowed face in the unclean sea? You will court a better coolness in my shades, O Phoebus. Come hither, and cool your glowing locks with dew. A sweeter sleep will fall upon you in the cool grass. Come hither, and lay your splendors on my breast. Where you lie a softly whispering breeze will caress our bodies stretched among dewy roses. Believe me, the fate of Semele, and the smoking chariot drawn by Phaethon's steeds do not terrify me. O Phoebus, when you have put your fires to a wiser use, come hither and lay your splendors on my breast.'

Thus wanton Earth breathes her amorous desires, and all her children haste to follow her example. Wandering Cupid now courses over the whole world, and rekindles his flickering torch in the fire of the sun. With new strings his deadly bow resounds, and with new points his trembling arrows cruelly gleam. Now he essays to conquer unconquerable Diana and even pure Vesta who sits by the sacred hearth. Venus herself each year renews her aging form, and seems once more just risen from the warm sea. Through the marble halls of cities, youths shout

Marmoreas iuvenes clamant *Hymenaee* per urbes;
Litus *io Hymen* et cava saxa sonant.
Cultior ille venit, tunicaque decentior apta;
Puniceum redolet vestis odora crocum.
Egrediturque frequens ad amoeni gaudia veris
Virgineos auro cincta puella sinus.
Votum est cuique suum; votum est tamen omnibus unum—
Ut sibi quem cupiat det Cytherea virum.
Nunc quoque septena modulatur arundine pastor,
Et sua quae iungat carmina Phyllis habet.
Navita nocturno placat sua sidera cantu,
Delphinasque leves ad vada summa vocat.
Iupiter ipse alto cum coniuge ludit Olympo,
Convocat et famulos ad sua festa deos.
Nunc etiam Satyri, cum sera crepuscula surgunt,
Pervolitant celeri florea rura choro,
Sylvanusque sua cyparissi fronde revinctus,
Semicaperque deus, semideusque caper.
Quaeque sub arboribus Dryades latuere vetustis
Per iuga, per solos expatiantur agros.
Per sata luxuriat fruticetaque Maenalius Pan;
Vix Cybele mater, vix sibi tuta Ceres;
Atque aliquam cupidus praedatur Oreada Faunus,
Consulit in trepidos dum sibi nympha pedes,
Iamque latet, latitansque cupit male tecta videri,
Et fugit, et fugiens pervelit ipsa capi.
Dii quoque non dubitant caelo praeponere silvas,
Et sua quisque sibi numina lucus habet.
Et sua quisque diu sibi numina lucus habeto,
Nec vos arborea, dii, precor, ite domo.
Te referant, miseris te, Iupiter, aurea terris
Saecla! quid ad nimbos, aspera tela, redis?
Tu saltem lente rapidos age, Phoebe, iugales
Qua potes, et sensim tempora veris eant;
Brumaque productas tarde ferat hispida noctes,
Ingruat et nostro serior umbra polo!

Hymenaee; and shore, and cave, and rock resound with the cry, *Io, Hymen!* In gala attire he comes, all fitly clad in a new tunic, his fragrant robes shedding the perfume of the purple crocus. Maidens in troops, their virgin breasts cinctured with gold, go forth to the joys of lovely spring. Each makes her own prayer, but the prayers are all the same—that Cytherea grant each the husband she desires. Now, too, the shepherd pipes on his seven reeds, and Phyllis has a song to suit his strain. With nightly chant the mariner greets his stars, and calls the swift dolphins to the tops of the waves. Jupiter himself on high Olympus makes merry with his spouse, assembles even the menial gods to his feast. Now, when late twilight falls, even the satyrs in nimble bands dance over the flowery fields, and with them Sylvanus, cypress-crowned, a god half-goat and goat half-god. The Dryads that hide under ancient trees roam over the mountains and the lonely meadows. Maenalian Pan riots through the crops and the thickets; there mother Cybele and Ceres are hardly safe from him. Wanton Faunus would ravish some Oread, who with trembling feet seeks safety. Now she hides, but ill-concealed in her hiding wishes to be seen; she flees, but fleeing longs to be caught. The gods themselves are not slow to prefer the forests of earth to heaven, and every grove has its own deity.

Long let each grove have its deity! Leave not, O gods, your homes amid the trees. O Jupiter, let the age of gold restore you to the unhappy world! Why do you return to the clouds, your harsh armories? At least, O Phoebus, do you rein in as you can your fleet steeds, and slowly let the vernal season pass. Let rainy winter be slow to bring us again nights long drawn out, and let the shadows fall later about our pole.

ELEGIA SEXTA

Ad Carolum Diodatum, Ruri Commorantem

(Qui cum idibus Decemb. scripsisset, et sua carmina excusari postulasset si solito minus essent bona, quod inter lautitias quibus erat ab amicis exceptus haud satis felicem operam Musis dare se posse affirmabat, hunc habuit responsum.)

Mitto tibi sanam non pleno ventre salutem,
Qua tu distento forte carere potes.
At tua quid nostram prolectat Musa Camenam,[1]
Nec sinit optatas posse sequi tenebras?
Carmine scire velis quam te redamemque colamque?
Crede mihi, vix hoc carmine scire queas,
Nam neque noster amor modulis includitur arctis,
Nec venit ad claudos integer ipse pedes.
Quam bene solennes epulas, hilaremque Decembrim,
Festaque caelifugam quae coluere Deum,
Deliciasque refers, hiberni gaudia ruris,
Haustaque per lepidos Gallica musta focos!
Quid quereris refugam vino dapibusque poesin?
Carmen amat Bacchum, carmina Bacchus amat.
Nec puduit Phoebum virides gestasse corymbos,
Atque hederam lauro praeposuisse suae.
Saepius Aoniis clamavit collibus *Euoe*
Mista Thyoneo turba novena choro.
Naso Corallaeis mala carmina misit ab agris;
Non illic epulae, non sata vitis erat.
Quid nisi vina, rosasque, racemiferumque Lyaeum,
Cantavit brevibus Teia Musa modis?
Pindaricosque inflat numeros Teumesius Euan.
Et redolet sumptum pagina quaeque merum,
Dum gravis everso currus crepat axe supinus,
Et volat Eleo pulvere fuscus eques.
Quadrimoque madens lyricen Romanus Iaccho
Dulce canit Glyceran, flavicomamque Chloen.

[1] camoenam.

ELEGY VI

To Charles Diodati

(While staying in the country he [Diodati] had written to the author on the thirteenth of December, and asked him to excuse his verses, if they were not so good as usual, because, amid the festivities with which he had been received by his friends, he was unable favorably to devote himself to the Muses; he received the following reply.)

I who am not surfeited with feasting wish you good health, which, perhaps you may need because of an overtaxed stomach. But why should your Muse lure mine forth and permit it not to seek the shades it loves? You would hear in song how much I love and cherish you? But believe me, you can hardly learn that from a song, for neither is my love bound in strict measures, nor does it come unimpaired on halting feet.

How well you describe the banquets, the December merriment, the pleasures and the cheer, that do honor to the god who flees from heaven and seeks the earth! How well you recount the joys of winter in the country, and the French must quaffed by the comfortable fireside! But why do you complain that poetry shuns wine and feasting? Song loves Bacchus, and Bacchus loves song. Nor was Phoebus ashamed to have worn the green corymbus and to have preferred the ivy to his own laurel. Often on the Aonian hills, have the nine Muses in a crowd shouted *Evoe*, and mingled with the Bacchic revels. Naso sent bad verses from the Corallian fields, because there he had no dainties, and there no vine was planted. Of what but wine and roses, and Bacchus crowned with clusters, did the Teian bard sing in his brief measures? Teumesian Euan inspires the Pindaric numbers, and every page breathes the fragrance of wine he drank, as with loud crash the heavy chariot lies overturned, and the horseman speeds on swarthy with the Elean dust. The Roman lyrist drank deep of the four-year-old wine when he sweetly sang of Glycera and golden-haired Chloe. The rich board with its sumptuous

Iam quoque lauta tibi generoso mensa paratu
Mentis alit vires ingeniumque fovet.
Massica foecundam despumant pocula venam,
Fundis et ex ipso condita metra cado.
Addimus his artes, fusumque per intima Phoebum
Corda; favent uni Bacchus, Apollo, Ceres.
Scilicet haud mirum tam dulcia carmina per te,
Numine composito, tres peperisse deos.
Nunc quoque Thressa tibi caelato barbitos auro
Insonat arguta mollitur icta manu;
Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum
Virgineos tremula quae regat arte pedes.
Illa tuas saltem teneat spectacula Musas,
Et revocent quantum crapula pellit iners.
Crede mihi, dum psallit ebur, comitataque plectrum
Implet odoratos festa chorea tholos,
Percipies tacitum per pectora serpere Phoebum,
Quale repentinus permeat ossa calor;
Perque puellares oculos digitumque sonantem
Irruet in totos lapsa Thalia sinus.
Namque elegia levis multorum cura deorum est,
Et vocat ad numeros quemlibet illa suos;
Liber adest elegis, Eratoque, Ceresque, Venusque,
Et cum purpurea matre tenellus Amor.
Talibus inde licent convivia larga poetis,
Saepius et veteri commaduisse mero.
At qui bella refert, et adulto sub Iove caelum,
Heroasque pios, semideosque duces,
Et nunc sancta canit superum consulta deorum,
Nunc latrata fero regna profunda cane,
Ille quidem parce, Samii pro more magistri,
Vivat, et innocuos praebeat herba cibos.
Stet prope fagineo pellucida lympha catillo,
Sobriaque e puro pocula fonte bibat.
Additur huic scelerisque vacans et casta iuventus,
Et rigidi mores, et sine labe manus;

provision now fosters the strength of your mind and your genius. Your Massic cups foam rich with song, and from the jar itself you pour the treasures of your verse. To these influences add the arts, and give Phoebus freedom of the inmost heart; Bacchus, Apollo, and Ceres as one lend their favor. Small wonder then that your songs are so sweet, brought forth as they were by the common will of three gods.

For you too now sounds the Thracian lute, inwrought with gold, and gently touched by the nimble hand. In tapestried rooms is heard the lyre that guides in sprightly rhythm the maidens' feet. At least let such sights as these stay your Muse, and let them recall whatever inspiration idle indulgence in wine has banished. Be assured, when the ivory keys resound, and the accompanying festive band fills the perfumed chambers, you will feel Phoebus silently steal into your breast, like a sudden glow that penetrates the very bones; and, through the eyes and hands of the girlish player, swift Thalia will fill your whole breast.

Truly light elegy is the care of many gods, and summons to its measures whom it will; to elegy Bacchus comes, and Erato, Ceres, and Venus, and tender Love with his blushing mother, all will come. Such poets then may have abundant feasting, and full often may mellow themselves on old wine; but the poet who tells of wars, and of heaven under Jove to manhood grown, of pious heroes, and of demigods, the leaders of men—who sings now of the sacred decrees of the gods above, and now of that deep realm guarded by the barking dog—he indeed must live sparely, after the manner of the Samian master, and herbs must supply his harmless fare. Let only the crystal-clear water in a beechen bowl stand near him, and let him drink temperate draughts from the pure spring. More than this, his youth must be chaste and free from sin, his manners strict, and his hand without stain, even like you, O priest, when in sacred vestment and

Qualis veste nitens sacra, et lustralibus undis,
Surgis ad infensos augur iture deos.
Hoc ritu vixisse ferunt post rapta sagacem
Lumina Tiresian, Ogygiumque Linon,
Et lare devoto profugum Calchanta, senemque
Orpheon edomitis sola per antra feris.
Sic dapis exiguus, sic rivi potor Homerus
Dulichium vexit per freta longa virum
Et per monstrificam Perseiae Phoebados aulam,
Et vada foemineis insidiosa sonis,
Perque tuas, rex ime, domos, ubi sanguine nigro
Dicitur umbrarum detinuisse greges:
Diis etenim sacer est vates, divumque sacerdos.
Spirat et occultum pectus et ora Iovem.
At tu si quid agam scitabere—si modo saltem
Esse putas tanti noscere siquid agam—
Paciferum canimus caelesti semine regem,
Faustaque sacratis saecula pacta libris;
Vagitumque Dei, et stabulantem paupere tecto
Qui suprema suo cum patre regna colit;
Stelliparumque polum, modulantesque aethere turmas,
Et subito elisos ad sua fana deos.
Dona quidem dedimus Christi natalibus illa;
Illa sub auroram lux mihi prima tulit.
Te quoque pressa manent patriis meditata cicutis;
Tu mihi, cui recitem, iudicis instar eris.

ELEGIA SEPTIMA

Anno aetatis undevigesimo

Nondum blanda tuas leges, Amathusia, noram,
Et Paphio vacuum pectus ab igne fuit.
Saepe Cupidineas, puerilia tela, sagittas,
Atque tuum sprevi maxime numen, Amor.
'Tu puer imbelles,' dixi, 'transfige columbas,
Conveniunt tenero mollia bella duci;

gleaming with the waters of cleansing you rise as augur to face the angry gods. After this manner, they say, wise Tiresias lived when the light of his eyes was gone; and Ogygian Linus, and Calchas, a fugitive from the doom of his household, and aged Orpheus when in their lonely caves he tamed the wild beasts. Thus sparing of food and drinking but water, Homer bore Odysseus over the reaches of the sea, through Perseian Circe's magic hall, past the shoals made treacherous by the Siren's song, and through your house, infernal king, where with an offering of dark blood he is said to have held spellbound flocks of shades. Truly the bard is sacred to the gods; he is their priest, and both his heart and lips mysteriously breathe the indwelling Jove.

But if you will know what I am doing—if indeed you think it of consequence to know that I am doing anything—I am singing of the peace-bearing King of heavenly race, and of that happy age promised in the sacred books, of the infant cries of Jesus, and his shelter beneath the humble roof, who with his Father now dwells in the realms above. I sing of the star-bearing firmament and melodious hosts in the heavens, of the gods suddenly shattered in their fanes. This is the gift that I have offered to Christ on his natal day, when the first light of dawn brought me my theme. These strains composed on my native pipes await you in close keeping, and when I recite them to you, you will be my judge.

ELEGY VII

In His Nineteenth Year

Not yet, O genial Amathusia, had I learned your laws, and my heart was still void of the Paphian fire. Often I scorned Cupid's arrows as childish weapons, and most of all made light of your divinity, O Love.

'Go, child,' said I, 'and shoot timid doves, for only easy battles become a tender warrior; or win swelling triumphs, little

Aut de passeribus tumidos age, parve, triumphos;
Haec sunt militiae digna trophaea tuae.
In genus humanum quid inania dirigis arma?
Non valet in fortes ista pharetra viros.'
Non tulit hoc Cyprius—neque enim deus ullus ad iras
Promptior — et duplici iam ferus igne calet.
Ver erat, et summae radians per culmina villae
Attulerat primam lux tibi, Maie, diem;
At mihi adhuc refugam quaerebant lumina noctem,
Nec matutinum sustinuere iubar.
Astat Amor lecto, pictis Amor impiger alis;
Prodidit astantem mota pharetra deum;
Prodidit et facies, et dulce minantis ocelli,
Et quicquid puero dignum et Amore fuit.
Talis in aeterno iuvenis Sigeius Olympo
Miscet amatori pocula plena Iovi;
Aut, qui formosas pellexit ad oscula nymphas,
Thiodamantaeus Naiade raptus Hylas.
Addideratque iras, sed et has decuisse putares;
Addideratque truces, nec sine felle, minas.
Et 'Miser exemplo sapuisses tutius,' inquit;
'Nunc mea quid possit dextera testis eris.
Inter et expertos vires numerabere nostras,
Et faciam vero per tua damna fidem.
Ipse ego, si nescis, strato Pythone superbum
Edomui Phoebum, cessit et ille mihi;
Et, quoties meminit Peneidos, ipse fatetur
Certius et gravius tela nocere mea.
Me nequit adductum curvare peritius arcum,
Qui post terga solet vincere, Parthus eques.
Cydoniusque mihi cedit venator, et ille
Inscius uxori qui necis author erat.
Est etiam nobis ingens quoque victus Orion,
Herculeaeque manus, Herculeusque comes.
Iupiter ipse licet sua fulmina torqueat in me,
Haerebunt lateri spicula nostra Iovis.

one, over sparrows; these are martial trophies worthy of your valor. Why direct vain arms against mankind? That quiver of yours has no power against strong men.'

This the Cyprian boy could not endure—for no god is more prompt to wrath than he—and fiercely burned with double fire.

It was spring, and the light streaming over the topmost roofs of the village had ushered in the first of May; but my eyes still sought the retreating night, nor could they endure the brightness of morning. Suddenly Love stood by my bed, unwearied Love in painted wings. The swinging quiver betrayed the god where he stood; his face, his sweetly threatening eyes, and whatever else becomes a boy, and Love, betrayed him. Thus the Sigeian youth appears as on eternal Olympus he mixes brimming cups for amorous Jove; or Hylas, son of Theodamas, who, snatched away by a Naiad, enticed the beautiful nymphs to his kisses. He had assumed a wrathful countenance, but you would have thought that it became him; and he uttered harsh threats full of bitterness.

'Wretch,' said he, 'it had been better for you to learn from the example of others; but now you shall be testimony of what my right hand can do; you shall be numbered among those who have felt my powers, and by your sufferings I shall win the faith of men. I, even I, if you know it not, overcame Phoebus, haughty after his conquest of the serpent Python; to me even he did yield. As oft as he remembers Peneus' daughter, he confesses that my darts inflict surer and deadlier wounds than his own. The Parthian horseman who conquers as he flees can draw the bow no more skilfully than I. The Cydonian hunter yields to me, and he who unwittingly was the author of his own wife's death. Huge Orion too I conquered, and the hand of Heracles, and Heracles' friend. Jupiter himself may turn his bolts against me, but my arrows will pierce his side. Whatever doubts you still

Caetera quae dubitas melius mea tela docebunt,
Et tua non leviter corda petenda mihi.
Nec te, stulte, tuae poterunt defendere Musae;
Nec tibi Phoebaeus porriget anguis opem.'
Dixit, et, aurato quatiens mucrone sagittam,
Evolat in tepidos Cypridos ille sinus.
At mihi risuro tonuit ferus ore minaci,
Et mihi de puero non metus ullus erat.
Et modo qua nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites,
Et modo villarum proxima rura placent.
Turba frequens, facieque simillima turba dearum,
Splendida per medias itque reditque vias;
Auctaque luce dies gemino fulgore coruscat.
Fallor? an et radios hinc quoque Phoebus habet?
Haec ego non fugi spectacula grata severus,
Impetus et quo me fert iuvenilis agor;
Lumina luminibus male providus obvia misi.
Neve oculos potui continuisse meos.
Unam forte aliis supereminuisse notabam;
Principium nostri lux erat illa mali.
Sic Venus optaret mortalibus ipsa videri,
Sic regina deum conspicienda fuit.
Hanc memor obiecit nobis malus ille Cupido,
Solus et hos nobis texuit ante dolos.
Nec procul ipse vafer latuit, multaeque sagittae,
Et facis a tergo grande pependit onus.
Nec mora; nunc ciliis haesit, nunc virginis ori,
Insilit hinc labiis, insidet inde genis;
Et quascunque agilis partes iaculator oberrat,
Hei mihi! mille locis pectus inerme ferit.
Protinus insoliti subierunt corda furores;
Uror amans intus, flammaque totus eram.
Interea misero quae iam mihi sola placebat
Ablata est, oculis non reditura meis.
Ast ego progredior tacite querebundus, et excors,
Et dubius volui saepe referre pedem.

may have, my darts will resolve more surely than my words; and not lightly shall I seek your heart. Neither can your Muses defend you, foolish one, nor will the serpent of Apollo offer you aid. Thus he spoke, and, shaking his gold-pointed arrow, flew away to the warm bosom of his Cyprian mother. But I almost laughed at these blustering threats, and had no fear of the boy.

I took my pleasures, now in those parts of the city where our citizens walk, and now in the villages of the surrounding country. A great crowd, most like it seemed to a radiant troop of goddesses, came and went along the walks; the day brightened with a double splendor. Am I deceived, or does Phoebus too find here his rays? I did not turn austerely from the pleasing sights, but was borne on where youthful ardor led. Imprudently I let my gaze meet theirs, nor could I then withhold my eyes. One by chance I noticed who surpassed the others, and that glance was the beginning of my ills. Like her even Venus might wish to appear to mortals; fair like her must the queen of the gods have been. Mischievous Cupid, mindful of his threat, cast her in my path; he alone laid this snare before me. Not far off lurked the crafty god himself with the mighty weight of his torch and his many arrows suspended from his back. Without a moment's loss he clung now to the eyelids, and now to the mouth of the maiden; thence in he darted between her lips, then settled on her cheeks; and wherever the nimble archer flitted, alas! from a thousand points he wounded my defenceless breast. Forthwith strange passions assailed my heart. The fire of love within consumed me; I was all aflame. Meanwhile, she who now was my only pleasure in misery was snatched from my sight to return no more.

Yet, silent and sorrowing, I pursued my way, my understanding dulled, and in doubt I often wished to retrace my steps. I am

Findor; et haec remanet, sequitur pars altera votum.
Raptaque tam subito gaudia flere iuvat.
Sic dolet amissum proles Iunonia caelum,
Inter Lemniacos praecipitata focos;
Talis et abreptum solem respexit ad Orcum
Vectus ab attonitis Amphiaraus equis.
Quid faciam infelix, et luctu victus? Amores
Nec licet inceptos ponere, neve sequi.
O utinam spectare semel mihi detur amatos
Vultus, et coram tristia verba loqui!
Forsitan et duro non est adamante creata,
Forte nec ad nostras surdeat illa preces!
Crede mihi, nullus sic infeliciter arsit;
Ponar in exemplo primus et unus ego.
Parce, precor, teneri cum sis Deus ales amoris;
Pugnent officio nec tua facta tuo.
Iam tuus O certe est mihi formidabilis arcus,
Nate dea, iaculis nec minus igne potens;
Et tua fumabunt nostris altaria donis,
Solus et in superis tu mihi summus eris.
Deme meos tandem, verum nec deme, furores;
Nescio cur, miser est suaviter omnis amans.
Tu modo da facilis, posthaec mea siqua futura est,
Cuspis amaturos figat ut una duos.

Haec ego mente olim laeva, studioque supino,
Nequitiae posui vana trophaea meae.
Scilicet abreptum sic mea malus impulit error,
Indocilisque aetas prava magistra fuit;
Donec Socraticos umbrosa Academia rivos
Praebuit, admissum dedocuitque iugum.
Protinus, extinctis ex illo tempore flammis,
Cincta rigent multo pectora nostra gelu;
Unde suis frigus metuit puer ipse sagittis,
Et Diomedeam vim timet ipsa Venus.

torn asunder: my body remains here; my soul pursues the object of its desire. It is my solace to weep for the joys so suddenly snatched away. Thus, Juno's son, cast down among the hearths of Lemnos, mourned for the heaven he had lost; thus; Amphiaraus, borne down by his frightened horses to Orcus, looked back on the vanishing sun. What shall I do, wretched and overcome as I am with grief? I cannot put aside the love begun, nor yet may I follow after it. O, would it were given me but once again to see her loved countenance and to speak a few sad words with her face to face. Perchance she is not wrought in adamant; mayhap she would not be deaf to my prayers. Surely none has ever burned so unhappily. I may stand as the first and only example. Spare me, I pray, since you are the winged god of love, and love is tender. Let not your acts conflict with your office. Now, O son of Venus, with your darts no less potent than fire, now in truth is your bow a terror to me. Henceforth your altars will smoke with my offerings, and you alone will be for me supreme among the gods. Take away my longings then; yet nay, take them not; I know not why, but all love is sweet pain. But if any maiden hereafter will be mine, in kindness let one arrow pierce us both, and make us lovers.

These vain trophies of my idleness I once set up in foolish mood and with supine endeavor. Injurious error, forsooth, led me astray, and untutored youth was a bad teacher; until the shady Academy offered its Socratic streams, and freed me from the yoke to which I had submitted. At once these flames were extinguished, and thenceforth my breast has been stiff with encircling ice, whence Cupid has feared a frost for his arrows, and Venus fears my Diomedean strength.

[EPIGRAMMATA]

IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM

Cum simul in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos
Ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas,
Fallor? an et mitis voluisti ex parte videri,
Et pensare mala cum pietate scelus?
Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria caeli,
Sulphureo curru flammivolisque rotis;
Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,
Liquit Iordanios turbine raptus agros.

IN EANDEM

Siccine tentasti caelo donasse Iäcobum,
Quae septemgemino Bellua monte lates?
Ni meliora tuum poterit dare munera numen,
Parce, precor, donis insidiosa tuis.
Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adivit
Astra, nec inferni pulveris usus ope.
Sic potius foedos in caelum pelle cucullos,
Et quot habet brutos Roma profana deos;
Namque hac aut alia nisi quemque adiuveris arte,
Crede mihi, caeli vix bene scandet iter.

IN EANDEM

Purgatorem animae derisit Iäcobus ignem,
Et sine quo superum non adeunda domus.
Frenduit hoc trina monstrum Latiale corona,
Movit et horrificum cornua dena minax.
Et 'Nec inultus,' ait, 'temnes mea sacra Britanne;
Supplicium spreta religione[1] dabis;

[1] relligione.

[EPIGRAMS]

ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

When of late, perfidious Fawkes, you attempted your unspeakable crime against the king and the British lords—am I mistaken, or did you wish to seem in a measure kind and to compensate for your crime with a false piety? Forsooth you would send them to the courts of high heaven in a sulphurous chariot with wheels of flame, even as that prophet, inviolate from the cruel Fates, was caught up in a whirlwind, and left the fields of Jordan.

ON THE SAME

O beast, you who skulk on the seven hills, was it thus you sought to send James to heaven? Unless your divine power can bestow better largess, withhold, I pray, your insidious gifts. In truth, without your aid, or that of your infernal powder, he has departed ripe in years to the fellowship of heaven. But do you rather send thus to heaven your abominable cowls, and all the dumb gods of Rome profane; for unless you aid them thus or by some other means, believe me, they will hardly climb the path to heaven.

ON THE SAME

James scoffed at the purgatorial fire by which alone souls must go to their home above. At this the triple-crowned monster of Rome gnashed its teeth, and moved its ten horns with direful threat.

'Man of Britain,' it said, 'you shall not unpunished scorn what is sacred to me; you shall pay the penalty for spurning my religion;

Et, si stelligeras unquam penetraveris arces,
Non nisi per flammas triste patebit iter.'
O quam funesto cecinisti proxima vero,
Verbaque ponderibus vix caritura suis!
Nam prope Tartareo sublime rotatus ab igne
Ibat ad aethereas, umbra perusta, plagas.

IN EANDEM

Quem modo Roma suis devoverat impia diris,
Et Styge damnarat, Taenarioque sinu,
Hunc, vice mutata, iam tollere gestit ad astra,
Et cupit ad superos evehere usque deos.

IN INVENTOREM BOMBARDAE

Iapetionidem laudavit caeca vetustas,
Qui tulit aetheream solis ab axe facem;
At mihi maior erit qui lurida creditur arma
Et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Iovi.

AD LEONORAM ROMAE CANENTEM

Angelus unicuique suus—sic credite, gentes—
Obtigit aethereis ales ab ordinibus.
Quid mirum, Leonora, tibi si gloria maior,
Nam tua praesentem vox sonat ipsa Deum?
Aut Deus, aut vacui certe mens tertia caeli,
Per tua secreto guttura serpit agens;
Serpit agens, facilisque docet mortalia corda
Sensim immortali assuescere posse sono.
Quod, si cuncta quidem Deus est, per cuntaque fusus,
In te una loquitur, caetera mutus habet.

AD EANDEM

Altera Torquatum cepit Leonora poetam,
Cuius ab insano cessit amore furens.
Ah miser ille tuo quanto felicius aevo
Perditus, et propter te, Leonora, foret!

and if ever you enter the starry citadels, your unhappy way will lie open only through the flames.'

How very nearly you foretold a horrible truth! How little your words lacked of their fulfilment! for he hardly escaped going to the celestial shores, a scorched shade, whirled on high by Tartarean fire.

ON THE SAME

Him whom impious Rome had but lately vowed to be a sacrifice to her own wrath, and had condemned to Styx and the Taenarian gulf, him on the contrary she has now sought to exalt to the stars, and would bear him aloft even among the gods.

ON THE INVENTOR OF GUNPOWDER

The ancients blindly praised Prometheus, who brought celestial fire from the chariot of the sun; but greater, methinks, will be the man who is believed to have stolen the lurid arms and three-forked thunderbolts of Jove.

TO LEONORA, SINGING AT ROME

To every one, so let men believe, there is allotted a winged angel from out the hierarchies of heaven. What wonder, Leonora, if yours should be a greater glory, for your voice itself proclaims the presence of God. Either God, or surely a third mind that has deserted heaven, with secret power gently breathes through your throat—gently breathes, and easily teaches mortal hearts little by little to become accustomed to immortal sound. But if in truth God is all things, and is through all things diffused, yet in you alone does he speak; all the rest of his being is mute.

TO THE SAME

Another Leonora captivated the poet Torquato, who for frenzied love of her went mad. Ah, poor unfortunate! How much more happily had he been lost in your times and for love of you, Leonora! He would have heard you singing with Pierian voice as

Et te Pieria sensisset voce canentem
Aurea maternae fila movere lyrae!
Quamvis Dircaeo torsisset lumina Pentheo
Saevior, aut totus desipuisset iners,
Tu tamen errantes caeca vertigine sensus
Voce eadem poteras composuisse tua;
Et poteras, aegro spirans sub corde quietem,
Flexanimo cantu restituisse sibi.

AD EANDEM

Credula quid liquidam Sirena, Neapoli, iactas,
Claraque Parthenopes fana Acheloiados,
Littoreamque tua defunctam Naiada ripa
Corpora Chalcidico sacra dedisse rogo?
Illa quidem vivitque, et amoena Tibridis unda
Mutavit rauci murmura Pausilipi.
Illic, Romulidum studiis ornata secundis,
Atque homines cantu detinet atque deos.

[Added in Second Edition, 1673]

APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO

Rusticus ex malo sapidissima poma quotannis
Legit, et urbano lecta dedit domino.
Hic, incredibili fructus dulcedine captus,
Malum ipsam in proprias transtulit areolas.
Hactenus illa ferax, sed longo debilis aevo,
Mota solo assueto, protinus aret iners.
Quod tandem ut patuit domino, spe lusus inani,
Damnavit celeres in sua damna manus;
Atque ait, 'Heu quanto satius fuit illa coloni,
Parva licet, grato dona tulisse animo!
Possem ego avaritiam frenare, gulamque voracem:
Nunc periere mihi et foetus et ipsa parens.'

the golden strings of your mother's lyre moved in harmony. Though he had rolled his eyes more fiercely than Dircean Pentheus, or all insensible had raved, yet you by your voice could have composed his senses wandering in their blind whirl; and, inspiring his distempered heart with peace, you could have restored him to himself with your soul-moving song.

TO THE SAME

O credulous Naples, why do you boast of the sweet-voiced Siren, of the famous shrine of Parthenope, Achelous' daughter, of the shore-naiad who, when she died on your coasts, consecrated a Chalcidian pyre with her body? But she still lives, and has only exchanged the hoarse murmur of Posilipo for the pleasant waves of Tiber. There, favored by the eager applause of the Romans, she now with her song holds gods and men entranced.

THE FABLE OF THE PEASANT AND HIS LANDLORD

A certain peasant yearly gathered the best-flavored fruit from his apple-tree, and having gathered gave it to his landlord who lived in the city. The landlord was so pleased with the extraordinary sweetness of the apples that he transplanted to his own garden the tree that had thus far been so fruitful; but it was already beginning to shrivel with age, and when it was moved from its accustomed soil it withered and yielded no more. When the landlord perceived that he had been deluded by a vain hope, he cursed the work of his hands which had quickly wrought his own loss.

'Alas!' said he, 'how much better was it to receive with gratitude the gifts of my tenant, small though they were! Would that I could have checked my covetousness and my unbridled appetite, for now I have lost both the fruit and the tree.'

[From *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651]

IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM

Quis expedivit Salmasio suam *hundredam*
Picamque docuit verba nostra conari?
Magister artis venter, et Iacobaei
Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.
Quod, si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,
Ipse, Antichristi modo qui primatum Papae
Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,
Cantabit ultro Cardinalitium melos.

[From *Defensio Secunda*, 1654]

IN SALMASIUM

Gaudete, scombri, et quicquid est piscium salo,
Qui frigida hieme incolitis algentes freta!
Vestrum misertus ille Salmasius Eques
Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat;
Chartaeque largus apparat papyrinos
Vobis cucullos, praeferentes Claudii
Insignia, nomenque et decus, Salmasii;
Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum
Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium
Cubito virorum, et capsulis, gratissimos.

ON THE HUNDREDA OF SALMASIUS

Who told Salmasius what is meant by *hundred*? Who taught that magpie to essay our language? That master of art the belly, forsooth, and a hundred Jacobuses, the very lining from the purse of an exiled king. But if he catch another gleam of deceitful gold, he, who just now threatened to demolish at one breath the primacy of Antichrist, the Pope, will sing among the cardinals.

ON SALMASIUS

Mackerel, rejoice, and let all the fish be glad that live in the briny sea and freeze through the winter in the icy deep! That good knight, Salmasius, has taken pity on you, and thinks of clothing your nakedness. With an abundance of paper he is fashioning for you paper suits, imprinted with the arms, the name, and the honors of Claudius Salmasius, so that through all the fish-market you may wear the livery of a knight's retainers, packed though you are in boxes and barrels—a very pleasing sight to those who wipe their noses on their sleeves.

SYLVARUM LIBER

Anno aetatis 16

IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI

Parere fati discite legibus
Manusque Parcae iam date supplices,
Qui pendulum telluris orbem
Iapati colitis nepotes.
Vos si relicto Mors vaga Taenaro
Semel vocarit flebilis, heu! morae
Tentantur incassum dolique;
Per tenebras Stygis ire certum est.
Si destinatam pellere dextera
Mortem valeret, non ferus Hercules
Nessi venenatus cruore
Aemathia iacuisset Oeta;
Nec fraude turpi Palladis invidae
Vidisset occisum Ilion Hectora, aut
Quem larva Pelidis peremit
Ense Locro, Iove lacrymante.
Si triste fatum verba Hecateia
Fugare possint, Telegoni parens
Vixisset infamis, potentique
Aegiali soror usa virga.
Numenque trinum fallere si queant
Artes medentum, ignotaque gramina,
Non gnarus herbarum Machaon
Eurypyli cecidisset hasta;
Laesisset et nec te, Philyreie,
Sagitta Echidnae perlita sanguine;
Nec tela te fulmenque avitum,
Caese puer genitricis alvo.
Tuque, O alumno maior Apolline,

A BOOK OF SYLVAE

At the Age of Sixteen

ON THE DEATH OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR, A PHYSICIAN

Learn to submit to the laws of destiny, and lift your suppliant hands to the Fate, O children of Iapetus, who inhabit the pendulous orb of the earth. If Death, the doleful wanderer from Taenarus, shall but once call you, alas! vain is it to attempt wiles and delay, for all must pass through the shades of Styx. Were the right hand strong to repel destined death, fierce Heracles had not lain dead on Aemathian Oeta, poisoned by the blood of Nessus; nor had Ilium seen Hector slain by the base guile of envious Pallas; nor Sarpedon whom the phantom Achilles slew with Locrian sword, whilst Jove did weep. If magic words could put to flight sad fate, the infamous mother of Telegonus had yet lived, and the sister of Aegialeus, who used the powerful wand. If mysterious herbs and the art of the physicians could thwart the triple goddesses, Machaon with his skill in simples had not fallen by the spear of Eurypylus; and the arrow smeared with the serpent's blood had done you no injury, O Philyreius; nor had the arms and bolts of your grandsire harmed you, O son, who were cut from your mother's womb. And you, too, Gostlin, greater than your tutor, Apollo, you, to whom was given

Gentis togatae cui regimen datum,
Frondosa quem nunc Cirrha luget,
Et mediis Helicon in undis,
Iam praefuisses Palladio gregi
Laetus superstes, nec sine gloria;
Nec puppe lustrasses Charontis
Horribiles barathri recessus.
At fila rupit Persephone tua
Irata cum te viderit artibus
Succoque pollenti tot atris
Faucibus eripuisse Mortis.
Colende Praeses, membra precor tua
Molli quiescant cespite, et ex tuo
Crescant rosae calthaeque busto,
Purpureoque hyacinthus ore.
Sit mite de te iudicium Aeaci,
Subrideatque Aetnaea Proserpina,
Interque felices perennis
Elysio spatiere campo.

IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS

Anno aetatis 17

Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto
Teucrigenas populos, lateque patentia regna
Albionum tenuit, iamque inviolabile foedus
Sceptra Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Scotis:
Pacificusque novo, felix divesque, sedebat
In solio, occultique doli securus et hostis:
Cum ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus,
Eumenidum pater, aethereo vagus exul Olympo,
Forte per immensum terrarum erraverat orbem,
Dinumerans sceleris socios, vernasque fideles,
Participes regni post funera moesta futuros.
Hic tempestates medio ciet aere diras;
Illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos.

the rule of the gowned race, had not died, whom now leafy Cirrha mourns, and Helicon amid its springs. You would still live, happy and honored to have shepherded the flock of Pallas. You would not have gone in Charon's skiff to the horrible recesses of the abyss. But Persephone broke the thread of life, angered when she saw how many souls you snatched from the black jaws of Death by your arts and your potent juices. Revered Chancellor, I pray that your body may rest in peace beneath the soft turf, and that from your grave may spring roses, and marigolds, and the hyacinth with blushing face. May the judgment of Aeacus rest mildly on you, and may Sicilian Proserpina grant you a smile, and in the Elysian fields among the blest may you walk for ever.

ON THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER

At the Age of Seventeen

Scarce had pious James come from the distant north and assumed the rule of the Troy-sprung people and wide-spreading kingdom of Albion; scarce had the inviolable treaty joined the Anglican and the Caledonian sceptres, and the pacific king in wealth and happiness was seated on his new throne, secure from foe and secret guile, when the fierce tyrant who rules by the fiery flood of Acheron, the father of the Furies, a wandering exile from ethereal Olympus, had chanced to be roving through the immense orb of the earth, counting over his companions in evil, and his faithful slaves, who after their unhappy burials shall share his kingdom. Here in mid-air he rouses terrible tempests; there among friends of one mind he scatters hatred. He arms in-

Armat et invictas in mutua viscera gentes,
Regnaque olivifera vertit florentia pace;
Et quoscunque videt purae virtutis amantes,
Hos cupit adiicere imperio, fraudumque magister
Tentat inaccessum sceleri corrumpere pectus,
Insidiasque locat tacitas, cassesque latentes
Tendit, ut incautos rapiat, ceu[1] Caspia tigris
Insequitur trepidam deserta per avia praedam
Nocte sub illuni, et somno nictantibus astris.
Talibus infestat populos Summanus et urbes,
Cinctus caeruleae fumanti turbine flammae.
Iamque fluentisonis albentia rupibus arva
Apparent, et terra Deo dilecta marino,
Cui nomen dederat quondam Neptunia proles,
Amphitryoniaden qui non dubitavit atrocem,
Aequore tranato, furiali poscere bello,
Ante expugnatae crudelia saecula Troiae.
At simul hanc, opibusque et festa pace beatam,
Aspicit, et pingues donis Cerealibus agros,
Quodque magis doluit, venerantem numina veri
Sancta Dei populum, tandem suspiria rupit
Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur.
Qualia Trinacria trux ab Iove clausus in Aetna
Efflat tabifico monstrosus ab ore Typhoeus.
Ignescunt oculi, stridetque adamantinus ordo
Dentis, ut armorum fragor, ictaque cuspide cuspis;
Atque 'Pererrato solum hoc lacrymabile mundo
Inveni,' dixit, 'gens haec mihi sola rebellis,
Contemtrixque iugi, nostraque potentior arte.
Illa tamen, mea si quicquam tentamina possunt,
Non feret hoc impune diu, non ibit inulta.'
Hactenus; et piceis liquido natat aere pennis;
Qua volat, adversi praecursant agmine venti,
Desantur nubes, et crebra tonitrua fulgent.
Iamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes,

[1] seu.

vincible nations to war against each other's vitals; he throws in tumult kingdoms that flourish with the olive of peace; whomsoever he sees in love with purity and virtue, these he is fain to join to his rule; a master of deception, he strives to corrupt the hearts as yet untouched of evil. He lays secret snares, and stretches hidden nets to catch the unwary, as the Caspian tiger follows its trembling prey through pathless deserts under the moonless night and the drowsily twinkling stars. Even with such destruction does Summanus, girt with whirlings of smoke and blue flame, overwhelm cities and peoples.

And now appear the white fields compassed by wave-beaten cliffs, and the land beloved of the sea-god, to which of old the son of Neptune gave his name, he who, having crossed the sea, did not hesitate to demand murderous war of Amphitryon's fierce son before the cruel days of conquered Troy. Soon as he beheld this land blest with riches and festal peace, and the fields fat with the gifts of Ceres—and what grieved him more—the people worshiping the sacred majesty of the one true God; then sighs, and Tartarean flames, and brimstone, lurid and odorous, burst from him, such as the ghastly monster, Typhoeus, imprisoned by Jove in Trinacrian Aetna belches from his noisome mouth. His eyes kindle, and the gnashing of his iron teeth sounds like the clash of arms, like the shock of lance against lance.

'This,' he said, 'is the only distressful sight I have found in my wanderings over the world. This people alone rebels against me, spurning my yoke and too powerful for my art. Yet if my efforts can aught avail, they shall not long do this with impunity, shall not long go without vengeance.'

Thus much he spoke, and on pitch-black wings floats on through the limpid air; wherever he flies contrary winds in gusts precede him, clouds grow thick, and quick come the flashes of lightning.

Now in swift flight he had passed the snowy Alps, and had

Et tenet Ausoniae fines. A parte sinistra
Nimbifer Apenninus erat, priscique Sabini;
Dextra veneficiis infamis Etruria,[1] nec non
Te furtiva, Tibris, Thetidi videt oscula dantem;
Hinc Mavortigenae consistit in arce Quirini.
Reddiderant dubiam iam sera crepuscula lucem,
Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem,
Panificosque deos portat, scapulisque virorum
Evehitur; praeeunt submisso poplite reges,
Et mendicantum series longissima fratrum;
Cereaque in manibus gestant funalia caeci,
Cimmeriis nati in tenebris vitamque trahentes.
Templa dein multis subeunt lucentia taedis—
Vesper erat sacer iste Petro—fremitusque canentum
Saepe tholos implet vacuos, et inane locorum.
Qualiter exululat Bromius, Bromiique caterva,
Orgia cantantes in Echionio Aracyntho,
Dum tremit attonitus vitreis Asopus in undis,
Et procul ipse cava responsat rupe Cithaeron.
His igitur tandem solenni more peractis,
Nox senis amplexus Erebi taciturna reliquit,
Praecipitesque impellit equos stimulante flagello,
Captum oculis Typhlonta, Melanchaetemque ferocem,
Atque Acherontaeo prognatam parte Siopen
Torpidam, et hirsutis horrentem Phrica capillis.
Interea regum domitor, Phlegetontius haeres,
Ingreditur thalamos—neque enim secretus adulter
Producit steriles molli sine pellice noctes;
At vix compositos somnus claudebat ocellos
Cum niger umbrarum dominus, rectorque silentum
Praedatorque hominum, falsa sub imagine tectus
Astitit. Assumptis micuerunt tempora canis;
Barba sinus promissa tegit; cineracea longo
Syrmate verrit humum vestis; pendetque cucullus

[1] Hetruria.

reached the borders of Ausonia. On the left lay the stormy Apennines and the ancient land of the Sabines; on the right was Etruria notorious for its sorcerers. You too, O Tiber, he saw giving furtive kisses to Thetis. Flying thence he alighted on the citadel of Quirinus, son of Mars. The uncertain light of evening had returned, when he who wears the triple crown was going about the whole city carried on men's shoulders, and bearing the bread-made gods. Before him went kings with humbly-bending knees, and an endless line of mendicant friars bearing in their hands waxen tapers. Blind fools are they, born and drawing out their lives in Cimmerian darkness. Then they entered the temple that was bright with many torches—it was the eve of St. Peter—and frequent thunders of song filled the hollow domes and empty spaces, like the howlings of Bacchus and his troop as they sing in their orgies on Boeotian Aracynthus, while bewildered Asopus trembles in his clear-flowing stream, and from afar Cithaeron sends an echoing answer from his hollow cliff.

When at last with the usual solemn pomp these rites were ended, silent Night left the embrace of aged Erebus, and with goading whip urged her steeds headlong across the sky—blind Typhlos, and fierce Melanchaetes, and torpid Siope born of an infernal sire, and shaggy Phrix with the long mane.

Meanwhile the subduer of kings, the heir to the throne of Phlegethon, entered his chamber—nor does the secret adulturer pass his nights alone without some gentle concubine—but scarce had sleep closed his peaceful eyes, when the black lord of shades, the ruler of the dead, the destroyer of men, in a false shape stood at his bedside. His temples were silvered with false gray hair; a long beard covered his breast; an ashen-gray garment swept the ground with its trailing skirts; a cowl hung from his

Vertice de raso; et, ne quicquam desit ad artes,
Cannabeo lumbos constrinxit fune salaces.
Tarda fenestratis figens vestigia calceis.
Talis, uti fama est, vasta Franciscus eremo
Tetra vagabatur solus per lustra ferarum,
Silvestrique tulit genti pia verba salutis
Impius, atque lupos domuit, Libycosque leones.
Subdolus at tali Serpens velatus amictu
Solvit in has fallax ora execrantia voces:
'Dormis, nate? Etiamne tuos sopor opprimit artus?
Immemor O fidei, pecorumque oblite tuorum!
Dum cathedram, venerande, tuam diademaque triplex
Ridet Hyperboreo gens barbara nata sub axe,
Dumque pharetrati spernunt tua iura Britanni.
Surge, age! surge piger, Latius quem Caesar adorat,
Cui reserata patet convexi ianua caeli.
Turgentes animos et fastus frange procaces,
Sacrilegique sciant tua quid maledictio possit,
Et quid Apostolicae possit custodia clavis;
Et memor Hesperiae disiectam ulciscere classem,
Mersaque Iberorum lato vexilla profundo,
Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosae,
Thermodontea[1] nuper regnante puella.
At tu si tenero mavis torpescere lecto,
Crescentesque negas hosti contundere vires,
Tyrrhenum implebit numeroso milite pontum,
Signaque Aventino ponet fulgentia colle.
Relliquias veterum franget, flammisque cremabit,
Sacraque calcabit pedibus tua colla profanis,
Cuius gaudebant soleis dare basia reges.
Nec tamen hunc bellis et aperto Marte lacesses;
Irritus ille labor; tu callidus utere fraude.
Quaelibet haereticis disponere retia fas est.
Iamque ad consilium extremis rex magnus ab oris
Patricios vocat, et procerum de stirpe creatos,

[1] Thermodoontea

shaven crown, and, lest he should lack aught in his artifice, he had bound his lustful loins with a hempen cord. Slowly he walked, his feet clad in laced sandals. So, the story runs, Francis wandered alone in the desert among the waste and noisome haunts of wild beasts, and, himself a sinner, bore to the creatures of the forest the pious words of salvation, and subdued the wolves and Libyan lions.

Thus garbed, the crafty serpent, the deceiver, spoke these words from his detestable lips:

'Are you asleep, my son? And is drowsiness overpowering even *your* limbs? You unmindful of the faith, and forgetful of your flocks! Even now, Holy Father, that barbaric people born beneath the northern sky derides your throne and triple diadem. Even now the quivered Britons scorn your laws. Up, bestir yourself! Arise from your sloth, you whom even the Roman Emperor adores, you to whom the locked gates of vaulted heaven fly open. Break their swelling spirits and their shameless pride; then the sacrilegious wretches may know the power of your malediction and what the keeper of the apostolic keys can do. Remember to avenge the scattered Hesperian fleet, and the ensigns of Iberia engulfed in the depths of the sea, and the bodies of so many saints hanged on the ignominious gallows during the recent reign of the Thermodontean virgin. But if you choose to drowse on your soft bed, and if you refuse to shatter the waxing strength of the enemy, then will that enemy soon fill the Tyrrhenian sea with his soldiery, and plant his gleaming standards on the Aventine hill. He will break the relics of your fathers, will burn them with fire. He will tread with unholy feet upon your sacred neck, yours whose shoes kings once rejoiced to kiss. Yet do not attack him with war and open conflict; that would be fruitless labor; rather make skilful use of fraud. Right is it to set any sort of snares to catch heretics. Their great king is now summoning to council the dignitaries from the kingdom's remotest shores, the hereditary peers, and the sages venerable

Grandaevosque patres trabea canisque verendos;
Hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras,
Atque dare in cineres, nitrati pulveris igne
Aedibus iniecto, qua convenere, sub imis.
Protinus ipse igitur quoscunque habet Anglia fidos
Propositi factique mone, quisquamne tuorum
Audebit summi non iussa facessere Papae?
Perculsosque metu subito, casuque stupentes,
Invadat vel Gallus atrox, vel saevus Iberus.
Saecula sic illic tandem Mariana redibunt,
Tuque in belligeros iterum dominaberis Anglos.
Et, nequid timeas, divos divasque secundas
Accipe, quotque tuis celebrantur numina fastis.'
  Dixit, et adscitos ponens malefidus amictus
Fugit ad infandam, regnum illaetabile, Lethen.
  Iam rosea Eoas pandens Tithonia portas
Vestit inauratas redeunti lumine terras;
Maestaque adhuc nigri deplorans funera nati
Irrigat ambrosiis montana cacumina guttis;
Cum somnos pepulit stellatae ianitor aulae
Nocturnos visus et somnia grata revolvens.
  Est locus aeterna septus caligine noctis,
Vasta ruinosi quondam fundamina tecti,
Nunc torvi spelunca Phoni, Prodotaeque bilinguis,
Effera quos uno peperit Discordia partu.
Hic inter caementa iacent praeruptaque saxa
Ossa inhumata virum, et traiecta cadavera ferro;
Hic Dolus intortis semper sedet ater ocellis,
Iurgiaque, et stimulis armata Calumnia fauces,
Et Furor, atque viae moriendi mille, videntur,
Et Timor, exanguisque locum circumvolat Horror,
Perpetuoque leves per muta silentia Manes
Exululant, tellus et sanguine conscia stagnat.
Ipsi etiam pavidi latitant penetralibus antri

with their white hair and robes of state; these limb from limb you can blow to the sky, and blast to ashes by firing nitrous powder under the buildings where they shall convene. Therefore do you yourself warn whatever faithful souls there are in England both of the purpose and the deed; and will any of your children dare to disobey the commands of his lord the Pope? Then, when the nation is seized with panic and stunned by the catastrophe, let either the ruthless Gaul or the fell Iberian invade the land. Thus at length will the spirit of the Marian age return among them, and you will rule again over the valiant English. Fear nothing, but accept the favor of all the gods and goddesses, as many deities as are celebrated in your festivals.'

So spoke the fiend, and, laying aside the vesture he had assumed, fled to the abominable realm of joyless Lethe.

Now when the porter of the starry hall had driven sleep away and rolled back the nocturnal shapes and pleasant dreams, rosy Dawn, opening the gates of the East, was tinging the earth again with golden light, and, still mourning for the unhappy death of her swarthy offspring, was bedewing the mountain-tops with ambrosial tears.

There is a place begirt with the darkness of an eternal night, the vast foundations of a building long in ruins, now the den of cruel Murder and double-tongued Treachery, whom raging Discord brought forth at one birth. Here amid chips of stone and broken rocks lie unburied the bones of men and corpses pierced with steel; here dark Guile ever sits with distorted eyes; here are seen Strife, and Calumny with fanged jaws, and Fury, and Death in a thousand forms, and Fear. About the place flies Horror; and the bodiless shades perpetually cry through the deep silence. The conscious earth is stagnant with blood. In the innermost recesses of the cave Murder and Treason lie fearfully

Et Phonos et Prodotes, nulloque sequente per antrum,
Antrum horrens, scopulosum, atrum feralibus umbris,
Diffugiunt sontes, et retro lumina vortunt.
Hos pugiles Romae per saecula longa fideles
Evocat antistes Babylonius, atque ita fatur:
'Finibus occiduis circumfusum incolit aequor
Gens exosa mihi, prudens natura negavit
Indignam penitus nostro coniungere mundo.
Illuc, sic iubeo, celeri contendite gressu,
Tartareoque leves difflentur pulvere in auras
Et rex et pariter satrapae, scelerata propago,
Et quotquot fidei caluere cupidine verae
Consilii socios adhibete, operisque ministros.'
Finierat, rigidi cupide paruere gemelli.
Interea longo flectens curvamine caelos
Despicit aetherea Dominus qui fulgurat arce,
Vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae,
Atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri.
Esse ferunt spatium, qua distat ab Aside terra
Fertilis Europe, et spectat Mareotidas undas;
Hic turris posita est Titanidos ardua Famae,
Aerea, lata, sonans, rutilis vicinior astris
Quam superimpositum vel Athos vel Pelion Ossae.
Mille fores aditusque patent, totidemque fenestrae,
Amplaque per tènues translucent atria muros.
Excitat hic varios plebs agglomerata susurros;
Qualiter instrepitant circum mulctralia bombis
Agmina muscarum, aut texto per ovilia iunco,
Dum Canis aestivum caeli petit ardua culmen.
Ipsa quidem summa sedet ultrix matris in arce,
Auribus innumeris cinctum caput eminet olli,
Queis sonitum exiguum trahit, atque levissima captat
Murmura, ab extremis patuli confinibus orbis.
Nec tot, Aristoride, servator inique iuvencae
Isidos, immite volvebas lumina vultu,

lurking, and though none pursues them through the cavern—cavern of horrors and jagged rocks, dark with funereal shadows—with backward glances the guilty pair retreats. The high-priest of Babylon summons these Roman bullies who have been faithful through long years, and thus addresses them:

'On the western frontiers of the world, surrounded by the ocean, there lives a people that I hate, and that prudent nature did not consider worthy to be conjoined with our world. Thither swiftly bend your course—such is my command; and as many as are inflamed with zeal for the true faith receive as associates in the plot and aids in its execution, then with Tartarean powder let king and nobles alike, and the whole accursed race, be blown into thin air.'

He ended, and the ruthless twins eagerly obeyed him. Meanwhile the Lord who turns the great sphere of the heavens, and sends out lightning from his ethereal citadel, looks down, and smiles at the vain efforts of the perverse crowd, and will himself defend his people's cause.

There is a place, men say, that looks toward the waters of Mareotis, equally distant from Asia and the fertile land of Europe; here stands the lofty tower of Fame, the Titanian goddess, brazen, wide, resounding, nearer to the golden stars than Athos, or Pelion piled upon Ossa. A thousand doors and a thousand windows stand open, and the spacious courts within shine through the thin walls. Here a swarming crowd raises a confused murmur, like the buzzing of flies about milk-pails or wattled sheepfolds, when in the heat of summer the Dog Star seeks the summit of the heavens. Fame herself, who avenges her mother, sits upon the topmost height, and lifts her head that is girt with numberless ears, with which she gathers the slightest whisper, and catches the airiest murmur from the ends of the wide-spread earth. Not even you, Argus, false guard of the heifer Io, rolled so many eyes in your savage face, eyes that

Lumina non unquam tacito nutantia somno,
Lumina subiectas late spectantia terras.
Istis illa solet loca luce carentia saepe
Perlustrare, etiam radianti impervia soli.
Millenisque loquax auditaque visaque linguis
Cuilibet effundit temeraria; veraque mendax
Nunc minuit, modo confictis sermonibus auget.
Sed tamen a nostro meruisti carmine laudes,
Fama, bonum quo non aliud veracius ullum,
Nobis digna cani, nec te memorasse pigebit
Carmine tam longo. Servati scilicet Angli
Officiis, vaga diva, tuis tibi reddimus aequa.
Te Deus, aeternos motu qui temperat ignes,
Fulmine praemisso, alloquitur, terraque tremente:
'Fama, siles? an te latet impia Papistarum
Coniurata cohors in meque meosque Britannos,
Et nova sceptrigero caedes meditata Iacobo?'
Nec plura, illa statim sensit mandata Tonantis,
Et, satis ante fugax, stridentes induit alas
Induit et variis exilia corpora plumis;
Dextra tubam gestat Temesaeo ex aere sonoram.
Nec mora, iam pennis cedentes remigat auras,
Atque parum est cursu celeres praevertere nubes;
Iam ventos, iam solis equos, post terga reliquit
Et primo Angliacas, solito de more, per urbes
Ambiguas voces incertaque murmura spargit,
Mox arguta dolos et detestabile vulgat
Proditionis opus, nec non facta horrida dictu
Authoresque addit sceleris, nec garrula caecis
Insidiis loca structa silet. Stupuere relatis,
Et pariter iuvenes, pariter tremuere puellae,
Effoetique senes partier, tantaeque ruinae
Sensus ad aetatem subito penetraverat omnem.
Attamen interea populi miserescit ab alto
Aethereus Pater, et crudelibus obstitit ausis

never grow drowsy in silent sleep, eyes gazing far and wide over the lands beneath, eyes with which she often searches places devoid of light, places inaccessible even to the rays of the sun. What she has heard and seen, with a thousand babbling tongues she heedlessly pours out to any one; now with lies she lessens the truth, now with invented speeches she augments it.

Nevertheless, O Fame, you deserve the praises of our song for one good deed, than which there was never a better; you are worthy of our song, nor will it repent me to have celebrated you at such length. We English, saved forsooth by your good offices, capricious goddess, render you our just thanks. God, who tempers the motion of the eternal fires, hurled his thunderbolt, and while the earth yet trembled addressed you thus:

'Are you silent, O Fame? And does that evil band of Papists, who have conspired against me and my Britons, lie hidden from you? Have you not heard of the strange murder designed against James the King?

Nor said he more, but she forthwith gave heed to the com mands of the Thunderer; and though she were swift enough before she now put on buzzing wings, and clothed her slender body with varied plumage; in her right hand she carried a resounding trumpet of Temesan brass. She tarried not, but beat the yielding air with her wings. It was not enough for her to outstrip the swift clouds, for now she left behind her the winds, and now even the horses of the sun. First, as is her wont, she scattered through the cities of England doubtful tales and uncertain whisperings; anon, waxing louder, she published the plot and the whole abominable work of treachery, and not only the deed, horrid to tell, but she even names the authors of the crime, and in her garrulity is not silent about the places prepared for an ambush. Aghast at these rumors young men and maidens and worn old men alike are seized with terror, and the sense of so great a disaster suddenly strikes at the hearts of all. But meanwhile the Heavenly Father from on high was moved to pity for this people, and thwarted the daring cruelty of the Papists. The

Papicolum. Capti poenas raptantur ad acres;
At pia thura Deo et grati solvuntur honores;
Compita laeta focis genialibus omnia fumant;
Turba choros iuvenilis agit: Quintoque Novembris
Nulla dies toto occurrit celebratior anno.

