

ODYSSEY SERIES IN LITERATURE
ROBERT SHAFER, *General Editor*

PARADISE REGAINED, THE MINOR POEMS.
AND SAMSON AGONISTES



JOHN MILTON

Aged 21

From the portrait at Nuneham

JOHN MILTON

PARADISE REGAINED
THE MINOR POEMS
AND
SAMSON AGONISTES

Complete and Arranged Chronologically

Edited by MERRITT Y. HUGHES
Professor of English, University of Wisconsin



THE ODYSSEY PRESS
New York



JOHN MILTON

PAPERBACK REPRINTED

THE AUTHOR FORMS

AND

OF ACCOUNTS

OF THE

AMERICAN

INDUSTRIES

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

COPYRIGHT, 1937
BY THE ODYSSEY PRESS, INC.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES
SEVENTH PRINTING



Magistro meo

HERBERT J. C. GRIERSON

CONTENTS

CHRONOLOGY	xiii
INTRODUCTION TO THE MINOR POEMS	
I. Youth—The Latin Poems	xv
II. <i>L'Allegro</i> and <i>Il Penseroso</i>	xxiii
III. "The Dance of Life"	xxviii
IV. <i>On the Morning of Christ's Nativity</i>	xxxiii
V. <i>Arcades</i> and <i>Comus</i>	xxxviii
VI. <i>Lycidas</i>	xlvii
VII. The Present Edition	1
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND NOTES	liii
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MINOR POEMS	lvi
The Stationer's Preface to the English Poems in 1645	3
The Preface to the Latin Poems 1645	4
Ode to Milton by Antonio Francini	6
A Paraphrase on Psalm 114	14
Psalm 136	15
Verses from the Commonplace Book	18
On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of a Cough	22
Elegia Prima, ad Carolum Diodatum (Elegy I, to Charles Diodati)	26
Elegia Secunda in Obitum Praeconis Academici Cantabrigiensis (Elegy II, on the Death of the Beadle of Cambridge University)	34
Elegia Tertia in Obitum Praesulis Wintoniensis (Elegy III, on the Death of the Bishop of Winchester)	38
In Obitum Praesulis Eliensis (On the Death of the Bishop of Ely)	44
In Obitum Procancellarii Medici (On the Death of the Vice-Chancellor, a Physician)	50

In Quintum Novembris (On the Fifth of November)	54
In Proditionem Bombardicam (On the Gunpowder Plot)	72
In Eandem (On the Same)	74
In Eandem (On the Same)	76
In Eandem (On the Same)	78
In Inventorem Bombardae (On the Inventor of Gunpowder)	80
Elegia Quarta ad Thomam Iunium (Elegy IV, to Thomas Young)	82
Elegia Septima (Elegy VII)	94
Naturam Non Pati Senium (That Nature Is Not Subject to Old Age)	104
At a Vacation Exercise in the College	112
De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles Intellexit (On the Platonic Idea as Understood by Aristotle)	118
<i>The Fifth Ode of Horace, Lib. I</i>	122
Elegia Quinta, in Adventum Veris (Elegy V, on the Coming of Spring)	124
Song: On May Morning	136
Sonnet: O Nightingale!	137
Sonnet: Donna leggiadra (Beautiful Lady)	138
Sonnet: Qual in colle aspro (As on a Rugged Mountain . . .)	140
Canzone	142
Sonnet: Diodati, e te'l dirò (Diodati, and I Will Say It to You)	144
Sonnet: Per certo i bei vostr'occhi (In Truth, Your Fair Eyes . . .)	146
Sonnet: Giovane piano, e semplicetto amante (Young, Gentle and Candid Lover . . .)	148
On the Morning of Christ's Nativity	150
Elegia Sexta, ad Carolum Diodatum, Ruri Commorantem (To Charles Diodati When He Was Visiting in the Country)	166
The Passion	174
On Shakespeare	177
On the University Carrier	179

Another on the Same	180
An Epitaph on the Marchioness of <i>Winchester</i>	182
Sonnet: How Soon Hath Time . . .	185
L'Allegro	186
Il Penseroso	194
On Time	203
Upon the Circumcision	205
At a Solemn Music	207
Arcades	209
A Mask (Comus)	216
Psalm 114 (Translated into Greek)	272
Ad Patrem (To His Father)	274
<i>Lycidas</i>	284
Ad Leonoram Romae Canentem (To Leonora Singing in Rome)	298
Ad Eandem (To the Same)	300
Ad Eandem (To the Same)	302
Ad Salsillum, Poetam Romanum, Aegrotantem (To Salzilli, a Roman Poet, When He Was Ill)	304
Mansus (Manso)	308
Epitaphium Damonis (Damon's Epitaph)	318
Translations from <i>Of Reformation Touching Church Discipline in England</i>	338
Translation from <i>The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty</i> . Book I, Cap. V.	339
Translations from <i>An Apology for Smectymnuus</i>	339
Sonnet: When the Assault Was Intended to the City	340
Sonnet: Lady That in the Prime . . .	341
Translation Prefixed to <i>Areopagitica</i>	342
Translation in <i>Tetrachordon</i>	342
Sonnet: <i>To the Lady Margaret Ley</i>	343
Philosophus ad Regem Quendam (A Philosopher to a Certain King)	344
<i>In Effigiei Eius Sculptorem</i> (On the Engraver of His Likeness)	344
Sonnet: <i>To My Friend, Mr. Henry Lawes</i>	346
Sonnet: I Did But Prompt the Age . . .	347

On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament	349
Sonnet: <i>On the Religious Memory of Mrs. Catharine Thomason, My Christian Friend, Deceased, 16 December, 1646</i>	351
Ad Ioannem Rousium, Oxoniensis Academiae Bibli- othecarium (To John Rouse, Librarian of Oxford Uni- versity)	352
Sonnet: On the Detraction Which Followed upon My Writing Certain Treatises	360
Psalm LXXX	361
Psalm LXXXI	363
Psalm LXXXII	365
Psalm LXXXIII	366
Psalm LXXXIV	367
Psalm LXXXV	369
Psalm LXXXVI	370
Psalm LXXXVII	372
Psalm LXXXVIII	373
Sonnet: <i>On the Lord General Fairfax at the Siege of Col- chester</i>	375
Translation from <i>The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates</i>	376
In Salmasii Hundredam (Against the <i>Hundred</i> of Salmasius)	376
Sonnet: <i>To the Lord General Cromwell</i>	378
Sonnet: When I Consider . . .	379
Sonnet: <i>To Sir Henry Vane the Younger</i>	380
Psalm I	382
Psalm II	382
Psalm III	383
Psalm IV	384
Psalm V	385
Psalm VI	386
Psalm VII	387
Psalm VIII	389
In Salmasium (on Salmasius)	390
De Moro (about More)	390

Sonnet: <i>On the Late Massacre in Piemont</i>	392
Sonnet: <i>Lawrence of Virtuous Father . . .</i>	394
Sonnet: <i>Cyriack, Whose Grandsire . . .</i>	396
Sonnet: <i>Cyriack, This Three Years' Day . . .</i>	397
Sonnet: <i>Methought I Saw . . .</i>	398
Translations from <i>The History of Britain</i> , Book I	399
Apologus de Rustico et Hero (A Fable of a Peasant and His Landlord)	400

INTRODUCTION TO PARADISE REGAINED
AND SAMSON AGONISTES

I. <i>Paradise Regained</i>	405
II. <i>Samson Agonistes</i>	422

BIBLIOGRAPHY 442

Paradise Regained	445
Samson Agonistes	537
Index of First Lines	619
Index of Books and Historical Persons	622

CHRONOLOGY

- 1608, Dec. 9. Birth in Bread Street, Cheapside, London.
1620. Admission to St. Paul's School.
- 1625, Feb. 12. Matriculation at Christ's College, Cambridge.
- 1629, March. Promotion to B. A. degree.
- 1629, Dec. *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*.
- 1632, July. Promotion to M. A. degree.
- 1632, July, to 1638, April. Residence in the house to which John Milton Sr. had retired in Horton, Buckinghamshire.
- 1634, Sept. 29. *A Mask (Comus)* performed.
- 1637, Nov. *Lycidas*.
- 1638, April. Departure for Italy.
- 1639, Aug. Return to England.
- 1639-40. Establishment in London and beginning of school-keeping.
- 1640-41. Plans for tragedies and epics on national and biblical themes in the Cambridge manuscript.
- 1641, late spring. *Of Reformation in England*.
Early summer. *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*.
Late summer. *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*.
- 1642, Jan. to March. *The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty*.
March to April. *Apology for Smectymnuus*.
Whitsuntide. Marriage with Mary Powell, separation following about a month later.
- 1643, Aug. 1. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* first published.
- 1644, June. *On Education*.
July. *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*.
Nov. *Areopagitica*.

- 1645, March. *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*.
 Late summer. Reconciliation with Mary Powell.
 Autumn. Publication of the collected *Minor Poems*.
- 1645-46. Work begun on the *History of Britain* and on *De Doctrina Christiana*.
- 1649, Feb. *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.
 March. Appointment as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State.
 Oct. *Eikonoklastes*.
- 1651, March. *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*.
 1652, May. Death of Mary Powell.
 1654, spring. *Defensio Secunda*.
 1655. *Defensio pro se*.
 1656, Nov. Marriage with Katherine Woodcock.
 1658, Feb. Death of Katherine Woodcock.
 1660, March. *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*.
 1663, Feb. Marriage with Elizabeth Minshull, who survived him until 1727.
 1667. *Paradise Lost* first published.
 1671. *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* first published.
 1674, Nov. 8. Death.

INTRODUCTION

I. YOUTH—THE LATIN POEMS

1. If it is true, as Mr. John Crowe Ransom believes, that "the great repute of the Miltonic style is a consequence of the scarcity . . . of poets who have mastered the technique of Latin poetry before they have turned to their own," then Milton's Latin poems should be the most alluring of all the roads that an explorer of the poet can follow. So in recent years they have proved to the investigators who have given us "the new Milton." Modern interest has been focused less upon their art, however, than upon their revelation of Milton's mind and of the "unconscious" meaning of his English poetry. Analysis of "the man and thinker" has rather obscured the artist to whom Mr. Ransom would bring us back. Because in some of the elegies Milton poured himself out with less reserve or with a kind of unreserve distinctly other than that of his most amazingly personal prose, it has sometimes been assumed that they are confessions about his adolescence hardly less intimate than those of Mr. Wells about his callow years in *Experiment in Autobiography*. They are hardly that, though they are full of an engaging candour. Searchers for autobiography will find it there a-plenty and they may be fortunate enough to find some other things to boot. Even to the reader who has no Latin the prose translations in the present volume have much to say about the development of the poet's mind and still more to suggest about the growth of his art. Although Milton segregated them in a section of their own when he first collected his poems, English, Latin, Greek, and Italian, for publication in 1645, and kept them by themselves again in 1673, his careful dating indicates that he expected them to have the

lively interest of a portrait of the artist as a very young man. His odd way of using ordinal numbers—calling himself in his seventeenth year until his eighteenth birthday—*may* have been due to a desire to strain the excuse of youth with the puritanical public of 1645. Yet that was the year of the publication of *Tetrachordon* and *Colasterion*, his two final salvos in defence of liberal divorce laws; and in his dating of his youthful poems he can hardly have conceded more than a jot to the prejudices of his public. On his own account he seems to have looked back with some regret upon his confession of “love at first sight” in the seventh elegy; but, on the whole, he was proud of his Latin poems—proud of the “erotic” fifth elegy, proud of the record of his friendship with Charles Diodati in the first and sixth elegies and in *Damon’s Epitaph*, proud of the record of his Italian triumphs in *Manso* and *Salzilli*, proud even of the horrific, schoolboy, mock epic *On the Fifth of November*, in which so good a classicist as Professor E. K. Rand sees more power than, and almost as much beauty as, he does in the epyllion that Virgil wrote as a boy of eighteen, the *Gnat*. In reconstructing Milton’s life in terms of his poetry we have to reckon with his Latin verse all the way from the first elegy in 1625 or 1626 to *Epitaphium Damonis* in 1639 or 1640, two years later than *Lycidas*.

2. In Milton’s boyhood everything seems to have conspired to make him a linguist and a poet, but his father was the archconspirator. Business acumen, musical tastes, extraordinary faith in his sons, and dominant religious interests marked the man into whose home at the sign of the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, London, the boy was born on the ninth of December, 1608. How stern his father’s religious principles really were is open to question. He had broken with his father, Richard Milton, a loyal Roman Catholic who twice suffered the financial martyrdom of the fine for recusancy; but he may have been less of a Puritan than his famous son, for his forgotten son, Christopher, grew up with conservative principles both in politics and in religion and had his reward by being appointed to a judgeship under Charles II. Because

he was a scrivener, John Milton, Sr., is usually described as a kind of solicitor; but he was less a lawyer than a banker, and at heart—as Milton reminded him in the poem addressed to him—he was a musician and perhaps a poet too.

3. The careful education at home as well as at St. Paul's School—for which Milton so cordially thanks his father in that poem—seems to have been begun with the ministry as its goal. In a familiar passage in the preface to the second book of *The Reason of Church Government* Milton speaks as if he had come up to his final degree at Cambridge with the clear resolve to take orders and had then been disappointed and “church-outed” by the oath enjoining support of episcopacy, “which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure, or split his faith.” Long before he took his degree, however, he must have resolved, at least subconsciously, to live the life of a man of letters. The years of independent, post-graduate study which were given to him at Horton, followed by sixteen very handsomely subsidized months in Italy, prove that, on the whole, the older man shared his hopes and dreams. The sonnet *On his being Arrived to the Age of Twenty-three*—which Mr. W. R. Parker proposes to date a year later, *i.e.* in 1632, just after rather than before the residence in the paternal home in Horton began—was sent in a letter to an unknown friend who seems to have felt that he should have gone into the Church, but there is no reason for supposing that the friend spoke for his father. On the other hand, we have the evidence of the Latin poem addressed to his father that his education had been most liberally planned. The poem's record of the training which began with private tutors several years before he entered St. Paul's School at age twelve is strikingly like the ideal scheme of studies which he drew up at age thirty-six, for boys preparing to serve their country “justly, skilfully and magnanimously.” Latin was the starting point and Greek was soon added, then Hebrew, and then Italian, French, and Spanish; but no language was treated as an end in itself. They were all keys to literature and life. His own Latin must have begun under tutors when he was a

very little boy, and he may have learned it like the child, Montaigne, who was allowed to hear little else spoken in the house. In any case, he learned it—as we gather from what he says to the most famous of his tutors, Thomas Young, in the fourth elegy—from highly trained and intelligent men with whom he built up a friendship as they rambled together on Parnassus. The Italian sonnets, which Mr. Smart proved to have been written certainly before, and probably long before, the Italian journey, show how articulate he was, perhaps while still an undergraduate, in the formal language of Petrarch; and the tributes to his spoken Italian, French, and Spanish by his admirers in Rome and Florence suggest a flexible command of contemporary idiom in all three languages. Yet it is clear that he had no interest in languages as such and despised a linguist who would “pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them, as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only.” At school and at Cambridge he hated the ceaseless exercises in the classical languages, and in the tractate *Of Education* he condemned the “preposterous exaction [of] forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations” in “miserable Latin and Greek.” But a practical and even an artistic faculty for self-expression in Latin was a prime object in the scheme of education which he drew up in 1644. No twentieth-century schoolboy ever hated the drudgery of languages more than Milton did, but his hatred was born of impatience to go exploring through the realms of gold in half a dozen tongues and to find his feet as an artist in the common speech of all educated men—Latin.

4. The ability to write with poetic power in that language seems to have dawned upon him like an afflatus about 1626—the year which saw three of the elegies, the epyllion *On the Fifth of November* and several lesser poems. Except *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, he had written no English poetry of importance and he was to write very little more English verse

before the hymn *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* in 1629. Even after that marvellous success in English he was to go on writing in Latin with increasing mastery for ten more years. Then, deliberately, he stopped. Barring the ode *To John Rous* and a few scraps of Latin verse scattered in his prose, he chose thereafter to be an English poet. In 1638-9 his hexameters of compliment to his Neapolitan host, Giovanni Battista Manso, look forward to an epic about the British hero, Arthur, and in *Damon's Epitaph* (ll. 170-8), his last serious poem in Latin, he made explicit his resolve to write thenceforth in English. Looking backward a little more than two years later, in the preface to Book II of *The Reason of Church Government*, he explained that his motive had been "God's glory by the Honour and Instruction of my Country. For which Cause," he added, "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."

5. From our distance the resolve to honour God and England by writing in English looks self-complacent, but the admission of incapacity to reach the first rank among the Latins cost Milton a pang. He was thinking less of the ancients than of his own contemporaries; men like the Scot, George Buchanan, who had won a European reputation with Latin elegies as Ovidian and gay as Milton's fifth, *On the Coming of Spring*. Buchanan's satires on the Franciscans helped to provoke Milton's sallies in *On the Fifth of November* against the mendicant friars in their "Cimmerian darkness." By "the Latins" he meant, in the main, to refer to the great Italians whose mastery of Latin verse had been hardly inferior to their fluency—figures like Pontano, Vida, and Sannazaro. In elegies like Sannazaro's and in epics like his *De Partu Virginis* and Vida's *Christias* Milton found a more personal and idiomatic Latin than even he could command. Yet in spite of his regret that he could never rank with these men, he was ready, in 1640, to let them go their way while he went another and a very

different path. Even in the hands of men of genius, classical Latin was not a very flexible medium. For some subjects it might serve better than a living language, but to write it well a man had to steep himself so deeply in the poetry of one or more of the ancients that he submitted to a kind of personal domination—as Milton confessed in *Smectymnuus* that he had once done with Ovid. Indeed, the history of his development as a versifier in Latin is the record of his emancipation from Ovid to become a disciple and, in a way, a rival of Virgil. The elegies are a tissue of Ovidian reminiscences, but it was Virgil who moved him when he wrote *Ad Patrem* and the fine poem addressed to his famous host in Naples, Giovanni Baptista Manso, and *Epitaphium Damonis*. For a time he was interested in Horace, for he experimented with Horatian metres both in Latin and in English; in Latin when, for example, he wrote *On the Death of the Vice-Chancellor*; and in English—if I am right in believing that the late date traditionally assigned to the lines is incorrect—when he translated Horace's fifth ode, "almost word for word, without rhyme, according to the Latin measure." The Horatian mood in sonnets like that *To Mr. Lawrence* proves the survival of his affection for Horace in later years. But Ovid and Virgil were passions with him. Whenever he wrote poetry, they were always at hand, haunting his thoughts; yet in 1640 he was ready to relinquish their imitation in their own language to others.

6. Even after making due allowance for Dr. Johnson's principle that "nearly every . . . flourish of fine motive in Milton's life was an afterthought," I believe that he stopped writing in Latin for the reasons that he gave in *The Reason of Church Government*; but it is worth pausing to ask whether he might ever under any circumstances have tried to write a long poem in Latin for all Europe to read—the audience for which the *De Doctrina Christiana* was boldly intended. In Latin prose Milton was to feel himself sure of a public as long as he lived and in Latin prose he was utterly at ease in expressing himself. In verse he could not have the public that he desired, and he was beginning to feel the constraint of an art which involved

the combination of countless phrases from the classics, used for their idiomatic rather than their allusive value. Such a phrase was the greeting in Virgil's first eclogue to the peasant who has had the good fortune to escape in a general eviction of his neighbours from their farms—"Fortunate senex" (Fortunate old man!). Milton's use of the words to congratulate his famous Neapolitan host, Manso, upon the fame that he enjoyed as the patron of Torquato Tasso is apt, but the reminiscence does not help the meaning. More appropriate is the echo in his compliment to Manso of Virgil's saying in the *Aeneid* (VI, 130 and 730) that by virtue men mount the skies, and his use of Virgil's words in the *Georgics* (III, 9) to promise Manso an immortality of fame on the lips of men. Less appropriate is his reminiscence in *Epitaphium Damonis* of Virgil's description (*Georgics* III, 433) of a dangerous field snake that comes writhing on "with head erect and eyes of fire." At the climax of his dirge for Diodati Milton introduced the celestial Cupid with eyes of flame that dart their sparkles far and wide among the stars. Seemingly with no sense of incongruity, the god's fiery glances are described in virtually the very same words that Virgil used to describe the adder. The incongruity is really less than it seems, for the picture in the *Georgics* has drama and beauty. In his later Latin poems, however, Milton's echoes of the classics have a subtle, two-fold propriety. When he paused in his lament for Diodati to imagine a group of his friends calling him in vain to join their field sports, there was a reminiscence of a kindred passage in Virgil's *Eclogues* (X, 42-3):

Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,
Hic nemus . . .¹

In Virgil's lines there is a note of frustrated love which is a faintly heard undertone in Milton's. He was seeking a particular effect of allusive depth and distance and he achieved

¹Come, see what pleasures in our plains abound,
The woods, the fountains, and the flow'ry ground.

(Dryden's translation.)

it; but at the price of imitating both Virgil and—if Mr. T. P. Harrison is correct in a recent surmise—Castiglione, who used the Virgilian motif with more than Virgilian pathos in one of the most famous of the pastoral elegies of the Renaissance, *Alcon*.

7. For most modern readers the least impressive of Milton's Latin poems is likely to be the little epic on the Gunpowder Plot, *In Quintum Novembris*, which he wrote at age seventeen. Its ties with *Paradise Lost* and with *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* entitle it to a moment's consideration. It is a torso, for Milton outgrew it as he worked on it, and threw it aside with an apology for a conclusion. The events of the Plot's discovery are huddled into a few final lines. Milton was interested only in the preliminaries; Satan's inspection of the wide world, ending in the discovery of the happy island of England, and the steps for its undoing taken by the fiend. Warton compared the account in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (II, 787-96) of the goddess Envy ranging over sea and land to fix at last upon the peaceful city of Athens for molestation. Envy gains her ends by whispering a crime into the ears of the sleeping Athenian princess, Aglauros; and Milton's Satan gains his by breathing the outrage of the Gunpowder Plot into those of the sleeping Roman prince, Pope Paul V. From the cave of Phonos in the bowels of the earth Paul convokes a frightful council of monsters—Murder, double-tongued Treachery, Craft, Contention, Calumny, Fury, Fear, and pale Horror—and the Plot is hatched. Behind the cave stretched a venerable tradition going back to Hesiod's account in the *Theogony* of Night and its horrid children; but its atmosphere was familiar in several popular poems such as *The Purple Island* of Milton's admired Phineas Fletcher. In Fletcher's satires, the *Locustae* and its English counterpart, *The Apollyonists*, Milton found a treatment of the Plot which justified all that is most extreme in his own poem. His glory in the premature glee of the diabolical consistory over the prospect of James and the Parliament blown sky-high together matches Fletcher's so closely that he might have been paraphrasing. Then, abruptly, he turned to a description of

the tower of the goddess Rumour and wove together his memories of Ovid's description of her seat with that of Chaucer in *The House of Fame*. After thirty lines on this congenial theme, Rumour is commissioned by the Almighty to spread a report of the Plot throughout England. She does so, and the little epic sags suddenly to an end.

II. *L'ALLEGRO AND IL PENSEROSO*

8. Recently Mr. Tillyard has thrown altogether new light upon *L'Allegro* with his evidence that it dates from Milton's later years at Cambridge. Its strange exordium—"Hence, loathed Melancholy," *etc.*—reads with a new meaning and gaiety if it is felt as some kind of reaction against the horrific monsters from the cave of Phonos which Milton evoked to celebrate his second fifth of November at the University. Certainly the Stygian cave with its horrid shapes, the brooding darkness, and the Cimmerian desert are the very stuff out of which *In Quintum Novembris* is concocted. For some time opinion has been moving away from the traditional view of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* as voicing the moods of the studious recluse at Horton as he drifted through the orchard lanes, inviting his soul. All the evidence indicates that Milton's life at Horton was that of a much more systematic student than he had been at Cambridge. At Horton, except *Comus* and *Lycidas*, he wrote little poetry and most of it was composed under the pressure of various occasions. Horton itself has been regarded as the occasion prompting the two companion poems, but a college exercise would serve that purpose just as well. Indeed, the tone of *l'Allegro's* walk in the country is quite in the mood of an undergraduate on holiday. It is just Milton's mood in the seventh elegy, where he strolls in the fields around London; and in the first, where he confesses to having used his rustication to haunt the fields and groves, and to having been as much disturbed by the passing bevvies of girls as *l'Allegro* was by the starry "Cynosure of neighbouring eyes."

9. The evidence suggesting that the strange exorcisms which open *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* flowed from undergraduate high spirits is still more cogent. In the first prolusion, or academic exercise, Milton had to make an address to his tutors and fellow students on the assigned question, "Whether Day is more excellent than Night." The result was a formal yet playful Latin oration which repeats Hesiod's account of the birth from Chaos of Erebus and Night and goes on—like Hesiod, and like Boccaccio in his *Genealogy of the Gods*, and like many later mythographers—to make Night the mother of a hideous brood; Tribulation, Envy, Fear, Guile, Poverty, Sickness, and others no less dire. The theme was traditional and Milton knew that his audience would be familiar with many treatments of it, from that in Hesiod to Shakespeare's

O comfort-killing Night, image of hell!
 Dim register and notary of shame!
 Black stage for tragedies and murders fell!
 Vast sin-concealing chaos! nurse of blame!
 Blind muffled bawd! dark harbour for defame!
 Grim cave of death! whispering conspirator
 With close-tongu'd treason and the ravisher.¹

Mr. Tillyard thinks that at the first line or two of either *L'Allegro* or *Il Penseroso* Milton's audience of undergraduates (reading his verses or hearing them as a part of some entertainment like that in which the lines *At a Vacation Exercise* are embedded) would scent parody of familiar themes and begin to grin. If his view of the matter is to prevail, there is still comfort for those who will grieve over the loss of the two poems as the fine flowering of "the Horton period" in the fact that a poet like Lovelace could use the same motif, at least half seriously, in a love lyric like *Night: To Lucasta*:

Night! loathed jailor of the lock'd up sun, . . .
 Thou dost arise our living hell,
 With thee groans, terrors, furies dwell,
 Until Lucasta doth awake,
 And with her beams these heavy chains off shake.

¹*The Rape of Lucrece*, 764-70.

10. The formal contrast between the two poems is, in part, the opposition of day to night in the proslusion. Like *L'Allegro*—and, it may be added, like the schoolboy verses in the *Commonplace Book*—the proslusion pays its “ample tribute to the honour of Day.” At sunrise the birds in the tree-tops hail the Dawn and the first of them to herald the light is the cock, as he is in *L'Allegro*. The sun wears the same splendour in which *l'Allegro* sees him rise and “the clouds in garments of diverse hues, with festal show, in long procession, appear to be handmaidens attending the rising god.” In the poem Milton's couplets soon carried him far out of the realm of the proslusion into the bright English landscape which Nicholas Breton had explored at the same swift pace in *The Passionate Shepherd*, and which had been familiar to Englishmen since it was discovered by one of the contributors to *Tottel's Miscellany*. But in design, although it includes a tribute to the gay pleasures of evening, the poem is a survey of Day and its moods, just as *Il Penseroso* is a survey of Night.

11. The real contrast between the two poems is, of course, one of mood, and it is Milton who is both the gay and the thoughtful dreamer. There is no conflict or tension, for both poems are aspects of the contemporary impulse to hunt for new and richer interests than the past afforded, in terms of which to revalue the medieval ideal of the contemplative life. It is *Il Penseroso*, with the Cherub Contemplation and divinest Melancholy as its presiding genii, that is the longer, if not the more successful poem. Dr. Johnson was right when he said that its mood seemed to him to carry over into *L'Allegro*. If the Doctor had read his Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* to better purpose than he did, he might have understood why this was so. Today everyone knows that in the “Author's Abstract of Melancholy,” which he prefixed to the *Anatomy*, Burton counted many of *l'Allegro's* pleasures among what he considered the prime satisfactions of melancholy:

Methinks I hear, methinks I see,
Sweet musick, wondrous melody,

Towns, Palaces, and Cities fine;
 Here now, then there; the world is mine;
 Rare beauties, gallant Ladies shine—
 Whate'er is lovely or divine.
 All other joys to this are folly,
 None so sweet as melancholy.

Certainly *L'Allegro* is the least morbid poem ever written and no passion for the theatre and the night life of a great city was ever healthier than Milton's; yet Burton recognized such indulgence as his in day-dreams and "castles in the air" as one of the symptoms of the disease whose victims "soothe up themselves with phantastical and pleasant humours."¹ The fact is that in *L'Allegro* no less than in *Il Penseroso*, like Jaques in *As You Like It*, Milton courted a melancholy of his own. It is essentially romantic and entitled to Mr. E. E. Stoll's comparison of it with that of Keats's ode on *Melancholy* and of Coleridge's on *Dejection* and of Shelley's *Stanzas Written in Dejection near Naples*. An alternative—though not a perfect one—to this view is to recognize a vein of irony running consistently through *Il Penseroso*. This, in accordance with his theory that the poem was written to amuse an academic audience, is what I understand Mr. Tillyard to do. To my ear, it is not possible to catch the irony in its glorious roster of Platonic and Hermetic studies and of classical and romantic reading. Yet it is a relief to have a touch of humour pointed out in the conclusion and to realize that Milton could poke fun at his most serious studies. Many readers will be prepared to follow Mr. Tillyard joyfully when he says of the prayer for the "peaceful hermitage" in "weary age" which ends the poem: "How charmingly callow, how perfectly appropriate to an audience of boys! It fits far worse the lips of a man who has retired into studious quiet already." If there is no irony in the passage, it can hardly be cleared of the charge of sentimentality. Englishmen must have had more than enough of the debate between the active and the contemplative lives in

¹*Anatomy*, I, ii, 2, 6.

which—as in Bacon's *Device on the Queen's Day*—the final reward offered to the youth who chose to live in the garden of the Muses was “the privilege of the Golden Age” and the promise of a life that “leadeth the eye beyond the horizon of time and giveth no obscure divinations of time to come.”¹ The more playfully Milton's boyish vision of his declining years as spent in attaining to “something like prophetic strain” can be read, the better for it as poetry.

12. The question of the date of *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro* is a half-solved enigma. Tentatively, I have put down the year 1631. Milton's pleasant summer in the country then seems to me—as Mr. Parker has recently urged—a plausible background for them; and, like Mr. Parker, I doubt whether, after Milton's beloved master at St. Paul's School, Alexander Gill, had publicly condemned Ben Jonson's plays (as he did late in 1632), his loyal pupil would have paid a compliment to the “learned sock.” Certainly they must have been written well within two years of *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*. They may have been written in close succession to it, or even before it; for there is no compelling reason to accept them in their entirety as a single creative act. Although they correspond closely and even dovetail verbally here and there, they cannot have been hastily written and they give signs of organic growth. *Il Penseroso* is sometimes pointed to as the original nucleus, on the ground that it harmonizes exactly with Milton's character; but no one who compares *L'Allegro* with the Latin verses on the enjoyment of a summer morning in the *Commonplace Book* can doubt that its moods and images had long been a part of his nature. We are not likely ever to know just when the two poems were written. Perhaps there was no “just when,” for the resemblances in *L'Allegro* to the verses in the *Commonplace Book* and to the passage on the theatre in the first elegy may have arisen out of some earlier attempt or attempts to express similar ideas in English verse. It is

¹The speeches drawn up by Mr. Bacon for the Earl of Essex, in a device exhibited by his lordship before Queen Elizabeth on the anniversary of her accession to the throne, Nov. 17, 1595.

sure, however, that the poems represent Milton as he was in his later years at Cambridge. I have discussed them here before *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*; not because I believe that they antedated that poem; but because it seems to me that they were virtually contemporary with it, and that we should regard the impression which they give us of Milton's personality as complementary to that given by his "birthday present to Christ."

III. "THE DANCE OF LIFE"

13. Playful though Milton's references to the rewards of scientific study may have been in *Il Penseroso*, "natural philosophy" fired him with Baconian ardour. As an undergraduate he must have been an enthusiastic reader of *The Advancement of Learning*; or at least a keen admirer of the author and his point of view. In his third prolusion he makes a bitter attack upon the scholastic tradition at Cambridge for obliging the students to chop arguments with the "philosophasters" instead of coming to grips with history, physics, and biology. The outburst is a young idealist's espousal of Bacon's revolt against the dead hand of the past in education. Down with the "joyous wrangling of old men," which was begotten either in the cave of Trophonius or in the cells of the monks, is his cry. There is more in the third prolusion, however, than a clever undergraduate's wail at finding himself "mocked," as the *Tractate on Education* says, "with ragged notions and babblements while [he] expected worthy and delightful knowledge." The prolusion goes on to lay out a program of study such as Milton actually carried out at Horton, "a tour, as it were, about the whole earth," in which historical and geographical interests could be cultivated, while the main purpose would be "to investigate and observe the natures of all living creatures; from these to plunge the mind into the secret essences of stones and plants . . . and to peer into the caskets of the hail and to survey the arsenals of the thunderbolts." Let none of Nature's secrets remain a mystery, he cries; "nor

let
con
the
arie
12
rang
war
of t
rath
Lati
Sub
one
time
cedi
Apa
men
of t
vers
sen
pow
ever
with
heir
is a
expr
repr
sens
ever
Milt
corr
the
ser's
Que
fully
the
bodi
1Se

let even the tiniest stars be hidden from you. . . . Nay," he concludes, "let not your mind suffer itself to be confined by the limits of the earth, but let it range far beyond the boundaries of the world."

14. His lively interest in science, as he understood it, ranged Milton with the moderns in the then just beginning war between the defenders and assailants of the new doctrine of the progress of organic nature and the human mind. His rather transcendental ideas on that subject emerge in the Latin poem, *Naturam non Pati Senium* (That Nature is not Subject to Old Age). The occasion was a formal academic one and the subject may have been traditional; but it was timely in 1628, because—as Masson first pointed out—the preceding year had seen the publication of George Hakewell's *Apologie or Declaration of the Power of God in the Government of the World, Consisting in an Examination and Censure of the Common Errour Touching Nature's Perpetual and Universal Decay*. Milton's thought in the poem broadly resembles Hakewell's reasoning for the perpetuity of nature's powers. There can be no doubt that at this time also, however he may have felt when he wrote *Paradise Lost*, he agreed with Hakewell and with Bacon that modern men are the heirs and therefore the superiors of the ancients. The poem is a challenge to the contemporary view, which John Donne expressed when he said that God had put into the world, "a reproof, a rebuke, lest it should seem eternal, which is a sensible decay and age in the whole frame of the world and every piece thereof."¹ For more than half a century before Milton wrote, this traditional, theological view had been corroborated by the belief—which had a small foundation in the observations of astronomers—that the sun—to use Spenser's words in the prologue to the fifth book of *The Faerie Queene*—"is miscarried with the other spheres," and sunk fully thirty "minutes" lower in the skies than its position when the first accurate measurements of the heights of the heavenly bodies were taken by Ptolemy. It is this notion that *Naturam*

¹Sermon xxxvi, folio of 1640.

*non Pati Senium*¹ assails with most gusto. The real issue in the debate, and the point upon which his ambition made him most sensitive, although his verses do not mention it, was the question whether modern men can hope to equal the ancients. Donne quoted St. Cyprian in support of the contrary opinion, and the poet Henry Vaughan, in *Corruption*, traced the progress of human decay down the centuries until now

man is sunk below
The center, and his shroud.
All's in deep sleep and night; thick darkness lyes
And hatcheth o'er thy people.