Anno aetatis 17

IN OBITUM PRAESULIS ELIENSIS

Adhuc madentes rore squalebant genae,
Et sicca nondum lumina
Adhuc liquentis imbre turgebant salis
Quem nuper effudi pius
Dum moesta caro[1] iusta persolvi rogo
Wintoniensis praesulis,
Cum centilinguis Fama—proh! semper mali
Cladisque vera nuntia—
Spargit per urbes divitis Britanniae,
Populosque Neptuno satos,
Cessisse Morti et ferreis sororibus,
Te, generis humani decus,
Qui rex sacrorum illa fuisti in insula
Quae nomen Anguillae tenet.
Tunc inquietum pectus ira protinus
Ebulliebat fervida,
Tumulis potentem saepe devovens deam:
Nec vota Naso in Ibida
Concepit alto diriora pectore;
Graiusque vates parcius
Turpem Lycambis execratus est dolum,
Sponsamque Neobulen suam.
At ecce! diras ipse dum fundo graves,
Et imprecor neci necem,
Audisse tales videor attonitus sonos
Leni, sub aura, flamine:

[1] charo.

conspirators were captured and dragged off for severe punishment. Honors and sacred incense are offered in gratitude to God; all the joyous crossways smoke with genial fires; the youths in tumult dance, for no day occurs in all the year more celebrated than the Fifth of November.

At the Age of Seventeen

ON THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF ELY

My cheeks were still wet and stained with weeping, and my eyes, not yet dry, were swollen from the flood of briny tears which I in duty shed, rendering sad tribute over the bier of the esteemed Bishop of Winchester, when hundred-tongued Fame—alas! ever a true messenger of evil and misfortune—spread through the cities of rich Britain, and among the people sprung from Neptune, the news that you, an honor to mankind and chief of the saints in the isle that bears the name of Ely, have yielded to Death and the fatal sisters. Then forthwith hot anger surged in my troubled breast, and often I cursed the powerful goddess of the grave; nor did Ovid deep in his heart conceive curses more horrible in his *Ibis*; and more sparingly did the Greek poet curse the treachery of Lycambes and Neobule his betrothed. But lo! while I was uttering these bitter execrations, and invoking destruction upon the destroyer, astonished I seemed to hear these sounds borne on a gentle air beneath the breeze:

'Caecos furores pone; pone vitream
Bilemque et irritas minas.
Quid temere violas non nocenda numina,
Subitoque ad iras percita?
Non est, ut arbitraris elusus miser,
Mors atra Noctis filia,
Erebove patre creta, sive Erinnye,
Vastove nata sub Chao:
Ast illa, caelo missa stellato, Dei
Messes ubique colligit;
Animasque mole carnea reconditas
In lucem et auras evocat,
Ut cum fugaces excitant Horae diem,
Themidos Iovisque filiae;
Et sempiterni ducit ad vultus Patris,
At iusta raptat impios
Sub regna furvi luctuosa Tartari
Sedesque subterraneas.
Hanc ut vocantem laetus audivi cito
Foedum reliqui carcerem,
Volatilesque faustus inter milites
Ad astra sublimis feror,
Vates ut olim raptus ad caelum senex,
Auriga currus ignei.
Non me Boötis terruere lucidi
Sarraca tarda frigore, aut
Formidolosi Scorpionis brachia,
Non ensis, Orion, tuus.
Praetervolavi fulgidi solis globum,
Longeque sub pedibus deam
Vidi triformem, dum coercebat suos
Fraenis dracones aureis.
Erraticorum siderum per ordines,
Per lacteas vehor plagas,

'Put away blind wrath, put away vain anger, and impotent threats. Why do you rashly profane powers that cannot be injured, but which may be suddenly moved to anger? Death is not, as you think, deluded wretch, the black daughter of Night, nor of Erebus, nor of Erinys below in vast Chaos. She has been sent from the starry heavens to gather throughout the world the harvests of God. She calls forth into the light and the air the souls that are hidden by the body—even as when the fleeting Hours, daughters of Themis and Jove, call forth the day. The righteous she leads before the face of the eternal Father, but the wicked she justly hurries away to the mournful realm of gloomy Tartarus, to abodes beneath the earth. I rejoiced when I heard her call; quickly I left my foul prison, and amid winged soldiery was happily borne to the stars on high, as long ago the aged prophet was snatched up into heaven with a chariot of fire and a charioteer. The wain of bright Boötes, slow with cold, terrified me not, nor the claws of the terrible Scorpion, nor your sword, Orion. I flew beyond the orb of the gleaming sun, and far beneath my feet saw the triform goddess as with golden reins she checked her dragons. Through the ranks of the wandering stars, and through the Milky Way I was borne, often won-

Velocitatem saepe miratus novam,
Donec nitentes ad fores
Ventum est Olympi, et regiam crystallinam, et
Stratum smaragdis atrium.
Sed hic tacebo, nam quis effari queat
Oriundus humano patre
Amoentitates illius loci? Mihi
Sat est in aeternum frui.'

NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM

Heu quam perpetuis erroribus acta fatiscit
Avia mens hominum, tenebrisque immersa profundis
Oedipodioniam volvit sub pectore noctem!
Quae vesana suis metiri facta deorum
Audet, et incisas leges adamante perenni
Assimilare suis, nulloque solubile saeclo
Consilium fati perituris alligat horis.
Ergone marcescet sulcantibus obsita rugis
Naturae facies, et rerum publica mater
Omniparum contracta uterum, sterilescet ab aevo?
Et se fassa senem male certis passibus ibit
Siderium tremebunda caput? Num tetra vetustas
Annorumque aeterna fames, squalorque situsque,
Sidera vexabunt? An et insatiabile Tempus
Esuriet Caelum, rapietque in viscera patrem?
Heu potuitne suas imprudens Iupiter arces
Hoc contra munisse nefas, et Temporis isto
Exemisse malo, gyrosque dedisse perennes?
Ergo erit ut quandoque, sono dilpasa tremendo,
Convexi tabulata ruant, atque obvius ictu
Stridat uterque polus, superaque ut Olympius aula
Decidat, horribilisque retecta Gorgone Pallas;
Qualis in Aegaeam proles Iunonia Lemnon
Deturbata sacro cecidit de limine caeli.
Tu quoque, Phoebe, tui casus imitabere nati

dering at my unheard-of speed, until I came to the shining gates of Olympus, and the crystalline palace, and the court paved with jasper. But here I shall be silent; for who that is born of mortal father can tell the pleasures of this place? It is enough for me to enjoy them for ever.'

NATURE SUFFERS NO DECAY

Alas, how the wandering mind of man grows weary in the endless struggle with error; how, overwhelmed with profound darkness, it involves itself in a night like that wherein Oedipus wandered! Insanely it dares to judge the deeds of the gods by its own deeds, and to liken laws inscribed on everlasting adamant to its own laws. It limits to its own passing hours the plan of fate that is unchanged for ever.

Shall the face of Nature wither, and be furrowed with wrinkles; and shall the common mother, who has borne all things, with closed womb be barren from old age? Must she confess herself aged, and walk with uncertain steps, her starry head trembling? Shall loathsome age and the ceaseless hunger and thirst of the years, shall rust and decay, vex the stars? Shall insatiable Time swallow up Heaven and devour his own father? Alas, could imprudent Jove have fortified his citadels against this evil; could he have made them exempt from the ravages of Time, and have given them perpetual revolutions? Therefore some day it shall come to pass that the crumbling floor of heaven with thundrous roar shall fall in ruins, and the poles of the earth shall crash in collision, when Olympian Jove falls from his celestial palace, and with him dread Athene, her Gorgon shield uncovered, even as the son of Juno cast down from the sacred threshold of heaven fell upon Aegean Lemnos. And you, too, Phoebus, falling from your rushing chariot, shall imitate your own son's fate, and be

Praecipiti curru, subitaque ferere ruina
Pronus, et extincta fumabit lampade Nereus
Et dabit attonito feralia sibila ponto.
Tunc etiam aerei divulsis sedibus Haemi
Dissultabit apex, imoque allisa barathro
Terrebunt Stygium deiecta Ceraunia Ditem,
In superos quibus usus erat, fraternaque bella.
At Pater omnipotens, fundatis fortius astris,
Consuluit rerum summae, certoque peregit
Pondere fatorum lances, atque ordine summo
Singula perpetuum iussit servare tenorem.
Volvitur hinc lapsu Mundi rota prima diurno,
Raptat et ambitos socia vertigine caelos.
Tardior haud solito Saturnus, et acer ut olim
Fulmineum rutilat cristata casside Mavors.
Floridus aeternum Phoebus iuvenile coruscat,
Nec fovet effoetas loca per declivia terras
Devexo temone Deus; sed semper, amica
Luce potens, eadem currit per signa rotarum.
Surgit odoratis pariter formosus ab Indis
Aethereum pecus albenti qui cogit Olympo,
Mane vocans, et serus agens in pascua caeli,
Temporis et gemino dispertit regna colore.
Fulget, obitque vices alterno Delia cornu,
Caeruleumque ignem paribus complectitur ulnis.
Nec variant elementa fidem, solitoque fragore
Lurida perculsas iaculantur fulmina rupes.
Nec per inane furit leviori murmure Corus,
Stringit et armiferos aequali horrore Gelonos
Trux Aquilo, spiratque hiemem, nimbosque volutat.
Utque solet, Siculi diverberat ima Pelori
Rex maris, et rauca circumstrepit aequora concha
Oceani tubicen, nec vasta mole minorem
Aegaeona ferunt dorso Balearica cete.
Sed neque, Terra, tibi saecli vigor ille vetusti
Priscus abest; servatque suum Narcissus odorem;

borne down in sudden ruin; Nereus shall smoke at the extinction of your lamp, and give forth from the astonished sea a fearful hissing. Then with its foundations rent asunder, the summit even of lofty Haemus shall crumble; and the Ceraunian hills, which he used in the war on his brother immortals, broken and cast down to the lowest depths shall terrify Stygian Dis.

But the Father omnipotent who more firmly fixed the stars took thought for the sum of things, and made the scales of the fates to weigh with certain balance. He ordained all things in the great order to move in their own courses for ever. Therefore the prime wheel of the universe turns in diurnal round, and bears with it in whirling motion the heavenly spheres. Saturn moves no slower than his wont, and, fierce as of old, radiant Mars gleams in crested helmet. Phoebus shines with the bloom of perpetual youth, nor does he warm the valleys of the worn-out earth by a downward turn of his chariot; but ever through the same signs of the spheres he hastens on with friendly light. Beautiful as at first from fragrant India ascends the star whose office it is to shepherd the ethereal flocks on whitening Olympus, calling them home at dawn, and at evening leading them out on the pastures of heaven, parting the realms of time with twofold light. With alternate crescents changeful Delia still waxes and wanes, and with outstretched arms still clasps the kindled blue. The elements break not their faith. With its wonted crash the lurid lightning smites the rocks and shatters them. With no gentler sound the north-west wind still rages through the void, and the wild north-east with equal chill tortures the warlike Scythians, as it breathes forth winter and rolls the clouds along. As of old the sea-king still breaks at the feet of Sicilian Pelorus, and the trumpeter of Ocean with his hoarse shell still resounds over the deep. The Balearic monsters bear on their backs the undiminshed bulk of Aegaeon. Nor yet, O Earth, are you lacking in your pristine vigor. Narcissus still preserves

Et puer ille suum tenet, et puer ille, decorem,
Phoebe tuusque et Cypri tuus, nec ditior olim
Terra datum sceleri celavit montibus aurum
Conscia, vel sub aquis gemmas. Sic denique in aevum
Ibit cunctarum series iustissima rerum,
Donec flamma orbem populabitur ultima, late
Circumplexa polos et vasti culmina caeli
Ingentique rogo flagrabit machina mundi.

DE IDEA PLATONICA QUEMADMODUM ARISTOTELES INTELLEXIT

Dicite, sacrorum praesides nemorum deae,
Tuque O noveni perbeata numinis
Memoria mater, quaeque in immenso procul
Antro recumbis otiosa Aeternitas,
Monumenta servans, et ratas leges Iovis,
Caelique fastos atque ephemeridas deum
Quis ille primus cuius ex imagine
Natura solers finixit humanum genus,
Aeternus, incorruptus, aequaevus polo,
Unusque et universus, exemplar Dei?
Haud ille, Palladis gemellus innubae,
Interna proles insidet menti Iovis.
Sed quamlibet natura sit communior,
Tamen seorsus extat ad morem unius,
Et, mira, certo stringitur spatio loci.
Seu sempiternus ille siderum comes
Caeli pererrat ordines decemplicis,
Citimumve terris incolit Lunae globum.
Sive inter animas corpus adituras sedens
Obliviosas torpet ad Lethes aquas;
Sive in remota forte terrarum plaga
Incedit ingens hominis archetypus gigas,
Et diis tremendus erigit celsum caput,
Atlante maior portitore siderum.

his perfume; and your favorite boy, O Phoebus, and yours, Cythera, the youth of Cyprus, are lovely as before. Earth conscious of evil did not in time past hide richer store of gold beneath the mountains or gems beneath the sea. Thus for ages the unbroken order of all things shall continue, until the final flames destroy the world, enveloping the wide-set poles and the great arch of heaven, and consuming the mighty frame of the world as on a funeral pyre.

THE PLATONIC IDEA AS UNDERSTOOD BY ARISTOTLE

Declare, O goddesses that guard the sacred groves, and you, O Memory, blessed mother of the ninefold deity, and you, Eternity, who in some vast cave far-off lie stretched at ease, guarding the chronicles and the unalterable laws of Jove, recording the festivals of heaven and the daily life of the gods! declare who is that first being, eternal, incorruptible, coeval with the heavens, one and universal, made in the likeness of God—the being after whose image clever Nature has fashioned the human race. Surely he does not dwell unborn in the mind of Jove, a twin of virgin Pallas. But however general his nature, strange to say, he exists apart as an individual, and is confined to a fixed portion of space. Perchance a comrade of the sempiternal stars he wanders through the ten spheres of heaven, or inhabits the moon, the planet nearest to earth. Perchance by Lethe's waters of oblivion he drowses among the shades that await embodiment; or mayhap in some distant region of the earth this archetype of man walks as a huge giant, raising his head aloft to frighten the gods, larger even than Atlas who bears the stars.

Non, cui profundum caecitas lumen dedit,
Dircaeus augur vidit hunc alto sinu;
Non hunc silenti nocte Pleiones nepos
Vatum sagaci praepes ostendit choro;
Non hunc sacerdos novit Assyrius, licet
Longos vetusti commemoret atavos Nini,
Priscumque Belon, inclytumque Osiridem.
Non ille trino gloriosus nomine
Ter magnus Hermes, ut sit arcani sciens,
Talem reliquit Isidis cultoribus.
At tu perenne ruris Academi decus—
Haec monstra si tu primus induxti scholis—
Iam iam poetas, urbes exules tuae,
Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus,
Aut institutor ipse migrabis foras.

AD PATREM

Nunc mea Pierios cupiam per pectora fontes
Irriguas torquere vias, totumque per ora
Volvere laxatum gemino de vertice rivum;
Ut, tenues oblita sonos, audacibus alis
Surgat in officium venerandi Musa parentis.
Hoc utcunque tibi gratum, pater optime, carmen
Exiguum meditatur opus, nec novimus ipsi
Aptius a nobis quae possint munera donis
Respondere tuis, quamvis nec maxima possint
Respondere tuis, nedum ut par gratia donis
Esse queat vacuis quae redditur arida verbis.
Sed tamen haec nostros ostendit pagina census,
Et quod habemus opum charta numeravimus ista,
Quae mihi sunt nullae, nisi quas dedit aurea Clio
Quas mihi semoto somni peperere sub antro,
Et nemoris laureta sacri, Parnassides umbrae.
Nec tu vatis opus divinum despice carmen,

The Dircean seer to whom blindness gave profounder insight did not see him in the depths of his vision. Swift-winged Mercury did not in the silence of night reveal him to his wise band of prophets. The Assyrian priest, though he could recount the long ancestral line of ancient Ninus, tell of Belus of old time, and of renowned Osiris, knew not this being. Not even thrice-great Hermes, glorious for his threefold name, though skilled in mysteries, left such a prodigy to the worshipers of Isis. But you, the unfading glory of the Academy—if you were the first to introduce such monsters to the schools—surely you will recall the poets exiled from your State, for you are the greatest fabler of them all; or, founder though you be, you must yourself go forth.

TO MY FATHER

I would that the Pierian fountains might now pour their inspiring waters through my breast, and the stream that flows from the twin peaks roll all its flood upon my lips, so that my Muse, unmindful of her trivial strains, might rise on adventurous wing to do honor to my revered father. I know not, dearest father, how this trifling song that I am meditating will please you, yet I know not what offerings from me can better repay your gifts, though not even the greatest can repay them, nor can any gratitude expressed by the vain return of empty words be equal to the obligation. Nevertheless this page displays my resources, and all my wealth is set forth on this paper; but I have nothing save what golden Clio has given me, what dreams have brought me in the distant caves of sleep, and what the laurel copses of the sacred wood and the shades of Parnassus bestowed.

Scorn not the poet's song, a work divine, which more than

Quo nihil aethereos ortus, et semina caeli,
Nil magis humanam commendat origine mentem,
Sancta Prometheae retinens vestigia flammae.
Carmen amant Superi, tremebundaque Tartara carmen
Ima ciere valet, divosque ligare profundos,
Et triplici duros Manes adamante coercet.
Carmine sepositi retegunt arcana futuri
Phoebades, et tremulae pallentes ora Sibyllae;
Carmina sacrificus sollennes pangit ad aras,
Aurea seu sternit motantem cornua taurum,
Seu cum fata sagax fumantibus abdita fibris
Consulit, et tepidis Parcam scrutatur in extis.
Nos etiam, patrium tunc cum repetemus Olympum,
Aeternaeque morae stabunt immobilis aevi,
Ibimus auratis per caeli templa coronis,
Dulcia suaviloquo sociantes carmina plectro,
Astra quibus geminique poli convexa sonabunt.
Spiritus et rapidos qui circinat igneus orbes
Nunc quoque sidereis intercinit ipse choreis
Immortale melos et inenarrabile carmen;
Torrida dum rutilus compescit sibila serpens,
Demissoque ferox gladio mansuescit Orion,
Stellarum nec sentit onus Maurusius Atlas.
Carmina regales epulas ornare solebant,
Cum nondum luxus, vastaeque immensa vorago
Nota gulae, et modico spumabat coena Lyaeo.
Tum de more sedens festa ad convivia vates,
Aesculea intonsos redimitus ab arbore crines,
Heroumque actus imitandaque gesta canebat,
Et Chaos, et positi late fundamina mundi,
Reptantesque deos, et alentes numina glandes,
Et nondum Aetnaeo quaesitum fulmen ab antro.
Denique quid vocis modulamen inane iuvabit
Verborum sensusque vacans, numerique loquacis?

aught else reveals our ethereal origin and heavenly race. Nothing so much as its origin does grace to the human mind, possessing yet some sacred traces of Promethean fire. The gods love song, song that has power to move the trembling depths of Tartarus, to bind the nether gods, and restrain the cruel shades with triple adamant. The priestesses of Apollo and the pale trembling Sibyl disclose in song the secrets of the distant future. The sacrificing priest composes verses before the festal altars, whether he slays the bull that tosses its gilded horns, or sagely consults the destinies hidden in the reeking flesh, and reads fate in the entrails still warm with life. When I too return to my native Olympus, and when the changeless ages of eternity stretch for ever before me, I shall go through the temples of heaven crowned with gold, accompanying my sweet songs with the gentle beat of the plectrum, wherewith the stars and the arch of heaven shall resound. Even now that fiery spirit who encircles the swift orbs himself sings with the starry choirs in an immmortal melody, an ineffable song, while the glittering serpent checks his angry hissing, and fierce Orion with lowered sword grows gentle, and Maurusian Atlas no longer feels the burden of the stars.

Poems were wont to grace the banquets of kings, when as yet luxury and the vast gulf of gluttony were unknown, when at dinner Lyaeus flowed in moderation. Then, according to custom, the bard, seated at the festal board, his unshorn locks wreathed with a garland from the oak, used to sing the feats of heroes and their emulable deeds, sang of chaos and the broadly-laid foundations of the world, of the creeping gods that fed upon acorns, and of the thunderbolt not yet brought from the cavern of Aetna. And finally, what will the empty modulation of the voice avail, void of words and sense, and of eloquent numbers? That song

Silvestres decet iste choros, non Orphea, cantus.
Qui tenuit fluvios, et quercubus addidit aures,
Carmine, non cithara, simulacraque functa canendo
Compulit in lacrymas; habet has a carmine laudes.
Nec tu perge, precor, sacras contemnere Musas,
Nec vanas inopesque puta, quarum ipse peritus
Munere mille sonos numeros componis ad aptos,
Millibus et vocem modulis variare canoram
Doctus, Arionii merito sis nominis haeres.
Nunc tibi quid mirum si me genuisse poetam
Contigerit, caro[1] si tam prope sanguine iuncti
Cognatas artes studiumque affine sequamur?
Ipse volens Phoebus se dispertire duobus,
Altera dona mihi, dedit altera dona parenti,
Dividuumque deum genitorque puerque tenemus.
Tu tamen ut simules teneras odisse Camenas,[2]
Non odisse reor. Neque enim, pater, ire iubebas
Qua via lata patet, qua pronior area lucri,
Certaque condendi fulget spes aurea nummi;
Nec rapis ad leges, male custoditaque gentis
Iura, nec insulsis damnas clamoribus aures.
Sed magis excultam cupiens ditescere mentem,
Me procul urbano strepitu, secessibus altis
Abductum, Aoniae iucunda per otia ripae,
Phoebaeo lateri comitem sinis ire beatum.
Officium cari[3] taceo commune parentis;
Me poscunt maiora. Tuo, pater optime, sumptu
Cum mihi Romuleae patuit facundia linguae,
Et Latii veneres, et quae Iovis ora decebant
Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,
Addere suasisti quos iactat Gallia flores,
Et quam degeneri novus Italus ore loquelam
Fundit, barbaricos testatus voce tumultus
Quaeque Palaestinus loquitur mysteria vates.

[1] charo.
[2] camoenas.
[3] chari.

will do for the sylvan choirs, but not for Orpheus, who with song and not with lute held back the rivers, and gave ears to the oaks, and moved the shades of the dead to tears; these praises he has from song.

Do not, I pray, persist in contemning the sacred Muses; think them not vain and poor, by whose gift you yourself are skilled in setting a thousand sounds to fitting numbers, and are trained to vary the singing voice through a thousand modulations, you who by merit should be heir to the name of Arion. Now, if it has happened that I have been born a poet, why is it strange to you that we, so closely joined by the loving bond of blood, should pursue related arts and kindred ways of life? Phoebus, wishing to divide himself in two, gave some gifts to me, others to my father; and we, father and son, possess the divided god.

Although you pretend to hate the gentle Muses, I believe you do not hate them, for you did not bid me go, father, where the broad way lies open, where the field of gain is easier, and where the certain hope of laying up money shines golden; neither do you drag me to the bar, to the laws of the nation so ill observed, nor do you condemn my ears to silly clamorings. But, wishing my already nurtured mind to grow more rich, you permit me in deep retreats, far from the city's uproar, to pass my pleasant leisure by the Aonian stream, and to go a happy companion by Apollo's side.

I pass in silence over the common kindness of a loving parent—greater matters call me. When at your cost, dear father, I had become fluent in the tongue of Romulus, and had mastered the graces of Latin, and the lofty words of the magniloquent Greeks, which became the lips of Jove himself; you then persuaded me to add to these the flowers that Gallia boasts, and the language which the modern Italian pours from his degenerate mouth—a witness by his speech of the barbarian tumults—and the mysteries which the prophet of Palestine utters. Finally, what-

Denique quicquid habet caelum, subiectaque caelo
Terra parens, terraeque et caelo interfluus aer,
Quicquid et unda tegit, pontique agitabile marmor,
Per te nosse licet, per te, si nosse libebit.
Dimotaque venit spectanda scientia nube,
Nudaque conspicuos inclinat ad oscula vultus
Ni fugisse velim, ni sit libasse molestum.
I nunc, confer opes, quisquis malesanus avitas
Austriaci gazas Perüanaque regna praeoptas.
Quae potuit maiora pater tribuisse, vel ipse
Iupiter, excepto, donasset ut omnia, caelo?
Non potiora dedit, quamvis et tuta fuissent,
Publica qui iuveni commisit lumina nato,
Atque Hyperionios currus, et fraena diei,
Et circum undantem radiata luce tiaram.
Ergo ego iam doctae pars quamlibet ima catervae
Victricis hederas inter laurosque sedebo,
Iamque nec obscurus populo miscebor inerti,
Vitabuntque oculos vestigia nostra profanos.
Este procul vigiles Curae, procul este Querelae,
Invidiaeque acies transverso tortilis hirquo,
Saeva nec anguiferos extende, Calumnia, rictus;
In me triste nihil, foedissima turba, potestis,
Nec vestri sum iuris ego; securaque tutus
Pectora vipereo gradiar sublimis ab ictu.
At tibi, care[1] pater, postquam non aequa merenti
Posse referre datur, nec dona rependere factis,
Sit memorasse satis, repetitaque munera grato
Percensere animo, fidaeque reponere menti.
Et vos, O nostri, iuvenilia carmina, lusus,
Si modo perpetuos sperare audebitis annos,
Et domini superesse rogo, lucemque tueri,
Nec spisso rapient oblivia nigra sub Orco,
Forsitan has laudes, decantatumque parentis
Nomen, ad exemplum, sero servabitis aevo.

[1] chare.

ever is contained in the heavens, in mother Earth beneath, and in the air that flows between earth and heaven, whatever is hidden by the waves and the restless surface of the sea—this through you I may learn, through you, if I care to learn. From the parted cloud appears science, and naked bends her lovely face to my kisses, unless I wish to flee, and if it be not dangerous to taste.

Go, gather wealth, fool, whoever you are, that prefer the ancient treasures of Austria, and of the Peruvian realms. But what more than learning could my father have given, or Jove himself had he given all but heaven? He who committed to his young son the common lights, the chariot of Hyperion, the reins of day, and the tiara radiant with light, gave not more potent gifts, even had they been safe. Therefore, since I am one, though the humblest, of the learned company, I shall sit among the victor's ivy and laurels, and no longer obscurely mingle with the dull rabble; my footsteps will avoid the gaze of profane eyes. Away sleepless cares, away complaints, and the wry glance of envy with sidelong goatish leer. Fierce Calumny, open not your serpent's jaws. O most detestable band, you can cause me no unhappiness; I am not under your law. Safe may I walk, my breast secure, high above your viper stroke.

But as for you, dear father, since it is not granted me to make a just return for your deserts, nor to recompense your gifts with my deeds, let it suffice that I remember, and with gratitude count over, your repeated gifts, and treasure them in a faithful mind.

You too, my youthful verses, my pastime, if only you dare hope for endless years—dare think to survive your master's pyre and look upon the light—and if dark oblivion does not drag you down to crowded Orcus, perchance you will treasure these praises and a father's name rehearsed in song as an example to a distant age.

AD SALSILLUM

Poetam Romanum, Aegrotantem Scazontes

O Musa gressum quae volens trahis claudum,
Vulcanioque tarda gaudes incessu
Nec sentis illud in loco minus gratum
Quam cum decentes flava Dëiope suras
Alternat aureum ante Iunonis lectum,
Adesdum, et haec s'is verba pauca Salsillo
Refer, Camena[1] nostra cui tantum est cordi,
Quamque ille magnis praetulit immerito divis.
Haec ergo alumnus ille Londini Milto
Diebus hisce qui suum linquens nidum
Polique tractum, pessimus ubi ventorum,
Insanientis impotensque pulmonis,
Pernix anhela sub Iove exercet flabra,
Venit feraces Itali soli ad glebas,
Visum superba cognitas urbes fama,
Virosque, doctaeque indolem iuventutis,
Tibi optat idem hic fausta multa, Salsille
Habitumque fesso corpori penitus sanum;
Cui nunc profunda bilis infestat renes,
Praecordiisque fixa damnosum spirat.
Nec id pepercit impia quod tu Romano
Tam cultus ore Lesbium condis melos.
O dulce divum munus, O Salus Hebes
Germana! Tuque Phoebe morborum terror
Pythone caeso, sive tu magis Paean
Libenter audis, hic tuus sacerdos est.
Querceta Fauni, vosque rore vinoso
Colles benigni, mitis Evandri sedes,
Siquid salubre vallibus frondet vestris,
Levamen aegro ferte certatim vati.
Sic ille caris[2] redditus rursum Musis

[1] camoena.
[2] charis.

TO SALZILLI

The Roman Poet, in his Illness

Scazons

O Muse, who willingly drag a halting pace, and rejoice in the limping gait of Vulcan, and think that not less pleasing in its place than fair Deiopea, when in the dance her graceful feet move before the golden couch of Juno, come now, I pray, bear these few words to Salzilli, who thinks so well of my poetry that undeservedly he prefers it to that of the great divines. These things, therefore, Milton, a native of London, wishes you, he who of late left his own nest and that region of the heavens where the worst of the winds, with raging lungs, swift and unbridled, drives the gusty blasts beneath the sky, he who has come to the fruitful fields of Italy to see its cities, known to proud renown, its men, and the genius of its learned youth; this same Milton wishes you, Salzilli, many favors and complete good health for your ailing body, whose reins are now infested with excessive bile, which, deep-seated, spreads disease through your vitals. The accursed bile did not spare you this for all the Lesbian strain that you elegantly pour from your Roman lips.

O sweet gift of the gods! Health, Hebe's sister! And you Phoebus—or Paean if that name better suits you—the terror of diseases after the death of Python, this man is your own priest. Oak-groves of Faunus, and you hills rich with vinous dew, seats of gentle Evander, if any healing plant puts forth leaves in your valleys, let each strive to be the first to bring comfort to the sick poet. Thus restored again to his beloved Muses, he will delight

Vicina dulci prata mulcebit cantu.
Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos
Numa, ubi beatum degit otium aeternum,
Suam reclivis semper Aegeriam spectans.
Tumidusque et ipse Tibris, hinc delinitus,
Spei favebit annuae colonorum;
Nec in sepulchris ibit obsessum reges,
Nimium sinistro laxus irruens loro;
Sed fraena melius temperabit undarum,
Adusque curvi salsa regna Portumni.

MANSUS

(Ioannes Baptista Mansus, Marchio Villensis, vir ingenii laude, tum literarum studio, nec non et bellica virtute apud Italos clarus in primis est. Ad quem Torquati Tassi dialogus extat de Amicitia scriptus; erat enim Tassi amicissimus; ab quo etiam inter Campaniae principes celebratur, in illo poemate cui titulus Gerusalemme conquistata, lib. 20:

Fra cavalier magnanimi e cortesi
Risplende il Manso.

Is authorem Neapoli commorantem summa benevolentia prosecutus est, multaque ei detulit humanitatis officia. Ad hunc itaque hospes ille antequam ab ea urbe discederet, ut ne ingratum se ostenderet, hoc carmen misit.)

Haec quoque, Manse, tuae meditantur carmina laudi
Pierides; tibi, Manse, choro notissime Phoebi,
Quandoquidem ille alium haud aequo est dignatus honore,
Post Galli cineres, et Maecenatis[1] Etrusci.[2]
Tu quoque, si nostrae tantum valet aura Camenae,[3]
Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebis.
Te pridem magno felix concordia Tasso
Iunxit, et aeternis inscripsit nomina chartis.
Mox tibi dulciloquum non inscia Musa Marinum
Tradidit; ille tuum dici se gaudet alumnum,
Dum canit Assyrios divum prolixus amores,

[1] Mecaenatis.
[2] Hetrusci.
[3] Camoenae.

the neighboring plains with sweet song. Numa himself shall wonder, where amid the dark groves he spends his blessed eternity of leisure, as he reclines with gaze for ever fixed on his Egeria. Swollen Tiber himself, charmed by the song, will favor the annual hope of the husbandmen; nor will he rush on unchecked with too loose a rein on the left and overwhelm even the kings in their sepulchres; he will better control the course of his waters as far as the salt realms of curving Portumnus.

MANSO

(Giovanni Battista Manso, marquis of Villa, is a man in the first rank of renown among the Italians by reason not merely of his genius in literary pursuits, but also of his military valor. There is extant a dialogue on friendship addressed to him by Torquato Tasso, whose devoted friend he was, and by whom he is also celebrated among the nobles of Campania in that poem entitled *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, Book 20:

Fra cavalier magnanimi e cortesi
Risplende il Manso.

Manso honored the present author during his stay in Naples with the greatest kindness, and did him many acts of courtesy. Therefore, that he might not seem ungrateful, his guest before he left the city, sent him this poem.)

These verses too, Manso, the Pierides intend for your praise, for you, Manso, already so well-known to Phoebus' choir, seeing that he has deemed scarce another worthy of equal honor since the deaths of Gallus and Etruscan Maecenas. If the breath of my Muse so much avails, you too shall sit among the victor's ivy and laurels.

Happy friendship once joined you with great Tasso, and inscribed your names on everlasting pages. Afterward the knowing Muse delivered to you sweet-tongued Marino, who rejoiced to be called your foster-son, while he sang at great length the Assyrian loves of the gods, and gently stupefied the Ausonian

Mollis et Ausonias stupefecit carmine nymphas.
Ille itidem moriens tibi soli debita vates
Ossa, tibi soli supremaque vota reliquit.
Nec manes pietas tua cara[1] fefellit amici;
Vidimus arridentem operoso ex aere poetam.
Nec satis hoc visum est in utrumque, et nec pia cessant
Officia in tumulo; cupis integros rapere Orco,
Qua potes, atque avidas Parcarum eludere leges,
Amborum genus, et varia sub sorte peractam
Describis vitam, moresque, et dona Minervae;
Aemulus illius Mycalen qui natus ad altam
Rettulit Aeolii vitam facundus Homeri.
Ergo ego te, Clius et magni nomine Phoebi,
Manse pater, iubeo longum salvere per aevum,
Missus Hyperboreo iuvenis peregrinus ab axe.
Nec tu longinquam bonus aspernabere Musam,
Quae nuper, gelida vix enutrita sub Arcto,
Imprudens Italas ausa est volitare per urbes.
Nos etiam in nostro moldulantes flumine cygnos
Credimus obscuras noctis sensisse per umbras,
Qua Thamesis late puris argenteus urnis
Oceani glaucos perfundit gurgite crines.
Quin et in has quondam pervenit Tityrus oras.
Sed neque nos genus incultum, nec inutile Phoebo,
Qua plaga septeno mundi sulcata Trione
Brumalem patitur longa sub nocte Boöten.
Nos etiam colimus Phoebum, nos munera Phoebo,
Flaventes spicas, et lutea mala canistris,
Halantemque crocum, perhibet nisi vana vetustas,
Misimus, et lectas Druidum de gente choreas.
Gens Druides antiqua, sacris operata deorum,
Heroum laudes imitandaque gesta canebant.
Hinc quoties festo cingunt altaria cantu
Delo in herboso Graiae de more puellae
Carminibus laetis memorant Corineïda Loxo,

[1] chara.

nymphs with song. So this poet when dying left to you alone his doomed bones, to you alone his latest wishes. Nor has your loving piety deceived the shade of your friend, for we see the poet smiling from the wrought bronze. But in the case of neither poet did this seem enough; your pious offices did not cease at the tomb, for, wishing to snatch them unharmed from Orcus, and, as far as you could, to cheat the greedy laws of the Fates, you described the ancestry of both, their lives harassed by varying fortune, their characters, and their gifts from Minerva. You were emulous of him, the eloquent one born on high Mycale, who related the life of Aeolian Homer. Therefore, father Manso, in the name of Clio and of mighty Phoebus, I, a youthful traveler sent from beneath the Hyperborean heaven, wish you good health through a long life. You are kind and will not spurn a foreign Muse, which, but sparely nourished under the frozen Bear, of late has indiscreetly ventured to fly through the cities of Italy. Methinks through the dusky shades of night I too have heard the swans singing in our own river, where silvery Thames with clear urns lets her gleaming locks flow wide in the waters of ocean. Indeed Tityrus once came to these shores.

But we, a race that through long nights endures the wintry Boötes in that region of the world that is furrowed by the sevenfold Triones, we are not untaught and useless to Phoebus. We even worship Phoebus, and—unless age renders void the tale —we have sent him gifts, yellowing ears, rosy apples in baskets, crocuses breathing fragrance, and troops of maidens chosen from the Druid race. The Druids, an ancient people skilled in the rites of the gods, used to sing the praises of heroes and their emulable deeds. Hence as often as they circle the altars in festive song, as is their wont, the Greek maidens on grassy Delos in joyful verses commemorate Corinedian Loxo, prophetic Upis, with yellow-

Fatidicamque Upin, cum flavicoma Hecaërge,
Nuda Caledonio variatas pectora fuco.
Fortunate senex! ergo quacunque per orbem
Torquati decus et nomen celebrabitur ingens,
Claraque perpetui succrescet fama Marini,
Tu quoque in ora frequens venies plausumque virorum,
Et parili carpes iter immortale volatu.
Dicetur tum sponte tuos habitasse penates
Cynthius, et famulas venisse ad limina Musas.
At non sponte domum tamen idem, et regis adivit
Rura Pharetiadae caelo fugitivus Apollo;
Ille licet magnum Alciden susceperat hospes;
Tantum, ubi clamosos placuit vitare bubulcos,
Nobile mansueti cessit Chironis in antrum,
Irriguos inter saltus frondosaque tecta
Peneium prope rivum. Ibi saepe sub ilice nigra,
Ad citharae strepitum, blanda prece victus amici,
Exilii duros lenibat voce labores.
Tum neque ripa suo, barathro nec fixa sub imo
Saxa stetere loco; nutat Trachinia rupes,
Nec sentit solitas, immania pondera, silvas;
Emotaeque suis properant de collibus orni,
Mulcenturque novo maculosi carmine lynces.
Diis dilecte senex, te Iupiter aequus oportet
Nascentem, et miti lustrarit lumine Phoebus,
Atlantisque nepos; neque enim nisi carus[1] ab ortu
Diis superis poterit magno favisse poetae.
Hinc longaeva tibi lento sub flore senectus
Vernat, et Aesonios lucratur vivida fusos,
Nondum deciduos servans tibi frontis honores,
Ingeniumque vigens, et adultum mentis acumen.
O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum
Phoebaeos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,
Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,

[1] charus.

haired Hecaerge, their bare breasts stained with Caledonian paint.

Therefore, fortunate old man, wherever Torquato's glory and great name shall be celebrated throughout the world, wherever the brilliant fame of enduring Marino waxes, your praises too will frequently be on men's lips, and flying by their side you shall enjoy their immortal flight. Then will it be said that Cynthius of his own accord has dwelt in your house, and the attendant Muses come as handmaids to your threshold; yet it was not of his own free will that the same Apollo came, a fugitive from heaven, to the farm of king Pheretiades, even though that host had received great Alcides. When he wished as much as possible to avoid the noisy plowmen, he retired to the well-known cave of gentle Chiron amid well-watered pastures and leafy shelters beside the river Peneus. There, won by his friend's flattering desire, he used often under the dark ilex to lighten the hard labors of exile with a song to the sound of the cithern. Then neither the banks nor the rocks in the lowest chasm beneath stood fixed in their places; the Trachinian cliff tottered, nor longer felt the usual weight of its forests; the mountain ash-trees, uprooted, hastened from their hills; and the spotted lynxes were soothed by the new song.

Aged man, beloved of the gods, Jupiter must have been friendly to you at birth; Phoebus and the grandson of Atlas must have shone with kindly light; for no one, unless from his birth he were dear to the gods above, could have befriended a great poet. Hence your old age blooms with lingering flowers, and, still full of life, has the benefit of the Aesonian spindles, keeping the honors of your brow still unshed, your genius flourishing, and the keenness of your mind in its prime. If ever I recall in song my native kings, and Arthur setting wars in motion even beneath the earth; if ever I tell of the high-souled heroes in the

Aut dicam invictae sociali foedere mensae
Magnanimos Heroas, et—O modo spiritus adsit—
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!
Tandem ubi non tactitae permensus tempora vitae,
Annorumque satur, cineri sua iura relinquam,
Ille mihi lecto madidis astaret ocellis,
Astanti sat erit si dicam, 'Sim tibi curae.'
Ille meos artus, liventi morte solutos,
Curaret parva componi molliter urna.
Forsitan et nostros ducat de marmore vultus,
Nectens aut Paphia myrti aut Parnasside lauri
Fronde comas, at ego secura pace quiescam.
Tum quoque, si qua fides, si praemia certa bonorum,
Ipse ego, caelicolum semotus in aethera divum,
Quo labor et mens pura vehunt atque ignea virtus,
Secreti haec aliqua mundi de parte videbo,
Quantum fata sinunt, et tota mente serenum
Ridens purpureo suffundar lumine vultus,
Et simul aethereo plaudam mihi laetus Olympo.

EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS

ARGUMENTUM

(Thyrsis et Damon eiusdem viciniae pastores, eadem studia sequuti a pueritia amici erant, ut qui plurimum. Thyrsis animi causa profectus peregre de obitu Damonis nuntium[1] accepit. Domum postea reversus, et rem ita esse comperto, se, suamque solitudinem hoc carmine deplorat. Damonis autem sub persona hic intelligitur Carolus Diodatus[2] ex urbe Etruriae[3] Luca paterno genere oriundus, caetera Anglus; ingenio, doctrina, clarissimisque caeteris virtutibus, dum viveret, iuvenis egregius.)

Himerides Nymphae—nam vos et Daphnin et Hylan,
Et plorata diu meministis fata Bionis—
Dicite Sicelicum Thamesina per oppida carmen:
Quas miser effudit voces, quae murmura Thyrsis,

[1] nuncium
[2] Deodatus
[3] Hetruriae.

social bond of the invincible Table; and—let the spirit be present to aid me—if ever I break the Saxon phalanxes with British war; then may my lot grant me such a friend, one who knows so well how to honor the sons of Phoebus. At last when I had measured the span of a life not mute, and, full of years, should leave to ashes their due, with tear-stained eyes he would stand by my bed; and as he stood there I need only say: 'Let me be under thy care.' He would provide that my limbs, relaxed in livid death, were gently gathered in a little urn. Perchance he would also draw my features from marble, binding the locks on my brow with Paphian myrtle or with laurel of Parnassus, and I should rest in peace secure. Then, if there be any faith, and if there be sure rewards for the righteous, I myself, removed to the ethereal realms of the heaven-dwelling gods, whither labor, a pure mind, and ardent courage convey us, even I shall see these things from some part of that secret world—as the Fates permit—and with mind all serene, my smiling face suffused with a rosy light, I shall joyfully clap my hands on ethereal Olympus.

AN EPITAPH ON DAMON

ARGUMENT

(Thyrsis and Damon, shepherds of the same neighborhood and following the same pursuits, were most intimate friends from boyhood. Thyrsis, who had gone abroad for the improvement of his mind, received news of Damon's death. Having afterward returned home and discovered that the news was true, he deplores himself and his solitude in this poem. Under the guise of Damon is here understood Charles Diodati, connected on his father's side with the Tuscan city of Lucca, otherwise an Englishman, a youth distinguished while he lived for genius, learning, and other most notable virtues.)

Nymphs of Himera—for you remember Daphnis and Hylas and the long-lamented fate of Bion—repeat this Sicilian song through the cities of Thames; tell what words, what murmurs, unhappy Thyrsis poured forth, and with what ceaseless com-

Et quibus assiduis exercuit antra querelis,
Fluminaque, fontesque vagos, nemorumque recessus,
Dum sibi praereptum queritur Damona, neque altam
Luctibus exemit noctem, loca sola pererrans.
Et iam bis viridi surgebat culmus arista,
Et totidem flavas numerabant horrea messes,
Ex quo summa dies tulerat Damona sub umbras,
Nec dum aderat Thyrsis; pastorem scilicet illum
Dulcis amor Musae Tusca[1] retinebat in urbe.
Ast ubi mens expleta domum pecorisque relicti
Cura vocat, simul assueta seditque sub ulmo
Tum vero amissum, tum denique, sentit amicum,
Coepit et immensum sic exonerare dolorem:
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Hei mihi! quae terris, quae dicam numina caelo,
Postquam te immiti rapuerunt funere, Damon;
Siccine nos linquis, tua sic sine nomine virtus
Ibit, et obscuris numero sociabitur umbris?
At non ille animas virga qui dividit aurea
Ista velit, dignumque tui te ducat in agmen,
Ignavumque procol pecus arceat omne silentum.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Quicquid erit, certe, nisi me lupus ante videbit,
Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro,
Constabitque tuus tibi honos, longumque vigebit
Inter pastores. Illi tibi vota secundo
Solvere post Daphnin, post Daphnin dicere laudes,
Gaudebunt, dum rura Pales, dum Faunus amabit—
Si quid id est, priscamque fidem coluisse, piumque,
Palladiasque artes, sociumque habuisse canorum.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Haec tibi certa manent, tibi erunt haec praemia, Damon.
At mihi quid tandem fiet modo? quis mihi fidus
Haerebit lateri comes, ut tu saepe solebas

[1]Thusca.

plaints he disturbed the caves, the rivers, the eddying fountains, and the recesses of the groves, while he mourned to himself for Damon snatched away, nor left deep night free from his lamentations as he wandered in lonely places. Twice the stalk had risen with green ear, and as often had the garners told off the yellow crops, since his last day had borne Damon down to the shades, and Thyrsis was not there the while; love of the sweet Muse forsooth detained that shepherd in a Tuscan city. But when a full mind, and the care of the flock he had left behind, called him home, and when he sat once more beneath his accustomed elm, then, then at last he felt in truth the loss of his friend, and began thus to vent his measureless sorrow:

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Ah me! what deities shall I name in earth or heaven, now that they have torn you away, Damon, by inexorable death? Do you leave me thus, and is your virtue to go without a name and be merged with the obscure shades? But nay, let him who with his golden wand marshals the souls will it otherwise, and may he lead you into a company that is worthy of you, and keep far off the whole base herd of the silent dead.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Be sure whatever comes, unless the wolf shall first see me, you shall not moulder in the tomb unwept; your honor shall endure and long flourish among shepherds. To you next after Daphnis shall they rejoice to fulfil their vows, and next after Daphnis of you to speak their praises, so long as Pales, so long as Faunus, love the fields—if it aught avails to have cherished the ancient faith and piety, and the Palladian arts, and to have had a musical compeer.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. These rewards for you remain certain, Damon; they shall be yours. But what will become of me; what faithful friend will stay close by my side as you were wont to do in bitter

Frigoribus duris, et per loca foeta pruinis,
Aut rapido sub sole, siti morientibus herbis,
Sive opus in magnos fuit eminus ire leones.
Aut avidos terrere lupos praesepibus altis?
Quis fando sopire diem cantuque solebit?
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Pectora cui credam? quis me lenire docebit
Mordaces curas, quis longam fallere noctem
Dulcibus alloquiis, grato cum sibilat igni
Molle pirum, et nucibus strepitat focus, at malus Auster
Miscet cuncta foris, et desuper intonat ulmo.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Aut aestate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,
Cum Pan aesculea somnum capit abditus umbra,
Et repetunt sub aquis sibi nota sedilia nymphae,
Pastoresque latent, stertit sub saepe[1] colonus,
Quis mihi blanditiasque tuas, quis tum mihi risus,
Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
At iam solus agros, iam pascua solus oberro,
Sicubi ramosae densantur vallibus umbrae,
Hic serum expecto; supra caput imber et Eurus
Triste sonant, fractaeque agitata crepuscula silvae.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Heu quam culta mihi prius arva procacibus herbis
Involvuntur, et ipsa situ seges alta fatiscit!
Innuba neglecto marcescit et uva racemo,
Nec myrteta iuvant; ovium quoque taedet, at illae
Moerent, inque suum convertunt ora magistrum.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Tityrus ad corylos vocat, Alphesiboeus ad ornos,
Ad salices Aegon, ad flumina pulcher Amyntas:
"Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco,
Hic Zephyri, hic placidas interstrepit arbutus undas."

[1] sepe.

cold through places rough with frost, or under the fierce sun with the herbage dying from drought, whether the task were to go within spear's-throw of great lions or to frighten the ravenous wolves from the high sheepfolds? Who will now lull my day to rest with talk and song?

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. To whom may I entrust my heart? Who will teach me to assuage my gnawing cares and to cheat the long night with pleasant converse, when the mellow pears hiss before the cheery fire, nuts crackle on the hearth, and without the stormy south wind is throwing all in confusion and comes roaring through the elms.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Or in summer when the day turns on mid-axle, when Pan takes his sleep hidden in the oak-shade, and the nymphs return to their wonted seats beneath the waters, when shepherds lie concealed, and the husbandman snores beneath the hedge, who will then bring back to me your blandishments, your laughter, Cecropian wit, culture, and charm?

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Now I wander in the fields alone, alone through the pastures; wherever the shady branches grow thick in the valleys, there I await the evening, while overhead rain and the south-east wind sadly moan, and the twilight of the forest is broken with gleams of light.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Alas, how my fields once tilled are overgrown with trailing weeds, and even the tall corn droops with blight! The cluster of grapes withers unwedded to the stalk. The myrtle-groves please me not. I am weary too of my sheep, but even they are sad and turn their faces to their master.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Tityrus calls to the hazels, Alphesiboeus to the mountain-ashes, Aegon to the willows, fair Amyntas to the rivers.

"'Here are cool fountains," they cry, "here are mossy greenswards, here are the zephyrs, here the arbutus whispers amid peaceful streams."

Ista canunt surdo, frutices ego nactus abibam.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Mopsus ad haec, nam me redeuntem forte notarat,
Et callebat avium linguas et sidera Mopsus:
"Thyrsi, quid hoc?" dixit, "quae te coquit improba bilis?
Aut te perdit amor, aut te male fascinat astrum.
Saturni grave saepe fuit pastoribus astrum,
Intimaque obliquo figit praecordia plumbo."
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Mirantur nymphae, et "Quid te, Thyrsi, futurum est?
Quid tibi vis?" aiunt: "non haec solet esse iuventae
Nubila frons, oculique truces, vultusque severi;
Illa choros, lususque leves, et semper amorem
Iure petit; bis ille miser qui serus amavit."
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Venit Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Aegle,
Docta modos, citharaeque sciens, sed perdita fastu;
Venit Idumanii Chloris vicina fluenti.
Nil me blanditiae, nil me solantia verba,
Nil me si quid adest movet, aut spes ulla futuri.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Hei mihi! quam similes ludunt per prata iuvenci,
Omnes unanimi secum sibi lege sodales,
Nec magis hunc alio quisquam secernit amicum
De grege; sic densi veniunt ad pabula thoes,
Inque vicem hirsuti paribus iunguntur onagri;
Lex eadem pelagi, deserto in littore Proteus
Agmina phocarum numerat, vilisque volucrum
Passer habet semper quicum sit, et omnia circum
Farra libens volitet, sero sua tecta revisens;
Quem si fors letho obiecit, seu milvus adunco
Fata tulit rostro, seu stravit arundine fossor,
Protinus ille alium socio petit inde volatu.
Nos durum genus, et diris exercita fatis

'But, deaf to their songs, I gain the thickets and withdraw.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Then Mopsus spoke, for he by chance had noticed me returning—Mopsus who was versed in the stars and in the language of birds:

'"What is this, Thyrsis?" said he; "What bad bile is tormenting you? Either you are wasting with love, or some star is casting an evil spell over you. Saturn's star has often been baleful to shepherds, and his slant leaden shaft has pierced your inmost breast."

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. The nymphs are amazed and cry:

'"What will come of you, Thyrsis? What do you wish? The brow of youth is not commonly cloudy, the eyes stern, the mien austere; youth seeks dances and nimble sports, and always love as its right. Twice wretched is he who loves late."

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Hyas came, and Dryope, and Aegle, the daughter of Baucis—Aegle instructed in numbers and skilled on the lyre, but of excessive pride; Chloris came, a neighbor of the Idumanian river. Their blandishments, their comforting words, are nothing to me; nothing in the present moves me, nor have I any hope for the future.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Ah me! how like the one to the other are the young cattle that frolic through the fields, all comrades each to each under one harmonious law; none seeks from out the herd a special friend. Even so the jackals come in packs to their food, and the shaggy wild asses by turn are joined in pairs. The law of the sea is the same, where on the desert shore Proteus numbers his troops of sea-calves. Even that paltry bird the sparrow always has a mate with whom it happily flies about to every heap of grain, and returns at evening to its own thatch; yet should chance strike one of them dead—whether the kite with hooked beak has brought this fate, or the clown has pierced it with his arrow—the other seeks a new mate to be henceforth its companion in flight. But we men are a stony race, a tribe

Gens, homines, aliena animis, et pectore discors,
Vix sibi quisque parem de millibus invenit unum,
Aut, si sors dederit tandem non aspera votis,
Illum inopina dies, qua non speraveris hora
Surripit, aeternum linquens in saecula damnum.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Heu! quis me ignotas traxit vagus error in oras
Ire per aëreas rupes, Alpemque nivosam?
Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam,
Quamvis illa foret, qualem dum viseret olim,
Tityrus ipse suas et oves et rura reliquit,
Ut te tam dulci possem caruisse sodale,
Possem tot maria alta, tot interponere montes,
Tot silvas, tot saxa tibi, fluviosque sonantes?
Ah! certe extremum licuisset tangere dextram,
Et bene compositos placide morientis ocellos,
Et dixisse, "Vale! nostri memor ibis ad astra."
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Quamquam etiam vestri nunquam meminisse pigebit,
Pastores Tusci[1] Musis operata iuventus,
Hic Charis, atque Lepos; et Tuscus[2] tu quoque Damon,
Antiqua genus unde petis Lucumonis ab urbe.
O ego quantus eram, gelidi cum stratus ad Arni
Murmura, populeumque nemus, qua mollior herba,
Carpere nunc violas, nunc summas carpere myrtos,
Et potui Lycidae certantem audire Menalcam!
Ipse etiam tentare ausus sum, nec puto multum
Displicui, nam sunt et apud me munera vestra,
Fiscellae, calathique, et cerea vincla cicutae.
Quin et nostra suas docuerunt nomina fagos
Et Datis et Francinus, erant et vocibus ambo
Et studiis noti, Lydorum sanguinis ambo.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Haec mihi tum laeto dictabat roscida luna,
Dum solus teneros claudebam cratibus haedos.

[1] Thusci.
[2] Thuscus.

vexed by stern fates, alien in our minds one from the other, in our hearts discordant. Hardly from among thousands does one find a single kindred spirit, or if fortune not unfriendly gives one such in answer to our prayers, yet in a day and an hour when we least expect it he is snatched away, leaving an ever-during wound.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Ah, what wandering fancy lured me to traverse lofty cliffs and snowy Alps to unknown shores! Was there any such need to see buried Rome—even had it been what it was when Tityrus left his sheep and his pastures to see it—that I could part with so charming a companion, that I could put between us so many deep seas, so many mountains, forests, rocks, and roaring streams? Surely had I stayed I might at the last have touched the hand, and closed the eyes, of him who was peacefully dying, might have said, "Farewell, remember me when you go to the stars."

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. Even though I shall never weary of remembering you, O Tuscan shepherds, youths devoted to the Muses, yet here too were grace and charm; and you too, Damon, were a Tuscan tracing your lineage from the ancient city of Lucca. O how elated I was when, stretched by cool murmuring Arno and the poplar grove that softens the grass, I lay, now plucking violets, now sprays of myrtle, and listened to Menalcas contending with Lycidas in song! Even I myself dared to enter the contest, nor do I think I greatly displeased you, for I still have with me your gifts, reed-baskets, bowls, and shepherd's pipes with waxen stops. Nay, both Dati and Francini, renowned for their eloquence and their learning, and both of Lydian blood, have taught my name to their beeches.

Go, home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. These things the dewy moon used to tell me, when happy and alone I was shutting my tender kids in their wattled cotes.

Ah! quoties dixi, cum te cinis ater habebat,
"Nunc canit, aut lepori nunc tendit retia Damon
Vimina nunc texit varios sibi quod sit in usus;"
Et quae tum facile sperabam mente futura
Arripui voto levis, et praesentia finxi.
"Heus bone! numquid agis? nisi te quid forte retardat,
Imus, et arguta paulum recubamus in umbra,
Aut ad aquas Colni, aut ubi iugera Cassibelauni?
Tu mihi percurres medicos, tua gramina, succos,
Helleborumque, humilesque crocos, foliumque hyacinthi,
Quasque habet ista palus herbas, artesque medentum."
'Ah! pereant herbae, pereant artesque medentum,
Gramina, postquam ipsi nil profecere magistro!
Ipse etiam—nam nescio quid mihi grande sonabat
Fistula—ab undecima iam lux est altera nocte—
Et tum forte novis admoram labra cicutis,
Dissiluere tamen, rupta compage, nec ultra
Ferre graves potuere sonos; dubito quoque ne sim
Turgidulus, tamen et referam; vos cedite, silvae.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per aequora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniae,
Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernen,
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
Merlini dolus. O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
Tu procul annosa pendebis, fistula, pinu
Multum oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata Camenis[1]
Brittonicum strides! Quid enim? omnia non licet uni,
Non sperasse uni licet omnia. Mi satis ampla
Merces, et mihi grande decus—sim ignotus in aevum
Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi—
Si me flava comas legat Usa, et potor Alauni,

[1] camoenis.

Ah! how often have I said when already you were but dark ashes:

"Now Damon is singing, or stretching nets for the hare; now he is plaiting osiers for his various uses."

'What I then with easy mind hoped for the future, with the wish I lightly seized and fancied present.

'Ho, good friend, have you aught to do? If nothing prevents, let us go and lie down a while in the murmuring shade, by the waters of Colne, or in the fields of Cassivellaunus. You shall go over to me your healing herbs and juices, hellebore, the lowly crocus, and the leaf of the hyacinth, whatever plants the marshes yield, and tell me of the physician's art.