15. Against such defeatism Milton's revolt was instinctive. It sprang from his conception of nature as well as from the pride which made him compare himself in *Paradise Lost* to Homer and Virgil and to "Tiresias and Phineus, Prophets old." His feeling about nature transpires in the Latin poems; especially in the vision of the world as flooded with light and colour in the first elegy and as animated by sex in the fifth, *In Adventum Veris* (On the Coming of Spring). No one who is curious about the origin of his lyric inspiration should fail to read that poem. Its beauty is like that of Botticelli's treatment of the same theme in the *Primavera*, his symbolic painting of spring. "No other poet," says M. Denis Saurat, "has ever been so close to a feeling of nature's fecundity." The feeling makes a bond between him and many of the artists and poets of Renaissance Italy. His candour in drawing the reluctant nymph pursued by the satyr, in an elegy which opens with a glimpse of the cloven summit of Mount Parnassus and, beyond, of Olympus itself, suggests in its small way the pervading sense of sex as an animating force in nature which overflows in the poetry of Pontano, even in his great, cosmic, religious poem, the *Urania*. To a reader who is familiar with the Neo-Platonic allegories of the Celestial Venus who, as the principle of Concord, unites the universe—the allegories which inspire many of Spenser's cantos—there should be nothing

¹Ll. 33-44.

surprising here. Spenser learned, and Milton perhaps instinctively understood, how to sympathize with the harmony and fertility of nature as a force both physical and spiritual. The feeling ramifies through all his undergraduate poetry. Even in the lines,

And then at last our bliss
Full and perfect is,
But now begins,

in *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* Mr. Tillyard sees "something of sex"; yet something which "does not disturb and irritate as it had done shortly before in *Elegia Quinta*: on the contrary, it animates, not usurping the mind but stimulating many other feelings into delightful activity." In the elegy the consciousness of sex hardly seems to me to amount to a disturbance or an irritant; but rather to be quite consistent with the implied admiration for the "gaudy trim" which Nature lays aside in the first stanza of the poem so that she may sympathize with her "great Master" in his extraordinary humiliation. It is taken for granted that normally she would like to dress and "wanton with the Sun, her lusty Paramour." Certainly, Mr. Tillyard is right in recognizing something of sex in "the dance of the stanzas" and in other, less definable elements in the poem. And—with a difference—it can hardly be denied in the symbolism which concludes both *Comus* and *Epitaphium Damonis*, where the mystic marriage of the soul with God is the reward of earthly chastity. The feeling in these passages touches various readers very differently. Psychologically, the emotions of sex and their conscious control are not very far apart. It is easy to interpret the conclusions of both the masque and the dirge as either hypocritical or morbid, and both charges have been brought. Postponing their discussion, we may stop to notice that Milton's poetical resolution of the emotional and intellectual tangle of sex is by way of the symbol of the divine wedding dance. He describes it—with a deliberate mixture of pagan and Christian imagery—as submerging the spirit of Charles

Diodati in an ecstasy as wide as the sky. And over the dancing choruses of heaven waves the thyrsos, the wand which was carried by the Bacchantes in the orgiastic rites of Dionysus.

16. In *Paradise Lost* the eternal world is constantly described in figures of dancing. Every day of festival there is kept by the heavenly host

In Song and dance about the sacred Hill.

Their "mystical dance" was both a symbol and an actuality to Milton. Not, of course, a literal reality, but something no less real than the "dance of life" which Mr. Havelock Ellis sees patterning the world. In both cases the metaphors, different though they are, sprang from an intuition of the harmony of the universe, a sense of its challenge to the individual as a spectator and perhaps as an actor in the chorus. Ellis's metaphor embodies a lifetime of study of anthropology. Milton's was a consequence of interest in the most venerable of astronomical theories, but one which had assumed a new importance in his time. His cosmos was a dance and harmony and song because he more than half identified his heavenly choruses with "yonder starry Sphere Of Planets," in whose

motions harmony Divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Listens delighted.¹

Behind this passage in *Paradise Lost* lies Plato's comparison² of the figures made by the planets as they meet and wheel in their orbits to a dance. Milton knew that the conception of the planets and stars as composing a mighty chorus of song and dance went beyond Plato and back to Pythagoras. We may be sure also that his undergraduate reading included Plato's myth of the celestial sirens, which motivates the final movement in *Arcades*; and he would be certain to know the famous passage in the *Metaphysics*³ where Aristotle quotes the opinion

¹Bk. V, 625-7.

²*Timaeus*, 40 c.

³Bk. XIV, chap. viii.

of "the ancients" that the harmonious movements of the stars are due to an intelligence or divinity in every one of them. It was to Pythagoras that he really ascribed the idea, for in the second prolusion, *On the Music of the Spheres*, expressly, and in *At a Solemn Music* by clear implication, he declares that if men had "hearts so pure, so stainless, so snowy, as once Pythagoras had," not only would they hear the music of the revolving stars, but "then all things would return immediately, as it were, to the Golden Age; then, at last, freed from miseries, we would spend our time in peace, happy and envied even by the gods."

IV. ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY

17. The interest of the second prolusion is greatest in connection with *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, for the central movement of that poem turns upon the thought in the passage from *On the Music of the Spheres* which is translated above. In stanza xii Milton refers to the music of the spheres in language reminiscent of the account of the creation in Job,¹ "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy";

Such music (as 'tis said)
Before was never made,
But when of old the Sons of morning sung.

Then he goes on to bid the spheres ring out in concert with the "Angelic symphony" and concludes that

if such holy song
Enwrap our fancy long,
Time will run back and fetch the Age of Gold.

If the "full and perfect" bliss of the eighteenth stanza suggests a delight more sensuous than transcendental, it is because the poem as a whole is shot through with a keen yet religious sense of physical beauty. There is nothing mystical

¹Chap. xxxviii, 7.

in this, for Milton was the least mystical of religious poets; yet the feeling resembles that in Donne's casual reference in one of his sermons¹ to God as "spread as an universal honeycomb over all." A consciousness of imminent divinity hovers over the world; not confused with it in a vague pantheism; but descending upon it

'gainst that season comes,
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated;

and driving away all evil spirits, as Marcellus in *Hamlet* reminds his friends on the battlements that it was supposed to do at Christmas—

So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.

18. The secret of the beauty of the "Hymn" is its unfolding of the traditional faith which Shakespeare poured into Marcellus' speech. Its real theme, however, is the Christian-Platonic one of Christ as the incarnate Word, the Logos of St. John's Gospel, whose advent means the return of Truth and Justice to men. It is the theme of *Paradise Regained*. Yet Milton's conception of Christ was still orthodox and Mr. Belloc does not misrepresent the quality of the poem when he says, "The ode to the *Nativity* might have been written by a warm Catholic from beginning to end." In every sense of the word it is Catholic. If it lacks the fervour of Southwell's *Burning Babe*, and of Vaughan's *Christ's Nativity*, it has the genuine devotion of Herbert's *Christmas*:

The shepherds sing; and shall I silent be?
My God, no hymne for Thee?

It is Catholic also in its treatment of nature as the willing servant of God, hiding her face in her master's presence while the sun dims "his inferior flame" when he sees

a greater sun appear
Than his bright Throne or burning Axletree could bear.

These are not mere conceits, to be swept aside as errors of taste, due to the malign influence upon the immature poet of

¹Sermon xxvi, folio of 1649.

the extravagant treatment of the subject by Sylvester in his translation of Du Bartas' *Divine Weeks* and by Giles Fletcher in *Christ's Victory and Triumph on Earth and in Heaven*. They are a part of the theme itself, just as the wildness of the time is a part of it. Upon that topic alone the Italian, Baptista Mantuano, wasted a wealth of fancy in his *Parthenicae*¹—burying the earth at the first Christmas deep under frost and snow as far south as remotest India.

19. The most Catholic of all the elements in the "Hymn" is the Christian Platonism of the twelfth and the following stanzas. The return to earth of Peace, and of Truth and Justice with Mercy sitting between them, owes something to the allegorical pageantry of the court masque and something to the medieval doctrine of the Four Daughters of God, to which Giles Fletcher gave fresh currency in *Christ's Victory in Heaven*. But the essence of these stanzas is Platonic. Milton thought of Justice as the platonizing Latin father of the Church, Lactantius, defined it: "Justice, which is nothing else than the pious and religious worship of the one God."² It was to restore such justice, Lactantius said, that God's son was sent into the world. Today his idea may seem strange, and it becomes stranger still when we find its full significance in a chapter of *The City of God*³ where St. Augustine defines justice as giving to every one his due, and then asks: "What justice is that, then, that takes man from the true God, and gives him unto the condemned fiends?" At the coming of Christ, says Lactantius, in a long and eloquent passage which it is very likely that Milton had read, a sentence of banishment from their shrines was laid upon the evil spirits who had long masqueraded as the gods of the pagan world. Here is the beginning of Milton's great march into oblivion of the deities of Greece and Rome and Egypt and Asia, all of whom feel

from Juda's land
The dreaded Infant's hand.

¹Bk. III, 1.

²*Divine Institutes*, Bk. V, chap. vii.

³Bk. XV, chap. xxi. Healey's translation.

And here also is the beginning of the folk belief about Christmas which Marcellus recollects:

And then, they say, no spirit dare stir abroad,
The nights are wholesome, then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm.

20. It is not important to settle the exact degree to which Milton accepted the traditional belief about the "bad spirits" or fallen angels, which "our Schoolmen and other Divines" (as Robert Burton observed¹) held to have assumed the names and honours of "those false gods of the Gentiles, which were adored heretofore in several Idols, and gave Oracles at Delphos and elsewhere." In the seventeenth century most men believed, like Sir Thomas Browne, that at least "in a qualified sense" the oracles "ceased or grew mute at the coming of Christ."² Plutarch's essay *On the Cessation of the Oracles* was the main bulwark of the tradition; but for centuries it had been curiously integrated with Christian-Neo-Platonic doctrines. The Florentine translator of Plato, Marsilio Ficino, gathered all the strands of the tradition together in his book *On the Christian Religion*,³ where he described Christ as the bringer of truth and the banisher of errors, and then assembled countless authorities for the historic credibility of the story of the cessation of the oracles at the Incarnation. The theme, long before it reached Milton, had made its way into poetry as well as into philosophy. Milton may have been familiar with its panoramic treatment in the *Apotheosis* of Prudentius, back in the fourth century; and perhaps he was attracted by Tasso's slighter development of it in the canzone on the Chapel of the Nativity which Pope Sixtus V erected in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. It is idle to look for his "sources," for literature was strewn with references to the cessation of the oracles. To most minds the theme was still full of mystery and poetry, but scepticism was beginning to throw it—for

¹*Anatomy of Melancholy*, I, ii, 1, 2.

²*Vulgar Errors*, Bk. VII, chap. xii.

³Chap. xxii.

educated minds—into just the perspective necessary for Milton's romantic attitude. In the third book of Rabelais¹ Panurge had exhausted the subject with a delight in the lesser fry of deities—"lutins, lamies, lemures," *etc.*—which must have pleased Milton, if ever he condescended to read the Frenchman.

21. In spite of the almost epic motif of the banishing of the pagan gods, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* is not an epic, nor even an epyllion. It sets out to be a pastoral poem, and Professor Rand is surely right in relating it to Virgil's "Messianic Eclogue," *Pollio*. There, in a pastoral setting, Milton found a prophecy of the birth of a child who was to restore the Golden Age to the Roman world. Medieval writers had identified that child with Jesus. While he did not make that mistake, he felt that Virgil's theme was akin to his own and perhaps had dreams of rivalling Virgil in English on his own ground. The two poems are alike in being timed at the birth of the babe of destiny and in looking forward to his marvellous life; but there the resemblance ends. Milton's images owe little and his rhythms nothing to Virgil.

22. The writing of his "Hymn" was a great experience for the young man barely twenty-one years old. His short account of it to his schoolboy friend, Charles Diodati, towards the end of the sixth elegy, is full of excitement and of the consciousness of power. He did not realize to how great a degree he had found not only his vocation as a poet in English, but also the very themes which were to be the inspiration of his later work—the magnificent fallen angels surrounded by the prestige of their names and cults in the ancient world, and the Christ, the Platonic champion of truth, who was to be drawn large in *Paradise Regained*. He was happy, too, in the invention of a stanza with an alternation of short with longer lines, ending in a Spenserian alexandrine, just suited to the gay but stately dance of his thought. Not unnaturally, he made the mistake of supposing that if one solemn day in the Christian year could evoke such music from him, another still more

¹Chap. xxiv.

solemn would move him even more deeply. During Lent in 1630 he seems to have attempted *The Passion* and to have suffered a disappointment when his imagination failed to kindle. The poem opened with the same seven-lined stanza of iambic pentameters with interlaced rhymes—full of the luscious prettiness of Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie and Triumph*—that he had used in the prelude to the "Hymn," but no organ music followed. He laid the fragment aside and was soon experimenting again with more congenial themes—with *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*, perhaps, or with *At a Solemn Music* and *On Time*, and perhaps also, in the years before he left Cambridge, with *Arcades*.

V. ARCADES AND COMUS

23. A convincing date for *Arcades* is hard to find. Its situation and appearance in the Cambridge manuscript make any time from 1630 to 1633 possible. Its obvious points of kinship to *Comus* incline me to put it late; but there is a point in favour of placing it in 1630 in the occurrence in that year of the seventieth birthday of the lady who was honoured—Alice Spencer, the Countess Dowager of Derby. She was a distant relative of the poet Edmund Spenser, and in his pastoral poem, *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, she appears as Amaryllis, evidently the woman whom he most admired among the nymphs attending upon the goddess Cynthia. Cynthia, or Diana, was, of course, the virgin queen, Elizabeth. When Spenser's poem was written in 1595 Alice Spencer was a woman of thirty-five; and the recent death of her husband, the Earl of Derby, better known as Lord Strange, allowed him to describe her as

freed from Cupids yoke by fate,
Since which she doth new bands adventure dread.

Her dread did not prevent her from afterwards marrying Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Seal and later Lord Chancellor. She was no stranger, then, to scenes like that

where Milton placed her with "some noble persons of her Family . . . in a pastoral habit" moving toward her with the song of recognition:

This this is she.

The words seem like an echo from Ben Jonson's *The Satyr*—the very similar entertainment for the welcome of Queen Anne to the grounds of Sir Robert Spencer at Althorpe in 1603. The lyrics in *Arcades* certainly owe much of their limpid beauty to Jonson's songs in his masques generally. They were sung in the open air, probably by young people, among whom may have been Lady Alice Egerton, who was to appear as the Lady in *Comus* in 1634. Then she was a girl not yet fifteen. If Milton was living at Horton at the time and had an acquaintance with the Egerton family on the estate at Harefield, less than a dozen miles away, he may have known several members of the chorus. Many of the singers must have been pupils of his friend, the musician, Henry Lawes, for he was long employed as music-master in the household of the Countess's stepson, Sir John Egerton, the Earl of Bridgewater. *Arcades* must have been written at Lawes' instigation. It is safe to assume that he appeared as the Genius of the Wood, singing of the heavenly sirens and the music of the spheres, for he was also the Attendant Spirit in *Comus*. He had a great reputation in such roles. Thinking of them and of his work as a composer, Robert Herrick mourned his death in 1662:

brave man! whose numbers have been hurled,
And no less praised than spread throughout the world.
Some have thee called Amphion, some of us
Named thee Terpander, or sweet Orpheus;
Some this, some that; but all in this agree,
Music had both her birth and death with thee.

24. It is Lawes to whom we owe *Comus*. He asked Milton to write the libretto of an entertainment for him to perform with Sir Thomas Egerton's children in honour of their father's

installation at Ludlow Castle as Lord President of Wales. Lawes wrote the music of the songs and he was responsible for the stage directions in the stage copy, which are those of the first edition in 1637, and of its innumerable successors. In 1637 it was called simply *A Maske*. The name by which we know it dates from the eighteenth century. Lawes was the producer, and Milton was not present at the performance nor, probably, at any rehearsals. For the actors—a girl hardly fifteen and two much younger boys, her brothers—Lawes mercifully cut several of the longer speeches. The audience gathered in the great hall of the castle might have been a little restive under the declamation of so many speeches markedly longer than those in the masques which Ben Jonson had furnished for the court of King James. It is safe to assume that they were not restive under what they heard and that the verdict was something like Sir Henry Wotton's when he read *Comus* complete in 1637; "ipsa mollities"—"sweetness itself." Dr. Johnson's dictum of "inelegantly splendid and tediously instructive" would have astonished Wotton, though it may not surprise many of the readers of the present edition of Milton's poems.

25. The audience at Ludlow was prepared for something which would allegorize the triumph of Virtue over Vice. Milton's seriousness may have been a little disturbing, but it is a question whether there is anything really incompatible with the principles of the court masque in his idealistic treatment of the theme which Jonson handled so differently in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*. Of course, Milton's public had no difficulties with his pastoral background and supernatural atmosphere and half-allegorical characters. Those "unrealities" were far more prominent, for example, in Beaumont's *Masque of the Gentlemen of Grayes Inne, and the Inner Temple*; which John Milton, Sr., as a member of the bar, may have seen at its first performance in 1615, as well as in Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* in 1613. In Beaumont's masque and in Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph* the pageantry included the actual appearance of the "blue-hair'd

Deities" to which Milton's Attendant Spirit merely alludes. Indeed, the whole rout of major gods from Olympus might be expected to come frankly forward, as they did in Jonson's *The Penates*; and instead of Milton's lone nymph, Sabrina, there would have been nothing strange in the appearance of all the daughters of Oceanus, who actually lighted their father's path onto the great scene which Inigo Jones designed at Whitehall for Jonson's *Masque of Blacknesse*. Milton did not have to contend with the dubious collaboration of a royal architect holding an almost unlimited warrant on a royal treasury. Collaboration with a royal musician was another matter. It gave an opportunity for the development of the lyrics which Jonson would have envied. Milton was free—as Miss Welford has pointed out—to write something larger than a typical masque—something between a masque and a play, like Shirley's *The Triumph of Beauty*. He could write speeches in a dramatic blank verse full of reminiscences of Shakespeare; and he could experiment with some of the devices of Greek tragedy—notably, the initial declaration by a presiding divinity. The Attendant Spirit's introduction of himself and of the situation has loose parallels in the opening soliloquy or address to the audience by Dionysus in the *Bacchae* and by Apollo in the *Alcestis* and by other deities in several other plays of Euripides. Milton's setting can hardly have been so magnificent as the splendid scenes erected for the masques at the Inns of Court and at Whitehall, but his poetry—like Shakespeare's—created its own scenery among "the perplex't paths" of the "drear Wood," where the Attendant Spirit finds Comus and his victims.

26. The scene as well as the plot has much in common with Spenser's world. The "drear Wood" is like the "wandering wood" where Una strayed into an enchanter's power with the Redcross Knight. The Lady falls into Comus' hands as Amoret does into those of the enchanter, Busyrane; and like Amoret she is disenchanted at the sword's point. Sabrina's part in the disenchanting has no counterpart in *The Faerie Queene*; but—like many other features of *Comus*—it more or

less resembles an incident of frequent occurrence in a wide range of romantic literature, such as the purification of lust's victims by the water from Clorin's well in Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* and the disenchanting of Burd Ellen with lustral water in the story of Childe Rowland. On the whole, however, although there is good ground for the claims which have been advanced for Peele's *Old Wives Tale* and for William Drury's *Alveredus* as influences upon *Comus*, the pervasive influence is Spenser's; for it was mainly from his "sage and serious Spenser" that Milton learned how to use the story of Circe's son.

27. A Circe figured in most of the famous romances of the Renaissance. In *The Faerie Queene* she is Acrasia. In Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* she is Armida. In Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* she is the enchantress Alcina. Always she is an embodiment, not of lust, but of intemperance or incontinence in the broadest and most philosophical sense. The story in the *Odyssey* of the transformation of Ulysses' men into swine had become an allegory—as Milton put it in his seventh prologue—of the failure of the soul's "ethereal vigour." Then, he says, with a boy's idealism, "let it lay aside the human; surely it will become familiar with the Circean cup. Stooping, let it migrate to the beasts." By making Comus Circe's son he intended to invest him with all her charm. It was by no chance or blunder that Comus became the "delicate enchanter" whose loveliness delighted Sir Walter A. Raleigh. A strange failure to understand the spirit of the traditional allegory has prompted the protest that he is lovelier than he ought to be—as if the poet who made him more attractive than the jovial Comus of Ben Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* had no right to treat him less tolerantly than Jonson did. If only to carry out his plot, Milton had to be stern with him; just as Spenser was stern with Acrasia, whose

pleasant bowres and Pallace brave,
Guyon broke downe, with rigour pittlesse.

28. It is, then, no accident or flaw in conception that the most moving speech in *Comus* is the appeal to the Lady not to be cruel

to those dainty limbs which nature lent
For gentle usage and soft delicacy.

To some readers its power has seemed to be related to some latent personal feeling. The analogy of the argument for the free enjoyment of Nature's "odours, fruits and flocks" with a parallel passage in *The Muses' Looking Glass*¹ suggested to Mr. John S. Smart that Milton had the dissolute poet "Randolph and his favourite doctrines and practice in view, and intended an answer or criticism—in other words, that Randolph is Comus and the Lady is Milton replying to him." Yet I hardly think that the enchanter spoke for Thomas Randolph, although his creator may have felt him as a symbol of all the Cambridge undergraduates whom he called "rough satyrs" in *Lycidas*. He is no mere abstraction, yet he can hardly be the portrait or the herald of any individual. The beauty of the scenes where he speaks springs from their perfect fusion of two traditional elements. One of them was the antimasque, which Jonson invented to give variety to his masques and to furnish a foil for the tableaux where Love triumphed, or some lovely abstraction, personified in some marvellously costumed magnate of the realm, rose serene above the scattered minions of darkness. Good examples are the dance of monsters or antics like the tarantella of witches in the *Masque of Queens*, or like the "Follies, which were twelve She-Fools," in *Love Freed from Folly*. Comus is the choragus of an antimasque and the reader, if he has never been fortunate enough to see Milton's entertainment presented, should think of him as such when he appears at the head of his "rout of Monsters." The second and no less important element which went to his creation was those very sentiments which, as we have seen, had been expressed in similar language in *The Muses' Looking Glass*. Randolph put them into the mouth of a character

¹Act II, scene iii.

named Kolax, *i. e.*, the flatterer. Milton put them into the mouth of a most accomplished flatterer. For a very long time they had been in the mouths of flatterers. One of them was the Circe-like fairy Phaedria whom Spenser has lure the heady knight, Cymochles, to her island paradise. While he slept in her lap she sang to him about Nature's neglected wealth;

The lilly, Ladie of the flowring field,
 The Flowre-deluce, her louely Paramoure,
 Bid thee to them thy fruitlesse labours yield,
 And soone leaue off this toylesome wearie stoure.

* * * * *

Why then dost thou, O man, that of them all
 Art Lord, and eke of nature Soueraine,
 Wilfully make thy selfe a wretched thrall,
 And wast thy ioyous houres in needlesse paine?¹

Such lines as these give us a key to the depth of beauty in Comus' appeal to the Lady. His voice is the last on the popular side in a great, medieval debate which—as Paul Shorey pointed out, and as Milton may well have been aware—went back as far as Porphyry's book *On Abstinence*.²

29. Few readers disagree with Raleigh about Comus; "What a ravishing lyric strain he is master of!" And for condemning him they, like Raleigh, accuse Milton of having "that severe and self-centred ideal of life and character which is called Puritanism." In his treatment of Comus, as we have seen, Milton was less severe than Spenser was with Acrasia; and it may be added that he was immeasurably less of a Puritan than the Flemish Catholic, Erycius Puteanus, whose *De Luxu Conviviorum* (On the Orgy of the Boon Companions) is often mentioned as one of his "sources." Puteanus indulged in a very didactic, though also a very amusing and realistic vision of the old god of revelling, Comus, whose figure, sodden with feasting as Philostratus had drawn it long ago in his *Images*,

¹*Faerie Queene*, II, vi, 16 (1-4) and 17 (1-4).

²*De Abstinence*, I, 16-17.

was familiar to every educated European of the seventeenth century. In *Comus* Milton's Puritanism is one with his Platonism. The conflict between the good and the beautiful was resolved for him in the vision of the good as so actual as to be all but perceptible, "visibly," as the Lady thought that she saw "pure-ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope," and the "unblemished form of Chastity." Her language was not conventional or sentimental. When Milton wrote the lines, he was thinking of the sixth book of the *Republic*, where Plato reasons that Justice, and by implication all the virtues, are not mere negations of our positive impulses; but are vital entities such as the mind of an artist projects; and that even though they are its creatures, the human spirit can live under their control. The result of surrender to them Milton, like Spenser, would have called by the name of the virtue of Temperance, and he would have agreed with Plato that it is the great source of human happiness. In *The Faerie Queene*, Book III, Canto vi, Spenser tried to embody his Platonism in an elaborate version of the myth of Venus and Adonis—making the Celestial Aphrodite or Heavenly Venus a symbol of the positive virtue of chastity, and her garden, the garden of Adonis, a symbol of the empire of the creative love which uses but transcends the senses. In that garden Psyche lives with Cupid

and hath him borne a chyld,
Pleasure, that doth both gods and men aggrate.

It was of Spenser's garden that Milton thought when he wrote the Attendant Spirit's epilogue about "the gardens fair of Hesperus . . . Where young Adonis oft reposes," and where the entranced Celestial Cupid holds Psyche in his arms—Psyche, from whose

fair unspotted side
Two blissful twins are to be born,
Youth and Joy, so Jove hath sworn.

To Lawes, who chose in the stage version to begin his performance with this song, and to Milton's public generally, we

may presume that it was a more ravishing strain than that of which *Comus* was the master.

30. Professor Hanford has pointed out the relation of the Spirit's epilogue—where, "if Milton's classic taste prevents him from concluding with an allusion to the Lamb and his eternal bride, it is because there is no need"—to the allusion to the celestial marriage of the soul in the closing lines of *Epitaphium Damonis*. Recent criticism has pronounced the *Epitaph* "hyperbolic and morbid" and granted short shrift to the "mystical rapture" and "apocalyptic fury" of its ending. Because in heaven Diodati hears the song which St. John in the Apocalypse said could be learned only by those "which were not defiled with women," and because Milton alluded to that scripture in *At a Solemn Music*, it has been urged—too confidently, I believe—that at Horton the chastity of which he boasted in *Smectymnuus* was negative and morbid. He is supposed to have had a kind of faith in "the magical power of chastity"—a mixture of Stoic pleasure in the repression of the passions with a primitive savage's confidence in some supernatural force accruing from abstinence—or he is regarded as having paid the price of his self-regarding purity by emotional servitude to Christian dogmas and symbols which were alien to his nature. The sentence of morbidity is a hard penalty to make him pay for any exaggeration of which he may have been guilty in an entertainment whose whole tradition was for that kind of thing. No one should expect *Comus* to have the genial romantic atmosphere of *The Winter's Tale*. As a matter of fact, its ideal of chastity is not very far from that of *The Tempest*. Spenser's doctrine in the canto of which the Spirit's epilogue is a reminiscence is anything but negative. In *Smectymnuus*, which was written on the eve of his marriage, it is true that he says he did not "slumber over that place expressing such high rewards of ever accompanying the Lamb, with those celestial songs to others inapprehensible, but not to those who were not defiled with women"; but he concludes that "marriage must not be called a defilement." Allowance must be made for the circumstances in which these

passages were written, in *Comus* no less than in the *Epitaph*. In both the *Epitaph* and *Lycidas* he mourned a friend who had died unmarried and perhaps frustrated in his hope of marriage. From the time when Virgil deified the dead Caesar, every elegy inevitably ended with a vision of the departed in the life beyond life—either a deification or a canonization, or a deliberate fusion of the two, like Spenser's glimpse of a young girl whom he mourned, in the skies, "a goddess now among the saintes." Neither Diodati (*Damon*) nor King (*Lycidas*) could fail of that reward. There is no more compulsion to read a hint of morbidity into the "unexpressive nuptial Song" which they hear than there is for reading it into Lord Herbert of Cherbury's expectation, in his *Epitaph for Himself*, that

his immortal soul should find above,
With his Creator, peace, joy, faith and love.

VI. LYCIDAS

31. *Lycidas*, as every critic since Dr. Johnson has said, was not inspired by any very deep grief for Edward King. In spite of the pastoral picture of the life which Milton shared with him at Cambridge, "nursed upon the self-same hill," there cannot have been much intimacy between the two. King was the younger and he stayed at the University, while Milton went to Horton. As the older man, disappointed of a fellowship, while the younger had obtained one, it is possible that he showed real magnanimity in consenting to contribute to the proposed volume of elegies the poem to which the Cambridge manuscript testifies that he must have devoted many hours in the November of 1637. On the other hand, in *Epitaphium Damonis* he felt the grief which is often blamed for the artistic weakness of the poem. The friendship with Charles Diodati had begun at St. Paul's School. It had survived the separation when Diodati went to Oxford, and later to the neighbourhood of Bristol to live. Two of the Latin elegies and several of the Familiar Letters attest its warmth; and there is no mistaking the tone of the letter to the Floren-

tine nobleman, Carolo Diodati, nearly ten years after the Italian *wanderjahr* had ended with the discovery that his friend had died in his absence. The contrast between the regret over King's death and his sorrow for Diodati must have been very great. Yet it does not follow that the *Epitaph* fails because the poet's emotions were out of control while *Lycidas* succeeds because he had them well in hand. The emotion in *Lycidas* is even more overwhelming than that in the *Epitaph*, and it is of a more personal kind.

32. Formally, King's death was the subject; but not merely King's death, for Milton added a note to say that the poem foretold "the ruin of our corrupted Clergy, then in their height." The famous digression, ending with the threat of the "two-handed engine at the door," was no intrusion on the original design. It is too central for that. Nor is it a merely partisan outburst, for its real theme was the universal one of the betrayal of their trust by the educated. Satire of the clergy had long been a recognized feature of Renaissance pastoral poetry. It went back to Clement Marot in France and beyond him to the ecclesiastical satire of Boccaccio and Petrarch. If it has the taint of partisanship about it in work like Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* and *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, it is redeemed there by motives of real patriotism. So it is, more clearly, in *Lycidas*. Milton placed it in a context of mourning for death—not merely King's death, but that of all noble youth—and invested it with tragic quality. England is betrayed by her intellectuals and premature death snatches away the saving remnant among them. In itself King's loss seemed merely pathetic to Milton. When he speaks of it, as he does in the fourth and fifth paragraphs, he falls back upon the "pathetic fallacy" of the woods and caves and trees and flowers mourning it, as they mourn in Theocritus' first idyl for the death of Daphnis. Like Theocritus, he reproaches the nymphs for allowing the accident to happen. And later, after the "dread voice" has spoken, he returns in the seventh paragraph to King's pathetic death with another of those pastoral conventions which Dr. Johnson called "easy, vulgar, and

therefore disgusting." It is the catalogue of flowers that strew the "laureate hearse," and it merges into the Miltonic vista of the Irish Sea and of Namancos and Bayona's hold on the far-off Spanish coast.

33. From another point of view, Milton himself is the subject of *Lycidas*. His allusion to "my destined urn" betrays his fear of the disappointment of death on the threshold of the career for which he had so carefully prepared. Perhaps in the closing lines of the poem there is an allusion to the coming Italian journey. The form of the elegy, with its irregular lines and free rhyming, so like an Italian canzone, suggests that in imagination Milton was already in Italy. But to go there in the flesh he must cross the Channel and make the dangerous Mediterranean voyage from Marseilles to Genoa which Sir Henry Wotton advised, and which he finally decided to avoid. Twice, perhaps four times, he must risk King's fate. With death perhaps imminent, he might well ask what it boots to live the life of "labour and intense study" which he pursued at Horton. That is his very personal question to answer in *Lycidas*; but his preoccupation with himself does not seem to throw the poem off its proper centre, as it does in *Epitaphium Damonis*. There he is importuned by memories of his successes in the academies of Florence and Rome. "What a man I was on the banks of the Arno," he cries to the ghost of his dead friend. The poem is full of recollections of aborted literary hopes and imperfect prospects of new epic work ahead. In *Epitaphium Damonis* these conflicts are not resolved, but in *Lycidas* Milton rose above them on the wings of his life-long conviction that

Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil.

In the Imaginary Conversation between Andrew Marvell and Bishop Parker, Landor must have been thinking of this passage when he made Marvell boast of Milton's services to England and to the world that they are "hardly yet begun; and no mortal man, no series of transitory generations, can repay them. God will not delegate this; no, not even to his angels."

The beauty of *Lycidas* is that it makes this hyperbolic praise seem inadequate, and even a little unfair to Milton in the mood in which he wrote the poem.

VII. THE PRESENT EDITION

34. For the facts about Milton's life between the composition of *Epitaphium Damonis* and that of *Paradise Regained* the reader may turn to Mr. Tillyard's critical study or to Mr. Alden Sampson's essay. In the present series of editions their treatment belongs to the introduction of a forthcoming volume of selections from the prose works. The record of those years is partly written in the later sonnets and there are some flashes of light upon them in the bitter verses from the controversial prose which are included here. The group of Psalms which were translated in 1648—to take the place of the standard version of Sternhold and Hopkins in the churches—and the later group, which Milton said that he undertook for spiritual and poetical discipline, have their value too. They reveal him as an enthusiastic reader of the Hebrew Bible, but indicate that his conceptions of its language were coloured by the Vulgate and also by the many versions of the Psalms done into English during his own century and the sixteenth. And they occasionally betray his sense of his own isolation and blindness, which comes out, for example, in the twist of the passage in Psalm vi, 7—"Mine eye is consumed because of grief"—into

But cloud instead and ever-during dark
Surrounds me.

35. Professor Grierson did a great service in his beautiful edition of Milton's poems in 1925 in arranging them for the first time as nearly as possible in chronological order. Of course, their chronology can never be fixed with perfect finality and already—as we have seen—there is reason for putting *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* earlier than Professor Grierson did. Mr. Hanford and Mr. Tillyard have modified several other

tentative dates. Lately Mr. W. R. Parker has supported an early date for the translation of the fifth ode of Horace, which stands in a novel position in this volume. Personally, I have always believed that it was a school or college exercise. The evidence is not final and no editor can be dogmatic about many of the chronological questions which arise about Milton's work. If those who follow where Professor Grierson was the pioneer sometimes differ from him and from one another, the reader should be excited, not perturbed.

36. Professor Grierson's arrangement has its disadvantages. The result is very unlike the little volume which Milton issued in 1645 with *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* leading and *A Maske (Comus)* closing the file of English poems. Although the spelling has been modernized—except for a few words which it has seemed well to keep in the form in which Milton used them—and although the punctuation has been cautiously and conservatively modernized also, I have tried to preserve all that I could of the original editions. Milton's elisions, it is now well known, do not mean the absolute omission of a syllable; but even readers who are new to his poetry, if they like to read it aloud or hear it distinctly with the inner ear, will understand how to interpret them and make them help in interpreting the scansion.

37. The notes to this volume have been written *con amore*, but they are intended for the reader to use or neglect as his mood and need may suggest. Milton's poetry abounds with passages like

Dear son of Memory, great heir of fame;

which, as Mr. Belloc says, "wants unravelling and checks the flow; thousands quote it who could not tell you what it means." Many of these passages can easily be unravelled, and an editor who undertakes the task need not necessarily be one of those who, as Dr. Johnson said, "cannot bear to think themselves ignorant of that which, at last, neither diligence nor sagacity can discover." Milton was the most reminiscent of poets and I have tried to suggest the directions in

which his memory played—sometimes over ancient and sometimes over medieval and contemporary literature. If any of his readers keeps a Homer and Virgil, and a copy of Hesiod's *Theogony* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at hand—either in the original Greek or Latin or in English translation—and sometimes wanders into the context of one of his allusions, his ghost will not turn. In countless cases, however, he is his own best commentator, and I have tried to remember that wherever possible an editor's business is to let him speak for himself.

38. In conclusion I should like to thank my colleague, Professor George R. Potter, and my friend, Professor Percy H. Houston, for criticism by which the Introduction has profited. I am deeply indebted also to my pupils, Mr. Maurice P. Cunningham and Mr. Robert Orem, for their generous help in checking over the manuscript and correcting the proof; and to Mrs. J. M. D. Olmsted for suggestions about the rendering of the most difficult passages in the Latin and Greek poems. My greatest debt, however, is to Professor Allan H. Gilbert of Duke University for his generous criticism of the notes and introduction while they were passing through the press. The knowledge and kindness of William Ellery Leonard are responsible for the changes in my treatment of some metrical problems in the text and notes of the second printing.

A LIST OF THE ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND IN THE NOTES
TO THE SEVERAL POEMS

- Abbott: *A Shakespearian Grammar*, by E. A. Abbott. London. 1909.
- Aen.*: Virgil's *Aeneid*.
- Anatomy*: Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.
- Animadversions*: *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*.
- Antiquities*: Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*.
- du Bartas: *The Divine Weekes* of Guillaume de Salluste, sieur du Bartas, translated by Joshua Sylvester. London. 1605.
- C.D.: Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*, in the translation of Bishop Sumner as revised in the edition of Milton's *Prose Works* in Bohn's Standard Library.
- Conti: Natalis Comitit *Mythologiae*. Frankfurt, 1596.
- Doctrine of Divorce: The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, etc.* The second edition, 1644, is used.
- Dunster: *Paradise Regained . . .* with Notes of Various Authors, by Charles Dunster. London. 1800.
- F.Q.: Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.
- Gilbert: *A Geographical Dictionary of Milton*, by Allan H. Gilbert. Yale University Press. 1919.
- Il.: Homer's *Iliad*.
- Inf.: Dante's *Inferno*.
- J.D.: Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. Quotations are from Edward Fairfax's translation, edited by L'Estrange, Dublin, 1726.
- J.E.G.P.: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.
- Jerram: *Paradise Regained . . .* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by C. S. Jerram. London. 1877.

Keightley: *The Poems of John Milton, with Notes*, by T. Keightley. London. 1859. 2 Vols.

L.Q.R.: *London Quarterly Review*.

Masson: *The Poetical Works of John Milton, with Memoir, Introductions, Notes, and an Essay on Milton's Versification*. Edited by David Masson. London. 1894. 3 Vols. (First published 1874.)

Met.: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

M.L.N.: *Modern Language Notes*.

M.L.R.: *Modern Language Review*.

Moody: *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*. Edited by William Vaughan Moody. Boston. 1899.

N.E.D.: *New English Dictionary*.

Newton: *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, with a Life of the Poet and Notes on his Works*, by Thomas Newton. London. 1749-52.

Od.: Homer's *Odyssey*.

O.F.: Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

Of Reformation: *Of Reformation in England*.

Percival: *Samson Agonistes* . . . Edited by H. M. Percival. London. 1916.

Pilgrimes: *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. London, 1625. Reprinted at Glasgow, 1905-7.

P.L.: *Paradise Lost*.

P.M.L.A.: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

P.R.: *Paradise Regained*.

P.Q.: *Philological Quarterly*.

P.W.: *The Prose Works of Milton in the Bohn Standard Library*. So far as possible references to Milton's prose are made by book and chapter.

S.A.: *Samson Agonistes*.

S.C.: Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.

Smart: *The Sonnets of Milton, with an Introduction and Notes*. By John S. Smart. Glasgow. 1921.

S.P.: *Studies in Philology*.

Todd: *The Poetical Works of John Milton*. Edited by H. J. Todd. Fourth edition. London. 1842. 4 Vols. (First published, 1801.)

Travels: George Sandys' *Travels*. Seventh edition. London. 1673. (First published, 1615.)

Warton: Thomas Warton's edition of *Poems upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin*, by John Milton, London, 1785.

Abbreviations of the books of the Bible are those used in Alexander Cruden's *Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND BOOKS OF REFERENCE

- Bradshaw, John, *A Concordance to the Poetical Works of John Milton*. London. 1894.
- Cooper, Lane, *A Concordance to the Latin, Greek and Italian Poems of John Milton*. Halle. 1923.
- Gilbert, Allan H., *A Geographical Dictionary of Milton*. Yale University Press. 1919.
- Lockwood, Laura E., *Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton*. New York. 1907.
- Osgood, Charles G., *The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*. New York. 1900. Reprinted, Oxford. 1925.
- Stevens, David H., *Reference Guide to Milton from 1800 to the Present Day*. University of Chicago Press. 1930.
- Thompson, Elbert N. S., *John Milton: Topical Bibliography*. New Haven. 1916.

II. MODERN BIOGRAPHY, CRITICISM, AND STUDY OF MILTON'S MILIEU

- Agar, H., *Milton and Plato*. Princeton University Press. 1931.
- Bailey, John C., *Milton*. London and New York. 1915. "The Home University Library."
- Baum, Paull F., "The New Milton." *Freeman*, V, 225-8.
- Belloc, Hilaire, *Milton*. London and Philadelphia. 1935.
- Valuable in spite of the perpetuation of some old errors of fact and the indulgence of many prejudices.
- Birrell, Augustine, *Obiter Dicta*. Second Series. New York. 1891. "Milton," pp. 1-51.

Bridges, Robert, *Milton's Prosody: with a Chapter on Accental Verse, and Notes*. Revised Edition. Oxford University Press. 1921.

Bush, Douglas, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition*. University of Minnesota Press. 1932.

The chapter on Milton is an indispensable supplement to the traditional annotation of his mythology.

Collins, John C., "Miltonic Myths and their Authors," in *Studies in Poetry and Criticism*. London. 1905.

Cory, Herbert E., *Spenser, the School of the Fletchers and Milton*. University of California Publications, Modern Philology. 1912.

Garnett, Richard, *Life of John Milton*. London. 1890 and 1900.

Grierson, H. J. C., "John Milton: The Man and the Poet," in *Cross Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century*. London. 1929.

"John Milton," in *The Criterion*, VIII, pp. 7-26 and 240-57.

Hanford, James H., "The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies," in *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI, pp. 251-314.

"The Youth of Milton: An Interpretation of his Early Literary Development," in *Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne*. University of Michigan Publications. Language and Literature, I, pp. 89-163.

One of the most valuable recent studies.

"Milton and the Return to Humanism," in *S.P.*, XVI, pp. 126-47.

"Creative Personality: the Case of John Milton," in *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XV, pp. 328-52.

A Milton Handbook. New York. 1926.

Herford, Charles, "Dante and Milton," in *The Post-War Mind of Germany and Other European Studies*. Oxford. 1927.

Jenks, Tudor, *In the Days of Milton*. New York. 1905.

Sketches of Milton's England.

Jones, Richard, "The Background of the 'Battle of the Books,'" in *Washington University Studies, Humanistic Series*, VII, No. 2.

Touches Milton's interest in science and "progress."

Langdon, Ida, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*. Yale University Press. 1924.

Larson, Martin A., "Milton's Essential Relationship to Puritanism and Stoicism," in *P.Q.*, VI, pp. 201-20.

Leach, A. F., "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster," in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, III, pp. 295-318.

Liljegren, S. B., "Miltonic Philosophy in the Light of Recent Research," in *Scandinavian Scientific Review*, II, pp. 114-23. *Studies in Milton*. Lund. 1919.

The most considerable attack upon Milton as a Stoic, Calvinist and Machiavellian.

Lockwood, Laura E., "Milton's Corrections to the Minor Poems," in *M.L.N.*, XXV, 201-5.

Macaulay, Rose, *Milton*. "Great Lives." London. 1934.

Mackail, J. W., *The Springs of Helicon*. London. 1909.

Milton's use of the classics.

Masson, David, *The Life of Milton*. London, 1859-94. 7 Vols., the first revised in 1881.

Still the richest collection of facts about Milton's life and times.

Masterman, J. H. B., *The Age of Milton*. London. 1897.

A good survey of Milton's literary milieu. Six editions, the last in 1911.

Parker, W. R., "Some Problems in the Chronology of Milton's Early Poems," in *The Review of English Studies*, XI, 276-83.

Pattison, Mark, *Milton*. English Men of Letters Series.

First published in 1879 and often reprinted. An outstanding study.

Pommerich, F., *Miltons Verhältnis zu Torquato Tasso*. Halle. 1902.

Pompen, Fr. R., "Recent Theories about Milton's Personality," in *Neophilologus*, VII, 272-9.

Refutation of the theories represented by S. B. Liljegren.

Raleigh, Sir Walter A., *Milton*. New York & London. 1900.

Raymond, Dora N., *Oliver's Secretary*. New York. 1932.

Sampson, Alden, *Studies in Milton*. New York. 1913.
"From *Lycidas* to *Paradise Lost*," pp. 1-163, is the main essay.

Saurat, Denis, *Milton: Man and Thinker*. New York. 1925.

A frequently misleading but exciting and original analysis of Milton's thinking in the light of a few of its neglected sources.

Schirmer, Walter F., *Antike, Renaissance und Puritanismus*. Munich. 1933. Second Edition, enlarged.

English culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries analysed with considerable reference to Milton.

Sherburn, George W., "The Early Popularity of Milton's Minor Poems," in *Modern Philology*, XVII, pp. 259-78, and 515-40.

Spaeth, Sigmund G., *Milton's Knowledge of Music*. Sohn, Weimar. 1913.

An interesting and scholarly treatment of a side of Milton about which modern criticism is still chaotic.

Stern, Alfred, *Milton und seine Zeit*. Leipsic. 1877-9. 2 Vols.

A standard work and valuable supplement to Masson.

Stoll, Elmer E., "Milton, Puritan of the Seventeenth Century," in *Poets and Playwrights*. University of Minnesota Press. 1930.

A fine contribution to the problem of Milton's Puritanism vs his Humanism and Romanticism.

Thompson, Elbert N. S., "Mysticism in Seventeenth-Century English Literature," in *S.P.*, XVIII, pp. 170-231.

Analysis of the mystical elements in Milton's work and of the reasons why he was not essentially a mystic.

Tillyard, E. M. W., *Milton*. London and New York. 1930.

A most illuminating general study of Milton.

Trent, William P., *John Milton: a Short Study of his Life and Works*. New York. 1899.

Wendell, Barrett, *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*. New York. 1904.

Wiley, Basil, *The Seventeenth-Century Background*. London. 1934.

III. OUTSTANDING MODERN EDITIONS OF THE MINOR POEMS

The best available text of all Milton's poems, with complete variants, is to be found in *The Works of John Milton*, edited by Frank Allen Patterson and others, and published by the Columbia University Press in 1931 and following years.

Bridge, Sir Frederick, *The "Masque of Comus"—the Original Music by Henry Lawes and Other Contemporary Composers*. London. 1908.

MacKellar, Walter, *The Latin Poems of John Milton*. Yale University Press. 1930.

Pattison, Mark, *The Sonnets of John Milton*. "The Parchment Library." London. 1883.

Smart, John S., *The Sonnets of John Milton*. Glasgow. 1921.

Verity, A. W., *A Masque (Comus)*. Cambridge University Press. 1909 and 1921.

The best annotation of Milton is by Mr. Verity in "The Pitt Press Series," which includes *Arcades* and *Comus*, *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, etc.; *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso* and *Lycidas*—eleven volumes in all, with *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*, frequently revised and reissued since 1891.

Wright, W. A., *The Poetical Works of John Milton*. Cambridge. 1903.

Full variant readings and a modernized text.

IV. SPECIAL STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL MINOR POEMS

A. The Latin Poems

Harrison, Thomas P., Jr., "The Latin Pastorals of Milton and Castiglione," in *P.M.L.A.*, L, pp. 480-93.

Mabley, A. H., "Milton's Latin Poems," in *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, II, pp. 49-72.

Rand, Edward K., "Milton in Rustication," in *S.P.*, XIX, pp. 109-35.

A great critical essay, surveying the Latin poems both as autobiography and as literature.

B. *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*

Cook, Albert S., "Notes on Milton's *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*," in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XV, pp. 307-68.

C. *L'Allegro and Il Penseroso*

Lowes, John L., "*L'Allegro and the Passionate Shepherd*," in *M.L.R.*, VI, pp. 206-9.

Mutschmann, Heinrich, "Miltons Selbstdarstellung in *L'Allegro und Il Penseroso*," in *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XXXIV, pp. 338-42.

Dogmatic psycho-physical analysis of the poet.

Padelford, Frederick M., "An Unnoted Source of *L'Allegro*," in *M.L.N.*, XXII, p. 200.

Tillyard, E. M. W., "Milton: *L'Allegro and Il Penseroso*." The English Association Pamphlet No. 82. July, 1932.

Relates the poems to the first *Prologus* and suggests a date of composition before Milton left Cambridge.

D. *Comus*

- Anonymous, "The Music in *Comus*," in *Christ's College Magazine*, XXIII, pp. 64-80.
- Axon, W. E. A., "Milton's *Comus* and Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*," *Manchester Quarterly*, I, 285.
- Brie, F., "Das Märchen von Childe Rowland und sein Nachleben," in *Palaestra*, CXLVIII, pp. 118-43.
- Diekhoff, John S., "The Punctuation of *Comus*," in *P.M.L.A.*, LI, pp. 757-68.
- Hall, E. A., "*Comus*, *Old Wives Tale* and Drury's *Alvredus*," in *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature*. Chicago University Press. 1923. Pp. 140-4.
- Thaler, Alwin, "Milton in the Theatre," in *S.P.*, XVII, pp. 269-308.

An exhaustive account of the stagings of *Comus*.

- Welsford, Enid, *The Court Masque*. Cambridge University Press. 1927.

Much valuable background and criticism of *Comus*.

E. *Lycidas*

- Coffman, George R., "The Parable of the Good Shepherd, 'De Contemptu Mundi,' and 'Lycidas,'" in *ELH—A Journal of English Literary History*, III, pp. 101-13.
- Hamilton, H. F., "The Sources of Milton's *Lycidas*," in *Sewanee Review*, XVII, pp. 235-40.
- Hanford, James H., "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's *Lycidas*," in *P.M.L.A.*, XXV, pp. 403-47.

Still the best survey of the backgrounds of the Elegy in classical and Renaissance literature.

- More, Paul Elmer, "How to Read *Lycidas*," in *The American Review*, VII, pp. 140-58.
- Norlin, G., "The Conventions of the Pastoral Elegy," in *American Journal of Philology*, XXXII, pp. 294-312.

Ransom, John C., "A Poem Nearly Anonymous," in *The American Review*, I, pp. 179-203, and 444-67.

Sandys, Sir John E., "The Literary Sources of Milton's *Lycidas*," reprinted from *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, XXXII.

Tuckwell, W., "*Lycidas*": a Monograph. London. 1911.

Deals mainly with the Trinity manuscript.

F. *Psalms*

Baldwin, Edward C., "Milton and the Psalms," in *Modern Philology*, XVII, pp. 457-63.

Studley, Marian H., "Milton and his Paraphrases of the Psalms," in *P.Q.*, IV, pp. 364-72.

G. *Sonnets*

Hanford, James H., "The Arrangement and Dates of Milton's Sonnets," in *Modern Philology*, XVIII, pp. 475-83.

Stevens, David H., "The Order of Milton's Sonnets," in *Modern Philology*, XVII, pp. 25-33.

POEMS ¹¹³

OF

Mr. *John Milton*,

BOTH

ENGLISH and LATIN,
Compos'd at several times.

Printed by his true Copies.

The SONGS were set in Musick by
Mr. HENRY LAWES Gentleman of
the KINGS Chappel, and one
of His MAJESTIES
Private Musick.

— *Baccare frontem*

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro,
Virgil, Eclog. 7.

Printed and publish'd according to
ORDER.

Jan: 2 LONDON,

Printed by *Ruth Raworth* for *Humphrey Moseley*;
and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes
Arms in *S. Pauls Church-yard*. 1645.

[The Stationer's Preface to the English Poems in 1645.]

THE STATIONER
TO THE READER.

It is not any private respect of gain, Gentle Reader, for the slightest Pamphlet is nowadays more vendible than the Works of learnedest men; but it is the love I have to our own Language that hath made me diligent to collect, and set forth such Pieces both in Prose and Verse as may renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue: and it's the worth of these both English and Latin Poems, not the flourish of any prefixed encomions, that can invite thee to buy them, though these are not without the highest Commendations and Applause of the learned'st Academics, both domestic and foreign: And amongst those of our own Country, the unparallel'd attestation of that renowned Provost of Eton, Sir Henry Wotton: I know not thy palate how it relishes such dainties, nor how harmonious thy soul is; perhaps more trivial Airs may please thee better. But howsoever thy opinion is spent upon these, that encouragement I have already received from the most ingenious men in their clear and courteous entertainment of Mr. Waller's late choice Pieces, hath once more made me adventure into the World, presenting it with these ever-green, and not-to-be-blasted Laurels. The Author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his Papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve of the age, by bringing into the Light as true a Birth, as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spenser wrote; whose Poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excell'd. Reader, if thou art Eagle-eyed to censure their worth, I am not fearful to expose them to thy exactest perusal.

Thine to command

HUMPH. MOSELEY.

[The Preface to the Latin Poems 1645.]

HAEC quae sequuntur de Authore testimonia, tametsi ipse intelligebat non tam de se quam supra se esse dicta, eo quod praeclaro ingenio viri, nec non amici ita fere solent laudare, ut omnia suis potius virtutibus, quam veritati congruentia nimis cupide affingant, noluit tamen horum egregiam in se voluntatem non esse notam; Cum alii praesertim ut id faceret magnopere suaderent. Dum enim nimiae laudis invidiam totis ab se viribus amolitur, sibi quod plus aequo est non attributum esse mavult, iudicium interim hominum cordatorum atque illustrium quin summo sibi honori ducat, negare non potest.

Joannes Baptista Mansus, Marchio Villensis Neapolitanus ad Joannem Miltonium Anglum.

Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,
Non Anglus, verum herclè Angelus ipse fores.

Ad Joannem Miltonem Anglum triplici poeseos laurea coronandum Graeca nimirum, Latina, atque Hetrusca, Epigramma Joannis Salsilli Romani.

CEDE Meles, cedat depressa Mincius urna;
Sebetus Tassum desinat usque loqui;
At Thamesis victor cunctis ferat altior undas
Nam per te Milto par tribus unus erit.

Ad Joannem Miltonum.

GRAECIA Maeonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem,
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.
Selvaggi.

Translation

ALTHOUGH the author understands very well that the following tributes express a partial rather than a just estimate of himself, inasmuch as men of eminent talents, who are one's friends besides, very often make their eager compliments correspond better with their own virtues than with the truth; nevertheless, he was unwilling that their extraordinary good will to him should not be known; especially since others have been very importunate with him to do so. For, while he is doing everything in his power to ward off the odium of excessive praise, and prefers that nothing more than is just should be attributed to him, yet he cannot deny that the esteem of judicious and famous men contributes highly to his honour.

* * * * *

Giovanni Battista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a citizen of Naples, to John Milton, Englishman.

If your mind, form, grace, features and manners were equalled by your piety, then, I swear, you would be no Angle, but a veritable angel.

To John Milton, Englishman, who deserves to be crowned with the triple laurel of poesy; Greek, Latin and Italian:
an Epigram of Giovanni Salzilli of Rome.

Yield, Meles, and let Mincius yield with lowered urn; let Sebetus cease to vaunt forever its Tasso; but let the triumphant Thames exalt its waves above them all, for, thanks to you, Milton, the one river will become the equal of the three.

To John Milton.

Let Greece vaunt its Homer and let Rome vaunt its Virgil; England vaunts you, Milton, the peer of them both.

Selvaggi.

Al Signor Gio. Miltoni Nobile Inglese.

ODE

*Ergimi all' Etra ò Clio
Perche di stelle intreccierò corona
Non più del Biondo Dio
La Fronde eterna in Pindo, e in Elicona,
Diensi a merto maggior, maggiori i fregi, 5
A' celeste virtù celesti pregi.*

*Non puo del tempo edace
Rimaner preda, eterno alto valore
Non puo l' oblio rapace
Furar dalle memorie eccelso onore, 10
Su l' arco di mia cetra un dardo forte
Virtù m' adatti, e ferirò la morte.*

*Del Ocean profondo
Cinta dagli ampi gorghi Anglia resiede
Separata dal mondo, 15
Però che il suo valor l' umano eccede:
Questa feconda sà produrre Eroi,
Ch' hanno a ragion del sovrumano tra noi.*

*Alla virtù sbandita
Danno ne i petti lor fido ricetta, 20
Quella gli è sol gradita,
Perche in lei san trovar gioia, e diletto;
Ridillo tu Giovanni e mostra in tanto
Con tua vera virtù, vero il mio Canto.*

*Lungi dal Patrio lido 25
Spinse Zeusi l' industrie ardente brama;
Ch' udio d' Helena il grido
Con aurea tromba rimbombar la fama,
E per poterla effigiare al paro
Dalle più belle Idee trasse il più raro. 30*

To John Milton, English Gentleman.

LIFT me to the heavens, O Clio, so that I may plait a crown of stars rather than of the immortal foliage of the fair-haired god on Pindus and on Helicon. To greater desert greater ornaments are due, to celestial virtue, celestial honour.

Immortal and exalted heroism cannot become a prey to rapacious Time; devouring Oblivion cannot rob our memories of sublime glory. Let Virtue fit a strong arrow to the bow of my lyre and I shall transfix Death.

Girt about by the wide gulfs of the ocean, England sits divided from the world, and so its worth transcends the human. This fertile island produces heroes who, in comparison with us, possess something properly superhuman.

To exiled Virtue they give a secure retreat in their hearts; she alone is welcome to them because they understand how to find joy and delight in her. Repeat it, John, and show by your true virtue that truth is in my song.

An ardent purpose drove the diligent Zeuxis far from his native shore, for he heard the echo of Helen's glory reverberating on fame's golden trumpet; and, to make a corresponding portrait of her, he took what was most rare from the most lovely forms.

*Così l' Ape Ingegnosa
Trae con industria il suo liquor pregiato
Dal giglio e dalla rosa,
E quanti vaghi fiori ornano il prato;
Formano un dolce suon diverse Chorde,* 35
Fan varie voci melodia concorde.

*Di bella gloria amante
Milton dal Ciel natio per varie parti
Le peregrine piante
Volgesti a ricercar scienze, ed arti;* 40
*Del Gallo regnator vedesti i Regni,
E dell' Italia ancor gl' Eroi piu degni.*

*Fabro quasi divino
Sol virtù rintracciando il tuo pensiero
Vide in ogni confino* 45
*Chi di nobil valor calca il sentiero;
L' ottimo dal miglior dopo sceglia
Per fabbricar d' ogni virtù l' Idea.*

*Quanti nacquero in Flora
O in lei del parlar Tosco appreser l' arte,* 50
*La cui memoria onora
Il mondo fatta eterna in dotte carte,
Volesti ricercar per tuo tesoro,
E parlasti con lor nell' opre loro.*

Nell' altera Babelle 55
*Per te il parlar confuse Giove in vano,
Che per varie favelle
Di se stessa trofeo cadde su'l piano:
Ch' Ode oltr' all' Anglia il suo piu degno Idioma
Spagna, Francia, Toscana, e Grecia e Roma.* 60

*I piu profondi arcani
Ch' occulta la natura e in cielo e in terra
Ch' a Ingegni sovrumani
Troppo avara tal' hor gli chiude, e serra,
Chiaramente conosci, e giungi al fine* 65
Della moral virtude al gran confine.

Thus the ingenious bee busily extracts its precious liquor from the lily and the rose and all delightful flowers that deck the meadow. Various strings make one sweet sound; various voices make a tuneful melody.

Milton, lover of fair glory, you have turned your wandering feet from your native sky to various regions in search of sciences and arts. You have seen the realms of the puissant Gaul and also the noblest heroes of Italy.

A craftsman almost divine, your thought, which has no other quest than virtue, has seen those in every land who tread nobly on the path of the good. It chose out the best from the better in order to create the ideal pattern of all the virtues.

Your desire has been to seek out for your treasury all those natives of Florence or pupils of hers in the art of speaking the Tuscan tongue whose memory the world honours by perpetuating it in learned books, and with those men you have conversed in their works.

For you, from whose lips not England only, but Spain, France, Tuscany, Greece, and Rome hear each her noblest idiom, it was in vain that Jove confused the speech of top-lofty Babel, which fell by diversity of tongues and became the monument of its own ruin on the plain.

You comprehend clearly the profoundest arcana which nature hides in heaven and earth and sometimes locks and bars too enviously even from superhuman intellects, and finally you reach the great frontier of moral virtue.

*Non batta il Tempo l' ale,
 Fermisi immoto, e in un ferminsi gl' anni,
 Che di virtù immortale
 Scorrion di troppo ingiuriosi a i danni; 70
 Che s' opre degne di Poema o storia
 Furon già, l' hai presenti alla memoria.*

*Dammi tua dolce Cetra
 Se vuoi ch' io dica del tuo dolce canto,
 Ch' inalzandoti all' Etra 75
 Di farti huomo celeste ottiene il vanto,
 Il Tamigi il dirà che gl' è concesso
 Per te suo cigno pareggiar Permesso.*

*Io che in riva del Arno
 Tento spiegar tuo merto alto, e preclaro 80
 So che fatico indarno,
 E ad ammirar, non a lodarlo imparo;
 Freno dunque la lingua, e ascolto il core
 Che ti prende a lodar con lo stupore.*

Del sig. Antonio Francini gentilhuomo
 Fiorentino.

Let Time beat its wings no more! Let it halt, immobile; and let one final pause stop the years, which speed along all too injuriously and ruinously to immortal virtue. If ever there were deeds worthy of poetry or history, you have them present in your memory.

Give me your sweet lyre, if you wish me to speak of your sweet song, which exalts you to heaven and so may boast of deifying you. Thanks to you, its swan, the Thames shall announce itself the rival of the Permessus.

I, who on Arno's bank try to expound your exalted and pre-eminent merit, know that I labour in vain; and I learn to admire, not to praise it. So I bridle my tongue and listen to my heart, which undertakes to praise you with admiration.

By Antonio Francini, a Florentine gentleman.

JOANNI MILTONI

LONDINIENSI.

Juveni Patria, virtutibus eximio,

VIRO qui multa peregrinatione, studio cuncta orbis terrarum loca perspexit, ut novus Ulysses omnia ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet.

Polyglotto, in cujus ore linguae jam deperditae sic reviviscunt, ut idiomatica omnia sint in ejus laudibus infacunda; Et jure ea percallet ut admirationes & plausus populorum ab propria sapientia excitatos, intelligat.

Illi, cujus animi dotes corporisque, sensus ad admirationem commovent, & per ipsam motum cuique auferunt; cujus opera ad plausus hortantur, sed venustate vocem laudatoribus adimunt.

Cui in Memoria totus Orbis: In intellectu Sapientia: in voluntate ardor gloriae: in ore Eloquentia: Harmonicos celestium Sphaerarum sonitus Astronomia Duce audienti; Characteres mirabilium naturae per quos Dei magnitudo describitur magistra Philosophia legenti; Antiquitatum latebras, vetustatis excidia, eruditionis ambages comite assidua autorum Lectione.

Exquirenti, restauranti, percurrenti.

At cur nitor in arduum?

Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora Famae non sufficiant, nec hominum stupor in laudandis satis est, Reverentiae & amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum admirationis tributum offert Carolus Datus Patricius Florentinus.

Tanto homini servus, tantae virtutis amator.

To John Milton of London,

A youth distinguished by his fatherland and his rare qualities.

To a man who, in his travels, has surveyed many places and, in his studies, has examined all the regions of the whole world, that he might, like another Ulysses, learn all things from all men.

To the polyglot, in whose mouth languages that are dead recover such life that all idioms are inadequate for his praise; and who is so accurately versed in them all that he comprehends the utterances of admiration and applause evoked among the nations by the wisdom which he alone possesses.

To him whose endowments of mind and body arouse the senses to admiration and by that very admiration deprive every man of the faculty of motion; whose performances prompt men to applause, yet by their charm strike those who applaud dumb.

To one in whose memory the universal world reposes; in whose mind, wisdom; in whose affections, the passion for glory; in whose mouth, eloquence; who with the guidance of Astronomy hears the harmonious music of the celestial spheres; who, with Philosophy as his instructress, reads deeply into the significance of the marvels of nature by which the greatness of God is portrayed; who, with the constant study of good authors to friend him, investigates the mysteries of past ages, restores the ravages of time, and ranges through all the by-paths of erudition.

But why do I struggle up the steeps?

To him, for the proclamation of whose merits the tongues of Rumour would not suffice, nor for their praise the speechless admiration of men; to him, in reverence and affection, this tribute of admiration due to his excellence is offered by Charles Dati, a Florentine Patrician,

Humble servant to so great a man and
lover of such eminent merit.

A PARAPHRASE ON *PSALM* 114

This and the following *Psalm* were done by the Author at fifteen years old.

WHEN the blest seed of *Terah's* faithful Son,
 After long toil their liberty had won,
 And past from *Pharian* fields to *Canaan* Land,
 Led by the strength of the Almighty's hand,
Jehovah's wonders were in *Israel* shown, 5
 His praise and glory was in *Israel* known.
 That saw the troubl'd Sea, and shivering fled,
 And sought to hide his froth-becurled head
 Low in the earth; *Jordan's* clear streams recoil,
 As a faint host that hath receiv'd the foil. 10
 The high, huge-bellied Mountains skip like Rams
 Amongst their Ewes, the little Hills like Lambs.
 Why fled the Ocean? And why skipt the Mountains?
 Why turned *Jordan* toward his Crystal Fountains?
 Shake earth, and at the presence be aghast 15
 Of him that ever was, and aye shall last,
 That glassy floods from rugged rocks can crush,
 And make soft rills from fiery flint-stones gush.

(1624)

1. Milton altered the reading of his original—which calls the Children of Israel “the house of Jacob”—for the sake of the allusion to Abraham's faith in God. Although his father, *Terah* (Gen. xi, 27) was an idolater, “by faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed.” (Heb. xi, 8.) *P.L.* XII, 151–2, recurs to

“This Patriarch blest,
 Whom *faithful Abraham* due time shall call.”

3. *Pharian*, belonging to Pharaoh, *i.e.* Egyptian. The epithet is noted by the *N.E.D.* in Sylvester's line,

“The Ephesian Temple and high *Pharian* Tower.”

(*The Divine Weekes*, I, i, 500.)

Mr. Hanford refers it to Buchanan's “fields of Pharaoh” (“*arva Phari*”) in his Latin version of this Psalm. Its background, like that of epithets such as “froth-becurled” (l. 8) and “huge-bellied” (l. 11), should be sought in the technique of the wide-spread practice of paraphrasing Scripture, and especially the Psalms, in the classical as well as the modern languages, of which Milton's own translation of this Psalm into Greek verse was another instance. See p. 272.

10. *foil*, defeat in battle.

PSALM 136

LET us with a gladsome mind
 Praise the Lord, for he is kind,
 For his mercies aye endure,
 Ever faithful, ever sure.

Let us blaze his Name abroad, 5
 For of gods he is the God;
 For, &c.

O let us his praises tell,
 That doth the wrathful tyrants quell. 10
 For, &c.

That with his miracles doth make
 Amazed Heav'n and Earth to shake. 15
 For, &c.

That by his wisdom did create
 The painted Heav'ns so full of state. 20
 For his, &c.

That did the solid Earth ordain
 To rise above the wat'ry plain.
 For his, &c.

That by his all-commanding might, 25
 Did fill the new-made world with light.
 For his, &c.

And caus'd the Golden-tressed Sun,
 All the day long his course to run. 30
 For his, &c.

29. *Golden-tressed* may be a reminiscence of "auricomum solem" in Buchanan's version of this Psalm, or it may have been written with a characteristically Miltonic side-glance at the use of that epithet for Apollo in the Greek paean. It has nothing in the Scripture to justify it, nor have *horned* (l. 33) and *thunder-clasping* (l. 37). The whole of line 10 is an addition, due perhaps to Buchanan. See the note to l. 3 in *Psalm 114*.

The horned Moon to shine by night,
Amongst her spangled sisters bright.
For his, &c. 35

He with his thunder-clasping hand,
Smote the first-born of *Egypt* Land.
For his, &c. 40

And in despite of *Pharaoh* fell,
He brought from thence his *Israel*.
For, &c.

The ruddy waves he cleft in twain,
Of the *Erythraean* main. 45
For, &c.

The floods stood still like Walls of Glass,
While the Hebrew Bands did pass. 50
For, &c.

But full soon they did devour
The Tawny King with all his power.
For, &c. 55

His chosen people he did bless
In the wasteful Wilderness. 60
For, &c.

In bloody battle he brought down
Kings of prowess and renown.
For, &c.

46. Sylvester's influence emerges again in this reference to the Red Sea by its Greek name.

49. Compare Sylvester's description of the scene when the marching file of Israelites

"on each side is flanked all along
With Wals of Crystall, beautiful and strong, . . .
Two Wals of Glasse, built with a word alone."

(*The Divine Weekes*, 171, lc.)

Sylvester's language emerged again in *P.L.* XII, 197.

He foil'd bold *Seon* and his host,
That rul'd the *Amorrean* Coast. 65
For, &c.

And large-limb'd *Og* he did subdue,
With all his over-hardy crew. 70
For, &c.

And to his Servant *Israel*,
He gave their Land therein to dwell. 75
For, &c.

He hath with a piteous eye
Beheld us in our misery. 80
For, &c.

And freed us from the slavery
Of the invading enemy. 85
For, &c.

All living creatures he doth feed,
And with full hand supplies their need. 90
For, &c.

Let us therefore warble forth
His mighty Majesty and worth. 95
For, &c.

That his mansion hath on high
Above the reach of mortal eye.
For his mercies aye endure, 95
Ever faithful, ever sure.

(1624)

65-69. In *P.L.* I, 406-11, there is an allusion in like vein to the defeat of the Amorite king, *Seon* or *Sihon*; and *Og* reappears among the giants of old in *S.A.* 1080.

VERSES FROM THE COMMONPLACE BOOK

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 5
 Et spargit nitidum laeta per arva iubar.
 Daulias argutum modulatur ab ilice carmen
 Edit et excultos mitis alauda modos.
 Iam rosa fragrantem spirat silvestris odores;
 Iam redolent violae luxuriatque seges. 10
 Ecce novo campos Zephyritis gramine vestit
 Fertilis, et vitreo rore madescit humus.
 Segnes invenias molli vix talia lecto,
 Cum premat imbellis lumina fessa sopor.
 Illic languentes abrumpunt somnia somnos 15
 Et turbant animum tristitia 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. 20

(1624?)

5. *Titan*, the son of Hyperion who in Ovid (*e.g. Met.* I, 10, II, 118, and VI, 438) often represents the sun. Compare Spenser's allusion to him as "Hyperions fierie childe" (*Muipotmos*, 51) and his description of the dawn, when

"Titan, playing on the eastern streames,
 Gan cleare the deawy ayre with springing light."

(*F.Q.* II, iii, 1, 3-4.)

7. *Daulias*: Daulis, in Phocis, was the scene of Ovid's story (*Met.* VI, 668-74) of Procne's wrongs by her husband, Tereus, and of his pursuit of her and her sister, Philomela, which ended in his transformation into a hoopoe and theirs into a swallow and nightingale respectively.

11. *Zephyr*, the "herald of Venus," seems to have had a daughter only in Milton's imagination. Compare *L'Allegro*, 19.

ELEGIAC VERSES

ARISE, haste, arise! Now that the time is right, shake off gentle slumbers. The light is springing up; leave the posts of your languid couch. Now sings the sentinel cock, the harbinger bird of the sun, alert to call every man to his task. Flaming Titan⁵ lifts his head above the eastern waves and scatters his shining radiance over the happy fields. The Daulian⁷ modulates her thrilling song from the oak-tree and the gentle lark pours out her skilful notes. Now the wild rose is breathing its fragrant perfumes; now the scent of violets is sweet and the corn is flourishing. Look, the bounteous daughter of Zephyr¹¹ is clothing the fields with new verdure and the turf is moist with dew like beads of glass. Lazy one, you will hardly find such delights in your soft bed, when relaxing slumber weighs on your tired eyes. There dreams break in upon your dull sleep and many griefs disturb your spirit. There the seeds of a consuming illness are bred. What strength can a sluggard enjoy?

Arise, haste, arise! Now that the time is right, shake off gentle slumbers. The light is springing up; leave the posts of your languid couch.

[The following verses have no caption in the *Commonplace Book*.]

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.