'Ah! perish the herbs and the simples, perish the physician's art, since they have profited their master nothing! And I—for I know not what my pipe was grandly sounding—it is now eleven nights and a day—and then perhaps I had put my lips to new pipes, but they burst asunder, broken at the fastening, and could no more bear the deep tones—I hesitate too lest I seem puffed up, yet I will tell the tale—give place then, O forests.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. I would tell of Dardanian ships along the Rutupian Sea, and of the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus' daughter, of the leaders Brennus and Arviragus, and old Belinus, and of colonists in Armorica under British laws; then I would tell of Igraine pregnant with Arthur by a fatal fraud, of the seeming face and counterfeit arms of Gorlöis, Merlin's artifice. Ah! then if life remain, you, my pipe, shall hang on some aged pine far off and forgotten, unless forsaking your native songs you shrilly sound a British theme. Why not a British theme? One man cannot do all things, cannot hope to do all things. Sufficient my reward, my honors ample—even if I am for ever unknown and wholly without fame in foreign parts—if yellow-haired Ouse reads me, and he who drinks the waters of Alaun, and Abra full of eddies,

Vorticibusque frequens Abra, et nemus omne Treantae,
Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, et fusca metallis
Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis.
'Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
Haec tibi servabam lenta sub cortice lauri.
Haec, et plura simul; tum quae mihi pocula Mansus,
Mansus, Chalcidicae non ultima gloria ripae,
Bina dedit, mirum artis opus, mirandus et ipse,
Et circum gemino caelaverat argumento.
In medio Rubri Maris unda, et odoriferum ver,
Littora longa Arabum, et sudantes balsama silvae;
Has inter Phoenix, divina avis, unica terris,
Caeruleum fulgens diversicoloribus alis,
Auroram vitreis surgentem respicit undis.
Parte alia polus omnipatens, et magnus Olympus.
Quis putet? hic quoque Amor, pictaeque in nube pharetrae,
Arma corusca, faces, et spicula tincta pyropo;
Nec tenues animas, pectusque ignobile vulgi,
Hinc ferit; at, circum flammantia lumina torquens,
Semper in erectum spargit sua tela per orbes
Impiger, et pronos nunquam collimat ad ictus.
Hinc mentes ardere sacrae, formaeque deorum.
'Tu quoque in his—nec me fallit spes lubrica, Damon—
Tu quoque in his certe es; nam quo tua dulcis abiret
Sanctaque simplicitas, nam quo tua candida virtus?
Nec te Lethaeo fas quaesivisse sub Orco,
Nec tibi conveniunt lacrymae, nec flebimus ultra.
Ite procul, lacrymae; purum colit aethera Damon,
Aethera purus habet, pluvium pede reppulit arcum;
Heroumque animas inter, divosque perennes,
Aethereos haurit latices et gaudia potat
Ore sacro. Quin tu, caeli post iura recepta,
Dexter ades, placidusque fave, quicunque vocaris,
Seu tu noster eris Damon, sive aequior audis
Diodatus,[1] quo te divino nomine cuncti

[1] Diodotus

and all the woods of Trent, and above all my own Thames, and Tamar stained with metals, and if the Orkneys and their remotest waves but learn my songs.

'Go home unfed, my lambs, your troubled master is not free to tend you. These things I was keeping for you under the tough bark of the laurel, these and more besides. Then I thought to show you the two cups that Manso, not the least glory of the Chalcidian shore, gave me; a wonderful work of art they are—but Manso himself is wonderful. Round about they are decorated with a double band of carving. In the middle are the waters of the Red Sea and the odoriferous spring, the far-off coasts of Arabia and the trees dropping balsam, amidst these the phoenix, divine bird, alone of its kind on earth, gleaming blue, with wings of many colors, watches Aurora rise over the glassy waves. In another part are great Olympus and the whole expanse of heaven. Yes, and who would believe it? here too is Love, his quiver, flashing arms, and torch, his darts tipped with fiery bronze, all pictured in a cloud. He does not aim at little souls and the ignoble hearts of the rabble, but, rolling his flaming eyes about, unwearied he ever scatters his missiles on high through the spheres, and never aims his shots downward. Hence minds immortal and forms divine are inflamed with love.

'You too are among these, Damon—nor does elusive hope deceive me—surely you too are among these; for whither should your sweet and holy simplicity retire, whither your spotless virtue? It is wrong to seek you in Lethean Orcus. Tears become you not, and I shall weep no more. Away then tears! Damon dwells in the purity of heaven, for he himself is pure. He has thrust back the rainbow with his foot, and among the souls of heroes and the everlasting gods he quaffs the heavenly waters, and drinks of joys with his sacred lips. But now that the rights of heaven are yours, stand by my side and gently befriend me, whatever be now your name, whether you would still be our Damon, or whether you prefer to be called Diodati, by which divine name all

Caelicolae norint, silvisque vocabere Damon.
Quod tibi purpureus pudor, et sine labe iuventus
Grata fuit, quod nulla tori libata voluptas,
En! etiam tibi virginei servantur honores!
Ipse, caput nitidum cinctus rutilante corona,
Laetaque frondentis gestans umbracula palmae,
Aeternum perages immortales hymenaeos,
Cantus ubi, choreisque furit lyra mista beatis,
Festa Sionaeo bacchantur et Orgia thyrso.'

[Added in Second Edition, 1673]

Jan. 23, 1646

AD IOANNEM ROUSIUM
Oxoniensis Academiae Bibliothecarium

(De libro Poematum amisso, quem ille sibi denuo mitti postulabat, ut cum aliis nostris in Bibliotheca Publicareponeret, Ode.)

Strophe 1

Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,
Fronde licet gemina,
Munditieque nitens non operosa
Quam manus attulit
Iuvenilis olim
Sedula, tamen haud nimii poetae
Dum vagus Ausonias nunc per umbras,
Nunc Britannica per vireta lusit,
Insons populi, barbitoque devius
Indulsit patrio, mox itidem pectine Daunio
Longinquum intonuit melos
Vicinis, et humum vix tetigit pede.

Antistrophe

Quis te, parve liber, quis te fratribus
Subduxit reliquis dolo,
Cum tu missus ab urbe,

the dwellers in heaven will know you, but in the forests you will still be called Damon. Because a rosy blush, and a youth without stain were dear to you, because you never tasted the pleasure of marriage, lo! for you are reserved a virgin's honors. Your noble head bound with a glittering wreath, in your hands the glad branches of the leafy palm, you shall for ever act and act again the immortal nuptials, where song and the lyre, mingled with the blessed dances, wax rapturous, and the joyous revels rage under the thyrsus of Zion.'

Jan. 23, 1646

AN ODE TO JOHN ROUSE

LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

(On a lost volume of my poems which he asked me to send him a second time that he might place it with my other works in the public library.)

Strophe 1

Two fold book rejoicing in a single dress, yet with a double paging, and bright with an unstudied elegance which in time past a youthful hand imparted—a diligent hand but hardly that of one overmuch a poet—while the author wandering dallied now through the Ausonian shades, now over the British greenswards, ignorant of his people and aloof while he gave himself up to his native lute, and so anon with Daunian quill sounded his foreign strain to those about him, and scarce touched the ground with his foot.

Antistrophe

Little book, who slyly stole you from your remaining fellows, when at my learned friend's continued requests you were proceeding upon your illustrious journey, sent from the city

Docto iugiter obsecrante amico,
Illustre tendebas iter
Thamesis ad incunabula
Caerulei patris
Fontes ubi limpidi
Aonidum, thyasusque sacer,
Orbi notus per immensos
Temporum lapsus redeunte caelo
Celeberque futurus in aevum?

Strophe 2.

Modo quis deus, aut editus deo,
Pristinam gentis miseratus indolem—
Si satis noxas luimus priores,
Mollique luxu degener otium—
Tollat nefandos civium tumultus,
Almaque revocet studia sanctus,
Et relegatas sine sede Musas
Iam paene[1] totis finibus Angligenum,
Immundasque volucres
Unguibus imminentes
Figat Apollinea pharetra,
Phineamque abigat pestem procul amne Pegaseo?

Antistrophe

Quin tu, libelle, nuntii licet mala
Fide, vel oscitantia,
Semel erraveris agmine fratrum,
Seu quis te teneat specus,
Seu qua te latebra, forsan unde vili
Callo tereris institoris insulsi,
Laetare felix; en! iterum tibi
Spes nova fulget posse profundam
Fugere Lethen, vehique superam
In Iovis aulam remige penna:

[1] pene.

to the cradle of Thames, cerulean father, where are the limpid fountains of the Muses, and where the sacred Bacchic dance is known to the world, and will for ever be famous while the heaven revolves through the endless lapse of time?

Strophe 2

Now what god or demigod, pitying the pristine genius of our race—if we have sufficiently atoned for our earlier faults and our ease, degenerate to the point of unmanly sloth—will put down this accursed strife among our citizens; and what divinity will call back fostering studies and the Muses now driven homeless from almost all the land of England; who with Apollo's quiver will transfix the unclean birds now threatening us with their talons; and who will drive the pest of Phineus far away from the river of Pegasus?

Antistrophe

But, little book, though by the bad faith or carelessness of my messenger you have wandered from the company of your brothers, whether some den or lurking-place now confines you, where perhaps you are rubbed by the vile callous hand of a stupid huckster, yet be happy and rejoice; lo! new hope may shine again for you to escape from the depths of Lethe and be lifted on oaring wing to the heavenly courts of Jupiter.

Strophe 3

Nam te Rousius sui
Optat peculi, numeroque iusto
Sibi pollicitum queritur abesse,
Rogatque venias ille, cuius inclyta
Sunt data virum monumenta curae;
Teque adytis etiam sacris
Voluit reponi, quibus et ipse praesidet
Aeternorum operum custos fidelis,
Quaestorque gazae nobilioris
Quam cui praefuit Ion,
Clarus Erechtheides,
Opulenta dei per templa parentis,
Fulvosque tripodas, donaque Delphica,
Ion Actaea genitus Creusa.

Antistrophe

Ergo tu visere lucos
Musarum ibis amoenos
Diamque Phoebi rursus ibis in domum
Oxonia quam valle colit,
Delo posthabita,
Bifidoque Parnassi iugo.
Ibis honestus,
Postquam egregiam tu quoque sortem
Nactus abis, dextri prece sollicitatus amici.
Illic legeris inter alta nomina
Authorum, Graiae simul et Latinae
Antiqua gentis lumina et verum decus.

Epodos

Vos tandem haud vacui mei labores,
Quicquid hoc sterile fudit ingenium.
Iam sero placidam sperare iubeo
Perfunctam invidia requiem, sedesque beatas
Quas bonus Hermes
Et tutela dabit solers Rousi,

Strophe 3

Rejoice, for Rouse, to whose care are entrusted the noble memorials of men, wishes you to be among his treasures; he complains that you are lacking from the full number promised him, and asks that you be sent. He wishes to place even you in the sacred inner chambers over which he himself presides, a faithful guardian of works eternal, a custodian of nobler treasures than the golden tripods and Delphic offerings over which Ion, illustrious son of Erectheus, had charge in the rich temple of his divine father—Ion, born of Athenian Creusa.

Antistrophe

Therefore you shall go to view the pleasant groves of the Muses; you shall go again to the divine home of Phoebus where he dwells in the vale of Oxford, a home which he prefers to Delos and the cloven peak of Parnassus. Honored shall you go, since a distinguished lot is yours, and you are solicited by my propitious friend. There you shall be read among the exalted names of authors who were the ancient lights and true glory of the Greek and Latin peoples.

Epode

You, then, my labors, whatever my poor talents have brought forth, were hardly in vain. And now at last I bid you hope for placid rest, when envy shall have spent itself, for the blest abodes which good Hermes and the watchful care of Rouse shall give

Quo neque lingua procax vulgi penetrabit, atque longe
Turba legentum prava facesset;
At ultimi nepotes,
Et cordatior aetas
Iudicia rebus aequiora forsitan
Adhibebit integro sinu.
Tum livore sepulto,
Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet
Rousio favente.

(Ode tribus constat strophis, totidemque antistrophis, una demum epodo clausis; quas, tametsi omnes nec versuum numero, nec certis ubique colis exacte respondeant, ita tamen secuimus, commode legendi potius, quam ad antiquos concinendi modos rationem spectantes. Alioquin hoc genus rectius fortasse dici monostrophicum debuerat. Metra partim sunt κατὰ σχέσιν, partim ἀπολελυμένα. Phaleucia quae sunt, spondaeum tertio loco bis admittunt, quod idem in secundo loco Catullus ad libitum fecit.)

you, where the coarse tongue of the vulgar shall never penetrate, and whence the crowd of uncouth readers shall ever be far off. But perhaps our remote descendants and an age of greater wisdom and purer heart will render fairer judgment on all things; then, thanks to Rouse, with envy in the tomb, a sane posterity will know if any merit is mine.

(The ode consists of three strophes and as many antistrophes, closed at the end with an epode. While the strophes do not precisely correspond in the number of verses, or everywhere tally in the response of *colon* to *colon*, nevertheless I have divided them as above with an eye to propriety of reading rather than to observance of the ancient rules of versification. Yet in other respects this type of poem ought perhaps more correctly to have been called monostrophic. The verses are in part κατὰ σχέσιν, in part ἀπολελυμένα. There are two Phalaeceans that admit a spondee in the third foot, a form that Catullus freely used in the second foot.)

NOTES

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

I. WORKS OF MILTON

Ad Pat.	*Ad Patrem*
An Apology	*An Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation*
Animadversions	*Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*
Apolog.	*Apologus de Rustico et Hero*
Arc.	*Arcades*
Areop.	*Areopagitica*
Chr. Doct.	*De Doctrina Christiana*
Church-Gov.	*The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelaty*
Circumcision	*Upon the Circumcision*
Damon.	*Epitaphium Damonis*
1 *Def.*	*Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*
2 *Def.*	*Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*
Divorce	*The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*
Education	*Of Education*
Eikon.	*Eikonoklastes*
Eleg. 1	*Elegia prima. Ad Carolum Diodatum*
Eleg. 2	*Elegia secunda, Anno aetatis 17. In obitum Praeconis Academici Cantabrigiensis*
Eleg. 3	*Elegia tertia, Anno aetatis 17. In obitum Praesulis Wintoniensis*
Eleg. 4	*Elegia quarta, Anno aetatia 18. Ad Thomam Iunium praeceptorem suum* [etc.]
Eleg. 5	*Elegia quinta, Anno aetatis 20. In adventum veris*
Eleg. 6	*Elegia sexta. Ad Carolum Diodatum ruri commorantem*

Eleg. 7	*Elegia septima, Anno aetatis undevigesimo*
Eleg. 7 (*add.*)	(Milton's postscript to *Elegia septima*)
Epist. Fam.	*Epistulae Familiares*
Hist. Brit.	*The History of Britain, that Part especially now called England*
Idea	*De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoleles intellexit*
Il. Pens.	*Il Penseroso*
Infant	*On the Death of a Fair Infant dying of a Cough*
Inv. Bomb.	*In Inventorem Bombardae*
L'Al.	*L'Allegro*
Leonor. 1	*Ad Leonoram Romae canentem*
Leonor. 2	*Ad eandem*
Leonor. 3	*Ad eandem*
Lyc.	*Lycidas*
Mansus	*Mansus*
Marchioness	*An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*
Music	*At a Solemn Music*
Nativity	*On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*
Natur.	*Naturam non pati senium*
Passion	*The Passion*
P.L.	*Paradise Lost*
P.R.	*Paradise Regained*
Praesul.	*Anno aetatis 17. In obitum Praesulis Eliensis*
Pr. Bomb. 1	*In Proditionem Bombardicam*
Pr. Bomb. 2	*In eandem*
Pr. Bomb. 3	*In eandem*
Pr. Bomb. 4	*In eandem*
Procan.	*Anno aetatis 16. In obitum Procancellarii medici*
Prolus.	*Auctoris prolusiones quaedam oratoriae*
Pro se Def.	*Auctoris pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum*
Q. Nov.	*In Quintum Novembris, Anno aetatis 17*
Reformation	*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England*
Rous.	*Jan. 23, 1646. Ad Ioannem Rousium Oxoniensis Academiae Bibliothecarium*

Salmas. 1	*In Salmasii Hundredam*
Salmas. 2	*In Salmasium*
Salsil.	*Ad Salsillum poetam Romanum aegrotantem. Scazontes*
S.A.	*Samson Agonistes*
Son.	*Sonnets*
Tenure	*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*
Vacation	*At a Vacation Exercise*

II. EDITIONS OF MILTON

Grierson	*The Poems of John Milton, English, Latin, Greek, and Italian*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson, London, 1925.
Hawkins	*The Poetical Works of John Milton, with Notes of various Authors*, ed. by Edward Hawkins, Oxford, 1824.
Jerram	*The Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis of Milton*, ed. by C. S. Jerram, London, 1881.
Keightley	*The Poems of John Milton*, ed. by Thomas Keightley, London, 1859.
Masson	*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. by David Masson, London, 1890.
Pr. W.	*The Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. by J. A. St. John, London, 1848–53.
Todd	*The Poetical Works of John Milton, with Notes of Various Authors*, ed. by Henry J. Todd, London, 1809.
Verity	*Paradise Lost*, ed. by A. W. Verity, Cambridge, 1910.

III. WORKS ON MILTON

Gilbert	*A Geographical Dictionary of Milton*, New Haven, 1919.
Langdon	*Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, New Haven, 1924.

Osgood	*The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*, New York, 1900.
Pommrich	*Milton's Verhältnis zu Torquato Tasso*, Halle, 1902.
Riley	*The Virgilian Element in the Works of Milton*. Cornell University doctoral dissertation, 1925. Typewritten manuscript in Cornell University Library.

TEXT

About the text of the Latin poems there is virtually no question. The present edition mainly follows the Oxford Miniature Edition of *The Poetical Works of John Milton, edited after the Original Texts* by H. C. Beeching, Oxford, 1904, pp. 201–304, with which I have compared the Oxford type-facsimile of *Milton's Poems of 1645*, Oxford, 1924, and Grierson's edition of *The Poems of John Milton*, London, 1925. The few changes I have made in spelling are all, I believe, duly indicated in foot-notes. Wherever perspicuity seemed to demand it, I have freely changed the punctuation.

EDITIONS

The Latin poems of Milton were twice published during his life: (1) *Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times. ... London, 1645*; (2) *Poems, &c. upon Several Occasions. By Mr. John Milton: Both English and Latin, &c. Composed at several times. ... London, 1673*. The edition of 1673 corrected certain minor errors in that of 1645, and added the *Apologus de Rustico et Hero*, and *Ad Ioannem Rousium*. For more than a century after Milton's death, the scholarly world allowed his minor poems, both English and Latin, to remain in comparative obscurity, until Thomas Warton published his edition: *Poems upon several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations, by John Milton... With Notes Critical and Explanatory*, London, 1785. An enlarged second edition appeared at London in 1791. In this work, as Warton explains, the Latin poems are 'for the first time accompanied with a series of notes of proportionably equal ex-

tent with that attached to the English text.' A few years later appeared *The Poetical Works of John Milton, with Notes of various Authors*... by Henry J. Todd, 6 vols., London, 1801. A second and a third edition appeared at London in seven and six volumes respectively in 1809 and 1826. In 1824 came *The Poetical Works of John Milton, with Notes of various Authors*, by Edward Hawkins, 4 vols., Oxford, 1824. The next edition in which the Latin poems were duly annotated was: *The Poems of John Milton, with Notes*, by Thomas Keightley, 2 vols., London, 1859. The last editor to provide the Latin poems with an approach to adequate annotation was Masson in the following: (1) *The Poetical Works of John Milton, edited with Introductions, Notes, and an Essay on Milton's English*, 3 vols., London, 1874; (2) *The Poetical Works of John Milton, with Introduction and Notes*, 2 vols., London, 1874 (Golden Treasury Ed.); (3) *The Poetical Works of John Milton, with Introductions*, London, 1877 (Globe Ed.); (4) *The Poetical Works of John Milton, edited with Memoir, Introductions, Notes, and an Essay on Milton's English and Versification*, 3 vols., London, 1890. Of subsequent reprints of Milton's poems, including the Latin, only the following need be mentioned: *The Poetical Works of John Milton, edited after the Original Texts*, by H. C. Beeching, Oxford, 1900; second or Oxford Miniature Edition, Oxford 1904; *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*, edited by W. V. Moody, Cambridge (Mass.), 1899; *The Poems of John Milton, English, Latin, Greek, and Italian, arranged in chronological order, with a Preface*, by H. J. C. Grierson, 2 vols., London, 1925; the Oxford type-facsimile of the poems of 1645—*Milton's Poems of 1645*, Oxford, 1924. Grierson's work gives a carefully repunctuated text of the Latin poems. The most valuable of the foregoing editions are those of Warton, Keightley, and Masson, who, though they may have left much for others to do, have yet by their pioneer efforts placed all succeeding editors under deep obligation; but probably the best work that has been done upon any of the Latin poems is to be found in *The Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis of Milton*, ed. by C. S. Jerram, London, 1874; second edition

London, 1881. Many other (so-called) editions might be listed; but, since they have been merely reprints of the text, and have contributed nothing to a better understanding of the poems, there is no reason for here including them.

TRANSLATIONS

William Cowper's *Latin and Italian Poems of Milton translated into English Verse* was posthumously published at London in 1808. See *Poet. Wks. of Cowper*, ed. by Milford, Oxford, 1907, pp. 579–621. Cowper's translations do not include the five poems on the Gunpowder Plot, the Salmasian epigrams, or the first poem addressed to Leonora, the matter and tone of which offended him. See p. 247. Washington, the translator of the *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, rendered *In Salmasii Hundredam* into English verse. See *Pr. W.* 1.169–70. Robert Fellowes in his translation of the *Defensio Secunda* gives a metrical version of *In Salmasium*. See *Pr. W.* 1.234. J. G. Strutt in 1814 published *The Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English Verse*. In *The Literary Examiner*, in August and September, 1823, there appeared translations by Leigh Hunt of *Idea* and *Leonor.* 1 entire, and of parts of *Eleg.* 4, *Eleg.* 5, and *Natur.* See *Poet. Wks. of Leigh Hunt*, ed. by Milford, 1923, pp. 429–33. Masson, in his *Life of Milton* (2d ed., 1881, 1894), gives the following abstracts and translations: *Eleg.* 1, verse (1.164–6); *Eleg.* 2, prose abstract (1.173); *Eleg.* 3, prose abstract (1.168); *Eleg.* 4, partial abstract in prose (1.185); *Eleg.* 5, part in prose (1.219); *Eleg.* 6, part prose abstract, part verse (1.227–8); *Eleg.* 7, prose (1.189–90); *Leonor.* 1–3, prose (1.804–5); *Salmas.* 1–2, verse (4 (1877). 266, 590); *Procan.*, prose abstract (1.172–3); *Q. Nov.*, verse (1.174–9); *Praesul.*, prose abstract (1.168–9); *Natur.*, verse (1.201–3); *Idea*, verse (1.305–6); *Ad. Pat.*, verse (1.334–7); *Salsil.*, prose (1.806–7); *Mansus*, verse (1.816–9); *Damon.*, verse (2.85–94). Of these translations, Masson reprints the following in his edition, *The Poetical Works of Milton* (1890): *Eleg.* 1.9–20 (1.258); *Eleg.* 6.55–66 (1.267); *Salmas.* 1–2 (1.334–6); *Q. Nov.* (1.283–9); *Natur.* (1.293–4); *Idea* (1.295); *Ad.*

Pat. (1.299–302); *Mansus* (1.312–5); *Damon.* (1.320–5). In the Cambridge Edition (Boston), the text of the Latin poems is accompanied in parallel columns by Moody's prose renderings, recently revised by Professor E. K. Rand. Of all the foregoing, the most skilful are the translations by Cowper; rarely, I think, has he failed of a correct apprehension of Milton's meaning; if he is to be reproached on any side it is that at times he has treated the original with too free an imagination. Strutt's work has virtually no merit, being neither close to the Latin, nor in itself good poetry. Leigh Hunt's translations, though much more worthy the name of poetry, fall short of the excellence attained by Cowper. Masson's chief merit is his fidelity to the original, a merit, which, however, occasionally produces awkwardness in expression. Nevertheless, although his work in the main lacks distinction, it is to be regretted that Masson did not translate all of the poems. Despite the fact that Moody's prose versions contain numerous inaccuracies, and in the matter of prose rhythm leave something to be desired, they are at their best very good. Rand's revision, which corrects Moody's errors, is still perhaps more staccato than it should be properly to represent the Miltonic manner; otherwise it is admirably accurate.

TITLE-PAGE (1645), line 9

Typis R. R. The 1645 edition of Milton's poems was published as two volumes bound in one, the Latin poems forming the second volume and having their own title-page, on which the printer's name is indicated only by initials. From the title-page at the front of the book, which serves for both volumes, we learn that R. R. was Ruth Raworth.

TITLE-PAGE (1645), line 10

Humphredum Moseley. On Humphrey Moseley, the bookseller, consult Masson, *Life* 6 (1880).400–3.

ELEGIARUM LIBER

ELEGIA I

This Elegy was apparently written in the Lent Term of the academic year 1625–6. See Introd., pp. 22–3.

1–2. *tabellae...charta.* Keightley objects that there is here a confusion of terms such as a Roman would not have made, since *tabellae* and *charta* evidently mean one and the same letter.

3. *occidua Devae Cestrensis ab ora.* The river Dee flows northward past the city of Chester into the Irish Sea, and forms part of the boundary between England and Wales. Spenser writes (*F.Q.* 4.11.39.3–4):

> And...Dee, which Britons long ygone
> Did call divine, that doth by Chester tend.

Cf. *Lyc.* 55; *Vacation* 98.

Cestrensis. An adjective derived from *Cester*, the Latin name of Chester. The city in Cheshire, as Camden notes (*Britain*, 1637, p. 604), derives its name from *castra*, because in Roman times the twentieth legion, named *Victrix*, was there encamped. The O. E. word *ceaster* means town; for its phonology see Sievers-Cook, *An Old English Grammar*, 3d ed., pp. 46–7.

On Diodati's residence in the vicinity of Chester, see *Introd.* p. 21. *Occidua ora*, 'western shore,' would indicate that he was not in Chester, which is on the east side of the Dee, but either in Flintshire or Denbighshire in Wales.

4. *Vergivium...salum.* The Vergivian, or Irish, Sea derives its name, according to Camden (*Ireland*, 1637, p. 61), 'not *a vergendo*, that is, of bending towards, as some are of opinion, but of *Mor-weridh*; for this name the Britons gave it; or else of Farigi, by which name the Irishmen call it.'

8. *Debet, at unde breve reddere iussa velit.* Reminiscent of Horace, *Carm.* 1.3.5–8:

> Navis, quae tibi creditum
> Debes Vergilium; finibus Atticis
> Reddas incolumem, precor,
> Et serves animae dimidium meae.

9–18. Johnson (*Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Hill, 1.88–9) has the following comment on these troublesome lines:

> It was, in the violence of controversial hostility, objected to him that he was expelled; this he steadily denies, and it was apparently not true; but it seems plain from his own verses to Diodati that he had incurred *rustication*, a temporary dismission into the country, with perhaps the loss of a term. ... I cannot find any meaning but this, which even kindness and reverence can give to the term *vetiti laris*, 'a habitation from which he is excluded,' or how *exile* can be otherwise interpreted. He declares yet more, that he is weary of enduring 'the threats of a rigorous master, and something else, which a temper like his cannot undergo.' What was more than threat was probably punishment. This poem, which mentions his *exile*, proves likewise that it was not perpetual, for it concludes with a resolution of returning some time to Cambridge. And it may be conjectured, from the willingness with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame.

On the subject of Milton's rustication see Introd. pp. 22–3, and Masson, *Life* 1 (1881). 159–61. But Coleridge did not believe that Milton was referring to a temporary rustication for some misdemeanor. At the bottom of the page on which lines 11 and 12 occur in his copy of Milton (Warton's edition of 1791, p. 421), now in the Harvard College Library, he wrote: 'I cannot agree with Warton. It seems to me far more probable that Diodati in a pedantic fit had called Milton's vacation an exile from the muses —and that Milton tacitly or [two words illegible] reproves his friend's [one word illegible]. But how Warton could have so utterly mistaken the sense of the 11 and 12 lines is astonishing.'

The controversy to which Johnson refers was that with Salmasius (see Introd., pp. 40–3), in the course of which there appeared at The Hague in August, 1652, the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Caelum*, a vitriolic book anonymously published—see Masson, *Life* 4 (1877). 453–69—and in this book (p. 9) the sentence: *Aiunt hominem Cantabrigiensi Academia ob flagitia pulsum dedecus et patriam fugisse, et in Italiam commigrasse.* But the statement of Anthony à Wood (*Fasti Oxon.*, ed by Bliss, 1.480) is counter to this: 'He left the university of his own accord, and was not expelled for misdemeanours, as his adversaries have said.'

9. *reflua...unda.* The Thames for a considerable distance from its mouth is affected by the tides. Milton's expression here may very well have been derived, as Warton suggests, from Ovid (*Met.* 7.267):

Et quas Oceani refluum mare lavit harenas.

11. *arundiferum...Camum.* The river Cam, or Granta, which flows through Cambridge, is a sluggish stream on whose banks grow water-plants. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.637:

Tibris harundiferum medio caput extulit alveo;

and *Lyc.* 103–4:

Next, Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,
His mantle hairy and his bonnet sedge.

12. *vetiti...laris.* The forbidden hearth. The context shows that Milton meant his room at Cambridge.

14. *Phoebicolis.* I have not found this word elsewhere. It is a compound of *Phoebus* and *colere*, to reverence or worship; cf. *caelicola, Christicola.* In the present instance it obviously means those who are pursuing poetry or any other art, since Phoebus Apollo was the god of music and poetry. Such a conception of him is at least as old as Homer (*Il.* 1.603; *Od.* 8.79), and is very frequent throughout the classics. Apollo in various aspects greatly interested Milton; in the Latin poems he appears at least thirty-five times. For the English poems consult Osgood, pp. 8–13.

Masson in his note on these lines quotes from Buchanan's elegy entitled *Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae* 61–2:

Quid memorem interea fastidia mille laborum,
Quae non ingenua mente ferenda putes?

17. *penates*. The old Latin gods of the household, and of the State as the union of households, whose seat originally was in Lavinium. They were worshiped in the interior of every house. See Cicero, *N.D.* 2.27; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., 2. 205–6. By transference, *penates* became a term for dwelling, home, or hearth. See Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 123. Cf. *Eleg.* 4. 85, and *Mansus* 54.

21–4. *O utinam vates*, etc. Ovid was the poet who was exiled to Tomis on the Black Sea. See note on *Eleg.* 6. 19. The exaggerated admiration for Ovid is no doubt more than Milton would have been willing seriously to acknowledge.

Ionio...Homero. According to the general tradition of antiquity Homer was a native of Ionia. See note on *Mansus* 22–3.

25. *placidis...Musis*. It is possible to distinguish six senses in which Milton uses the terms Muse or Muses in the Latin poems: (1) A poet or poets, as in *Eleg.* 1. 69–70; *Eleg.* 6.22; *Mansus* 27. (2) Poetic inspiration, *Eleg.* 5.30; 6.41; 7.45; *Ad Pat.* 5. (3) Poetry, *Eleg.* 1.25; 6.3; *Damon.* 13; *Ad Pat.* 56. (4) A particular type of verse, *Salsil.* 1. (5) The arts in general, *Damon.* 126; *Rous.* 31. (6) The Muses in the more strictly mythological sense, *Mansus* 2,9; *Damon.* 1; *Rous.* 62. Consult Osgood, pp. 56–8. Hesiod gives the names of the Muses in *Theog.* 77–9; their respective functions were, however, a later development.

27–46. For other references to the drama in Milton, see *Education*, *Pr. W.* 3.473; *Church-Gov.* 2, *Pr. W.* 3.114; *An Apology*, *Pr. W.* 3.106–8; *L'Al.* 125–34; and consult Mullinger, *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 43.

27. *Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri*. Cf. Ovid, *A.A.* 1.89–90:

Sed tu praecipue curvis venare theatris,
Haec loca sunt voto fertiliora tuo;

and *L'Al.* 131:

Then to the well-trod stage anon.

29–36. Warton remarks that the comedies hinted at in these lines are rather Terentian than those of the contemporary English stage; but since Milton clearly means plays seen on the stage, and not what he might read at home, as in *Il. Pen.* 99–102, the Terentian attributes are used to signify English plays.

31–2. Warton took these lines as an allusion to a Latin play by Ruggle, entitled *Ignoramus*, which, however, probably was not produced in London. Mullinger (*Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 40) in discussing dramatic performances at Cambridge, says: 'One play, for instance, entitled *Ignoramus*, written by Ruggle, a fellow of Clare, so captivated King James, that he is said to have visited Cambridge a second time in order to see it again.'

35–6. *Saepe novos*, etc. Compare Claudian, *Nupt. Hon. Epith.* 3–4:

Nec novus unde calor, nec quid suspiria vellent,
Noverat incipiens, et adhuc ignarus amandi;

and Ovid, *Met.* 4.329–30:

Pueri rubor ora notavit;
Nescit enim, quid amor; sed et erubuisse decebat.

37–8. *Sive cruentatum furiosa Tragoedia*, etc. Compare *Il Pens.* 97–8:

Some time let gorgeous Tragedy
In sceptred pall come sweeping by.

Warton quotes Ovid, *Am.* 3.1.11–13:

Venit et ingenti violenta Tragoedia passu:
Fronte comae torva, palla iacebat humi;
Laeva manus sceptrum late regale movebat;

Tr. 2.553:

Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale cothurnis;

and *Ep. ex P.* 4.16.9:

Quique dedit Latio carmen regale Severus.

40. *lacrymis dulcis amaror inest.* Compare Catullus 68ª.18:

Quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem.

41–2. *puer infelix indelibata reliquit Gaudia.* The *puer infelix* is perhaps Shakespeare's Romeo, although, as Warton observed, Romeo's joys were hardly to be called *indelibata.*

43–4. *Seu ferus e tenebris iterat Styga criminis ultor,* etc. Commonly interpreted as a reference to *Hamlet,* the *ferus ultor* being taken as the ghost of Hamlet's father; it might, however, refer to the ghost of Banquo in *Macbeth.*

Styga. The Styx was the chief river of the lower world. See Virgil, *Aen.* 6.369, 384 ff; *Georg.* 1.243; Dante, *Inf.* 7.100–8. Cf. *P.L.* 2.574–86; 3.14; *Eleg.* 2.9; 4.95; *Pr. Bomb.* 4.2; *Procan.* 8; *Natur.* 31. Consult Osgood, pp. 72–3.

45–6. *Seu maeret Pelopeia domus,* etc. To the house of Pelops belonged Thyestes, Atreus, and Agamemnon, with his children Orestes, Iphigenia, and Electra. Their several stories are told in the Orestean trilogy of Aeschylus—the *Agamemnon, Choëphoroe,* and *Eumenides*—and in the *Electra* of Sophocles, the *Electra,* the *Iphigenia in Aulis,* and the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. Ilus was king of Troy, and the sorrows of his house are told by Euripides in the *Hecuba* and the *Troades.* The story of Creon and his house is told by Sophocles in the two plays of *Oedipus* and the *Antigone.* Under the disguise of these classical allusions there may be concealed references to historical plays of Shakespeare, as *Richard III.*

48. *Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.* Compare *Eleg.* 5.138:

Qua potes, et sensim tempora veris eant;

and Ovid, *Fasti* 2.150:

et primi tempora veris eunt.

49–50. *Nos quoque lucus habet*, etc. Warton thinks that the elm was Milton's favorite tree. Cf. *L'Al.* 58; *Comus* 354; *Damon.* 15; *P. L.* 5.216. See *Eleg.* 7.51–2 and note.

51–2. *blandas spirantia sidera*, etc. Probably reminiscent of Ovid, *A.A.* 1.59:

> Quot caelum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas.

53. *Ah quoties dignae*, etc. Cf. *Eleg.* 7.51–6.

56. *Atque faces quotquot volvit uterque polus.* The *faces* are the stars. *Uterque polus*; cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 2.15.63: *Terra a verticibus duobus, quos appelaverunt polos, centrum caeli nec non et signiferi est oblique inter eos siti.* For *polus* in the sense of heaven, see Virgil, *Aen.* 3.586; 5.721; Horace, *Carm.* 1.28.6.

57. *Collaque bis vivi Pelopis quae brachia vincant.* Tantalus killed and boiled his son Pelops as a feast for the gods, but they, knowing what was done, did not partake of the food, except Demeter, who ate a piece of one shoulder. The gods ordered Hermes to restore Pelops to life by boiling him a second time. When Clotho drew him from the cauldron, the part that Demeter had eaten was lacking. A piece of ivory was then made to take its place. See Pindar, *Ol.* 1.35–51; Hyginus, *Fab.* 83; Virgil, *Georg.* 3.7; Ovid, *Met.* 6.404–5.

58. *tincta via.* The Milky Way, the *lacteus circulus*. See Pliny, *N. H.* 18.29.280; Aratus, *Phaen.* 473–9. Cf. *Praesul* 60: *lacteas... plagas.*

60. *Amor.* Osgood (p. 25) says: 'In the frequent use which Milton makes of this divinity, he follows the later conception of Love as a sportive, winged boy, armed with the bow, arrows, and firebrands. This is especially true of his Latin poems, in which distinct marks of Ovid's influence are evident.' See Ovid, *Met.* 1.456–76. For descriptions of Cupid see Moschus 1; Propertius 2.2. Cf. *Eleg.* 4.70; 5.76, 97; 6.52; 7.3–4; *Damon.* 191–7. See note on *Eleg.* 7.3–12.

62. *et ipse tui floris, Adoni, rubor.* The love of Venus and Adonis is told by Ovid in *Met.* 10.503–739. After the death of Adonis,

Venus caused a red flower, the anemone, to spring from his blood (*Met.* 10.735–9).

64. *vagum...Iovem.* A reference to the intrigues of Jove, such as that with Ceres, Demeter, who bore him Proserpina (Hesiod, *Theog.* 912). Cf. *P. L.* 9.396.

65. *Achaemeniae turrita fronte puellae. Achaemeniae, i.e.*, Persian, is derived from Achaemenes, the name of the ancestor of the old Persian kings. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.212. 'The women of this country wear a high head-dress,' says Warton, and cites Sandys' *Travels*, 7th ed., 1673, p. 54; but Sandys is speaking of Turkish women. Compare Spenser, *F.Q.* 4.11.28.4–6:

> Old Cybele, arayd with pompous pride,
> Wearing a diademe embattild wide
> With hundred turrets, like a turribant.

The original for both Milton and Spenser probably was Ovid, *Fasti* 6.321:

> Turrigera frontem Cybele redimita corona.

But see also Virgil, *Aen.* 6.785–6.

66. *Et quot Susa colunt, Memnoniamque Ninon.* Susa, the Scriptural Shushan, and modern Sus or Shush, was the chief city of ancient Susiana. According to Strabo (15.3.2), it was founded by Tithonus, father of Memnon, 'for whom the citadel is called Memnonian.' Herodotus (5.53; 8.99) refers to Susa as the 'palace of Memnon.' Milton has thus confused Susa and Nineveh, or Ninos, an Assyrian city on the banks of the Tigris. See Diodorus Siculus 2.3; Jonah 3.3; 2 Kings 19.36.

67 *Vos etiam Danaae fasces submittite nymphae.* Danaus, Δάναος, son of Belus and twin-brother of Aegyptus, was the father of fifty daughters; he emigrated to Greece, and there founded Argos. The noun *Danaus* is used as an adjective meaning Greek. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13.92: *Danaas classes.* Keightley objects to *fasces submittite*, because 'the *fasces* were peculiar to the lictors of consuls and praetors, and it is quite improper to ascribe them to ladies.' But *fasces* may be used in a figurative sense, as in Virgil,

Georg. 2.495; Cicero (*Brut.* 6.22) has *cum tibi aetas nostra iam cederet fascisque submitteret. Fasces submittere* means to give place, or admit one's inferiority.

68. *Et vos Iliacae, Romuleaeque nurus. Iliacus*, Trojan, from *Ilium*, a poetical name for Troy (Virgil, *Aen.* 2.117); *Romulea*, Roman, from *Romulus*, the name of the founder of Rome (*Aen.* 8.654).

69–70. *Nec Pompeianas Tarpeia Musa columnas Iacet.* The Tarpeian Muse is Ovid, whose home was near the Capitoline hill, on the side of which was the Tarpeian rock. See Ovid, *Tr.* 1.3.29–30. *Pompeianas columnas* refers to Pompey's porch, a colonade built in 55 B.C. near the theatre of Pompey in the Campus Martius. It was a fashionable rendezvous. See Ovid, *A.A.* 1.67, 491; Propertius 2.32.11; 4.8.75; Catullus 55.6. Ovid, however, particularly recommended the theatres (*A.A.* 1.89–90):

Sed tu praecipue curvis venare theatris,
Haec loca sunt voto fertiliora tuo.

70. *Ausoniis...stolis.* The adjective *Ausonius*, from *Ausonia*, a name of Italy in poetic use during the classical period (Virgil, *Aen.* 3.477), is derived from *Ausones*, the name of one of the ancient tribes of central Italy.

The *stola* was a long upper garment worn by Roman matrons (Ovid, *Tr.* 2.252; Statius, *Sil.* 1.2.235; Valerius Maximus 6.1). Consult Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* 4.1521–2. Coleridge in his copy of Milton (see note on lines 9–18 above) has the following comment on line 70: 'Remarkable, that a man of so fine an ear as Milton should have endured a short syllable before *st*— theatra *st*olis.'

73. *Tuque urbs Dardaniis, Londinum, structa colonis.* A reference to the legend that England was settled by Brutus, grandson of Aeneas, and a band of Trojan colonists. See Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, trans. by Forrester, 1853, p. 9; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *British History*, in *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. by Giles, 1848, p. 106; Nennius, *History of the Britons*, *ibid.*, pp. 386–8; Layamon's *Brut* 1931–51 (ed. by Madden 1.82–3); Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1807,

1.437–8; Camden, *Britain*, 1637, p. 5. See also *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr.W.* 5.168–73; *Q. Nov.* 2; *Damon.* 162.

74. *Turrigerum late conspicienda caput.* Nearly contemporary pictures, such as the frontispiece of Sam Howel's *Londinopolis*, 1657, evince the accuracy of Milton's description of the city of London, which would be noticeable from a distance because of its many church-towers. Virgil (*Aen.* 10.253) has *turrigeraeque urbes*. Cf. *L.Al.* 117:

Towered cities please us then.

76. *pendulus orbis.* Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1.12–3:

Nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus
Ponderibus librata suis;

and Shakespeare, *Meas.* 3.1.126. See also *Procan.* 3; *P.L.* 2.1052; 4.1000.

77–80. *Non tibi tot caelo scintillant*, etc. An expansion of Ovid, *A.A.* 1.59. See note on lines 51–2 above.

81–2. *Creditur huc geminis*, etc. Doves were sacred to Venus (Ovid, *Met.* 15.386; Hyginus, *Fab.* 197). The *pharetrigero milite* is Cupid; see note on line 60 above.

83–4. *Huic Cnidon*, etc. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.15–6:

Quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Posthabita coluisse Samo.

Cnidos, a city of Caria, was famed for its temple of Venus (Horace, *Carm.* 3.28.13–15). The river Simois, rising on Mount Ida, flowed through the plain of Troy (Homer, *Il.* 5. 774, 777). Venus was favorable to Troy because Trojan Paris, on Ida, awarded to her the apple for the fairest goddess (Virgil, *Aen.* 1.27; Apollodorus, ed. by Frazer, 2.172–3 and note). Paphos, a city of Cyprus, was also famed for its temple of Venus (Horace, *Carm.* 1.30.1).

87–8. *malefidae infamia Circes Atria.* Circe the evil enchantress, daughter of the Sun, dwelt on the island of Aeaea. When Odysseus came to her halls, half of his followers were turned to swine. He recovered them only with the aid of Hermes (Homer, *Od.* 10.133–574; Ovid, *Met.* 14. 242–435). Cf. *Comus* 46–53. *Malefidus.* In classical Latin written *male fidus.*

89. *Stat.* Here used impersonally; cf. Terence, *Eun.* 2.1.18; Ovid, *Met.* 8.67; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.750. Compare this and the following line with lines 11–20 above.

92. *alternos...modos.* Alternate hexameters and pentameters, the elegiac metre.

ELEGIA II

1. *baculo fulgente.* The sign of the beadle's office is the mace which is carried in academic processions, and hence the name Esquire Beadle, *Armiger Bedellus.* The University of Cambridge still possesses four silver-gilt maces, three for Esquire Beadles, presented by the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, the year this poem was written, and one for a Yeoman Beadle. The Esquire's maces are engraved with the royal arms, the arms of the University, and the arms, crest, and badge of the donor, and have each three mottoes from the Vulgate. Consult Humphry, *On the Maces of the Esquire Bedells,* in *Com. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* 21 (1881). 207–18.

2. *Palladium...gregem.* Pallas Athene, corresponding to the Roman Minerva, was the goddess of war and wisdom, poetry, and the arts and sciences (*Hom. Hy. to Athena* 28; Horace, *Ars Poetica* 385). Hence the appropriateness of calling the members of a university a 'Palladian band.' Cf. *Procan.* 33.

3. *praeconum praeconem.* The Latin equivalent of beadle is *praeco,* a crier, herald, or summoner, although *bedellus* frequently occurs in old documents. See Stokes, *Esquire Bedells of Cambridge,* in *Pub. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* 45 (1911). 15.

4. *Mors.* See note on *Praesul.* 31–4. Cf. *Eleg.* 3.6; *Procan.* 5; *Praesul.* 17; *P.L.* 2.666–703.

5. *licet.* When used to introduce a subordinate proposition, the verb *licet* becomes a conjunction like *quamvis* and *quamquam,* and is construed, as here, with the subjunctive; in later Latin (*e.g.,* Apuleius) it is construed with the indicative as below, *Mansus* 58.

5–6. *Candidiora licet,* etc. When Jove consorted with Leda, the mother of Castor and Pollux, he assumed the form of a swan

(Apollodorus 3.10.7; Pausanias 3.16.1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 77; Ovid, *Met.* 6.109). Warton quotes Ovid, *Tr.* 4.8.1:

Iam mea cycneas imitantur tempore plumas;

and *Her.* 8.67–8:

Non ego fluminei referam mendacia cygni
Nec querar in plumis delituisse Iovem.

Cf. Spenser, *Proth.* 42–4.

7–8. *O dignus tamen Haemonio...succo.* Ovid (*Met.* 7.251–93) tells how Medea filled the veins of aged Aeson with her youth-giving potion made from roots, seeds, flowers, and the like, culled in the valleys of Haemonia, as Thessaly was poetically called, and restored his youth. Cf. *Comus* 638; *Mansus* 75.

9–10. *Stygiis...ab undis.* See note on *Eleg.* 1. 43–4.

Coronides. Aesculapius, the god of medicine, was the son of Apollo and Coronis, and hence was called Coronides. See Ovid, *Fasti* 6.746–8; *Met.* 15.624–5.

12. *Phoebo...tuo.* The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

13. *Cyllenius.* Hermes, or Mercury, the messenger of the gods, was born on Cyllene, a mountain in Arcadia (*Hom. Hy. to Hermes* 1–2; Apollodorus 3.10.2). Keightley could find no instance of Hermes being sent to the palace of Priam, but it is to be found in Homer, *Il.* 24.334–57. To be sure, the actual meeting between Hermes and Priam took place, not in the palace, but on the plain outside Troy.

14. *aetheria...arce.* Ovid in speaking of the heavens uses the same term in *Tr.* 5.3.19. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.250; *P. L.* 1.742; 2.62, 343.

15–6. *Talis et Eurybates*, etc. Eurybates was one of the 'heralds and nimble squires' of Agamemnon, or Atrides, who were sent to the tent of Achilles to bring to their lord the Trojan woman, Briseis, of whom, during the siege of Troy, Achilles had gained possession (Homer, *Il.* 1.320–5; Ovid, *Her.* 3).

17. *satelles Averni.* The attendant of Avernus was Death. Similarly Charon is called *satelles Orci* in Horace, *Carm.* 2.18.34.

18. *Musis.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

Palladi. See note on line 2 above.

19. *pondus inutile terrae?* A translation of Homer, *Il.* 18.104: ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης.

21. *Academia.* Masson remarks that here, and in the postscript to *Eleg.* 7, the penult of this word, 'against the usual practice,' is short.

22. *Et madeant lacrymis nigra feretra tuis.* An allusion, Todd says, to the custom of affixing verses to the pall. *Lacrymis tuis* are the funeral poems; cf. *Lyc.* 14; *Marchioness* 55.

23. *Elegeia.* The commoner spelling is *elegia*, but Ovid uses *elegeia*, and personifies it, as Milton here does, in *Am.* 3.9.3; cf. *Her.* 15.7.

ELEGIA III

3–8. *subiit funestae cladis imago*, etc. In 1625 and 1626 a plague ravaged England, and in London and its vicinity no fewer than thirty-five thousand persons are said to have died (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 1682, p. 2; Gardiner, *Hist. Eng.*, *1624-8*, 1.188, 222). Cf. *Infant* 68.

4. *Libitina.* The ancient Italian goddess of corpses, in whose temple everything appertaining to burials was sold or rented, and where the registers of deaths were kept. Because of her association with death, the poets used her name to signify Death (Horace, *Carm.* 3.30.7; *Sat.* 2.6.19; Juvenal 12.122).

6. *sepulchrali...face.* Compare Ovid, *Her.* 2.120:

Suntque sepulchrali lumina mota face.

Mors. See note on *Praesul.* 31–4; cf. *Eleg.* 2.4; 3.16; *Procan.* 5; *Praesul.* 17; *P.L.* 2.666–703.

7. *Pulsavitque.* Compare Horace, *Carm.* 1.4.13–14:

Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
Regumque turris.

8. *satrapum. Satrapes*, Greek, σατράπης, a word of Persian origin, properly means the governor of a province.

9–10. *Tunc memini clarique ducis*, etc. Lord Hailes suggested to Warton the most satisfactory identifications of the persons al-

luded to in these lines. The *clarus dux* was Christian, Duke of Brunswick (1599–1626), who was chivalrously devoted to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and wife of the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate. He fought on the Protestant side in the early part of the Thirty Years' War, which had been in progress for eight years when Milton wrote this poem. He was a coarse, merciless man, and called himself 'Gottes Freund, Pfaffen Feind.' See *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 6.279.

The *frater verendus*, according to Lord Hailes, was Count Ernest of Mansfeld (1580–1626), brother of Christian of Brunswick only in the sense of brother in arms, a Roman Catholic who allied himself with the Protestant princes in the Thirty Years' War. Both Mansfeld and Christian died in 1626. Consult Gardiner, *Hist. Eng.*, *1624-8*, 1.58, 105–6, 112; 2.124.

11–12. *heroum...raptos*. Taking a suggestion from Lord Hailes, mentioned in the preceding note, Masson says, 'the "*heroes rapti*" and "*amissi duces*"...lamented by all Belgia, may...include Henry Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, who died at the siege of Breda in 1625. He was a relative of the more celebrated Sir Horace Vere, on whom, and his English troops, much of the hard work in the Palatinate had rested from 1620 to 1624, but who had returned to England in this latter year—to be created Baron of Tilbury in 1625—and may therefore count also among the "*amissi duces*" of the Low Countries at that epoch.'

16. *Mors fera*. See note on *Praesul*. 31–4.

Tartareo...Iovi. Pluto, or Hades, son of Cronos and brother of Zeus and Poseidon, ruler of the under-world (Homer, *Il.* 15.187–92). In *Il.* 9.158–9 Hades 'is not to be softened neither overcome, and therefore is he hatefullest of all gods to mortals.' 'Tartarean Jove' may be Milton's variation upon the 'Stygian Jove'—*Iovi Stygio*—of Virgil (*Aen.* 4.638). Cf. *Natur.* 31.

In Homer (*Il.* 8.13) and in Hesiod (*Theog.* 721–819) Tartarus is represented as a region of mist and darkness, but not of fire. Hesiod places it as far beneath the earth as heaven is high above. Osgood remarks (p. 81) that 'Tartarus proper is not represented

as fiery,... though such an idea is not strange in view of such general representations of Hades as are found in Virgil, *Aen.* 6.240; Sil. Ital. 13.570. The fiery river of Phlegethon would reinforce this idea.' An examination of Virgil and Silius Italicus, however, will show that the fires of Tartarus are confined to Phlegethon. Milton does not make this limitation. See *P.L.* 6.53–5:

> the gulf
> Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
> His fiery chaos to receive their fall;

and cf. *P.L.* 2.69, 858; 7.238.

In the Latin poems (*Eleg.* 5.20; *Pr. Bomb.* 3.11; *Q. Nov.* 35, 161) Tartarean means nothing more than infernal or hellish, and is the application of classical imagery to a Christian concept (cf. note on *Q. Nov.* 35); but see *Praesul.* 43–4.

18. *Et quod in herbosos ius tibi detur agros.* Todd suggests that the line may be reminiscent of Rev. 6.8: 'And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over a fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.'

21. *contermina quercus.* As Warton observed, *conterminus* is a favorite word with Ovid; see *Met.* 8.620: *tilae contermina quercus;* and cf. *Met.* 1.774; 4.90; 8.553; *Ep. ex P.* 4.6.45; *Fasti* 2.55.

22. *Miretur lapsus praetereuntis aquae.* Warton considers this 'a licentious fiction.' When the ingrafted tree in Virgil, (*Georg.* 2.82), he says, 'wonders at its foreign leaves and fruits not its own, the preternatural novelty, producing the wonder, justifies the boldness of attributing this affection to a tree. In the present instance, it was not wonderful nor extraordinary that a stream should flow, or flow perpetually. The conceit is that an oak should wonder at this.' Warton's objection would be justified if we were obliged to translate *mirari*, 'wonder at,' but we may

translate it 'gaze at.' Todd noticed that the line may be reminiscent of Buchanan's elegy, *Maiae Calendae* 60:

Nunc strepitum captat praetereuntis aquae.

23. *liquido...caelo.* 'The Roman poets never, we believe,' says Keightley, 'termed *caelum* "*liquidum*" '; but see Ovid, *Met.* 1.23:

Et liquidum spisso secrevit ab aere caelum.

26. *Proteos antra pecus.* A reference to the seals, or sea-calves, of Neptune, which Proteus herded (Homer, *Od.* 4.410 ff.; Virgil, *Georg.* 4.387–95; Horace, *Carm.* 1.2.7; and cf. *Damon.* 99; *P.L.* 3.604).

30. *Semideamque animam sede fugasse sua?* Cf. *Infant* 21:

Unhoused thy virgin soul from her fair biding-place.

31. *alto sub pectore volvo.* Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 7.254:

Et veteris Fauni volvit sub pectore sortem;

and see *Praesul.* 19; *Natur.* 3; *P.R.* 1.185.

32. *Roscidus...Hesperus.* To the ancients Hesperus was the evening star. Consult Osgood, pp. 42–3. The epithet *roscidus* is applied to Hesperus by Ovid in *Fasti* 2.314.

33. *Tartessiaco...aequore.* Tartessus was a very ancient maritime city of Spain, now El Rocadillo, near S. Roque; and hence Tartessius and Tartessiacus were used in the sense of Spanish, and *Tartessiacum aequor* means the western or Atlantic ocean; see Ovid, *Met.* 14.416; Buchanan, *De Sphaera* 1.444, 626; cf. *Eleg.* 5.83. In *Comus* 97 Milton at first wrote 'Tartessus,' but substituted 'Atlantic.'

34. *Phoebus.* On Phoebus Apollo as the sun-god, consult Osgood, pp. 11–13, and cf. *Eleg.* 1.14 and note.

36. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* 4.496.

39. Compare Ovid, *Fasti* 6.252–3.

41. *Thaumantia proles.* Iris, daughter of Thaumas and Electra (Hesiod, *Theog.* 265–6). For Iris as the personified rainbow see Ovid, *Met.* 11.589–90; Virgil, *Aen.* 4.700–1; cf. *Comus* 992–8.

43–4. *Non dea tam variis*, etc. Ovid tells the story of Zephyrus and Chloris, otherwise Flora, in *Fasti* 5.195–378; cf. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 15.57; *P.L.* 5.16; *Eleg.* 4.35.

In *P.L.* 5.340–1 and 9.441, Milton compares the Garden of Eden to the Garden of Alcinous (Homer, *Od.* 6.292–4). For gardens in Milton's time see Bacon's essay *Of Gardens*, and Marvell's poem *Hortus*.

45. *Flumina vernantes lambunt argentea campos*. Compare *P.L.* 4.237–8:

> the crisped brooks,
> Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold;

and *P.L.* 7.437–8:

> Others, on silver lakes and rivers, bathed
> Their downy breast.

46. *Hesperio . . . arena Tago*. The river Tagus in Spain and Portugal was known for its golden sand, mentioned by Ovid (*Met.* 2.251) in the course of his description of the effects upon various rivers of Phaethon's fiery journey through the heavens; cf. *P.L.* 4.237.

47–8. *Serpit odoriferas per opes levis aura Favoni*, etc. Favonius is another name for Zephyrus, the West Wind, which Homer speaks of as soft and cool (*Od.* 4.567); by the Roman poets it was regarded as the gentle harbinger of spring (Virgil, *Georg.* 1.43–4; Horace, *Carm.* 4.7.8); cf. *P.L.* 4.329; 5.16, and *Son.* 17.6–7). Compare the present passage with *P.L.* 4.156–9:

> Now gentle gales,
> Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
> Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
> Those balmy spoils.

Warton quotes Shakespeare, *Cymbeline* 4.2.171–3:

> They are as gentle
> As zephyrs, blowing below the violet,
> Not wagging his sweet head.

Cf. Spenser, *Proth.* 1–4.

49. *Gangetidis*. The river Ganges in India here represents the extreme east; it has the same force in *P.L.* 9.82; cf. Dante, *Par.* 11.51.

50. *Luciferi regis...domus*. *Lucifer rex* is not, as Warton supposed, the Lucifer of *Paradise Lost*, whose origin as Satan may be traced to Is. 14.12, but the 'bearer of light,' the Sun (Pliny, *N.H.* 2.8.36; Hyginus, *Astr.* 2.42; Homer, *Il.* 23.226). This interpretation agrees with *in extremis terrae Gangetidis oris* of the preceding line, as Warton found it difficult to make his interpretation agree, since in *P.L.* 5.752 the palace of Lucifer is at 'the limits of the North.' See Ovid's description of the palace of the Sun in *Met.* 2.1–18.

51–52. *Ipse racemiferis*, etc. Gardens and groves do not appear in Ovid's description of the palace of the Sun (see preceding note), but Keightley suggests that Milton may have had in mind the gardens of the Sun in Claudian, *Laud. Stil.* 2.467–76.

54. *Sidereum nitido fulsit in ore iubar*. After Moses had talked with God 'the skin of his face shone' (Ex. 34.29–35).

59. *Agmina gemmatis plaudunt caelestia pennis*. Keightley quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 6.644:

> Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.

Warton gives two passages from Ovid—*R.A.* 39:

> movit Amor gemmatas aureus alas;

and *Am.* 1.2.41:

> Tu pinnas gemma, gemma variante capillos.

61. *Quisque novum amplexu*, etc. Compare *Lyc.* 178–81:

> There entertain him all the saints above,
> In solemn troops and sweet societies,
> That sing, and, singing, in their glory move,
> And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes;

and *Damon.* 215–9; *Ad. Pat.* 31–3.

63–4. '*Nate veni, et patrii felix*,' etc. Compare Rev. 14.13.

65. *aligerae tetigerunt nablia turmae*. Compare Rev. 14.2

67. *Cephaleia pellice.* Aurora, or Dawn, according to Apollodorus (3.14.3; 1.9.4) was enamoured of Cephalus, son of Deion and husband of Procris, and carried him off. Servius (*ad Aen.* 6.445) explains that Cephalus was in the habit of hunting on Hymettus, and implies that Aurora was wont to see him there.

ELEGIA IV

1. *Curre per immensum,* etc. Warton compares this with Ovid, *Tr.* 3.7.1–2:

> Vade salutatum, subito perarata, Perillam,
> Littera, sermonis fida ministra mei!

3. *Segnes rumpe moras.* Quoted, as Keightley noticed, from Virgil, *Georg.* 3.42–3.

5–6. *Sicanio fraenantem carcere ventos Aeolon.* Milton here is indebted to Ovid, *Met.* 14.224:

> Aeolon Hippotaden, cohibentem carcere ventos;

cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.52–4. See also *Lyc.* 96–7.