5

SLOTHFUL sleep is disgraceful to a famous governor who presides over the hosts of a people. While the warrior son of old Daunus³ lay prone⁴ on his purple couch, bold Euryalus and keen Nisus cunningly attacked the sleeping Rutilians and the Volscian camp in the dreadful night.⁵ Hence slaughter arose and a hideous outcry.

3. *Dauni . . . filius*, Turnus, the leader of the Volscian, Rutilian and other native Italian tribes with which Aeneas had to contend for the possession of Italy.

4. The mutilated verb is evidently *procubuit*. For the noun *strato* and, with better reason, *toro*, have been proposed.

5. The story of the raid upon the Rutilian and Volscian camp by Aeneas' followers, Nisus and Euryalus, is told in the *Aeneid*, IX, 176-449.

*Anno Aetatis 17*ON THE DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT DYING OF A
COUGH

I

O FAIREST flower no sooner blown but blasted,
Soft silken Primrose fading timelessly,
Summer's chief honour if thou hadst out-lasted
Bleak winter's force that made thy blossom dry;
For he being amorous on that lovely dye

5

That did thy cheek envermeil, thought to kiss
But kill'd alas, and then bewail'd his fatal bliss.

II

For since grim Aquilo his charioteer
By boist'rous rape th' Athenian damsel got,
He thought it toucht his Deity full near,
If likewise he some fair one wedded not,
Thereby to wipe away th' infamous blot,

10

Of long-uncoupled bed, and childless eld,
Which 'mongst the wanton gods a foul reproach was held.

III

So mounting up in icy-pearled car,
Through middle empire of the freezing air

15

1. The *flower*, Milton's niece, was the infant daughter of his sister Anne, who married Edward Phillips on November 27, 1623. The child's death may have occurred as late as the winter of 1625-6, for Milton dated his poem as written when he was seventeen.

1-2. Perhaps the commonplace is one of the first evidences of Shakespeare's influence on Milton. Compare:

"Sweet rose, fair flower, untimely pluck'd, soon vaded,
Pluck'd in the bud, and vaded in the spring!"

(*The Passionate Pilgrim*, x, 1-2.)

6. *envermeil*—colour with vermilion.

8-9. *Aquilo*, the north wind, who Ovid says (*Met.* VI, 682-713) resolved to make his wooing of the Athenian princess, Orithyia, in keeping with his own boisterous nature and snatched her away over the mountains in storm and darkness. Compare *To Salzilli*, 11.

16. Compare "the middle Region of thick Air" in *P.R.* II, 117, and the note.

He wander'd long, till thee he spy'd from far,
 There ended was his quest, there ceast his care.
 Down he descended from his Snow-soft chair,
 But all unwares with his cold-kind embrace 20
 Unhous'd thy Virgin Soul from her fair bidding place.

IV

Yet art thou not inglorious in thy fate;
 For so *Apollo*, with unweeting hand
 Whilom did slay his dearly-loved mate,
 Young *Hyacinth* born on *Eurotas'* strand, 25
 Young *Hyacinth* the pride of *Spartan* land,
 But then transform'd him to a purple flower;
 Alack, that so to change thee winter had no power.

V

Yet can I not persuade me thou art dead
 Or that thy corpse corrupts in earth's dark womb, 30
 Or that thy beauties lie in wormy bed,
 Hid from the world in a low-delved tomb;
 Could Heav'n for pity thee so strictly doom?
 Oh no! for something in thy face did shine
 Above mortality that show'd thou wast divine. 35

VI

Resolve me then oh Soul most surely blest
 (If so it be that thou these complaints dost hear)

23-27. Compare the allusion to the myth of Hyacinth in *Lycidas*, 106, and the note there.

29-31. This lyric faith in immortality, which finds expression again in *Lycidas* and *Il Penseroso*, owes something to "metaphysical" invocations of death like George Herbert's,

"But since our Saviour's death did put some bloud
 Into thy face,

Thou art grown fair and full of grace,
 Much in request, much sought for, as a good."

(*The Temple*, "Death," stanza 4.)

Here the language stems from the verse in Ps. xvi, 10, which St. Peter interpreted (Acts ii, 27) as referring to Christ; "For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption."

Tell me bright Spirit where'er thou hoverest
 Whether above that high first-moving Sphere
 Or in the Elysian fields (if such there were.) 40
 Oh say me true if thou wert mortal wight
 And why from us so quickly thou didst take thy flight.

VII

Wert thou some Star which from the ruin'd roof
 Of shak't Olympus by mischance didst fall;
 Which careful *Jove* in nature's true behoof 45
 Took up, and in fit place did reinstall?
 Or did of late earth's Sons besiege the wall
 Of sheeny Heav'n, and thou some goddess fled
 Amongst us here below to hide thy nectar'd head.

VIII

Or wert thou that just Maid who once before 50
 Forsook the hated earth, O tell me sooth,

38-40. Compare the guesses about the spirit of Plato in *Il Penseroso*, 88-92, and about the spirit of Lycidas in the elegy, 174-181.

39. *that high first-moving Sphere*, the outermost of the spheres in the Alphonsine astronomy. It was called the "first mover" because it was regarded as imparting motion to the spheres of the fixed stars and the planets. Compare *Arcades*, 63-73, and *Nativity Hymn*, 75 and 125-130, and their notes.

40. Fond as he was of the thought of pagan paradises like the Elysian fields, Milton often checked himself with the reminder that they were unreal. Compare *P.R.* II, 358-360.

44. *shak't*, shaken. Like many other "weak" past participles which have since disappeared, "shaked" was used alternatively with the "strong" form.

45. *true behoof*, true interest. Compare Satan's promise to the devils to bring "no mean recompense" to their "behoof." (*P.L.* II, 981-982.)

47-48. Again in *P.L.* I, 197-200, Milton merged the myth of the Titans, who Hesiod says (*Theogony*, 134 and 207-10) were the sons of Earth and Heaven, with the myth of the giants who attacked the gods on Mt. Olympus.

50-51. The *just Maid* is Astraea, the goddess of justice, the Greek myth of whose flight from earth to heaven after the end of the Age of Gold was fused with the Christian conception of her as the

"Most sacred vertue . . . of all the rest,
 Resembling God in his imperiall might."
 (*F.Q.* V, Prologue, 10, 1-2.)

And cam'st again to visit us once more?
 Or wert thou Mercy that sweet smiling Youth?
 Or that crown'd Matron, sage white-robed Truth?
 Or any other of that heav'nly brood 55
 Let down in cloudy throne to do the world some good?

IX

Or wert thou of the golden-winged host,
 Who having clad thyself in human weed,
 To earth from thy prefixed seat didst post,
 And after short abode fly back with speed, 60
 As if to show what creatures Heav'n doth breed,
 Thereby to set the hearts of men on fire
 To scorn the sordid world, and unto Heav'n aspire?

X

But oh! why didst thou not stay here below
 To bless us with thy heav'n-lov'd innocence, 65
 To slake his wrath whom sin hath made our foe
 To turn Swift-rushing black perdition hence,
 Or drive away the slaughtering pestilence,
 To stand 'twixt us and our deserved smart?
 But thou canst best perform that office where thou art. 70

XI

Then thou the mother of so sweet a child
 Her false imagin'd loss cease to lament,
 And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild;
 Think what a present thou to God hast sent,
 And render him with patience what he lent; 75
 This if thou do, he will an off-spring give
 That till the world's last-end shall make thy name to live.
 (1625-6)

53. *Mercy* is the not altogether satisfactory conjecture of most editors to complete this defective line. Compare *Nativity Hymn*, 141-144.

57. Compare the "golden wing" of the "Cherub Contemplation" in *Il Penseroso*, 52 and 54.

58. Compare the "pure Ambrosial weeds" which the Attendant Spirit in *Comus*, 16, lays aside when he descends to earth.

68. In the summer preceding the child's death the plague had raged in London with extraordinary violence.

ELEGIA PRIMA

AD CAROLUM DIODATUM

TANDEM, care, 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. 10
 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, 15
 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. 20
 O utinam vates nunquam graviora tulisset
 Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro;

1. In the Lent Term of 1626, when the rustication described in this Elegy occurred, Milton was in his second year at Cambridge. In the preceding December Diodati had taken his degree at Oxford and gone to the neighbourhood of Chester, where he seems to have practiced medicine. In 1637 Milton addressed him there in a Familiar Letter, dated September 2.

3. Chester lies on the east bank of the Dec. Compare *Lycidas*, 55, and *Vacation Exercise*, 98, notes.

4. *Vergivium . . . salum*. The Vergivian salt is the Irish Sea.

9. The only things certain about Milton's rustication from Cambridge are that it arose from a difference between him and his tutor, Chappell, and that after a short absence he returned and was assigned to another tutor, whose name was Tovey.

ELEGY I

TO CHARLES DIODATI¹

AT LAST, dear friend, your letter has come to me and its news-laden pages have brought me your words—brought them from the western bank of the Dee beside Chester,³ where with precipitate current it seeks the Irish Sea.⁴ There is great delight, believe me, in the fact that remote regions have bred a heart that is loving and a head so devoted to me, that I have a claim for a charming comrade upon a distant land, which is willing soon to return him to me at my bidding.

I am in the city which the Thames washes with its tidal waters and I am willingly detained in my dear native place.⁹ At present I feel no concern about returning to the sedgy Cam and I am troubled by no nostalgia for my forbidden quarters there.¹¹ The bare fields, so niggardly of pleasant shade, have no charm for me. How wretchedly suited that place is to the worshippers of Phoebus!¹⁴ It is disgusting to be constantly subjected to the threats of a rough tutor and to other indignities which my spirit cannot endure. But if this be exile, to have returned to the paternal home and to be carefree to enjoy a delightful leisure, then I have no objection to the name or to the lot of a fugitive and I am glad to take advantage of my banishment. Ah! Would that the bard who was a pitiful exile in the land of Tomis²² had never had to bear anything worse! Then he would have

11. Compare the allusion to the Cam in *Lycidas*, 103-4, note.

14. Milton's coinage, *Phoebicolis*, worshippers of Phoebus Apollo, *i.e.* poets, should be compared with his many allusions to Apollo by his Homeric epithet, Phoebus, *i.e.* bright or shining one. The name was traditionally given to Apollo as the inspirer of song. Compare *Manso*, 38.

21-22. The bard is Ovid, whose influence on Milton's Elegies was far greater than that of any other Roman poet. In the year 8 A.D. Augustus banished him irrevocably to the city of Tomis on the north-

Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero,
 Neve foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.
 Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Musis, 25
 Et totum rapiunt me, mea vita, libri.
 Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri,
 Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.
 Seu catus auditur senior, seu prodigus haeres,
 Seu procus, aut posita casside miles adest, 30
 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 35
 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: 40
 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, 45
 Aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos.

west shore of the Black Sea. As Mr. James Goode suggests, Sannazaro's allusion (*Elegies*, 1725, p. 74) to "that exiled man on Tomitan soil" shows that Milton's reference was a part of the tradition of the Latin elegists of the Renaissance.

23. For Homer's traditional Ionian origin see *Manso*, 22, note.

24. *Maro*, Virgil's family name, was as familiar to Milton's contemporaries as the name *Virgilius*, by which we know him best.

27. *sinuosi*: perhaps there is a reminiscence of Ovid's *curvis theatris* (*Art of Love*, I, 89)—curved or circular theatres—or of Propertius' allusion (IV, i, 15) to the *sinuosa vela* or awnings used to protect the audience against the sun. The characters in the following account of Milton's theatrical interests, with the single exception of the lawyer, all come from Latin comedy and Milton seems to have visualized a Roman rather than a London theatre.

31-32. Warton seems to have been right in recognizing an allusion here to George Ruggle's *Ignoramus*, which was twice played at Cambridge before King James and ran into five editions in the seventeenth century.

yielded nothing to Ionian Homer²³ and you, O Maro,²⁴ would have been conquered and stripped of your prime honours.

Here my hours are free to be dedicated to the quiet Muses; and my books, which are my life, quite carry me away. When I am tired, the magnificence of the arched theatre²⁷ diverts me and the chattering actors invite me to applaud them. Sometimes the speaker is a shrewd old man, sometimes he is the wastrel heir, and sometimes the wooer. Or the soldier lays aside his helmet and appears, or the barrister who has fattened on a ten-year suit volleys his barbarous verbiage at an illiterate court-room.³¹ Often a wily slave comes to the rescue of a love-struck son and seems ubiquitous as he dupes the stiff-necked father under his very nose. And often the virgin, who is surprised by the strange fire within her and has no idea what love is, falls in love without knowing what she does.

Or Tragedy, with streaming hair and rolling eyes, tosses her blood-stained sceptre in her frenzy.³⁷ The sight is painful, but still I watch and find pleasure in watching and suffering, and sometimes there is a sweet pain even in tears: at times when an unhappy youth must leave his joys untasted and is torn away from his love to perish lamentably; or when the stern avenger of crime returns from the shades across the Styx and his fatal torch perturbs hearts that are conscious of guilt; or when the house of Pelops or of noble Ilus is stricken with grief;⁴⁵ or the palace of Creon expiates the incest of its sires.⁴⁶

37-38. Milton seems to have had Greek and Senecan rather than Elizabethan tragedy in mind here as well as in *Il Penseroso*, 97-8. Warton compared Ovid's picture (*Amores*, III, i, 11-3) of "violent Tragedy, moving with mighty strides, her brow gloomy under her locks, and her robe (*palla*) thrown down and a royal sceptre brandished in her left hand."

45. Compare "Pelops' line" in *Il Penseroso*, 99, note. *Ilus* was the founder of Troy, which was called Ilium after him. Milton had plays like Euripides' *Troades* in mind.

46. *Creon* was king of Thebes. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 99, note.

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. 50
 Saepius hic, blandas spirantia sidera flammæ,
 Virgineos videas præteriisse choros.
 Ah quoties dignæ stupui miracula formæ
 Quæ possit senium vel reparare Iovis!
 Ah quoties vidi superantia lumina gemmas, 55
 Atque faces quotquot volvit uterque polus;
 Collaque bis vivi Pelopis quæ brachia vincant,
 Quæque fluit puro nectare tincta via,
 Et decus eximium frontis, tremulosque capillos,
 Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit Amor; 60
 Pellacesque genas, ad quas hyacinthina sordet
 Purpura, et ipse tui floris, Adoni, rubor!
 Cedite laudatæ toties Heroïdes olim,
 Et quaecunq; vagum cepit amica Iovem. 65
 Cedite Achaemeniæ turrita fronte puellæ,
 Et quot Susa colunt, Memnoniamque Ninon;
 Vos etiam Danaæ fasces submittite Nymphæ,
 Et vos Iliacæ, Romuleæque nurus,
 Nec Pompeianas Tarpeia Musa columnas
 Iactet, et Ausoniis plena theatra stolis. 70

56. *polus*: compare the note on the word in *To his Father*, 34.

57. "When Pelops had been cut to pieces by his own father's hand, they say, the gods joined his members together again, when they had all been found, except that which was between the neck and the upper arm. A piece of ivory was substituted for the missing part and so Pelops was made whole again." (Ovid, *Met.* VI, 407-11.)

58. Compare the allusion to the Milky Way in *On the Death of the Bishop of Ely*, 60.

60. *Amor*. Cupid; Ovid's wanton boy with irresistible arrows, not the cosmic Cupid of *Damon's Epitaph*, 191.

62. Compare the allusion to Adonis' death in *Comus*, 999, note. From his blood—according to Ovid's story (*Met.* X, 735-9)—Venus caused the anemone to grow.

63. *Heroïdes*, demigoddesses or heroines. There is some allusion to the women who figure in Ovid's collection of epistles called the *Heroïdes*.

64. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Milton was familiar with Jove's intrigues with Latona, Europa, Alcmena and Semele and with countless nymphs and mortal women.

But I am not always hiding indoors nor even in the city, and the spring does not pass without some profit to me. I also am a visitor in the grove where the elms stand close together and in the magnificent shade of a place just beyond the city's confines. Here, like stars that breathe out soft flames, you may see groups of maidens go dancing past. Ah, how many times have I been struck dumb by the miraculous grace of a form which might make decrepit Jove young again! Ah, how many times have I seen eyes which outshine jewels and all the stars that wheel about either pole,⁵⁶ necks which excel the arms of Pelops the twice-living⁵⁷ and the Way⁵⁸ that flows tintured with pure nectar, and a brow of surpassing loveliness, and waving tresses which were golden nets flung by Cupid, the deceiver!⁶⁰ How often have I seen seductive cheeks beside which the purple of the hyacinth and even the blush of your flower, Adonis, turn pale.⁶² Give way, ye Heroïdes⁶³ so much praised in olden times, and every mistress who made inconstant Jove her captive.⁶⁴ Give way, you Achaemenian⁶⁵ damsels with the turrets on your brows, and you, whose home is Susa or Memnonian Nineveh,⁶⁶ and you Danaïd⁶⁷ maidens also, and you women of Troy and of Rome,⁶⁸ make your submission. Let not the Tarpeian Muse boast of Pompey's colonnade⁶⁹ or of the theatres crowded with Ausonian⁷⁰ robes. The prime honour

65. *Achaemenian*, Persian. The founder of the great Persian dynasty of kings was Achæmenes.

66. It was not Nineveh, but Susa ("Shushan, the palace," the Persian capital of Nehemiah, i, 1), that was founded by Tithonus, the father of Memnon. In *P.L.* X, 308, Milton correctly refers to Xerxes' "Memnonian Palace high."

67. The adjective derived from the name of Danaus, the mythical founder of the kingdom of Argos, was applied to the Greeks generally.

68. For the derivation of *Iliacæ*—Trojan—see the note on l. 45 above.

Romulææ—Roman—is derived from the name of the traditional founder of Rome, Romulus.

69. Pompey's porch or colonnade, built in 55 B.C. in the Campus Martius, was a fashionable Roman promenade.

The *Tarpeian Muse* is Ovid, who lived on the Capitoline hill near the Tarpeian rock.

70. *Ausonia* was an ancient name for Italy.

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 75
 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. 80
 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, 85
 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. 90
 Interea fidi parvum cape munus amici,
 Paucaque in alternos verba coacta modos.
(1625-6)

73. *Dardanian*, i.e. Trojan, is derived from the name of Dardanus, the son of Jove and Electra, one of the mythical founders of Troy. Compare *Damon's Epitaph*, 162, note.

74. *Turrigerum* . . . *caput*: compare the "Tower'd Cities" of *L'Allegro*, 117. Both phrases are a reminiscence of Virgil's *turrigeraeque urbes* (*Aen.* X, 253). Compare *Arcades*, 21, note.

76. Here and again when he pictured "This pendant world" in *P.L.* II, 1052, and "The pendulous round Earth" in *P.L.* IV, 1000, Milton remembered Ovid's account of the world as pendant in mid-air: "Nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus Ponderibus librata suis." (*Met.* I, 12-3.)

77-80. Milton remembered Ovid's congratulation of Rome on possessing more maidens than the sky has stars. (*Art of Love*, I, 59.)

78. *Endymion*, "whom the poets fayne to have bene so beloved of Phoebe, sc. the moone, that he was by her kept a sleepe in a cave by the space of xxx yeares, for to enjoye his companye." (Gloss to Spenser's *July*, 63.)

81-84. *Alma* . . . *Venus* stems from Lucretius' invocation of the goddess at the opening of the *De rerum natura*, a passage familiar

is due to the virgins of Britain; be content, foreign women, to follow after. And you, London, the city built by Dardanian⁷³ colonists and now widely conspicuous with towered head,⁷⁴ yours is the excessive happiness of bounding within your walls whatever beauty the pendant world⁷⁵ possesses. The ministrant hosts of Endymion's⁷⁶ goddess, the stars that shine down upon you in the calm sky, are fewer than the radiant host in your streets—maidens whose forms and golden ornaments dazzle the eye.⁷⁷ Venus, the giver of life (it is believed) has come hither, drawn by her twin doves and escorted by her quiver-bearing soldiery, and she will prefer⁸⁴ this city to Cnidus⁸¹ and to the valleys that are watered by the river Simois,⁸³ and to Paphos and rosy Cyprus.

But for my part—while the blind boy's indulgence permits it—I am preparing the speediest possible departure from this city of delights—preparing, with the help of divine moly,⁸⁷ to secure the safety of distance from the infamous halls of the deceiver, Circe. It is decided also that I am to go back to the reedy fens of the Cam and return again to the hum of the noisy school. Meanwhile, accept this small tribute of a loyal friend and these few words that have been forced into alternating measures.⁹²

through many imitations, such as Spenser's paraphrase (*F.Q.* IV, x, 44). Spenser set the example of describing Venus as preferring new haunts to her traditional homes:

"Whether in Paphos, or Cythaeron hill,

Or . . . Gnidus."

(*F.Q.* III, vi, 39, 4-8.)

83. The river *Simois* is included because it rises on Mount Ida, where Paris awarded the famous apple to Venus.

84. *posthabitura*: see the note on *posthabita* in *To Rouse*, 65.

87-88. Compare the note on the use of moly (a kind of herb) by the shepherd boy (by whom, as Professor Hanford seems to me rightly to suggest, Milton may have meant himself) in *Comus*, 636, to escape the enchantments of Circe's son, Comus.

92. *alternos . . . modos*, alternating measures, the alternate hexameter and pentameter of the elegiac couplet.

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 5
 Sub quibus accipimus delituisse Iovem,
 O dignus tamen Haemonio iuvenescere succo,
 Dignus in Aesonios vivere posse dies,
 Dignus quem Stygiis medica revocaret ab undis 10
 Arte Coronides, saepe rogante dea.
 Tu si iussus eras acies accire togatas,
 Et celer a Phoebos nuntius ire tuo,
 Talis in Iliaca stabat Cyllenius aula
 Alipes, aetherea missus ab arce Patris;
 Talis et Eurybates ante ora furentis Achillei 15
 Rettulit Atridae iussa severa ducis.

1-3. The beadles or criers—for the English word “beadle” and the Latin “praeco” both mean a crier or herald—acted an extensive ceremonial rôle in the life of Milton’s Cambridge. The University still possesses the silver gilt maces which were given to the three Esquire Beadles in 1626, the year of the death of Richard Ridding, the Senior Beadle, for whom this Elegy was written.

2. Milton calls the students the Palladian band or the followers of the goddess of wisdom, Athene. Compare *To Rouse*, 62, note.

5. At his death, Ridding was an old man, for he had been in office thirty years.

5-6. The poets had long made a proverb of the whiteness of Jove’s plumes when he was

“turnd into a snowy swan,
 To win faire Leda to his lovely trade.”
 (*F.Q.* III, xi, 32, 1-2.)

7-8. Ovid tells the story (*Met.* VII, 264) of Medea’s rejuvenation of old Aeson by dissecting him and reuniting his limbs after boiling them in a brew of “Haemonian roots.” Haemonia was an ancient name of Thrace, the land of magic. Compare *Manso*, 75.

9-10. *Coronides*, Aesculapius, the god of healing. He was the son of Coronis, the story of whose unfaithful love for his father, Apollo,

ELEGY II

At Age 17

ON THE DEATH OF THE BEADLE OF CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

You, who were so often conspicuous with your glittering mace¹ when your voice assembled the Palladian² host—beadle though you were—you have become the prey of the last of beadles, Death, who shows no favour even to her own profession. Though your brows were whiter than the plumes in which we are told that Jove was disguised,⁵ you were none the less worthy to have your youth restored by the drugs of Haemonia⁷ and to be endued with the power to live to an Aeonian old age. You deserved that, at the repeated prayer of some goddess, Coronides⁹ should use his healing art to recall you from the Stygian waves. If you were bidden by your Apollo¹² to go—a swift messenger—and convene the files of gownsmen, you were like wing-footed Cyllenius¹³ when he was dispatched from the heavenly citadel of his father and stood in the palace at Ilium. You were like Eurybates¹⁵ when he delivered the stern orders of his chief, Atrides, in the presence of the angry Achilles.

Ovid tells (*Met.* II, 542-6 and 596-611). Milton knew Virgil's allusion to the restoration of Hippolytus to life by the drugs of Aesculapius and the devotion of Diana—a tale which Spenser retold (*F.Q.* I, v, 37, 7-9) and imitated (*ibid.* stanzas 41-4).

12. *Phoebo . . . tuo*: your Phoebus, *i.e.* the Vice-Chancellor.

13. *Cyllenius* was an epithet of Hermes (Mercury) going back to the Homeric Hymn to Hermes (1-2), which says that he was born on the Arcadian mountain, Cyllene.

15-16. *Eurybates*, one of the "heralds and bold retainers" of Agamemnon, the son of Atreus (*Il.* I, 320-33), who took their master's demand for Briseis to Achilles.

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. 20
 Vestibus hunc igitur pullis, Academia, luge,
 Et madeant lacrimis nigra feretra tuis.
 Fundat et ipsa modos querebunda Elegia tristes,
 Personet et totis naenia moesta scholis.

(1626)

17. Lake Avernus, near Naples, was one of the reputed entrances to Hades and its name came to signify hell itself. Milton's phrase, *satelles Averni*, was applied by Horace (*Odes*, II, xviii, 34) to Charon, but Milton's conception anticipates that of Death at Hell's gates in *P.L.* X, 268, scenting his "prey innumerable" on earth.

Great queen of sepulchres, accomplice of Avernus¹⁷—too terrible to the Muses and too terrible to Pallas—why do you not make your prey of those who are useless burdens of the earth? That is the rabble which ought to be made the target of your darts.

Therefore grieve for this man, O Academe, in robes of black, and make his dark hearse wet with your tears.²² Let wailing Elegy herself pour out her sad dirge and fill all the schools with its sound.

22. In these *tears* and in the "tears of perfect moan" of the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 55, and the "melodious tear" of *Lycidas*, 14, editors see a conventional allusion to the old practice of fastening mourning verses to the pall.

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;
 Dum procerum ingressa est splendentes marmore turres 5
 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; 10
 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: 15
 "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? 20
 Nec sinis ut semper fluvio contermina quercus
 Miretur lapsus praetereuntis aquae;

3-8. The plague was extraordinarily severe throughout England in 1625 and 1626.

4. *Libitina*, an ancient Italian goddess of corpses whose name was poetically used to mean death.

6. *Mors*: compare the use of the name in *Elegy* II, 4, and the characterization also.

7. Probably a reminiscence of Horace's "pale Death" that smites both the cottages of the poor and the towers of kings:

"Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
 Regumque turris."
 (*Odes* I, iv, 13-4.)

9. Editors identify the *duke* with Count Ernest of Mansfield and his brother-in-arms, Christian, Duke of Brunswick, both of whom died fighting on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War in 1626.

ELEGY III

At Age 17

ON THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

I WAS grief-stricken, and without any companion I was sitting in silence. Many sorrows were besetting my spirit, when, lo, suddenly there arose a vision of the baneful destruction³ which Libitina⁴ wrought upon English soil when dire Death⁶—terrible with his sepulchral torch—entered the bright, marble palaces of the patricians, attacked the walls that are weighted with jasper and gold, and presumed to mow down hosts of princes with his scythe.⁷ Then I remembered that glorious duke and his brother,⁹ whose bones were burned on untimely pyres; and I remembered the heroes whom Belgia saw rapt into the skies—the lost leaders whom the whole nation mourned. But my greatest grief was for you, most worthy Bishop, and in time past the noble ornament of your Winchester.¹⁴ I melted in tears and complained in this sad language.

“O fell Death, goddess second to Tartarean Jove,¹⁶ are you not satisfied that the forest suffers your fury, that power is given to you over the herb-bearing fields and that the lilies, the crocuses and the rose, that is sacred to the beautiful Cypris,²⁰ wither when touched by your poisonous breath? And you do not permit the oak on the river-bank to watch

14. Milton expressed the general feeling of his contemporaries about Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626). He had won universal love and respect as Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge (1595–1605), as a preacher at Court and at Westminster, where he was Dean, as the King's Almoner (or official dispenser of charity), and as Bishop successively of Chichester, Ely and Winchester.

16. *Tartareo . . . Iovi*, Pluto, the brother of Jove. Compare the “nether Jove” of *Comus*, 20, note.

20. *Cypridi*: Cypris was one of the earliest names of Aphrodite (Venus), because she was supposed to have risen from the sea near Cyprus and had her principal temples there. See *Elegies* V, 60, and VII, 5 and 48.

Et tibi succumbit liquido quae plurima caelo
 Evehitur pennis, quamlibet augur, avis, 25
 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?" 30
 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, 35
 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, 40
 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, 45
 Ditiior Hesperio flavet arena Tago.

26. The herd of Proteus, the seals. See *Damon's Epitaph*, 99, note.

32. *Hesperus*, the evening star. Ovid uses the epithet *roscidus*—dewy or dew-bringing—of it (*Fasti*, II, 314). Compare "*roscida luna*" in *Damon's Epitaph*, 140, and also

"*Hesperus*, whose Office is to bring
 Twilight upon the Earth."

(*P.L.* IX, 49-50.)

33. *Tartessiaco . . . aequore*: the ancient Tartessus, now El Rocardillo, gave its name to the seas that wash the Atlantic coast of Spain. Ovid speaks of the setting sun bathing the Spanish shores ("*Tartessia litora*," *Met.* XIV, 416).

34. *Phoebus* Apollo, who was often imagined as a sun-god by the Greeks, was identified by the Roman poets with the other Greek sun-god, Helios, the charioteer. See *Comus*, 95, note.

41. *Thaumantia proles*: Iris, goddess of the rainbow, who, Hesiod says (*Theogony*, 265-6), was the daughter of Thaumias and Electra.

the flow of the ebbing water forever. And all the countless birds that are borne through the liquid sky on their pinions—in spite of their gift of prophecy—succumb to you, and so do the myriad wild creatures that stray in the dark forests and the dumb herd²⁶ which the caves of Proteus nourish. Envious one, when such vast power has been granted you, what pleasure is there in staining your hands with human slaughter, in sharpening your unerring darts against a noble breast, and driving a spirit that is half-divine from its habitation?"

While I was weeping and entertaining such meditations in my heart, the dewy Hesperus³² rose out of the western sea and Phoebus³⁴—after measuring his course from the Orient—had sunk his chariot in the Spanish ocean.³³ Not delaying, I sought rest for my limbs in the depths of my bed, and night and sleep had fast closed my eyes, when I seemed to be walking in a broad field—but, alas! my faculties cannot report what I saw. There all things were radiant with rosy light, like mountain-crests flushing in the morning sunshine. The earth was brilliant in a garb of many colours, as it is when the child of Thaumás⁴¹ scatters her wealth abroad. Chloris,⁴⁴ the goddess beloved by delicate Zephyr, did not deck the gardens of Alcinous with such various flowers. Silver rivers washed the green fields and their sands gleamed with greater wealth than Hesperian Tagus.⁴⁶ Through the

44. *Chloris* (in Latin, *Flora*), Ovid says (*Fasti*, 195–398), was wooed by the west wind, Zephyr.

Again in *P.L.* V, 340–1, and IX, 441, Milton compared Paradise with Homer's gardens of Alcinous (*Od.* VI, 292–4).

46. The *Tagus*, which flows into the Atlantic at Lisbon, as Ovid (*Met.* II, 251) and several other Roman writers testify, was famous for its golden sand.

Serpit odoriferas per opes levis aura Favoni,
 Aura sub innumeris humida nata rosis.
 Talis in extremis terrae Gangetidis oris
 Luciferi regis fingitur esse domus. 50
 Ipse racemiferis dum densas vitibus umbras
 Et pelluentes miror ubique locos,
 Ecce mihi subito praesul Wintonius astat,
 Sidereum nitido fulsit in ore iubar;
 Vestis ad auratos defluxit candida talos; 55
 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. 60
 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; 65
 At mihi cum tenebris aurea pulsa quies;
 Flebam turbatos Cephaleia pellice somnos.
 Talia contingant somnia saepe mihi!

(1626)

47-48. *Favonius* was the Roman equivalent of the Greek Zephyr, which Homer (*Od.* IV, 567) describes as blowing through the Elysian Fields. Compare *P.L.* IV, 329.

49. Compare the use of the *Ganges* to suggest the most distant east in *P.L.* IX, 82.

50. *Lucifer*, the "light-bringer," is not the morning star of *Nativity Hymn*, 74, nor the Satan of *P.L.*, but the sun himself. Claudian (*Against Rufinus*, II, 336-7) describes him by that name, rising over Mount Haemus and urging his chariot onward. Here Milton may have thought of Ovid's description of the palace of Phoebus (*Met.* II, 1-18), which lay beyond India (*Met.* I, 778-9).

51-52. In the description of the sun's gardens with which Claudian ended *On Stilicho's Consulship*, II, the god gathers fragrant flowers to deck his steeds.

59. Keightley was probably right in saying that Milton thought of the applause of the happy spirits in Virgil's Elysium:

"Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt."
 (*Aen.* VI, 644.)

61. Compare *Damon's Epitaph*, 215-19, and *Lycidas*, 178-81.

perfumed opulence stole the light breath of Faunus⁴⁷—the dewy breath that is born beneath myriad roses. Such a place, on the most distant shores of the land of the Ganges,⁴⁹ do men imagine the home of the monarch, Lucifer,⁵⁰ to be. While I was looking with admiration at the shining landscape all around and at the shady retreats under the clustering vines,⁵¹ lo, suddenly Winchester's bishop stood before me and a starry light shone in his glorious face. A robe of shining white fell flowing down to his golden sandals and a white fillet encircled his divine head. And while the reverend old man, arrayed in this way, walked forward, the flowery earth was vibrant with joyous sound. The heavenly host applauded⁵⁹ with their jewelled wings and the clear air of heaven rang with the triumphal trumpet. Everyone saluted his new companion with an embrace and a song,⁶¹ and one of them uttered these words from his serene lips:

"Come, my son, and joyously enter into the delights of your father's kingdom; and rest here from your labours forever."⁶³

He spoke, and the winged hosts touched their harps.⁶⁵ But my golden rest was banished with the night and I wept for the slumber that was disturbed by the mistress of Cephalus.⁶⁷ May dreams like these often befall me!⁶⁸

63. Compare Revelation xiv, 13: "And I heard a voice from heaven, . . . 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. . . . Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours.'"

65. Compare the "voice of harpers harping with their harps," which St. John heard in heaven (Rev. xiv, 2).

67. *Cepheleia pellice*, the mistress of Cephalus, Aurora, the dawn, who carried him away—as Ovid makes him tell the story (*Met.* VII, 700-8)—quite against his will, from Procris, the wife whom he loved.

68. Perhaps, as Professor Rand suggests, the closing wish is a bold adaptation of Ovid's prayer for the return of a golden day with Corinna:

"Proveniant medii sic mihi saepe dies!"
(*Amores*, I, v. 26.)

IN OBITUM PRAESULIS ELIENSIS

Anno Aetatis 17

ADHUC madentes rore squalebant genae,
 Et sicca nondum lumina
 Adhuc liquentis imbre turgebant salis,
 Quem nuper effudi pius,
 Dum moesta caro iusta persolvi rogo 5
 Wintoniensis praesulis,
 Cum centilinguis Fama (proh! semper mali
 Cladisque vera nuntia)
 Spargit per urbes divitis Britanniae,
 Populosque Neptuno satos, 10
 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 15
 Ebulliebat fervida,
 Tumulis potentem saepe devovens deam:
 Nec vota Naso in Ibida
 Concepit alto diriora pectore;
 Graiusque vates parcius 20
 Turpem Lycambis execratus est dolum,
 Sponsamque Neobulen suam.
 At ecce! diras ipse dum fundo graves,
 Et imprecor neci necem,
 Audisse tales videor attonitus sonos 25
 Leni, sub aura, flamine:
 "Caecos furores pone; pone vitream
 Bilemque et irritas minas.

6. Winchester's bishop, Lancelot Andrewes, the subject of *Elegy III*.

10. For the tradition that Britain was called after Neptune's son, Albion, see *On the Fifth of November*, 28-30, note.

11. The "iron" or implacable sisters are the Fates.

13-14. Literally, the name Ely means "eel-island."

18. When he went into exile Ovid attacked an unidentified enemy in a satire which he called *Ibis*, or *The Crane*.

20-22. The Greek poet, Archilochus of Paros, who is said to have

ON THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF ELY

At Age 17

MY CHEEKS were still drenched and stained with tears and my eyes, not yet dry, were still swollen with the rain of salt water which but now my reverent affection poured out as I paid my debt of sorrow to the bier of Winchester's beloved bishop,⁶ when hundred-tongued Fame—alas! always the true messenger of evil and disaster—spreads through the cities of affluent Britain and the people who are descended from Neptune¹⁰ the news that you—the ornament of mankind, who were the prince of the saints in the island called Ely¹³—had yielded to death and the implacable sisters.¹¹ Suddenly then my disquieted breast surged with hot anger and frequent imprecations upon the goddess who is powerful in the grave. Ovid, in the depths of his heart, conceived no worse curses against Ibis,¹⁸ and the Greek poet was more restrained in his abuse of the shameful deceit of Lycambes and Neobule, his betrothed.²⁰ But behold, while I am pouring out these grievous curses and calling down death upon death²⁴—astonished—I seem to hear these sounds in the gently moving air:

“Leave your blind anger, leave your madness and furious curses.²⁷ Why do you offer rash violence to deities which

been inspired to the writing of his great satires by the refusal of his fellow citizen, Lycambes, to allow his daughter, Neobule, to keep her promise to marry the poet.

24. Perhaps the play on “death” is due to passages like Hosea xiii, 14: “O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction.” The Vulgate reads: “ero mors tua, o mors.”

27-28. *vitream bilem*, “glassy bile.” Madness or melancholy was related to the black bile, but Burton (*Anatomy*, I, i, 3, 1) would not risk an opinion as to which “be a cause or an effect, a disease, or symptom.” Galen, as MacKellar points out, attributed madness to a peculiar, glittering condition of the black bile, to which Horace referred (*Satires* II, iii, 141) when he called the homicidal fury of Orestes a kind of bondage to the “shining bile” (*splendida bilis*). Persius, in a similar passage, called it “glassy bile” (*vitrea bilis*). Compare the Preface to *S.A.*, l. 2, note.

Quid temere violas non nocenda numina,
 Subitoque ad iras percita? 30
 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 35
 Messes ubique colligit;
 Animasque mole carnea reconditas
 In lucem et auras evocat,
 Ut cum fugaces excitant Horae diem,
 Themidos Iovisque filiae; 40
 Et sempiterni ducit ad vultus patris,
 At iusta raptat impios
 Sub regna furvi luctuosa Tartari
 Sedesque subterraneas.
 Hanc ut vocantem laetus audivi cito 45
 Foedum reliqui carcerem,
 Volatilesque faustus inter milites
 Ad astra sublimis feror,
 Vates ut olim raptus ad caelum senex,
 Auriga currus ignei. 50
 Non me Boötis terruere lucidi
 Sarraca tarda frigore, aut
 Formidolosi Scorpionis brachia,
 Non ensis, Orion, tuus.

31-34. Compare *On the Fifth of November*, 141-50, note.

33. Usually the Furies are thought of as a group of three or more earth-born monsters, avengers of crime, but Homer sometimes mentioned a single Fury. (E.g., *Il.* XIX, 87, and *Od.* XV, 234.)

34. The personification of Chaos goes back to Hesiod's statement that, "First Chaos was born, and then the broad-bosom'd Earth, the safe seat of all things for ever." (*Theogony*, 116.) Here it is hard to tell whether Chaos is regarded as a place or a deity. In *P.L.* II, 891, ff. the two conceptions are distinguished and combined.

37. The thought is essentially Christian, but Milton was familiar with Platonic passages like that in the *Phaedo*, 64a, where Socrates explains that a philosopher, when he is to die, has good ground to hope for greater blessings beyond the grave than he enjoys in this life. *On the religious memory of Mrs. Catherine Thomason*, l. 4, expresses the same thought in definitely Christian form.

cannot be harmed and are swift to anger? Contrary to your notion, O deluded wretch, Death is not the dark daughter of Night,³¹ nor of Erebus nor of Erynis;³³ nor was she born in the gulf of Chaos.³⁴ But she is sent from the starry sky to reap God's harvest everywhere.³⁷ As the flying Hours, the daughters of Justice and Jove,³⁹ arouse the day, so she summons into the light and air the spirits which are buried under the weight of flesh, and she leads them into the presence of the eternal Father; but because she is just she sweeps the wicked away to the realms of grief in dark Tartarus, to the infernal abodes. I was glad when I heard her calling and eagerly I left my sordid prison. Among the winged warriors⁴⁷ I was carried aloft, clear to the stars, like the venerable prophet of old, charioteer of a fiery chariot, who was caught up to heaven.⁴⁹ I was not terrified either by the wain of bright Boötes,⁵¹ slow-moving with the cold, nor by the claws of the frightful Scorpion,⁵³ nor by your sword, O Orion.

39-40. Hesiod made the Hours the daughters of Zeus and Themis, or Justice; but they appear first as followers of the sun god in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, II, 26 and 118. Compare *O Nightingale*, 4, and *Comus*, 986, notes.

47. Compare the "winged Warriors" of *Upon the Circumcision*, 1, and the "wing'd Warrior" of *P.L.* IV, 576.

49-50. Compare the allusion to Elijah's translation to heaven in *P.R.* II, 16-7, note.

51-52. *Boötes*, "the ploughman," is the constellation containing Arcturus. The ancients thought of the Great Bear as "the ploughman's wain," which moves around the celestial pole more slowly than any other conspicuous group of stars. Here Milton remembered Juvenal's allusion to the proverbial "cold wain of lazy Boötes." (*Frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Boötae.*—*Satires*, V, 23.)

53-58. Milton must have been familiar with Cicero's account of the flight of Scipio's soul (in *The Dream of Scipio*) through the starry heavens and perhaps he already knew Dante's *Paradise*, with its record of the poet's ascent to the highest heaven. He was certainly familiar with less serious celestial journeys like Chaucer's in *The House of Fame*, Book II, and Phaeton's ride as Ovid described it (*Met.* II, 195-7), beset by the terrible Scorpion stretching his winding tail and arms across the sky.

Praetervolavi fulgidi solis globum, 55
 Longeque sub pedibus deam
 Vidi triformem, dum coercebat suos
 Fraenis dracones aureis.
 Erraticorum siderum per ordines,
 Per lacteas vehor plagas, 60
 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 65
 Oriundus humano patre
 Amoentitates illius loci? Mihi
 Sat est in aeternum frui."

(1626)

57. When he referred to the moon's "countenance triform" in *P.L.* III, 730, Milton considered primarily its three phases, but here he thought of the three divinities in one—Luna, Diana and Proserpina or Hecate—of Virgil's line,

"Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae."

(*Aen.* IV, 511.)

I flew beyond the globe of the glittering sun and far below my feet I saw the triform goddess⁵⁷ controlling her dragons⁵⁸ with reins of gold. Through the ranks of the planets and the Milky Way I was borne, wondering often at my strange speed, until I reached the shining portals of Olympus, the palace of crystal and the beryl-paved courts.⁶³ But here I fall silent, for who that is begotten of a mortal father can tell the delights of that place? For me it is enough to enjoy them forever."

58. Ancient writers never describe the moon's car as drawn by steeds any fiercer than the snow-white hinds of Claudian's description in *Stilicho's Consulship*, III, 285-91, or the bulls of his *Rape of Proserpine*, III, 403. Later tradition assigned her the "Dragon yoke" of *Il Penseroso*, 59. Compare *Comus*, 131, note.

63. Compare the "Crystal wall of Heav'n" in *P.L.* VI, 860, and heaven's "Frontispiece of Diamond and Gold" in III, 506. In the background is St. John's description of the new Jerusalem shining "like a jasper stone, clear as crystal" (Rev. xxi, 11). Milton merges the abode of the gods on Olympus with the Christian heaven and there is a suggestion here of Ovid's approach to the glittering doors of the palace of the sun. (*Met.* II, 1-7.)

IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI

Anno Aetatis 16 [17]

PARERE fati discite legibus
 Manusque Parcae iam date supplices,
 Qui pendulum telluris orbem
 Iapeti colitis nepotes.

Vos si relicto mors vaga Taenaro 5
 Semel vocarit flebilis, heu! morae
 Tentantur incassum dolique;
 Per tenebras Stygis ire certum est.

Si destinatam pellere dextera
 Mortem valeret, non ferus Hercules 10
 Nessi venenatus cruore
 Aemathia iacuisset Oeta;
 Nec fraude turpi Palladis invidae
 Vidisset occisum Ilion Hectors, aut
 Quem larva Pelidis peremit 15
 Ense Locro, Iove lacrymante.

Si triste fatum verba Hecateia
 Fugare possint, Telegoni parens
 Vixisset infamis, potentique
 Aegiali soror usa virga. 20

Numenque trinum fallere si queant
 Artes medentum, ignotaque gramina,
 Non gnarus herbarum Machaon
 Eurypyli cecidisset hasta;
 Laeisset et nec te, Philyreie, 25
 Sagitta echidnae perlita sanguine;

4. Iapetus, who Hesiod (*Theogony*, 507-15) says was the father of Prometheus and Epimetheus, was identified by a tradition which Milton followed in *P.L.* I, 508, with the Japhet of Genesis x, 2, the son of Noah.

5. *Taenaro*. See *Elegy V*, 66, note.

10-12. Compare the allusion to the vengeance of the centaur, Nessus, upon Hercules in *P.L.* II, 542, note.

15-16. Milton thought of Homer's description of Sarpedon as he lay, like an oak felled by foresters or like a bull slain by a lion, under the walls of Troy when Patroclus slew him. (*Il.* XVI, 477-91.)

18. Compare the allusion to Circe in *Comus*, 253, and the note. Tradition made her the mother of Telegon by Ulysses.

ON THE DEATH OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,
A PHYSICIAN

At Age 16 [17]

LEARN obedience to the laws of destiny and lift suppliant hands to the Goddess of Fate, you descendants of Iapetus⁴ who inhabit the pendulous orb of the earth. If Death, the grievous rover from Tartarus,⁵ once summons you, alas! it is vain to try delays and tricks. The journey through the shadows of the Styx is inevitable. If the human arm had power to repel fated death, the poisonous blood of Nessus would not have laid the untamable Hercules low on Thessalian Oeta;¹⁰ nor would Troy have seen Hector slain by the shameful deceit of vengeful Athene, nor Sarpedon killed¹⁵—though Jove shed tears—by the Locrian disguised in Achilles' armour. If the spells of Hecate could banish sad fate, Circe¹⁸ would have lived on in her infamy and Medea would have survived to use her potent wand.¹⁹ If the arts of the physicians and mysterious herbs had power to deceive the triple deity, Machaon,²³ with his knowledge of medicinal plants, would not have succumbed to the wound of Eurypylus' spear; nor would the arrow smeared with serpent's blood have stricken you, O son of Philyra;²⁵ nor would you have been smitten

19-20. The child Aegialeus, or Absyrtus, was Medea's brother, whose limbs Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, I, 112-3) describes her as throwing into the sea so as to divert her father, Æetes, in his pursuit of her when she fled in the *Argo* with Jason.

23-24. Homer calls Machaon a healer among the Greeks before Troy (*Il.* XI, 514). His death is described by Quintus Smyrnaeus as coming from the hands of Eurypylus. (*The Fall of Troy*, VI, 391-428.)

25-26. Though the centaur, Chiron, the son of the nymph, Philyra, was immortal and was the tutor of the god of healing, Aesculapius, whom his father, Apollo, cut from the womb of his mother, Coronis, he was destined to beg his death from the Fates as a cure for the wounds of Hercules' poisoned arrows. (Ovid, *Met.* II, 596-654.) Aesculapius was killed by Zeus, as Milton goes on to say that the Vice-Chancellor was by Persiphone, because his medical skill saved too many lives.



Nec tela te fulmenque avitum,
 Caese puer genitricis alvo.
 Tuque O alumno major Apolline,
 Gentis togatae cui regimen datum, 30
 Frondosa quem nunc Cirrha luget,
 Et mediis Helicon in undis,
 Iam praefuisses Palladio gregi
 Laetus superstes, nec sine gloria;
 Nec puppe lustrasses Charontis 35
 Horribiles barathri recessus.
 At fila rupit Persephone tua
 Irata cum te viderit artibus
 Succoque pollenti tot atris
 Faucibus eripuisse mortis. 40
 Colende praeses, membra precor tua
 Molli quiescant cespite, et ex tuo
 Crescant rosae calthaeque busto,
 Purpureoque hyacinthus ore.
 Sit mite de te iudicium Aeaci, 45
 Subrideatque Aetnaea Proserpina,
 Interque felices perennis
 Elysio spatiere campo.

(1626)

29. Dr. John Gostlin, who became Regius Professor of Medicine at Cambridge in 1623 and was elected Vice-Chancellor for the second time in 1625, died on October 21, 1626.

The line is difficult, but the reading is justified by both early editions. There is nothing really impossible in making Apollo the pupil of Dr. Gostlin, for the extravagant compliment would harmonize with the spirit of the poem.

with the bolts and thunder of your grandsire, O boy cut from your mother's womb.

And you—who are greater than your pupil, Apollo,²⁹ to whom the government of our gowned society was given, and whom leafy Cirrha³¹ mourns and Helicon in the midst of its streams—you would be the happy and glorious leader of the flock of Athena³³ instead of traversing the frightful depths of hell in Charon's boat. But Persephone broke the thread of your life,³⁷ angered because she saw you snatching so many victims from the black jaws of death by your arts and powerful potions.

Reverend Chancellor, may your limbs find rest in the soft turf, I pray, and from your grave may roses and marigolds and the purple-lipped hyacinth spring. May the judgement of Aeacus upon you be gentle, and may Sicilian Proserpina smile! May you walk forever among the blessed in Elysium!

31. Cirrha was a port associated with Apollo and situated not far from his shrine at Delphi. Here it represents Cambridge, as Mount Parnassus and the springs which the Muses haunted represent the learned world generally.

33. Again in the Second Elegy, 2, the University community at Cambridge is called "the flock of Athene" or "the Palladian host."

37. Milton gives the Queen of Hell, Persephone, the power to slit the thread of human life which was usually attributed to Atropos, the third of the goddesses of Fate. Compare *Lycidas*, 75, note.

IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS

Anno Aetatis 17

IAM pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto
 Teucrigenas populos, lateque patentia regna
 Albionum tenuit, iamque inviolabile foedus
 Scepra Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Scotis:
 Pacificusque novo, felix divesque, sedebat 5
 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, 10
 Participes regni post funera moesta futuros.
 Hic tempestates medio ciet aere diras;
 Illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos.
 Armat et invictas in mutua viscera gentes,
 Regnaque olivifera vertit florentia pace; 15
 Et quoscunque videt purae virtutis amantes,
 Hos cupit adlicere imperio, fraudumque magister
 Tentat inaccessum sceleri corrumpere pectus,
 Insidiasque locat tacitas, cassesque latentes
 Tendit, ut incautos rapiat, ceu Caspia Tigris 20
 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 albertia rupibus arva 25
 Apparent, et terra Deo dilecta marino,

2. Milton shared the contemporary interest in "Trojan Brute," whose colonization of England Spenser described at length in *The Faerie Queene* (II, x, 9 and III, ix, 46-51). The legend goes back to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who represents Brutus as a grandson of Aeneas.

7. *Acheron*, "the stream of woe," was one of the four rivers of hell. Like *Phlegethon* in l. 74 and like *Acheron* in *Comus*, 604, it stands for hell itself.

8. Perhaps Milton remembered that Virgil (*Aen.* VII, 327) made Pluto the father of the Eumenides or Furies, the avengers of crime. Here there is a suggestion of Christian tradition like that which made Satan, the exile from heaven, the father of Sin and Death in *P.L.* II, 747-89.

ON THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER

At Age 17

Now the devout James, coming from the remote north, assumed the lordship of the Troy-born race² and of the wide-spreading realms of the English, and now an inviolable league had united the English and the Scottish sceptres. The establisher of peace was seated on his new throne, fortunate and affluent, with no suspicion of a secret conspiracy or of a foe, when the cruel tyrant who governs the fiery streams of Acheron,⁷ the father of the Eumenides,⁸ the wandering out-cast from the celestial Olympus, chanced to range through the vast circle of the earth, counting the companions of his wickedness, his faithful slaves, who are destined after their miserable deaths to take their share in his kingdom.

Here he stirs up wild tempests in mid air;¹² there he instigates hatred among loyal friends. He arms unconquerable nations for a death-struggle together and overturns kingdoms which are flourishing under the olive of peace. Whatever lovers of pure virtue he can find, he seeks to add to his empire and—master of guile that he is—he tries to corrupt even the heart that is locked against sin. He lays silent plots and stretches unseen nets to capture the unwary, like the Caspian²⁰ tigress pursuing her trembling prey through trackless deserts at night in the moonless darkness when the stars are drowsily glimmering. With horrors like his does Summanus,²³ girdled with a smoking tornado of lightning flame, beset peoples and cities. And now he sees the white fields and wave-beaten cliffs of the favourite land of the sea-god,

12. Compare the demon-haunted middle air in *P.R.*, especially Book II, 117, and its note.

20. Compare the note on *Caucasus* in *P.R.* III, 318.

23. Summanus, an ancient god of lightning at midnight, was identified with Pluto by Ovid. (*Fasti*, VI, 731.)

Cui nomen dederat quondam Neptunia proles,
 Amphitryoniaden qui non dubitavit atrocem,
 Aequare tranato, furiali poscere bello,
 Ante expugnatae crudelia saecula Troiae. 30
 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. 35
 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 40
 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; 45
 Qua volat, adversi praecursant agmine venti,
 Densantur nubes, et crebra tonitrua fulgent.
 Iamque pruinosas velox superaverat alpes,
 Et tenet Ausoniae fines. A parte sinistra
 Nimbifer Apenninus erat, priscique Sabini; 50
 Dextra veneficiis infamis Etruria, nec non
 Te furtiva, Tiberis, Thetidi videt oscula dantem;
 Hinc Mavortigenae consistit in arce Quirini.

28-30. "Albion, a giant son of Neptune, who called the island after his own name," Milton wrote in the *History of Britain* (*P.W.* V, 166), "ruled it forty-four years. Till at length passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hastening out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight."

32. Compare "a field of Ceres ripe for harvest." *P.L.* IV, 980-1.

36-37. Milton was familiar with Ovid's account (*Met.* V, 346-58) of the entire island of Sicily as resting on the body of the Titan, Typhoeus, whose struggles explain its volcanoes and earthquakes.

38. Compare Satan's "Eyes That Sparkling blaz'd" in *P.L.* I, 193-4.

48. The line reflects Lucan's picture of Caesar surmounting the frozen Alps on his way to the Rubicon and Rome:

"Iam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes."
 (On the Civil War, Book I, 183.)

the land to which Neptune's son long ago gave his name,²⁸ he who was bold enough to cross the sea and challenge Hercules to a dire combat before the dreadful times of the conquest of Troy.

As soon as he catches sight of this land in its enjoyment of the blessings of wealth and festal peace, with its fields rich in the gifts of Ceres³² and—what irked him worse—a people worshipping the sacred deity of the true God, he broke into sighs that were redolent of lurid sulphur and the fires of Tartarus. Such sighs the horrid and monstrous Typhoeus, whom Jove imprisoned under Sicilian Aetna,³⁶ emits from his consuming mouth. His eyes flash³⁸ and his adamant array of teeth grinds like the clash of arms and the blow of spear against spear. "After wandering throughout the whole world," says he, "I find this my only grief, this nation alone rebellious against me, contemptuous of my yoke and stronger than my art. Yet if my efforts avail at all, they shall not go on so with impunity, they shall not continue unpunished." That much he said and oared away on pitch-black wings through the liquid air. Wherever he flies warring winds run before him; clouds mass up and thunderbolts flash incessantly.

Now his speed had carried him beyond the frosty Alps⁴⁸ and he reaches the borders of Italy. To his left was the cloud-wrapped Apennine chain, the home of the ancient Sabines; to his right, Etruria, infamous for its magic potions; and not far away he sees the furtive kisses which you are giving to the sea, O Tiber.⁵² Thence he came to rest on the citadel of Quirinus, the son of Mars. The dusk of evening

52. In later Roman poetry the name of the sea-nymph, Thetis, often stood for the sea itself. Here the god of the river Tiber is imagined as kissing Thetis because his stream falls gently through its delta into the Mediterranean.

Reddiderant dubiam iam sera crepuscula lucem,
 Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem, 55
 Panificosque Deos portat, scapulisque virorum
 Evehitur; praeceunt submisso poplite reges,
 Et mendicantium series longissima fratrum;
 Cereaque in manibus gestant funalia caeci,
 Cimmeriis nati in tenebris vitamque trahentes. 60
 Templâ 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, 65
 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, 70
 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 75
 Producit steriles molli sine pellice noctes;
 At vix compositos somnus claudebat ocellos
 Cum niger umbrarum dominus, rectorque silentum

60. Compare *Cimmerian* in *L'Allegro*, 10, and its note.

62. The feast of St. Peter is celebrated on June twenty-eighth.

65. Mount Aracynthus lies on the Attic frontier of Boeotia. Echion was one of the Theban heroes who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.

66. The Asopus is a tributary of the Euripus, with its source on Mount Cithaeron.

67. Mount Cithaeron, which separates Boeotia and Megara from Attica, Ovid says (*Met.* III, 702) was the scene of the first celebration of the rites of Bacchus.

69. Compare the "eldest Night" of *P.L.* II, 894. Hesiod describes Night as the daughter of Chaos (*Theogony*, 123-4) and as ancestress, with her brother Erebus, of all created things.

had already made the light uncertain, when the wearer of the Triple Crown, borne on men's shoulders, makes a circuit of the whole city, carrying with him his gods made of bread. Kings went before him with bended knee and the vast procession of mendicant brothers. They carried wax candles in their hands—those men who are born and lead their lives in Cimmerian darkness.⁶⁰ Then they enter the temples that gleam with many a torch (it was the eve sacred to St. Peter⁶²) and the cry of the chanters often fills the hollow domes and void spaces. Such are the shrieks of Bacchus and the followers of Bacchus when they chant their orgies on Theban Aracynthus,⁶⁵ while astonished Asopus⁶⁶ shudders under his glassy waves and in the distance Cithaeron⁶⁷ itself gives back the sound from its hollow cliff.

When at last these rites had been performed with solemn pomp, Night⁶⁹ silently left the embraces of old Erebus to drive her swift coursers with the goading whip; blind Typhlos, cross-grained Melanchaetes, torpid Siope born of an infernal sire, and Phrix with his shaggy, rough hair.⁷⁰

Meanwhile the tamer of kings, and heir of hell⁷⁴ enters his chamber (for the secret adulterer passes no barren nights without a gentle concubine); but sleep was hardly quieting and closing his eyes when the dark lord of shadows, the ruler

70-73. Milton imagined Night as Virgil described her:

"Et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat."

(*Aen.* V, 721.)

"Her twyfold Teme, of which," Spenser said (*F.Q.* I, v, 28) two were "blacke as pitch, And two were brown," had no traditional names. Milton's epithets indicate the original Greek significance of the names which he gave to the horses, except in the case of Melanchaetes, the "black-haired." Perhaps he remembered the names which Claudian invented for the horses of Pluto's chariot in the *Rape of Proserpine* (I, 284-6); Orphnaeus, Aethon, Nycteus and Alastor.

74. Phlegethon, "the flaming," was one of the rivers of hell. Compare the note on l. 7 above.

Praedatorque hominum, falsa sub imagine tectus,
 Astitit. Assumptis micuerunt tempora canis; 80
 Barba sinus promissa tegit; cineracea longo
 Syrmate verrit humum vestis; pendetque cucullus
 Vertice de raso; et, ne quicquam desit ad artes,
 Cannabeo lumbos constrinxit fune salaces,
 Tarda fenestratis figens vestigia calceis. 85
 Talis, uti fama est, vasta Franciscus eremo
 Tetra vagabatur solus per lustra ferarum,
 Silvestrique tulit genti pia verba salutis
 Impius, atque lupos domuit, Libyosque leones.
 Subdolos at tali Serpens velatus amictu 90
 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, 95
 Dumque pharetrati spernunt tua iura Britanni.
 Surge, age! surge piger, Latius quem Caesar adorat,
 Cui reserata patet convexi ianua caeli.
 Turgent animos et fastus frange procaces,
 Sacrilegique sciant tua quid maledictio possit, 100
 Et quid Apostolicae possit custodia clavis;
 Et memor Hesperiae disiectam ulciscere classem,
 Mersaque Iberorum lato vexilla profundo,

80-89. Warton first compared Satan's disguise here with that in which he approached Christ in *P.R.* I, 314-20, and noticed also that the picture has close analogues in Buchanan's satires of the Franciscans, "Franciscannus" (*Buchani Poemata*, 1687, p. 261) and the "Somnium" (*ibid.*, p. 293).

86-89. It seems likely that St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscan Order, is intended, for his sermons to the birds and his conversion of the wolf of Agobio were familiar and Milton may have been well enough acquainted with his legend to know of the African journey which *The Little Flowers* (IX, vi) record. Warton referred to an old print of St. Francis Xavier taming lions in the desert; but, though Milton's "Libyan lions" may have been merely conventional, they fit St. Francis of Assisi better than the Jesuit missionary to the Indies.

90-91. Here as well as in the picture of Satan "collecting all his Serpent wiles" in *P.R.* III, 5, Milton followed the biblical conception of him as "that old serpent." (Rev. xii, 9 and xx, 2.)

92. So Aeneas dreamed that Mercury saluted him with the words, "Goddess-born." (*Aen.* IV, 560.)

of the speechless dead, who preys upon men, stood beside him, covered with a false shape. His temples shone under the disguise of grey hairs; a long beard covered his breast; his ash-coloured robe trailed with a long train on the ground; a hood dangled from his shaven crown; and—to make his wiles complete—his lustful loins are bound with a hempen rope and his slow feet are thrust into laced sandals.⁸⁰ In such a guise, the story goes, Francis used to wander in the expanse of the desert, alone among the hideous haunts of wild beasts; and, though he was impious himself, he bore the pious word of salvation to the woodland folk, and tamed the wolves and the Libyan lions.⁸⁶

Dressed in such a garb the Deceiver, the Serpent,⁹⁰ lyingly shaped his execrable lips to these words;

“Do you sleep, my son?⁹² Does slumber weigh down your limbs? O, heedless of the faith and neglectful of your flocks! While a savage nation born under the northern sky⁹⁵ mocks your throne and your triple crown and while the archer-English⁹⁶ insult your rights, O venerable one. Up and act!⁹⁷ Up from this indolence, you whom the Roman Emperor venerates and for whom the locked gate of the vault of heaven lies open; break their insolent spirit and upstart pride, and let the sacrilegious know the force of your malediction and the power of your control of the Apostolic key. Remember to avenge the scattered Hesperian fleet,¹⁰² the Iberian standards swallowed by the sea’s depths, and the

95. *Hyperboreo* means hardly more than “northern,” although Milton may have remembered that Diodorus Siculus (2, 47) located the Hyperborean land in the sea “opposite Gaul.”

96. The “quivered-” or “archer-English” is an allusion to the reputation for skill with the long bow which was won in the Hundred Years’ War and which Roger Ascham wrote his *Toxophilus* to try to help maintain.

97. The summons, “Up and act,” parallels a divine call to Aeneas in a vision. (*Aen.* III, 169.)

102. *Hesperia* rarely meant Spain in classical Latin, e.g. Horace, *Odes*, I, xxxvi, 4. The reference is to the Spanish Armada.

Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosae,
 Thermodoontea nuper regnante puella. 105
 At tu si tenero mavis torpescere lecto,
 Crescentesque negas hosti contundere vires,
 Tyrrenum implebit numero milite Pontum,
 Signaque Aventino ponet fulgentia colle.
 Relliquias veterum franget, flammisque cremabit, 110
 Sacraque calcabit pedibus tua colla profanis,
 Cuius gaudebant soleis dare basia reges.
 Nec tamen hunc bellis et aperto Marte lacesces;
 Irritus ille labor; tu callidus utere fraude.
 Quaelibet haereticis disponere retia fas est. 115
 Iamque ad consilium extremis rex magnus ab oris
 Patricios vocat, et procerum de stirpe creatos,
 Grandaeosque patres trabea canisque verendos;
 Hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras,
 Atque dare in cineres, nitrati pulveris igne 120
 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, 125
 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." 130
 Dixit, et adscitos ponens malefidus amictus
 Fugit ad infandam, regnum illaetabile, Lethen.

104-105. Several Jesuit missionaries suffered martyrdom under Elizabeth.

105. The river Thermodon (the modern Thermeh) in Pontus was famous for the Amazons who were supposed to live on its banks. Milton was familiar with many compliments to Elizabeth like that which Spenser paid her when he called her greater than the Amazonian queen, the "bold Penthesilee." (*F.Q.* III, iv, 2, 5.)

108. The Greeks called that part of the Mediterranean which washes the west coast of Italy the Tyrrhene Sea. Compare *Comus*, 49.

109. The summit of the Aventine is one of the most conspicuous landmarks in modern Rome.

116-118. The representatives in the House of Commons, the hereditary peers and the bishops in the House of Lords seem to be intended

bodies of so many saints shamefully hung on gallows¹⁰⁴ during the recent reign of the Amazonian virgin.¹⁰⁵ If you prefer to lie languid in your soft bed and refuse to crush the growing strength of the foe, he will soon fill the Tyrrhene Sea¹⁰⁸ with a numerous host and plant his glittering standards on the Aventine hill.¹⁰⁹ He will destroy and burn with fire what remains of the ancients and with profane feet he will trample upon your neck—you, whose shoes kings were once glad to kiss. Yet you must not attack him with open war. To do so would be lost labour. Rather be shrewd enough to use treachery. It is lawful to spread nets of any kind for heretics. Just now the great king is summoning the patricians¹¹⁶ from distant places to council, summoning men sprung from distinguished stock and the venerable old fathers, gowned and grey-haired. You have it in your power to scatter their dismembered bodies through the air, to burn them to cinders, by exploding nitrous powder under the halls where they will assemble. Immediately therefore give notice to whatever faithful there are in England of the deed proposed. Will any of your people dare neglect the commands of the sovereign Pope? Then let the fierce Gaul or savage Spaniard attack them instantly, while they are panic-stricken and stupefied by the catastrophe. So at last the Marian¹²⁷ epoch will return to that land and you will rule again over the warlike English. And—so that you may fear nothing—accept the fact that the gods and goddesses are favourable,¹³⁰ as many deities as are honoured in your feast days.”

So the deceiver spoke and, doffing his disguise, fled to Lethe,¹³² the unspeakable and joyless kingdom.

by the patricians, the men sprung from distinguished stock and the fathers respectively.

127. There is a pun in “Mariana,” for the word occurs in Florus’ *Epitome* (3, 12, 11 and 4, 2, 2), where it refers to the fury of the soldiers of Marius in the long civil war with Sulla.

130. The gods and goddesses are the saints of the Church.

132. In *P.L.* II, 583, Milton makes “*Lethe* the River of Oblivion” one of the infernal rivers.

Iam rosea Eoas pandens Tithonia portas
 Vestit inauratas redeunti lumine terras;
 Maestaque adhuc nigri deplorans funera nati 135
 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, 140
 Nunc torvi spelunca Phoni, Prodotaecque 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, 145
 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. 150
 Ipsi etiam pavidi latitant penetralibus antri
 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 155
 Evocat antistes Babylonius, atque ita fatur:
 "Finibus occiduis circumfusum incolit aequor
 Gens exosa mihi, prudens natura negavit
 Indignam penitus nostro coniungere mundo.

133. In making this transition with the picture of Dawn Milton followed an epic device which goes back to Homer's opening of the fifth book of the *Odyssey*: "Now Dawn rose from her bed, from the side of the lordly Tithonus, to bear light to the immortals and to mortal men." Compare *P.L.* V, 1-2, and VI, 12-5, and *Elegy V*, 49, note.

135. *Memnon*—the son of the Dawn, Aurora, and of Tithonus, whose slaying by Achilles is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, XI, 521. Compare *Il Penseoso*, 18, and the note.

137. Because he has the keys of heaven, Milton called the Pope the door-keeper of the skies.

141-150. Milton found models in Hesiod's list of the children of Night—Death, Distress, the Fates, the Eumenides, Murders and Quarrels, Anarchy, Disaster and many more—and in countless similar catalogues of which perhaps the most influential was Phineas Fletcher's

Now rosy Dawn,¹³³ throwing open the eastern gates, dresses the gilded world with returning light, and grieving for the sad death of her swarthy son¹³⁵ she sprinkles the mountain-tops with ambrosial tears. Then the keeper of the starry vault¹³⁷ banished slumber, turning over his nocturnal visions and delightful dreams.

There is a place wrapped eternally in the darkness of night, once the vast foundation of a structure now ruinous which has become the den of brutal Murder and double-tongued Treason, twins whom savage Discord bore. Here amid rubble and shattered rock lie the unburied bones of men and corpses pierced by steel; here forever sits dark Guile with eyes distorted, and Contentions and Calumny with her fang-armed jaws, and Fury and a thousand ways of dying and Fear are seen.¹⁴¹ Pale Horror wings about the place and unsubstantial ghosts shriek perpetually through the mute silences.¹⁴⁹ The conscious earth¹⁵⁰ rots with blood. Murder and Treason themselves shudder in the inmost depths of the cavern and, though no one pursues them, through the cave—a horrid cave with outcropping rocks and dark with deathly shadows—the guilty pair flee away with many a backward glance. The Babylonian high priest¹⁵⁶ summons these defenders of Rome which have been faithful to her for centuries, and thus he speaks:

“A race that is odious to me lives on the western verge of the world amid the surrounding ocean. Prudent Nature has cut that unworthy people off from our continent. Thither,

account of the companions of Sin at Hell's gate—Despair, Sickness, Languor, Fear, Fright, Horror, Grief and Pangs. (*Apollyonists*, I, 15-6.)

149. *muta silentia*, “mute silences,” is a reminiscence of Ovid's “mute silences of the night” (*Met.* VII, 184) which left its trace also in *Il Penseroso*, 55.

150. So Ovid speaks (*Met.* II, 438) of the “conscious forest” which knew of Jove's love-thefts. Compare the description of the devils laying their plots “under conscious Night” in *P.L.* VI, 521.

156. The Babylonian high priest is the Pope. Compare the allusion to Rome as Babylon in *Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd Saints*, 14.

Illuc, sic iubeo, celeri contendite gressu, 160
 Tartareoque leves diffilentur 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. 165
 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 170
 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, 175
 Amplaque per tenues 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. 180
 Ipsa quidem summa sedet ultrix matris in arce,

161. So in the papal council in Phineas Fletcher's *Locustae* (*Poems*, ed. by Grosart, Vol. II, p. 44) the Jesuit, inspired by the fiend, Aequivocus, proposes the destruction of the English Parliament with "Stygian powder" and imagines the spectacle:

"juvat semusta virorum
 Membra, omnesque supra volitantes aethere Reges
 Cernere."

166. Compare *Comus*, 1015: "Where the bow'd welkin slow doth bend." Milton had Ovid's "wide curve of the heavens" (*Met.* II, 130, and VI, 64) in mind, and perhaps also, as Todd suggested, Psalm xviii, 9: "He bowed the heavens also."

168. Psalm ii, 4—"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision."—is echoed again in *P.L.* II, 731, V, 737, and VIII, 78.

171. Lake Marcotis lies west of the Nile, not far from Alexandria. Here it represents Africa, for Milton made the house of Fame equidistant from Europe, Asia and Africa. So Ovid described it, vaguely centred amid the three continents of the world and commanding an outlook everywhere. (*Met.* XII, 39-40.)

172. Fame, or Rumour, Virgil said (*Aen.* IV, 178-180) was the

for so I command, you are to go with all speed; you are to bring all who are fired with love for the true faith into the plot and make them the tools of its execution. Let the king and his nobles together, the whole wicked race, be blown into thin air by Tartarean powder."¹⁶¹ He ended and the cruel twins were eager in their obedience.