Sicania is a common name for Sicily (Ovid, *Met.* 5.464, 495); the adjective *Sicanius* is likewise common (Virgil, *Aen.* 8.328; Ovid, *Met.* 15.279). The home of Aeolus was on the island of Lipara off the coast of Sicily; see *Aen.* 8.416–7:

> Insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque
> Erigitur Liparen.

6. *virides . . . deos.* Compare Ovid, *Tr.* 1.2.59:

> Pro superi viridesque dei.

7. *Caeruleamque suis comitatam Dorida Nymphis.* Doris was an Oceanid, the wife of Nereus, to whom she bore the Nereids, the nymphs to whom Milton here refers (Hesiod, *Theog.* 240–64; Apollodorus 1.2.6–7; Ovid, *Met.* 2.11–13). Apollonius Rhodius (4.842–61) represents the Nereids as favorable to mariners. Cf. *Lyc.* 99–100.

9–12. *At tu, si poteris,* etc. Ovid likewise wishes for the chariots of Triptolemus and Medea to enable him to revisit his friends; see *Tr.* 3.8.1–4:

Nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem consistere curru,
Misit in ignotam qui rude semen humum;
Nunc ego Medeae vellem frenare dracones,
Quos habuit fugiens arce, Corinthe, tua;

cf *Met.* 5.648–9:

Iam super Europen sublimis et Asida terram
Vectus erat iuvenis: Scythicas advertitur oras.

After the murder of her children Medea fled from her husband in a chariot drawn by winged dragons sent her by her 'father's sire, the Sun' (Euripides, *Medea* 1314–6). Horace (*Epod.* 16.58) calls her *impudica Colchis*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.300–1, 348.

Apollodorus (1.5.1–2) tells how Demeter at Eleusis gave to Triptolemus, son of Celeus and Metanira, a chariot of winged dragons, and wheat, 'with which, wafted through the sky, he sowed the whole inhabited earth.'

11. *queis*. Usually *quîs*, an archaic ablative plural of *qui*.

14–6. *Ditis ad Hamburgae moenia*, etc. Warton writes: 'Krantzius, a Gothic geographer, says that the city of Hamburg in Saxony took its name from Hama, a puissant Saxon champion, who was killed on the spot where that city stands, by Starchater, a Danish giant (*Saxonia* 1.11). The *Cimbrica clava* is the club of the Dane.'

18. *Christicolas*. Worshipers of Christ; used in poetry (see Prudentius, *Cath.* 3.56; 8.80); cf. *Phoebicolis*, *Eleg.* 1.14.

19–20. *Ille quidem est animae*, etc. In *Carm.* 1.3.8 Horace calls Virgil *animae dimidium meae*.

21–2. See note on *Damon.* 119–20.

23–4. *Carior ille mihi*, etc. The *doctissime Graium* is obviously Socrates, although Keightley is careful to remark that he was 'the wisest, not the most learned of the Greeks.' Alcibiades, as the son of Clinias, was called Cliniades (Ovid, *Ibis* 635). He traced his ancestry to Eurysaces, son of Ajax, who was the son of Telamon (Plato, *Alcib.* 1.121; Plutarch, *Alcib.* 1). In the *Symposium* and *Alcibiades* 1, Plato represents Socrates and Alcibiades as intimate friends.

25. *Quamque Stagirites generoso*, etc. Aristotle was born at Stagira, a seaport in Chalcidice, and hence was called a Stagirite (Diogenes Laertius 5.1). About 342 B.C. he became the teacher of Alexander the Great, then a boy of thirteen (Plutarch, *Alex.* 5, 10; Diogenes Laertius 5.6). Alexander was the son of Philip of Macedon and Olympias, daughter of the king of Epirus; but there are many stories that ascribe his paternity to Jupiter Ammon —*Lybicus Iuppiter* (Plutarch, *Alex.* 2). Cf. *P.L.* 9.508–9; *P.R.* 3.84.

27–8 *Qualis Amyntorides*, etc. Phoenix, son of Amyntor, having incurred the displeasure of his father, fled to Peleus, who made him ruler of the Dolopes, and entrusted to him the education of his son Achilles (Apollodorus 3.13.8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 257).

Philyreius. Philyreius, better known as Chiron, the centaur, was the son of Cronos and the nymph Philyra. He was a skilled physician and the tutor of Achilles and Aesculapius. Heracles accidentally gave him a mortal wound with one of his arrows poisoned with the blood of the Lernean hydra, or Chiron himself inadvertently inflicted the wound (Homer, *Il.* 11.832; Apollodorus 2.5.4; Ovid, *Met.* 2.649–52; *Fasti* 5.379–414; Hyginus, *Fab.* 138). Cf. *Procan.* 25; *Mansus* 60.

29. *Aonios...recessus*. Doubtless Milton means in the shades of Mount Helicon, a haunt of the Muses, not far from Parnassus. Ovid calls Helicon the 'Aonian peak' (*Met.* 7.763). Cf. *P.L.* 1.15. See note on *Ad Pat.* 75.

30. *bifidi...iugi*. Mount Parnassus in Phocis, at whose foot were Delphi and the Castalian spring, was celebrated as the haunt of Apollo and the Muses, and as an inspiring source of poetry and song. It is frequently spoken of by classical writers as 'double-headed,' from the fact that it has two peaks; so in Ovid, *Met.* 1.316–7:

> Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus,
> Nomine Parnasus, superantque cacumina nubes;

and in Lucan 5.72:

> Cardine Parnasos gemino petit aethera colle.

Cf. *Eleg.* 5.9; *Ad Pat.* 3; *Rous.* 66.

31. *Pieriosque...latices*. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 53–84; cf. *W.D.* 1), the Muses, daughters of Mnemosyne and Zeus, were born in Pieria, a district on the south-eastern coast of Macedonia, near Olympus. Mount Pierus was sacred to the Muses, and the waters of the adjacent spring were believed to afford poetic inspiration. See Ovid, *Am.* 3.9.25–6; Statius, *Sil.* 1.2.6; Tibullus 3.1.16; Pausanias 5.16.8. See also article *Pegasus* in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* 4.369.

32. *Castalio*. The Castalian spring at the foot of Parnassus was sacred to Apollo and the Muses, and those who drank of its waters were supposed to receive poetic inspiration. See Virgil, *Georg.* 3.293; Ovid, *Met.* 3.14; Horace, *Carm.* 3.4.61. Cf. *Eleg.* 5.9; *P.L.* 4.273–4: 'the inspired Castilian spring.'

33–8. This poem is dated *Anno Aetatis 18*, which, by analogy with Milton's dates of the second and third Elegies, we translate freely, 'At the age of eighteen'—that is, in 1627. The meaning of the astronomical allusions in lines 33–8 is that three vernal equinoxes, two summers, and two autumns have passed since Milton last saw Thomas Young. Counting back we are then brought to February or March, 1624–5, as the time of the last meeting. But in the first of Milton's *Epistulae Familiares*, which is to Young, and is dated March 26, 1625, Milton apologizes for not having written for more than three years. He also speaks with regret of Young's absence. It would thus appear that Young went abroad in 1622; but if that were the case, how does it happen that in February or March, 1624–5, Milton met Young, who did not finally return to England until 1628? Perhaps, as Masson suggests, he may have visited England in 1624–5, and saw Milton at that time; or perhaps, as others have thought, the date of the Elegy is incorrect.

Though the facts now available may not admit of a final answer to the perplexing problem, there is more to be said concerning the date of the Elegy. At the beginning of the *Epistula Familiaris*, Milton mentions a letter in verse which he had determined to write to his former tutor. This fact, combined with

the references to nearly the same amount of elapsed time in both the Elegy and the prose epistle, has led certain scholars to conclude that the Elegy is the letter in verse which Milton has accidentally misdated (Stern, *Milton und seine Zeit*, 1877, 1.30, 303, 310; Fletcher, *Milton and Thomas Young*, in *Times Lit. Sup.*, London, Jan. 21, 1926). But to this inference there are objections.

In the first place, as Grierson, in a reply to Fletcher, points out, the opening sentence of the prose letter does not 'state definitely that a poem had been written, only a resolve' (*Milton and Thomas Young*, in *Times Lit. Sup.*, London, Feb. 11, 1926). Furthermore, the amount of elapsed time, which Fletcher says is the same in the Elegy and the epistle, is not the same; in the Elegy it is a little more than two years, in the epistle more than three, *plusquam triennio*. Nor do the objections end here. If there be a mistake in dates, it is equally possible that the *Epistula* is antedated. Indeed, as Grierson remarks, the close of the epistle—particularly, *Haec scripsi Londini inter urbana diverticula, non libris, ut soleo, circumseptus*, and the promise to write *alia magis elaborata ubi primum ad musarum spatia rediero*—seems to indicate that it was written 'after a longer stay at Cambridge than Milton had made in March, 1625, when he had only been admitted, and was not yet a matriculated student.' The same writer calls attention to the fact that the reference in the Elegy to the peril in which Hamburg was reported to be seems difficult to refer to any date earlier than the spring of 1626. Grierson's first reason, however, and perhaps his weightiest, for accepting 1627 as the date of the Elegy, is that Milton himself so dated it—not only in the 1645 edition of his poems but also in that of 1673.

33. *Aethon.* Αἴθων, burning, one of the horses of Phoebus (Ovid, *Met.* 2.153–4). In classical mythology the name is frequently applied to horses; for example, the horse of Hector (Homer, *Il.* 8.185). See Roscher, *Lexikon* 1.199.

35. *Chlori.* Chloris, Χλῶρις, greenness, otherwise Flora, the goddess of flowers. See Ovid, *Fasti* 5.195–378; and cf. note on *Eleg.* 3.43–4.

36. *Auster.* The south wind; the name etymologically means the burning hot wind, but in Virgil, *Georg.* 4.261, Auster is called *frigidus*, a winter wind, as Milton apparently considers it. Cf. *P.L.* 2.594–5:

the parching air
Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of fire.

See also Verity's note.

39. *Vade igitur, cursuque Eurum praeverte sonorum.* Keightley quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 1.317:

Harpalyce, volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum;

so also *Aen.* 7.807:

cursuque pedum praevertere ventos.

Eurus is the east, or the south-east, wind (Pliny, *N.H.* 2.47.119; Ovid, *Met.* 1.61).

41–4. *Invenies dulci cum conjuge forte sedentem.* Compare Ovid, *Tr.* 3.7.3–4:

Aut illam invenies dulci cum matre sedentem,
Aut inter libros Pieridasque suas.

43. *Patrum.* The Church Fathers, as, for example, Augustine and Tertullian.

49. *oculos in humum defixa modestos.* Adapted, as Warton noted, from Ovid, *Am.* 3.6.67:

Illa oculos in humum deiecta modestos.

53–68. *Accipe sinceram, quamvis sit sera, salutem,* etc. See note on lines 33–8 above.

56. *Icaris a lento Penelopeia viro.* Penelope—Milton uses the Greek spelling. Πηνελόπεια, the daughter of Icarius and wife of Odysseus, was famed for her chastity (Homer, *Od.* 1.329). For the meeting of Odysseus and Penelope, see *Od.* 23.

61. *da veniam fasso.* The expression is common in Ovid (*Ep. ex P.* 1.7.22; 4.2.23; *Her.* 4.156; 16.11; 17.225; 19.4).

65. *sarissiferi.* A compound of *sarissa*, a Macedonian spear, and *ferre*; the regular Latin word is *sarisophoros*, a noun, a translitera-

tion of σαρισοφόρος (Livy 36.18.2; Ovid, *Met.* 12.466), but Milton's word, which I have not found elsewhere, is a translation and an adjective analogous to *aurifer*, *caelifer*, and the like.

70. *Amor.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.60.

71–82. *Nam vaga Fama refert*, etc. On *Fama* see Virgil *Aen.* 4.173–88. Milton's passage refers to the perilous condition of Hamburg at this period of the Thirty Years' War, the principal scene of which had shifted by 1624 from Bohemia and the Palatinate to Lower Saxony, where the war went on until a temporary peace was concluded at Lübeck in 1629. Hamburg and the other Hanseatic towns on the Baltic endeavored to remain neutral, but nevertheless suffered in the general distress of the time. Hamburg never actually was the scene of battle or siege. See *Camb. Mod. Hist.* 4.85–109.

74. *Saxonicos...duces.* The Saxon leaders, as Dukes Bernard, William, and Frederick of Saxe-Weimar, were leaders of the Protestant forces against Tilly and Wallenstein. See *Camb. Mod. Hist.* 4.85–109.

75. *Enyo.* The goddess of war, who delighted in bloodshed and the destruction of towns (Homer, *Il.* 5.333, 592); she corresponds to the Roman Bellona.

77. *suum concessit Thracia Martem*, etc. Northern Thrace was believed to be the favorite haunt of Mars. Statius (*Theb.*7.40–63) describes his temple on Mount Haemus (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6.424–8). *Odrysia* was another name for Thrace (*Met.* 6.490; *Theb.* 4.795; 5.173).

80. *Fugit et aerisonam Diva perosa tubam. Diva* refers to Eirene, Εἰρήνη, Latin *Pax*, the goddess of peace, one of the *Horae*, Hours, the other two being *Eunomia* (Order), and *Dike*, (Justice). They were daughters of Zeus and Themis, and 'minded the works of mortal men' (Hesiod, *Theog.* 901–3). See next note.

81–2. *non ultima Virgo...volasse domos.* Astraea, or Virgo, sister of Pudicitia and daughter of Zeus and Themis, during the Age of Gold lived among men as the goddess Dike, Δίκη, Justice (Hesiod, *Theog.* 901; Pindar, *Ol.* 13.6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 36, 183).

Early in the Iron Age, when war had spread over the world, she left the earth, and found a place among the stars under the name of Virgo. See Ovid, *Met.* 1.149–50:

et Virgo caede madentis
Ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit.

Aratus (*Phaen.* 96–126) tells the story of Astraea at some length. Virgil in the so-called Messianic eclogue, says (*Ecl.* 4.6):

Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

It will be noticed that Ovid calls Astraea, Justice, the last of the immortals to leave the earth; Milton apparently would make Eirene, *aerisonam Diva perosa tubam*, the goddess of peace, the last to go.

84. *solus inopsque*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 14.217.

85. *penates*. See note on *Eleg.* 1.17.

87–104. *Patria, dura parens*, etc. Prior to 1604 ministers of the Church were required by law to subscribe only to such of the Thirty-nine Articles as concerned matters of faith and the sacraments; but after 1604 they were compelled to subscribe also to those relating to rites and ceremonies. Archbishop Bancroft then required rigorous conformity with the rubrics on the part of all beneficed clergymen. As a result, in 1605, three hundred of the Puritan clergy were driven from their livings, because they refused to comply with these demands (Green, *Hist. Eng. Peop.* 3 (1882).63). About 1620 began what may be called the Puritan migration, which continued for nearly twenty years, increasing under the persecution by Laud (*ibid.* 3.158–71; Clark, *Hist. Eng. Nonconformity* 1.245–311).

Thomas Young, however, does not seem to have been an extreme Puritan, for he returned to England in 1628, and held the living of Stowmarket throughout the Laudian régime.

89–90. *Siccine*. More correctly *sicine*, a comparatively rare word, is used in questions and exclamations, and always begins a sentence. It is found once in Cicero (*Fin.* 1.10.34), and is most frequent in Plautus and Terence. Usually, as in the present instance, it implies reproach.

95–6. *Digna quidem Stygiis*, etc. Worthy, that is, to be reduced to the darkness and ignorance of a land under the control of the Roman Catholic Church.

97–100. *vates terrae Thesbitidis*, etc. Elijah, when his life was threatened by Jezebel the queen, took refuge in the desert beyond Beersheba. See 1 Kings 19.1–18. Gilbert (pp. 294–5) writes:

> Thebez was a city of the tribe of Ephraim. (Judges 9.50.) Milton is apparently without authority for making this city, rather than Thisbe across the Jordan, the city of Elijah the Tishbite (Thisbite), of whom it is is said he 'was of the inhabitants of Gilead' (1 Kings 17.1).

Cf. *P.R.* 1.353; 2.268, 277; *Praesul.* 49–50.

100. *Sidoni dira.* Jezebel was the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Sidon (1 Kings 16.31). *Sidoni* is a vocative of *Sidonis*. Dido is called *Sidonis* in Ovid, *Met.* 14.80.

102. *Paulus ab Aemathia pellitur urbe Cilix.* In the course of his missionary journeys Paul, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, visited Philippi in Macedonia where he was scourged and imprisoned (Acts 16.22–40; 21.39). Aemathia is a name more or less loosely applied by poets to Macedonia, of which properly it is only a part (Ovid, *Tr.* 3.5.39; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.492).

103–4. *Piscosaeque ipsum Gergessae*, etc. Near Gergessa, a town on the sea of Galilee—not further identified—Jesus allowed the evil spirits to go into a herd of swine, which immediately rushed into the sea. The people of Gergessa then besought him to go away (Matt. 8.28–34).

105. *nec spes cadat anxia curis.* Compare Ovid, *Met.* 9.275; *Her.* 9.42; 13.124; *Tr.* 2.148.

108. *Intententque tibi millia tela necem.* Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.91:

> Praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.

109. *At nullis vel inerme latus violabitur armis.* Compare *Comus* 421:

> She that has that, is clad in complete steel;

and Horace, *Carm.* 1.3.9.

111. *Namque eris ipse Dei*, etc. Compare Tasso, tr. by Fairfax, 7.80. The *aegis*, *αἰγίς*, was originally the terrible shield of Zeus, which at his command was borne by Apollo or Athene to raise up tempests and terrify men; it was wrought by Hephaestus, and was surmounted by the Gorgon's head (Homer, *Il.* 2.447; 5.738).

112–3. *Ille Sionaeae qui*, etc. A reference to the destruction of Sennacherib and his Assyrian host before Jerusalem (2 Kings 19.35–6).

115–22. *Inque fugam vertit*, etc. Benhadad, king of the Syrians, and his army, when besieging Samaria, were suddenly put to flight in the night by the miraculous noise of a host of horses and chariots (2 Kings 7.3–10).

Damascus. The Syrian capital.

119. *Cornea pulvereum dum verberat ungula campum*. Reminiscent of Virgil's onomatopoetic line (*Aen.* 8.596):

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

Cf. *Aen.* 11.875, and *Georg.* 3.88.

123. *Et tu*. Warton and Keightley would substitute *at* for *et*, but the emendation is unnecessary.

125–6. *Nec dubites*, etc. Thomas Young returned to England a few months later, and received the comfortable living of Stowmarket in Suffolk. See Introd., pp. 28–9.

ELEGIA V

1–30. The sensitiveness of the poet to climate and season. Cf. *Mansus* 24–38; *Areop.*, *Pr. W.* 2.53, and see Langdon, pp. 65–6.

1. *In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro*. Compare Buchanan, *De Sphaera* 2.308:

In se praecipiti semper revolubilis orbe;

and *Maiae Calendae* 9:

Dum renovat Maius senium revolubilis aevi.

2. *Zephyros*. See note on *Eleg.* 3.43–4.

vere tepente. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* 2.330–1; Ovid, *Met.* 1.107–8.

3. *Tellus*. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 117–38), *Tellus*, Earth, Greek Γαῖα or Γῆ, was the first child of Chaos, and the mother

of Uranus, or Heaven, by whom in turn she became the mother of the Olympian gods. Consult Osgood, pp. 30–1. Cf. *Eleg.* 5.55, 95.

5. *Fallor? an.* Compare Ovid, *Am.* 3.1.34; *Fasti* 1.515; 5.549; *Her.* 7.35. See also *Comus* 221–4; *Eleg.* 7.56; *Pr. Bomb.* 1.3.

6–8. *Ingenium mihi munere veris adest?* etc. Milton's nephew Edward Philips says (*Life of Milton*, in *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, 1911, p. lxxvi):

> His vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinoctial to the vernal, ... and whatever he attempted [otherwise] was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much, so that in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent but half his time therein.

9. *Castalis.* See note on *Eleg.* 4.32. Warton cites Buchanan' *Eleg.* 1.2:

> Grataque Phoebaeo Castalis unda choro.

bifidumque cacumen. See note on *Eleg.* 4.30.

10. *Pyrenen.* The fountain of Pirene at Corinth (Pindar, *Ol.* 13.86). See notes on *Eleg.* 4.31, and *Rous.* 36. Cf. Persius, *Prol.* 1–6.

13. *Delius ipse venit*, etc. Apollo is called Delius because he was born on the island of Delos (Apollodorus 1.4.1; Ovid, *Met.* 6.191–2). The first love of Apollo was Daphne, daughter of Peneus the river-god, and hence the name Peneis which Milton here uses. She fled from Apollo, and when almost overtaken was turned into a laurel. Even in this new form he loved her, and vowed that she should be his tree. His hair, his lyre, and his quiver were ever thereafter to be entwined with laurel (Ovid, *Met.* 1.452–567). Cf. *P.L.* 4.273; *P.R.* 2.187; *Comus* 661; *Eleg.* 7.31–6.

15. *Iam mihi mens liquidi raptatur in ardua caeli.* See note on *Eleg.* 3.23. Cf. *Q. Nov.* 180. Keightley quotes Apollonius Rhodius 3.1151:

> ψυχὴ γὰρ νεφέεσσι μεταχρονίη πεπότητο.

Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 3.289–92.

19–22. *Intuiturque animus*, etc. Todd quotes Shakespeare's lines (*M.N.D.* 5.1.12–3):

> The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth
> to heaven.

19. *Olympo*. Olympus, a mountain-range between Thessaly and Macedonia. Early Greek poets speak of it, literally, as the abode of Zeus and the other gods. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 113–4, 390–1; Homer, *Od.* 6.41–3. Cf. *Eleg.* 5.79, 117; *Eleg.* 7.21; *Praesul.* 63; *Natur.* 21, 46; *Q.Nov.* 8; *Ad Pat.* 30; *Mansus* 100; *Damon.* 190; *P.L.* 1.515–7; 7.7; 10.583. Milton also uses Olympus as meaning heaven. See note on *Praesul* 62–4. In *Natur.* 46, *Olympo* means the heavens or the sky.

20. *Tartara caeca*. See note on *Eleg.* 3.16.

21. *grande sonat*. Compare Juvenal 6.517.

25–6. *Iam Philomela*, etc. Milton's reference is to the nightingale. The story of Philomela is told by Ovid (*Met.* 6.424–674) and by Hyginus (*Fab.* 45). As Philomela and her sister Procne were fleeing from the enraged Tereus, they were metamorphosed into a nightingale and a swallow respectively, and Tereus became a hoopoe. See Apollodorus 3.14.8; Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.78–81; *Georg.* 4.511. Cf. *Son.* 1.1–2:

> O nightingale that on yon bloomy spray
> Warblest at eve, when all the woods are still;

and *Il Pens.* 56.

30. *hoc subeat Musa perennis opus*. Salmasius (*Responsio*, 1660, p. 5) pointed out certain false quantities in Milton's Latin poems; among them was *quotannis*, which in the edition of 1673 was changed to *perennis*. Heinsius (Burman, *Sylloges Epistolarum* 3.669) also complained of Milton's false quantities.

31–2. *Iam sol, Aethiopas fugiens*, etc. Thus in a figure Milton refers to the vernal equinox. He is speaking in terms of the Ptolemaic astronomy. His interest in this science is well-known, and with him such use of astronomical references is more than

literary convention. Consult Gilbert, *Milton and Galileo*, in *Studies in Philology* 19 (1922). 152–85.

By Ethiopia the ancients meant the part of Africa that is south of the desert and of Egypt (Mela 1.4). The *Tithonia arva* are the regions of the Far East where Dawn, the wife of Tithonus, was supposed to dwell. See note on line 49 below. The *Arctoas... plagas* are the regions of the North. Arctos, the Great and the Lesser Bears, is a double constellation in the northern sky; and hence the adjective *arctous*, appertaining to Arctos, northern.

Flectit... aurea lora. Compare Ovid, *A.A.* 1.550.

35. *Lycaonius... Boötes.* Keightley says this is not a proper epithet for Boötes, which had nothing to do with Lycaon, whose daughter was turned into the *plaustrum caeleste.* But *Lycaonius* has the transferred meaning of northern (see Ovid, *Tr.* 3.2.2). Cf. note on *Praesul.* 51–2; *Mansus* 37.

plaustrum caeleste. The constellation, Charles's Wain, the Great Bear. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10.447; Martial 4.3.5–6.

37–8. *Nunc etiam solitas*, etc. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 200–1.

polo. See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

39–40. *Nam dolus, et caedes, et vis*, etc. Compare *P.L.* 1.121–2:

> To wage by force or guile eternal war
> Irreconcilable to our grand foe;

but the two lines we are considering, with the obvious transference to suit the needs of the present poem, are reminiscent of two passages in Ovid (*Met.* 1.130–1, 151–3). See also *Eleg.* 4.81–2.

41. *Forte aliquis scopuli recumbans in vertice pastor.* Reminiscent of Virgil, *Aen.* 2.307–8:

> stupet inscius alto
> Accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.

43. *caruisti... puella.* An Ovidian expression, as Warton observed. Cf. Ovid, *A.A.* 2.249.

45–8. *Laeta suas repetit silvas*, etc. Compare *Nativity* 101–8:

Nature, that heard such sound
Beneath the hollow round
  Of Cynthia's seat, the airy region thrilling,
Now was almost won
To think her part was done,
  And that her reign had here its last fulfilling;
She knew such harmony alone
Could hold all Heaven and Earth in happier union.

46. *Cynthia.* Artemis, or Diana, is called Cynthia from Mount Cynthus on the island of Delos where she was born (Apollodorus 1.4.1). As her twin brother Apollo was god of day and of light, so was she goddess of nocturnal light, and consequently of the moon (Ovid, *Met.* 15.196–8). Consult Roscher, *Lexikon* 1.571.

49. *'Desere,' Phoebus ait, 'thalamos, Aurora, seniles.'* Aurora, 'Ηώς, was the goddess of morning and wife of Tithonus, from whose bed each morning she arose, and in her chariot, drawn by Lampus and Phaethon, ascended to heaven from the river Oceanus to announce to gods and men the coming of the sun. In answer to her prayers the gods granted Tithonus immortality, but not immortal youth, so that in extreme old age he shrank away, and Eos then changed him into a cicada (*Hom. Hy. to Aphrodite* 218–38; Ovid, *Am.* 1.13.35–40; *Her.* 4.93–6). Consult Osgood, pp. 14–5, 19. Cf. *Q. Nov.* 133–4; *P.L.* 6.12–5; *Damon.* 189.

51. *Aeolides...venator.* Cephalus. Two persons of this name, both beloved of Aurora and stolen by her, are mentioned by Apollodorus (1.9.4; 3.14.3). The one with whom we are here concerned was the son of Aeolus, and hence called Aeolides, and husband of Procris. He is known as a hunter. The story of Cephalus and Aurora is told by Ovid, *Met.* 7. 700–13, and Hyginus, *Fab.* 189. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 986–7. Cf. *Eleg.* 3.67.

52. *tuos ignes. Ignis*, used in the sense of a beloved object, a lover, as in Virgil, *Ecl.* 3.66; Horace, *Epod.* 14. 13. I have not found the expression elsewhere in Milton. 'Flame' was formerly a poetic usage, but is now only jocular, and as such is common.

54. *matutinos...equos.* See note on line 49 above. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.159–60; *Am.* 1.13.40.

55–6. *Exuit invisam Tellus*, etc. Compare *Eleg.* 5.95; *Nativity* 36:

To wanton with the Sun, her lusty paramour.

These passages may be reminiscent of Giles Fletcher (*Christ's Victory in Heaven* 41.1–4):

As when the cheerful sun, elamping wide,
Glads all the world with his uprising ray,
And woos the widowed earth afresh to pride,
And paints her bosom with the flowery May;

and Phineas Fletcher (*The Purple Island* 6.403–4). At the opening of Sidney's *Arcadia* we find:

It was in the time that earth begins to put on her new apparel against the approach of her lover.

Giles Durant (*Le Zodiac Amoreux* 41) conceives of earth as 'devenue amoreuse,' and as 'pleine de fleurs.' Consult Sidney Lee, *Chapman's 'Amorous Zodiacke,'* in *Mod. Phil.* 3 (1905). 143–58.

The earliest authority for this conception may be Anaxagoras, as quoted by Aristotle, *De Plantis* 1.2 .817^{a}.27–8. Compare, Virgil, *Georg.* 2.325–7, where the earth is the bride of heaven or the ether; and Lucretius 1.250–1; 2.992; 5.318, with Munro's notes; Euripides, Frag. 488, 836 (Nauck). See also note on line 3 above.

58. *Pandit ut omniferos luxuriosa sinus.* Compare *P.L.* 5.338:

Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields;

and *P.L.* 7.318–9:

made gay
Her bosom, smelling sweet;

and Ovid, *Met.* 2.272: *Alma...Tellus.* See note on line 95 below.

61–2. *Ecce, coronatur sacro frons*, etc. The lofty forehead of Earth is crowned with woods, as is that of Ops, or as Cybele, the goddess of fertility, is crowned with a tower of pines. See Virgil, *Aen.* 6.784–7; Spenser, *Ruines of Rome* 6; cf. *Arc.* 20–4.

63. *flore capillos*. Compare Ovid, *Her.* 4.71.

66. *Taenarus* and the adjective *Taenarius* are frequently used in classical Latin in application to the infernal regions (Horace, *Carm.* 1.34.10; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.612). Cf. *Pr. Bomb.* 4.2; *Procan.* 5. Taenarus was the ancient name of a town and a promontory in Laconia, where there was a cavern which was believed to be the entrance to the lower world.

diva Sicana. Proserpina, whom Pluto captured on the 'fair field of Enna' in Sicily (Ovid, *Met.* 5.385–408; Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 2.72) See note on *Eleg.* 4.5–6.

69. *Zephyrus*. See note on *Eleg.* 3.43–4.

73–4. *Alma salutiferam medicos*, etc. Apollo, the god who afforded help and warded off evil, the father of Aesculapius, was naturally regarded as the god of healing. Sophocles (*Oed. Tyr.* 154) invokes him as 'the healer of Delos.' Cf. Pausanias 1.34.2.

79. *Olympo*. See note on line 19 above.

83–4. *Quid tibi cum Tethy?* etc. Ovidian in manner (see *Her.* 6.47–8; *Am.* 3.6.87–8; *Fasti* 2.101; 4.3). Tethys was a sea-goddess, daughter of Heaven, and mother of the rivers (Hesiod, *Theog.* 136, 337–62).

Tartesside lympha. See note on *Eleg.* 3.33.

85. *Frigora, Phoebe, mea melius captabis in umbra*. Compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 1.52:

Et fontis sacros frigus captabis opacum.

Phoebe. See note on *Eleg.* 1.14.

91. *Semeleia fata*. Semele was the daughter of Cadmus, and by Zeus the mother of Dionysus (Hesiod, *Theog.* 940–2). Through her relations with Zeus, she incurred the wrath of Hera, who brought about her destruction (Ovid, *Met.* 3.253–315; *Am.* 3.3.37). Cf. *P.R.* 2.187.

92–4. *Phaetonteo . . . equo*. Phaethon was the son of Phoebus and Clymene, wife of Merops. He sought from Phoebus proofs of his sonship, and, upon being promised anything he might desire, chose to drive his father's chariot for one day. He started on his course through the sky, but lost control of his horses.

To prevent his setting the earth on fire, Zeus struck him down with a thunderbolt (Ovid, *Met.* 2.19–328). Cf. *Ad Pat.* 97–100.

tuo sapientius uteris igni, etc. 'Use your fires more wisely,' *i.e.*, than when you allowed Phaethon to drive your chariot. The allusion obviously is to the protest of Tellus in the Ovidian story of Phaethon (*Met.* 2.272–300).

95. *Sic Tellus lasciva.* See notes on lines 3, and 55–6 above.

97. *Cupido.* See notes on *Eleg.* 1.60; 7.3–12.

105–6. *Marmoreas iuvenes clamant*, etc. Compare Ovid, *Her.* 14.27; Catullus 61.

108. *Puniceum redolet vestis odora crocum.* Cf. *L'Al.* 125–6:

> There let Hymen oft appear
> In saffron robe, with taper clear.

Warton calls attention to a similar passage in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* 2.5:

> A robe unfit
> Till Hymen's saffroned weed had ushered it.

Compare Ovid, *Met.* 10.1–2:

> Inde per inmensum croceo velatus amictu
> Aethera digreditur, Ciconumque Hymenaeus ad oras;

and Catullus 68^{b}.93–4.

115. *Navita nocturno placat sua sidera cantu.* Keightley says, '*sua sidera*, *i.e.*, the stars or constellations, that are favorable to him, like *vere suo*,' 'the spring they love,' in Virgil, *Georg.* 4.22.

117. *Olympo.* See note on line 19 above.

119. *Nunc etiam Satyri*, etc. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1. 219; *Q. Nov.* 54.

121. *Sylvanusque sua cyparissi fronde revinctus.* Silvanus was a Latin god of the fields and forests; he is associated with the cypress and the pine. Servius (*ad Georg.* 1.20) says:

Sylvanus deus est silvarum. Hic amavit puerum Cyparissum nomine, qui habebat mansuetissimam cervam. Hanc cum Silvanus occidisset, puer est exstinctus dolore: quem amator deus in cupressum arborem nominis eius vertit, quam pro solacio portare dicitur.

122. *Semicaperque deus*. Compare Ovid, *Fasti* 4.752; 5.101; *Met.* 14.515. Keightley says that the epithet *semicaper* is proper to Pan, but that the Italian wood-god never was so represented; see, however, *Fasti* 5.101:

Semicaper, coleris cinctus, Faune, Lupercis.

Todd refers to Statius, *Theb.* 6.112; Ovid, *A.A.* 2.24.

126. *sibi*. The editions of 1645 and 1673 give *sibi*, but Keightley suggests *ibi*.

127. *aliquam cupidus praedatur Oreada Faunus*. *Faunus*, much like *Sylvanus* and the Greek *Pan*, was a god of fields and shepherds (Virgil, *Aen.* 7.47–8, 81; Cicero, *N.D.* 3.6.15). See note on *Salsil.* 27–8, and cf. *Damon.* 32; *P.L.* 4.708.

Oreada. An Oread was a mountain-nymph (Virgil, *Aen.* 1. 500; Ovid, *Met.* 8.786–7).

128. *in trepidos . . pedes*. Keightley says: 'We also doubt the correctness of *in trepidos pedes* for *trepidis pedibus*.'

129. *Iamque latet*, etc. Compare *P.L.* 5.137:

But first, from under shady arborous roof.

Masson quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* 3.65:

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

See also Horace, *Carm.* 1.9.21–2.

135. *Te referant*, etc. Keightley says:

The meaning of this passage is obscure, and the critics, after their wont, have passed it by in silence. It seems to express a wish that the Golden Age, in which spring was perpetual, might return, and Jupiter himself be thus induced to visit the earth, as he supposes him to have done in that happy period.

136. *aspera tela*. In apposition with *nimbos*, according to Keightley. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 1.328–9.

138. *Qua potes*, etc. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.149–50. See *Eleg.* 1.48.

140. *Ingruat et nostro serior umbra polo!* Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 12.283–4; *Georg.* 2.410; and see note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

ELEGIA VI

3. *Musa Camenam. Camena*, not *Camoena*—according to Varro (*L.L.* 7.27), the old form was *Casmena*—is the pure Latin, and perhaps Italian, name of the Greek Μοῦσα, a Muse. The noun occurs twice in Virgil, but is more common in Horace and Ovid. Keightley remarks that the use of the Greek and Latin names of the same thing is not classical. See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

5–6. *Carmine scire velis*, etc. Compare *Epist. Fam., Pr. W.* 3.487: The emotions of my gratitude, which your services so justly inspire, are too expansive and too warm to be expressed in the confined limits of poetical metre.

See also Milton's note appended to *Ad Ioannem Rousium*, p. 178.

7. *arctis*. More correctly *artis*.

9–10. Both the Christian celebration of the birth of Christ and the Roman Saturnalia fall in the month of December. Milton no doubt had both in mind, but *caelifugam* suggests Christ, the God who came to earth, rather than Saturn, whom the Romans identified with Cronos, despite the differences between the two. Cronos ruled the universe in the Age of Gold, but was overcome by Zeus (Hesiod, *Theog.* 72–3; Apollodorus 1.1.5–2.2).

10. *caelifugam*. Does not appear in the Latin *Thesaurus*, nor in Du Cange.

12. *Haustaque per lepidos Gallica musta focos*. Compare *Son.* 17 ('Lawrence of virtuous Father').

Keightley objects to the use of *per* for *ad*.

13–78. With this passage on the poet's training and mode of life compare: *Ad Pat.* 67–110; *An Apology*, *Pr. W.* 3.116–7; *Church-Gov.* 2, *Pr. W.* 2.477–9; *Prolus.* 7, *Works*, ed. by Mitford, 7.456–7. Consult Langdon, pp. 155–60.

13–6. These lines recall the sophistry of Cuddie, the downcast poet in Spenser, *Shep. Cal.*, *Oct.* 103–8.

14–6. Bacchus, or Dionysus, was, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 940–2), the son of Zeus and Semele, daughter of Cadmus. But see *P.L.* 4.279. Osgood (p. 16) quotes Euripides (*Phoenissae* 650–6), who says that in the Aonian plains Bacchus was born

'whom the wreathed ivy twining round him instantly, while yet a babe, blessed and covered with its verdant shady branches.' The worshiper also of Bacchus was 'crowned with ivy' (Euripides, *Bacchae* 81). When he fell into the hands of the treacherous Tyrrhenian sailors, before they were changed into dolphins, their oars became entwined with ivy so that they could not row (Ovid, *Met.* 3.664–5).

The corymbus was a cluster of ivy-berries for the crowning of Bacchus (Propertius 2.30.39; 3.17.29). Bacchus is called *Corymbifer* (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.393). In *L'Al.* 16 Milton speaks of 'ivy-crowned Bacchus,' and in *Comus* 54–5 of 'his clustering locks with ivy-berries wreathed.' The laurel was the sacred tree of Apollo. See note on *Eleg.* 5.13.

17. *Aoniis...collibus.* The Aonian hills, among which is Mount Helicon, sacred to Apollo and the Muses, are in Boeotia. Virgil (*Georg.* 3.11) speaks of Helicon as *Aonius vertex.* Cf. *P.L.* 1.15.

Euoe, or *Euhoe*, εὐοῖ, a shout of joy at the festivals of Bacchus. Cf. Plautus, *Men.* 5.2.82; Catullus 64.255; Ovid, *A.A.* 1.563.

18. *Thyoneo.* Bacchus, whose mother Semele was otherwise known as Thyone (*Hom. Hy. to Dionysus* 1.21; Cicero, *N.D.* 3.23.58; Ovid, *Met.* 4.13).

19. *Naso.* Ovid (43 B.C.–17 A.D.), in the year 8 A.D. was ordered by an imperial edict to leave Rome and take up his residence at Tomis on the Black Sea, a place on the very frontiers of civilization. The precise reason for his banishment has not been discovered, but, whatever it was, Ovid never was allowed to return to Rome. Consult Ovid, *Tristium Liber Secundus*, ed. by Owen, pp. 1–47. At Tomis he wrote the *Tristia*, the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, and *Ibis*. Critics are in the main agreed that these poems are inferior to his earlier work. See Mackail, *Lat. Lit.*, p. 143; and Duff, *Lit. Hist. Rome*, 1909, p. 607. The poet himself was conscious of the inferiority of his later work, as appears from *Ep. ex P.* 4.2.15–22.

Corallaeis...agris. The Coralli were a people of Lower Moesia on the Danube. In *Ep. ex P.* 4.8.83, Ovid calls them *pellitis*

Corallis, 'fur-clad Coralli.' He became acquainted with them through their all-too-frequent visits to Tomis, *nimium subjecta* (*loc. cit.*).

20. *Non illic epulae, non sata vitis erat.* Compare Ovid, *Ep. ex P.* 1.3.49–52:

Orbis in extremi iaceo desertus harenis,
Fert ubi perpetuas obruta terra nives.
Non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uvas,
Non salices ripa, robora monte virent.

Also *ibid.* 1.10.30–2:

Scis, mihi quam solae paene bibantur aquae.
Non epulis oneror: quarum si tangar amore,
Est tamen in Geticis copia nulla locis.

Also *ibid.* 3.1.13:

Nec tibi pampineas autumnus porrigit uvas.

And, again, *Tr.* 3.10.71:

Non hic pampinea dulcis latet uva sub umbra.

21–2. *Quid nisi vina*, etc. Compare, Ovid, *Tr.* 2.363–4:

Quid, nisi cum multo Venerem confundere vino,
Praecepit lyrici Teïa Musa senis?

Lyaeum. Bacchus was called Λυαῖος, the looser, or deliverer, from care, in the *Anacreontea* (11.[13].9; 35.[8].3), spurious poems attributed to Anacreon (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 4.58; Ovid, *Met.* 4.11). The name corresponds to the Latin *Liber* (Virgil, *Georg.* 1.7; Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.5). See Cicero, *N.D.* 2.24.62, (ed. by Mayor, 2.167). Cf. *Eleg.* 6.51.

Teia Musa. Anacreon, the Greek lyric poet of the sixth century B.C., was born at Teos in Ionia, and is called *Teïa Musa* by Ovid (*R.A.* 762; *Tr.* 2.364, quoted above; *A.A.* 3.330). Cf. note on *Eleg.* 1.25. Anacreon was famed for his bacchanalian and amatory poems. Antipater of Sidon (*Anth. Pal.* 7.27) ascribes to him the triple worship of the Muses, Wine, and Love. Consult Croiset, *Hist. Litt. Grecque* 2.245–63.

22. *brevibus...modis*. A reference to the Anacreontic metres. See Croiset, *Hist. Litt. Grecque* 2.256.

23–6. *Pindaricosque...numeros*, etc. The odes of Pindar. Lines 25–6 have particular reference to the poems in honor of the charioteers who took part in the races at the four great national festivals of Greece, the Olympian, the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian. *Eleo pulvere* indicates that Milton especially refers to the Olympian games, which were held on the banks of the river Alpheus in Elis.

Teumesius Euan. Boeotian Bacchus. Teumessus is a range of mountains separating the plain of Thebes in Boeotia from the valley of the Asopus. *Euan* is a name of Bacchus derived from the cry of his followers uttered at their festivals (Ovid, *Met.* 4, 15; Lucretius 5.743). See note on line 17 above. Bacchus is commonly associated with Thebes, because Semele his mother was a Theban; but, as Warton points out, he had a more immediate and particular connection with the mountain Teumessus, for according to Pausanias (9.19) Bacchus, because of some insult from the Thebans, kept a fox on Teumessus which preyed upon the lands of Thebes until Amphitryon persuaded Cephalus to hunt it with his matchless hound. Zeus, however, turned both fox and hound to stones (Apollodorus 2.4.6–7).

27–8. *Quadrimoque*. Compare Horace, *Carm.* 1.9.7–8.

lyricen Romanus. Horace, who, however, calls himself *Latinus ...fidicen* (*Epist.* 1.19.32).

Iaccho. A poetic and mystical appellation of Bacchus (Ovid, *Met.* 4.15; Virgil, *Ecl.* 7.61; *Georg.* 1.166); in the present instance it has the transferred meaning of wine (Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.15).

Glyceran, flavicomamque Chloen. See Horace, *Carm.* 1.19, an ode celebrating the charms of Glycera. She is mentioned in *Carm.* 1.30.3; and in *Carm.* 1.33 she is 'the faithless fair.' References to Chloe are more frequent (*Carm.* 1.23.1; 3.7.10; 3.9.9, 19); once (*Carm.* 3.9.19) Horace calls her *flava...Chloe*.

33–4. *Addimus his artes*, etc. Compare Horace, *Epist.* 1.5.16–9. In the preceding lines Milton has said that the poet derives

inspiration from wine, food, and the arts—of which Bacchus, Ceres, and Apollo were respectively the gods.

37. *Thressa...barbitos.* The lyre is spoken of as Thracian because Orpheus, sometimes called Thracius, the famous mythical singer, was a Thracian. Ovid (*Her.* 3.118; *Am.* 2.11.32) uses the expression *Threiciam lyram.* Milton (*P.L.* 7.34) calls Orpheus the 'Thracian bard.'

38. *arguta...manu.* Keightley says: 'The union of this adjective with *manus* is not classical'; but see Cicero, *De Or.* 3.59.220.

ll. 39–48. Compare Shakespeare, *Son.* 128. On the relation of the Muse to the poet, see Osgood, p. 57. Cf. note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

43. *ebur.* Probably a reference to the keys of the virginal or harpsichord.

46. *Quale.* Used in the sense of the adverb *qualiter*; cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 4.511; *Aen.* 3.679; Ovid, *Met.* 3.682.

48. *Thalia.* The Muse usually assigned to comedy and idyllic poetry

51. *Liber.* See note on lines 21–2 above.

Erato. The Muse of lyric and amorous poetry. Consult Osgood, pp. 56–8, and note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

Ceres. Greek Demeter, the goddess of agriculture and food (*Hom. Hy. to Demeter* 1.4; Ovid, *Met.* 5.341–3).

52. *Amor.* See notes on *Eleg.* 1.60; 7.3–12.

53. *Talibus...poetis.* Lyric poets, who are free to live a life of conviviality, therefrom deriving their inspiration.

55–6. *At qui bella refert,* etc. As opposed to the gay life of the lyric poet just mentioned in the preceding lines, Milton now states what he believes should be the mode of life of the epic poet, 'he who tells of wars, and of heaven under Jove to manhood grown'—obviously a more serious task. The passage is particularly interesting as a very early statement of Milton's belief in the temperate life, a belief to which he frequently reverted in his later works, as, for example, in *P.L.* 5.3–5; 11.471–7, 515–7, 530–4; *Il Pens.* 46; *Comus* 702–5, 762–7. Consult Langdon, pp. 155–60, 260–9.

Pommrich (pp. 18–9) thinks that the mention, in this passage, of the epic subjects may be due to the influence of Tasso. Whether or not this be true, there can be little doubt that Milton had in mind the epic poems of Homer and Virgil.

55. *adulto sub Iove caelum.* The meaning presumably is that even Jove in youth was given to amours, the fit subjects for light poetry, but that when grown to manhood he devoted himself to more serious activities. Milton mentions several intrigues of Jove (*P.L.* 9.396; *P.R.* 2.190; *Eleg.* 1.64, and note).

58. *latrata fero regna profunda cane.* Here *regna profunda* means Hades, the entrance to which was guarded by Cerberus (cf. *latrata cane*), the three-headed dog (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.417–23).

59. *Samii...magistri.* Pythagoras, the Greek philosopher, born at Samos (580–570 B.C.), who, with his followers, lived under a strict ascetic rule (Zeller, *Hist. Greek Phil. from the Earliest Period*, tr. by Alleyne, 1881, 1.342–5). Cf. *Il Pens.* 46–8.

65. *lustralibus undis.* The lustral, or holy, water was used among the Greeks and Romans in the ceremony of lustration, an expiatory sacrifice or purificatory rite. See Virgil, *Aen.* 6.229–30; Ovid, *Ep. ex P.* 3.2.73; cf. *P.L.* 11.416.

67–70. So far as I can discover, Keightley is correct in saying that the traditions Milton here assumes concerning Tiresias, Linus, and the others are his own inventions.

sagacem...Tiresian. Tiresias, the famous soothsayer of Thebes, was blinded, it is said, because he had revealed the secrets of the gods (Apollodorus 3.6.7; Ovid, *Met.* 3. 323–38).

Ogygium. Ogygia, a poetical name for Thebes (Hyginus, *Fab.* 69; Seneca, *Oed.* 589).

Linon. Linus, the Theban musician who taught Orpheus and Heracles (Virgil, *Ecl.* 4.56–7; 6.67).

Calchanta. Calchas, the famous prophet of the Greeks at the siege of Troy (Homer, *Il.* 1.69; Virgil, *Aen.* 2.122, 176).

Orpheon. See note on line 37 above.

71. *Sic dapis exiguus*, etc. Milton here contradicts Horace, who maintained that a good poet was never a water-drinker,

and hence argues, on the basis of internal evidence, that Homer could not have been such (Horace, *Epist.* 1.19.1–6). Milton, however, only echoes the tradition according to which Homer was blind and a wanderer, living on the alms received in exchange for his songs. See the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* (Westermann, Βιογράφοι, *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, 1845, pp. 1–20).

72–6. Warton says: 'It is worthy of remark that Milton here illustrates Homer's poetical character by the *Odyssey*, and not by the *Iliad*'; and Keightley adds, 'which was quite natural in one who was so fond of Ovid.'

Dulichium...virum. Odysseus. Dulichium is 'frequently mentioned in the *Odyssey* as one of the islands subject to Odysseus.' (Gilbert, p. 107). It has not been definitely identified, but must be near Ithaca.

72. *freta longa.* Milton may allude to the straight of Messina where Odysseus encountered the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis (Homer, *Od.* 12.234–69); but while the singular, *fretum*, means strait, and, as in Cicero, *Att.* 2.1.5, Caesar, *B.C.* 1.29, Horace, *Epod.* 9.7, particularly the strait of Messina, there does not seem to be classical authority for using the plural, *freta*, in that sense. But it may be the poetic plural.

73. *monstrificam Perseiae Phoebados aulam.* Perseian Phoebas is Circe, the daughter of Phoebus and Perseis, famed as a sorceress. She bewitched the followers of Odysseus (*Od.* 10. 274–301). Cf. Ovid, *R.A.* 263; Buchanan, *Eleg.* 7.17. *Phoebas,-adis*, or *-ados*, means a priestess of Apollo; it would seem here to be used as a patronymic.

74. *vada foemineis insidiosa sonis.* The adventure of Odysseus with the Sirens is told in *Od.* 12.165–200. According to Homer the Sirens were seated in a meadow, λειμών (*Od.* 12.45); according to Virgil (*Aen.* 5.864) upon rocks, *scopulos*. Milton, however, says *vada insidiosa*, treacherous shoals, or shallows. Cf. *Leonor.* 3.1–3 and note.

75. *Perque tuas, rex ime, domos*, etc. Homer describes the visit of Odysseus to the lower world in *Od.* 11.

sanguine nigro, etc. When Odysseus had made a libation of blood, the shades gathered about him (*Od.* 11.34–9).

78. *Spirat et occultum pectus, et ora Iovem.* Compare Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 1.6:

totum spirant praecordia Phoebum.

81–90. *Paciferum canimus...regem*, etc. The work which exactly accords with the description given in these lines is the ode *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*. The ode is dated 1629, and thus fixes the date of this elegy as about Christmas of that year. Cf. *Nativity* 2:

Son of Heaven's eternal King.

85. *polum.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

90. *Tu mihi, cui recitem*, etc. If the shepherd-lad of *Comus* 619 be Diodati, as some suppose, it is interesting to compare the closing line of this elegy with *Comus* 623–5:

He loved me well, and oft would beg me sing;
Which when I did, he on the tender grass
Would sit, and hearken even to ecstasy.

This shepherd was 'skilled in every virtuous plant and healing herb.' Diodati was a medical student; in *Damon.* 150–4 Milton expressly mentions his botanical knowledge.

With this line compare Ovid, *Ep. ex P.* 3.5.39; 4.2.37; *Tr.* 4.1.89–90; 3.14.39–40; Horace, *Ars Poetica* 386–8.

ELEGIA VII

1. *Amathusia.* Venus was called Amathusia because at Amathus in Cyprus there was a temple sacred to her (Ovid, *Am.* 3.15.15; Catullus 68[b].11).

2. *Paphio...igne.* Love is called 'Paphian fire,' because Paphos, a city of Cyprus, was famed for its temple of Venus (Horace, *Carm.* 1.30.1; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.2; Ovid, *Am.* 2.17.4).

3–12. *Amor.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.60. In Ovid, *Met.* 1.468–71, Cupid carries arrows of gold to excite love, and of lead to repel

it. Venus depends upon her son for the strength of her influence. Cf. *Met.* 5.365; Virgil, *Aen.* 1.664–94; *Comus* 124. Ovid also mentions Love's *purpureas alas* in *R.A.* 701. All these accoutrements of Cupid appear in Milton's Latin poems (*Eleg.* 5.98; 7.17–47). Speaking of ideal marriage in *P.L.* 4.763–4, the poet says:

> Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
> His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings.

3. *Cupidineas, puerilia tela, sagittas.* Compare Ovid, *Tr.* 4.10. 65–6:

> Molle Cupidineis nec inexpugnabile telis
> Cor mihi;

and *R.A.* 157:

> Vince Cupidineas pariter Parthasque sagittas.

5. *imbelles...columbas.* Compare Horace, *Carm.* 4.4. 31–2:

> neque imbellem feroces
> Progenerant aquilae columbam.

Ovid characterized Venus and Cupid as *imbelles deos* (*Am.* 1.10.20).

11. *Cyprius.* Cupid, son of Venus, called Cyprius perhaps because his worship was associated with the island of Cyprus. From Homer onward, *Cypris*, Κύπρις, is a common Greek name for Venus herself; in Latin its use seems to be post-classical. Cf. Ausonius, *Epigr.* 67.1. This epithet, so far as I am aware, is not applied to Cupid by the ancient poets. See also line 48 below.

13. *villae.* Does this mean that in May, 1627, Milton had been staying at Horton in Buckinghamshire? Cf. lines 50–1 below.

16. *Nec matutinum sustinuere iubar.* Is this a very early reference to the weakness of Milton's eyes?

17–24. *Astat Amor lecto,* etc. Compare Spenser, *F.Q.* 3.12.7.

21. Reminiscent, as Warton noted, of Tibullus 4.2.13:

> Talis in aeterno felix Vertumnus Olympo.

iuvenis Sigeius. Ganymede, who, because of his beauty, was carried away by the eagle of Jupiter from Mount Ida to heaven, and there made cup-bearer of the Gods. According to Homer (*Il.* 20.231) he was the son of Tros, and brother of Ilus and

Assaracus, and thus a Trojan. The adjective *Sigeius*, properly *Sigeus*, from *Sigeum*, the name of a town and promontory in the Troad, in poetry has the transferred meaning of Trojan (Statius, *Ach.* 1.84). Ovid (*Met.* 10.155) calls Ganymede, *Phrygius Ganymedes*. Compare *P.R.* 2.352–3:

> Tall stripling youths rich-clad, of fairer hue
> Than Ganymed or Hylas.

Olympo. See note on *Eleg.* 5.19.

22. Keightley's note on this line is as follows: 'It was the *crater*, and not the *pocula*, in which the wine was mixed, and we doubt if either of them could be correctly joined with *misceo*.' But Milton had good authority for such usage, since Ovid (*Met.* 10.160) when speaking of Ganymede says:

> qui nunc quoque pocula miscet.

23–4. *Thiodamantaeus Naiade*, etc. Hylas, son of Theodamas king of the Dryopes, was, like Ganymede, famed for his beauty. In the land of the Mysians, whither he had gone with the Argonauts, a nymph who guarded a fountain, becoming enamoured of him, seized and carried him into the depths of the water, from whence he never returned (Apollonius Rhodius 1.1207–60; Theocritus 13; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, 271). Milton probably had in mind Ovid, *A.A.* 2.110:

> Naiadumque tener crimine raptus Hylas.

Cf. *Damon.* 1–2; *An Apology*, *Pr. W.* 3.114.

25. The idea of anger or a kindred emotion rendering a person more beautiful is not uncommon in literature. Warton noted occurrences in *Anacreontea* 16(29).12; Theocritus 23.14–5; Shakespeare, *T. Night* 3.1.150–1; *Ant. and Cleo.* 1.1.48–51; *Ven. and Adon.* 70. Todd adds Statius, *Theb.* 9.704–6.

26–46. Compare *Comus* 438–45. In proof of his power Cupid now recounts some of his victories over the heroes of antiquity.

31–6. The story of Apollo and the great Python, which Milton here gives in summary, first appears in the *Hom. Hy. to Pyth. Apollo* 122–90. Ovid also tells it in *Met.* 1.438–522. Apollo,

exulting in his victory over the Python, scorned Cupid as a mere wanton boy. To avenge himself for the slight, Cupid with a golden dart, which enkindled love, pierced Apollo; another dart of lead, that aroused a feeling of repulsion, he fixed in the heart of Daphne, Peneus' daughter. See note on *Eleg.* 5.13.

It is to be noted that Ovid does not say that Cupid had only two arrows, as he has sometimes been misunderstood to say, but that he drew two arrows from his quiver (*Met.* 1.468). Below (line 67) Milton speaks of Cupid's torch and many arrows (cf. *Met.* 5.380).

In *Church-Gov.* (*Pr. W.* 2.506) Milton employs the story of the Python in a simile of the pestiferous contagion of prelacy—'till like that fen-born serpent she be shot to death with darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word.' Consult Osgood, p. 71. Cf. *Prolus.*, *Pr. W.*, ed. by Symmons, 6.152; *Rous.* 35.

36. *Parthus eques*. Parthian horsemen were in the habit of baffling their enemy by rapid manœuvres, and by discharging their missiles backward in real or feigned flight (Virgil, *Georg.* 3.31; Horace, *Carm.* 1.19.11–2; Ovid, *A.A.* 1.209).

37. *Cydonius . . . venator*. The Cydonians, or Cretans, were famous as archers (Virgil, *Aen.* 12.858–9; Ovid, *Met.* 8.22). Hawkins suggests that the *venator* may be Hippolytus (Euripides, *Hippol.* 18).

38. *Inscius uxori qui necis author erat*. Cephalus, while hunting, heard a rustling among the trees, and hurled his javelin in the direction whence the sound came. It had been caused by Procris his wife, and he had given her a mortal wound (Ovid, *Met.* 7.835–62). Cf. *Il Pens.* 121–4; *An Apology*, *Pr. W.* 3.114.

author. The preferred spelling is *auctor*.

39. *ingens . . . Orion*. Orion the giant, a mighty hunter, when in Chios outraged Merope, daughter of Oenopion (Hesiod, *Astr.*, Frag. 4; cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 195; Ovid, *A.A.* 1.731–8).

40. *Herculeaeque manus, Herculeusque comes*. Heracles, the renowned Greek hero, had many amours. Ovid's *Heroides* 9 is an epistle to Hercules from his wife Deianira, who complains of his neglect and his *peregrinos amores*.

Keightley suggests Telamon as the *Herculeus comes*. The identification is suitable, in so far as Telamon was one of the Argonauts, and aided Heracles in taking Troy, but it does not appear how he was overcome by Eros. (Apollonius Rhodius 1.93; Ovid, *Met.* 13.22–4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, 89, 97). Cf. *Procan.* 10; *P.L.* 2.542; 9.1060. But possibly Milton alludes to Hylas. See note on lines 23–4 above.

41–2. Milton mentions several intrigues of Jove, such as that with Ceres (*P.L.* 9.396; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 912); with Antiope (*P.R.* 2.187; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6.110–4, where a list of the loves of Jove disguised is given); with Callisto (*P.R.* 2.186; *Comus* 341; cf. Apollodorus 3.8.2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 176, 177; Hesiod, *Astr.*, Frag. 3; Ovid, *Met.* 2.401–530); with Semele (*P.R.* 2.187; *Eleg.* 5.91; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.261–72).

45. *Musae*. See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

46. *Phoebaeus . . . anguis*. In addition to his office as patron of poets, Apollo was the god of healing (Ovid, *Met.* 1.521–2; 2.618; 10.189). Milton here refers to the story of the pestilence in Rome to which Aesculapius in the form of a serpent put an end—Ovid, like Milton, uses *Phoebaeus anguis* (*Met.* 15.626–744). Milton's meaning is that the healing art is of no avail to one who is lovesick.

47–8. *Dixit, et, aurato quatiens*, etc. Compare *Anacreontea* 34 (3). 23 ff., and Herrick's imitation thereof, *The Cheat of Cupid*; and Statius, *Sil.* 1.2.103–4. On the arrows of Cupid see note on lines 31–6 above, and Ovid, *Met.* 1.468–71. Cf. *P.L.* 4. 763–4; *Divorce* 1.6, *Pr. W.* 3.195.

48. *Cypridos*. See notes on lines 3–12, and 11 above.

51–2. *Et modo qua nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites*, etc. In the first half of the seventeenth century the favorite walks of the citizens of London were in Gray's Inn Fields, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Moorfields, and the Temple Garden. In 1618 James I had ordered that Lincoln's Inn Fields be laid out in walks like Moorfields. Stow (*Survey of London*, ed. by Kingsford, 1908, 2.81), writing in 1598 of the Charterhouse Yard, says: 'This burying-

plot is become a fayre Garden.' In *Bartholomew Fair* 1.2, Jonson refers to places of resort:

She would not ha' worn this habit. I challenge all Cheapside to show such another: Moorfields, Pimlico-path, or the Exchange in a sommer evening.

Pepys, writing in the early years of the Restoration, frequently mentions these several resorts. Entries like the following are common: 'Feb. 12, [1659–60]. We went and walked half an hour in Moorfields, which were full of people, it being so fine a day.' Sir Aston Cockayne, a contemporary of Milton, in his *Poems* (published in 1662, but written much earlier), p. 35, says a young lady

> Frequents the theatres, Hyde Park, or els talkes
> Away her precious time in Gray's Inn walkes.

Consult Besant, *London in the Time of the Stuarts*, pp. 311–17.

Walks into the country might have led Milton to any one of many places, such as Hampstead, Highgate, Kensington, Chelsea, or even as far as Richmond or Greenwich. See Masson's remarks on Milton's walks about Horton, *Life* 1.(1881).564. Cf. also *P.L.* 9.445–51.

55. *Auctaque luce dies*, etc. Compare Spenser, *F.Q.* 3.1.43.8–9:

> Such was the beautie and the shining ray
> With which fayre Britomart gave light unto the day.

56. *Fallor? an.* See note on *Eleg.* 5.5.

60. *potui continuisse.* The use of the perfect active infinitive, where ordinarily the present would be used, is rare except in the poets and in Livy.

62. *Principium nostri lux erat illa mali.* Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 4.169–70:

> Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
> Causa fuit.

63. *Sic Venus optaret mortalibus ipsa videri.* Possibly an allusion to the meeting of Venus and Aeneas (Virgil, *Aen.* 1.314–417).

Compare *P.L.* 5.381–2, where Milton describes Eve as fairer than

the fairest goddess feigned
Of three that in Mount Ida naked strove.

64. *Sic regina deum conspicienda fuit.* Juno, or Hera, the sister and wife of Zeus, was queen of the gods (Homer, *Il.* 5.721; 14.194; Virgil, *Aen.* 4.114; 7.438). In *Arc.* 23 Juno appears as an example of queenly beauty. Consult Osgood, pp. 50–1.

67–8. *multaeque sagittae, Et facis.* See notes on *Eleg.* 1.60, and on lines 3–12, 31–6 above.

81–2. *proles Iunonia.* Hephaestus, analogous to the Roman Vulcan, was the son of Hera (Hesiod, *Theog.* 927–9), who, because his lameness was a disgrace to her in heaven, cast him out so that he fell into the great sea (*Hom. Hy. to Pyth. Ap.* 138–40). Milton, however, follows the Homeric account of his fall from heaven (*Il.* 1.590–3). According to that account he was cast out by Zeus. See also Apollodorus 1.3.5. Hephaestus was the architect of the palaces of the gods, and in *P.L.* 1.710–51—where his fall is made analogous to that of Satan and his host—under the name of Mulciber, he becomes the architect of Satan's palace. Cf. *Natur.* 23–4.

83–4. *Amphiaraus.* Amphiaraus, a Greek seer and prince of Argos, was forced by the Achaeans to become one of their seven leaders in the iniquitous war against Thebes (Apollodorus 3.6.2; Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 555–612). When the attack upon the city had been repulsed, and Amphiaraus was fleeing, Zeus, to save him from disgrace, miraculously caused the earth to open and swallow him with his chariot and horses (Apollodorus 3.6.8; Pindar, *Ol.* 6.11–4, *Nem.* 9.13–27; Pausanias 9.8.2; 19.18.2–4). Ovid in *Ep. ex P.* 3.1.51–2 briefly mentions Amphiaraus. A fuller account of his descent into the earth is to be found in Statius (*Theb.* 7.818–23). See also Ovid, *Met.* 9.406–7.

Warton remarked upon the felicity of the allusions to Amphiaraus. 'The application,' he says, 'is beautiful from a young mind teeming with classical history and imagery. The allusion, in the last couplet, to Vulcan, is perhaps less happy, although

the compliment is greater. In the example of Amphiaraus, the sudden and striking transition, from light and the sun to a subterraneous gloom, perhaps is more to the poet's purpose.'

Orcum. The lower world (Virgil, *Aen.* 2.398; 4.699; Lucretius 1.115; Propertius 3.19.27). In the Latin poems Milton uses Orcus as the name of the place (*Ad Pat.* 118; *Mansus* 18; *Damon.* 201), but in *P.L.* 2.964 he applies it to Pluto, a usage common in classical writers (Virgil, *Georg.* 1.277; Ovid, *Met.* 14.116; Horace, *Carm.* 1.28.10).

89. *Forsitan et duro non est adamante creata.* Compare Theocritus 3.39:

καί κέ μ' ἴσως ποτίδοι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀδαμαντίνα ἐστί.

101–2. Compare the Greek epigram of Rufinus (*Anth. Pal.* 5.97).

[POSTSCRIPT]

3. *sic me malus impulit error.* Compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 8.41:

ut me malus abstulit error.

5–6. *Donec Socraticos umbrosa Academia rivos Praebuit.* Warton thinks that Milton here refers merely to his return to the University; but I believe that Masson was right when he said:

The more the general tenor of the postscript is considered in connection with the circumstances of Milton's life, the more it will appear that by *Academia*... he does not mean the University of Cambridge, as all the commentators have supposed, but the Platonic philosophy. True, it may have been at Cambridge that he first imbibed this philosophy from Plato's writings; but the writings themselves, and not the University, are the 'shady Academy' that he thinks of as affording him the 'Socratic streams.' He is thinking, in fact, of the original Academia of Athens, the celebrated groves of Academus, where Plato taught in person; and, by metaphor, he makes his study of Plato's works to have been his own walking in spirit in those illustrious groves. How, indeed, even in physical consistency, could Milton have thought of Cambridge, whose *juncosae paludes* and *nuda arva umbrasque negantia molles* he had pictured so vividly in his first Elegy, as now *umbrosa* and flowing with streamlets?

That Milton meant the Platonic philosophy is, I think, further indicated by his remarks on his education in *An Apology* (*Pr. W.* 3.119). After a general account of his studies in history, oratory, and poetry, he adds:

Thus, from the laureate fraternity of poets, riper years and the ceaseless round of study and reading led me to the shady spaces of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato, and his equal Xenophon.

9. *Unde suis frigus metuit puer ipse sagittis.* See note on *Eleg.* 7.31–6.

10. *Et Diomedeam vim timet ipse Venus.* During the siege of Troy, when Diomedes was fiercely attacking the Trojans, Venus tried to protect Aeneas. Diomedes then pursued her, goddess though she was, and wounded her in the hand, so that she fled to Mars for help (Homer, *Il.* 5.335–51; Ovid, *Met.* 14.477–8; 15.769).

IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM I

3. *Fallor ? an.* See note on *Eleg.* 5.5.

5–6. *Scilicet hos alti,* etc. An allusion to Elijah's ascent to heaven (2 Kings 2.11). The comparison because of its irony is very appropriate, since the conspirators would have sent King James and his Parliament heavenward in clouds of fire and smoke.

Sulphureo curru flammivolisque rotis. Compare *P.R.* 2.16–7:

> And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels
> Rode up to Heaven;

and *Praesul.*49; *Passion* 36–7.

7. *feris...Parcis.* The Parcae, the three Fates, *numenque trinum* (*Procan.* 21), were Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, who from their earliest appearance in mythology have been associated with birth and death. In Homer the Moirai are not distinctly personified, and are of uncertain number (*Od.* 3.236–8; 7.197; *Il.* 24.49); Hesiod (*Theog.* 218, 905) mentions them by name, without, however assigning to them their respective functions, which are indicated by their names—Clotho, from κλώθειν to spin; Lachesis, from λαγχάνειν to obtain by lot or fate; and Atropos, from ἄτροπος unchangeable, rigid. Their occurrence in classical literature is so frequent that it is impossible to attribute Milton's several allusions to definite sources, unless Atropos, 'the blind Fury' of *Lycidas* 75, comes from the *Prometheus* (516) of Aeschylus, in which case Milton confuses the Fates and the Furies. Cf. *Procan.* 2; *Ad Pat.* 29; *Mansus* 19; *Marchioness* 28; *Arc.* 65, with which compare Plato, *Rep.* 10.617. In *Paradise Lost* (1.116; 2.197, 232) where, as in Homer, fate appears impersonally, the inevitable character of its decrees remains. Satan recognizes fate, not the Almighty, as superior to him.

8. *Iordanios...agros.* Elijah was taken up to heaven from the banks of Jordan (2 Kings 2.7).

[IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM II]

1. *Siccine*. See note on *Eleg.* 4.89–90.

2. *Bellua* (more properly *Belua*). Prostestants identified the Papacy and the beast of the Apocalypse (13.1). John Jewel (1522–71), Bishop of Salisbury, quotes *Epist.* 125 of Bernard (*Works of Jewel*, in *Parker Soc. Pub.* 2.915):

Bestia illa de apocalypsi cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam leo paratus ad praedam.

Jewel then adds:

These words are as clear as sumbeams. St. John saith, Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills. That city is the city of Rome.

septemgemino . . . monte. Rome, the city built upon seven hills. Cf. Statius, *Sil.* 1.2.191; 4.1.6.

3. *numen*. Commonly a divine will or power; here ironically ascribed to the Papacy.

5. *Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adivit*. Masson says: 'King James was dead several years before this Epigram was written. Would Milton in later manhood have made the same post-mortem disposition of this King?' But the poem is undated, and there seems to be no evidence to support Masson's statement that it was written several years after the death of the king. Horace, in an ode to Augustus (*Carm.* 1.2.45–9), has the following lines:

> Serus in caelum redeas, diuque
> Laetus intersis populo Quirini,
> Neve te nostris vitiis iniquom
> Ocior aura
> Tollat.

7–8. *foedos . . . cucullos, . . . brutos Roma profana deos*. Priests and monks of the Church of Rome together with all their paraphernalia of vestments, images, and the like. Compare with this the Paradise of Fools in *P.L.* 3.476–97.

[IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM III]

1. *Purgatorem animae derisit Iăcobus ignem.* King James in *A Premonition to All Most Mightie Monarches* (*Political Works of James I*, ed. by McIlwain, p. 125) had said:

> As for Purgatorie and all the trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; Bellarmine cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me; if that faire greene meadow, that is in Purgatorie, have a brooke running thorow it; that in case I come there, I may have hawking upon it. But as for me; I am sure there is a Heaven and a Hell.

See my note, *Milton, James I, and Purgatory*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* 18 (1923). 472–3. See also Milton's refutation of 'the fable of a purgatory' in *Chr. Doct.* 16 (*Pr. W.* 4.318). Milton here (line 1) uses *Iācŏbus* instead of *Iăcōbus*.

3. *monstrum.* See note on *Pr. Bomb.* 2.2.

Latiale. Belonging to Latium, Latin, Roman.

trina...corona. The triple crown or tiara of the Popes consists of three diadems, symbolic of triple dignity. It is a non-liturgical ornament, and is therefore worn only for non-liturgical ceremonies. Consult *Cath. Encyc.* 14. 714–5.

11. *Tartareo.* See note on *Eleg.* 3.16. Tartarean fire, infernal fire. Cf. *Q. Nov.* 35, 161.

[IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM IV]

1. According to the rules of the Roman Catholic Church, 'all who have been baptized are liable to excommunication.... Moreover, the Church excommunicates not only those who abandon the true faith to embrace schism or heresy, but likewise the members of heretical and schismatic communities who have been born therein. As to the latter, however, it is not a question of personal excommunication; the censure overtakes them in their corporate capacity, as members of a community in revolt against the true Church of Jesus Christ' (*Cath. Encyc.* 5.681).

James I had been baptized a Roman Catholic at Stirling Castle in December, 1566 (*The Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, pub. by Bannatyne Club, p. 5), but was reared a Protestant, and would therefore be regarded by the Roman Church as excommunicate.

2. *Styge*. See note on *Eleg.* 1.43–4.

Taenarioque sinu. See note on *Eleg.* 5.66.

IN INVENTOREM BOMBARDAE

1. *Iapetionidem*. Prometheus, son of Iapetus and Clymene. He outwitted Zeus, who would not give fire to men, and having stolen a spark of the heavenly fire carried it to earth. In punishment Zeus chained him to a cliff in the Caucasus, where his liver was daily devoured by an eagle, and nightly grew again. The story of Prometheus is told at some length by Hesiod (*Theog.* 507–616), but the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus, which deals in the main with the sufferings of the hero, is the principal account. Osgood (p. 80) calls attention to the fact that 'the account of Hesiod more closely resembles that of Milton in one respect; he differs from Aeschylus in his apparent disapproval of Prometheus.' See note on *Procan.* 4.

3–4. The use of gunpowder has greatly affected the history of man, but when Milton attributes greater importance to it than to fire as numbered among the commodities of life, it is plain that he is indulging in a hyperbolic jest.

'It is probably quite incorrect to speak of the *discovery* of gunpowder. From modern researches it seems more likely and more just to think of it as a thing that has developed' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 12.723).

4. *Et trifidum fulmen surripuisse*. As Warton observed, this thought was afterwards transferred to *P.L.* 6.490–1, for Satan says to the fallen angels as they are exulting in the invention of fire-arms:

> They shall fear we have disarmed
> The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.

Compare Drummond, *The Cannon*:

> When first the cannon from her gaping throte,
> Against the heaven her roaring sulphure shote,
> Jove wak'ned with the noise, and ask'd with wonder,
> What mortal wight had stolen from him his thunder.

AD LEONORAM I

1–2. *Angelus unicuique suus*, etc. 'A fancy,' says Masson. 'in which I discern something characteristic of Milton.' Compare *Comus* 658:

> And some good angel bear a shield before us;

and *S.A.* 1431–2:

> Send thee the angel of thy birth, to stand
> Fast by thy side.

But see Heywood, *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells* 4 (edition of 1635, pp. 194–5, 210, and especially p. 228).

8. Keightley's note is as follows: '*assuescere*, sc. *se*. The structure of this line is bad, as it makes the caesura at *as-*.'

9–10. *Quod, si cuncta quidem Deus est*, etc. Keightley refers to the following pantheistic passage from Virgil (*Aen.* 6.724–7):

> Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis
> Lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra
> Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.

But Milton may have been expressing the pantheism which was current at the time, and with which he must have become acquainted in the Italian academies, if he had not met it earlier. See Windelband, *Hist. Phil.*, tr. by Tufts, pp. 358, 367–77. No particular significance should attach to Milton's words beyond the compliment to Leonora. Pantheism is not in harmony with the general tendency of his thought, and serves merely as a means of expressing an exaggerated tribute to a noted singer.

Cowper omitted this epigram from his translations, but included the second and third epigrams to Leonora. To the second he appended this note: 'I have translated only two of the three poetical compliments addressed to Leonora, as they appear to me far superior to what I have omitted' (*Poet. W.*, ed. by Milford, 1907, p. 598).

[AD LEONORAM II]

The framework of this epigram is the unhappy story of Tasso's love and mental derangement. See Milton's references to Tasso in 2 *Def.*, *Pr. W.* 1.256; *Church-Gov.*, *Pr. W.* 2.478; *Mansus* 7, 50. Consult Pommrich, pp. 9–10.

1–8. A hyperbolic description of the effects of music. Cf. *Leonor.* 1, 3; *L'Al.* 135–50; *Il Pens.* 103–8; *Comus* 82–8; 244–64, 494–6, 555–64; *Son.* 2.9–14; 4.10–12; *Music.*

1. *Altera Torquatum cepit Leonora poetam.* Torquato Tasso (1554–95) fell in love with Leonora d'Este, the sister of his patron Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara. Giovanni Battista Manso, Milton's friend, in his *Vita del Tasso* (Solerti, *Autobiografie e Vite de' Maggiore Scrittori Italiani*, 1903, pp. 394–5) mentions two other ladies bearing the name Leonora of whom Tasso was enamoured, Leonora Santivale, and a certain young lady who was in the service of the Princess of Este. See Solerti, *Vita di Torquato Tasso*, 1895, 1.65–79. Poems addressed to Leonora d'Este and Leonora Santivale may be found in Tasso, *Rime*, ed. by Solerti, 1899, 3.38–42, 60, 65–6, 70–1, 81–5, 141–2.

6. *Aurea maternae fila*, etc. Adriana Baroni, Leonora's mother, was a musician. See Introd. pp. 38–9. The line, as Todd noticed, is reminiscent of Buchanan, *Eleg.* 7.32:

Aureaque Orpheae fila fuisse lyra.

Buchanan's elegy is entitled *De Leonora Pieridis Lena Filia.* Milton's line also suggests Ovid, *Fasti* 5.105–6:

septenà putaris,
Pleïadum numerum, fila dedisse lyrae.

7–12. *Quamvis Dircaeo*, etc. Tasso, whether actually insane or not, was, from the beginning of 1575, the victim of some mental disorder which rendered the rest of his life miserable. Peevish, suspicious, and never content, he wandered from place to place until his death at Rome in 1595. See Solerti, *Vita di Torquato Tasso* 1.257, 276, 358–9; Boulting, *Tasso and his Times*, pp. 168–70, 207–16. Tasso's madness, if it were such, was probably the result of years of excessive and uninterrupted strain as student and courtier (Boulting, *op. cit.*, p. 168).

7. *Dircaeo...Pentheo*. Dircean, Theban, or Boeotian, from Dirce, Δίρκη, a fountain near Thebes in Boeotia. Pentheus, Πενθεύς, king of Thebes, because he showed contempt for the Bacchic orgies, was torn to pieces by his mother Agave (Euripides, *Bacchae* 916 ff.; Virgil, *Aen.* 4.469; Theocritus, *Idyl* 26—which narrates the murder of Pentheus). Milton's reference to the rage of Pentheus suggests Ovid, *Met.* 3.577–8:

> Aspicit hunc Pentheus oculis, quos ira tremendos
> Fecerat.

[AD LEONORAM III]

1–3. *Sirena*. A later collateral form of *Siren, -enis*. Keightley objected to Milton's use of *liquidam* as applied to a Siren, on the ground that 'it is an incorrect epithet for an animated being' (cf. *Eleg.* 3.23, and *Eleg.* 5.15); but Ovid (*Met.* 1.704) uses *liquidas ...sorores*, meaning nymphs. The Siren here referred to is Parthenope (Schol. *ad Hom. Od.* 12.39) who was believed to have been washed ashore near Naples (Lycophron 717–21), which accordingly was in early times called Parthenope (Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.9; Virgil, *Georg.* 4.564). Strabo (1.2.13) mentions a monument to her at Naples.

The Sirens, who from their island-home, by their sweet singing, lured mariners to destruction, were, according to Apollonius Rhodius (4.895–6), the daughters of Terpsichore and Achelous or, according to Hyginus (*Fab.* 125), of Melpomene and Achelous. For the adventures of Odysseus with the Sirens see Homer, *Od.*

12.41–54, 153–200; of the Argonauts, see Apollonius Rhodius 4.885–921. I have not found classical authority for calling Parthenope a Naiad. In *Comus* 253 Milton takes a much greater liberty with classical mythology: the Sirens are the attendants of Circe—possibly under the influence of William Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, in which they are so represented. Moreover, they are three in number, although Homer (*Od.* 12.52, 185) mentions only two. Compare also *Comus* 878–80:

> And the songs of Sirens sweet,
> By dead Parthenope's dear tomb,
> And fair Ligea's golden comb.

Consult Osgood, p. 78; Roscher, *Lexikon* 4.602–39.

4. *Chalcidico...rogo.* The region of Cumae was called Chalcidian because Greek colonists from Chalcis in Euboea settled there (Statius, *Sil.* 1.2.260–5; 2.2.94; 3.5.12–3; Livy 8.22; Virgil, *Aen.* 6.17).

5. *amoena Tibridis unda.* Rome. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 7.30:

> Hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno;

and *Aen.* 8.31:

> Huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno.

6. *rauci murmura Pausilipi.* Posilipo is a mountain which bounds Naples on the north-west, and through which, since ancient times, the road to Puzzouli has passed by means of a tunnel, now called the Old Grotto. A new tunnel was bored in 1882–5. Todd believes that Milton had in mind the murmurs of the Old Grotto, but Keightley prefers to interpret the passage as a reference to the waves at the foot of Mount Posilipo. However, Posilipo suggests the Grotto more readily than the waves of the Mediterranean at its foot; moreover, *rauci* is more appropriately applicable to the tunnel noisy with traffic than to the waves of the sea (but see Virgil, *Georg.* 1.109–10). Ultimately, of course, *rauci murmura Pausilipi* means nothing more than Naples, which Leonora Baroni had left to go to Rome.

APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO

See Introd. p. 39.

IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM

1. *hundredam.* In England a *hundred* was a subdivision of a county or shire which had its own court; formerly the term was also applied to the court itself. According to *N.E.D.*, 'The origin of the division into hundreds, which appears already in Old English times, is exceedingly obscure, and very diverse opinions have been given as to its origin.' Du Cange records *hundredus*, *hundredum*, *hundreda*, *hundreth*, or *undredus*, and gives many examples of the occurrence of the Latin forms of the word.

In the *Defensio Regia*, 1649, pp. 430 ff., Salmasius had turned certain English terms like 'county-court' and 'hundred' into Latin, thus:

Nam olim semper Senatus regum compositus erat ex primariae nobilitatis viris, ut etiam apud Romanos, et in aliis imperiis. Saxonice dicuntur Ealdormani, id est *Aldermanni*, quod ab aetate factum est vocabulum, quasi *seniores*. ... Senatores vocantur in Saxonico *Aldermanni*, praepositi sive praefecti *Graphiones*. ... *Comitatus Curia* vulgo vocabatur huiusmodi convent, *Countie Court*, qui duorum erat generum. Unus nomine generis proprie vocatus est, qui singulis mensibus agebatur a vicecomite, aut eius deputato, alter bis quotannis in festo Paschatis, et Divi Michaelis. Hic dicebatur Anglice *The Turne*, quod in orbem et per vices in singulis centuriis, sive centenis in quas comitatus dividebatur, convenire soleret. Sed Centuriarum, *Hundreda*, vocabant vernacule, Curiis abolitis, a temporibus Eduardi tertii in principali civitate comitatus agebantur.

Warton commenting on the first line of this epigram says: 'Salmasius in his defence of the king had awkwardly attempted to turn some of our forensic appellations into Latin; such as the County-Court, Sheriff's turn, the Hundred of a county, etc.' Todd, Hawkins, and Keightley have followed Warton. Milton, however, was ridiculing not so much the Latin terminology of Salmasius as his parade of a knowledge of English institutions.

3–4. *Iacobaei Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.* At the time Salmasius undertook his defence of the late king, Charles II was an exile on the Continent with no fixed home (Whitelock, *Memorials of the English Affairs*, 1682, pp. 380, 383, 397, 402). The persistent rumor was that Charles, to reward Salmasius for writing the *Defensio Regia*, gave him a hundred Jacobuses, a gold coin of James I valued at about twenty-two shillings. I have not found incontestible evidence to support the story. Todd quotes Anthony à Wood (*Athen. Oxon.*, ed. by Bliss, 4.152), who says that King Charles sent Dr. George Morley to Salmasius at Leyden to thank him for his services, 'but not with a purse of gold as John Milton, the impudent lyer, reported.' During the years of his exile, Charles was usually hard-pressed for money, and about this time was dependent upon his mother, whose pension from the French government had been cut almost in half (Whitelock, *op. cit.*, p. 397). Milton again mentions 'Charles's Jacobuses' in 1 *Def.* 5, *Pr. W.* 1.116.

IN SALMASIUM

1–4. Reminiscent, as Harrington notes (*Catullus and his Influence*, p. 186) of Catullus 95.7–8:

> At Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam
> Et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.

Compare also Martial 3.50.9–10.

3. *Salmasius Eques.* Milton here plays upon the name of the fish, *salmo, -onis*, a salmon. Todd remarks that 'Milton seems fond of sneering at Salmasius' rank as an "eques": he was presented with the order of St. Michael by Louis XIII. Thus Milton calls him *mancipium equestre, Defens.*, cap. 5. Again: *O equitem egrastularium et mangonem*, &c., *Ib.*, cap. 6.' But Milton doubtless knew that the order of St. Michael had been so prodigally and indiscriminately bestowed that it had ceased to be an honor. At one time it was called 'the order of beasts of burden of all kinds.' See N. Carlisle, *A Concise Account of the Several Foreign Orders of Knighthood*, 1839, p. 125. Haag (*La France Protestante* 9.155) quotes Salmasius thus:

J'ai donc voulu me surhausser de quelque titre qui lui conciliast ce nom de madame, et avois pensé que celui de chevalier des coquilles [ordre de St. Michel?] de pourroit faire et se pourroit obtenir. Puisque cela ne se peut, et que vous me mandes que l'on me baillera volontiers un brevet de conceiller au conseil d'Estat, je vous prie de me faire avoir.

This was written in 1635. Some years later, however, after repeated attempts to lure him to France, and after his repeated refusals, he was, according to Antonio Clement, elevated to the rank of knight. Clement says (*De Laudibus et Vita Claudii Salmasii*, in *Claudii Salmasii...Epistolarum Liber Primus*, 1656, p. xlix):

Verum et hac vice, ut alias, generose eas conditiones Salmasius recusavit. Ergo post repulsam passam, ut tamen aliquod Legis Christianissimi in Salmasium affectus extaret publicum et perpetuum testimonium, licet absentem, *equestre ordine donavit*, et sanctioris consillii sui ordinem transmisso honorifico diplomate adoptavit.

7. *Insignia, nomenque et decus, Salmasii.* As Warton observed, 'Milton sneers at a circumstance which was true: Salmasius was really of an ancient and noble family.' See Haag, *La France Protestante* 9.149:

Le père de notre savant, Bénigne Saumaise, *seigneur* de Tailly, Bogue, Saint-Loup, était lieutenant particulier en la chancellerie de Semur; il avait succédé à son père dans cette charge.

Cf. Clement, *De Laudibus et Vita Claudii Salmasii*, in *Claudii Salmasii...Epistularum Liber Primus*, p. xvii:

Benignus de Salmasia, defuncti Claudii nostri parens, *eques*, et consiliarius regius, Taliaci, etc., dominus, in suprema Burgundiae Curia, parlementum vocant, senatoris, dum vixit, locum obtinuit.

The family apparently belonged, like that of Descartes, to the *noblesse de la robe*.

9–10. *mungentium Cubito.* According to Warton this was 'a cant appellation among the Romans for fishmongers. It was said to Horace, of his father, by way of laughing at his low birth.' Warton cites Suetonius, *Vit. Horat.*:

Quoties ego vidi patrem tuum cubito emungentem?

IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI

2. *Parcae.* See note on *Pr. Bomb.* 1.7.

3. *pendulum telluris orbem.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.76.

4. *Iapeti...nepotes.* Iapetus, Ἰάπετος, the Titan, son of Uranus and Gaia, that is of Heaven and Earth, and father of Atlas, Menoetius, Prometheus, and Epimetheus (Hesiod, *Theog.* 132–6, 507–12), was regarded as the common ancestor of all mankind (Pindar, *Ol.* 9.53–9). See note on *Inv. Bomb.* 1. In *P.L.* 4.717 Milton apparently identifies Iapetus with the Japhet of Scripture (Gen. 10.2; Is. 66.19); see Verity's note.

5. *Taenaro.* See note on *Eleg.* 5.66.
Mors vaga. See note on *Praesul.* 31–4.

8. *tenebras Stygis.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.43–4.

9–12. In *Met.* 9.134–272 Ovid, whom Milton here closely follows, tells the story of the death of Heracles. Deianira, his wife, thinking to win back his lost affections, sent him the tunic of Nessus, which was stained with blood envenomed by the poison of the Lernean hydra. When Heracles put it on, the poison entered his body, and in agony he cast himself into the flames of a funeral pyre on Mount Oeta. The story is also the subject of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles.

10–11. *Hercules Nessi venenatus cruore.* Warton quotes Horace, *Epod.* 17.31–2: *atro delibutus Hercules Nessi cruore.* Cf. *P.L.* 2.539–46.

12. *Aemathia...Oeta.* For *Aemathia,* Macedonia, see note on *Eleg.* 4.102. Oeta, a mountain in southern Thessaly, between which and the sea is the pass of Thermopylae. The town of Trachis is at its foot. Cf. *Mansus* 66; *P.L.* 2.545.

13–4. *fraude turpi Palladis,* etc. Pallas Athene, in order to aid Achilles in his pursuit of Hector, resorted to a ruse. Having

assumed the appearance of his brother Deiphobus, she went to Hector and urged him to join battle with Achilles. In the combat that followed Hector was slain (Homer, *Il.* 22.188–404).

15. *larva Pelidis.* Sarpedon, son of Zeus and Loadamia, or of Evander and Deidamia, was killed at Troy by Patroclus, who wore the armor of Achilles, son of Peleus (Homer, *Il.* 16.460–84). Keightley remarks that '*larva Pelidis*, for Patroclus, is certainly a strange expression.'

16. *Ense Locro.* Patroclus was the son of Menoetius of Opus, a town in Locris (Homer, *Il.* 16.420; 23.85); therefore Milton speaks of his Locrian sword.

Iove lacrymante. Homer says (*Il.* 16.459–61) that Zeus 'shed bloody raindrops on the earth, honoring his dear son [Sarpedon] that Patroclus was about to slay.' Zeus had previously spoken of Sarpedon as 'the best-beloved of men to me' (*Il.* 16.433).

17. *verba Hecateia.* Words of magic or sorcery, since Hecate presided over enchantments and incantations (Virgil, *Aen.* 4.511; 6.247; Ovid, *Met.* 7.74, 94, 194; cf. *Comus* 135, 535). Warton noted *Hecateia carmina* in Ovid, *Met.* 14.44. *Hecateidos herbae* occurs in *Met.* 6.139. In the lines immediately following, Milton mentions Circe and Medea, the famous sorceresses, who in *Met.* 7.74, 194; 14.405 both call upon Hecate for aid. Consult Roscher, *Lexikon* 1.1893–5.

18. *Telegoni parens.* Compare Ovid, *Ep. ex P.* 3.1.123: *Telegonive parens.* Although Telegonus does not appear in the Homeric story, he was, according to tradition, the son of Odysseus and Circe. Hesiod says (*Theog.* 1011–14, tr. by Evelyn-White), 'Circe, the daughter of Helius, Hyperion's son, loved steadfast Odysseus and bare Argius and Latinus who was faultless and strong; also she brought forth Telegonus by the will of golden Aphrodite.' But line 1014 probably is spurious. Nevertheless the tradition that there was offspring of Odysseus by Circe was persistent. It occurred among the Cyclic poets, who wrought certain curious developments upon the Homeric story. See Kinkle, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1877, pp. 55, 57. The *Telegoneia* of Eugam-

mon of Cyrene gave the dénouement of the Odysseus-story in the murder of Odysseus by Telegonus, who then married Penelope, while Telemachus married Circe. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 125, 127; Lycophron 808; Proclus, *Grammatica Chrestomathia*, in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 239; Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 3d ed., 1924, pp. 339 ff. Sophocles wrote a tragedy the subject of which was the death of Odysseus at the hands of Telegonus (Jebb-Pierson, *Fragments of Sophocles* 2.105–10). Apollodorus repeats most of the Telegonian narrative (Apollodorus ed. by Frazer, 2.288–9 and notes, 302–3 and notes).

20. *Aegiali soror.* Medea, daughter of Aeëtes and sister of Absyrtus (Apollonius Rhodius 3.241, 247–8; Cicero, *N.D.* 3.19.48). While Medea fled with Jason from Colchis, she murdered Absyrtus, and scattered his dismembered body upon the sea, that her father in pursuing her might be delayed by gathering up the body of his son (Apollodorus, ed. by Frazer, 1.112–3 and notes). Though Medea's history is one of violence and evil-doing, in which benign acts were rare, she turned her magic powers to the assistance of Jason and the Argonauts. See Pindar, *Pyth.* 4; Euripides, *Medea*; Seneca, *Medea*; Ovid, *Her.* 12. According to Apollodorus (*Epit.* 5.6), who recounts the later adventures of Medea (1.9.28; *Epit.* 1.5–6), 'it is said that after death Achilles consorts with Medea in the Isles of the Blest.' Cf. Apollonius Rhodius 4.810–5.

21. *Numenque trinum.* The Fates. See note on *Pr. Bomb.* 1.7.

22. *Artes medentum*, etc. Warton's note is: 'Not so much the power, as the skill, of medicine. This appears from the names which follow.' *Ignotaque gramina* I take as referring to the potency of medicine itself rather than to the physician's skill in its use (see also *Damon.* 152–4). Compare Ovid, *Met.* 15.629:

nihil artes posse medentum;

and *Her.* 21.14:

Adiuvor et nulla fessa medentis ope.

23. *Machaon.* A surgeon with the Greek host before Troy, commonly said to have been the son of Aesculapius (Homer, *Il.*

11.614). He is frequently called a surgeon, and his brother Podalirius a physician; but Homer (*Il.* 11.514) calls him *ἰητρός*, a healer in the general sense. Virgil (*Aen.* 2.263) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 108) mention Machaon among the Greeks who were concealed in the Wooden Horse. He was wounded in battle by Paris, but escaped from the field by the aid of Nestor (*Il.* 11.505, 516). Homer says nothing of his death, but Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Posthom.* 6.406 ff.) gives a circumstantial account of his death at the hands of Eurypylus. 'Quintus Calaber his poem of the Trojan war, continued from Homer,' was among the Greek and Latin works used by Milton in teaching his two nephews (Philips, *Life of Milton*, in *Of Education* [etc.], ed. by Lockwood, p. lxv).

24. *Eurypyli.* The son of Euaemon from Thessaly, who led the men of Ormenium, Asterium, and Titanus to Troy with forty ships, and offered to fight with Hector (Homer, *Il.* 2.734–7; 5.76; 7.167; Ovid, *Met.* 13.357).

25. *Philyreie.* See note on *Eleg.* 4.27–8.

28. *Caese puer genitricis alvo.* Aesculapius or Asclepius, *Ἀσκληπιός*, was the son of Apollo and Coronis. While she was pregnant, Coronis became enamoured of Ischys. Apollo killed the lovers; but when Coronis was on the funeral pyre, he snatched from her womb the child Aesculapius, and entrusted him to Chiron (see note on *Eleg.* 4.27–8), who taught him the art of healing. So skilled was he as a physician that he not only healed diseases but even raised the dead. Lest men should learn his art, and death should be no more, Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt (Hesiod, *Cat.* 63, 90; *Hom. Hy. to Ascl.*; Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.6–7; *Nem.* 3.54–5; Apollodorus 3.10.3; Ovid, *Met.* 2.545–632).

29. *Tuque, O alumno maior Apolline. Tu* is addressed to Dr. Gostlin, the subject of the poem. The remainder of the line, however, has caused difficulty. Both the edition of 1645 and that of 1673 have *Apolline*, which Warton would emend to *Apollonis*, translating the line, 'And thou, O greater than the pupil of Apollo.' But Warton is then at a loss to say who the pupil was —apparently not Aesculapius, since Apollo had entrusted him to

Chiron. He suggests Iapyx, son of Iasus, celebrated by Virgil (*Aen.* 12.391–7). Masson prefers to retain *Apolline*, but would take *alumno* in the sense of 'tutor' or 'foster-father,' and translate the line: 'And thou [Gostlin] greater in medicine than thy tutor Apollo.' Since *Apolline* apparently is what Milton wrote, I retain that reading, and accept Masson's interpretation of the line.

31. *Cirrha.* A town on the coast of Greece near Delphi and Parnassus. It was associated with Apollo (Livy 42.15.5; Statius, *Theb.* 3.474). The name is here used figuratively for Cambridge.

32. *Helicon.* See note on *Eleg.* 4.29.

33. *Palladio gregi.* The students of Cambridge. See *Eleg.* 2.2 and note, and compare *Lyc.* 23–36.

35. *Charontis.* Charon the son of Erebus and Night, and ferryman on the Styx (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.299, 326; Ovid, *Met.* 10.73). Keightley objects to *lustrasses* as 'an improper term, in connection with the bark of Charon, which only put the dead over the river.'

37. *At fila rupit Persephone tua.* Persephone, daughter of Zeus and Demeter (Hesiod, *Theog.* 912–4; *Hom. Hy. to Demeter* 1–89; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146–7), was seized by Pluto, carried to the lower world, and there made queen (Ovid, *Met.* 5.385–95; Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 2.204 ff.). Homer calls her 'dread Persephone' (*Il.* 9.457, 569), apparently regarding her as the goddess of death, and Virgil speaks of her as *Iuno inferna* (*Aen.* 6.138). But Milton ascribes to her the function of Atropos, for which, however, I have not found classical authority. Compare *Lyc.* 75 and Verity's note. Persephone is from the Greek Περσεφόνη; in line 46 below Milton uses the Latin Proserpina, and in *P.L.* 4.269 Proserpin.

Todd compares this line with the epigram of Lucillius on the physician Magnus (*Anth. Pal.* 11.281):

> Μάγνος ὅτ' εἰς Ἀίδην κατέβη τρομέων Ἀιδωνεὺς
> εἶπεν. "Ἀναστήσων ἦλυθε καὶ νέκυας."

42–4. *Molli quiescant cespite*, etc reminiscent, as Todd noted, of Virgil, *Ecl.* 10.33:

> O mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant;

and Juvenal 7.207–8:

> Di, maioram umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
> Spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver.

45. *Aeaci.* Aeacus, Αἰακός, son of Zeus and Aegina. (Apollodorus, 3.12.6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 52; Ovid, *Met.* 13.25–8; 7.474). He ruled with such justice in the island of Aegina, named for his mother, that he became, with Minos and Rhadamanthus, a judge of the dead in the lower world (Plato, *Gorgias* 523; *Apology* 41). Milton perhaps had in mind the Platonic account in the *Gorgias*, where it is said that Aeacus judges the souls that come from Europe, and Minos and Rhadamanthus those from Asia. Plato, so far as I am aware, is the only Greek writer who represents Aeacus as a judge in Hades; but Roman writers frequently so represent him (Ovid, *Met.* 13.25; Horace, *Carm.* 2.13.22).

46. *Aetnaea Proserpina.* See note on line 37 above. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 146) Proserpina was picking flowers on Aetna when Pluto captured her. But the adjective *Aetnaea* probably is to be taken in the general sense of Sicilian, as in Ovid, *Met.* 8.260, and Martial 7.64.3. Poets have shown a fondness for describing Mount Aetna: for example, Pindar, *Pyth.* 1.20–8; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.471–3; *Aen.* 3.570–7; Lucretius 6.640–6; Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 1.153–9; Dante, *Par.* 8.67–70; Arnold, *Empedocles on Etna* 2. Milton has evinced some interest in Aetna, for in *Prolus.* 3 (*Works*, ed. by Mitford, 7.429) he suggests that his hearers visit it, and in 2 *Def.* (*Pr. W.* 1.256) he mentions his own desire to visit Sicily, in which event he might have visited Aetna. He mentions the mountain again in *P.L.* 1.233; 3.470.

IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS

1. Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603; King James arrived in the neighborhood of London on May 3 following. The Gunpowder Plot occurred two and one-half years later. See Introd. pp. 36–7.

pius . . . Iacobus. Is *pius* merely a conventional epithet, reminiscent of *pius Aeneas*? Milton's maturer judgment was less favorable

to King James, who, he declared (*Eikon.*, *Pr.W.* 1.413) 'was hit into such a hectic trembling between Protestant and Papist all his life after [the Gunpowder Plot], that he never durst from that time do otherwise than equivocate or collogue with the Pope and his adherents.' Gardiner (*Hist. Eng.*, *1603-16*, 1.55) gives the following estimate of James I:

> His memory was good, and his learning, especially on theological subjects, was by no means contemptible. ... From his earliest youth not a syllable was ever whispered by the foulest slanderer against the morality of his life; and though he was certainly not abstemious, he was known to be perfectly free from drunkenness.

2. *Teucrigenas populos*. See note on *Eleg.* 1.73.

3. *Albionum*. A genitive plural of *Albiones*, a name for the inhabitants of Britain. The one other occurrence of the word which I have found is in Avienus, *Ora Maritima* 112.

Albion, one of the very early names of Britain, occurs in the Περὶ Κόσμου (3) ascribed to Aristotle, in Pliny, *N.H.* 4.16.102, in Ptolemy, *Geog.* 2.3, and more frequently thereafter. The word may be of Celtic origin. Holder (*Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, *s.v.*) translates it *Weissland*. See also Pauly-Wissowa 3.859–60; Guest, *Origines Celticae* 2.17–8; Milton, *Hist. Brit.* 1, *Pr. W.* 5.166–73. For mythological explanations of the name see Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1807–8, 1.8; Camden, *Britain*, 1637, pp. 23–4. Cf. *Praesul.* 10.

inviolabile foedus. By *foedus*, commonly a political agreement, treaty, or compact, Milton can mean only a dynastic union; for, although James I soon after his accession in 1603 attempted to unite Scotland and England, the two nations remained politically independent until 1707 (Gardiner, *Hist. Eng.*, *1603-16*, 1.194, 306–22). For the circumstances of James' accession see *ibid.* 1.49–58.

4. *Caledoniis*. See Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, *s.v.*, and Pauly-Wissowa 3.1347–50.

5–6. *Pacificusque...felix divesque*, etc. *Pacificus* is a sufficiently appropriate epithet. James I exerted himself for the sake of peace

with Spain, and a treaty was signed on Aug. 19, 1604 (Gardiner, *Hist. Eng., 1603–16*, 1.68). *Felix* and *dives* are hardly more than conventional epithets. The conspiracies of Watson and Cobham which had threatened the safety of the King might well have disturbed his happiness. That such conspiracies had existed prior to the Gunpowder Plot leads us to ask why Milton should say *occultique doli securus*. As for *dives*, it is well-known that King James was ever involved in pecuniary difficulties (see *ibid.* 1.69, 208).

7–47. On this passage Masson comments as follows:

In the whole of this description of Satan out on wing surveying the round of our globe, and indeed in the ideas and construction of this Latin poem generally, written in Milton's eighteenth year, Warton detected 'an early and promising prolusion' to *Paradise Lost*. I can confirm the observation. The Satan of this Latin poem is, in sketch, though with concentration of his energies on one act, the Satan of *Paradise Lost*, or more particularly that Satan as he is continued into *Paradise Regained*; and the tenacity of the conception through forty years of Milton's life is remarkable.—It is no contradiction of this that Milton in this poem invests Satan at the outset with classic names and epithets, calling him for example, 'father of the Eumenides or Furies,' as Pluto was in some of the mythologies, and Acheron in others, and representing him as 'exiled from Olympus.'

7. *ignifluo...Acheronte*. Acheron, 'the stream of woe,' ὁ ἄχεα ῥέων, is the river of Hades on whose shore the shades gather from every land and wait to be ferried over by Charon (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.297–316; Dante, *Inf.* 3. 70–123; cf. *P.L.* 2.578). It is Phlegethon—φλεγέθων, flaming—that is a torrent of fire (*Aen.* 6.550; *P.L.* 2.580–1).

8. *Eumenidum pater*. Virgil, (*Aen.* 7.327) regarded the Furies as daughters of Pluto. The same conception, as Keightley observed, is found in the *Orphic Hymns* (70).

aethereo vagus exul Olympo. Compare *Aen.* 8.319–20:

> Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
> Arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis.

See also *Aen.* 6.579; 10.621; 11.867; and note on *Eleg.* 5.19. Keightley further says that Milton here 'confounds Pluto and Satan, for the latter was the exile.' It is not a case of confusion, but as Masson observed (see note on lines 7–47 above) one of investing Satan with classical names and epithets and 'representing him as "exiled from Olympus." '

10. *sceleris socios, vernasque fideles.* Todd quotes *P.L.* 1.606:

The fellows of his crime, the followers rather.

Cf. Job. 1.6–7.

vernas. Verna, not merely a slave, but a slave born in his master's house.

12. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 4.122:

Desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.

13. *Illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos.* Adapted from Virgil, *Aen.* 7.335–6:

Tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres
Atque odiis versare domos.

14. *viscera. 'Vulnera,'* says Keightley, 'would be more classic, but he probably had *Aen.* 6.833 in his mind.'

15. *Regnaque olivifera.* Warton calls *olivifera* an Ovidian epithet, and cites *Fasti* 3.151, and *Ibis* 319. To these Keightley adds *Aen.* 7.711, the one occurrrence in Virgil. See also Martial, 12.98.1.

17. *fraudumque magister.* In *P.L.* 4.121 Satan is the 'artificer of fraud.' In *Christus Patiens* (3), once attributed to Gregory of Nazianzen, the old dragon is called ἀγκυκλομήτης, and in the Latin version *fraudis artifex.* Cf. *P.L.* 1.645–6; 3.152; 6.794; 7.143.

20. *Caspia tigris.* Compare Statius, *Theb.* 10.288–9:

Caspia non aliter magnorum in strage iuvencum
Tigris.

In classical writers tigers are more commonly spoken of as Hyrcanian or Armenian (Virgil, *Aen.* 4.367; Ovid, *Met.* 8.121; 15.86). Caspian, Hyrcanian, and Armenian, however, refer to the same general region.

23. *Summanus.* Milton now invests Satan with the name and characteristics of Summanus. The question is: to whom does he allude—to Pluto, or to another, obscurer Roman deity? *Summanus* in certain cases means Pluto, but that it ever came to signify the god of the lower world is, presumably, the result of what may be merely a popular etymology, which derives it from *summus manium.* This is explicitly stated by Martianus Capella (*De Nupt.* 2.161). But Summanus was a deity of uncertain nature even among the ancients; Ovid was not clear as to his identity, for he says in *Fasti* 6.731:

Reddita, quisque is est, Summano templa feruntur.

There is, however, good authority for taking Summanus as a nocturnal deity who caused lightnings (Cicero, *De Div.* 1.10.16; Pliny, *N.H.* 2.52; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 4.23). The context in the present instance is such that we may assume that Milton had in mind, not Pluto, but the other and less familiar god who ruled the sky by night.

27. *Neptunia proles.* See notes on lines 2 and 3 above. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 7.691; Ovid, *Met.* 10.639.

28. *Amphitryoniaden . . . atrocem.* Heracles was the son of Zeus and Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon. For accounts of his birth and parentage see Hesiod, *Scut.* 35–56; Pindar, *Is.* 7.9–10; Apollodorus 2.4.8; Ovid, *Met.* 9.23–6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 29. The story forms the subject of the *Amphitruo* of Plautus. Heracles is called *Amphitryonides* in Ovid, *Met.* 9.140; 15.49; Propertius 4.9.1; Pindar, *Ol.* 3.14. The reference to Heracles is explained by a passage from the *Hist. Brit.* (*Pr. W.* 5.166):

Albion, a giant son of Neptune, who called the island after his own name, and ruled it forty-four years. Till at length passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hasting out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight, and Bergion also his brother.

Cf. Holinshed, *Chronicles,* 1807, p. 7; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis* 2.5.

30. *Ante expugnatae crudelia saecula Troiae.* From the somewhat confused dates given in Holinshed (*Chronicles*, 1807, pp. 8–9) the reign of Albion would seem to have been about 1700 years before the Christian era.

31–3. *At simul hanc*, etc. Warton noticed that this passage borrows a phrase from Ovid, (*Met.* 2.795):

Ingeniis opibusque et festa pace virentem.

The whole passage is reminiscent of Ovid's description of Envy (*Met.* 2.790–6). Compare the description of the Garden of Eden (*P.L.* 4.205–87). Taking into account lines 31–47 the comparison may be extended to the whole account of Satan's journey to earth and discovery of Adam and Eve as contained in the third and fourth books of *Paradise Lost*.

34. 'Crashaw,' says Todd, 'thus amplifies Marino's description of the Devil (*Poems*, *Sospetto d'Herode*, etc., 1648, p. 59):

From his black nostrils and blue lips, in spite
Of hell's own stink, a worser stench is spread,
His breath Hell's lightning is.'

35. *Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur.* See note on *Eleg.* 3.16. Compare *P.L.* 1.68–9:

Fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed;

and *P.L.* 2.68–9:

And his throne itself
Mixed with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire.

Just as Satan becomes a composite of Christian and pagan elements, so hell is described in terms of classical mythology. 'Strictly, the practice involves some incongruity of effect; cf. the mixture of classical and Scriptural allusions in *Lycidas*.' Such is the opinion of Verity (*P.L.* 2.69, note); but, as he further observes, 'we find the same combination of pagan mythology and Hebrew story in the Italian poets, *e.g.*, in the *Paradiso* 12. 10–18.'

36–7. *Qualia Trinacria*, etc. Milton probably had in mind Ovid's account (*Met.* 5.346–53; cf. *Met.* 3.303, and Virgil, *Georg.* 1.279) of Typhoeus, Τυφωεύς, one of the giants, sons of Earth, whom Jupiter with a thunderbolt hurled down from heaven and buried under Sicily, his head beneath Mount Aetna, through which he vomits forth ashes and flames. Trinacria, Τρινακρία, is an old Greek name of Sicily meaning triangular or having three promontories (Virgil, *Aen.* 3.554). See *P.L.* 1.199; 2.661; Tasso, trans. by Fairfax, 2.91. On *Aetna* see note on *Procan.* 46.

38. *Ignescunt oculi.* Compare *P.L.* 1.193–4: 'And eyes that sparkling blazed'; and *P.L.* 6.848–9:

> And every eye
> Glared lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire.

adamantinus. adamantius, 1673.

39. An onomatopoetic line.

40–2. Somewhat similar were the feelings of Satan upon his arrival in the Garden of Eden (*P.L.* 4.358–92).

45. *natat. notat*, 1673.

46–7. *adversi...venti, Densantur nubes.* Compare *P.L.* 11. 739–43:

> All the clouds together drove
> From under heaven; the hills, to their supply,
> Vapour and exhalation, dusk and moist,
> Sent up amain; and now the thickened sky
> Like a dark ceiling stood.

Todd cites also *P.L.* 1.225–7:

> Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
> Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,
> That felt unusual weight.

48. *Iamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes.* Adapted from Lucan 1.183:

> Iam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes.

49. *Ausoniae.* Ausonia as a name for the whole of Italy, in poetic usage only during the classical period (Virgil, *Aen.* 3.479; 9.136; Ovid, *Met.* 5.350; 13.708), is derived from *Ausones*, one of the ancient tribes who inhabited central Italy (Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.10; Pliny, *N.H.* 3.5.56; Livy 8.16).

50. *Nimbifer Appenninus.* Ovid (*Met.* 2.226) has *nubifer Appenninus.*

priscique Sabini. The Sabines were an ancient people who lived just north of Latium. By metonymy the name of the people was applied to their territories (Pliny, *N.H.* 3.12.107–9; Livy 1.45; Ovid, *Met.* 14.775, 797, 800; Horace, *Carm.* 3.4.22).

51. *veneficiis infamis Etruria.* Etruria, modern Tuscany, was in antiquity specially celebrated for the devotion of its people to their national religion, and for their scrupulous observance of all its rites and ceremonies (Smith, *Dict. Greek and Roman Geog.* 1.865). According to Livy (5.1) the Etrurians were *gens . . . ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod excelleret arte colendi eas.* Arnobius (7.26) called Eturia *genetrix et mater superstitionis.* Keightley, however, objects to *veneficiis* as not properly applying to the Etrurians, 'as it was for augury that they were celebrated, and they were held in good repute.'

52. *Te furtiva, Tibris,* etc. Thetis, mother of Achilles, was a sea-nymph and daughter of Nereus. By transference her name is used as an appellation for the sea, as in the present instance; so in Virgil, *Ecl.* 4.32: *temptare Thetim ratibus.* In this obscure manner Milton refers to the delta of the Tiber.

53. *Mavortigenae . . . Quirini.* I have not found *Mavortigena* elsewhere; there is, however, the word *Martigena*, meaning one born of Mars (Ovid, *Am.* 3.4.39). *Quirinus* is a name applied to Romulus after his deification (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.475–6; Virgil, *Aen.* 1.292; Livy 1.20).

54–67. Satan arrives in Rome on the eve of St. Peter's day, that is, as Masson explains, on June 28, 1605, at which time the Pope, carried under a baldachin, and accompanied by the cardinals, members of the religious orders, and confraternities,

went in procession, bearing the Host, to St. Peter's, where a magnificent service was performed. Consult Buchardus, *Diarium, sive Rerum Urbanarum Commentarii*, ed. by Thuasne, 1883–5, 1.272; 2.489.

58. *mendicantum...fratrum*. The religious orders which were mainly or entirely dependent upon alms were known as the Mendicants, or simply the Friars. The most important, the 'Four Orders,' were the Carmelites, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinian Hermits. On the several orders see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

60. *Cimmeriis...tenebris*. Perpetual darkness. In *Od.* 11.13–9, Homer describes the Cimmerians as living in a land 'hidden in gloom and mist; and never does the beaming sun look down upon them with his rays,...but malignant night is outstretched over unhappy mortals.' Cf. *L'Al.* 10.

64. *Bromius*. A surname of Bacchus which is explained in various ways. Diodorus Siculus (4.5) says that the god was born during a storm of thunder and lightning; Ovid (*Met.* 4.11) would seem to derive the name from the noise of the Bacchic revels; literally, *Bromius* is 'the noisy one.' It is perhaps well to recall that βρομεάζεσθαι means 'to rage like a Bacchant.'

65. *Echionio Aracyntho*. Boeotian Aracynthus. *Echionius*, derived from the name of *Echion*, one of the heroes who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, means Cadmean or Theban (Ovid, *Tr.* 5.5.53; Virgil, *Aen.* 12.515). *Aracynthus*, a range of mountains in Aetolia which Pliny (*N.H.* 4.2.16) erroneously called a mountain of Acarnania. There is ample testimony, however, among later writers to the effect that there was a mountain of this name on the frontiers of Boeotia and Attica (Servius, *ad Ecl.* 2.24; Propertius, 3.15.42). Milton apparently was not so much mistaken in his topography as Keightley and Masson supposed.

66. *Asopus*. Apollodorus (3.12.6, tr. by Frazer) gives the following account of Asopus:

The Asopus river was son of Ocean and Tethys, or, as Acusilaus says, of Pero and Poseidon, or, according to some, of Zeus and Eurynome. Him Metope, herself a daughter of the river Ladon, married and bore two sons, Ismenus and Pelagon, and twenty daughters, of whom one, Aegina, was carried off by Zeus. In search of her Asopus came to Corinth, and learned from Sisyphus that the ravisher was Zeus. Asopus pursued him, but Zeus, by hurling thunderbolts, sent him away back to his own streams; hence coals are fetched to this day from the streams of that river.

See also Pausanias 2.5.1–2; Diodorus Siculus 4.61; 11.30. The river is in Boeotia, and is formed by the confluence of streams rising near Thespiae and on Mount Cithaeron.

67. *Cithaeron.* The range of hills separating Boeotia from Megaris was said to have received its name from Cithaeron, a mythical king of Plataea (Pausanias 9.1–3). The hills were sacred to Bacchus, as Milton may well have learned from Ovid, *Met.* 3.701–3, or Virgil, *Aen.* 4.300–3.

69–73. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 123–5), Night was the daughter of Chaos and the sister of Erebus, to whom she bore Aether and Day. She is frequently represented as driving a chariot and horses, as in Virgil, *Culex* 202:

Iam quatit et biiugis oriens Erebois equos Nox.

See also Virgil, *Aen.* 5.721. Milton here represents Night according to the traditions of classical mythology; however, Osgood (pp. 62–4) has shown that in his later works, in which Night very frequently occurs, he has taken certain liberties with the tradition.

In referring as he does to the horses of Night, Milton was possibly influenced by the vivid account in Ovid, *Met.* 2.31–328 of Phaethon's unhappy attempt to drive the horses of his father Apollo; or else the four horses that might first occur to him are those in the Apocalypse (6.1–8). Apollo admonished Phaethon to withhold the whip—*parce...stimulis et fortius utere loris*—but Night plies the lash.

In the present instance the horses of Night for the first time, so far as I am aware, receive names somewhat similar to

those of the horses of Apollo—names that are appropriately significant: Typhlos, τυφλός, blind; Melanchaetes, μέλαν, black, and χαίτη, long hair; Siope, σιωπή, silence; Phrix, φρίξ, shuddering.

Warton cited in comparison with this passage Spenser, *F.Q.* 1.5.20. 6–8:

> Before the dore her yron charet stood,
> Alreadie harnessed for iourney new,
> And cole blacke steedes yborne of hellish brood;

and *F.Q.* 1.5.28. 3–6:

> Through mirkesome aire her ready way she makes:
> Her twyfold Teme, of which two blacke as pitch,
> And two were browne, yet each to each unlich,
> Did softly swim away.

69. *Erebi.* Erebus and Night were the children of Chaos (Hesiod, *Theog.* 123); Erebus, then, is a personification of the darkness of the lower world. In Virgil (*Georg.* 4.471; *Aen.* 4.26, 510; 6.247, 404, 671; 7.140) he has become the god of darkness, in which sense Milton here and in *Praesul.* 33 regards him. Homer (*Od.* 11.37) meant by Erebus little more than the abode of the dead; Ovid also uses the name in this sense (*Met.* 14.404). In *P.L.* 2.883 and *Comus* 804 Milton adopted the Homeric and Ovidian meaning of Erebus. Consult Osgood, p. 33.

72. *Acherontaeo.* See note on line 7 above.

74. *Phlegetontius.* See note on line 7, and cf. line 72 above.

regum domitor. Paul V, Pope from 1605 to 1621, could hardly be called a 'subduer of kings,' high as his conception of papal authority may have been. See Paolo Sarpi, *The History of the Quarrels of Pope Paul V with the State of Venice*, 1626, pp. 2 ff., 115 ff.; Ranke, *History of the Popes*, tr. by Foster, 1913, 2.114 ff., 243 ff. Cf. Phineas Fletcher, *In Certamen Papae Pauli cum Venetis* (*Poet. Wks. of G. and P. Fletcher*, ed. by Boas, 1909, 2.292). For many years before Milton's time the Popes had not been emi-

nently successful in their attempts to subdue kings. Clement VII was besieged in Rome, and forced to submit to the Emperor (Ranke, *op. cit.* 1.79 ff.). Milton no doubt had in mind a more remote period, possibly the reign of King John which saw the infeudation of England under Pope Innocent III. Now in its days of weakness, Milton with bitter irony reminds the papacy of its days of strength. See *Latius quem Caesar adorat* in line 97 below.