Meanwhile the Lord, who turns the heavens in their wide revolution¹⁶⁶ and hurls the lightning from his skyey citadel, laughs¹⁶⁸ at the vain undertakings of the degenerate mob and is willing to take upon himself the defence of his people's cause.

There is a place situated, men say, with its aspect toward Lake Mareotis,¹⁷¹ in the gulf between fertile Europe and Asia. Here is the lofty tower of Titanian Fame¹⁷²—a brazen structure, broad, noise-haunted, and closer to the glowing stars than Athos or Pelion, piled upon Ossa.¹⁷⁴ A thousand doors and entrances and no fewer windows are open wide and the courts within shine through the unsubstantial walls. Here a crush of people start various whispers. So swarms of flies buzz and hum about the milk-pails or in the wattled sheepfolds,¹⁷⁸ when in summer the Dog Star climbs aloft to the summit of the skies. Fame herself, the avenger of her mother, sits atop of her citadel and raises her

youngest of the Titans. Milton's description of her draws almost all its details alternately from those of Virgil and Ovid.

174. When the Titans rebelled against the gods, Homer said in a famous passage (*Od.* XI, 312-5), they tried to overwhelm Mount Olympus by burying it under Mounts Ossa and Pelion. Both mountains are in Thessaly, while Athos is a peak at the end of the most easterly promontory of Chalcidice in Macedon.

178-179. The simile is Homeric. Compare its use in *P.R.* IV, 15-7, and the note there.

Auribus innumeris cinctum caput eminent olli,
 Quois sonitum exiguum trahit, atque levissima captat
 Murmura, ab extremis patuli confinibus orbis.
 Nec tot, Aristoride, servator inique iuvencae 185
 Isidos, immite volvebas lumina vultu,
 Lumina non unquam tacito nutantia somno,
 Lumina subiectas late spectantia terras.
 Istis illa solet loca luce carentia saepe
 Perlustrare, etiam radianti impervia soli. 190
 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, 195
 Nobis digna cani, nec te memorasse pigebit
 Carmine tam longo. Servati scilicet Angli
 Officiis, vaga diva, tuis tibi reddimus aequa.
 Te Deus, aeternis motu qui temperat ignes,
 Fulmine praemisso, alloquitur, terraque tremente: 200
 "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 205
 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. 210

182-184. Milton thought of Virgil's monstrous Titaness, with eyes as numberless as her tongues, sleeplessly ranging through the world in the darkness of night. (*Aen.* IV, 180-5.)

185-188. Ovid calls the hundred-eyed Argus the son of Arestor (*Met.* I, 624) when he describes Juno's delivery of Io to Argus for safe-keeping, after Jove had transformed her into a heifer in a vain attempt to hide his liaison with her. Renaissance mythographers generally (*e.g.* Natale Conti, *Mythology*, VIII, xviii) identified Io with the Egyptian goddess Isis.

191. So Ovid described "tattling Fame" (*Fama loquax—Met.* IX, 137) spreading rumours which proved fatal to Hercules.

207. Temesa, an ancient Calabrian city, was first mentioned for its copper mines in the *Odyssey*, I, 184.

head, which is girt about with innumerable ears,¹⁸² so as to catch the faintest sound and seize the lightest murmur from the uttermost ends of the wide world. You, O Argus, spiteful guardian of the heifer, Io, had not so many eyes in your cruel face, eyes never winking in silent sleep, eyes gazing abroad over the lands below.¹⁸⁵ With them it is Fame's habit to pry into dark places where the sun's rays never penetrate. With a thousand tongues the blab recklessly pours out what she has heard and seen to any auditor,¹⁹¹ and lyingly she pares down the truth or enlarges it with fabrications.

Nevertheless, O Fame, you deserved the praise of our song, for one good deed than which there was never any more genuine. You deserve that I should sing about you and I shall never regret this commemoration of you at such length in my song. Because we English plainly owe our safety to your good offices, O vagrant goddess, we render you a just return. God, who controls the eternal fires in their motion, hurled his thunderbolt and, while the earth still trembled, he said to you:

"Fame, are you silent? Or have you no inkling of the impious band of Papists conspiring against me and my English, nor of the novel kind of murder designed against sceptre-bearing James?"

He said no more, but she instantly responded to the Thunderer's command and—swift though she was before—she assumes strident wings and covers her slender body with parti-coloured feathers, and in her right hand she takes a trumpet of Temesan brass.²⁰⁷ She makes no delay, but on her wings goes oaring²⁰⁸ through the yielding air. Not content to outstrip the swift clouds in her flight, she passes now the winds and now the horses of the sun. First, in her usual

208. The "oarage of wings" is a Latinism which occurs again in *P.L.* V, 269-70, and II, 841-2. Perhaps Milton thought here of Virgil's picture of Mercury—*Volat ille per aera magnum Remigio alarum.* (*Aen.* I, 300-1.)

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 215
 Insidiis loca structa silet. Stupuere relatis,
 Et pariter iuvenes, pariter tremuere puellae,
 Effoetique senes pariter, tantaeque ruinae
 Sensus ad aetatem subito penetraverat omnem.
 Attamen interea populi miserescit ab alto 220
 Aethereus Pater, et crudelibus obstitit ausis
 Papicolum. Capti poenas raptantur ad acres;
 At pia thura Deo et grati solvuntur honores;
 Compita laeta focus genialibus omnia fumant;
 Turba choros iuvenilis agit: Quintoque Novembris 225
 Nulla dies toto occurrit celebratior anno.

(1626)

way, she scatters ambiguous rumours and uncertain whispers through the English cities. Presently, grown clear-voiced, she publishes the plots and the detestable work of treason—not merely the deeds which are abominable to utter, but also the authors of the crime; nor does her garrulity make a secret of the places prepared for the treacherous attempt. Men are aghast at what is reported. Youths and maidens and weak old men alike tremble, and folk of all ages are reached by the sense of so great ruin impending. But meanwhile the heavenly Father takes pity on his people from on high and thwarts the outrages which the Papists have dared. They are seized and dragged to painful punishments. Pious incense and grateful honours are paid to God. The joyous streets are all lurid with genial bonfires. In throngs youth goes dancing. Throughout the whole year there shall be no day more celebrated than the fifth of November.

[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, 5
 Sulphureo curru flammivolisque rotis;
 Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,
 Liquit Iordanios turbine raptus agros.

2. By the arrest of Guy Fawkes as he stood guard over the explosives which were to have restored Roman Catholic liberties in England by the destruction of King James and his Parliament on November fifth, 1605, the "Gunpowder Plot" was frustrated. Celebration of the event is still a popular holiday in England and Milton's epigrams were written for its anniversaries when he was at St. Paul's School or in Cambridge.

3. *Fallor? an:* see *Elegy V*, 5, note.

EPIGRAMS

ON THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

PERFIDIOUS FAWKES,² when you attempted your recent un-speakable outrage against the King and the English nobles—do I misjudge,³ or did you wish to seem merciful in one way and to atone for your crime with a kind of wicked piety? You were going, obviously, to send them to the courts of high heaven in a sulphurous chariot with wheels of whirling fire⁷—as he whose head proved inviolable by the fell Parcae was rapt away in a whirlwind, leaving the banks of the Jordan behind him.⁸

7. *ille*, Elijah. See *P.R.* II, 16–17, note.

Parcis, the Fates. Here and seemingly in *Lycidas*, 75, Milton thought of them as representing Death itself. Compare *On the Death of the Vice-Chancellor*, 21; *Manso*, 19; *To his Father*, 29; and *Arcades*, 65.

8. II Kings ii, 7, describes Elijah's escape from the fate of death by translation to heaven in a fiery chariot from the banks of the river Jordan.

IN EANDEM

SICCINE tentasti caelo donasse Iacobum,
 Quae septemgemino Bellua monte lates?
 Ni meliora tuum poterit dare munera numen,
 Parce, precor, donis insidiosa tuis.
 Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adivit 5
 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. 10

2. *Bellua*: the beast is that which St. John describes (Rev. xiii, 1) as rising "out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns . . . and upon his heads the name of blasphemy." Like Spenser, and like Protestant writers generally, Milton identified it with Rome. "This beast," wrote Bishop Bale (*Select Works*, p. 496), "is the great Antichrist . . . or beastly body of the devil, comprehending in him popes, patriarchs, cardinals," etc.

ON THE SAME

WAS this the kind of attempt that you made to bestow heaven upon James, you beast² in ambush on the Seven Hills? Unless your divinity has better gifts in its power, O weaver of plots, I implore you to spare your largess. Without your help, it is true, and without the aid of your infernal gunpowder, the King has gone at a ripe old age⁵ to be with his kindred, the stars.

Blow your detestable cowls, rather, up to the skies,⁷ and all the idol gods that profane Rome contains; for, unless you help them in this way or in some other, believe me, not one of them will climb very prosperously on the path to heaven.

5. The line dates the epigram as later than the death of James I on March twenty-seventh, 1625. In the autumn of that year Milton was a freshman at Cambridge.

7-8. Compare the Paradise of Fools in *P.L.* III, 476-97.

IN EANDEM

PURGATOREM animae derisit Iacobus 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; 5
 Supplicium spreta religione dabis
 Et, si stelligeras unquam penetraveris arces,
 Non nisi per flammis triste patebit iter."
 O quam funesto cecinisti proxima vero,
 Verbaque ponderibus vix caritura suis! 10
 Nam prope Tartareo sublime rotatus ab igne
 Ibat ad aethereas, umbra perusta, plagas.

1. Mr. MacKellar quotes from *A Premonition to All Most Mightie Monarches* (*Political Works of James I*, edited by McIlwain, p. 125):

"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."

ON THE SAME

JAMES made a jest of the purgatorial fire¹ without which there is no way for the soul to reach the heavenly mansions. At that the Latin monster³ with its triple crown gnashed its teeth and wagged its ten horns with menace horrid:

"Englishman," it cried, "you shall not despise my sanctities with impunity; you shall pay a forfeit for the insult to religion. And if ever you attain the starry citadels, the only way open to you will be the sad one through fire."

How close your vaticinations came to the grim truth and how little your utterances lacked of fulfilment! For he did—almost—go to the celestial shores, a cindery ghost, whirled aloft by Tartarean¹¹ fire.

3. *monstrum*: compare *Bellua* in the preceding Epigram, 2. *trina* . . . *corona*, triple crown. See the Sonnet *On the Late Massacre in Piedmont*, 12, note.

11. *Tartareo*, Tartarean, infernal. See *Elegy III*, 16, note.

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.

(1626?)

1. Milton meant to say that James I was under the formal interdict of the Pope.

2. *Taenarioque sinu*: see *Elegy V*, 66, note.

ON THE SAME

HIM whom impious Rome had consigned to her curses¹ and condemned to the Styx and the Taenarian gulf,² him—quite contrarily—she sets about to lift to the stars and wishes to hoist among the celestial gods.

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.

(1626?)

1. *Iapetionidem*: the son of Iapetus. See *On the Death of the Vice-Chancellor*, 4. The story of the theft of fire in a hollow reed from the sun by the "resourceful and wily" Prometheus is told by Hesiod (*Theogony*, 565-9).

3-4. In *P.L.* VI, 503-4, artillery is called the invention of
 "Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd
 With dev'lish machination."

Traditionally, cannon had been attributed to the diabolic inspiration which Rabelais (III, viii) blamed for them, but opinion was shifting

ON THE INVENTOR OF GUNPOWDER

THE ancients in their blindness paid honour to the son of Iapetus,¹ who brought down the celestial fire from the chariot of the sun; but in my eyes he will be a greater man³ who is credited with having stolen his flaming weapons and three-forked thunderbolt from Jove.⁴

toward Cowley's view that, "for above a thousand years together nothing almost of ornament or advantage was added to the uses of human society, except only guns and printing." (Preface to *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy*, 1661.) Compare *P.L.* VI, 607, note.

4. Warton compared *P.L.* VI, 490-1:

"they shall fear we have disarm'd
The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt."

ELEGIA QUARTA

*Anno Aetatis 18*AD THOMAM IUNIUM,¹

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 5
 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; 10
 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,

¹Thomas Young (1588–1665) was a Scot, an M.A. of St. Andrews in 1606, who came to London early enough to be Milton's tutor for some time before he entered St. Paul's School in 1620. By 1622 Young was in Hamburg. In 1628 he was appointed to the living of Stowmarket, Suffolk, which he held until his death. In 1641 he was the principal contributor to *An Answer to a Book Entitled "An Humble Remonstrance"* (i.e. Bishop Hall's defence of Episcopacy), which was signed, by a combination of the initials of its five authors, "Smectymnuus." In its defence Milton wrote *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus* and *An Apology for Smectymnuus*.

3. *Segnes rumpe moras* is Virgil's phrase (*Georgics*, III, 42–3).

5–6. Milton is indebted to a line,

"Aeolon Hippoteden, cohibentem carcere ventos,"

(*Met.* XIV, 224),

in Ovid's retelling of Homer's story (*Od.* X, 1–22) of Aeolus, son of Hippotas, who kept the winds locked up in a cavern on an island, which was later identified with Lipara, off the coast of Sicily, or Sicania, as it was earlier called. Compare *Lycidas*, 96.

6. *virides . . . Deos* is an Ovidian phrase (*Tristia*, I, ii, 59) for the sea-gods. Compare "the blue-hair'd deities" of *Comus*, 29.

ELEGY IV

*At Age 18*TO THOMAS YOUNG,¹HIS TUTOR, PERFORMING THE DUTIES OF A PASTOR AMONG THE
ENGLISH MERCHANTS RESIDENT IN HAMBURG

SWIFTLY, my letter, dart across the boundless ocean; go, and over the smooth sea seek Teutonic lands: Shake off slothful delays³ and let nothing, I implore, stand in the way of your dispatch or interfere with the speed of your journey. I myself will offer prayers to the glaucous deities⁶ and to Aeolus, who bridles the waves in his Sicilian cave,⁵ and to caerulean Doris, escorted by her nymphs,⁷ to give you a quiet journey through their kingdoms. Obtain for yourself, if you can, the swift team by which the Colchian¹⁰ was borne away in her flight from the face of her husband, or that by which the boy, Triptolemus,¹¹ reached the bounds of Scythia, when he was sent, a welcome messenger, from the Eleusinian city. But when you see the sands of Germany shining yellow, turn your steps toward the walls of opulent Hamburg, which is said to derive its name from Hama, who, they say, was slain by a

7. The nymphs are the daughters of Doris,

"All goodly damzels, deckt with long greene haire,

Whom of their sire *Nereides* men call,

All which the Oceans daughter to him bare

The gray eyde *Doris*: all which fifty are."

(*F.Q.* IV, xi, 48, 2-5.)

Milton's ultimate source was Hesiod's *Theogony*, 240-64, but he was indebted to a later tradition for the idea that the Nereids befriended sailors. Compare *Lycidas*, 99 and *Comus*, 835-8, notes.

10. The *Colchian* is Medea, whose flight in a car drawn by winged dragons after she had murdered their children in the palace of her husband, Jason, Milton remembered in Euripides' *Medea* (1314-6).

11. Ovid (*Met.* V, 643-50) tells how Ceres sent Triptolemus in her chariot from Eleusis in Attica to sow the world with wheat, as far as Scythia. Later (*Tristia*, III, viii, 1-4) he wished for the chariot of Triptolemus to carry him back from Thrace to Rome.

Dicitur occiso quae ducere nomen ab Hama, 15
 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. 20
 Hei mihi, quot pelagi, quot montes interiecti,
 Me faciunt alia parte carere mei!
 Carior ille mihi quam tu, doctissime Graium,
 Cliniadi, pronepos qui Telamonis erat;
 Quamque Stagirites generoso magnus alumno, 25
 Quem peperit Lybico Chaonis alma Iovi.
 Qualis Amyntorides, qualis Philyrëius Heros
 Myrmidonum regi, talis et ille mihi.
 Primus ego Aonios illo praeceunte recessus
 Lustrabam, et bifidi sacra vireta iugi, 30
 Pieriosque hausit latices, Clioque favente
 Castalio sparsi laeta ter ora mero.
 Flammeus at signum ter viderat arietis Aethon
 Induxitque auro lanæ terga novo,
 Bisque novo terram sparsisti, Chlorig, senilem 35
 Gramine, bisque tuas abstulit Auster opes;
 Necdum eius licuit mihi lumina pascere vultu,
 Aut linguae dulces aure bibisse sonos.

15-16. Warton traced the name of Hamburg to "Hama, a puissant Saxon champion, who was killed on the spot where that city stands, by Starchater, a Danish giant. The *Cimbrica clava* is the club of the Dane."

19. Bacon (*Essays*, XXVII) called it "a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, *that a friend is another himself*," for, he added, "a friend is far more than himself."

20. Wishing Virgil good luck on a voyage, Horace (*Odes*, I, iii, 8) called him *animae dimidium meae*—"the half of my soul."

22-23. *Cliniades*, Alcibiades, the son of Clinias. In Plato's *Alcibiades* (120d) he boasts to Socrates of his descent from Eurysaces, the grandson of Telamon. For the characterization of Socrates see *P.R.* IV, 274-6.

25. The *Stagirite*, Aristotle, who was born in the Macedonian seaport of Stagira. As a boy of about thirteen, Alexander the Great became his pupil.

26. *Chaonia*—Epirus. Olympias, Alexander's mother, was an Epirote princess. For the story of his paternity see *P.L.* IX, 508-9, and *P.R.* III, 84, notes.

Cimbrian club.¹⁵ There a pastor lives, who is illustrious for his honour of the primitive faith and well instructed how to feed the sheep that love Christ. Truly, that man is more¹⁹ than the other half of my soul²⁰ and without him I am compelled to live a life which is but the half of itself. Dearer is that man to me than you were, O wisest of the Greeks, to Cliniades,²² who traced his ancestry back to Telamon—dearer than was the great Stagirite²⁵ to his magnanimous pupil, whom the bountiful daughter of Chaonia bore to Libyan Jove.²⁶ What the son of Amyntor²⁷ and what Philyra's heroic son were to the Myrmidons' king, such is this man to me. Under his guidance I first visited the Aonian retreats and the sacred lawns of the twin-peaked mountain.³⁰ I drank the Pierian³¹ waters and by the favour of Clio I thrice wet my blessed lips with Castalian wine. Three times has fiery Aethon³³ looked upon the sign of the Ram and gilded his woolly back afresh with gold; and twice, Chloris,³⁵ have you sown the old earth with new herbage, and twice, Auster,³⁶ you have swept her riches away; and not yet have my eyes been allowed to feast on his face or my ears to drink in the sweet sounds of his tongue.

27. The son of Amyntor was Phoenix, who, Apollodorus says (*Library*, III, iii, 8), was one of Achilles' tutors.

Phylireius—Chiron, the son of the nymph, Philyra. See *Manso*, 60, note.

30. The twin peaks of the mountain of the Muses, Parnassus, were in Aonia, between Attica and Boeotia, and the Castalian spring at its foot was sacred to them.

31. It was on *Mount Pierus* in Macedonia that Hesiod's account (*Theogony*, 52-79) represents the Muses as having been born by Mnemosyne (Memory) to Zeus. *Clio*, the Muse of History, is first in Hesiod's list.

33. *Aethon* is one of the four horses of the sun's chariot which Ovid names (*Met.* II, 153-5). Milton means that the sun has entered the zodiacal sign of the Ram three times since Young's departure. Evidently, Young left England in the winter, probably of 1624-5.

35. *Chloris*. See the note on *Elegy III*, 44.

36. *Auster*. See the note on the south wind in *Damon's Epitaph*, 60.

Vade igitur, cursuque Eurum praeverte sonorum;
 Quam sit opus monitis res docet, ipsa vides. 40
 Invenies dulci cum coniuge forte sedentem,
 Mulcentem gremio pignora cara suo;
 Forsitan aut veterum praelarga volumina Patrum
 Versantem, aut veri Biblia sacra Dei,
 Caelestive animas saturantem rore tenellas, 45
 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. 50
 "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 55
 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. 60
 Tu modo da veniam fasso, veniamque roganti;
 Crimina diminui quae patuere solent.
 Non ferus in pavidos rictus diducit hiantes,
 Vulnifico pronos nec rapit ungue leo.
 Saepe sarissiferi crudelia pectora Thracis 65
 Supplicis ad moestas deliquere preces;
 Extensaeque manus avertunt fulminis ictus,
 Placat et iratos hostia parva Deos.

39. *Eurus*. See the note on *Damon's Epitaph*, 60.

43. *Patrum*—of the Fathers, *i.e.*, the Greek and Latin Fathers who left the Church its body of patristic writings.

46. *salutiferae*—salvation-bearing, *i.e.*, bringing "all the joyes of Life Eternal," which Hobbes (*Leviathan*, III, xxxviii, 245) said were "comprehended . . . under the name of *Salvation*."

51. In 1626 the Protestant allies in the Thirty Years' War, under Christian IV of Denmark, were defeated by the Imperialists, under Tilly, at Lutter. The seat of war shifted to lower Saxony and for some time Hamburg was in danger of a siege.

Be off, then, and speed on your way faster than shrieking Eurus.³⁹ How necessary is my urging the situation itself suggests and you yourself perceive. Perhaps you will find him sitting with his sweet wife, fondling the dear pledges of their love on his lap, or perhaps turning over the mighty volumes of the old Fathers⁴³ or the Holy Scriptures of the true God, or watering tender souls with the dew of heaven—which is the grand affair of healing religion.⁴⁶ As the custom is, be careful to give him generous greeting and to speak as it would become your master to do, if only he were present; and remember to fix your eyes for a little while modestly upon the ground and to speak these words with reverent lips.

“These verses—if there is leisure for the delicate Muses in the midst of the fighting⁵¹—a devoted hand sends to you from English shores. Even though it be late, accept this sincere greeting and may it be the more welcome to you on that very account. Late, indeed, but loyal was the greeting which the daughter of Icarus, Penelope,⁵⁶ received from her long-delaying husband. But why should I wish to deny a manifest fault, which the delinquent himself is utterly unable to mitigate? He is justly accused of being dilatory and confesses the crime and is ashamed of his neglect of his duty. Only grant me forgiveness, because I confess my fault and ask for absolution; for offences acknowledged are half wiped out. No wild beast opens its maw upon victims that tremble nor does the lion do violence with his rending paw to those who are prostrate.⁶⁴ The cruel hearts of Thracian spearmen have often melted at a suppliant’s sad appeals. Outstretched hands avert the stroke of the thunder-bolt and even a small sacrifice pacifies the gods when they are angry.

56. Milton thought of the opening scene in the *Odyssey*, XXIII, when Penelope is painfully convinced that Ulysses has indeed returned from Troy.

64. The experience of the sleeping Oliver with the lion in *As You Like It*, IV, iii, 119–20, showed that it is

“The royal disposition of that beast
To prey on nothing that doth seem as dead.”

Iamque diu scripsisse tibi fuit impetus illi,
 Neve moras ultra ducere passus Amor; 70
 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, 75
 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, 80
 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, 85
 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, 90
 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, 95
 Aeternaque animae digna perire fame!

71. Compare the characterization of *Fame*, or *Rumour*, in *On the Fifth of November*, 191-5.

74. The Elector of Saxony, John George I, was luke-warm in his opposition to the Imperialists, but six of the sons of Duke John of Saxe-Weimar, including Dukes Bernard, William and Frederick, were their determined opponents. Hamburg desired only to remain neutral and unmolested.

75. Homer's *Enyo*, the goddess of war, "the devastator of cities" (*Il.* V, 333), came, like Mars and Bellona, to be a synonym for war.

77. Conti's chapter on Mars points out that Thrace was his traditional home (*Od.* VIII, 361), and that his worship was a Thracian institution.

"He has long felt the impulse to write to you and now Love would not endure any further delay, for vagrant Rumour⁷¹—alas, the veracious reporter of disasters—says that in regions bordering upon you wars are ready to burst out, that you and your city are beset by insolent troops, and that the Saxon leaders⁷⁴ have already prepared their munitions of war. All around you Enyo⁷⁵ is laying waste the fields and blood is watering the ground which has been sown with human flesh. Thrace has given up Mars to the Germans⁷⁷ and father Mars has driven his Odrysian⁷⁸ horses into their territories. The ever-flourishing olive-tree is withering and the goddess who hates the brazen blare of the trumpet has fled—look, fled from the earth⁸¹—and it is believed that the just virgin was not the last to fly for refuge to the heavenly mansions. Nevertheless, you live resourceless and alone on that strange soil, where the horror of war echoes all around you; and on alien soil you seek in your poverty for the livelihood which your native country withholds. O Fatherland, hard parent, more cruel than the white cliffs that are battered by the frothing waves of your coast, does it become you thus to expose your innocent offspring; do you drive them away thus with iron implacability to foreign soil and do you allow men to seek their subsistence in strange lands whom God himself in his providence has sent to you—men who bring glad tidings from heaven and teach the way which leads beyond the grave to the stars? Indeed, you deserve to live shut up in Stygian darkness and to perish by undying hunger of the soul. In

78. *Odrisia*—an ancient name for Thrace.

81-82. Ovid's (*Met.* I, 141-50) was the classical version of the story that, after the Iron Age had followed the Ages of Gold, Silver and Bronze, the goddess of Justice, Astraea,

"loathing lenger here to space
Mongst wicked men, in whom no truth she found,
Return'd to heaven, whence she deriv'd her race."

(*F.Q.* V, i, 11, 2-5.)

In the fourth *Proslution* Milton questioned "that Ovidian story; whether . . . Astraea was the last of the goddesses to leave the earth; for," he said, "I suspect that Peace and Truth would not have abandoned even hostile mortals many ages after her."

Haud aliter vates terrae Thesbitidis olim
 Pressit inassueto devia tesqua pede,
 Desertasque Arabum salebras, dum regis Achabi
 Effugit atque tuas, Sidoni, dira, manus. 100
 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, 105
 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. 110
 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 115
 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, 120

97-100. Compare the allusions to Elijah in *P.R.* I, 353, and II, 19 and 277, and the notes there.

100. The Sidonian woman is Jezebel, "the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians" (I Kings xvi, 31), King Ahab's queen, who threatened Elijah's life (I Kings xix, 2) and obliged him to become a fugitive in the desert.

102. When the Apostle Paul, often called Saul of Tarsus (which was a Cilician city), visited Philippi in Macedonia he was publicly scourged (Acts xvi, 22-3). Emathia was an ancient name for Macedonia. Compare *Emathian* in the Sonnet *When the assault was intended*, 10, and in *P.R.* III, 290.

103-104. When Jesus healed a man possessed by a legion of devils near Gergessa, on the Sea of Galilee, and allowed them to destroy a herd of swine, the Gergesenes "besought him that he would depart out of their coasts." (Mat. viii, 34.)

109-111. In the background are passages like Psalm xci, 4-5; "his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day."

just this way the Tishbite⁹⁷ prophet long ago walked the byways of the desert with unaccustomed steps and trod the rough sands of Arabia when he fled from the hands of King Ahab and from your hands also, O vindictive Sidonian woman.¹⁰⁰ In this way Cilician Paul was driven out of the Emathian city with his flesh bleeding from the hissing scourge,¹⁰² and the ungrateful citizenry of fishy Gergessa¹⁰³ bade Jesus himself to depart from their coasts.

"But take heart and do not let your anxious hope yield to your embarrassments nor pale fear strike palsy to your bones. Even though you are beset by flashing arms and though a thousand shafts threaten you with death, your unarmed breast shall not be violated by any weapon and no spear shall drink of your blood.¹⁰⁹ For you shall be secure under the radiant aegis of God.¹¹¹ He will be your guardian and he will be your champion—He, who wiped out so many Assyrian soldiers¹¹² in a silent night under the walls of Zion, who turned to flight the men whom ancient Damascus sent from her venerable fields into the coasts of Samaria,¹¹⁵ and smote their massed cohorts and their trembling king with terror when the loud trumpet sounded in the empty air, and the horny hoof beat the dusty plain,¹¹⁹ and the hard-driven chariot shook the sandy earth, and the neigh of horses plunging into

111. Both Jove and Minerva had shields of superlative powers, the first of which (*Il.* V, 738) was that of putting all attacking enemies to rout.

112-113. When Sennacherib attacked Jerusalem, "it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord . . . smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand." (*II Kings* xix, 35.)

115-122. When Ben Hadad of Damascus attacked Samaria, "the Lord . . . made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host . . . Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight, and left . . . the camp as it was." (*II Kings* vii, 6-7.)

119. The onomatopoeia imitates Virgil's famous line;
 "Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum."
 (*Aen.* VIII, 596.)

Auditurque hinnitus equorum ad bella ruentum,
Et strepitus ferri, murmuraque alta virum.
Et tu (quod superest miseris) sperare memento,
Et tua magnanimo pectore vince mala.
Nec dubites quandoque frui melioribus annis,
Atque iterum patrios posse videre lares.*

125

(1627)

battle was heard, and the din of steel weapons and the deep roar of the voices of men.

“And for your part—because hope is the right of the unhappy—remember to hope, and let your magnanimous heart triumph over your misfortunes. Do not doubt that some time you will enjoy better years and be able once more to see your native home.”

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 spreui maxime numen, Amor.
 "Tu puer imbelles," dixi, "transfige columbas,
 Conveniunt tenero mollia bella duci. 5
 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." 10
 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, 15
 Nec matutinum sustinere 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. 20
 Talis in aeterno iuvenis Sigeius Olympo
 Miscet amatori pocula plena Iovi;

1. Venus was called *Amathusia* because one of her most famous temples in Cyprus was at Amathus.

2. *Paphio*. See *Elegy V*, 60, note.

4. *Amor*. See *Elegy I*, 60, note.

11. *Cyprius*. Milton gives Cupid his mother's title. See *Elegy III*, 20, and line 48 below.

16. The line is sometimes taken as evidence that Milton was already suffering from weak eyes.

18. So, in *The Cheat of Cupid; or the Ungentle Guest*, which is based upon *Anacreonta* 34 (3) 23, Herrick recognized Cupid standing in the dark beside his bed:

"I saw he had a bow,
 And wings too, which did shiver;
 And looking down below,
 I spied he had a quiver."

ELEGY VII

At Age 19

O CHARMING Amathusia,¹ I did not yet know your laws and my breast was free from Paphian² fire. Often I poured scorn on the arrows of Cupid as childish weapons, and upon thy divinity particularly, O Love.⁴

"Boy," I said, "go shoot the unwarlike doves; gentle combats suit a tender champion; or else, little one, go keep your boasted triumphs over the sparrows. Why do you aim your contemptible weapons at mankind? Against strong men that quiver of yours has no power."

The Cyprian¹¹ would not bear the insult—for no deity is swifter to anger—and the vengeful boy burned with double heat.

It was spring, and the light pouring over the roof-tops of the town had brought your first day, O May. But my eyes still craved the retreating night and could not endure the radiance of dawn.¹⁶ Then Love stood beside my bed,¹⁸ Love the indefatigable with his painted wings. The swaying quiver betrayed the god as he stood; his features and his sweetly menacing eyes betrayed him and so did all else beseeching the boy who is Love. So the Sigeian youth appeared when he mixed the flowing cups for amorous Jove on everlasting Olympus;²¹ and so Hylas, the son of Theomadas, who

21. *iuvenis Sigeius*—the "Phrygian Ganymede" for whose love Jove assumed the form of an eagle and "stole away the Trojan boy, who even now," Ovid says (*Met.* X, 155-61), "mingles the nectar and serves the cups to Jove." Sigeius is the name of a town and promontory near ancient Troy.

Aut, qui formosas pellexit ad oscula nymphas,
 Thiodamantaeus Naiade raptus Hylas.
 Addideratque iras, sed et has decuisse putares; 25
 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. 30
 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, 35
 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. 40
 Jupiter ipse licet sua fulmina torqueat in me,
 Haerebunt lateri spicula nostra Iovis.
 Caetera quae dubitas melius mea tela docebunt,
 Et tua non leviter corda petenda mihi.

23-24. Compare *P.R.* II, 353, note.

31-36. Ovid described (*Met.* I, 38-9) the monstrous snake, Python, as half covering a mountain. Apollo killed it with his darts, but then, in his pride, flouted Cupid's archery. One of Cupid's arrows instantly inspired him with love for Daphne, the daughter of Peneus, and another inspired her with hate for him. The frontispiece of Cowley's *The Mistress* showed Apollo victorious over Python but vanquished by Cupid.

36. After Crassus' defeat in 53 B.C. by the Parthian cavalry, who shot backward with terrible effect, Parthian archery became proverbial.

37. *Cydonius . . . venator.* Cydon was a port on the north coast of Crete, famous for its archers. Virgil (*Aen.* XII, 858-9.) mentions them together with the Parthians.

38. *Inscius etc.*—Cephalus, to whose separation from his wife, Procris, Milton alludes in *Elegy III*, 67, later killed her with a dart thrown at what he supposed was a wild beast in a covert where she was hiding. (Ovid, *Met.* VII, 840-4.)

39. *Orion*—the mighty hunter who was raised to the skies with his dogs, and who had ill-starred passions for Diana and for Merope, the wife of the Chian chieftain, Oenopian.

40. Ovid (*Met.* IX, 127-8) describes Hercules sending an arrow to

lured the lovely nymphs to his kisses and was carried off by a Naiad.²³ He was wrathful, but you would have thought his wrath becoming to him; and he poured out cruel threats, full of gall.

"Wretch," he said, "you might more safely have learned wisdom from the experience of others; but now you yourself shall be a witness to the power of my right hand. You shall be counted among those who have felt my strength and by your agony, truly, I shall establish the truth. You may not be aware that it was I—I my very self—who tamed Phoebus in all his pride after he had slain the Python,³¹ and that he yielded to me. As often as he remembers the daughter of Peneus, he confesses that my arrows harm more certainly and more gravely than his own. The Parthian horseman,³⁶ who makes victory out of retreat, cannot draw the taut bow more skilfully than I. The Cydonian hunter³⁷ yields to me and he who was the unwitting author of his own wife's death.³⁸ Gigantic Orion³⁹ was a victim of mine and so were strong-handed Hercules and the companion of Hercules.⁴⁰ And though Jove himself hurls his thunderbolts at me, my darts shall first pierce the side of Jove.⁴¹ Whatever other doubts you have shall be resolved by my shafts and by your own heart, at which I must aim no gentle stroke. Fool! Neither

the heart of the Centaur, Nessus, who was running away with his wife, Deianira. Among Hercules' companions the only famous archer was Philoctetes, but of him no love affair is recorded. Perhaps Jason, the lover of Medea and Creusa, is meant, for Hercules was his companion on the Argonautic expedition.

41-42. Cupid, with a quiver of arrows hanging to his back, catching and breaking the thunderbolts of Jove, was a familiar "emblem." In *Andreae Alciati Emblemata* (Patavij, 1661, no. 108) he is pictured so at the head of a translation of an epigram from the Greek Anthology, Book IV, on the power of the winged god to break the winged thunderbolt. On the following pages Alciati cited countless stories of Cupid's triumphs over Jove.

Nec te, stulte, tuae poterunt defendere Musae, 45
 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. 50
 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. 55
 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. 60
 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, 65
 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; 70
 Et quascunque agilis partes iaculator oberrat,
 Hei mihi! mille locis pectus inerme ferit.

45. The Muses stand for Milton's poetical efforts, like the "thankless Muse" of *Lycidas*, 66.

46. *Phoebaeus* . . . *anguis*. By the serpent of Apollo Milton meant Apollo's son, Aesculapius, who inherited his father's healing art. Ovid described (*Met.* XV, 626-744) his voyage in the form of a serpent from his shrine in Epidaurus to Rome. Like Spenser, Milton remembered the commonplace that love is a disease

"Which to recure no skill of leaches art
 Mote . . . availe."

(*F.Q.* VI, x, 31, 4-5.)

55. Compare Drayton:

"Who list to praise the dayes delicious lyght,
 Let him compare it to her heauenly eye,
 The sun-beames to the lustre of her sight."

(*Ideas Mirrou*, XLVIII, 1-3.)

will your Muses⁴⁵ be able to protect you nor will the serpent of Apollo⁴⁶ afford you any help."

Thus he spoke, and, shaking the arrow with the point of gold, he flew away to the warm breast of Cypris. But I was inclined to laugh at the threats that the angry fellow thundered at me and I had not the least fear of the boy.

Sometimes parts of the town where our citizens walk abroad and sometimes the suburban fields offer me their pleasures. Groups of radiant girls with divinely lovely faces come and go along the walks. When they add their glory, the day shines with double splendour.⁵⁵ Am I deceived,⁵⁶ or is it from them also that Phoebus has his rays? I did not turn puritanically away from the pleasant sights, but was carried where the impulse of youth led me. Heedlessly I sent my glances to encounter theirs and lost all control of my eyes. Then, by chance, I caught sight of one who was supreme above all the rest; her radiance was the beginning of my disaster. In such a guise Venus herself might choose to appear to mortals. Glorious to look upon, like her, must the queen of the gods have been.⁶⁴ She was thrown in my way by the grudge-harboursing rascal, Cupid; he alone has woven these snares in my path. Not far away the rogue was hiding with his store of arrows⁶⁷ and his mighty torch burdening his back. Without delay he fixed himself now on the maiden's eyelids, now on her mouth; then sped away between her lips or perched on her cheek; and wherever the agile dart-thrower strayed—alas for me—he struck my defenceless breast in a

56. *Fallor?* See *Elegy V*, 5, note.

64. *regina Deum*—the queen of the gods, Hera or Juno. Compare *Arcades*, 23.

67. *multae sagittae*—many arrows. Compare *Elegy I*, 60, note, and lines 41-2 above.

Protinus insoliti subierunt corda furores;
 Uror amans intus, flammaque totus eram.
 Interea misero quae iam mihi sola placebat 75
 Ablata est, oculis non reditura meis.
 Ast ego progredior tacite querebundus, et excors,
 Et dubius volui saepe referre pedem.
 Findor; et haec remanet, sequitur pars altera votum,
 Raptaque tam subito gaudia flere iuvat. 80
 Sic dolet amissum proles Iunonia caelum,
 Inter Lemniacos praecipitata focos.
 Talis et abreptum solem respexit ad Orcum
 Vectus ab attonitis Amphiarus equis.
 Quid faciam infelix, et luctu victus? Amores 85
 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. 90
 Crede mihi, nullus sic infeliciters 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, 95
 Nate dea, iaculis nec minus igne potens;
 Et tua fumabunt nostris altaria donis,
 Solus et in superis tu mihi summus eris.

81-82. *proles Iunonia*—Vulcan (Hephaestus), the son of Juno (Hera). Homer says (*Il.* I, 588-95) that he was thrown down from heaven among the humble cottages of the isle of Lemnos by his father, Jove (Zeus). Compare *P.L.* I, 740-5, and *Nature is not subject to Old Age*, 23-4.

83-84. *Amphiarus* was struck by Jove's thunderbolt and swept through the opening earth to Hades for joining the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, when he knew, as a seer and prophet, that it was impious and ill-omened. Milton, like Dante (*Inferno* XX, 29-36) was moved by the dramatic references to the story in Ovid (*Met.* IX, 406-7) and Statius (*Thebaide* VII, 818-23 and VIII, 8-12).

Orcum—the infernal world.

89. Compare Helena's cry, "You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant." (*Midsummer Night's Dream* II, i, 192.)

thousand places. In an instant unfamiliar passions assailed my heart. Inwardly I was consumed by love and was all on fire.

While I suffered, she who alone could give me happiness was borne away, never to return to my eyes again. Distressed and dispirited, I went on my way, often questioning whether I should not turn my steps backward. I am rent asunder; one part of me stays here, but the other follows after my desire. There was pleasure in weeping for delights so suddenly snatched away. Such was the grief of the child of Juno⁸¹ for his lost heaven when he was hurled down among the hearths of Lemnos; such was the grief of Amphiaraus⁸³ when he looked his last upon the sun as he was swept away to Hades by his thunder-driven horses. Unhappy and grief-stricken as I was, what should I do? I can neither dismiss nor pursue my incipient love. O, would that it might be given me once to look into those beloved features and to tell her the story of my pain face to face. Perhaps she is not made of hard adamant;⁸⁹ perhaps she would not be deaf to my prayers. Believe me! No one ever suffered such misery in the fire of love. I may be rated the first and unique example. Spare me, I pray, since you are the winged god of tender love. Do not let your deeds conflict with your duty. Now, O child of the goddess, with your darts no less powerful than fire, your bow is beyond all doubt dreadful to me. Your altars shall smoke with my sacrifices, and, as far as I am concerned, you shall be sole and supreme among the gods. Take away

Deme meos tandem, verum nec deme, furores;
 Nescio cur, miser est suaviter omnis amans. 100
 Tu modo da facilis, posthaec mea siqua futura est,
 Cuspis amatuos figat ut una duos.

Haec ego mente olim laeva, studioque supino,
 Nequitiae posui vana trophaea meae.
 Scilicet abreptum sic me malus impulit error,
 Indocilisque aetas prava magistra fuit;
 Donec Socraticos umbrosa Academia rivos 5
 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. 10
 (1627-8)

101-102. The conceit goes back to the epigram of Rufinus in the *Palatine Anthology* V, 97.

1. *Haec*—these, *i.e.*, verses. The reference seems to me particularly to the last of the Elegies, from which this "retractation" is separated in the volume of 1645 by only a fine line across the page.

madness, then! But rather, do not take it away. I cannot tell why, but every lover's misery is sweet. Only be gracious enough to grant, if any maiden is ever to be mine, that a single dart shall transfix the destined lovers.¹⁰¹

These¹ are the monuments to my wantonness that with a perverse spirit and a trifling purpose I once erected. Obviously, mischievous error led me astray and my undisciplined youth was a vicious teacher until the shady Academy⁵ offered its Socratic streams and taught me how to escape from the yoke to which I had submitted. From that hour those flames were extinct and thenceforward my breast has been rigid under a thick case of ice, of which the boy himself fears the frost for his arrows, and Venus herself is afraid of my Diomedean strength.¹⁰

5-6. *umbrosa Academia*—the shady Academy, *i.e.* of Plato. Compare *P.R.* IV, 244. Masson and Mr. MacKellar are doubtless right in interpreting this passage in the light of Milton's statement in *An Apology for Smectymnuus* (*P.W.* III, 119) that "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."

10. Milton thought of Homer's account of Aphrodite mingling in the battle before Troy and screaming with pain when Diomedes wounded her. (*Il.* V, 335-43.)

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 5
 Assimilare suis, nulloque solubile saeclo
 Consilium fati perituris alligat horis.
 Ergone marcescet sulcantibus obsita rugis
 Naturae facies, et rerum publica mater
 Omniparum contracta uterum, sterilestet ab aevo? 10
 Et se fassa senem male certis passibus ibit
 Sidereum tremebunda caput? Num tetra vetustas
 Annorumque aeterna fames, squalorque situsque,
 Sidera vexabunt? An et insatiabile Tempus
 Esuriet Caelum, rapietque in viscera patrem? 15
 Heu, potuitne suas imprudens Iupiter arces
 Hoc contra munisse nefas, et Temporis isto
 Exemisse malo, gyrosque dedisse perennes?
 Ergo erit ut quandoque, sono dilapsa tremendo,
 Convexi tabulata ruant, atque obvius ictu 20
 Stridat uterque polus, superaue ut Olympius aula
 Decidat, horribilisque resecta Gorgone Pallas;
 Qualis in Aegaeam proles Iunonia Lemnon

1. Milton evidently sympathized with the ideas expressed in this poem, although a letter to Alexander Gill, dated July 2, 1628, which must refer either to it or—less probably—to *On the Platonic Idea*, explains that it was written for a candidate who had to defend its thesis publicly in qualifying for the M.A., but did not care to write the verses on his subject which custom required.

The errors in question arose from the medieval belief which is discussed in the Introduction, § 12-§ 14.

3. Compare the reproach of Samson beginning with the words, "Dungeon of thyself," in *S.A.* 156-67. Oedipus, by his voluntary blindness, is a better symbol than Samson of the wilful darkness of the soul.

4-7. The lines are a bold adaptation of Isaiah lv, 8; "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord."

9. Compare "Earth all-bearing Mother" in *P.L.* V, 338. Hesiod described (*Theogony*, 117-53) Earth as next born after Chaos and as

THAT NATURE IS NOT SUBJECT TO OLD AGE

ALAS! how persistent are the errors by which the wandering mind of man is pursued and overwearied,¹ and how profound is the darkness of the Oedipean night in his breast!³ His insane mind dare make its own acts the measure of those of the gods⁴ and compare its own laws to those that are written upon eternal adamant; and it binds the eternally immutable plan of fate to the perishing hours.

Shall the face of Nature, then, be overspread with wrinkles and shall the common mother⁹ contract her all-generating womb and become sterile? Shall she confess herself old and move with uncertain steps, her starry head a-trembling? Shall the stars be vexed by foul old age and the undying hunger of the years, and by squalor and mould? Shall insatiable Time devour the heavens and gorge the vitals of his own father?¹⁴ Alas! could not Jupiter, the improvident, fortify his citadels against this outrage and make them immune from the harm of time? Could he not endue them with perpetual revolutions? Some day, then, it will come to pass that the vaulted floor of heaven, collapsing with a mighty uproar, will fall and both poles will rattle with the impact, while Olympian Jove drops down from his celestial hall, and with him Pallas Athene, spreading horror from her exposed Gorgon shield.²² So the child of Juno²³ fell upon Aegean Lemnos, where he was tossed down from the sacred

the mother of Heaven and the mountains, of Time, Hyperion and many of the elder gods and of the giants that first peopled the world.

14-15. Hesiod described Cronos (who was later, mistakenly, identified with Chronos, Time) as the son of Earth and Heaven and the devourer of his children until his son, Zeus, mastered him. (*Theogony*, 453-96.)

22. Ovid's (*Met.* IV, 773-803) is the most familiar version of the myth of the Gorgon, Medusa, whose snaky locks and dreadful eyes had power to turn the beholder to stone, but the story that Athene wore the severed head upon her shield goes back to the *Il.* V, 741.

23. *proles Iunonia*, "the child of Juno"—Hephaestus. Compare *Elegy VII*, 81, note.

Deturbata sacro cecidit de limine caeli.
 Tu quoque, Phoebe, tui casus imitabere nati 25
 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 30
 Terrebut Stygium deiecta Ceraunia Ditem,
 In superos quibus usus erat, fraternaue bella.
 At pater omnipotens, fundatis fortius astris,
 Consuluit rerum summae, certoque peregit
 Pondere fatorum lances, atque ordine summo 35
 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. 40
 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.

25-28. Compare the allusion to Apollo's son, Phaeton, in *Elegy V*, 92.

27. *Nereus*, whom Hesiod called the oldest of the children of Ocean (*Theogony*, 233-6), came to stand for the sea itself. Compare Spenser's picture of a ship sunk

"Within the gulfe of greedie *Nereus*."

(*The Visions of Bellay*, xiii, 11.)

29. *Haemus*—a range of mountains in Thrace.

31. The *Ceraunian Mountains* lie on the coast of ancient Epirus.

Stygian Dis—Hades or Pluto.

31-32. There is a vague allusion to the war of the gods against the Titans which Hesiod records (*Theogony*, 617-735), or to their war against the giants which Homer mentions (*Od.* XI, 304-19), in both of which their foes attacked Olympus by piling up the Thracian hills against it.

33-34. MacKellar compares the scene in the attack of the rebel angels when

"all Heav'n

Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread,

Had not th'Almighty Father where he sits

threshold of heaven. And you also, Phoebus Apollo,²⁵ shall share the fate of your son in your precipitate chariot and be swept down in sudden ruin; and at the quenching of your light Nereus²⁷ shall send up jets of steam and dreadful hisses from his astonished waters. Then the rending of the foundations of lofty Haemus²⁹ shall shatter its summit and the Ceraunian Mountains,³¹ which Stygian Dis once used against the gods in fratricidal conflicts,³² shall be cast down to terrify him in the lowest depth of the abyss.³³

But by founding the stars more strongly the omnipotent Father has taken thought for the universe: He has fixed the scales of fate with sure balance and commanded every individual thing in the cosmos to hold to its course forever. Therefore the Prime Wheel³⁷ of the universe turns in daily rotation and transmits its movement to its enclosed spheres. Saturn is no slower than his wont and Mars, as fierce as he was of old, darts lightning from his crested helmet. Phoebus⁴¹ shines with the ruddy beauty of eternal youth. He does not drive his team down descending slopes to warm exhausted lands, but, strong in his friendly light, he pursues his course forever through the same signs of the Zodiac.

Shrin'd in his Sanctuary of Heav'n secure,
Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
This tumult."

(P.L. VI, 669-74.)

Compare also the warning to Satan, when

"Th'Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
Hung forth in Heav'n his golden Scales, yet seen
Betwixt *Astraea* and the *Scorpion* sign,
Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,
The pendulous round Earth with balanc't Air
In counterpoise."

(P.L. IV, 996-1001.)

37. *rota prima*, "the Prime Wheel"—the *primum mobile* or outermost sphere of the universe, which medieval astronomers imagined revolving daily from east to west and imparting its motion to the enclosed spheres of the stars and planets.

41. *Phoebus*, "the bright," Homer's epithet for Apollo, came to be used later to designate Apollo as the sun god.

Surgit odoratis pariter formosus ab Indis 45
 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. 50
 Nec variant elementa fidem, solitoque fragore
 Lurida percussas iaculantur fulmina rupes.
 Nec per inane furit leviori murmure Corus,
 Stringit et armiferos aequali horrore Gelonos
 Trux Aquilo, spiratque hiemem, nimbosque volutat. 55
 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 saeculi vigor ille vetusti 60
 Priscus abest; servatque suum Narcissus odorem;
 Et puer ille suum tenet, et puer ille, decorem,
 Phoebe tuusque et Cypri tuus, nec ditior olim
 Terra datum sceleri celavit montibus aurum

45-48. The beautiful planet is Venus, who appears as Lucifer or the morning star and also as the evening star, Hesperus. Compare *Nativity Hymn*, 74, and *P.L.* IV, 605-9.

46. The Greeks, as Varro pointed out (*On the Latin Language* VII, 20), began the practice of calling the heavens Olympus.

49. *Delia* was an epithet of Diana because she was born on the island of Delos. Later Greek and Roman writers identified Artemis, or Diana, with the moon goddess.

51. Todd compared Claudian's lines in a description of the strife of the elements:

"Paene reluctatis iterum pugnancia rebus rupissent elementa fidem."
 (*Rape of Proserpine* I, 42-3.)

53. *Corus*—the northwest wind.

55. *Aquilo*—the northeast wind. Compare *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, 8.

56. *Pelorus*—the northeastern promontory of Sicily. In *P.L.* I, 232-3, Milton mentions it together with "thund'ring Aetna."

57. *Rex maris*, the sea king, is Neptune. Compare *Comus*, 18-23, note.

58. The trumpeter is Triton. Compare *Comus*, 873, and *Lycidas*, 89, and Spenser's

"Triton blowing loud his wreathed horne."
 (*Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, 245.)

Equally beautiful, the planet⁴⁵ which drives in the heavenly⁴⁶ flock through the sky at dawn and at evening drives them out into the pastures of heaven, rises out of the perfumed Indies and divides the kingdoms of time with its two-fold radiance. Delia⁴⁹ still shines and wanes with alternating horns and holds her heavenly effulgence in undiminished arms. The elements do not vary from their faith and with their accustomed uproar the lightning-bolts strike and shatter the rocks.⁵¹ Corus⁵³ goes raging with no gentler voice through the void and the ferocious Aquilo⁵⁵ torments the armed Scythians with undiminished chill as he breathes out winter and sweeps the clouds along. In his accustomed style the sea king⁵⁷ smites the foundations of Sicilian Pelorus⁵⁶ and the trumpeter⁵⁸ of the ocean still blows his hoarse conch throughout the seas. The Balearic whales⁵⁹ bear upon their backs an Aegaeon of no less vast bulk. Nor has the pristine vigour of your earliest time forsaken you, O Earth. Narcissus⁶¹ still preserves his fragrance. Your beloved youth, O Phoebus,⁶² and yours, O Cypris,⁶³ still keep their beauty; nor did the earth in times past conceal beneath the mountains a greater wealth of the gold which her bad conscience knows is to be the root of evil, nor hide more gems beneath the seas.⁶⁵

58-59. Milton remembered Ovid's picture of Hesiod's hundred-armed giant, *Aegaeon* (*Theogony*, 147), among the gods of the sea, clasping the vast backs of whales in his strong arms. (*Met.* II, 9-10.)

61. The name of the flower is capitalized in allusion to Ovid's story of its origin in the metamorphosis of the youth, Narcissus. (*Met.* III, 509-10.)

62. Compare the allusion to Apollo's favourite, Hyacinth, in *Lycidas*, 106, note, and the allusion to Venus' favourite, Adonis, in *Comus*, 999, note. From Adonis' blood, Ovid says (*Met.* X, 735-9), Venus created the anemone.

63. *Cypris*—Aphrodite or Venus. The name derives from the island sacred to her, Cyprus.

63-65. In *P.L.* I, 685-8, Milton reverted to this thought, which was a commonplace when Ovid described the degenerate men of the Age of Brass as violating the soil for the precious metals which incite to crimes. (*Met.* I, 137-42.)

Conscia, vel sub aquis gemmas. Sic denique in aevum 65
Ibit cunctarum series iustissima rerum,
Donec flamma orbem populabitur ultima, late
Circumplexa polos et vasti culmina caeli
Ingentique rogo flagrabit machina mundi.

(June, 1628)

67-69. Milton thought of the prophecy in II Peter iii, 10, of "the day of the Lord," when "the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up." In *C.D.* I, xxxiii, he looked forward to "the destruction of this present un-

Thus, in a word, the righteous sequence of all things shall go on perpetually, until the final fire shall destroy the world, enveloping the poles and summits of vast heaven, while the fabric of the universe consumes in a mighty funeral pyre.⁶⁷

clean and polluted world itself, namely, *its final conflagration*," and he closed the eleventh book of *P.L.* with the hope of the day when fire shall

"purge all things new,
Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell."

Anno Aetatis 19. *At a Vacation Exercise in the College, part Latin, part English. The Latin speeches ended, the English thus began.*

HAIL native Language, that by sinews weak
 Didst move my first endeavouring tongue to speak,
 And mad'st imperfect words with childish trips,
 Half unpronounc't, slide through my infant lips,
 Driving dumb silence from the portal door, 5
 Where he had mutely sat two years before:
 Here I salute thee and thy pardon ask,
 That now I use thee in my latter task:
 Small loss it is that thence can come unto thee,
 I know my tongue but little Grace can do thee: 10
 Thou needst not be ambitious to be first,
 Believe me, I have thither packt the worst:
 And, if it happen as I did forecast,
 The daintiest dishes shall be serv'd up last.
 I pray thee then deny me not thy aid 15
 For this same small neglect that I have made:

1. This appeal to English was Milton's justification of his abandonment of the Latin in which, up to this point, he had written the sixth of the *Prolusiones Oratoriae*, or Academic Exercises, of which these verses are a part. At the end of the Easter term, in July, 1628, he was chosen the "Father" or leader of a group of students who were to amuse their classmates and tutors with a traditional entertainment at the beginning of the long vacation. In the Latin he did his best to be amusing according to the taste of his audience, but improved the opportunity to turn the tables upon the men who were responsible for his nickname of the "Lady of Christ's." Characteristically, also, he amused himself with the scholastic logic which was still a part of the routine at Cambridge—although this was usual in such skits as he was writing—and he chose for his theme the proposition: "That occasional indulgence in sportive activities is not inconsistent with philosophic studies." He appeared as the Aristotelian principle of *Ens*, or Absolute Being, and his ten "sous" impersonated the ten Aristotelian categories of Substance and its nine accidents or aspects, Quantity, Quality, Relation, Place, Time, Posture, Possession or Having, Action and Passion.

8. *latter*—later, *i.e.*, present.

But haste thee straight to do me once a Pleasure,
 And from thy wardrope bring thy chiefest treasure;
 Not those new fangled toys, and trimming slight
 Which takes our late fantastics with delight, 20
 But cull those richest Robes, and gay'st attire
 Which deepest Spirits, and choicest Wits desire:
 I have some naked thoughts that rove about
 And loudly knock to have their passage out;
 And weary of their place do only stay 25
 Till thou hast deck't them in thy best array;
 That so they may without suspect or fears
 Fly swiftly to this fair Assembly's ears.
 Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
 Thy service in some graver subject use, 30
 Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
 Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:
 Such where the deep transported mind may soar
 Above the wheeling poles, and at Heav'n's door
 Look in, and see each blissful Deity 35
 How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
 Listening to what unshorn *Apollo* sings

18. As in *Lycidas*, 47, Milton wrote the frequent, seventeenth century form "wardrope" for *wardrobe*.

19. *toys*—trifles. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 4.

20. *takes*—captivates, pleases. Compare *Nativity Hymn*, 98, note.

The *fantastics* may be identified in a secondary way with Donne and the Metaphysicals generally; but Mr. R. C. Browne is surely right in identifying them primarily with the students whom Milton described in the first Proclusion as "priding themselves on a certain over-boiling, and truly laughable foam of words; from which, if you strip the rags that they have borrowed from new-fangled authors, how much barer than any nail would you behold them."

22. *Spirits* is usually equivalent to a monosyllable in Milton's verse. Spenser used the form "spright" and the form "spirt" is found in seventeenth century prose.

27. *suspect*—suspicion.

31. *coffers*—chests, *i.e.*, wardrobes. Compare line 18.

33. Imitating a Latin usage, Milton wrote *deep* to mean "high."

37. *Apollo's* classical epithet, *unshorn*, goes back through Horace's Ode (I, xxi, 2) in his honour to Pindar (*Pythian Odes*, 3, 14) and Homer. (*Il. XX*, 39.)

To th' touch of golden wires, while *Hebe* brings
 Immortal Nectar to her Kingly Sire:
 Then passing through the Spheres of watchful fire, 40
 And misty Regions of wide air next under,
 And hills of Snow and lofts of piled Thunder,
 May tell at length how green-ey'd *Neptune* raves,
 In Heav'n's defiance mustering all his waves;
 Then sing of secret things that came to pass 45
 When Beldam Nature in her cradle was;
 And last of Kings and Queens and *Heroes* old,
 Such as the wise *Demodocus* once told
 In solemn Songs at King *Alcinous'* feast,
 While sad *Ulysses'* soul and all the rest 50
 Are held with his melodious harmony
 In willing chains, and sweet captivity.
 But fie, my wand'ring Muse, how thou dost stray!
 Expectance calls thee now another way,
 Thou know'st it must be now thy only bent 55
 To keep in compass of thy Predicament:

38. *Hebe*—the cupbearer of the gods and herself the goddess of youth. Compare *L'Allegro*, 29.

39. *Immortal*—immortality-conferring. Compare the "immortal streams" of heaven in the Sonnet *On Mrs. Catherine Thomason*, 14. In *P.L.* V, 633-7, the "rubied Nectar" of the Olympian gods becomes the drink of angels who "Quaff immortality."

40. Milton called the planets *watchful fires* perhaps because he was familiar with Plato's idea that, "by the design of God, the sun and moon and the five other stars which bear the name of 'planets' came into existence for determining and watching over the numbers of time." (*Timaeus*, 38c.)

41-42. Below the spheres of the planets and the region of fire, which "Ptolemaic" astronomers imagined as just beneath the sphere of the moon, was the region of air, to which Milton referred in *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, 16, and *P.R.* II, 117. Below that was the watery region of clouds and ocean which was Neptune's realm. Compare the note on Neptune in *Comus*, 18.

46. *Beldam*—grandmother.

48-50. Milton thought of Homer's story of Ulysses' tears as he listened to the bard, Demodocus, at the table of King Alcinöus. (*Od.* VIII, 521.)

56. In the technical language of scholastic logic the predicaments corresponded to the Aristotelian categories. Compare the note on line 1 above.

Then quick about thy purpos'd business come,
That to the next I may resign my Room.

Then Ens is represented as Father of the Predicaments his ten Sons, whereof the Eldest stood for Substance with his Canons, which Ens thus speaking, explains.

Good luck befriend thee Son; for at thy birth
The Fairy Ladies danc't upon the hearth; 60
Thy drowsy Nurse hath sworn she did them spy
Come tripping to the Room where thou didst lie;
And sweetly singing round about thy Bed
Strew all their blessings on thy sleeping Head.
She heard them give thee this, that thou should'st still 65
From eyes of mortals walk invisible;
Yet there is something that doth force my fear,
For once it was my dismal hap to hear
A *Sibyl* old, bow-bent with crooked age,
That far events full wisely could presage, 70
And in time's long and dark Prospective Glass
Fore-saw what future days should bring to pass!
Your son, said she, (nor can you it prevent)
Shall subject be to many an Accident.
O'er all his Brethren he shall Reign as King, 75
Yet every one shall make him underling,
And those that cannot live from him asunder

65. *still*—forever, always.

66. Because the school logic described Substance as absolutely unknowable except in terms of its "accidents," Milton could pretend that a fairy godmother gave it the gift of invisibility in its cradle.

69. *Sibyl*—not one of the nine prophetesses of antiquity but some wise old woman like Othello's

"sibyl, that had number'd in the world
The sun to course two hundred compasses."
(III, iv, 69-70.)

71. *Prospective Glass*—a magic glass for looking into future or distant events. *N.E.D.* compares Greene's *Friar Bacon*, V, 110; "In a glasse prospectiue I will shew/Whats done this day in merry Fresingfield."

74-78. The thought plays about the literal meaning of the word "substance"—what "stands beneath" or "underlies" other things.

Ungratefully shall strive to keep him under;
 In worth and excellence he shall out-go them,
 Yet being above them, he shall be below them; 80
 From others he shall stand in need of nothing,
 Yet on his Brothers shall depend for Clothing.
 To find a Foe it shall not be his hap,
 And peace shall lull him in her flow'ry lap;
 Yet shall he live in strife, and at his door 85
 Devouring war shall never cease to roar;
 Yea it shall be his natural property
 To harbour those that are at enmity.
 What power, what force, what mighty spell, if not
 Your learned hands, can loose this Gordian knot? 90

The next Quantity and Quality, spake in Prose, then Relation was call'd by his Name.

Rivers, arise; whether thou be the Son
 Of utmost *Tweed*, or *Ouse*, or gulfy *Dun*,
 Or *Trent*, who like some earth-born Giant spreads
 His thirty Arms along the indented Meads,
 Or sullen *Mole* that runneth underneath, 95
 Or *Severn* swift, guilty of maiden's death,
 Or Rocky *Avon*, or of Sedgy *Lee*,

85-86. Milton was thinking of the controversies over the Doctrine of Transubstantiation—the doctrine that “After Consecration there is no longer the substance of Bread, but that the Bread is transubstantiated, and turned into the substance of Christ's Body.” Christopher Cartwright's definition (1651), quoted by the *N.E.D.*

87-88. Some of the predicaments, such as action and passion, are inconsistent with each other.

90. The knot which the Phrygian king Gordius tied, and which no one could loosen until Alexander the Great cut it with his sword, had been proverbial for two thousand years.

91. The part of the predicament *Relation* was taken by either George or Nizell Rivers, the sons of Sir John Rivers, who were freshmen at Christ's College.

92-100. The passage looks back to the great catalogues of English rivers in Drayton's *Polyolbion* and Spenser's account of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway in *The Faerie Queene*, IV, xi, 24-39.

96. For the *Maiden's death* see the note on Sabrina in *Comus*, 826.

Or Coaly *Tyne*, or ancient hallowed *Dee*,
Or *Humber* loud that keeps the *Scythian's* Name,
Or *Medway* smooth, or Royal Tow'ed *Thame*. 100

The rest was Prose.

(July, 1628)

98. The *Dee*, Spenser says (*F.Q.* IV, xi, 39), "Britons long ygone
Did call divine." Changes in its course and flow were supposed to
make it possible to divine the national future. Compare *Lycidas*, 55,
note.

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, 5
 Caelique fastos atque ephemeridas Deum
 Quis ille primus cuius ex imagine
 Natura solers finxit humanum genus,
 Aeternus, incorruptus, aequaevus polo,
 Unusque et universus, exemplar Dei? 10
 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. 15
 Seu sempiternus ille siderum comes
 Caeli pererrat ordines decemplicis,
 Citimumve terris incolit Lunae globum.

1-3. The goddesses seem to be the nine Muses, whose chapter in Conti's *Mythology* (VII, xv) describes them as crowned with flowers and leaves and mentions several woodlands and mountains dedicated to them. The first chapter of Geoffrey Linocre's *Musarum libellus* interprets Hesiod's account (*Theogony*, 53-4) of them as the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, or Memory, as an allegory of the Platonic doctrine that all knowledge is memory or—in Christian terms—in innate ideas implanted by God.

7-10. Finally this description rests upon Claudian's account (*On Stilicho's Consulship*, II, 424-40) of a mysterious old man who controls the events of time from a cave "somewhere beyond the range of human minds and hardly approachable by the gods"; but it was Boccaccio, in the opening chapter of the *Genealogy of the Gods*, who gave to Claudian's old man the name of Eternity.

In the background are Platonic passages such as the discussion in the *Republic* (X, 596b-597d) of the Eternal ideas or divinely established patterns upon which all things were supposed to be moulded,

ON THE PLATONIC IDEA AS UNDERSTOOD BY
ARISTOTLE

REVEAL,¹ you goddesses who preside over the sacred groves, and you too, O happy mother of the nine-fold deity, and you, Eternity, far away where you lie at ease in some vast cave, guarding the records and the immutable decrees of Jove and the calendars of heaven and the day-books of the gods, reveal who was that first being⁷—eternal, incorruptible, unique yet universal, coeval with the heavens and made in the image of God—in whose likeness skilful Nature has moulded the human race. Certainly he does not lurk, a twin of the virgin Athene, unborn in the brain of Jove.¹¹ But, though all men have a share in his nature, yet—strange as it may be—he exists by himself as an individual apart and is limited by his own definite bounds in space. Or is he a comrade of the eternal stars who goes wandering through the ten-fold spheres of heaven or inhabits the neighbour of this world, the moon?¹⁸ Or perhaps he sits torpidly beside the stream

but the archetypal man is a Neo-Platonic conception and may owe something to the Hermetic Books (e.g., *Poimander* I, 12-4) and to Kabbalistic interpretations of the story in Genesis i, 27, of the creation of man in the image of God. In his college exercises Milton is sometimes ironical with "Aristotle, the envious and perpetual calumniator of Pythagoras and Plato" (Second *Prolusion*), and here he satirizes the unimaginative objections to the doctrine of ideas in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Even the study of natural science seemed to him to confirm the Platonic doctrine. "For who can contemplate and examine attentively the ideal forms of things, human and divine," he asked in the seventh *Prolusion*, "unless he has a mind saturated and perfected by knowledge?" Compare the Introduction, § 13.

11-12. In his chapter on Athene (IV, v) Conti treated the myth that she was born, adult and fully armed, from the brain of Zeus as the most rational of the stories of her origin, taking the ground that it is an allegory representing the mind as the seat of memory and wisdom.

18. In the Ptolemaic astronomy the moon's was the lowest or nearest to the earth of the celestial spheres.

Sive inter animas corpus adituras sedens
 Obliviosas torpet ad Lethes aquas; 20
 Sive in remota forte terrarum plaga
 Incedit ingens hominis archetypus gigas,
 Et diis tremendus erigit celsum caput,
 Atlante maior portitore siderum.
 Non, cui profundum caecitas lumen dedit, 25
 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, 30
 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 35
 (Haec monstra si tu primus induxti scholis)
 Iam iam poetas, urbis exules tuae,
 Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus,
 Aut institutor ipse migrabis foras.

(1628 ?)

20. Milton thought of Virgil's Pythagorean passage where Anchises explains the doctrine of metempsychosis to Aeneas—how all spirits drink the oblivion-bringing waters of Lethe after death and suffer various purifications before rebirth is possible. (*Aen.* VI, 713-51.)

24. The giant Atlas, whom Hesiod describes as supporting wide heaven with head and arms (*Theogony*, 507-20), was related to Mount Atlas in north Africa, to which Milton compares Satan in *P.L.* IV, 985-9.

26. The Dircean, or Theban, seer is Tiresias, whose mother, Conti says (IV, v), somewhat oversimplifying the story in Callimachus' *Hymn for the Bath of Pallas*, persuaded Athene to give him spiritual illumination and the gift of prophecy in exchange for the loss of his eyes. Compare *P.L.* III, 36.

27. The grandchild of Pleione was Hermes, or Mercury, whose mother, Maia, was one of the Pleiades and the daughter of the sea-nymph, Pleione. In the *Heroides* (xvi, 62) Milton found him called the grandchild of Pleione and he might remember the allusion to his genealogy also in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. (I, 667-70.)

29. Warton identified the Assyrian priest with the legendary Phoenician sage, Sanchuniathon; but who he really was is doubtful. Perhaps Milton vaguely individualized a figure among those learned orientals

of Lethe among the spirits waiting to re-enter the body.²⁰ Or perhaps the human archetype is a huge giant, a tremendous figure in some remote region of the earth who lifts his head higher than the star-bearer, Atlas,²⁴ to terrify the gods. Even in the depths of the soul of the Dircean²⁶ seer, to whom blindness brought a profound illumination, no vision of him appeared. Never in the silent night was any revelation of him made to the wise company of the prophets by the swift grandchild²⁷ of Pleione. This being was unknown to the Assyrian priest,²⁹ though he was familiar with the long line of the progenitors of old Ninus and with primeval Belus³¹ and with renowned Osiris. Not even thrice-great Hermes,³³ glorious for his triple name, in spite of all his esoteric knowledge, left any such tradition to the worshippers of Isis.³⁴

But you, the eternal glory of the Academy³⁵ that was set among the fields—if you were the first who brought these absurdities into the schools—must surely now call home again those exiles from your city, the poets,³⁷ for you are the supreme fabler yourself. Either that, or, even though you are the founder, you shall go into exile yourself.

to whom Herodotus referred (I, 1) as authorities for his account (i, 7) of the half-mythical Assyrian king, Ninus, the husband of Semiramis.

31. The Assyrian god, Bel, is identified with the Canaanitish deity, Baal. Compare *Nativity Hymn*, 197, note. *P.L.* I, 720, mentions Bel as Belus.

33-34. Compare the allusion to "thrice great *Hermes*" in *Il Penseroso*, 88, note.

34. The worshippers of Isis are the Egyptians. Compare the allusion to her in *Nativity Hymn*, 212, note.

35. Plato's Academy lay in the open country about a mile to the northwest of Athens.

35-39. In spite of Plato's exclusion of the poets from his ideal state on the ground that their imitations of reality were false and demoralizing (*Republic* VIII, 568b, and X, 595 and 607), apologists for poetry in the Renaissance were never tired of pointing out, like Sir Philip Sidney, that "in the body of his work, though the inside and strength were Philosophy, the skinnne as it were, and beautie depended most of Poetrie. . . Besides, his . . . enterlacing meere tales, as Giges Ring, and others, which who knoweth not to be flowers of Poetrie did neuer walke into *Apollo's* Garden." (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. by G. Smith, I, p. 152.)

AD PYRRHAM. ODE V

Horatius ex Pyrrhae illecebris tanquam è naufragio enataverat,
 cuius amore irretitos, affirmat esse miseros.¹

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
 Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus,
 Grato, *Pyrrha*, sub antro?
 Cui flavam religas comam,

Simplex munditie? Heu quoties fidem
 Mutatosque deos flebit, et aspera
 Nigris aequora ventis
 Emirabitur insolens,

Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea:
 Qui semper vacuum, semper amabilem
 Sperat, nescius aurae
 Fallacis. Miseri, quibus

Intentata nites. Me tabula sacer
 Votiva paries indicat uvida
 Suspendisse potenti
 Vestimenta maris Deo.