75–6. *Ingreditur thalamos*, etc. 'This insinuation,' says Masson, 'is conventional, as against Popes in general, the verb *producit* being in the present tense; and it is not to be regarded as directed against the particular Pope who reigned in June 1605; *viz.* Paul V.' It is true, Paul V has not the unsavory reputation won by certain of his predecessors, but after a pontificate such as that of Alexander VI (1492–1503), who wallowed in debauchery, it is not strange that other Popes, whether virtuous or not, should have suffered from a heritage of odium. Ranke (*History of the Popes*, tr. by Foster, 1913, 1.37–8) makes only general statements concerning the vices of Alexander VI, but Buchardus (*Diarum*, ed. by Thuasne, 1883–5, 2.78 ff.), who was *Magister Ceremoniarum Apostolicarum* in the time of Alexander, is candid in the extreme, if not positively gross. For Dante, *Paradiso* 27.11–63, St. Peter with vehement indignation rebukes the wickedness of the Popes, particularly Boniface VIII, Clement V, and John XXII.

78. *umbrarum dominus*. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 10.16: *umbrarum dominum*.

rectorque silentum. The *silentes* are the dead. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.356: *rex...silentum*; see also Virgil, *Aen.* 6.264.

80–5. *Assumptis micuerunt tempora canis*, etc. Warton noted the similarity between this description of Satan in the garb of a Franciscan friar and *P.R.* 1.314, 497–8:

> An aged man in rural weeds.
> Satan, bowing low
> His gray dissimulation.

Warton also discovered that Milton had taken part of this description from two passages in George Buchanan. One is from Buchanan's *Franciscanus*, a satire on the Franciscans (*Buchanani Poemata*, 1687, p. 261):

> Attamen haud quoties longo sub syrmate rasum
> Cerno caput, tortum funem, latumque galerum,
> Atque fenestratum soleas captare cothurnum
> Cernere me Paulum credo.

The other passage is from Buchanan's *Somnium*, in the *Fratres Fraterrimi* (*ibid.*, p. 293):

> Cum mihi Franciscus nodosa cannabe cinctus,
> Astitit ante torum stigmata nota gerens,
> In manibus sacra vestis erat, cum fune galerus,
> Palla, fenestratus calceus, hasta, liber:
> Et mihi subridens, 'Hanc protinus indue,' dixit.

85. *fenestratis . . . calceis*. The Franciscans wore sandals fastened to the feet with straps—the *fenestratus calceus* of Buchanan—and in the spaces between the straps the feet were visible; that is, they were *windowed* shoes. Compare *King Lear* 3.4.31: 'Your loop'd and window'd raggedness.' Andrea della Robbia in the statue of St. Francis of Assisi in the church of S. Maria degli Angeli at Assisi represents him as wearing such sandals.

86–9. *vasta . . . eremo*. Similar to *P.R.* 1.8–9:

> Thou Spirit, who led'st this glorious Eremite
> Into the desert.

Franciscus. Whether St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), or St. Francis Xavier (1506–52), it seems impossible surely to determine. Warton mentions an old print of St. Francis Xavier in a desert taming lions, and the story of his ragged shoes (see note on line 85 above) which the people sought to replace with new ones (Tursellinus, *Vita Sancti Francisci Xaverii*, 1627, p. 141).

lustra ferarum. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* 2.371.

Silvestrique tulit genti pia verba salutis. Possibly explained by the stories of St. Francis of Assisi preaching to the birds (Thomas of Celano, *Lives of St. Francis*, tr. by Ferrers Howell, p. 59; St. Bonaventura, *Life of St. Francis*, tr. by Salter, p. 89).

lupos domuit, Libycosque leones. In *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*, tr. by Arnold, pp. 64 ff., there is an account 'of the most holy miracle that St. Francis wrought when he converted the fierce wolf of Agobio.' Cf. St. Bonaventura, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Milton may have confused the legends of the two saints, and attributed to one what properly belonged to the other.

90–1. *Subdolus... Serpens... fallax.* Compare *P.L.* 4.347: 'the serpent sly insinuating'; 7.495; 'the serpent subtlest beast of all the field'; *P.R.* 3.5: 'collecting all his serpent wiles.'

92. '*Dormis nate?*' Warton quotes Homer, *Il.* 2.23: Εὕδεις, Ἀτρέος υἱέ; Virgil, *Aen.* 4.560:

> Nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?

P.L. 5.670: 'Sleep'st thou, companion dear?'

94. *diademque triplex.* See note on *Pr. Bomb.* 3.3.

95. *Hyperboreo... axe.* Occurs again in *Mansus* 26. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* 3.381:

> Talis Hyperboreo septem subiecta trioni
> Gens;

and Ovid, *Tr.* 4.8.41:

> Vita procul patria peragenda sub axe Boreo.

Hyperboreus in the passages quoted from Virgil and Ovid simply means 'northern.' Diodorus Siculus (2.47) places the land of the Hyperboreans in the ocean 'over against Gaul.' Consult Pauly-Wissowa 9.258 ff.

96. *Dumque pharetrati spernunt tua iura Britanni.* Instances of English scorn for papal rights, so-called, are not difficult to find. From the time of Edward III the hold of the papacy upon England began to weaken (Green, *Hist. Eng. Peop.* 1 (1877).407 ff.). Henry VIII secured the ecclesiastical independence of England

(*ibid.* 2 (1878). 152 ff.), and during the reign of Elizabeth a struggle went on which in the end gave to English independence a firmer foundation (*ibid.* 2.301, 304, 326–8, 342, 365–417).

pharetrati... Britanni. In *Georg.* 4.290, Virgil, referring to the Parthian bowmen, speaks of *pharetratae... Persidis.* As in ancient times the Parthians were famed for their skill as archers, so more recently the English had enjoyed a like fame. The victory at Crécy (August 26, 1346) was in no small measure the result of the skill of the English archers (Green, *Hist. Eng. People* 1 (1877). 402).

97. *Surge, age!* Compare *Carm. El.* 1, 19 (Appendix, p. 361), and Virgil, *Aen.* 3.169.

Latius quem Caesar adorat. The emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Papacy and the Empire, closely related as they were, had each wide and undefined pretensions which made conflict inevitable. In the struggle for supremecy, since both powers rested upon opinion, 'the Empire succumbed because its rival's hold over the souls of men was firmer, more direct, enforced by penalties more terrible than the death of the body' (Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 1904, pp. 167–8, 424).

98. *Cui reserata patet,* etc. Christ said to Peter: 'And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. 16.19). The Pope is regarded as the successor of St. Peter, and as God's vicar upon earth.

101. *Apostolicae... custodia clavis.* The Roman Catholic doctrine of 'the power of the keys,' to which Milton here refers, is that Christ, in giving to Peter (Matt. 16.19) the keys of the kingdom of heaven, bestowed on him ecclesiastical authority in the widest sense. This authority belonged peculiarly to Peter and his successors in the Holy See, but the other members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy possess it in measure according to their several degrees. It includes power in matters of sacrifice and sacrament, jurisdiction, the definitive power in questions of faith and morals. Consult Suarez, *De Poenitentia,* disp. 17; Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, Suppl., Q. 17, ed. by Migne, 4.979 ff.

Milton refers to the doctrine also in *Areop.* (*Pr. W.* 2.60); *Chr. Doct.* 29 (*Pr. W.* 4.428); *Lyc.* 108–11; *P.L.* 3.484–5. Compare Dante, *Inf.* 27.104; *Purg.* 9.117–21; *Par.* 24.35.

102–3. *Hesperiae disiectam...classem.* Hesperia, Ἑσπερία, the 'Western Land,' is Spain, as in Horace, *Carm.* 1.36.4. The scattered fleet was the Spanish Armada of 1588.

Iberorum. The Latin adjective *Hiberus* or *Iberus* is from Ἴβηρες, the Greek name for Spaniards. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 7.663; 9.582; Ovid, *Met.* 7.324.

vexilla. Perhaps used in the transferred sense of the troops or companies belonging to the *vexilla*, as in Livy 8.8; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.70; Statius, *Theb.* 12.782. The Spanish Armada carried a considerable army (Green, *Hist. Eng. Peop.* 2 (1878). 446).

104. *Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosae.* Notable examples of the execution of Roman Catholics—for political as well as religious reasons—during the reign of Queen Elizabeth were those following the revolt of the Catholic earls in 1569, that of the Duke of Norfolk in 1571, and finally that of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587. But what were the executions of Elizabeth's reign of nearly forty-six years as compared with those of her sister Mary's reign of five years (Green, *Hist. Eng. People.* 2 (1878). 378–84, 407–8, 438–47)?

105. *Thermodontea...puella.* Queen Elizabeth is the Thermodontean, that is, Amazonian, maiden. Is this an allusion to her visit to the troops encamped at Tilbury at the time of the Armada (*Cal. State Pap., Domestic, Elizabeth* 114.35; Page, *Hist. of Essex* 2.222)? The Thermodon, Θερμώδων, was a river of Pontus on which the Amazons lived (Strabo 1.3.7). The common form of the Latin adjective is *Thermodontiacus* (Ovid, *Met.* 9.189; 12.611; Statius, *Sil.* 1.6.56), but Propertius 3.14.14, cited by Todd, may be Milton's authority for *Thermodonteus*, although the word has since been emended to *Thermodontiacis*. But Milton uses the apparently unauthorized form *Thermodoontea*, with which it is impossible properly to scan the line; hence the emendation to *Thermodontea*. Concerning the Amazons see Diodorus Siculus

2.45–6; Herodotus 4.110 ff.; Apollodorus 2.5.9; Virgil, *Aen.* 11.659–63. Cf. *P.L.* 9.1111.

108. *Tyrrhenum.* Corresponding to the common Greek name for that part of the Mediterranean along the west coast of Italy (Smith, *Dict. Greek and Roman Geog.* 2.1248). Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.67: *Tyrrhenum . . . aequor.*

109. *Aventino . . . colle.* The Aventine is the southernmost of the hills of Rome; near it is the Ostian gate, by which an invading army such as Satan mentions might enter the city on its way from the coast.

110. *Relliquias veterum franget, flammisque cremabit.* In the reign of Henry VIII, the English had undertaken a general destruction of shrines, images, and relics. Even the tombs of Edward the Confessor and Thomas à Becket were violated. See Froude, *Hist. Eng.*, 1872, 3.122 ff.; Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* 1.174–5; Gairdner and Brodie, *Letters and Papers . . . of the Reign of Henry VIII* 13.1.754, 1199 (2); 13.2.100, 995.

111. *Sacraque calcabit pedibus tua colla profanis.* Compare Joshua 10.24–5; *P.L.* 5.784–5.

112. *Cuius gaudebant soleis dare basia reges.* Kissing the feet of the Pope is the regular form of salutation prescribed for Roman Catholics who are received in private audience. As early as the time of Leo IV (847), according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, the Emperor Justin showed this mark of respect to the Pontiff. Innocent III in *De Altaris Mysterio* (6.6) explains that the ceremony signifies 'the very great reverence due to the Supreme Pontiff as the Vicar of Him whose feet were kissed by the woman who was a sinner.' Cf. Luke 7.37–8; Is. 49.23.

113–4. *Nec tamen hunc bellis*, etc. Compare *P.L.* 1.645–7:

> Our better part remains
> To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
> What force effected not;

and *P.L.* 4.121–2, where Satan is the 'Artificer of fraud'—

and was the first
That practised falsehood under saintly show.

Cf. *P.L.* 5.877; 6.794; 7.143; 9.55.

113. *aperto Marte.* Compare Ovid, *Met.* 13.208–9:

nec aperti copia Martis
Ulla fuit.

Cf. *Mansus* 84.

115. *Quaelibet haereticis disponere retia fas est.* Milton's manner of saying that 'the end justifies the means,' a doctrine that has been persistently ascribed to the Jesuits and as persistently repudiated by them. They admit, however, that Busembaum said (*Medulla Theologiae* 6.6.2), *Licitus est finis etiam licent media*, but are at pains to point out that he was making 'no universal application of an old legal maxim' (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 15.341). Karl Mirbt (*Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstums*, 1911, pp. 447 ff.). quotes from Jesuit works of moral theology in which fraud, theft, and even adultery, if not justified, are winked at. Thomas Rogers, who wrote about 1585, and whose works Milton may have known, assailed the Jesuits (*Cath. Doct. of the Ch. of Eng.*, *Parker Soc. Pub.*, p. 359) for their use of cunning and equivocation, and their teaching that 'faith is not to be kept with heretics' —that is, Protestants.

116. *consilium.* Parliament.

117. *Patricios.* The representative members of Parliament, who come from all parts of the country—*extremis oris.* In ancient Rome the patricians were those who belonged to the original citizen families or *gentes* which constituted the *populus Romanus* in the early years of the city. From their ranks in the first ages of the Republic the senators, consuls, and *pontifices* were exclusively chosen. They were not then nobles, as they later came to be; and hence the appropriateness in calling members of the House of Commons *patricios.* See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, tr. by Dickson, 1887, 1.95–6, 386–8.

procerum de stirpe creatos. The hereditary peers, who, by virtue of their peerages, have seats in the House of Lords; they are also called 'lords temporal.'

118. *Grandaevosque patres trabea canisque verendos*. The bishops, or 'lords spiritual,' and the privy councillors.

119–21. See Introd., pp. 36–7.

120. *nitrati pulveris*. Compare *P.L.* 2.936–8:

> The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
> Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
> As many miles aloft;

and *P.L.* 4.814–5:

> As when a spark
> Lights on a heap of nitrous powder;

also *P.L.* 6.512–3:

> sulphurous and nitrous foam
> They found.

Du Cange gives *pulvis nitratus*.

122–3. On the warning of the Roman Catholic members of Parliament, see Introd., p. 37.

126. It was part of the Gunpowder Plot that, after the King and Parliament had been blown up, some of the conspirators should go to the Continent to secure aid (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 12.728).

127–8. In 1534 Henry VIII effected the separation of the Church of England from papal jurisdiction, and by the Act of Supremacy vested all matters of ecclesiastical authority solely in the Crown (Green, *Hist. Eng. People* 2 (1878).159). When his daughter Mary came to the throne in 1553, she, as a devout Roman Catholic, was resolved to restore the papal authority, and check the growing tendency of the English Church to depart from Roman doctrines. A compliant Parliament repealed the statutes abolishing papal power, and the Pope's Legate received the submission of the realm. But Mary soon found it necessary to adopt sterner measures. By burning persons at the stake Mary vainly attempted to destroy Protestantism. For these

burnings her reign is famous—made the more famous by Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Such were the *saecula Mariana* to which Satan would have England return. There is a pun upon the word *Mariana*. Roman writers (*e.g.*, Florus 3.12.11) speak with horror of the *Mariana et Sullana tempestas*, the period of about ten years when Rome and Italy were a prey to the warring factions led by Marius and Sulla. See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, tr. by Dickson, 1887, 3.379 ff.

129. *divos divasque*. The saints of the Church. Cf. *Pr. Bomb.* 2.8.

132. *infandam...Lethen*. Milton apparently considers Lethe a river of the Lower World, the only previous instance of which known to Keightley is in Statius, *Theb.* 8.97; but on its situation there has been diversity of opinion; moreover, it is not always clear whether Lethe is the name of the river itself or the plain through which the river flows; the term 'river of Lethe' is ambiguous. See Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, p. 154. Cf. Dante, *Purg.* 28.25–128; Toynbee, *Dante Dict.*, 1898, pp. 333–4; Osgood, p. 73. There is at least general agreement that the waters of Lethe brought forgetfulness to those who drank of them. Cf. *P.L.* 2.583, 604.

133–4. *Iam rosea Eoas pandens Tithonia portas*, etc. Compare Homer, *Od.* 5.1–2:

Now the Dawn rose from her couch, from the side of the lordly Tithonus, to bear light to the immortals and to mortal men;

and Ovid, *Met.* 2.112–4. Homer's common epithet for Dawn is 'rosy-fingered' (*Il.* 1.477; 6.175; *Od.* 2.1; 5.121); but he also speaks of her as 'saffron-robed' (*Il.* 8.1) and 'golden-throned' (*Od.* 15.250). Cf. *Hom. Hy. to Helios* 6, and Virgil, *Aen.* 6.535. In *P.L.* 6.12–5 we find these lines:

> And now went forth the Morn
> Such as in highest heaven, arrayed in gold
> Empyreal; from before her vanished Night,
> Shot through with orient beams.

And the fifth book of *Paradise Lost* opens thus:

> Now Morn, her rosy steps in the eastern clime
> Advancing, sowed the earth with orient pearl.

For the story of Aurora and Tithonus see note on *Eleg.* 5.49.

135–6. *nigri deplorans funera nati*, etc. Memnon, Μέμνων, son of Aurora and Tithonus, and king of the Ethiopians, fought for the Trojans, and was slain by Achilles (Homer, *Od.* 4.188; 11.522; Hesiod, *Theog.* 984–5; Apollodorus, 3.12.4). In *Met.* 13. 576–622, Ovid tells of the death of Memnon and Aurora's grief; 'and even to this day she weeps and sheds her tears on the whole world' (621–2).

137. *stellatae ianitor aulae.* The Pope, who, as successor of St. Peter, holds the keys of heaven. See note on line 101 above.

139–54. In these lines, which Masson considers one of the 'fine poetical passages' of the Latin poems, Murder, Treason, Discord, Guile, Strife, Calumny, Fury, Fear, Death in a thousand forms, and pale Horror, appear as personifications, assembled in the abode of Murder and Treason. Personifications of this sort are of ancient origin. Strife, Toil, Murders (Φόνους), and Disputes, appear in Hesiod, *Theog.* 225–30; Terror, Rout, and Strife in Homer, *Il.* 4.440–3; Discord in Virgil, *Aen.* 6.280; 8.702; Hyginus, *Pref. to Fab.*; *Timor* in Virgil, *Aen.* 9.719; *Furor* in *Aen.* 3.331; *Mors* in *Aen.* 11.197; *Fama* in *Aen.* 4.173. In *P.L.* 2.648–814 are found Milton's famous personifications of Sin and Death, and in *P.L.* 2.959–67 the group, Chaos, Night, Rumor, Chance, Tumult, Confusion, and Discord. Again in *P.L.* 10.707 Discord appears as the daughter of Sin. In *P.L.* 11.469, Milton speaks of the 'grim cave' of Death.

Todd noticed that Milton's lines bear some resemblance to Claudian, *In Ruf.* 1.123–31:

> Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia litus,
> Oceani, praetentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulixes
> Sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.
> Illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum

Flebilis auditur questus. Simulacra coloni
Pallida, defunctasque vident migrare figuras.
Hinc dea prosiluit, Phoebique egressa serenos
Infecit radios, ululatuque aethera rupit
Terrifico.

One is reminded of the figures painted on the wall of the Temple of Mars in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* 1109–82. Warton mentions the personification of *Phonos*, Murder, and *Prodotes*, Treason, in Fletcher's *Purple Island* 7.69.72. *Phonos* appears in stanza 69, but *Prodotes* I have not found. Warton might have mentioned *Echthros*, Hatred (46), *Eris*, Variance (51), *Thumos*, Wrath (55), *Erithius*, Strife (58). 'But Fletcher's poem,' he adds, 'was published in 1633. Milton's was written in 1626.' But the latter was not published until 1645. The same editor called attention to the similarity between Milton's cave of Murder and Treason and the cave of Mammon in Spenser, *F.Q.* 3.7.21–5. On Milton and his contemporaries, Spenser's use of personification in the *Faerie Queene* is perhaps as influential as was the example of the classics.

149. *per muta silentia.* Compare *Il. Pens.* 55:

And the mute Silence hist along;

and Ovid, *Met.* 7.184–5:

Fertque vagos mediae per muta silentia noctis
Incomitata gradus.

Todd cites an example of the use of *muta silentia* in Buchanan, *Sylvae* 2.39:

tacitae per muta silentia silvae.

150. *tellus...conscia.* Cf. *Natur.* 64–5.

155. *Hos pugiles Romae per saecula longa fideles.* Was Milton thinking of the Inquisition, which made use of treachery in securing evidence against its victims? These, when condemned, were delivered to the secular courts for execution, since the ecclesiastical courts might not impose the penalty of death. See Lea, *Inquisition in Spain*, 1906–7, 2.535 ff.; 3.183 ff. Lord Acton, a Roman

Catholic, said (*Letters to Mary Gladstone*, ed. by Paul, 1904, pp. 298–9): 'The principle of the Inquisition is murderous, and a man's opinion of the papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination.' Another stain of murder and treachery upon the face of Roman Catholic Christendom was the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, beginning on Aug. 23, 1572.

156. *antistes Babylonius*. The Pope. At least as early as St. Augustine, the Babylon of the Apocalypse (14.8; 17.5) had been identified as the city of Rome. *Roma quasi secunda Babylonia est*, said St. Augustine (*Civ. Dei* 18.2; cf. 16.17; 18.22). This identification occurs frequently in the English theological works of the sixteenth century, where it includes also the Church of Rome. See J. Philpot, *Examinations and Writings*, *Parker Soc. Pub.*, pp. 428–9; J. Bradford, *Writings*, *Parker Soc. Pub.*, pp. 443–4.

158. *Gens exosa mihi*. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.67:

> Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor.

161. *Tartareoque...pulvere*. See note on *Eleg.* 3.16, and cf. line 120 and note, above.

leves...auras. The expression is common in Ovid (*A.A.* 3.100; *Her.* 5.53; *Met.* 1.502, 529); it occurs also in Virgil (*Georg.* 3.274; *Aen.* 11.595). Cf. *P.R.* 1.499.

166–9. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.124–30.

166. *longo flectens curvamine caelos*. Warton quotes *Comus* 1015:

> Where the bowed welkin slow doth bend;

and Ovid, *Met.* 6.64:

> Inficere ingenti longum curvamine caelum.

Todd believes, however, that Milton's allusion is to Ps. 18.9; he might have added Ps. 144.5.

170–1. The term *Mareotidas undas* has caused some difficulty in determining the situation of the Tower of Fame. 'It certainly should be *Maeotidas*,' says Keightley, 'for, as Warton observes, Lake Mareotis is in Egypt. Most probably it was a printer's error.' Masson, although he notes that *Mareotidas* occurs in the

editions of both 1645 and 1673, says that 'Milton cannot have meant Lake Mareotis, which is in Egypt, but the great Lake Maeotis, now "the sea of Azof," north of the Black Sea. The lake, washing the western end of the Caucasian chain, does lie close to that boundary-line between Asia and Europe where Milton places his House of Fame.' But *qua distat* and *rutilis vicinior astris Quam superimpositum vel Athos vel Pelion Ossae* (lines 173–4) would seem to preclude a locality *on* the boundary-line between Asia and Europe. Moreover, Milton is here undoubtedly drawing upon Ovid's description of the House of Fame (*Met.* 12.39–42):

> Orbe locus medio est inter terrasque fretumque
> Caelestesque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi;
> Unde quod est usquam, quamvis regionibus absit,
> Inspicitur, penetratque cavas vox omnis ad aures.

Chaucer's House of Fame also is (*Hous of Fame* 714–20):

> Right even in middes of the weye
> Betwixen hevene, erthe, and see;
> That, what-so-ever in al these three
> Is spoken, in privee or aperte,
> The wey therto is so overte,
> And stant eek in so juste a place
> That every soun mot to hit pace.

In both Ovid and Chaucer the House of Fame is equidistant from heaven, earth, and sea (cf. *triplicis confinia mundi*), at some central point of our world. Milton also has three components in the location of the Tower of Fame—Europe, Asia, and Egypt or Africa; for *Mareotidas undas* simply means Egypt or Africa (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 9.773). The tower is equidistant from Europe and Asia—perhaps we are to assume that it is at a point central to the *three* continents, but that is not precisely stated. That it is high above the earth is clear from lines 173–4. The site cannot be more definitely determined. In *The Tower of Fame in Milton* (*Mod. Lang. Notes* 28(1913).30) Gilbert reaches the same conclusion.

172–6. Compare Milton's description of the Tower of Fame with that in Ovid, *Met.* 12.43–8:

> Fama tenet summaque domum sibi legit in arce,
> Innumerosque aditus ac mille foramina tectis
> Addidit, et nullis inclusit limina portis;
> Nocte dieque patet: tota est ex aere sonanti,
> Tota fremit vocesque refert, iteratque quod audit;
> Nulla quies intus nullaque silentia parte.

Virgil gives Fame no fixed abode, but says (*Aen.* 4.184–7):

> Nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram,
> Stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
> Luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti,
> Turribus aut altis.

Chaucer's House of Fame stood upon a high rock (*Hous of Fame* 1184–1200):

> Al was of stone of beryle,
> Bothe castel and the tour,
> And eek the halle, and every bour,
> Withouten peces or joininges.
> But many subtil compassinges,
> Babewinnes and pinacles,
> Imageries and tabernacles,
> I saw; and full eek of windowes,
> As flakes falle in grete snowes.
> And eek in ech of the pinacles
> Weren sondry habitacles,
> In which stoden, al withoute—
> Ful the castel, al aboute—
> Of alle maner of minstrales,
> And gestiours, that tellen tales
> Bothe of weping and of game,
> Of al that longeth unto Fame.

With these descriptions compare that of the palace of Pandemonium in *P.L.* 1.710–30. See also Pope, *Temple of Fame* 75 ff.

172. *Titanidos... Famae.* Fame was the sister of the Titans. See Virgil, *Aen.* 4.178–80:

> Illam Terra parens, ira inritata deorum,
> Extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
> Progenuit.

174. *superimpositum vel Athos vel Pelion Ossae.* Mount Athos is the high mountain at the extremity of the long peninsula of Chalcidice between the Singitic gulf and the Aegean. Pelion is a lofty mountain of Thessaly on the coast of Magnesia, and just south of Mount Ossa. These mountains are famous in mythology, for when the Giants made war upon the Gods they piled Pelion upon Ossa in an attempt to scale heaven itself. See Ovid, *Met.* 1.151–5—particularly 154–5:

> Tum pater omnipotens misso perfregit Olympum
> Fulmine et excussit subiectae Pelion Ossae.

According to Virgil (*Georg.* 1.281–2):

> Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
> Scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum.

Cf. Homer, *Od.* 11.313–6.

176. *Amplaque... atria.* Compare *P.L.* 1.725–6:

> Her ample spaces o'er the smooth
> And level pavement;

and *P.L.* 1.761–2:

> All access was thronged; the gates
> And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall.

177. *Excitat hic... plebs agglomerata.* Both Ovid and Chaucer mention crowds in and about the House of Fame. See Ovid, *Met.* 12.53; Chaucer, *Hous of Fame* 1526–32.

varios... susurros. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 12.48–9:

> Nulla quies intus nullaque silentia parte,
> Nec tamen est clamor, sed parvae murmura vocis.

178–80. Ovid's simile, if perhaps more dignified, is less appropriate (*Met.* 12.50–2):

> Qualia de pelagi, siquis procul audiat, undis
> Esse solent; qualemve sonum, cum Iuppiter atras
> Increpuit nubes.

The original of Milton's simile, as Warton noted, is probably Homer, *Il.* 2.469–71:

Even as the many tribes of thick flies that hover about a herdsman's steading in the spring season, when milk drencheth the pails.

See also *Il.* 16.641–3. Compare the assembling of the Satanic host in Pandemonium (*P.L.* 1.761–76).

181. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1.27:

> Emicuit summaque locum sibi fecit in arce.

182–92. *Auribus innumeris*, etc. Virgil (*Aen.* 4.180–5) describes Fame as

> pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,
> Monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui, quot sunt corpore plumae
> Tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
> Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
> Nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram,
> Stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno.

Ovid does not mention the many eyes and ears of Fame, yet she is all-seeing and all-hearing (*Met.* 12.62–3):

> Ipsa, quid in caelo rerum pelagoque geratur
> Et tellure, videt, totumque inquirit in orbem.

Chaucer's Fame is more like Virgil's (*Hous of Fame* 1378–90).

183. *Queis*. See note on *Eleg.* 4.11.

185–6. *Nec tot, Aristoride*, etc. Arestorides, Ἀρεσταρίδης—the name is properly so spelled—is Argus, usually regarded as the son of Arestor, although his parentage is variously stated (Apollodorus 2.1). He was surnamed Panoptes, the all-seeing, because he had a hundred eyes, some of which were always awake. Zeus,

fearing the jealousy of Hera because of his amour with Io, the daughter of Inachus, changed Io into a white heifer. Hera then gave Argus charge over Io (Ovid, *Met.* 1.588–667; Hesiod, *Aeg.* 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145; Virgil, *Georg.* 3.153). Io and the Egyptian goddess Isis through similarity became identified. Herodotus (1.1; 2.41) says that Isis was represented, like the Greek Io, as a woman with cow's horns. I have found in ancient writers no clear justification for calling Argus *inique;* nor yet by them is his face called *immitis vultus.*

191. *loquax.* Compare Ovid, *Met.* 9.137:

cum Fama loquax praecessit ad aures;

and *Ep. ex P.* 2.9.3–4:

Fama loquax vestras si iam pervenit ad aures,
Me tibi finitimi parte iacere soli.

192–3. *temeraria.* Among the frequenters of the House of Fame, Ovid mentions *temerarius Error* (*Met.* 12.59).

veraque mendax, etc. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 4.188–90:

Tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.
Haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
Gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat.

Ovid says (*Met.* 12.54–5):

Mixtaque cum veris passim commenta vagantur
Milia rumorum, confusaque verba volutant.

194–218. The secret of the conspirators became known, and was noised abroad, after Lord Monteagle received the celebrated anonymous letter on Oct. 26, 1605. See Introd., p. 37.

195. *Fama, bonum*, etc. Adapted from Virgil, *Aen.* 4.174:

Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum.

200. *Fulmine praemisso.* In the English poems Milton frequently mentions the thunder of God. See *P.L.* 1.93, 174, 258; 2.166; 3.393; 4.928; 10.33; *P.R.* 1.90; *Comus* 803–4. God is thus invested with the weapons of Zeus who hurled the thunderbolts (Homer, *Od.* 5.4; Virgil, *Aen.* 4.25). See note following.

204. *Tonantis*. Compare Ovid, *Her.* 9.7:

velit hoc germana Tonantis;

P.L. 2.28:

Foremost to stand against the Thunderer's aim;

and *P.L.* 6.490–1:

They shall fear we have disarmed
The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.

207. *Temesaeo ex aere*. Ovid uses similar expressions in *Met.* 7.207–8; *Fasti.* 5.441; *Med. Fac.* 41. Temesa, an ancient city of Calabria, was celebrated for its copper-mines (Strabo 6.1.5).

208. *pennis...remigat*. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.300–1:

volat ille per aëra magnum
Remigio alarum;

and *Aen.* 6.18–9:

tibi, Phoebe, sacravit
Remigium alarum posuitque immania templa

Cf. *Rous.* 46; *P.L.* 2.927–8.

cedentes...auras. Compare *P.L.* 2.841–2:

And up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom air;

P.L. 5.269–70:

Then with quick fan
Winnows the buxom air;

and *P.L.* 6.72–3:

And the passive air upbore
Their nimble tread.

209–10. *celeres praevertere nubes*, etc. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 7.806–7:

sed proelia virgo
Dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos;

also *Aen.* 12.345:

Vel conferre manum vel equo praevertere ventos;

and *Ciris* 203:

caeruleas praevertite in aethera nubes.

215. *authoresque*. See note on *Eleg.* 7.38.

216–9. *Stupuere relatis*, etc. Nicolo Molin, the Venetian ambassador to England, wrote (*Cal. State Pap., Venice*, 10.293) to the Doge and the Senate on Nov. 21, 1605:

The King is in terror; he does not appear, nor does he take his meals in public as usual. He lives in the innermost rooms, with only Scotchmen about him. The Lords of the Council also are alarmed and confused by the plot itself and the King's suspicions; the city is in great uncertainty; Catholics fear heretics, and *vice versa*; both are armed; foreigners live in terror of their houses being sacked by the mob that is convinced that some, if not all, foreign Princes are at the bottom of the plot. The King and Council have very prudently thought it advisable to quiet the popular feeling by issuing a proclamation, in which they declare that no foreign Sovereign had any part in the conspiracy. God grant this be sufficient, but, as it is, every one has his own share of alarm.

220–6. It has become almost conventional to remark upon the abruptness with which Milton concludes this poem.

224. *Compita*. Milton is of course referring to bonfires in the streets in which Guy Fawkes was burned in effigy, a customary part of the celebration of the Fifth of November.

IN OBITUM PRAESULIS ELIENSIS

1–6. See *Eleg.* 3.

7. *centilinguis Fama*. See *Q. Nov.* 172–93, 211–2, and notes. *Centilinguis* is apparently a word of Milton's coinage; cf. Lat. *centoculus* and *centimanus*.

10. *Populosque Neptuno satos*. According to tradition, Albion, son of Neptune, was an early ruler of Britain. See Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1807, 1.8. Cf. *Q. Nov.* 2–3, and notes.

13–4. *Qui rex sacrorum*, etc. Had Milton been reading Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in which (4.19) there is an account of St.

Ethelthryth, or Audrey, abbess of Ely, and her sister, St. Sexburga who succeeded her? Bede explains the origin of the name Ely as follows:

Est autem Elge in provincia Orientalium Anglorum regio familiarum circiter sexcentarum, in similitudinem insulae vel paludibus, ut diximus, circumdata vel aquis; unde et a copia anguillarum, quae in eisdem paludibus capiuntur, nomen accepit.

See also Camden, *Britain*, 1637, p. 492. In Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, the etymology of the name Ely is thus given: *Elig* — *el* = *ael*, an eel, *-ig*, an island. The term Isle of Ely is then tautological. See also *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.291.

18–9. *Nec vota Naso in Ibida*, etc. In imitation of the attack of Callimachus upon Apollonius, Ovid early in the period of his exile wrote the *Ibis*, an invective directed against an enemy who never has been identified. See *Ibis*, ed. by Ellis, pp. xix–xlviii.

alto...pectore. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.36; 6.599–600. See *Eleg.* 3.31; *Natur.* 3.

20–2. *Graiusque vates parcius*, etc. Archilochus of Paros, a Greek lyric poet of the seventh century B.C., was the suitor of Neobule, daughter of Lycambes, who at first promised, but later refused, to give his daughter to the poet. So enraged was Archilochus at this treatment that he attacked Lycambes and his family in a poem of violent invective which was recited at the festival of Demeter. It was said that as a result of the attack Lycambes and his daughters hanged themselves (Ovid, *Ibis* 45; Horace, *Epod.* 6.11–3). Plutarch (*Cato the Younger* 7) speaks of the bitter tone, the license, and the puerility of Archilochus.

Neobulen. *Neobolen*, 1645.

24. *neci necem*. 'Rather Ovidian and not suited to the gravity of the subject,' says Keightley. Compare Browne, *Epitaph on the Countess Dowager of Pembroke* 3–6:

> Death, ere thou hast slain another
> Fair and learned and good as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee.

27–8. *vitream Bilem.* Greek medical writers attributed madness to a peculiar condition of the black bile, μελαγχολία, which they described as having a specially glittering appearance (Galen, *De Symptomatum Causis* 3.7, in Galen, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Kuhn, 7.245). Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.141) uses the term *splendida bilis*, and Persius (3.8), supposedly following Horace, *vitrea bilis*, which translates the Greek expression ὑαλώδης χολή. See Casaubon's note on Persius 3.8, and Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 1.1.3.1. Cf. *Salsil.* 19; *Damon.* 77; *L'Al.* 1–9; *Il Pens.* 12–24.

31–4. *Non est, . . . Mors atra Noctis filia*, etc. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 758–9), Sleep and Death, the children of dark Night, have their dwelling in Tartarus. Homer likewise (*Il.* 14.231) makes Sleep the brother of Death. As Milton here represents Death he has little harmony with the Thanatos of the *Alcestis* of Euripides which Osgood cites (p. 26). Milton's final conception of Death is undoubtedly that in *P.L.* 2.666–703, where he is the child of Satan and Sin. See Verity's note on *P.L.* 2.666. In the present instance Death appears as a judge of mankind (see lines 41–4 below), like the Heavenly Judge who shall separate the sheep from the goats (Matt. 25.31–3). The significance of the passage is that the voice of the dead Bishop coming from the other world corrects the poet's pagan conception of death, or substitutes for it the Christian conception. In lines 39–44, however, there is a return to classical imagery. Cf. also *Eleg.* 2.4; 3.6, 16; *Procan.* 5; *Praesul.* 17.

33. *Erebove.* See note on *Q. Nov.* 69.

Erinnye. Homer in *Il.* 9.454 mentions only one Fury, but in *Il.* 19.259 there are more than one. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 184), the Furies—their number is not given—sprang from Earth, who had been impregnated by the blood of Heaven. Apollodorus (1.1.4), mainly following Hesiod, gives the names of three Furies, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera; so also Ovid (*Met.* 4.452; 8.481). Milton probably knew the descriptions of the Furies in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, 66 ff., and in the *Orestes* of Euripides, 255–60. Cf. *P.L.* 2.596, 671; 6.859; 10.560; *P.R.* 4.422; *Comus* 641; *Lyc.* 75.

34. *Chao.* Hesiod (*Theog.* 116) says: 'Verily at the first Chaos came to be, but next wide-bosomed Earth.' In the present instance Milton has accepted Chaos in the form presented by Hesiod and Virgil (*Georg.* 4.347; *Aen.* 4.510), that is, as a god of the lower world. Later his conception is more in harmony with that of Ovid (*Met.* 1.5–20), of chaos in the philosophic, not the mythological sense. The word occurs frequently in *Paradise Lost*; for its significance there consult Osgood, pp. 21–2.

35. *Ast illa*, etc. Keightley cites Rev. 14.14–6.

37. *Animasque mole carnea reconditas.* This and the *Foedum... carcerem* of line 46 below are a poetic expression of the Christian idea that the body is a hindrance to the soul, a prison-house, as it were. Christ said (Matt. 26.41): 'The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.' Paul repeatedly emphasized the opposition existing between flesh and spirit, as notably in Rom. 8.1–10. But the idea is older than Christianity, for in the *Phaedo* 64 (tr. by Jowett 1.203) Plato speaks of death as merely the *release* of the soul from the body. With this compare the Myth of Er in *Rep.* 10.614 (tr. by Jowett 3.330–1). Keightley cites the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero. He might also have referred to Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* 29–98. Warton quotes *Comus* 463–75; in line 461 Milton calls the body:

The unpolluted temple of the mind

—not a prison. Cf. John 11.12; 1 Cor. 3.17. See also Spenser, *F.Q.* 2.9, where the body is the House of Temperance, and Alma, the soul, the mistress. Cf. *P.L.* 5. 496–9.

39–40. *Horae... Themidos Iovisque filiae.* According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 901), the Hours were the children of Zeus and Themis. Pindar speaks of the Hours (*Ol.* 4.1; 13.17), but rather in the sense of the Seasons. In Ovid (*Met.* 2.26, 118), as here, they are the attendants of the Sun-god; see also *Fasti* 1.125. Cf. *P.L.* 4.267; 6.3; *Time* 2; *Comus* 986; *Son.* 1.4. Consult Osgood, p. 44.

41–4. See note on lines 31–4 above.

45. Here a curious error was committed by editors up to the time of Masson. They assumed that the speech beginning in line

27 ends with line 44, and that with *Hanc ut vocantem* Milton resumed speech. They further assumed that the speaker in lines 27–44 is Death, and that from line 45 to the end of the poem Milton was recounting a dream of a flight through starry spaces. Masson pointed out that the Bishop is the speaker from line 27 to the end. Cowper in translating the poem did not err as editors had done.

46. *Foedum...carcerem.* See note on line 37 above.

47. *Volatilesque...milites.* Compare *P.L.* 4.576:

To whom the winged Warrior thus returned.

Milton again in *Circumcision* 1 speaks of angels as 'winged warriors.' In *P.L.* 3.229 and 7.572 they are 'winged messengers.'

49–50. *Vates...senex*, etc. Elijah. See 2 Kings 2.11. Cf. *Eleg.* 4.97; *Pr. Bomb.* 1.7–8; *P.L.* 3.522; *P.R.* 2.16–7. 'How much more consistent,' says Masson, 'the comparison of Elijah's ascent is with the upward flight of the dead Bishop than it would have been with the imaginary flight of the poet!'

51–63. *Non me Boötis terruere*, etc. Milton undoubtedly was familiar with accounts of the flight of the soul among the stars on its way to heaven. Todd, who thought this a description of Milton's own ideal flight, cited Sylvester's *Du Bartas, First Week, Fourth Day* 12–24. Masson adds Donne's *Progress of the Soul* 189–209, and suggests that 'perhaps, as he [Milton] had been reading Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* for the purposes of his *In Quintum Novembris*,... he may have had in mind Chaucer's description there (Book II) of his flight with the Eagle, through the elements and constellations, and past the Galaxy itself, on their way to Fame's House.' It is possible that Dante's very elaborate account in the *Paradiso* of his ascent through the successive heavens may have had some influence here. Cf. *P.L.* 3.476–83. Milton may have had in mind also the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero. Masson's judgment of this passage is worthy of quotation: 'Though young Milton yielded in his present Latin poem to the habit of astronomical enumeration which such precedents as these may have instituted, how much more tastefully and poetically he has managed it.'

51–2. *Boötis...lucidi Sarraca tarda frigore.* The genitive of *Boötes* is either *Boötae* or *Boötis*. Milton's lines are reminiscent of Juvenal 5.23:

Frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Boötae.

The ancients called the constellation of the Bear *Plaustrum*, the Wain, for which Juvenal and Milton substitute *sarraca;* it was supposed to be driven by the Bear-keeper, Boötes.

lucidi. A reference to Arcturus, the largest and brightest star in Boötes.

tarda. The constellation approaches the horizon in an upright position, and sets longitudinally; it is therefore several hours in setting. Homer (*Od.* 5.272) calls Boötes 'late-setting.' Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.176; *Fasti* 3.405; Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 2.190; Catullus 66.67.

frigore. Because Boötes is so far north.

53. *Formidolosi Scorpionis brachia.* The Scorpion is the ninth of the twelve constellations, and the most brilliant of them all. In the story of Phaethon and the horses of Apollo, Ovid twice mentions the out-stretching arms of the Scorpion (*Met.* 2.82–3, 195–200). Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 1.34–5. See note following.

54. *Non ensis, Orion, tuus.* Orion, the Hunter, generally represented with a club; but see Statius, *Sil.* 1.1. 44–5:

magnus quanto mucrone minatur
Noctibus hibernis et sidera terret Orion.

The account generally accepted is that Orion died from the bite of a scorpion which Artemis sent against him. Both the scorpion and its victim were then raised to the rank of constellations. See Hesiod, *Astr.*, Frag. 4; Hyginus, *Astr.* 2.34; Apollodorus 1.4.3–5.

55. *fulgidi solis.* In the Ptolemaic astronomy the Sun was one of the planets.

56–8. *deam . . . triformem, dum coercebat suos Fraenis dracones aureis.* The *dea triformis* is the moon, so called by Ovid (*Met.* 7.94) and Horace (*Carm.* 3.22.4). The moon-goddess became identified with Artemis—later than Homer. In Aeschylus (Frag. 171, ed. by Wecklein) the moon is called 'bright eye of the daughter of

Leto.' Hecate was also a moon-goddess. In *Aen.* 4.511 Virgil represents Hecate as *Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.* As Servius says in a note on this line, *tergeminam* may refer to three phases of the moon, quarter, half, and full, or it may refer to Luna, Diana, and Prosperina (Hecate?—as Osgood queries, p. 29). Cf. *P.L.* 3.730–1:

> With borrowed light her countenance triform
> Hence fills and empties.

Verity in his note on these lines quotes Ben Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, in which the moon is addressed as 'thou three-formed star...to whose triple name...we incline.' With this he compares Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* 5.391: 'By the triple Hecate's team.' Osgood (p. 28) says that there seems to be no classical authority for representing Luna as driving a yoke of dragons. Milton again so represents her in *Il Pens.* 59. He had probably confused Luna and Demeter, or Ceres, who had a chariot drawn by two dragons (Ovid, *Met.* 5.642–4).

59. *Erraticorum siderum.* The planets, which were called the *stellae errantes*, ἀστέρες πλανήται. In the old astronomy a planet was distinguished from the fixed stars by having an apparent motion of its own. According to the Ptolemaic system, the planets were carried around the earth by the rotation of their respective spheres. See note on lines 51–63 above.

60. *lacteas...plagas.* The Milky Way, which Ovid (*Met.* 1.167–8) calls *via...lactea.* Cf. *P.L.* 7.577–81; *Eleg.* 1.58.

62–4. These lines suggest the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in Rev. 21, especially verses 11 and 21; they also suggest Ovid's description of the palace of the Sun in *Met.*2.1 ff. Cf. *P.L.* 3.501–9. Milton calls Heaven Olympus. The adaptation of classical mythology to Christian purposes is common in Milton. See note on *Q. Nov.* 23.

regiam crystallinam. Compare *Nativity* 125:

> Ring out, ye crystal spheres;

and *P.L.* 6.771–2; 858–60; *P.R.* 1.79–82.

Whatever Milton may have thought of the Copernican system of astronomy, which was only slowly accepted (see Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*, 1847, 1.404–12), for poetical purposes he preferred the Ptolemaic system. That he understood both is evident from *P.L.* 8.122–3, 160–1; in the same book (lines 77–84) he makes Raphael refer to the Ptolemaic system in not very favorable terms. Consult *Paradise Lost*, ed. by Verity, pp. 664–6; Thompson, *A Forerunner of Milton*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 32 (1917). 479–82; see also Zeller, *Aristotle*, tr. by Costello and Muirhead, 1.489–508; Toynbee, *Dante Dict.*, under *cielo cristallino*.

65–7. *nam quis effari queat*, etc. Compare 1 Cor. 2.9.

NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM

3. *Oedipodioniam. . .noctem.* In the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles, Oedipus pursues to the end the mystery of the death of Laius, and in horror puts out his own eyes when it is revealed. In the *Oedipus Coloneus*, blind, and banished by his own sons, he is cared for by his daughters.

volvit sub pectore. See note on *Eleg.* 3.31.

4–7. *Quae vesana suis metiri facta deorum*, etc. Compare Is.55.8: 'For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.' Milton's lines would seem to be a protest against anthropomorphism, which is, however, the natural effort of the human mind to define God in terms which it can comprehend. Consult Paulsen, *Introd. to Philosophy*, tr. by Thilly, pp. 254–5. See *P.L.* 1.777–80, and Verity's note thereon.

9. *rerum publica Mater.* Earth, Γῆ or Γαῖα, the common mother, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 117–63), came into being next after Chaos. Her first-born was Heaven, and after him she bore the Hills and the Ocean, Cronos, the Cyclops, and many others of the race of giants. As mother of Cronos, Earth was the progenitor of the Olympian gods. Pindar (*Nem.* 6.1–2) says: 'One is the race of men, one is the race of Gods, and from one mother do

we both derive our breath.' In *Met.* 2.272, Ovid speaks of *alma Tellus*. Cf. *P.L.* 5.338:

Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields;

and *P.L.* 1.198, 509, 687, 778; 7.451–6; 9.1000; *P.R.* 4.563. See also Spenser, *F.Q.* 1.2.19.6; 2.11.42.9; 5.7.9.2. Consult Osgood, p. 30.

14–5. *An et insatiabile Tempus*, etc. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 2.324: *et ineluctabile tempus*. Time, the Chronos, Χρόνος, of the Greeks, was personified as the father of all things at least as early as Pindar (see *Ol.* 2.19), and appears frequently thereafter. See Roscher, *Lexikon* 1.899–900. The identification of Chronos with Cronos, Κρόνος, which, however, is untenable, may also be traced to antiquity (see Plutarch, *Q.Rom.* 11–12; Gellius, *N.A.* 12.11.7). See Roscher, *Lexikon* 2.1526–7; Preller, *Griech. Myth.*, 1872, 1.45.

16–8. These lines are possibly an allusion to the struggles between Zeus and his father Cronos. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 543–506.

19–20. *sono dilapsa tremendo*, etc. Keightley refers to 2 Peter 3.10: 'The heavens shall pass away with a great noise.' Compare note on lines 65–9 below.

20–32. With these lines compare Hesiod's description of the battle of the gods and the Titans (*Theog.* 679–86, tr. by Evelyn-White):

The boundless sea rang terribly around, and the earth crashed loudly; wide Heaven was shaken and groaned, and high Olympus reeled from its foundation under the charge of the undying gods, and a heavy quaking reached dim Tartarus and the deep sound of their feet in the fearful onset and of their hard missiles. So, then they launched their grievous shafts upon one another, and the cry of both armies as they shouted reached to starry heaven; and they met together with a great battle-cry.

21. *Olympius*. Zeus or Jupiter. Homer frequently calls Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, the Olympian (*Od.* 1.27, 60; 4.74; etc.).

uterque polus. See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

22. *horribilisque retecta Gorgone Pallas*. The three Gorgons, of whom the most famous was Medusa, were the children of Phorcys

and Ceto (Hesiod, *Theog.* 270; Apollodorus 1.2.6; Ovid, *Met.* 4.783). A look at the face of Medusa turned the observer to stone, but Perseus beheaded her (*Theog.* 280–1; Apollodorus 2.4.2; *Met.* 4.770–86). Pallas Athene then placed the head in her shield (Homer, *Il.* 5.741; Apollodorus 2.4.3; Ovid, *Met.* 4.803).

23. *proles Iunonia.* See note on *Eleg.* 7.81.

25–8. Phoebus, like his son Phaethon, shall fall into the ocean, and the lamp of the sun shall be extinguished. See note on *Eleg.* 5.92. Compare *P.L.* 1.740–6, and Homer, *Il.* 1.591 ff.

27. *Nereus.* Hesiod says (*Theog.* 233–6, tr. by Evelyn-White): 'Sea begat Nereus, the eldest of his children, who is true and lies not: and men call him the Old Man, because he is trusty and gentle, and does not forget the laws of righteousness, but thinks just and kindly thoughts.' Homer (*Il.* 18.141) calls him 'the ancient one of the sea.' His dwelling was a cave in the depths of the Aegean (Apollonius Rhodius 4.772; Ovid, *Met.* 2.268–9).

29. *aerei...Haemi.* Haemus, Αἷμος, was the Greek name of the great Balkan mountains, particularly the eastern part of the range (Herodotus 4.49; Pliny, *N.H.* 4.7.28; Homer, *Il.* 14.227; Ovid, *Met.* 6.87).

31–2. It is not clear whether these lines refer to the warfare of the gods and the Titans or to the battle of the gods and the giants. The similarity of the struggles and the protagonists could hardly fail to cause confusion. Hesiod gives an account of the conflict with the Titans (*Theog.* 617–735), but not of that with the giants. It is possible that both stories originally were one, and were differentiated by the accidental introduction of strange material in the course of frequent repetition. For purposes of comparison, I would refer especially to the clear and condensed accounts of both contests given in Apollodorus (1.2.1 and 1.6. 1–2). There is no mention here as in Ovid (*Met.* 1.154–55) of piling Pelion upon Ossa; and only in the subsequent struggle with Typhon is Mount Haemus mentioned by Apollodorus (1.6.3), who says: 'So, being again pursued, he [Typhon] came to Thrace, and in fighting at Mount Haemus he heaved whole mountains.'

It was the Aloads, the two giant-sons of Poseidon and Iphimedeia, who, according to Apollodorus (1.7.4), set Ossa upon Olympus and Pelion upon Ossa, and threatened to ascend thereby to heaven. Milton conforms to the classical tradition in laying the scene of the battle, whether with the Titans or with the giants, in Thrace. See Diodorus Siculus 5.71; Strabo 5.4.4; Pausanias 8.29.1. See note on lines 20–32 above.

Stygium...Ditem. See notes on *Eleg.* 1.43–4; 3.16. I have found no explicit statement of Pluto's part in the war with the giants, nor have I discovered the authority for Masson's assertion that in the war with the Titans Pluto used the Ceraunian mountains as missiles. In the accounts consulted, there is general agreement that it was in the contest with the giants that mountains or islands were hurled. See Apollodorus and Ovid as cited above; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.281–2; Claudian, *Gigantomachia* 66–71; Horace, *Carm.* 3.4.51–2.

fraternaque bella. Neither the war with the Titans nor that with the giants was a war of brother against brother; both were, however, 'fraternal wars' in that brothers united to oppose brothers. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 11.460.

31. *Ceraunia.* Greek Κεραύνια ὄρη, a ridge of mountains in Epirus extending several miles along the coast from the Acroceraunian promontory. See Caesar, *B.C.* 3.6; Pliny, *N.H.* 6.20, 29; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.332.

33–4. *At Pater omnipotens . . . Consuluit rerum summae.* With this Todd compared *P.L.* 6.673; but it is better to take 669–74:

> And now all Heaven
> Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread,
> Had not the Almighty Father, where he sits
> Shrined in his sanctuary of Heaven secure,
> Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
> This tumult.

Up to this point Milton has been asking the question: Shall all nature, the whole system of the universe, decay and fall in ruins?

But the thesis which he is defending is *naturam non pati senium*, and he asserts that God constituted the universe as a system free from decay. In lines 37–65 he proceeds to support this thesis, beginning with the *primum mobile* which still revolves, and communicates its motion to the other spheres.

33. *fundatis fortius astris*. Compare Genesis 1.16–7.

37. *rota prima*. The *primum mobile*. See note on *Praesul*. 62–4.

39. *Saturnus*. In the Ptolemaic astronomy, the sphere of the planet Saturn was the seventh, beginning from the Earth and counting the Moon as the first. Between Saturn and the *primum mobile* was the sphere of the fixed stars, which Milton here omits. Saturn was considered a planet of a cold nature (Virgil, *Georg.* 1.336), and the slowest in its movement through the twelve signs of the zodiac (Dante, *Conv.* 2.14).

40. *Mavors*. The old and poetic name of Mars. Again Milton makes an omission, passing over Jupiter, the sixth planet, to Mars, the fifth, which is remarkable for the redness of its light; it was considered a star of fiery nature as compared with the cold of Saturn and the mildness of Jupiter. See Dante, *Conv.* 2.14.

41–4. Under the form of Phoebus, Apollo, the god of light, whose name was also used for the sun itself (Horace, *Carm.* 3.21.24; Ovid, *R.A.* 256; *Met.* 2.110) Milton refers to the undiminished light and heat of the sun.

Devexo temone. Phoebus has not grown weak, and therefore has not been forced to drive his chariot over a course nearer to the earth in order to warm this.

45–8. The planet described as *formosus* is Venus, known to the ancients as Hesperus when it was the evening star and as Lucifer when the morning star. See Varro, *R.R.* 3.5.17; Cicero, *N.D.* 2.20.53; Ovid, *Met.* 2.114–5; Dante, *Par.* 8.11–12; *Conv.* 2.2, 14; Spenser, *F.Q.* 7.6.9.6–9. Cf. *P.L.* 7.104, 366. Consult Orchard, *Milton's Astronomy*, 1913, p. 232. Keightley quotes several passages from Tasso (*Rim. Amor., Son.* 60, 242; *Rim. Amor., Canz.* 16; *Le Sette Gior.* 4.809), who maintained a theory that the morning and the evening star appeared in the same day.

46. *Olympo.* The heavens or the sky. Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.86; *Aen.* 9.106.

49. *Delia.* Diana was called Delia, as her brother Apollo was called Delius, because they were both born on the island of Delos (Ovid, *Met.* 6.191–2, 333–36; 5.639; Virgil, *Ecl.* 7.29). In the present case Delia means the moon. See notes on *Praesul.* 56–8, *Mansus* 55, and cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.196–8.

50. *Caeruleumque ignem paribus complectitur ulnis.* Keightley noted the similarity to Virgil, *Georg.* 1.427–8:

> Luna revertentes cum primum colligit ignis,
> Si nigrum obscuro comprenderit aëra cornu.

51. *Nec variant elementa fidem.* Similar, as Todd noticed, to Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 1.42–3:

> Paene reluctatis iterum pugnantia rebus
> Rupissent elementa fidem.

53. *Corus.* The north-west wind. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 3.356.

54. *Gelonos.* The Geloni were a Scythian people on the Borysthenes, the modern Don in the Ukraine. See Pliny, *N.H.* 4.12.88; Virgil, *Georg.* 2.115; Horace, *Carm.* 2.9.23.

55. *Aquilo.* The north, or the north-east, wind. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 2.47.120; Virgil, *Georg.* 2.404; *Aen.* 3.285.

56. *Siculi...Pelori.* Pelorus was the north-eastern promontory of Sicily, now the Capo di Faro. Cf. Diodorus Siculus 4.85; Virgil, *Aen.* 3.411, 687.

57. *Rex maris.* Neptune, or Poseidon, who, according to Homer (*Il.* 15.187–92, tr. by Lang, Leaf, and Myers), thus tells his own story:

> For three brothers are we, the sons of Cronos, whom Rhea bare, Zeus, and myself, and Hades is the third.... And in three lots are all things divided, and each drew a domain of his own, and to me fell the hoary sea, to be my habitation for ever, when we shook the lots: and Hades drew the murky darkness, and Zeus the wide heaven, in clear air and clouds.

Cf. *P.L.* 9.18; *P.R.* 2.190: *Vacation* 43; *Comus* 18, 869; *Lyc.* 90. Consult Osgood, pp. 61–2.

et rauca circumstrepit, etc. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.171.

58. *Oceani.* Oceanus, according to Apollodorus (1.1.3), was a Titan, the son of Earth and Heaven. So in *P.L.* 1.510. 'In Homer,' as Osgood observes (p. 76), 'Oceanus is the personification of the streams which encircle the earth. He lives at the ends of the earth, and is called "father of the gods" ' (*Il.* 14.301–2).

tubicen. Triton, who, as Keightley observed, was not the trumpeter of Oceanus, but of Neptune. Ovid (*Met.* 1.330–8) describes Triton performing his function as herald. Cf. *Comus* 873; *Lyc.* 89.

59. *Aegaeona.* Aegaeon, or Aigaion, from Αἰγαίων, was, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 147), the son of Earth and Heaven, a monster with a hundred arms, who, Homer says (*Il.* 1.403–4), was called by the gods Briareus, and by men Aigaion. Milton, however, is indebted to Ovid, *Met.* 2.9–10:

ballenarumque prementem
Aegaeona suis inmania terga lacertis.

Balearica. The precise meaning of this reference to the Balearic Islands is not clear.

60. *Terra.* See note on line 9 above.

61. *Narcissus.* Ovid tells the story of Narcissus, son of the nymph Liriope and the river-god Cephissus, in *Met.* 3.402–510. He fell in love with the image of his own face as he saw it reflected in a fountain, and for love pined and died; whereupon he was changed into a flower. Cf. *P.L.* 4.453 ff.; *Comus* 237.

62–3. *puer ille suum tenet,* etc. Apollo's favorite was Hyacinth, whom by accident he killed while playing with the discus. In his grief Apollo changed the boy into the flower which thereafter bore his name, its petals marked with ΑΙ ΑΙ, the cry of lamentation (Ovid, *Met.* 10.162–216). Cf. *Infant* 25; *Lyc.* 106. The favorite of Venus was Adonis, son of Myrrha, born after she had been transformed into a tree. Venus fell in love with him. He was killed by a wild boar, and changed by Venus into an anemone, the red wind-flower (Ovid, *Met.* 10.503–739). Cf. *P.L.* 1.446; 9.440; *Comus* 999. Consult Osgood, pp. 3–4.

Cypri. The island of Cyprus was sacred to Venus. See Ovid, *Met.* 10.270; Horace, *Carm.* 1.3.1.

64–5. *Terra datum sceleri celavit montibus aurum*, etc. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.137–42:

> Nec tantum segetes alimentaque debita dives
> Poscebatur humus, sed itum est in viscera terrae;
> Quasque recondiderat Stygiisque admoverat umbris,
> Effodiuntur opes, inritamenta malorum.
> Iamque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentibus aurum
> Prodiderat.

The thought is substantially the same in Horace, *Carm.* 3.3.49–52:

> Aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm,
> Cum terra celat, spernere fortior
> Quam cogere humanos in usus
> Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.

In *Cons.* 2, *M.* 5.23–30 Boethius speaks thus of the former age:

> Utinam modo nostra redirent
> In mores tempora priscos!
> Sed saevior ignibus Aetnae
> Fervens amor ardet habendi.
> Heu primus quis fuit ille
> Auri qui pondera tecti
> Gemmasque latere volentes
> Pretiosa pericula fodit?

Chaucer in *The Former Age* follows Boethius; lines 25–32 are significant:

> What sholde it han avayled to werreye?
> Ther lay no profit, ther was no richesse,
> But cursed was the tyme, I dar wel seye,
> That men first dide hir swety bysinesse
> To grobbe up metal, lurkinge in darknesse,
> And in the riveres firste gemmes soghte.
> Allas! than sprong up al the cursednesse
> Of covetyse, that first our sorwe broghte!

Cf. *P.L.* 1.684–92. Ovid and Horace do not mention gems; Boethius speaks of them as hidden in the earth, but Chaucer has them under the rivers. It is possible, then, that Chaucer supplied the original of Milton's *sub aquis gemmas*.

64–5. *Terra...Conscia.* Cf. *Q. Nov.* 150.

65–9. *Sic denique in aevum,* etc. Hakewell also in his *Apologie ...of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World* (1627) predicted the final destruction of the universe by fire. The idea is derived from 2 Peter 3.10: 'But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up.' Cf. note on lines 19–20 above.

66. *series iustissima rerum.* Riley (2.275) quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 1.641–2.

68. *polos.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

DE IDEA PLATONICA

1. *Dicite.* 'Though the scazontes,' says Keightley, 'used sometimes to commence verses with a dactyl, we do not believe that this was the case in the regular iambic measure. All through this poem he makes too frequent use of the dactyl and anapaest.' Bennett (*Odes and Epodes of Horace,* 1901, p. xxxviii) thus comments on iambic trimeter: 'The spondee is occasionally substituted for the iambus in the odd feet of the verse, and at times even other substitutes occur, *e.g.*, the tribrach (⏑ ⏑ ⏑), dactyl, and rarely the anapaest (⏑ ⏑ —). A caesura regularly occurs after the short syllable of the third foot (penthemimeral caesura), less frequently after the short syllable of the fourth foot (hepthemimeral caesura).'

sacrorum praesides nemorum deae. The goddesses who preside over the groves—not necessarily the sacred groves—are presumably Diana and her attendant nymphs. In Virgil, *Aen.* 9.404–5, she is thus addressed:

Tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori,
Astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.

In an ode to Diana (*Carm.* 3.22.1–4) Horace says:

Montium custos nemorumque, Virgo,
Quae laborantis utero puellas
Ter vocata audis adimisque leto,
Diva triformis.

The reason for calling upon Diana and her nymphs to explain the problem of the idea, or archetype, of man is that, as Lucina, she presided over childbirth, and might possibly know the being which served as a pattern for the human race, whose members one by one she ushered into the world.

2–3. *noveni perbeata numinis Memoria mater.* The nine Muses, the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, or Memoria (Hesiod, *Theog.* 36–103). See Ovid, *Met.* 6.114; Spenser, *Ruines of Time* 366–8. Cf. notes on *Eleg.* 1.25; 4.31.

3–6. *quaeque in immenso procul*, etc. Todd noted the similarity of these lines to Claudian, *Laud. Stil.* 2.424–40. The personification of Eternity, which, so far as I am aware, does not again occur in Milton, is not properly a part of classical mythology. It appears in the period of the Roman Empire, and then as the *aeternitas imperii*, or as the sacred and immortal name of the Roman emperors. See Suetonius, *Nero* 11; Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 59, 83. Consult Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer*, p. 278. According to Spenser, Eternity is the father of Erebus (*F.Q.* 2.4.41.9) and the son of Jove (*Ruines of Time* 369).

7–10. *Quis ille primus*, etc. The Platonic idea of man, the archetype of the whole human race. See Introd. p. 52.

9. *polo.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

11–2. On the birth of Pallas Athene, the Latin Minerva, full-grown and panoplied, from the head of Zeus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 932[a]–46[a]; Apollodorus 1.3.6. In the *Hom. Hy. to Athene* 2.3, she is the 'pure virgin, savior of cities, courageous.' Virgil (*Aen.* 2.31) and Ovid (*Am.* 1.7.18) apply to her the epithets *innupta* and

casta. She was called Pallas because she flayed a giant of that name, and used his skin in a shield for her own body (Apollodorus, 1.6.2).

Milton's question here is: Does the idea of man exist in the mind of God?

13–5. Milton, assuming the part of an extreme and very literal Aristotelian, expresses his difficulty in conceiving the idea, which is a universal, yet an individual apart, and, still more strange, a being of some sort confined to a portion of space.

17. *ordines decemplicis*. See note on *Praesul*. 62–4.

20. *Lethes*. See note on *Q. Nov*. 132. Warton cites Virgil, *Aen*. 6.713–5. Cf. Pindar, Frag. 98 (Boeckh). See Plato, *Meno* 81 B-C, tr. by Jowett:

> In the ninth year Persephone sends the souls of those from whom she has received the penalty of ancient crime back again from beneath into the light of the sun above, and these are they who become noble kings and mighty men and great in wisdom, and are called saintly heroes in after ages.

The doctrine of metempsychosis frequently appears in Plato. See *Phaedo* 70–2; *Phaedrus* 248–9; *Rep*. 10.617.

21–2. Milton may have derived this conception from Hesiod, *Theog*. 729–31, 746, where the Titans 'are hidden under misty gloom, in a dank place where are the ends of the huge earth,' and Atlas 'stands immovably upholding the wide heaven upon his head and unwearying hands.' Cf. Virgil, *Aen*. 4.480–82:

> Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
> Ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlans
> Axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.

See note following.

24. *Atlante*. In *Theog*. 507–20, tr. by Evelyn-White, Hesiod briefly tells the story of Atlas, son of Iapetus and Clymene: 'Atlas through hard constraint upholds the wide heaven with unwearying head and arms, standing on the borders of the earth

before the clear-voiced Hesperides; for this lot wise Zeus assigned to him.' Cf. Homer, *Od.* 1.52; Apollodorus 1.2.3; Virgil, *Aen.* 4.481–2; Ovid, *Met.* 4.631–62.

26. *Dircaeus augur.* The Dircean, that is, Boeotian or Theban, seer was Tiresias, who was said to have been blinded because he revealed the secrets of the gods (Apollodorus 3.6.7). According to Ovid, he decided a contest among the gods, and thereby displeased Juno, who blinded him; but Jupiter in return for the loss of sight then endowed him with the power to foretell the future (*Met.* 3.324–38). In the extant Greek plays which deal with the Theban story, notably the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles, Tiresias is the spokesman of the gods. Cf. *P.L.* 3.36; 2 *Def.*, *Pr. W.* 1.236, where Milton speaks of his own blindness; *Eleg.* 6.68.

27. *Pleiones nepos.* Mercury, identified with Hermes, who was the son of Maia; Maia was one of the Pleiades, the seven daughters of Atlas and the ocean-nymph Pleione (Hesiod, *W.D.* 383; Apollodorus 3.10.1–2; Ovid, *Met.* 1.668–72). In *Her.* 16.62 Ovid calls Mercury *Pleiones nepos.*

29. *sacerdos... Assyrius.* Warton identified the Assyrian priest as Sanchuniathon, an ancient Phoenician sage, who belongs rather to legend than to history. He is said to have been a contemporary of Semiramis and Ninus of Assyria. It is by no means certain that he left any writings, although Philo Herennius, of Byblus, asserted that he had translated the mythological works of Sanchuniathon from the Phoenician. See Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 1.9. Warton may have been correct in his identification, but it is also possible that Milton was not referring to a particular person.

30. *Nini.* The tradition is that the Assyrian empire was founded by Ninus and his wife Semiramis, and that the city of Nineveh derived its name from Ninus. Their history is related at length by Diodorus Siculus 2.1–20. See also Curtius Rufus 3.3.16; Ovid, *Met.* 4.213. Cf. *P.R.* 3.276.

31. *Belon.* The Assyrian god Bel, by the Hebrews called Baal. He is mentioned in *P.L.* 1.720, in commenting on which Verity

refers to Sandys' *Relation*, p. 207: '*Belus Priscus*, reputed a God, and honored with temples.' See Herodotus 1.181–3. The temple of Bel, which Herodotus attributed to Semiramis, is described by Raleigh, *History*, 1621, p. 183. Consult W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d. ed., pp. 93–113.

Osiridem. Osiris and Isis his wife, who is mentioned below in line 35, were the two principal deities of the Egyptians, whose religion consisted in a pantheistic worship of nature. Although they were later associated with the Sun and the Moon, Osiris was originally a god of the Nile, and Isis a goddess of the earth. Her marriage with Osiris was the fertilization of the earth by the waters of the Nile (Diodorus Siculus 1.12, 14, 27; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*). According to Herodotus (2.42), Osiris and Isis were the only gods worshiped by all the Egyptians. Cf. *P.L.* 1.478; *Nativity* 212–3; *Areop.*, *Pr. W.* 2.89; 1 *Def.*, *Pr. W.* 1.119.

32–4. *Ter magnus Hermes.* A variation of *Hermes Trismegistus.* Cf. *Il Pens.* 85–92. The Greek god Hermes, under the name Hermes Trismegistus, became identified with the Egyptian Thot or Theut, who was supposed to be the author and patron of the arts and sciences, the embodiment of the Λόγος. See Cicero, *N.D.* 3.22. Iamblichus (*De Myst.* 1.1) designates the sum-total of the arts and sciences of the Egyptians by the name Hermes, and later (*op. cit.* 8.1) attributes to him twenty thousand works. Forty-two so-called Hermetic books, actually written by the Alexandrian Neoplatonists of the fourth century, were ascribed to Hermes. Fragments of these still exist in the works of Lactantius, with which Milton was familiar, Stobaeus, and Suidas. For *Trismegistus* see Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* 1.6; 6.25. Verity in his note on *Il Pens.* 85–8 cites Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors* 4.13: 'Wherein they worshiped... Mercurius, the scribe of Saturn, and counselor of Osiris, the great inventor of their religious rites, and promoter of good into Egypt.' Cf. also Ben Jonson, *Fortunate Isles*, *Works*, ed. by Cunningham, 1875, 8.70; *Neptune's Triumph*, *ibid.* 8.25. Consult Baldwin, *A Note on Il Penseroso*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 33 (1918). 184–5; *Hermetica*, ed. by Scott, 1.1–16.

35. *Academi*. The Academy, Ἀκαδήμεια, the gymnasium or pleasure-garden on the river Cephissus, about a mile northwest of Athens, the resort of Plato and his students, gave its name to the Platonic school of philosophy. See Plutarch, *Cimon* 13; Diogenes Laertius 3.5.7.41; Pausanias 1.30. Cf. *Education*, *Pr. W.* 3.474, and *Eleg.* 7 (*add.*). 5.

37–9. Plato's judgment is to be turned against himself. He would exclude poets from his State; but, if he has first introduced the *idea*, the archetype, into the schools, he must be the greatest inventor of fictions among them, and must go into exile himself, or allow the other poets to return. See Plato, *Rep.* 3.398 A; 8.568 B; 10.595; 607 A; *Laws* 7.817. Cf. *Areop.*, *Pr. W.* 2.71–3. See also J. C. Scaliger's poem, *De Poetis a Platone eiectis a Republica*.

AD PATREM

1. *Pierios...fontes*. See note on *Eleg.* 4.31. Compare Vida's invocation of the Muses at the opening of the first and second books of his *De Arte Poetica*.

3. *laxatum gemino de vertice rivum*. Mount Parnassus and the Castalian spring. See note on *Eleg.* 4.30.

4–5. *Ut, tenues oblita sonos, audacibus alis*, etc. Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 4.1. In the invocation of the Heavenly Muse at the opening of *Paradise Lost*, Milton says (1.12–6):

> I thence
> Invoke thy aid to my adventrous song,
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues
> Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

It would be gratifying to know what Milton had in mind when he wrote *tenues oblita sonos*.

Musa. Poetic inspiration. See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

12. *census*. Equivalent to *pretium*, or *munera*. So Ovid, *Met.* 7.739.

14. *aurea Clio*. As Masson explains, Milton mentions Clio, the Muse of history 'inasmuch as what he has to say about his

father is strictly true.' Phocas in *Praefatio* 4 to his *Vita Virgilii* also addresses *aurea Clio*. Cf. Ovid, *A.A.* 1.27; Horace, *Carm.* 1.12.2. For the Muses see note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

17–55. Compare this panegyric on poetry with Horace, *Ars Poetica* 391–407; Sidney, *Defense of Poesy*, ed. by Cook, pp. 2–5; Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* 1.1–5.

18–20. The divine origin of man, and the divine element in his nature, are evinced by nothing else so much as by poetry.

20. *Sancta Prometheae retinens vestigia flammae*. In Apollodorus 1.7.1, Prometheus appears both as the creator of men and as the benefactor who gave them fire; but in the earliest accounts (Hesiod, *Theog.* 510–69; *W.D.* 42–58) he is only the benefactor. Consult *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 22.435–7.

21–3. *Carmen amant Superi*. Compare *Eleg.* 6.14:

Carmen amat Bacchum, carmina Bacchus amat.

tremebundaque Tartara carmen, etc. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 4.471–2. Orpheus, the Thracian bard, played upon his lyre and sang so sweetly that even stones and trees and the beasts of the forest listened to him. After the death of his wife Eurydice he went to the lower world in search of her, and besought Pluto and Proserpina to return her to him. See Ovid, *Met.* 10.1–47, and Virgil, *Georg.* 4.453 ff. Boethius, *Cons.* 3. *M.* 12. 5 ff. Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica* 391–3. Again in lines 52–5 below, Milton refers to Orpheus. The same allusion occurs in *Il Pens.* 105–8:

Or bid the soul of Orpheus sing
Such notes as, warbled to the string,
Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek,
And made Hell grant what love did seek.

Warton observes that 'May, who wrote a little before Milton, describes excellent music by an allusion to the same particular circumstance in the story of Orpheus.' His reference, which I am unable to verify, is to '*Edward the Second*, st. 624, p. 156, edit. 1629,' and his quotation as follows:

And melodie, such as at Pluto's gate
Once Orpheus played.

In Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* 2.1.991–4 occur the following lines on Spenser:

> He sung th' heroick knights of faiery land
> In lines so eloquent, of such command,
> That had the Thracian plaid but half so well,
> He had not left Eurydice in hell.

Cf. *L'Al.* 145–50; *P.L.* 7.34; Spenser, *Gnat* 433–72.

24–5. *Phoebades.* A priestess of Apollo was called Phoebas (cf. Lucan 5.128–30). Warton explains that the *Phoebades* were the 'priestesses of Apollo's temple at Delphi, who always delivered their oracles in verse. Our author,' he continues, 'here recollected the *Ion* of Euripides. To Phemonoe, one of the most celebrated of these poetical ladies, the Greeks were indebted for hexameters (see Vida, *De Arte Poetica* 1.36–8). Others found it more commodious to sing in the specious obscurity of the Pindaric measure. Homer is said to have borrowed many lines from the responses of the priestess Daphne, daughter of Tiresias. It was suspected that persons of distinguished abilities in poetry were secretly placed near the oracular tripod, who immediately clothed the answer in metrical form, which was almost as soon conveyed to the priestess in waiting.' Ovid (*Am.* 2.8.12) calls Cassandra *Phoebas;* see also *Tr.* 2.400. Cf. *Eleg.* 6.73.

Sibyllae. The Sibyls were prophetesses. The most famous in Roman mythology was the Cumaean Sibyl, in the service of Apollo, who conducted Aeneas to the lower world. Her prophecies were in verse, of which Virgil says (*Aen.* 3.445–6):

> Quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo,
> Digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit.

Cf. Lucan, 5.136–8; Vida, *De Arte Poetica* 1.539–40.

26–9. Milton undoubtedly knew Cicero's *De Divinatione,* in the second book of which there is a discussion of the *haruspices* who examined the entrails of animals for the purpose of foretelling the future (see chapters 12–6). What may have been his authority for saying that he who performed the sacrifice

composed verses is uncertain. At least the association of poetry and prophecy, as in the case of the Sibyl, mentioned in the note on lines 24–5, was common. So also when drawing lots, as we know from Horace, *Ars Poetica* 403, it was customary to gild the horns of the bull that was to be sacrificed. See Homer, *Od.* 3.435, and Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, p. 508. In the account of a sacrifice in *Oedipus* 135–8, Seneca says:

> Colla tacturus steterat sacerdos:
> Dum manus certum parat alta vulnus,
> Aureo taurus rutilante cornu
> Labitur segnis.

26. *Carmina*, etc. 'Where did he learn this?' asks Keightley: 'Not from the ancients surely. *Pangere carmen* is to *compose* a poem.'

29. *Parcam.* See note on *Pr. Bomb.* 1.7.

30. *Olympum.* See note on *Eleg.* 5.19.

32–3. *Ibimus*, etc. Compare Rev. 4.4; 5.8; 14.2.

34. *geminique poli convexa.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

35–40. *Spiritus*, etc. Keightley cites Virgil, *Aen.* 6.724–7; and Ezek. 1.20. The doctrine of the animating world-spirit, a *mens divina*, was, so far as we know, originally Pythagorean. The music of the spheres, of which Milton is here speaking, also comes from Pythagorean sources. It was believed that the heavenly bodies in their orbits produced a harmony inaudible to human ears. Pythagoras (cf. Cicero, *Sommium Scipionis* 5) maintained that the stars moved according to fixed laws which were expressible in numbers according to the numbers that give the harmony of sounds. Gomperz (*Greek Thinkers*, tr. by Magnus, 1.118) says: 'There was nothing fanciful in the Pythagorean doctrine except only the belief that the differences of velocity in the movements of the stars were capable of producing a harmonious orchestration and not merely sounds of varying pitch.' Consult Cook, *Notes on Milton's Nativity Ode*, in *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences* 15 (1909). 342–5; and Pope, *Essay on Man*, ed. by Mark Pattison, 1904, p. 85.

36. *sidereis...choreis.* Cf. *Comus* 111–4.

37. *Immortale melos*, etc. Warton refers to *Lyc.* 176: 'the unexpressive nuptial song.'

38. *rutilus...serpens.* The constellation known as the Serpent is between the Great and the Lesser Bear. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.173–5; Hyginus, *Astr.* 3.1.

39. *ferox...Orion.* See note on *Praesul.* 54.

40. *Maurusius Atlas.* Atlas, son of Iapetus (see note on *Idea* 24), was the personification of a high mountain in Mauretania, or Maurusia as the Greeks called it, the modern Morocco (Diodorus Siculus 3.53; Virgil, *Aen.* 4.206).

41. For other general references to epic poetry as a type see *Mansus* 78–84; *Damon.* 161–8; *P.L.* 1.13–6. Consult Langdon, pp. 124–53, 249–55.

41–49. In epic poetry bards appear frequently in the royal halls entertaining the companies there assembled. See Homer, *Od.* 8.499–520; Virgil, *Aen.* 1.740–6. In *Od.* 17.270–1, Homer speaks of the lyre, which the gods have made the companion of the feast. Todd quotes Vida, *De Arte Poetica* 1.542–4:

> quae primum Fauni vatesque canebant
> Carmina, mortales passim didicere per urbes,
> Post epulas laudes heroum, et facta canentes.

43. *Lyaeo.* Bacchus as god of wine was also called Lyaeus, Λυαῖος, the relaxer, the deliverer from care, from λύειν to loose; cf. Latin *Liber.* See Virgil, *Aen.* 4.58; *Georg.* 2. 229; Ovid, *Am.* 3.15.17. By transference *Lyaeus* came to mean wine, as in Horace, *Carm.* 1.7.22; Ovid, *Am.* 2.11.49. See note on *Eleg.* 6 14–6.

45. *Aesculea...arbore.* Compare Ovid, *Met.* 1.448–51:

> His iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusve rotave
> Vicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem.
> Nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
> Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.

47–8. *Et Chaos*, etc. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.740–6:

> Cithara crinitus Iopas
> Personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.
> Hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
> Unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,
> Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,
> Quid tantum Oceano properent se tinguere soles
> Hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.

49. The Cyclopes, who in Homer are represented as a lawless race of shepherds, later appear as the assistants of Vulcan who forge the thunderbolts of Jupiter in a great cavern under Mount Aetna (Virgil, *Georg.* 4.170–3; *Aen.* 8.416–23).

50–67. The relationship of music and poetry. Cf. *Solemn Music* 1–8; *Son.* 13 (to Lawes). What place is allowed for instrumental music? Consult Langdon, pp. 39–40, 228–30.

50–1. Cf. Vida, *De Arte Poetica* 1.181–4.

52–5. *Orphea, cantus*, etc. See note on lines 21–3 above.

simulacraque functa. In speaking of Orpheus' descent to the lower world, Ovid (*Met.* 10.14–5) says:

> Perque leves populos simulacraque functa sepulcro
> Persephonen adiit.

Later (*Met.* 10.40–1) he adds:

> Talia dicentem nervosque ad verba moventem
> Exsangues flebant animae.

56. *sacras . . . Musas.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

56–66. Concerning the elder Milton's musical accomplishments, see Introd., p. 55.

60. *Arionii . . . nominis.* According to Herodotus (1.23), Arion lived in the time of Periander, tyrant of Corinth; he was 'a harper second to none of those who then lived, and the first, so far as we know, who composed a dithyramb, naming it so, and teaching it to a chorus at Corinth.' See Ovid, *Fasti* 2.79–95; Propertius 2.26.18; Virgil, *Ecl.* 8.56.

64. *Phoebus*. The conception of Phoebus as god of music and poetry is as old as Homer (*Il.* 1.603; *Od.* 8.79), and is common throughout antiquity. Cf. line 76 below; *Salsil.* 24; *Mansus* 2, 24; *Vacation* 37; *Passion* 23; *Shak.* 12; *Lyc.* 77; *Comus* 478.

66. *Dividuum*. 'The Latin adjective *dividuus* for "divisible" or "divisible into two" has fastened on Milton; and he turned it into English,' says Masson; 'see *P.L.* 7.382; 12.85; *Time* 12.'

67. *teneras...Camenas*. See note on *Eleg.* 6.3.

68–70. Milton obviously means some form of commercial enterprise.

71–2. Warton thinks Milton had in mind Ovid, *Am.* 1.15.5–6:

> Nec me verbosas leges ediscere, nec me
> Ingrato vocem prostituisse foro?

Cf. Propertius 4.1.131–4. Warton further quotes from *Education* (*Pr. W.* 3.466) as follows:

> Some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees.

Milton might have mentioned the Church, since in *Church-Gov.* 2 (*Pr. W.* 2.482) he speaks of 'the Church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child.'

73–6. Presumably a reference to Milton's retirement to Horton, where he lived in scholarly leisure from 1632 to 1638. Consult Masson, *Life.* 1(1881).338–9, 552–69. See *Introd.*, p. 55.

75. *Aoniae...ripae*. Aonia is the name of a plain in Boeotia (Strabo 9.2.31), and by metonymy a name for Boeotia. See Ovid, *Met.* 7.763; 9.112; Virgil, *Georg.* 3.11. Cf. *P.L.* 1.15; *Eleg.* 4.29; 6.17; *Rous.* 21.

76. *Phoebaeo*. See note on line 64 above.

78–92. Compare this account of Milton's education with the following statements made by him somewhat later in life: *Church-Gov.* 2 (*Pr. W.* 2.477):

I had, for my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father (whom God recompense!) been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers, both at home and at the schools.

2 *Def.* (*Pr. W.* 1.254):

My father destined me from a child to the pursuits of literature; and my appetite for knowledge was so voracious that, from twelve years of age, I hardly ever left my studies, or went to bed, before midnight.... My father had me daily instructed in the grammar-school, and by other masters at home. He then, after I had acquired a proficiency in various languages, and had made a considerable progress in philosophy, sent me to the University of Cambridge.

Concerning the languages Milton studied, lines 79–85 in *Ad Patrem* are explicit. Latin and Greek he would unquestionably begin early in life; at what time he took up the study of Hebrew, French, and Italian, it is not so easy to say, but, interestingly enough, it was at his father's suggestion.

79. *Romuleae.* Roman, from Romulus (Livy 1.4–7; Virgil, *Aen.* 1.275–7). Cf. *Aen.* 8.654.

83–4. The barbarians from the North and East who overran the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era left their imprint upon the Italian language. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. by Bury, 3.240–357; 5.25. Are we to understand from *degeneri ore* that Milton considered Italian a degenerate language? Consult Jespersen, *Language*, 1922, pp. 320–1.

85. *Palestinus... vates.* A Hebrew prophet.

86–92. Consult Langdon, p. 158, and compare Philips, *Theatrum Poetarum*, in *Critcial Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Spingarn, 2.268–9.

92. *libasse.* Keightley's note is: '*libasse*, sc. *oscula. Oscula libavit natae.* Virg., *Aen.* 1.256.'

93. Warton quotes Ovid, *Her.* 12.204:

I nunc, Sisyphias, improbe, confer opes!

Cf. also Horace, *Epist.* 1.6.17–8:

I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artis
Suspice.

97–100. See note on *Eleg.* 5.92.

98. *Publica...lumina.* Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.35: *lux...publica mundi.* See also *Natur.* 9.

99. *Hyperionios currus.* The chariot of the sun. Hyperion was the child of Heaven and Earth, and father of the Sun (Hesiod, *Theog.* 134, 371; Ovid, *Met.* 4.192–203).

101–4. Todd quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* 8.12–3. Cf. also Horace, *Carm.* 1.1.29–32; *Sat.* 1.10.73–4. Milton continued to hold himself apart from the rabble, and thus invokes his Muse in *P.L.* 7.30–3:

> Still govern thou my song,
> Urania, and fit audience find, though few;
> But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
> Of Bacchus and his revellers.

102. *hederas...laurosque.* See *Mansus* 6, and notes on *Eleg.* 5.13; 6.14–6. Compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 8.12–3:

> hanc sine tempore circum
> Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus.

Warton observes that 'such predictions of true genius, with a natural and noble consciousness anticipating its own immortality, are seldom found to fail.'

105–7. Cura, Querela, and like personifications, were common from the time of Prudentius onward. Milton no doubt was familiar with Care in Spenser, *F.Q.* 2.7.25.1; 3.12.25.4; and with Envy in *F.Q.* 5.12.33–8. Cf. *Q.Nov.* 139–54 and note.

106. *Invidiaeque acies transverso tortilis hirquo.* Though the sense of the line seems plain, there is no satisfactory syntactical explanation of *transverso hirquo.* Milton doubtless had in mind Virgil's *transversa tuentibus hircis* (*Ecl.* 3.8), but has tortured the phrase in an unjustifiable manner. Cf. *P.L.* 4.502–4, and Ben Jonson, *Volpone* 2.3.34:

> As thou wert gaz'd upon with goatish eyes.

111–20. The power of poetry to confer fame or immortality. Cf. *Mansus* 1–26; *Comus* 515–6; *Shak.* 1–16. See Horace, *Carm.* 3.30.

115–20. Masson suggests that these lines may have been added to the poem just before it was published in 1645. 'The phrase "*juvenilia carmina*" seems to refer to that volume as containing this piece among others. Anyhow, it was a beautiful ending and prophetic.' Milton possibly had in mind the passage in the *Frogs* (868–9) of Aristophanes where Aeschylus says of Euripides: 'My poetry survived me; his died with him; he's got it here all handy to recite.'

118. *spisso . . . Orco*. See note on *Eleg.* 7.83–4.

AD SALSILLUM

Heading. *Scazontes*. The metre khown as scazon, a name derived from σκάζειν, to limp or to halt, is a modification of the iambic trimeter, in which a spondee or trochee takes the place of the final iambus, thus producing the halting effect that comes from ending as it would seem with the wrong emphasis.

1. *O Musa*, etc. See preceeding note, and note on *Eleg.* 1.25. Warton says: 'Mr. Bowle here cites Angelinus Gazaeus, a Dutch poet, in *Pia Hilaria*, Antwerp, 1629, p. 79:

Subclaudicante tibia redi, scazon.

It is an indispensable rule, which Milton has not here always observed, that the scazon is to close with a spondee preceded by an iambus.' Todd gives the further information that 'Bowle adds from the *Affaniae* 2.3 of Charles Fitzgeoffrey:

Adeste scazon, melleum genus metri,
Suave claudicans iambicum carmen.

Milton, however regardless of the indispensable Latin canon, might perhaps think himself countenanced by the license admitted into Greek scazons.'

2. *Vulcanioque . . . incessu*. In *Il.* 18.393 Homer calls Vulcan 'the renowned lame god.' See note on *Eleg.* 7.81–2, and cf. *Natur.* 23; *P.L.* 1.732–51.

4. *flava Dëiope*. Deiopea, a nymph in the company of Cyrene who lived in the river Peneus. Juno promised her as a reward to

Aeolus, if he would assist in destroying the fleet of Aeneas (Virgil, *Georg.* 4.333–56; *Aen.* 1.65–75). I have found no authority for Milton's representation of Deiopea as dancing before the couch of Juno.

decentes . . . suras. Like the Homeric epithet, 'of the fair ankles,' applied to Hebe in *Od.* 11.603; Theocritus repeats the epithet (17.32). Warton cites *Il. Pens.* 47–8:

> And hears the Muses in a ring
> Aye round about Jove's altar sing.

'This pagan theology,' he says, 'is applied in *P.L.* 5.160–3 to the angels.' But it is altogether pagan theology? With the passage cited compare Rev. 5.11; 14.3.

6. *Adesdum. Dum* is used colloquially as an enclitic with imperatives and interjections, a usage common in Plautus and Terence.

s'is. Contracted from *si vis*; Keightley calls this an archaism, but it is rather a colloquialism.

7–8. *Camena nostra*, etc. In his complimentary verses addressed to Milton (see *Oxford Milton*, p. 117) Salzilli with extravagant praise placed Milton above Homer, Virgil, and Tasso, to whom *magnis . . . divis* here refers.

9. *Milto.* On the title-page of the 1645 edition of the Latin Poems we find *Miltoni*; in the heading of the verses from Mansus *Miltonium*, and in that of the verses from Selvaggi *Miltonum*; these forms come from the nominative *Miltonius* or *Miltonus*. Salzilli and Dati use *Milto*, *Miltonem*, and *Miltoni*. The verb, of which *Milto* is the subject and *haec* the object, is *optat* in line 17 below.

10–6. In April, 1638, Milton left England, and proceeded by way of Paris to Italy, where, in the course of the following year, he visited Florence, Rome, Naples, Lucca, Milan, Verona, Ferrara, Venice, and Bologna, the *superba cognitas urbes fama.* He arrived in England again in July, 1639. In the various Italian cities he was received in the academies, and made the acquaintance of many distinguished men, among them Galileo, Cardinal

Barberini, Holstenius, the librarian of the Vatican, and Manso, the friend of Tasso. He must have had ample opportunity to observe a *doctae indolem iuventutis* in the company of such brilliant young men as Valerio Cimentelli, Pietro Frescobaldi, Antonio Francini, Agostino Coltellini, and Carlo Dati. See Masson, *Life* 1(1881). 735–9, 768–834. Cf. stanzas 7–9 of Antonio Francini's Italian ode to Milton, which Masson translates as follows (*Life* 1(1881). 784):

> All truest glory loving,
> Milton, from thine own clime, through various parts,
> A pilgrim thou camest roving,
> In each to seek out sciences and arts.
> Kingly-great Gaul it hath been thine to see,
> And now the worthiest wights of Italy.
>
> A workman nigh divine,
> Virtue alone regarding, hath thy thought
> Beheld in each confine
> Whoso still treads the noble path he ought;
> Then, of the best selecting yet the best,
> To form the image of one perfectest.
>
> Our native Florentines,
> Or who in Florence have learnt the Tuscan tongue,
> Whose memory still shines
> Throughout the world, eternalized in song—
> These thou wouldst master for thy private treasure,
> Making their converse in their works thy pleasure.

10. *Diebus hisce.* The poem apparently was written during Milton's sojourn in Italy.

11. *Polique.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

13. *sub Iove.* The name of Jupiter, as god of heaven and of the bright day, is frequently used by the poets to signify heaven or sky (Horace, *Carm.* 1.1.25; Virgil, *Georg.* 2.419; Statius, *Theb.*

3.26; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.527). The etymology of the name explains this usage. Jupiter (*dieupater*, Ζεῦ-πατήρ) has as a basic root the Indo-germanic *dieu* which means 'shining forth, giving light.'

18–20. In Milton's day the old physiological theory of the four cardinal humors, whose proportions determined mental and physical qualities, was still accepted. Cf. *Praesul.* 27–8; *Comus* 809–10; *P.L.* 11.485; *S.A.*, *Pref.*; *S.A.* 600. See Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* 1.1.2.2; Nash, *Terrors of the Night*, ed. by Grosart, 3.232; Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humor*, Induc., *Works*, ed. by Cunningham, 1875, 2.16.

21–2. Masson took *Romano...ore* to mean Italian, not Latin, because 'it seems to have been by his Italian poetry that Salzilli was best-known in Rome.'

Lesbium...melos. Lyric poetry after the manner of Alcaeus and Sappho, who were natives of the island of Lesbos. Compare Horace, *Carm.* 1.1.32–4:

> si neque tibias
> Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
> Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.

He refers to Alcaeus in *Carm.* 1.32.4–5:

> Barbite, ...
> Lesbio primum modulate civi.

Ovid in *Tr.* 3.7.20 calls Sappho *vates Lesbia*.

23–4. *Salus Hebes Germana*. Hebe was the daughter of Zeus and Hera (Hesiod, *Theog.* 922; Homer, *Od.* 11.604) and cup-bearer to her father and the other gods (Homer, *Il.* 4.2). Pindar (*Nem.* 10.18) calls her κάλλιστα θεῶν, 'fairest of goddesses.' She was the goddess of youth, corresponding to the Roman *Iuventas*. See Ovid, *Met.* 9.400–17; Servius *ad Aen.* 1.28; 5.134. Milton mentions Hebe in *Vacation* 38, probably in reminiscence of Homer, *Il.* 1.584–94, and in *Comus* 290 and *L'Al.* 29.

24–6. *Phoebe morborum terror*. Phoebus was the god of healing, and as such was called *Paean* (Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.57; Ovid, *Met.*

14.720; Juvenal 6.172). See note on *Eleg.* 7.46, and cf. note on *Eleg.* 1.14; *Damon.* 209–10; *P.L.* 3.7. On the slaying of the Python see note on *Eleg.* 7.31–6.

26. *Libenter audis.* Compare Aeschylus, *Agam.* 160–2:

> Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐ-
> τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
> τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω.

hic tuus sacerdos est. Salzilli, as a poet, is called a priest of Apollo.

27–8. *Querceta Fauni*, etc. Poetical names by which Milton addresses Rome. Faunus, Virgil tells us, was the son of Picus and father of Latinus (*Aen.* 7.47–8); he is an important personage in the mythical history of Latium because of his part in founding the Roman religion. He was worshiped as a god of fields and shepherds, like the Greek Pan, and as an oracular and prophetic deity. His oracles were in sacred groves, one near Tibur, beside the well Albunea, and another on the Aventine hill near Rome (Virgil, *Aen.* 7.81–6). See Ovid, *Fasti* 3.285–322, the passage in which Ovid tells of the capture of Faunus and Picus in the grove on the Aventine; also *Fasti* 4.649. Cf. *Eleg.* 5.127; *Damon.* 32.

mitis Evandri sedes. The legend is that Evander, son of Hermes and an Arcadian nymph (Pausanias 8.43), emigrated to Italy about sixty years before the Trojan war (Servius *ad Aen.* 8.51), and was there hospitably received by Turnus, after which he seized the country by force, and founded a town named Pallantium (Servius *ad Aen.* 8.562). He is then said to have taught his neighbors the arts of peace (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56), and to have introduced the worship of Pan, Demeter, Poseidon, and Heracles (Livy 1.5; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.471). Virgil (*Aen.* 8.51) mentions him as still alive when Aeneas arrived in Italy.

34–5. Numa Pompilius was the second of the legendary kings of Rome (Livy 1.18–21; Plutarch, *Numa*; Cicero, *Rep.* 2.13–5; cf. Niebuhr, *Hist. Rome*, tr. by Hare and Thirlwall, 1837, 239–40). The Ovidian account of Numa and Egeria (*Met.* 15.482–92) is as

follows: 'He, happy with a nymph for wife, blessed with the Muses' guidance, taught holy rites, and trained a fierce, warlike people in the arts of peace. When he, now ripe in years, laid down his sceptre and his life, the Latin mothers, the Commons, and the Fathers all mourned for the departed Numa; for his wife fled from the city, and hid herself away in the dense forests of the Arician vale, and by her groans and lamentations disturbed the worship of Orestian Diana.' On these foundations Milton reared his own mythological structure, which represents Numa reclining throughout eternity in beatific contemplation of Egeria.

'The grove or valley of Egeria,' says Masson, 'was one of the famous spots about Rome in the time of the Empire; and Juvenal has a passage (3.12–20) complaining that the place had been let out to the Jews, and its natural beauty spoilt by a litter of panniers and hay where there ought to have been pure green turf.'

36–41. *Tumidusque et ipse Tibris*, etc. Reminiscent of Horace, *Carm.* 1.2.13–20:

> Vidimus flavom Tiberim, retortis
> Litore Etrusco violenter undis,
> Ire deiectum monumenta regis
> Templaque Vestae,
>
> Iliae dum se nimium querenti
> Iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
> Labitur ripa, Iove non probante, uxorius amnis.

Possibly Milton's sojourn in Rome may have acquainted him with the not infrequent inundations of the Tiber.

38. Does *sepulchris...reges* mean the Mausoleum of Augustus, in the Campus Martius, near the Tiber, where Augustus, many members of the Julian family, and many of the emperors to the time of Nerva, were interred? Did Milton take Horace's *monumenta regis* (*Carm.* 1.2.15) to mean tombs? They probably were the Atrium Regium (Livy 26.27), the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, and the temple of Vesta.

39. *sinistro...loro.* As the Tiber approaches Rome, the right, or Tuscan, bank is higher than that on the side of the city, and in time of flood the waters of the river overflow the left bank.

41. *curvi...Portumni. Portumnus*, more correctly *Portunus*, was the god of harbors, whom the Romans invoked to grant safe return from a voyage (Cicero, *N.D.* 2.26.66; Virgil, *Aen.* 5.241; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.547). A temple to him was erected near the mouth of the Tiber. Keightley questions the appropriateness of applying the epithet *curvi* to Portunus; but Milton by metonymy means the sea, and *curvi* refers to its curving shores.

MANSUS

1. *Haec quoque*, etc. Milton says 'These verses also,' because Manso had already been honored in verse by many poets. Quadrio (*Storia, e Ragione d'ogni Poesia*, 1739, 2. 306–7) gives the names of no fewer than fifty-six.

2. *Pierides.* See notes on *Eleg.* 1.25; 4.31.

4. *Galli...et Maecenatis Etrusci.* Cornelius Gallus (70–27 B.C.), a Roman poet, the friend of Virgil, Ovid, and other literary men of the period. See Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.64–6; 10.1–77; Ovid, *Am.* 1.15. 29–30; 3.9.64; *Tr.* 2.445–6. Duff (*Lit. Hist. Rome*, 1909, p. 550) says Gallus 'had the originality to make of the Latin elegy an independent province of art.' Consult Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, pp. 223–5.

Maecenas (?—8 B.C.), who came of an Etruscan family, was the Roman patron of letters and friend of Augustus. Propertius (3.9.1) addresses him as

Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum.

In the general interest of the State, and not from a dilettanteish interest in letters, he exercised his literary patronage. There is a wealth of allusion to him in the poetry of those who enjoyed his kindness; probably the best-known tribute is Horace's first ode. See Suetonius, *Augustus* 66, 72, 86; Sellar, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–3, 39.

6. *Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebis.* Compare *Ad. Pat.* 102; *Eleg.* 5.13; 6.14–6; and notes.

7–8. On the friendship of Manso and Tasso see Introd., p. 59, and Pommrich, p. 9.

9. *Musa*. See notes on *Eleg.* 1.25; 4.31.

11. Marino's poem, *L'Adone*, is mainly concerned with the story of the love of Venus and Adonis. *Prolixus* suitably characterizes it, for it runs to about five thousand eight-line stanzas. Milton uses *Assyrios...amores*, because Adonis, according to Panyasis, the epic poet, was an Assyrian, the son of Theias, king of Assyria, by his own daughter Smyrna. See Apollodorus, ed. by Frazer, 2.84–9; Hyginus, *Fab.* 58.

12. *Ausonias...nymphas*. Italian nymphs. For Ausonia see note on *Q. Nov.* 49.

13–23. Masson says that 'when Marino died in 1625...the charge of his burial and of erecting his monument was left to Manso. It was understood that Manso was preparing a biography of Marino similar to that which he had written of Tasso.' Masson has translated Milton's language into specific terms; I have not, however, found the authority for his statements. Milton, we may assume, knew whereof he spoke, and he implies something very close to what Masson has said. Consult Menghini, *La Vita e le Opere di Giambattista Marino*, 1888, pp. 271–4, who gives Marino's epitaph, from which it would appear that the Academy of the Humoristi were chiefly responsible for the monument. Warton refers his readers to 'the Italian *Life* of Marino by F. Ferrari' (Venice, 1633) for a 'more particular account of the very singular attentions and honors which Marino received from Manso.'

13. *debita*. Doomed or fated. Servius (*ad Aen.* 8.375) glosses *debita* as *fataliter ad exitium destinata*.

18. *Orco*. See note on *Eleg.* 7.83–4.

19. *Parcarum*. See note on *Pr. Bomb.* 1.7.

21. *dona Minervae*. Intellectual endowments. See note on *Eleg.* 2.2.

22–3. Milton must mean Herodotus, who was born at Halicarnassus, near Mycale, a promontory on the coast of Asia

Minor opposite the island of Samos. The *Life of Homer* attributed to Herodotus is now believed to be spurious. See Westermann, Βιογράφοι, *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, 1845, pp. 1–20. Many cities have contended for the honor of having been the birthplace of Homer, Smyrna perhaps with the best right. In any case he seems to have been a native of western Asia Minor, and may therefore be called Aeolian. Cf. *Eleg.* 1.23.

26. *Hyperboreo...axe.* See note on *Q. Nov.* 95.

27. *Musam.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

28–48. Even we in England, although nurtured under cold northern skies, are not without some poetic inspiration, and have made our contributions to poetry. Cf. *P.L* 9.44–5; *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.240; *Church-Gov.*, Pref. to Bk. 2, *Pr. W.* 2.477–8; *Areop.*, *Pr. W.* 2.53.

28–9. Compare *Eleg.* 5.5–8, where the warmth of spring is said to bring new strength to the poet's song. Cf. *P.L.* 9.44. For *sub Arcto* see note on *Eleg.* 5.31–2.

Imprudens Italas, etc. Milton had written Italian sonnets, Latin epigrams to Leonora, and a Latin poem to Salzilli; in Florence he had read or recited a Latin poem at a meeting of the Svogilati (Masson, *Life* 1(1881).782, 792); all this was a venturesome flight for a young Englishman on his first visit to Italy. Moreover, for a Protestant like Milton there was some danger from the Inquisition, at the hands of which Galileo had very recently suffered imprisonment. We know from Milton's own words that his Protestantism prevented Manso from showing him all the attentions the latter desired. See Introd., p. 59.

30–3. Possibly an allusion to Spenser. Milton may have had in mind Ben Jonson's lines *To the Memory...of Shakespeare* (71–4):

> Sweet swan of Avon! what a sight it were
> To see thee in our waters yet appear,
> And make those flights upon the banks of Thames
> That so did take Eliza, and our James!

Spenser was born in London, which in *Eleg.* 1.9 is the

> urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda.

He might well be mentioned along with Chaucer, who, interestingly enough, is referred to in line 34 as Tityrus, the name that Spenser gave him. Warton suggests that the allusion here may be to the wedding of Thames and Medway, a long episode in *F.Q.* 4.11.

34. In *Shep. Cal., Feb.* 92, and in *Colin Clout* 2, Spenser refers to Chaucer as Tityrus. Chaucer first visited Italy in 1372, and again in 1378. See Cook, *Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron*, pp. 74–85, in *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences* 21 (1916). 1–144.

36. *septeno...Trione.* The group of seven prominent stars, known as Charles' Wain, or the Plough, in the northern constellation Ursa Major. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.171.

37. *Brumalem...Boöten.* See note on *Praesul.* 51–2.

38–48. *Nos etiam colimus Phoebum, nos munera Phoebo,...Misimus*, etc. The belief that the ancient Britons were worshipers of Apollo is, as Warton points out, set forth at some length by John Selden (*Notes upon Drayton's Polyolbion*, in *Opera Omnia*, 1726, 3.1785–6; cf. Caesar, *B.G.* 6.17). who shows how Belin, or Belinus, the god of healing of the Druids, may be identified with Apollo. Milton, however, identifies the Hyperborean nymphs, whom Herodotus (4.35) mentions as coming to Delos with offerings to Apollo and Artemis, as British Druidesses; but in Herodotus only Upis and Arge appear; Loxo comes from Callimachus (*Hymn to Delos* 291–2). But Milton further characterizes the three as Loxo the daughter of Corineus, Upis a prophetess, and Hecaerge the yellow-haired. Moreover, they are all three stained with woad—*Caledonio variatas...fuco*—as was the custom among the Britons, for Caesar (*B.G.* 5.14) says: *Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu* (see also Pliny, *N.H.* 22.1.2). 'Altogether,' says Masson, 'the passage is a piece of scholarship finely turned into poetry.'

41–3. As in *Lyc.* 53, it is assumed that the Druids were poets. In a somewhat detailed account of them, Caesar (*B.G.* 6.14) says concerning their schools: *Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere*

dicuntur. In Tacitus (*Hist*. 4.54; *Ann*. 14.30) and in Diodorus Siculus (5.31) they appear as philosophers and priests. Drayton's *Polyolbion* 8–9 (see preceding note) may have contributed to Milton's knowledge of the Druids. Camden (*Britain*, 1637, pp. 4, 12–4) also has somewhat to say of them and their ceremonies, and quotes Caesar (*loc. cit.*) and Lucan (1.450–6; 3.399–428). In *Divorce* (*Pr. W*. 3.178) Milton speaks of 'our ancient Druids, by whom this island was the cathedral of philosophy to France.' Again in *Hist. Brit*. (*Pr. W*. 5.198) he says that the religion of the ancient Britons 'was governed by a sort of priests or magicians, called Druids from the Greek name of an oak, which tree they had in great reverence, and especially the mistletoe growing thereon.'

45. *Delo in herbosa*. See notes on *Eleg*. 5.13 and *Natur*. 49.

46. *Corineida*. From *Corineus* Milton has formed a Greek patronymic. Corineus was the legendary hero who is supposed to have given Cornwall its name. Giraldus Cambrensis (*Description of Wales*, in *Hist. Wks*., ed. by Wright, 1863, p. 479) speaks of 'those who inhabited the southern angle of the island which took its name from the chieftain Corineus.' See also Geoffrey of Monmouth *Brit. Hist*., in *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. by Giles, 1848, p. 102.

49. *Fortunate senex! ergo quacunque per orbem*. Adapted, as Keightley noted, from Virgil, *Ecl*. 1.46:

Fortunate senex! ergo tua rura manebunt.

See Pommrich, p. 9.

52. *Tu quoque in ora frequens venies plausumque virorum*. Compare Propertius 3.9.32:

et venies tu quoque in ora virum.

Todd quotes Virgil, *Georg*. 3.9:

victorque virum volitare per ora.

Propertius and Virgil are echoing the closing line of Ennius' epitaph on himself: *volito vivos per ora virum* (see Ennius, *ap*. Cicero, *Tusc*. 1.15.34).

54. *penates*. See note on *Eleg*. 1.17, and cf. *Eleg*. 4.85.

55. *Cynthius*. Apollo was called Cynthius (Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.3; Horace, *Carm.* 1.21.2), as Diana was called Cynthia (cf. *Eleg.* 5.46 and note), because, like her, he was born near Mount Cynthus on the island of Delos (Virgil, *Aen.* 1.498; Ovid, *Met.* 2.221). See note on *Natur.* 49.

Musas. See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

56–69. Because his son Aesculapius was killed by Zeus, Apollo slew the Cyclopes, and thereby incurred the wrath of Zeus, who would have hurled him to Tartarus; but Latona interceded, and his punishment was changed to a year's thraldom to a man. He went to Admetus, king of Pherae and son of Pheres, hence called Pheretiades, and served him as a shepherd (Apollodorus 3.10.4). For Admetus, Apollo obtained from the Fates the boon that when his hour of death should come his life might be ransomed by the life of any person who in advance consented to die in his stead. His wife, Alcestis, daughter of Pelias, so consented, and was taken from him by Death, but was restored to him by Heracles (see *Son.* 19, *Oxford Milton*, p. 86). Milton's source probably was Euripides, *Alcestis* 569–96.

58. *licet*...*susceperat*. See note on *Eleg.* 2.5.

magnum Alciden, Alcides, a male descendant of Alceus; usually his grandson Heracles. Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 7.61; Horace, *Carm.* 1.12.25. I am unaware of any authority for saying that Admetus had received Heracles before the coming of Apollo. That he came later of course appears from the *Alcestis* of Euripides.

60. *mansueti*...*Chironis*. See note on *Procan.* 25. Homer (*Il.* 11.832) calls Chiron δικαιότατος Κενταύρων, 'most righteous of the Centaurs.' I have not found Milton's authority for representing Apollo during his year of servitude as visiting the cave of Chiron. The geography of the passage is not consistent. According to Apollodorus (2.5.4), Chiron and the other Centaurs lived on Mount Pelion until the Lapithae drove them away; Pelion, however, is several miles south of the Peneus river, and ten miles or more from Pherae; and Mount Oeta, the Trachinian rock, is fully sixty miles southwest from Pelion.

62. *Peneium.* The river Peneus, in Thessaly, which flows into the Aegean through the vale of Tempe. See Ovid, *Met.* 1. 567–73. Cf. *Eleg.* 5.13; 7.33.

63. *Ad citharae strepitum, blanda prece victus amici.* Keightley quotes Horace, *Epist.* 1.2.31: *Ad strepitum citharae*; and *Epist.* 2.1.135: *docta prece blandus.*

65–6. *Tum neque ripa suo*, etc. This suggests Ovid's description of the Peneus, in *Met.* 1.568–73:

> Est nemus Haemoniae, praerupta quod undique claudit
> Silva, vocant Tempe; per quae Penëus ab imo
> Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis
> Deiectuque gravi tenues agitantia fumos
> Nubila conducit, summisque adspergine silvis
> Inpluit et sonitu plus quam vicina fatigat.

66. *Trachinia rupes.* Mount Oeta, between Thessaly and Aetolia, on which was the town of Trachis, Τραχίς (Ovid, *Met.* 11.269, 627; Lucan 3.178). Cf. *Procan.* 12; *P.L.* 2.545.

68. *Emotaeque suis*, etc. Riley (2.279) calls attention to what Virgil (*Ecl.* 6.70–1) says of Hesiod:

> ille solebat
> Cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.

Again in *Aen.* 4.490–1 Dido says that by the spells of the Massylian priestess

> mugire videbis
> Sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.

69. *Mulcenturque novo maculosi carmine lynces.* Keightley quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* 8.3:

> quorum stupefactae carmine lynces.

70–2. The gods must have been favorable to Manso at birth, Jupiter, the chief of the gods, the giver of power, as in *Arc.* 44, and the judge of merit and giver of fame, as in *Lyc.* 82–4; Phoebus: the god of music and poetry; and Hermes, the grandson of Atlas (Apollodorus 3.10.1–2; Ovid, *Met.* 2.704; Horace, *Carm.* 1.10.1), the messenger of the gods, the discoverer of the harmony of the

human voice, and the inventor of the lyre and the plectrum (*Hom. Hy. to Hermes* 39–61; Diodorus Siculus 1.16; Horace, *Carm.* 1.10.5–6).

74–5. 'There is much elegance in *lento sub flore*,' says Warton, who, however, objects to *senectus Vernat*. But see Claudian, *Laud. Stil.* 1.316: *senio . . . vernante*.

75. *Aesonios lucratur vivida fusos*. 'This,' says Keightley, 'is a very unusual expression, and the idea is not classic. He uses *fusos*, *i.e.*, the spindles of the Fates, in the sense of *age*, *life*, and supposes his years to be prolonged like those of Aeson.' Ovid (*Met.* 7.251–93) tells how Medea filled the veins of the aged Aeson with her youth-giving potion, and restored his youth. Cf. *Comus* 638; *Eleg.* 2.7–8.

76. *Nondum deciduos servans tibi frontis honores*. Masson comments as follows:

This compliment to Manso, on his keeping his hair even in his old age, is irreconcilable with a most precise statement in the sketch given of Manso in the *Pinacotheca* of Janus Nicius Erythraeus. In the third part of that interesting collection of biographic portraits of eminent men who had died within the lifetime of the author (this third part dated 1648, while the two preceding parts had appeared in 1645), Manso forms the subject of Article 13 (pp. 56–8); and there, after much in commendation of Manso, this passage occurs in illustration of his affability and pleasant manners in private society: "As he excelled in all the Christian virtues, so he was found most of all remarkable in what we call humility; that is, in lowliness of mind and modesty. Wherefore he would not willingly listen to any praises of himself, would detract from his own merits, and attribute all good to others; and as is the fashion in the club-meetings of the Blessed Virgin, in which he was ranked as one of the members, . . . he would good-humoredly bear to have his defects publicly exposed. If bid lick the ground with his mouth, or kiss the feet of his club-fellows, he would not refuse, or escape the authority of the master of the revels; nor was he less obedient if he were ordered to snatch from his head the periwig with which he concealed his baldness, . . . but immediately did as he was ordered, and made no scruple about exhibiting, amid the great laughter of the beholders, his bald head." . . . Either, therefore, Erythraeus is wrong in this part of

his sketch of Manso (which is not likely), or the old nobleman's wig was a good one, and he had worn it carefully when Milton and he were together.

79. *Phoebaeos decorasse viros.* According to Warton, '*Phoebeus* is entirely an Ovidian epithet.' To my knowledge, Ovid uses it thirteen times; Virgil twice, and Horace never; but Statius uses it twelve times, and Lucan ten.

80–4. The poem *Ad Patrem* is the declaration of Milton's intention to enter upon a literary career. In *Church-Gov.* (*Pr. W.* 2.477–8) he says in retrospect:

I began thus far to assent both to them [his Italian critics] and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labor and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die.

Lines 80–4 of *Ad Patrem* contain the earliest statement regarding the subject of such a work or works. Milton was casting over in his mind a poem which should be based upon the early legendary history of Britain, of King Arthur and his knights. In *Damon.* 162–71 he reverts to the subject, saying that he has a theme of the Trojans come to England, and of Arthur. He was then contemplating a British epic in some measure comparable to the Roman epic of Virgil.

Among the Milton manuscripts at Trinity College, Cambridge, there are notes on ninety-nine possible subjects for a great poem; sixty-one are Scriptural, and twenty-eight are from British history (Masson, *Life* 2 (1894). 104–21). Cf. Pommrich, pp. 19–20. See also Jones, *Milton and the Epic Subject from British History*, in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* 42 (1927). 901–9.

81. *Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem.* Malory (*Morte Darthur* 21.7) says:

Yet some men say in many parts of England that King Arthur is not dead, but had by the will of our Lord Jesu in another place; and men say that he shall come again, and he shall win the Holy Cross. I will not say it shall be so, but rather I will say here in

this world he changed his life. But many men say that there is written upon his tomb this verse: *Hic jacet Arthurus Rex, quondam Rexque futurus.*

81. I have not found Milton's authority for representing King Arthur as moving wars beneath the earth.

82–3. *invictae sociali foedere mensae Magnanimos Heroas.* King Arthur's knights of the Round Table; see Malory, *Morte Darthur* 2.1–2. As Todd suggests, there may be an allusion here to Statius, *Theb.* 8.240–1:

> Tum primum ad coetus sociaeque ad foedera mensae
> Semper inaspectum.

Riley (2.279) cites Virgil, *Aen.* 6.307; 649; *Georg.* 4.476.

84. *Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!* King Arthur with the armies of the native Britons withstood the invading Germanic tribes. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Brit. Hist.* in *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. by Giles, 1848, pp. 230–3; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 1807, 1.574.

sub Marte. The name of Mars is by metonymy frequently used to signify war itself (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.165; Ovid, *Met.* 3.123; Livy 3.62.9). Cf. *Q. Nov.* 113.

86–90. *Annorumque satur, cineri*, etc. 'Mr. Stevens thinks,' says Warton, 'that the context is amplified from a beautiful passage in the *Medea* of Euripides' (1032–5).

91. *ducat de marmore vultus.* Riley (2.279) quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 6.847–8.

92. *Paphia myrti.* The city of Paphos on the island of Cyprus was sacred to Venus. See Virgil, *Aen.* 1.415–7.

Parnasside. See note on *Eleg.* 4.30.

lauri. See note on *Eleg.* 5.13.

94. *si qua fides*, etc. Riley (2.280) thinks this line reminiscent of Virgil, *Aen.* 1.603–5; 2.142–4; 3.433–4; 6.459. Cf. *Damon.* 33.

96. *Quo labor*, etc. Keightley quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 6.130: *ardens evexit ad aethera virtus*; and *Aen.* 6.730: *Igneus est ollis vigor.*

99. *purpureo...lumine.* Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 6.640–1; Statius, *Sil.* 5.1.256.

100. *Olympo.* See note on *Eleg.* 5.19.

EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS

1. *Himerides Nymphae*, etc. There are in Sicily two rivers that in ancient times were called Himera, one flowing north, and the other flowing south. At the mouth of that flowing north was the city of Himera. This stream is believed to have been the 'bucolic river' of Theocritus, who mentions it twice (5.124; 7.75). The nymphs of Himera are invoked as the Sicilian Muses of pastoral poetry who had inspired Theocritus and Moschus. In *Lyc.* 133 Milton invokes the 'Sicilian Muse.' Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 4.1; 6.1.

Daphnin et Hylan. Daphnis was 'the shepherd-boy of Ida, whom a nymph in anger at her rival, changed to stone' (Ovid, *Met.* 4.276–8). His fate is told in the first *Idyl* of Theocritus. On Hylas see note on *Eleg.* 7.24. Cf. *An Apology*, *Pr. W.* 3.114.

Most of the names which follow, Amyntas, Hyas, Chloris, Mopsus, and the rest, are common in pastoral poetry from Theocritus and Virgil to Milton, Fletcher, and Pope. Very probably the conventional names represent persons of Milton's acquaintance, but identification is impossible, except in the case of Thyrsis and Damon, which stand for Milton himself and Diodati.

2. *fata Bionis.* The third Idyl of Moschus, Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος, *Epitaphium Bionis*, is a lament upon the death of Bion, the pastoral poet, whom Moschus acknowledges to be his master. He was a native of Asia Minor, but came to Sicily. His own first Idyl is entitled Ἐπιτάφιος Ἀδώνιδος, *Epitaphium Adonidis.*

3. *Sicelicum...carmen.* Pastoral poetry. See note on line 1 above.

4–7. *Thyrsis...Damona.* See note on line 1 above. In *Comus* the Attendant Spirit appears 'in the habit of Thyrsis.'

6. *Fluminaque, fontesque.* 'An obvious imitation of Virg. *Aen.* 3.91: *liminaque laurusque dei,*' says Jerram. 'It is doubtful' he adds, 'whether this instance justifies the license [lengthening of a short final syllable] of the present line, Virgil's practice being confined to those cases in which the next word begins with a liquid (as above), a double consonant, as *Eurique Zephrique*, *Georg.*

1.371 or with the letter *s*, as *Chloreaque Sybarimque, Aen.* 12.363. Mr. Nettleship, in his *Excursus* at the end of the third volume of Conington's *Virgil*, points out that in this respect Virgil has strictly followed Homer.' This rule may serve for Virgil, but not for Milton and Ennius: see Ennius, *ap.* Cicero, *De Senectute* 1.1: *noctesque diesque.*

8. *loca.* The noun is either *locus* or *locum*: the plural *loci* are single places, whereas *loca* are places connected with each other, a region.

9–11. *Et iam bis*, etc. Two harvests and two springs have passed since Diodati's death in August, 1638. Milton, then, wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis* in the late spring or early summer of 1640.

12. *Nec dum aderat Thyrsis.* These words clearly reveal a depth of personal sorrow. See *Epist. Fam.* 10, *Pr. W.* 3.501.

13. *Dulcis amor Musae.* Love of poetry, or perhaps even love of intellectual culture in general. See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

Tusca...urbe. Florence, where Milton spent four months, August and September, 1638, and March and April, 1639. See Masson, *Life* 1(1881).769–72, 821–3. In 2 *Def.* (*Pr. W.* 1.255), Milton left an account of his first visit to Florence, which he had 'always more particularly esteemed for the elegance of its dialect, its genius, and its taste.'

15. *assueta seditque sub ulmo.* Compare *Il Pens.* 59–60:

> While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke
> Gently o'er the accustomed oak.

Todd quotes Ovid, *Met.* 10.533–4:

> Hunc tenet, huic comes est adsuetaque semper in umbra.
> Indulgere sibi.

18. *Ite domum impasti*, etc. This line occurs seventeen times in Milton's poem. A comparable refrain occurs sixteen times in the first *Idyl* of Theocritus; another, fifteen times in the *Epitaphium Bionis* of Moschus; and a varied refrain seven times in

the *Epitaphium Adonidis* of Bion. In the eighth *Eclogue*, Virgil uses two refrains which together occur eighteen times. Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 7.44:

Ite domum pasti, siquis pudor, ite iuvenci.

See Introd., p. 61.

21. *Siccine.* See note on *Eleg.* 4.89–90.

23. *ille animas virga qui dividit aurea.* Mercury. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 4.242–4:

Tum virgam capit; hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,
Dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat.

aurea. Dissyllabic.

25. '*Pecus* is a rather strange term to use of the dead,' says Keightley. But compare Virgil, *Georg.* 4.168:

Ignavom fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent;

Pecus is not much stranger than *grex* in the exactly parallel usage of Horace, *Carm.* 1.24.18:

Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.

Milton may have had this line in mind, since he has just mentioned (line 23) Mercury in his capacity of conductor of the dead. Moreover the poem of Horace is also a commemorative poem—the famous dirge for Quintilius.

27. *nisi me lupus ante videbit.* Compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 9.53–4:

vox quoque Moerim
Iam fugit ipsa; lupi Moerim videre priores.

The superstition here alluded to was that a man meeting a wolf and not first catching its eye was struck dumb. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 8.22.80; Plato, *Rep.* 1.336D.

28. *Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro.* Warton quotes Ovid, *Tr.* 3.3.45–6:

Sed sine funeribus caput hoc, sine honore sepulcri
Indeploratum barbara terra teget!

See also *Met.* 11.669–70; *Ibis* 166. Cf. *Lyc.* 14; *Marchioness* 55; *Mansus* 17–8. Verity in his note on *Lyc.* 14 observes that 'many

of the collections of elegiac verse issued by the universities bore the title *Lacrymae.*' Todd quotes Chapman's *Iliad* 22.329–31:

> But why use I a word
> Of any act, but what concerns my friend? dead,undeplored,
> Unsepulchred.

30–2. *Illi tibi vota secundo,* etc. Keightley compares these lines with Virgil, *Ecl.* 5.76–80:

> Dum iuga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
> Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,
> Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.
> Ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quotannis
> Agricolae facient.

32. *Pales.* The tutelary deity of shepherds and cattle. See Virgil, *Ecl.* 5.35; *Georg.* 3.1, 294. Cf. *P.L.* 9.393.

Faunus. Much like *Sylvanus,* the god of fields and shepherds; also like the Greek *Pan.* See Virgil, *Aen.* 7.47–8, 81. Cf. *Eleg.* 5.127; *P.L.* 4.708.

33. *priscamque fidem coluisse, piumque.* Riley (2.283) cites Virgil, *Aen.* 6.878: *Heu pietas, heu prisca fides.*

34. *Palladiasque artes.* See note on *Eleg.* 2.2.

socium. Milton.

39. *foeta pruinis.* More correctly *feta.* Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 1.51: *loca feta furentibus Austris.*

40. *rapido sub sole, siti morientibus herbis.* As Masson points out, Virgil (*Georg.* 1.424) has the phrase *solem ad rapidum.* With *siti morientibus herbis* compare *Georg.* 4.427–8:

> arebant herbae, et cava flumina siccis
> Faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant.

46. *Mordaces curas.* Todd gives the following quotations: Lucan 2.681:

> Ora videns curis animum mordacibus angit;

Horace, *Carm.* 2.11.17–8:

> Dissipat Euhius
> Curas edaces;

Marino, *Rime*, 1602, p. 40:

> Tarlo, e lima d'Amor, cura mordace,
> Che mi rode.

47. *Dulcibus alloquiis*. Compare Horace, *Epod.* 13.17–8:

> Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato
> Deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus alloquiis.

See also *Eleg.* 6.9.12; *Son.* 17.2–4, 9–12.

48–9. *at malus Auster*, etc. Keightley quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 1.124:

> Interea magno misceri murmure pontum.

51–2. *Aut aestate*, etc. The idea, as Warton noted, is derived from Theocritus 1.15–7:

> Οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμήν, τὸ μεσαμβρινόν, οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν
> συρίσδεν· τὸν Πᾶνα δεδοίκαμες· ἢ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄγρας
> τανίκα κεκμακὼς ἀμπαύεται·

Andrew Lang thus translates the passage:

Nay, shepherd, it may not be; we may not pipe in the noontide. 'Tis Pan we dread, who truly at this hour rests weary from the chase.

Compare Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdess* 1.1:

> Lest the great Pan do wake,
> That sleeping lies in a deep glade
> Under a broad beech's shade.

53. *Et repetunt sub aquis sibi nota sedilia Nymphae*. Compare Homer, *Od.* 12.318, and Virgil, *Aen.* 1.171.

56. *Cecropiosque sales*. Cecropian, that is Athenian, wit, an expression akin to 'Attic salt' of Martial 3.20.9. *Cecropius*, Κεκρόπιος, comes to mean Attic or Athenian from the fact that Cecrops was the first king of Attica, and the founder of the citadel of Athens. So Apollodorus 3.14.1; Pausanias 1.2.6; Diodorus Siculus 1.28.7.

61. *agitata crepuscula*. Keightley explains these words as meaning 'doubtful, imperfect light' caused by the foliage of trees,

the 'shadows brown' of *Il Pens.* 134; but *agitata* suggests rather the 'chequered shade' of *L'Al.* 96, a fitful light caused by trembling leaves or swaying branches.

64. *situ seges alta fatiscit.* Keightley and Jerram take this to mean that the ground cracks from drought, but have difficulty in making the Latin properly give such a meaning. 'Keightley well observes,' says Jerram, 'that the "land cracks *aestu* and not *situ* (Virgil, *Georg.* 1.72)," but he is wrong in supposing that *seges* cannot mean the ground itself, since it is distinctly used in this sense in *Georg.* 1.47 and 4.129.' But, as Jerram adds, 'here, however, the addition of *alta* which means "tall" seems to force us to translate *seges* "a field of standing corn," which will not make any sense with *fatiscit.*' Taking *fatiscit* to mean 'it droops' or 'it withers,' and *situ*, 'with blight,' the passage presents less difficulty. Moreover the preceding line supports such a rendering. The fields are said to be 'overgrown with trailing weeds,' but such weeds would hardly overrun fields that were cracking from drought.

65. *Innuba...uva.* For the classical fancy of the vine wedded to the elm or the poplar, see Virgil, *Georg.* 1.2; 2.221, 360–1; Ovid, *Met* 14.661; *Ep. ex P.* 3.8.13; Horace, *Carm.* 4.5.30; *Epod.* 2.9–10; Catullus 62.49–55; Quintilian 8.3.8; Tasso, tr. by Fairfax, 3.75; 20.99; Lyly, *Mother Bombie* 1.3. Cf. *P.L.* 5.215–9; *Reformation*, *Pr. W.* 2.380.

66–7. *ovium quoque taedet*, etc. Compare *Lyc.* 125:

> The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed.

As Verity remarks, 'The sheep neglected by their shepherd are a traditional feature in the landscape of pastoral poetry.' In *Animadversions* (*Pr. W.* 3.87) Milton accuses prelates of having 'fed themselves and not their flocks.'

69–70. *Tityrus*, etc. See note on line 1 above.

71. "*Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco.*" Imitated from Virgil, *Ecl.* 10.42–3:

> Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,
> Hic nemus—

the original of which is found in Theocritus 5.33. Jerram objects to *illita*, which, he says, means 'smeared' or 'spread on the surface,' and therefore does not accurately express the idea of moss growing among grass. He suggests that perhaps *consita*, or *intersita*, with *hic* omitted, would have been better. Cf. *Arc.* 84; *Lyc.* 139–40. See Ruskin, *Modern Painters* 3.4.14.47 ff.

72. *Zephyri.* Gentle west winds, or simply a name for any gentle winds as in Virgil, *Aen.* 4.562.

arbutus. Compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 3.82:

Dulce satis umor, depulsis arbutus haedis.

73. *Ista canunt surdo.* A proverbial expression. Keightley quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* 10.8: *non canimus surdis.* See also Propertius 4.8.47: *cantabunt surdo*; and Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.61:

Quid iuvet, ad surdas si cantet Phemius aures?

76. *Et callebat avium linguas et sidera Mopsus.* Jerram notes the similarity to Virgil, *Aen.* 3.359–61:

Troiugena, interpres divum, qui numina Phoebi,
Qui tripodas, Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis
Et volucrum linguas et praepetis omnia pinnae.

Compare also *Aen.* 10.175–7:

Tertius ille hominum divumque interpres Asilas,
Cui pecudum fibrae, caeli sui sidera parent
Et linguae volucrum et praesagi fulminis ignes.

77. *coquit.* Milton uses *coquere* in a less common sense, to disturb the mind, but he has the example of Virgil, *Aen.* 7.345.

bilis. See notes on *Procan.* 27–8, and *Salsil.* 18–20.

78. The final syllable of *amor* is long. On this usage consult Nettleship, *Lengthening of Short Final Syllables in Virgil*, in *Virgili Opera*, ed. by Conington, 1883, 3.486–91.

male fascinat astrum. In *Ecl.* 3.103 Virgil says:

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

Milton's allusion is astrological; he apparently thinks of *astrum* almost as an eye. See note on line 80 below.

79. *Saturni grave saepe fuit pastoribus astrum.* The planet Saturn was by the ancients regarded as cold and as a cause of rain (Virgil, *Georg.* 1.336; Pliny, *N.H.* 2.39.106); thus it was unfavorable to farmers and shepherds. According to the astrological belief, those born under the influence of Saturn were of a melancholy temperament. Compare Propertius 4.1.83–4:

> Felicesque Iovis stellas Martisque rapaces
> Et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput.

See also Cicero, *Div.* 1.39. Consult Bouché-Leclerq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, pp. 93–7.

80. *obliquo.* Continues the allusion of *male fascinat astrum* of line 78, and carries with it something of the idea of the sidelong glance of the evil eye. Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.14.37; *Sat.* 2.5.53; Virgil, *Aen.* 11.337.

plumbo. The ancient astrologers translated the whole realm of the natural sciences into terms of astrology; the planet Saturn thus became associated with lead. See Bouché-Leclerq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 315. Cf. *Il Pens.* 43:

> With a sad leaden downward cast.

82. The Oxford type-facsimile of *Milton's Poems of 1645* suggests 'for *Quid te* read *quid de te.*'

86. *bis ille miser qui serus amavit.* Jerram quotes Guarini, *Pastor Fido* 1.1:

> Che se t'assale a la canuta etate
> Amorosa talento,
> Avrai doppio tormento;
> E di quel che potendo non volesti,
> E di quel che volendo non potrai.

See also Shakespeare, *All's Well* 5.3.57–60:

> But love that comes too late,
> Like a remorseful pardon slowly carried,
> To the great sender turns a sour offence,
> Crying: 'That's good that's gone.'

88. *Venit Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Aegle.* Hyas was the father or the brother of the Hyades (Ovid, *Fasti* 5.170; Hyginus, *Fab.* 192). Dryope, daughter of Eurytus and by Apollo mother of Amphissus, was changed into a lotus-tree (Ovid, *Met.* 9.331–93). Baucis and her husband Philemon very hospitably entertained Jupiter and Mercury, who came to them in the form of men; in return for their hospitality they were changed into two sacred trees before their hut, which became a temple (*Met.* 8.631–724). There were several persons called Aegle, among them the most beautiful of the Naiads, the daughter of Zeus and Neaera (Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.20); another was one of the Hesperides (Apollodorus 2.5.11); yet another was one of the Heliades, the daughters of Helios and Clymene, who were changed into poplar-trees (Hyginus, *Fab.* 154, 156; Ovid, *Met.* 2.340 ff.).

89. *Docta modos, citharaeque sciens.* Borrowed, as Warton noted, from Horace, *Carm.* 3.9.10:

Dulcis docta modos et citharae sciens.

90. *Idumanii.* Camden (*Britain*, 1637, p. 448) identifies *Idumanum aestuarium* as Blackwater Bay in Essex, saying that it was so called by Ptolemy; 'for *Idu*, in the British tongue, soundeth as much as *black*.' See Drayton, *Polyolbion* 19. As Masson remarks: 'If any one of the four shepherdesses mentioned was a real person of Milton's acquaintance, this Chloris might be she.... It is hardly possible to suppose so precise a local designation adopted without some suggestion from fact.'

95. *secum sibi.* 'A very indistinct and unclassic mode of expression,' according to Keightley. It is pleonastic, but hardly indistinct.

97. *thoes.* Jackals, Greek θῶες. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 13.104; Pliny, *N.H.* 8.34; 10.74.

99–100. *deserto in littore Proteus*, etc. Reminiscent of Homer, *Od.* 4.411 (cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 4.436), where Proteus is described as counting his sea-calves. Proteus was the prophetic old man of the sea (ἅλιος γέρων), who, in order to escape from prophesying,

would turn himself into various shapes (Homer, *Od.* 4.454–5; Virgil, *Georg.* 4.387–414). Cf. *Eleg.* 3.26; *P.L.* 3.604.

102. *Farra.* Keightley objects to this term, but admits that it may be justified by Virgil, *Georg.* 1.73.

106. *Nos durum genus.* Compare Virgil, *Georg.* 1.63:

Unde homines nati, durum genus.

diris exercita fatis. Compare Virgil, *Aen.* 5.725, 779.

114. *Ire per aëreas rupes, Alpemque nivosam?* According to his own account (2 *Def.*, *Pr. W.* 1.255), Milton did not enter Italy by the land route over the Alps, but took ship at Nice, and landed at Genoa. On the return-journey, however (*ibid.* 1.257), he went from Milan 'along the Leman lake to Geneva.'

115–7. *Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam*, etc. In Virgil, *Ecl.* 1.26, Meliboeus asks Tityrus, that is, Virgil:

Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?

Milton twice visited Rome, on the first occasion spending about two months there, probably October and November, 1638; on his return from Naples he stopped there again in January and February, 1639 (2 *Def.*, *Pr. W.* 1.256; Masson, *Life* 1(1881).792–807, 821–2).

115. *Roman...sepultam.* In Milton's time most of the remains of the ancient city were actually buried.

119–20. *Possem tot maria alta*, etc. Compare Ovid, *Tr.* 4.7.21–2:

Innumeri montes inter me teque viaeque
Fluminaque et campi nec freta pauca iacent;

and Homer, *Il.* 1.155–7; *Eleg.* 4.21–2.

123. *Et dixisse "Vale! nostri memor ibis ad astra."* Compare Ovid, *Met.* 15.875–6:

Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
Astra ferar.

nostri. See note following.

125. *vestri.* Keightley is wrong in saying that 'the proper word is *vestrum*.' *Nostri* and *vestri* are chiefly used as objective genitives, whereas *nostrum* and *vestrum* are genitives of the whole.

126. *Pastores Tusci.* The intellectual men of Florence whose acquaintance Milton made during his two visits there. See note on line 13 above.

Musis. Literature and the other arts. See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

127–8. *et Tuscus tu quoque Damon,* etc. Charles Diodati came of a noble family from Lucca. See Introd., p. 20.

Lucumonis. The appellation *lucumo* was applied to the Etruscan princes and priests, and corresponds to the Roman *patricius* (Servius *ad Aen.* 8.475). It then came to mean Tarquinius Priscus (Livy 1.34), who may have founded Lucca; but the origin of the city is uncertain.

129. *Arni.* The river Arno in Tuscany, on which are the cities of Florence and Pisa. Gilbert (p. 31) suggests that when Milton traveled from Pisa to Florence he may have taken a boat on the river, which is usually navigable.

132. *Et potui Lycidae certantem audire Menalcam!* Milton refers to the literary discussions and contests which he had heard in the Florentine academies. See Masson, *Life* 1(1881).763–6, and note on line 1 above.

133–4. *Ipse etiam tentare ausus sum,* etc. In *Church-Gov.* (*Pr. W.* 2.477) Milton says:

In the private academies of Italy, whither I was favored to resort, . . . some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout—for the manner is that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there—met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things, which I had shifted, in scarcity of books and conveniences, to patch up amongst them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps.

Probably the 'trifles' which Milton read or recited in the Italian academies were some of his Latin poems or academic exercises, which probably underwent a revision at this time—as the quoted passage would seem to indicate.

134–5. *sunt et apud me munera vestra*, etc. Compare Virgil. *Ecl.* 3.62–3:

> Et me Phoebus amat; Phoebo sua semper apud me
> Munera sunt, lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus.

Milton doubtless received gifts from his Italian friends; in lines 181–97 he describes two cups which Manso gave him. So as to be consistent with the pastoral setting, the gifts here mentioned are *Fiscellae, calathique, et cerea vincla cicutae.*

136–7. *Quin et nostra*, etc. Riley (2.287) quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* 1.5, and refers to *P.L.* 10.860–2, and Spenser, *Colin Clout* 636–7. Milton chooses two of his Italian friends, the *pastores Tusci* of line 126, for special mention. Among the encomiums which he published with the Latin poems are an Italian ode by Antonio Francini, and a Latin address by Carlo Dati. On Dati and Francini see Masson, *Life.* 1(1881).774–6, 779–80, 783–5. One of the *Epist. Fam.*, dated April 21, 1647, is to Carlo Dati (*Pr. W.* 3.500–2).

138. *Lydorum sanguinis ambo.* According to Herodotus (1.94) the Lydians after suffering famine for many years migrated from Asia Minor to northern Italy, and thus became the progenitors of the Etruscans and Tuscans. The Roman poets frequently allude to the Lydian origin of the Etruscans; see Virgil, *Aen.* 2.781; 8.479–80; 9.11; Horace, *Sat.* 1.6.1.

140. *roscida luna.* Jerram refers to Virgil, *Georg.* 3.337:

> et saltus reficit iam roscida luna.

Warton compares *Lyc.* 29:

> Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh dews of night.

141. *cratibus.* Compare *Comus* 344:

> The folded flocks, penned in their wattled cotes.

See also Spenser, *Shep. Cal., Dec.* 77–8:

> And learned of lighter timber cotes to frame,
> Such as might save my sheep and me fro' shame.

142. *cum te cinis ater habebat.* Todd quotes Virgil, *Aen.* 4.633:

> Namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat.

144. *Vimina nunc texit varios sibi quod sit in usus.* Warton traced the thought to Virgil, *Ecl.* 2.71–2:

> Quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
> Viminibus mollique paras dextere iunco?

'Possibly,' says Jerram, '*paras* in this passage may have induced Milton to write *imus* and *recubamus* (line 148 below) where we should expect *eamus* and *recubemus*, or else the future.

148. *Imus . . . recubamus.* See note on line 144 above.

149. *ad aquas Colni.* The Colne is a small river dividing Middlesex and Buckinghamshire. It passes near the village of Horton where Milton lived from 1632 to 1638. Apparently its banks were one of his favorite walks.

iugera Cassibelauni. 'Frequently interpreted,' according to Gilbert (p. 76), 'as St. Albans, Hertfordshire, the capital city of Cassivellaunus (Masson 3.358). There seems, however, to have been no association of either Milton or Diodati with St. Albans. Perhaps the words refer to the same territory as that mentioned in the remainder of the same line, *ad aquas Colni*, and mean the neighborhood of Horton, Buckinghamshire, for the realm of Cassivellaunus lay north of the Thames, and included that county (Camden, 1637, pp. 408–9). It is so placed in *Hist. Brit.* (*Pr. W.* 5.194–5), where Milton refers to Camden.' Cf. Caesar, *B.G.* 5.11.

150–4. *Tu mihi percurres medicos*, etc. Diodati as a physician undoubtedly would discuss with Milton matters relating to his profession. Cf. *Comus* 619–28, which probably is a reference to Diodati. In *Epist. Fam.* 7 (Sept. 23, 1637), to Diodati, Milton alludes to his skill as a physician (*P . W.* 3.493).

153–4. *Ah! pereant herbae, pereant artesque medentum.* See note on *Procan.* 22. Todd quotes Ovid, *Met.* 1.524:

> Nec prosunt domino, quae prosunt omnibus, artes.

155–78. In *Mansus* 80–4 Milton had already mentioned his project of writing a British epic. The present passage elaborates the plan. The poem was to trace the history of the Britons from

the coming of Trojan Brutus down to the reign of King Arthur; and moreover it was to be written in English. See notes on lines 172–8.

155–60. These lines of broken syntax are intended to indicate heightened emotion. The connection with what precedes is a subtle one. Milton has referred to Diodati's profession, and to their conversations on medical and botanical subjects. Now he turns to literature, which undoubtedly he had also discussed with his friend, for it was his own profession.

155. *grande sonabat*. Compare *Eleg* 5.21; *Lyc*. 87:

That strain I heard was of a higher mood.

156–9. *ab undecima iam lux est altera nocte*, etc. So recently as eleven nights and a day ago Milton had attempted to begin the poem he proposed to write, but failed in the attempt. Jerram quotes Virgil, *Ecl*. 8.39:

Alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus.

Cf. *P.R*. 1.210.

160. *vos cedite, silvae*. Jerram refers to Virgil, *Ecl*. 10.63 'where Gallus bids farewell to a woodland life, because it cannot cure his passion, with the words *concedite silvae*.'

162–71. On the projected British epic see notes on *Mansus* 80–4.

162–8. With this brief account of legendary British history compare Spenser, *F.Q*. 2.10.5–68. See Pommrich, pp. 22–3.

162. *Dardanias . . . puppes*. See note on *Eleg*. 1.73.

Rutupina. Camden in his description of Kent says: 'At the mouth of the Wantsum southward . . . stood a city which Ptolemy called *Rhutupiae*; Tacitus, *Portus Trutulensis*; . . . we of this city, Richborow. . . . Right famous and of great name was the city while the Romans ruled here.' Camden quotes Juvenal 4.139–42, and Lucan 6.67.

163. *Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniae*. According to the account given by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Brit. Hist*., in *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. by Giles, 1848, pp. 91–9), Pandrasus was a

king of Greece defeated in war by Brutus to whom he then gave his daughter Ignoge—the name appears in various forms, as Ignoge, Inogen, and Imogen. The realm of Brutus in Britain is called 'in poetical gallantry,' as Masson has said, not his but Imogen's. See *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.168–73.

164. *Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinam.* Milton passes on to events supposedly about six hundred years after the coming of Brutus to Britain. The story of Brennius and Belinus, the sons of Dunwallo Molmutius, king of Britain, is told by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Brit. Hist.*, in *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. by Giles, 1848, pp. 122–30). They were believed to have marched victoriously through Gaul, and finally to have captured Rome—referring to the sack of Rome in 390 B.C. by the so-called Gauls. See *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.179–80.

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth (*ibid.*, pp. 149–53), Arviragus was the son of King Cymbeline and brother of Guiderius. After Cymbeline died, Guiderius became king, but refused to pay tribute to Rome. Claudius Caesar then invaded Britain, and in the battle that followed, Guiderius was treacherously slain. Arviragus submitted to Claudius, and married his daughter Genuissa, but later revolted against Rome. Vespasian came with an army against him, but Genuissa acted as mediator. In his old age Arviragus governed his kingdom in peace and tranquility. Geoffrey quotes Juvenal 4.126–7:

> Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
> Excidet Arviragus.

See *Hist Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.202.

165. *Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos.* According to William of Malmsbury (*Chronicle*, ed. by Giles, 1847, p. 6), Constantine with a numerous force of veteran British soldiers 'founded a colony on the western coast of Gaul, where, to this day, their descendants, somewhat degenerate in language and manners from our own Britons, remain with wonderful increase.' Compare *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.251.

166–8. *Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernen*, etc. Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Brit. Hist.*, in *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. by Giles, 1848, pp. 223–5), and Malory (*Morte Darthur* 1.2), tell how Uther Pendragon fell in love with Iogerne, wife of Gorlois, King of Cornwall. After the death of Gorlois, Uther by the magic art of Merlin appeared to Iogerne in the form of her dead husband, and had by her a son, Arthur, the heroic king.

169–71. *Tu procul annosa pendebis, fistula, pinu*, etc. The meaning is simply: 'I shall abandon Latin for English.' I take *fistula* to refer to Latin poetry; *patriis Camenis*, its paternal Muses, *i.e.*, Latin. Compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 7.23–4:

aut, si non possumus omnes,
Hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu.

171. *Brittonicum strides. Strides* would be an appropriate term for the harsher martial themes which Milton proposed to treat; but possibly it refers to the English language. See *Education* (*Pr. W.* 3.465).

171–2. *omnia non licet uni Non sperasse uni licet omnia.* The poet must make a choice, since he cannot expect to win glory both as a Latin and an English poet. Compare Virgil, *Ecl.* 8.63:

non omnia possumus omnes.

172–8. *mi satis ampla*, etc. Compare *P.L.* 7.23–39, especially lines 30–1:

still govern thou my song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few.

In *Church-Gov.* 2 (*Pr. W.* 2.478), after mentioning the praise he had received in the Italian academies, and the conviction that he might leave to posterity something worthy of preservation, Milton goes on to say:

These thoughts at once possessed me, and these other: that if I were certain to write as men buy leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honor and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that

resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo—to fix all the industry and art I could unite, to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end (that were a toilsome vanity), but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother-dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old, did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christian, might do for mine; not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world.

Consult Masson, *Life* 1 (1881), 248–52; 2.40–1; and *Introd.*, pp. 15–6.

175. *Usa.* The river Ouse, which rises in Oxfordshire and flows north-east into the Wash. Milton refers to this river in *Vacation* 92; *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.329. Cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* 4.11.34; Drayton, *Polyolbion* 22.28.

potor Alauni. Camden in speaking of the town of Christ Church in Hampshire (*Britain*, 1637, p. 259) says: 'Under this town Stour and Avon, joining together, do emptie themselves into the sea at one mouth, which Ptolemy called the mouth of the river Alaun.' But Milton may have meant the river Alne in Northumberland, which had the same Latin name, *Alaunus* (Camden, *op. cit.*, p. 813). Compare Horace, *Carm.* 2.20.20:

Discet Hiber Rhodanique potor.

176. *Vorticibus frequens Abra.* The Humber. The name *Abra*, derived, as Warton explains, from a native British word, *abren* or *aber*, meaning a river's mouth, has been applied to various rivers—the Tweed, the Humber, and the Severn. Compare *Vacation* 99:

Or Humber loud, that keeps the Scythian's name;

and Ovid, *Met.* 9.106:

Verticibusque frequens erat atque impervius amnis.

Consult Gilbert, pp. 148–50.

nemus omne Treantae. The river Trent rises in Staffordshire, and by its confluence with the Ouse forms the Humber. Cf. *Vacation* 93; Spenser, *F.Q.* 4.11.35.8–9.

177. *Et Thamesis meus ante omnes.* The 'royal-towered Thame' of *Vacation* 100, the Thames, in mentioned very frequently by Milton. See Gilbert, pp. 292–3.

178. *Tamara.* The Tamar is a river between Cornwall and Devonshire which empties into Plymouth Sound. Spenser writes (*F.Q.* 4.11.31.1–2):

> There was the speedy Tamar, which devides
> The Cornish and the Devonish confines.

See Camden, *Britain*, 1637, p. 196. The tin and other minerals of Cornwall explain Milton's *fusca metallis.*

Orcades. The Orkney Islands. Compare *Hist. Brit.*, *Pr. W.* 5.219; Juvenal 2.159–61:

> Arma quidem ultra
> Litora Iuvernae primovimus, et modo captas
> Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

180. *haec.* 'These things,' the things Milton has just gone over as the proposed subject-matter of a great poem.

lenta sub cortice lauri. A figurative expression meaning that he was treasuring the information about the intended poem like some precious object packed for safety in the tough bark of the laurel.

181–97. *tum quae mihi pocula Mansus.* Warton, Masson, and Jerram are, I believe, right in accepting this passage as the description of an actual pair of cups which Manso gave Milton. Keightley took it to be merely a poetic fiction borrowed from Theocritus 1.27–63 and Virgil, *Ecl.* 3.36–48 (see Masson 3.361–3). There is nothing in Milton's description of the cups that is borrowed from Theocritus and Virgil. As Jerram says: 'Both the singularity of the subjects chosen and the minuteness of each point in the picture render it almost impossible to suppose that we have here a mere invention of the poet, and not an actual thing described.' Possibly, since Manso was a man of literary taste, the passages from Theocritus and Virgil just mentioned may have prompted the gift.

182. *Chalcidicae...ripae.* See note on *Leonor.* 3.4.

184. *caelaverat argumento.* Jerram refers to Ovid, *Met.* 13.684:

Hyleus, et longo caelaverat argumento.

185. *Rubri Maris.* Gilbert (p. 243) says that here Red Sea is probably to be taken in the ancient sense of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs together. Cf. *P.L.* 1.306; 12.195, 212.

185–6. *et odoriferum ver, Littora longa Arabum,* etc. Pliny (*N.H.* 12.14) and Diodorus Siculus (3.45) have much to say of Arabia as the land that produces frankincense and many other plants of sweet odor. Cf. *P.L.* 4.159–65.

187–9. *Phoenix, divina avis,* etc. Pliny (*N.H.* 10.2.3) thus describes the phoenix: 'The phoenix of Arabia surpasses all others. Howbeit, I cannot tell what to make of it, and first of all whether it be a tale or no that there is never but one of them in the world, and the same not commonly seen. By report it is as big as an eagle; for color, as yellow and bright as gold, namely all about the neck; the rest of the body a deep red purple; the tail azure blue, intermingled with feathers of rose carnation color.' Ovid tells the story of the life of the phoenix in *Met.* 15.391–407. Cf. also Ovid, *Am.* 2.6.54:

Et vivax phoenix, unica semper avis.

See also *De Ave Phoenice,* attributed to Lactantius. Consult *The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus,* ed. by Cook, pp. xxviii–lvi.

189. *Auroram.* See notes on *Eleg.* 5.49 and *Q. Nov.* 133–4.

190. *polus.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.56.

omnipatens. Apparently a word of Milton's coinage.

magnus Olympus. See note on *Eleg.* 5.19.

191. *putet?* A deliberative subjunctive expressing admiration, something like the Greek πῶς δοκεῖς, as Jerram points out.

Amor. See notes on *Eleg.* 1.60; 7.3–12.

192. *pyropo.* Bronze of a fiery red color. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 34.8.94; Ovid, *Met.* 2.2. It is from πυρωπός, which, as Jerram observes, is an epithet of the lightning in Aeschylus, *Prom.* 667.

193–7. *Nec tenues animas*, etc. The idea of Cupid shooting his darts to heaven among the gods and wounding them is doubtless derived from *Met.* 1.455–76, where Ovid tells how Cupid kindled the love of Apollo for Daphne. See also Moschus 1.14–9. The allusion is here used figuratively, for Milton means that this is heavenly, not earthly, love. He was, of course, familiar with Plato's discourse on the two types of love in *Symposium* 180–9, and with Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes*. For other occurrences of the idea see *P.L.* 8.592; *Comus* 1003–11; *Lyc.* 176–7. Cf. also *Eleg.* 1.60; 7.3–12, 31–6, and notes. In the first three drafts of the contemplated drama of *Paradise Lost*, Heavenly Love personified appears among the characters.

194. *circum flammantia lumina torquens*. Riley (2.288) notes the indebtedness to Virgil, *Georg.* 3.433.

200. *Sanctaque simplicitas*. Cf. line 33 above, and note on lines 212–4 below.

201. *Lethaeo*. See note on *Q. Nov.* 132.

Orco. See note on *Eleg.* 7.83–4.

203–4. Riley (2.288) remarks that the thought expressed in these lines 'has its parallel in the deification of Daphnis,' Virgil, *Ecl.* 5.56–9, 'though the imagery and diction used to express it are different.' Cf. Matt. 5.8.

pluvium pede reppulit arcum. Jerram compares this with Virgil, *Georg.* 4.233:

> Plias et Oceani spretos pede reppulit amnis.

The rising Pleiad spurned with scornful foot the streams of Ocean.

205–6. *Heroumque animas inter*, etc. Keightley quotes Horace, *Carm.* 3.3.11–2:

> Quos inter Augustus recumbens
> Purpureo bibet ore nectar.

207–8. *Quin tu, caeli*, etc. Verity compares these lines with *Lyc.* 184 and Virgil, *Ecl.* 5.65. Riley (2.289) adds a reference to Virgil, *Aen.* 8.302.

209. *aequior audis*. *Audire*, like ἀκούειν, was used in the sense of 'to be named.' Cf. Horace, *Sat.* 2.6.20; 2.7.101. As Jerram remarks, different names of a god implied different attributes. See Exodus 6.3; Aeschylus, *Agam.* 155.

210. *Diodatus,...divino nomine*. *Diodatus* means 'God-given.'

212–4. *Quod tibi purpureus pudor*, etc. Keightley quotes Ovid, *Am.* 1.3.14:

Nudaque simplicitas purpureusque pudor.

Cf. Rev. 14.4:

These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins.

215. *rutilante corona*. Compare 1 Peter 5.4; Rev. 2.10. Jerram quotes Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living* 2.3:

That little coronet or special reward, which God hath prepared ...for those 'who have not defiled themselves with women but follow the...Lamb for ever.'

216. *gestans umbracula palmae*. Cf. Rev. 7.9.

217. *immortales hymenaeos*. Cf. Rev. 19.6–8; *P.L.* 8.592; *Lyc.* 176–7; Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Love*.

218. *Cantus ubi, choreisque furit lyra mista beatis*. Keightley quotes Horace, *Epod.* 9.5:

Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra.

219. *Festa Sionaeo bacchantur et Orgia thyrso*. Milton was fond of imbuing Christian traditions with the imagery of pagan mythology; at the opening of *Paradise Lost* he invokes a Heavenly Muse; in the *In Quintum Novembris* Satan is endowed with many of the attributes of Pluto. It is unnecessary to multiply examples, for this practice was probably never carried further by Milton than in the present case. *Furit*, *bacchantur*, *Orgia*, and *thyrso* are strange words to use in speaking of the joys of heaven. It is impossible to avoid the comparison of the joys of the saints in heaven to the Bacchic revels. There is only the word *Sionaeo* to give the whole a Christian turn, but it comes after the impress of the comparison has been made. *Furit*, *bacchantur*, and *Orgia* are

not to be taken too literally; and the *thyrsus*, a staff entwined with ivy and vines, borne by Bacchus and the Bacchantes (Ovid, *Met.* 3.542; Virgil, *Aen.* 7.390; Horace, *Carm.* 2.19.8), is, as it were, sanctified by the application of *Sionaeo*, and becomes a heavenly standard.

AD IOANNEM ROUSIUM

1–3. *Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber*, etc. These lines accurately describe the little volume of Milton's poems published by Moseley in 1645. It was a double book, or two volumes bound in one, first the English poems, then the Latin, with separate pagination and title-pages.

On the poem as an 'envoy' to the book, see Introd. p. 66.

2. *Fronde . . . gemina.* Warton thought *fronte*, which he said was the reading of the Bodleian MS., would be better than *fronde*; but both the manuscript and the 1673 edition of the poems very clearly give *fronde*. In Martial (3.2.8) *frontis* appears; Ovid (*Tr.* 1.1.8, 11) has *fronte* and *geminae frontes*; in Tibullus (3.1.13) we have *geminas frontes*. The *frontes* were the edges of the papyrus-roll at each end, which were smoothed with pumice-stone and gaily colored. But Milton, I believe, is referring not to the two title-pages of his book, but to the separate pagination of the two parts—the 'two-fold leaf.'

3. *Munditieque nitens non operosa.* 'Plainly but neatly bound.'

6. *haud nimii poetae.* Keightley considers this to be 'assumed modesty.' But is there reason to doubt Milton's sincerity?

7–8. *Dum vagas Ausonias*, etc. These lines have been taken to mean that some of the poems are in Latin, some in Italian, and some in English, but what immediately follows makes it plain that Milton meant that the poems had been written partly in Italy, 'the Ausonian shades,' and partly in England. See *Salsil.* 10 and note.

Ausonias. See note on *Q. Nov.* 49.

9. *Insons populi, . . . devius.* Before his return from Italy, Milton, though not uninterested in public events, had lived apart from

them. His active participation in the great struggle between King and Parliament, Anglicanism and Puritanism, news of which had called him home (2 *Def.*, *Pr. W.* 1.256), began in 1641 with the publication of *Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England.* In 2 *Def.* (*Pr. W.* 1.258) he thus explains his resolve to enter the conflict:

As I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights, I perceived that if I ever wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the Church, and to so many of my fellow-Christians, in a crisis of so much danger. I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object.

10–12. *mox itidem pectine Daunio*, etc. Warton and Keightley take this as a reference to the Italian sonnets, but that again presupposes the metaphorical interpretation of *Ausonias umbras* (line 7). *Daunia* is a part of Apulia in southern Italy, and the adjective *Daunius* does not appear to have been extended in meaning to comprehend the whole of Italy. Masson suggests that 'possibly, in selecting the term, Milton may have remembered Horace's reference (*Carm.* 3.30.10–12) to Daunia as a rather barbaric and sterile part of Italy,...and he may have implied that neither was his Latin offered as the classical Latin of ancient Rome, nor his Italian as the right modern Tuscan.'

12. *humum vix tetigit pede.* Not quite in harmony with line 6, Keightley observes.

18. *Thamesis ad incunabula.* Milton means Oxford, but the source of the Thames is near Cirencester in Gloucestershire, far above Oxford. In its upper reaches it is known as the Isis; at Oxford the Cherwell joins it, and at Dorchester, a few miles further on, the Thame. It is with the confluence of these rivers that the real Thames is often said to begin. In his marriage of the Thames and the Medway (*F.Q.* 4.11.8–53) Spenser calls the Thame the father and the Isis the mother of Thames. See particularly Spenser's stanzas 24–6.

21. *Aonidum.* The Muses as dwellers by Aganippe, on Mount Helicon in Aonia, a part of Boeotia, were called Aonides. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.333; Juvenal 7.59, and see notes on *Eleg.* 1.25, and 4.30.

29–36. *Tollat nefandos civium tumultus,* etc. The Civil War had broken out in England in 1642, and, from that time until its surrender to Fairfax on June 24, 1646, Oxford was the Royalist headquarters and the meeting-place of Charles' Parliament. Although there was practically no civil strife within the city, the University fared ill, for it became little more than a garrison, and its regular activities were suspended. Charles I lived and had his court in Christ Church; the Queen was lodged in the Warden's house at Merton; elsewhere soldiers were quartered in the colleges; the cloister of New College was converted into a magazine, and its quadrangle into a drill-ground. See Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College,* pp. 84–8; Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood* 1.52–128; Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford* 2.349–404.

31. *Musas.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

33–6. *Immundasque volucres,* etc. Phineus, son of Agenor, was endowed by Apollo with the power of prophecy, but, because he unerringly foretold the will of Zeus, that god struck him blind, and plagued him with the Harpies, which snatched away his food, and defiled it with their filth. He was delivered by the Argonauts (Apollonius Rhodius 2.178–310; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7.2–4; Virgil, *Aen.* 3.211–34).

The Harpies whom Milton has in mind undoubtedly were the Royalists and Prelatists, into whose hands Oxford had fallen, and the Presbyterians who were equally intolerant on the other side. See *Sonnets* 11–12, and *Forcers of Consc.* Consult Masson 1.215–7.

35. *Apollinea pharetra.* A passage in *Church-Gov.* (*Pr. W.* 2.506) explains these words. Milton there compares prelacy to the great Python, killed by Apollo (see note on *Eleg.* 7.31–6); it is 'a pestiferous contagion to the whole kingdom, till like that fen-

born serpent she be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word.'

36. *amne Pegaseo?* The Thames. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 280–6) Pegasus, the winged horse, sprang from the blood of Medusa; he left the earth, and dwells in the house of Zeus. 'The association of Pegasus with the Muses,' writes Osgood (p. 58), 'is based upon the story told by Strabo (8. p. 379). Near Corinth is the spring Pirene, sacred to the Muses, which Pegasus... had caused to gush forth at the stroke of his hoof. The conception of the poet as borne aloft on the back of Pegasus is referred in Pauly's *Real-Encyc.* 5.1275 to Bioardo's *Orlando Innamorato.*' See also Ovid, *Met.* 5.250–66.

42. *institoris insulsi.* Probably, as Masson suggests, 'any "tasteless huckster" that could make use of the paper of the book.'

45. *Lethen.* Oblivion. See note on *Q. Nov.* 132.

46. *remige penna.* See *Q. Nov.* 208, and note. In *Church-Gov.* (*Pr. W.* 2.505) Milton calls the English dragon of superstition 'this mighty sail-winged monster.' There is a similar dragon in *F.Q.* 1.11.10.1–5:

> His flaggy winges when forth he did display,
> Were like two sayles, in which the hollow wynd
> Is gathered full, and worketh speedy way:
> And eke the pennes, that did his pineons bynd,
> Were like mayne-yards, with flying canvas lynd.

Cf. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 33.84.

55–60. *Quaestorque gazae nobilioris,* etc. John Rouse, as Bodley's Librarian, is the custodian of greater treasures than those over which Ion had charge in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Euripides (*Ion* 1–81) tells the early story of Ion, son of Apollo by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, and therefore called Erechtheides. The epithet Actaea, as applied to Creusa, means Attic or Athenian, because her father was king of Athens. Acte, Ἀκτή, coast-land, was the earlier name of Attica (Pliny, *N.H.* 4.7.23). Creusa succeeded in concealing her shame, and when Ion was

born exposed him in a cave; but Apollo sent Hermes to rescue him and take him to his father's shrine at Delphi; there he was reared, and, when he came to manhood, the Delphians made him the guardian of the treasures of the temple. See Euripides, *Ion* 185–217, 1145–86; Homer, *Il.* 9.404; Pausanias 1.9.3; 10.5.9–13.

60. *Ion Actaea genitus Creusa.* Landor (*Imag. Conv.*, 1883, 4.106) objects that this is not a verse.

62. *Musarum.* See note on *Eleg.* 1.25.

65. *Delo posthabita.* Adapted, as Keightley noted, from Virgil, *Aen.* 1.16: *posthabita coluisse Samo.* Cf. *Eleg.* 1.84.

66. *Bifidoque Parnassi jugo.* See note on *Eleg.* 4.30.

71. *Authorum.* See note on *Eleg.* 7.38.

73–87. *Vos tandem haud vacui mei labores.* Warton and Keightley were of opinion that in writing this epode Milton had in mind only his controversial pamphlets on episcopacy and divorce, which had rendered him unpopular with both Anglicans and Presbyterians. See Masson, *Life* 3 (1896).164, 262–6, 298, 445–6, 466–71. I see nothing, however, to indicate that he was excluding his poetical works. 'There probably was,' as Masson suggests (*Poet. W.* 3.368), 'some discrimination already among his contemporaries between the merits of his poetry and the demerits or disputed merits of his prose pamphlets;...in the conflict of judgments about his prose pamphlets any poetical reputation he had previously acquired had been swallowed up.' Therefore Milton could say, half sadly, *Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet*, and could look to those *ultimi nepotes*, and that *cordatior aetas*, which should understand him, and do him justice.—But he was yet to fall on 'evil days...and evil tongues.' Warton in commenting on this passage makes the not uncommon distinction, between Milton the poet and Milton the prose-writer, against which Masson (*Poet. W.* 3.370–1) contends:

It is the author of *Paradise Lost* that is the author of those prose pamphlets; and it is the author of the prose pamphlets that is the author of *Paradise Lost*. They sprang from one life; they are but diverse manifestations of one and the same soul; they are organically related; neither could have come into the world from

any other mind than precisely that which exulted in the other; there is an interfusion between the two of the same sap, the same ruling ideas, the same Miltonism, the same life-blood.'

77. *Hermes*. See note on *Idea* 32–4.

78. *Et tutela dabit solers Rousi*. Landor (*Imag. Conv.*, 1883, 4.106) says this is defective in metre.

79–80. *Quo neque lingua procax vulgi penetrabit*, etc. Compare Horace, *Carm.* 3.1.1:

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo;

and *P.L.* 7.30–1. On the poet's select audience consult Langdon pp. 167–8.

MILTON'S NOTE ON *AD IOANNEM ROUSIUM*

The note which Milton subjoined to the ode to John Rouse has commonly been taken as an apology (Masson 3.363–5) for the failure of the poem to conform to the ancient rules of the choral ode; but what we should, I believe, understand is that Milton never intended it to conform to these rules, and regarded it as a metrical experiment or jest, in which his Latin verses, instead of conforming to the strictness of Latin prosody, are allowed the freedom of the Greek. He was no workman ignorant of his art, and it is hardly too much to assume that before his poem saw the light he had given due consideration to the points on which he has since been severely criticized.

The ode, he explains, consists of three strophes, the same number of antistrophes, and an epode; but between strophe and antistrophe there is not the metrical correspondence, or responsion, that might be expected, for it has been his concern rather to follow the manner of good reading, *commode legendi*, by which presumably he means nothing more than rhythmical reading. In other respects, he adds, the poem ought perhaps more correctly to have been called monostrophic. What he meant by monostrophic we learn from the preface to *Samson Agonistes*:

The measure of verse used in the Chorus is of all sorts, called by the Greeks monostrophic, or rather *apolelymenon*, with-

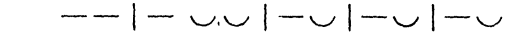
out regard had to strophe, antistrophe, or epode, which were a kind of stanzas framed only for the music then used with the Chorus that sung; not essential to the poem, and therefore not material; or, being divided into stanzas or pauses, they may be called *alloeostropha*

According to Greek standards, neither such a chorus, nor such a poem as the *Ad Ioannem Riusium*, could properly be called monostrophic, for, as Hephaestion (Περὶ Ποιήματος 7, ed. by Consbruch, p. 60) defines it, that term signifies a poem which consists of a succession of similar stanzas. Of *alloeostropha* I shall speak presently.

Some of the verses, as Milton continues, are κατὰ σχέσιν and some are ἀπολελυμένα. The meanings of these terms, as they were used in Greek prosody, are explained by Hephaestian (*ibid.*, ed. by Consbruch, p. 59; Περὶ Ποιημάτων 3.1–3, 5; 8.2, ed. by Consbruch, pp. 64–5, 73). Poems are classified according to their form in two main divisions: first, those which are constructed κατὰ στίχον—a στίχος being a verse—and consist merely of a combination of any number of similar lines, as for example the Homeric poems; secondly, those which are σύστημα—*systematic* poems—a *system* being a combination of metres, either of two or more, either like or unlike. Some of the systematic poems are κατὰ σχέσιν, and some are ἀπολελυμένα. Those that are κατὰ σχέσιν are such as the poet writes in subservience to ἀντοπόδοσις and ἀνακύκλησις, that is, in stanzas recurring after some regular manner, or in accordance with the metrical correspondence of strophe and antistrophe. Those which are ἀπολελυμένα are written at random and without prescribed metre. Now the απολελυμένα are of these sorts: ἄστροφα, ἀνομοιόστροφα, and ἄτμητα. The ἄστροφα are too small to give any idea of a strophe. The ἀνομοιόστροφα are divided indifferently at any part—it may be at a change of person, at a reply of the Chorus to the actor, at an ἐφύμνιον, or at an epode. There may be only two parts, or there may be more. If there be two, the poem is called ἑτερόστροφον; if there be more than two, it is ἀλλοιόστροφον. The ἄτμητα are poems which would admit of division, but there is no

proof of their having been divided. Hephaestion gives as examples of the ἀπολελυμένα poems of which we now possess only fragments, as Simonides, Frag. 188 (Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, p. 514), Alcaeus, Frag. 59 (*ibid.*, p. 172), and the *Margites* ascribed to Homer (Evelyn-White, *Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns*, pp. 536–7). Consult Masqueray, *Traité de Métrique Grecque*, pp. 377–88. Thus it appears that neither in precept nor in practice was Milton wholly without classical precedents.

Finally there are, Milton informs us, two Phalaecean or hendecasyllabic verses, the regular formula for which is



in which the third foot is a spondee instead of a trochee. His reason for taking this liberty with the metre is that Catullus used a spondee in the second foot.

APPENDIX

POEMS UNACKNOWLEDGED BY MILTON

[DE MORO]

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori
Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget?

AD CHRISTINAM SUECORUM REGINAM NOMINE CROMWELLI

Bellipotens Virgo, Septem regina Trionum,
  Christina, Arctoi lucida stella poli!
Cernis quas merui dura sub casside rugas,
  Utque senex armis impiger ora tero,
Invia fatorum dum per vestigia nitor,
  Exequor et populi fortia iussa manu.
Ast tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra;
  Nec sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.

CARMINA ELEGIACA

Surge, age, surge! Leves, iam convenit, excute somnos!
  Lux oritur; tepidi fulcra relinque tori.
Iam canit excubitor gallus, praenuncius ales
  Solis, et invigilans ad sua quemque vocat.
Flammiger Eois Titan caput exerit undis,
  Et spargit nitidum laeta per arva iubar.
Daulias argutum modulatur ab ilice carmen,
  Edit et excultos mitis alauda modos.
Iam rosa fragrantes spirat silvestris odores;
  Iam redolent violae luxuriatque seges.
Ecce novo campos Zephyritis gramine vescit
  Fertilis, et vitreo rore madescit humus.
Segnes invenias molli vix talia lecto,

Cum premat imbellis lumina fessa sopor.
Illic languentes abrumpunt somnia somnos,
Et turbant animum tristia multa tuum;
Illic tabifici generantur semina morbi:
Qui pote torpentem posse valere virum?
Surge, age, surge! Leves, iam convenit, excute somnos!
Lux oritur; tepidi fulcra relinque tori.

[ASCLEPIADEAN VERSES]

Ignavus satrapam dedecet inclytum
Somnus qui populo multifido praeest.
Dum Dauni veteris filius armiger.
Stratus purpureo p...buit...
Audax Eurialus Nisus et impiger
Invasere cati nocte sub horrida
Torpentes Rutilos castraque Volscia:
Hinc caedes oritur clamor et absonus.

[DE MORO]

The distich now commonly known as *De Moro* appeared in Milton's *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano* (1654), and again in his *Pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum* (1655). Alexander More (1616–70) was a Frenchman of Scottish parentage who enjoyed some celebrity as preacher and scholar, not only in France but also in Switzerland and Holland. Unfortunately for himself he was responsible for the publication at The Hague in 1652 of a book entitled *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Caelum*, an attack upon the English Commonwealth, and upon Milton who had defended it. The anonymous book was the work of Pierre du Moulin, but Milton believed that More was its author. Accordingly, in the *Defensio Secunda* and in the *Pro se Defensio*, he hurled at More all manner of invectives, and even related scandals which, rightly or wrongly, had attached to his name. *De Moro* preserves one of these scandals, on the seduction by More of Pontia, a maid in the household of Salmasius; but, as Masson observes,

the couplet is 'all but certainly' not the work of Milton. It seems to have come from Holland to England, where it appeared in the *Mercurius Politicus* on Sept. 30, 1652, nearly two years before the publication of the *Defensio Secunda*.[1] The words which introduce it in the *Defensio* show that Milton is quoting from an unknown author, for, after relating the sordid story of Pontia, he adds: 'Hence some ingenious person wrote this distich.'[2]

AD CHRISTINAM SUECORUM REGINAM NOMINE CROMWELLI

These lines apparently were written for Cromwell in 1654, shortly after he became Protector, to accompany a portrait of himself which he was sending to Queen Christina of Sweden, then kindly disposed towards the Commonwealth. Their authorship would have raised no problem, were it not for a passage in Toland's *Life of John Milton*, published in 1698. After speaking of the many visitors who frequented Milton's house near St. James' Park in the years immediately before the Restoration, Toland adds: 'Andrew Marvell, who by his parts and probity made himself so much known since that time in England, used to frequent him the oftenest of anybody; and whether it was he or Milton (for both are named for it) that made the verses sent with Cromwell's picture to the Queen of Sweden, I am uncertain; but, whoever was the author, they deserve a room in this place.'[3] The poem to Christina, and a rendering in English verse, then follow. The Latin text as given by Toland is that which now commonly appears in editions of Milton's poems. But in 1681, seventeen years before the publication of Toland's *Life*, the same poem, with very slight verbal differences, had appeared in Marvell's *Miscellaneous Poems*, which were posthumously published, and was there by Marvell's wife declared 'to be printed according to the exact copies of my late dear husband under his

[1] See *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1.273.
[2] *Pr. W.* 1.227.
[3] See Hulme, *Two Early Lives of John Milton* (*Western Reserve Studies* 1.8), pp. 70–1.

own handwriting.'[1] Here positive evidence ends. Yet despite the obvious conclusion to which it points, certain scholars, among them Newton, Dunster, and Todd, have sought reasons for assigning the poem to Milton. It has been urged that since Milton was Latin Secretary in 1654, and since he wrote in the *Defensio Secunda* a most extravagant eulogy on Queen Christina,[2] he would naturally write the Latin poem to accompany Cromwell's portrait. The assignment of the poem to Milton rests upon nothing more substantial than Toland's uncertain statement and arguments of external probability. The presumption in favor of Marvell's authorship, however, becomes even stronger when we see that in his *Poems* the lines *Ad Christinam* are not an isolated piece but one of a related group.[3] The first, a poem of some length, is entitled *Doctori Ingelo, cum Domino Whitlocke ad Reginam Sueciae delegato a Protectore, residenti, epistola*; the second, a distich, *In effigiem Oliveri Cromwell*; and the third, the poem under consideration, there entitled *In eandem reginae Sueciae transmissam.* The only variants from the text as ascribed to Milton are *sique* instead of *utque*, and *fero* instead of *tero* in the fourth line, and *at* instead of *ast* in the seventh. It is also worthy of note that in the poem to Ingelo there are verbal similarities to the disputed piece: in the one, Christina is *sceptripotens* and *lucida stella sub suo axe*; in the other, *bellipotens virgo* and *arctoi lucida stella poli.* In closing his arguments in favor of Marvell's authorship, Masson says: 'In short, unless we are prepared to deprive Marvell of all the three pieces of the group, it seems hard to take the third away from him.—Add this final consideration that, as Milton was totally blind in 1654, lines about a portrait would hardly then be expected from him, even though he was Latin Secretary.'[4]

[1] See *Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Aitken, p. 184.
[2] See *Pr. W.* 1.248–51.
[3] See *Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. by Aitken, pp. 178–84.
[4] *Poet. W.*, ed. by Masson, 1890, 1.280–1.

CARMINA ELEGIACA AND ASCLEPIADEAN VERSES

The two bits of Latin verse on 'Early Rising,' here designated *Carmina Elegiaca* and *Asclepiadean Verses*, were discovered by Alfred J. Horwood, along with Milton's Common-Place Book, among the family-papers of Sir Frederick U. Graham, Bart., of Netherby, Cumberland, and edited by him for the Camden Society in 1876 in *A Common-Place Book of John Milton, and a Latin Essay and Latin Verses presumed to be by Milton.* The Latin verses, in a hand closely resembling Milton's autograph, were appended to a short Latin prose essay entitled *Mane citius lectum fuge*, written on a single loose leaf of foolscap paper. In the left margin of the leaf the name Milton was still distinctly legible, although the paper was badly mutilated. There is little reason to doubt that the lines belong to Milton. The strong external evidence is supported by the Miltonic style of the poems. In all probability the essay and the verses were done as an exercise when Milton was at St. Paul's School or shortly after he entered Cambridge.[1]

It remains to mention one other Latin poem jestingly ascribed to Milton, the *Miltonis epistola ad Pollionem*, printed in *Selecta Poemata Anglorum Latina, seu sparsim edita, seu hactenus inedita* (1.133–50), a collection in two volumes edited by Edward Popham, and published at Bath in 1774. The poem, a political satire addressed to Lord Polworth (Pollio), is the work of William King (1685–1763), Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and friend of Pope and Swift. With a dedication to Pope, it was anonymously published at London in 1738, and again in 1740.[2]

[1] See *ibid.* 3.371–3.
[2] See *D. N. B.* 31.168; *Notes and Queries*, 2d. ser. 1.255.

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