¹Milton subjoined the Latin text to his translation.

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, 5
 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; 10
 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, 15
 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. 20
 Quid tam grande sonat distento spiritus ore?
 Quid parit haec rabies, quid sacer iste furor?

3. *Tellus*—Earth. Gaia, the equivalent Greek deity, is called in the Homeric *Hymn to Gaia* the wife of Heaven and the mother of all things. In Rome Tellus stood for the earth in all its genial aspects.

5. *Fallor? an?* a frequent device in Latin Poetry (e.g., Ovid, *Amores* III, i, 34), which Milton used in *Comus*, 221–3. Compare *Elegy VII*, 56.

6–8. In his *Life* Phillips quoted his uncle as saying that when he wrote *P.L.* “his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, . . . and whatever he attempted [at other times] was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much.”

8. *poscit opus*—asks for employment. Professor Rand suggests a daring reminiscence of Ovid’s *Amores* III, vii, 68.

ELEGY V

At Age 20

ON THE COMING OF SPRING

Now, in the growing warmth of the spring, Time—as it turns in its perpetual cycle—is calling back the Zephyrs afresh. Earth,³ with her strength renewed, is donning her brief youth and the frost-free soil is putting forth its sweet greenness. Am I deluded?⁵ Or are my powers of song returning? And is my inspiration with me again by grace of the spring?⁶ By the spring's grace it is with me and—who would guess such a thing?—it is already clamouring for some employment.⁸ Castaly⁹ and the riven peak float before my eyes and by night I am beside Pirene¹⁰ in my dreams. My breast is aflame with the excitement of its mysterious impulse and I am driven on by the madness and the divine sounds within me. The Delian¹³ himself is approaching—I see the locks that are braided with Daphne's laurel¹³—the Delian himself comes. Already my mind is being borne up into the sheer liquid heights of the sky and, quit of the body, I go through the wandering clouds. I am carried through shadows and grottoes, the secret haunts of the poets; and the innermost shrines of the gods are open to me. My spirit surveys all that is done on Olympus¹⁹ and the unseen infernal world is not impervious to my eyes. What mighty song is my soul pouring from its full throat? What is to be the offspring of this madness and

9. *Castalis*. See *Elegy IV*, 30 and 31, notes.

10. *Pyrenen*. See *To John Rouse*, 36, and *Elegy IV*, 31.

13. *Peneide lauro*—with the laurel of the daughter of Peneus. See *Comus*, 661, and *Elegy VII*, 31-6.

13-14. *Delius* was an epithet of Apollo from his birthplace, Delos. Compare *Delia* in *Nature is not Subject to Old Age*, 49.

19. By *Olympus* Milton means simply the home of the gods, either on the summit of Mount Olympus in Thessaly or in the heavens. In *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, 44, and *Nature is not Subject to Old Age*, 46, the word means simply the sky.

Ver mihi, quod dedit ingenium, cantabitur illo;
 Profuerint isto reddita dona modo.
 Iam, Philomela, tuos foliis adoperta novellis 25
 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. 30
 Iam sol, Aethiopus fugiens Tithoniaque arva,
 Flectit ad Arctos aurea lora plagas.
 Est breve noctis iter, brevis est mora noctis opacae;
 Horrida cum tenebris exulat illa suis.
 Iamque Lycaonius plaustrum caeleste Boötes 35
 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. 40
 Forte aliqui 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 45
 Cynthia, Luciferas ut videt alta rotas,
 Et tenues ponens radios gaudere videtur
 Officium fieri tam breve fratris ope.

25. *Philomel*—the nightingale. See *Il Penseroso*, 56, note, and compare the Sonnet, *O Nightingale*.

30. In 1673 Milton substituted *perennis* for *quotannis*. The long syllable *quo-* was one of the false quantities with which Salmasius twitted Milton in the *Responsio*.

31. *Aethiopus*—the Ethiopians. The connotation is like that of "the Ethiop Line" of *P.L.* IV, 282, where the equator is meant. Anciently the Ethiopians were supposed to occupy all equatorial Africa.

Tithonia arva—the east. See the note on l. 49 below.

35. *Boötes*. Compare *On the Death of the Bishop of Ely*, 51, note.

40. The *giants*,

"whom the Fables name of monstrous size,
 Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove."
 (*P.L.* I, 197-8.)

this sacred ecstasy? The spring shall be the song of the inspiration that it has given to me, and so she may profit by her gift's return.

Already, Philomela,²⁵ you are beginning your trills in your covert among the budding leaves, while all the woods guard their silence. I in the city and you in the forest, let us both begin together and let us both together sing the advent of the spring. Ho, for the change of spring is returning. Let us celebrate the honours of the spring and let the Muse take up the task that she perennially³⁰ assumes. Now the sun, in full flight from the Ethiopians³¹ and the fields of Tithonus,³¹ is turning his golden reins toward northern lands. Brief is the journey and brief the tarrying of gloomy night; the frightful night is an exile with its shadows. Lycaonian Boötes³⁵ no longer plods wearily—as of yore—over a long course after the heavenly wain; now even the stars are but few as they keep their accustomed watch about the courts of Jove throughout the whole sky, for fraud, murder and violence vanish with the night and the gods have no fear of outrage by the giants.⁴⁰ Some shepherd, perhaps, as he lies on the top of a crag, says, while the dewy earth reddens under the first rays of the sun:

“Last night,⁴³ surely, O Phoebus,⁴⁴ last night you were unprovided with a fair bed-fellow who would delay your swift coursers.”

Delighted, Cynthia⁴⁶ returns to her forests and resumes her quiver, when from on high she sees the wheels of Lucifer; and, laying aside her delicate rays, she seems to be happy that by her brother's help her own task is cut short.

43-44. Compare Randolph's shepherds in the *Amyntas*:

Alexis. "I much wonder the Sunne so soone can rise!"

Damon. "Did he lay his head in faire *Laurinda's* lap,
We should have but short daies."

Alexis. "No summer, *Damon*." (Act IV, scene iv.)

44. *Phoebe*. See *Elegy III*, 34, note.

46. *Cynthia*—the moon, personified as the huntress goddess, Diana. Compare *Nativity Hymn*, 103, and *Il Penseroso*, 59, note.

"Desere," Phoebus ait, "thalamos, Aurora, seniles;
 Quid iuvat effoeto procubuisse toro? 50
 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, 55
 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? 60
 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, 65
 Taenario placuit diva Sicana Deo.
 Aspice, Phoebe; tibi faciles hortantur amores,
 Mellitasque movent flamina verna preces;
 Cinnamea Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer ala,
 Blanditiasque tibi ferre videntur aves. 70

49. The story that Aurora's mortal husband, Tithonus, was granted immortality without immortal youth goes back to the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 218-38. At sunrise

"faire *Aurora* rising hastily,
 Doth by her blushing tell, that she did lye
 All night in old *Tithonus* frozen bed,
 Whereof she scemes ashamed inwardly."

(*F.Q.* III, iii, 20, 4-7.)

51. *Aeolides*, the son of Acolus, Cephalus. See *Elegy III*, 67, note.

52. *tuos ignes*—your fires, *i.e.* the object of your passion. So Virgil's Menalcas speaks of his minion as "meus ignis, Amyntas." (*Eclogue III*, 66.)

55-56. So Pontano describes the vernal earth longing for the sun as a woman longs for her husband:

"Ac veluti virgo, absenti cum sola marito
 Suspirat sterilem lecto traducere vitam
 Illius expectans complexus anxia caros,
 Ergo, ubi Sol imo victor convertit ab Austro,
 Tum gravidos aperitque sinus et caeca relaxat
 Spiramenta, novas veniat qua succus in herbas,
 Et tandem complexa suum laetatur Adonim."

(*Urania I*, 500-6.)

“Leave the couch of an old man, O Aurora,”⁴⁹ is the cry of Phoebus; “what pleasure is there in the bed of impotence? On the green lawns the hunter, Aeolides,⁵¹ is waiting for you. Up! the heights of Hymettus are in possession of your fires.”⁵²

With blushing face the bright goddess acknowledges her guilt and urges the horses of the dawn to greater speed.

The reviving earth throws off her hated old age and craves thy embraces, O Phoebus.⁵⁵ She craves them and she is worthy of them; for what is lovelier than she as she voluptuously bares her fertile breast and breathes the perfume of Arabian harvests and pours sweet spices and the scent of Paphian⁶⁰ roses from her lovely lips? Behold, her towering brow is girdled with a sacred grove as Idaean Ops⁶² is turreted with pines. She twines her dewy hair with various bloom and with her flowers seems powerful to charm, as the Sicanian goddess with the flowers plaited in her flowing hair was charming to the Taenarian god.⁶⁶ Look Phoebus, facile loves are calling to you and the winds of spring carry honied appeals. Perfume-bearing Zephyr⁶⁹ gently fans his cinnamon-scented wings and the birds seem to carry their blandishments

60. The most celebrated of the temples of Aphrodite (Venus) in the island of Cyprus was at Paphos.

62. *Ops*, the Italian goddess of fertility, seems to be identified with “the tow’red Cybele” of *Arcades*, 21.

66. *Taenario* . . . *Deo*—to the Taenarian god, *i.e.* Pluto. Taenarus was the name of a promontory on what is now known as the peninsula of Mattapan, in ancient Laconia, where Dis (Pluto) had a temple in a cave which was supposed to be an entrance to the infernal regions.

diva Sicana—the Sicilian goddess, *i.e.* Proserpina, who

“gath’ring flow’rs,
Herself a fairer Flow’r, by gloomy *Dis*
Was gather’d.”

(*P.L.* IV, 269-71.)

69. *Zephyrus*. See *Elegy III*, 43-4, note.

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 75
 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, 80
 "Cur te," inquit, "cursu languentem Phoebè diurno
 Hesperiiis recipit Caerula mater aquis?
 Quid tibi cum Tethy? quid cum Tartesside lympha?
 Dia quid immundo perluis ora salo?
 Frigora, Phoebè, mea melius captabis in umbra. 85
 Huc ades; ardentès 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. 90
 Nec me, crede mihi, terrent Semeleia fata,
 Nec Phaetonteo fumidus axis equo.
 Cum tu, Phoebè, tuo sapientius uteris igni,
 Huc ades, et gremio lumina pone meo."
 Sic Tellus lasciva suos suspirat amores; 95
 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. 100

74. Milton thought of invocations of Apollo as a healer, like that in the first chorus of the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.

77-78. Compare *Comus*, 732-6, note.

79. *Olympo*. See the note on l. 19 above.

83. *Tethys*. See *Comus*, 870, note.

91. *Semele*, who bore Bacchus to Jove, was persuaded by Juno to ask him to appear to her in all his divine glory, but "her mortal body could not bear that celestial violence and she was consumed by that marriage gift." (Ovid, *Met.* III, 308-9.)

to you. The earth is not so bold as to beg for your love without offering a dowry in return and she makes no pauper's appeal for the nuptials that she desires. In her bounty she provides you with health-giving herbs for healing and so she adds to your titles of honour.⁷⁴ If a bribe and if glittering gifts have power over you—and love is often bought with gifts—she spreads before you all the wealth in the vast ocean⁷⁷ and under the mass of the mountains. Ah, how often, when, wearied from the steep of heaven,⁷⁹ you would plunge into the western sea, she cries:

“Why, O Phoebus, should the blue mother receive you into the Hesperian waves when you are fainting from your daily course? What have you to do with Tethys?⁸³ What have you to do with Tartessian streams? Why do you bathe your divine face in the unclean salt water? You will find coolness much better, Phoebus, in my shadow. Come hither and steep your glowing locks in dew. A gentler sleep will be yours in the cool grass. Come hither and lay your glories in my lap. Where you lie a gently murmuring breeze will soothe our bodies on their couch of humid roses. I have no fear, believe me, of a fate like that of Semele,⁹¹ nor of the axle that smoked when Phaeton was the driver of the horses.⁹² When you shall have put your fire to wiser use, come hither and lay your glories in my lap.”⁹³

Thus the wanton earth breathes out her passion, and her thronging children follow hard after her example. Now wandering Cupid runs at large throughout the whole world and kindles his dying torch in the flame of the sun. The lethal horns of his bow are resonant with new strings, and his gleaming shafts, tipped with new steel, are ominously glittering.

92. Ovid tells the story (*Met.* II, 19–328) of Apollo's unwilling consent that his son, Phaeton, should drive the sun's chariot for a day and of the wild drive which followed, when heaven and earth were threatened with destruction until Jove finally struck Phaeton dead with a thunder-bolt. Compare *To his Father*, 38 and 97–100.

93. In Ovid's story (*Met.* III, 272–300) the earth protests against the unwise use to which the sun's fires are being put by Phaeton.

Iamque vel invictam tentat superasse Dianam,
 Quaeque sedet sacro Vesta pudica foco.
 Ipsa senescentem reparat Venus annua formam,
 Atque iterum tepido creditur orta mari.
 Marmoreas iuvenes clamant Hymenaeae per urbes; 105
 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. 110
 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, 115
 Delphinisque 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, 120
 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; 125
 Vix Cybele mater, vix sibi tuta Ceres;

101. The story that Artemis (Diana) obtained the gift of eternal chastity from Zeus goes back to Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, 5. Compare *Comus*, 441-5.

102. *Vesta*. See *Il Penseroso*, 23-4, note.

104. The myth of the birth of Venus from the sea was the subject of one of the most famous ancient paintings, by Apelles, and of a no less famous picture by Botticelli.

105-108. *Io Hymen Hymenaeae* is the choral cry in Catullus' beautiful epithalamium for Malius Torquatus (LXI). Hymen was the Greek divinity of marriage. See *P.L.* XI, 591, and *L'Allegro*, 125-6, note.

114. *Phyllis*. Compare *L'Allegro*, 86, note.

116. For the fancy about the dolphins see *To his Father*, 60, note.

121. *Sylvanus*. See *Il Penseroso*, 134, and *Comus*, 268, note.

122. Milton seems to confuse Sylvanus with the satyrs, as he did in *P.R.* II, 191. The description fits Pan rather than Sylvanus, and it

And now he attempts the conquest of even the unconquerable Diana¹⁰¹ and of the chaste Vesta,¹⁰² whose seat is the sacred hearth. Venus herself is making her annual renewal of her aging form and appears to have sprung afresh out of the warm sea.¹⁰⁴ Through marble cities the youths are chanting *Hymenaeae*;¹⁰⁵ the shores and the caverns echo with the cry, *Io, Hymen*. And Hymen appears in festal attire, properly robed in a becoming tunic, and his fragrant vestment diffuses the perfume of the purple crocus. Many a damsel with her virgin breast girdled with gold goes forth to the pleasures of the lovely spring. Each one has her own prayer and the prayer of each is the same—that Cytherea will give her the man of her desire.

Now also the shepherd is making music on his pipe of reeds and Phyllis¹¹⁴ has her songs which she adds to his. With his chant by night the sailor wins the favour of his stars and calls up the fleet dolphins to the surface of the waves.¹¹⁶ On the heights of Olympus Jove himself sports with his spouse and invites even the gods that serve in his household to his feast. And now, as the late shadows thicken, even the satyrs go darting through the flowery fields in swift bands, and Sylvanus¹²¹ also, crowned with cypress leaves, the god who is half goat and the goat who is half god.¹²² The Dryads who have been in hiding under the ancient trees are ranging over the mountains and through the lonely fields. Maenalian¹²⁵ Pan takes his wanton pleasure in the sown fields and the copses. There¹²⁶ mother Cybele is hardly safe from him and

is applied to Pan by Sannazaro in a line which, as Mr. James Goode points out, coincides with this one. (See Sannazaro's *Elegiae*, Paris, 1725, p. 92.)

125. *Maenalus* was the name of a range of mountains in Arcadia, sacred to Pan.

126. Keightley's suggestion of *ibi* for *sibi* in the editions of 1645 and 1673 seems inevitable.

Cybele. See *Arcades*, 21, note.

Ceres was goddess of agriculture. See *Elegy IV*, 11, and *To his Father*, 48, notes.

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. 130
 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 135
 Saecla! quid ad nimbos aspera tela redis?
 Tu saltem lente rapidos age, Phoebæ, iugales
 Qua potes, et sensim tempora veris eant;
 Brumaque productas tarde ferat hispida noctes,
 Inguat et nostro serior umbra polo! 140
 (1628 ?)

127. *Faunus*. See *To Salzilli*, 27-8, note.

135-136. Milton thought of the myth that after the Golden Age, one by one, the gods abandoned the earth. See *Elegy IV*, 81-2, note.

Ceres herself is hardly safe. The lustful Faunus¹²⁷ seeks to make some Oread his victim. The nymph takes to her trembling heels for safety. And now she hides but as she does so her hope is to be seen in her poor covert. She darts away, but, though she runs, she hopes to be overtaken. The gods do not hesitate to prefer our woods to their heaven and every grove possesses its own deities.

And long may every grove possess its deities! And my prayer to you, O gods, is not to desert your forest home.¹³⁵ Let the Age of Gold restore you, Jupiter, to a wretched world. Why return your terrible missiles to the clouds? At least, O Phoebus, drive your swift coursers as moderately as you can and let the spring-tide pass slowly. Let the foul winter be long in bringing back its endless nights and let the shadows be later than their wont in attacking our pole.

SONG

ON MAY MORNING

Now the bright morning Star, Day's harbinger,
 Comes dancing from the East, and leads with her
 The Flow'ry *May*, who from her green lap throws
 The yellow Cowslip, and the pale Primrose.

Hail bounteous *May* that dost inspire 5
 Mirth and youth and warm desire!

Woods and Groves are of thy dressing,
 Hill and Dale doth boast thy blessing.

Thus we salute thee with our early Song,
 And welcome thee, and wish thee long. 10

(1628 ?)

1-4. Perhaps Milton thought of the traditional identification of the *morning Star*, Lucifer, with Venus, for whom the famous induction to Lucretius' *De rerum natura* (1, 7-8) describes the earth as bringing forth sweet flowers. His miniature poem has a suggestion of the mysterious beauty of Botticelli's *Spring*, although its substance is simply the beauty of the English meadows, which

"brought sweetly forth
 The freckled cowslip, burnet, and green clover."
 (*Henry V*, V, ii, 47-8.)

O NIGHTINGALE!

O NIGHTINGALE, that on yon bloomy Spray
 Warbl'st at eve, when all the Woods are still,
 Thou with fresh hope the Lover's heart dost fill,
 While the jolly hours lead on propitious *May*
 Thy liquid notes that close the eye of Day, 5
 First heard before the shallow Cuckoo's bill,
 Portend success in love; O, if *Jove's* will
 Have linkt that amorous power to thy soft lay,
 Now timely sing, ere the rude Bird of Hate
 Foretell my hopeless doom in some Grove nigh: 10
 As thou from year to year hast sung too late
 For my relief; yet hadst no reason why,
 Whether the Muse, or Love call thee his mate,
 Both them I serve, and of their train am I.

(1628 ?)

1-2. This sonnet perhaps marks Milton's first mastery of the classical, medieval and Renaissance Italian elements which his mature art was to blend. Its opening recalls some of the sonnets of Giovanni Della Casa and Giacomo Cenci and its first line might serve as a word-for-word translation of a similar invocation of the nightingale by Cardinal Bembo.

2. Compare lines 25-6 in the *Fifth Elegy*.

4. The *jolly hours*, whose meaning for the Renaissance is best conveyed by Guido Reni's picture of them following the chariot of the sun, go back to the earliest Greek poetry, as for example in the description of them in an Orphic Hymn (2, 13) as "born in the spring-time, happy and rich in flowers."

5-7. In the background is a medieval convention which Milton may have met in Sir Thomas Clanvowe's *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, a poem which, like Milton's contemporaries, he would attribute to Chaucer. It is a debate about love between its champion, the nightingale, and its ignorant enemy, the cuckoo, whom the poet overheard in a dream one night when he lay long awake and

"thoghte how lovers had a tokeninge,
 And among hem it was a comune tale,
 That it were good to here the nightingale
 Rather than the lewde cuckow singe."

(Stanza X.)

DONNA LEGGIADRA

DONNA leggiadra il cui bel nome onora
 L'erbosa val di Reno, e il nobil varco,
 Ben è colui d' ogni valore scarco
 Qual tuo spirto gentil non innamora,
 Che dolcemente mostrasi di fuora, 5
 De' suoi atti soavi giamai parco,
 E i don', che son d' amor saette ed arco,
 Là onde l' alta tua virtù s' infiora.
 Quando tu vaga parli, o lieta canti 10
 Che mover possa duro alpestre legno,
 Guardi ciascun agli occhi, ed agli orecchi
 L' entrata, chi di te si trova indegno;
 Grazia sola di sù gli vaglia, innanti
 Che'l disio amoroso al cuor s' invecchi.

(1628 ?)

1-4. The lady, as Mr. J. S. Smart showed, must have been called Aemilia, for that name is the solution of the riddle which Milton set by referring to the river Reno and the famous ford, *i.e.* the ford of the Rubicon. The two rivers were conspicuous on contemporary maps of the province of Aemilia. Of the lady we know only what the Italian poems tell us. They were written, as the second and third of them plainly imply, when Milton was in England, and probably as early as 1628; and they lend no support to the theory that they were composed during Milton's visit to Bologna and the valley of the Reno in 1639.

BEAUTIFUL LADY

GENTLE and beautiful lady,¹ whose fair name honours the verdant valley of Reno and the glorious ford, surely he is a man void of all worth who is not inspired with love by your gracious spirit. Sweetly it expresses itself in the bounty of fair looks and the gifts which are the arrows and the bow of Love,⁷ there where your high virtue wears its garland.

When you speak in your beauty and sing in your happiness, so that the tough trees on the mountains might respond,¹⁰ let every man who finds himself unworthy of you ward well the approaches to the eye and ear. Grace from above alone can avail him to prevent the desire of a lover from becoming fixed immovably in his heart.

7-8. Countless Italian, French and English examples might be cited of the "Platonism" which identifies a woman's glances with the weapons of Cupid and also with the heavenly virtue that rains down upon men as "influence": from the starry skies. So Spenser:

"More then most faire, full of the living fire
Kindled above unto the Maker neere:
No eies, but joyes, in which al powers conspire,
That to the world naught else be counted deare:
Thruh your bright beams doth not the blinded guest
Shoot out his darts to base affections wound."

(*Amoretti*, viii, 1-6.)

Compare *L'Allegro*, 121-3.

10. One of Ovid's most famous passages catalogues the trees (*Met.* X, 90-105) which gathered around Orpheus to listen to his music,

"In *Rhodope*, where Woods and Rocks had Ears
To rapture."

(*P.L.* VII, 35-6.)

QUAL IN COLLE ASPRO

QUAL in colle aspro, al imbrunir di sera,
L'avezza giovinetta pastorella
Va bagnando l'erbetta strana e bella
Che mal si spande a disusata spera
Fuor di sua natia alma primavera, 5
Così Amor meco insù la lingua snella
Desta il fior nuovo di strana favella,
Mentre io di te, vezzosamente altera,
Canto, dal mio buon popol non inteso,
E'l bel Tamigi cangio col bel Arno. 10
Amor lo volse, ed io a l'altrui peso
Seppi ch'Amor cosa mai volse indarno.
Deh! foss' il mio cuor lento e'l duro seno
A chi pianta dal ciel si buon terreno.

(1628 ?)

AS ON A RUGGED MOUNTAIN . . .

As, on a rugged mountain when twilight is darkening, the young shepherd girl, familiar with the spot, waters a strange and lovely little plant which spreads its leaves feebly in the alien clime, remote from its fostering, native springtime; so on my prompt tongue Love calls forth the novel flower of a foreign speech, when I sing of you, graciously proud lady,⁹ and change the fair Thames for the fair Arno¹⁰—not understood by my own good countrymen. Love willed it, and at the cost of others I know that Love never willed anything in vain.

Ah, that my dull heart and hard breast might be as good a soil for Him who plants from heaven.

9. See the preceding sonnet, 1-4, note.

10. To change the Thames for the Arno means simply to exchange English for the Tuscan, or pure Italian, spoken in Florence on the banks of the Arno. Compare the use of Thames in *Manso*, 32, to signify English literature in contrast with Italian.

CANZONE

RIDONSI donne e giovani amorosi,
 M' accostandosi attorno, e perchè scrivi,
 Perchè tu scrivi in lingua ignota e strana
 Verseggiando d'amor, e come t'osi?
 Dinne, se la tua speme sia mai vana, 5
 E de' pensieri lo miglior t' arrivi.
 Così mi van burlando; altri rivi,
 Altri lidi t' aspettan, ed altre onde
 Nelle cui verdi sponde
 Spuntati ad or, ad or a la tua chioma 10
 L'immortal guiderdon d'eterne frondi.
 Perchè alle spalle tue soverchia soma?
 Canzon dirotti, e tu per me rispondi:
 Dice mia Donna, e'l suo dir è il mio cuore
 Questa è lingua di cui si vanta Amore. 15

(1628 ?)

CANZONE

AMOROUS young men and maidens press about me, jesting: "Why write—why do you write in a language unknown and strange, versifying of love, and how do you dare? Speak, if your hope is ever to prove not vain and if the best of your desires is to come to pass."

And thus they make sport of me; "Other rivers, other shores and other waters are waiting for you, on whose green banks now, even now, an immortal guerdon of undying leaves is putting forth its shoots to crown your locks. Why the superfluous burden on your shoulders?"

Canzone,¹³ I will tell you, and you shall answer for me. My lady, whose words are my very heart, says, "This is the language of which Love makes his boast."

13. Although Barnabe Barnes familiarized Englishmen with the *canzone* in *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, and although Petrarch and many other Italians had used it hardly less than the sonnet, it never became common in England. The stanzas in Spenser's *Prothalamion* and *Epithalamion* were developed from it. In the orthodox *canzone* the rhyme-scheme—which Milton treated with characteristic freedom—was as exacting as that of the sonnet, but some variation was allowed in the number of verses. A *canzone* ended with an envoy, called the *commiato*, in which the poet often addressed his poem, as Milton does here and as Spenser did in the last stanza of the *Epithalamion*.

DIODATI, E TE 'L DIRÒ

DIODATI, e te 'l dirò con maraviglia,
 Quel ritroso io ch' Amor spreggiar solea
 E de' suoi lacci spesso mi ridea
 Già caddi, ov' uom dabben talor s' impiglia.

Nè trecchie d' oro nè guancia vermiglia 5
 M' abbaglian sì, ma sotto nuova idea
 Pellegrina bellezza che 'l cuor bea,
 Portamenti alti onesti, e nelle ciglia
 Quel sereno fulgor d' amabil nero,

Parole adorne di lingua più d' una, 10
 E 'l cantar che di mezzo l' emispero
 Traviar ben può la faticosa Luna,
 E degli occhi suoi avventa sì gran fuoco
 Che l' incerar gli orecchi mi fia poco.

(1628 ?)

1-4. The lover's proud inexperience may be quite as conventional in inspiration as it may be autobiographical. The "love at first sight" to which Milton confesses in *Elegy VII* has the same prelude.

5-6. *idea*. The word is used less in its genuinely Platonic sense than in the Petrarchan way which Drayton reduced to an absurdity in *Ideas Mirrour*. Because she was "vertues right Idea" (*Amour* xix, 9), or pattern, the lady to whom he gave the name was a hardly incarnate creature,

"That yet the world unworthy neuer knew;
 Whose pure *Idea* neuer tongue exprest."
 (*Amour* xxxix, 12-3.)

DIODATI . . .

DIODATI—and I will say it to you with amazement—that obstinate I, who used to pour contempt upon Love and often mocked his snares, have fallen where a good man sometimes entangles himself.¹ No tresses of gold nor vermeil cheeks have dazzled me so, but an alien beauty under a new pattern,⁵ which rejoices my heart—a manner nobly decorous, and in her eyes that quiet radiance of lovely black, speech that is adorned with more than one language, and a gift of song which might draw the labouring moon¹² from its course in mid-sky. And so potent a fire flashes from her eyes that it would be of little avail to me to seal up my ears.¹⁴

6-7. The lines seem like a retraction of the praise of Englishwomen as the loveliest in the world in *Elegy I*, 71-2. The following description of the lady may owe something to Petrarch's sonnet ccxiii.

12. Again in *P.L.* II, 665, Milton used Virgil's term (*Georgics*, II, 478), "labouring moon." He was indebted to Virgil (*Eclogue VIII*, 69) also for the conception of the moon as lured from its course by the song of a mortal—though Virgil's songs are the charms (*carmina*) of enchantresses.

14. A glance at the story of Ulysses' escape from the Sirens by stopping his ears with wax against their song. Compare *Comus*, 253-9, note.

PER CERTO I BEI VOSTR' OCCHI

PER certo i bei vostr' occhi, Donna mia,
 Esser non può che non sian lo mio sole,
 Si mi percuoton forte, come ei suole
 Per l' arene di Libia chi s' inuia,
 Mentre un caldo vapor (nè sentì pria) 5
 Da quel lato si spinge ove mi duole,
 Che forse amanti nelle lor parole
 Chiaman sospir; io non so che si sia:
 Parte rinchiusa, e turbida si cela
 Scossomi il petto, e poi n' uscendo poco 10
 Quivi d' attorno o s' agghiaccia, o s' ingiela;
 Ma quanto agli occhi giunge a trovar loco
 Tutte le notti a me suol far piovose
 Finchè mia Alba rivien colma di rose.

(1628 ?)

1-4. Compare the turn given to this most time-worn Petrarchan conceit in *Elegy VII*, 56-7.

IN TRUTH, YOUR FAIR EYES . . .

IN TRUTH, your fair eyes, my lady, cannot but be my sun,¹ for they beat upon me as powerfully as the sun beats upon one who pursues his way through the sands of Libya. Meanwhile an ardent vapour,⁵ such as I never felt before, presses up from that side⁶ where my pain lies. Perhaps lovers in their language call it a sigh; I do not know what it may be. A turbulent part hidden in the confinement of my breast makes it heave and, a little escaping, it then turns frosty and congeals. But the part of it which comes to find a place in my eyes makes all my nights rainy, until my Dawn returns, surcharged with roses.

5-11. Like many an earlier sonneteer, Milton felt that
 "These sorrowing sighes, the smoakes of mine annoy;
 These teares, which heate of sacred flame distils;
 Are these due tributes that my faith dooth pay
 Vnto the tyrant."

(Samuel Daniel, *Delia*, Sonnet xxi, 1-4.)

6. *Da quel lato*—from that side, *i.e.*, the side of the heart.

GIOVANE PIANO, E SEMPLICETTO AMANTE

GIOVANE piano, e semplicetto amante,
 Poichè fuggir me stesso in dubbio sono,
 Madonna a voi del mio cuor l' umil dono
 Farò divoto; io certo a prove tante
 L' ebbi fedele, intrepido, costante, 5
 Di pensieri leggiadro, accorto, e buono.
 Quando rugge il gran mondo, e scocca il tuono,
 S' arma di se, e d' intero diamante,
 Tanto del forse, e d' invidia sicuro,
 Di timori, e speranze al popol use, 10
 Quanto d' ingegno, e d' alto valor vago,
 E di cetra sonora, e delle muse:
 Sol troverete in tal parte men duro
 Ove Amor mise l' insanabil ago.

(1628 ?)

2. It is hard to tell whether the poet is doubtful *how* or *whether* to flee from himself. The former idea was a familiar convention, which editors trace back to Petrarch, but the latter is more consistent with the Stoic ideal in terms of which Milton proceeded to draw his own portrait.

5-10. In the background is the Stoic doctrine that, "It is a true marke of a vulgar basenesse, for a man to expect neither good nor harme from himselfe, but all from externall euent. Contrariwise, the true note of a Philosopher, is to repose all his expectation, vpon himselfe alone." (John Healey's translation of *Epictetus his Manuell*, edition of 1616, p. 91.)

YOUNG, GENTLE AND CANDID LOVER . . .

YOUNG, gentle and candid lover that I am, because I am doubtful, my lady, how² to fly from myself, I shall make the humble gift of my heart in devotion to you. In countless ordeals I have proved it faithful, courageous and constant, and in its thoughts gracious, courteous and good.⁵ When the world is in an uproar and the thunder crashes, it arms itself from within itself with perfect adamant⁷—as secure against fortune, envy, and the fears and hopes of ordinary men as it is keen in its desire for the mind's gifts, high courage, and the sounding lyre, and the Muses. Only at a single point will you find it less unyielding—the point where Love's dart has pierced incurably.

7-8. Far in the background is Horace's account (*Odes*, III, iii) of the just man invulnerable amid the ruin of the world and the worst that Fate can do, which many a Christian poet had lightly baptized, as Campion did in *The Man of Life Upright*:

"He only can behold
With unaffrighted eyes
The horrors of the deep
And terrors of the skies.

"Thus scorning all the cares
That fate or fortune brings,
He makes the heaven his book,
His wisdom heavenly things."

ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY

I

THIS is the Month, and this the happy morn
 Wherein the Son of Heav'n's eternal King,
 Of wedded Maid, and Virgin Mother born,
 Our great redemption from above did bring;
 For so the holy sages once did sing, 5
 That he our deadly forfeit should release,
 And with his Father work us a perpetual peace.

II

That glorious Form, that Light unsufferable,
 And that far-beaming blaze of Majesty,
 Wherewith he wont at Heav'n's high Council-Table, 10
 To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
 He laid aside; and here with us to be,
 Forsook the Courts of everlasting Day,
 And chose with us a darksome House of mortal Clay.

3. The doctrine of Christ's virgin birth often enters into Milton's great epics, not challenged even by Satan when he salutes Jesus as

"Son of David, Virgin-born!

For Son of God to me is yet in doubt."

(*P.R.* IV, 500-1.)

5-7. *the holy sages*—the Hebrew prophets, of whom Milton speaks in *P.L.* XII, 243-4, as singing "the times of great Messiah."

6. *deadly forfeit*—the "penalty of death" which the angel Michael explains to Adam that his disobedience to the Law of God in Eden has brought upon his descendants. (*P.L.* XII, 396-410. Compare IX, 1003.)

release—remit.

10-12. Perhaps Milton had been struck by Phineas Fletcher's conception of God, at the moment when the first man was to be created (*Gen.* i, 26), as "That Trine-one with himself in council" sitting. (*The Purple Island*, I, Stanza 44.)

10. *wont*—was wont. Compare *S.A.* 1487, note.

11. *midst*; *i.e.*, between God the Father and the Holy Spirit, Christ's position in artistic representations of the doctrine of the Trinity.

13. Compare *P.L.* V, 645-6, and VI, 4-15.

III

Say Heav'nly Muse, shall not thy sacred vein 15
 Afford a present to the Infant God?
 Hast thou no verse, no hymn, or solemn strain,
 To welcome him to this his new abode,
 Now while the Heav'n by the Sun's team untrod,
 Hath took no print of the approaching light, 20
 And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons bright?

IV

See how from far upon the Eastern road
 The Star-led Wizards haste with odours sweet:
 O run, prevent them with thy humble ode,
 And lay it lowly at his blessed feet; 25
 Have thou the honour first, thy Lord to greet,
 And join thy voice unto the Angel Quire,
 From out his secret Altar toucht with hallow'd fire.

15. Compare the invocations of the *Heav'nly Muse*, Urania, in *P.L.* I, 6-7, and VII, 1.

19. Compare "the gilded Car of Day" in *Comus*, 95, note.

21. The Hebrew belief that "the host of heaven worshippeth thee" (*i.e.*, God—Neh. ix, 6) fuses later with the Platonic conception of the spheres as animate and making a divine harmony.

23. *Wizards*—the "wise men from the east" (Mat. ii, 1) who were led to Jerusalem by a miraculous star and brought presents of gold and myrrh and the perfume, frankincense, to the young Jesus. Spenser called them

"those Ægyptian wisards old,
 Which in star-read were wont have best insight."
 (*F.Q.* V, Prologue, 8, 1-2.)

28. Milton thought of the coal from the altar which a seraph laid on the prophet Isaiah's lips. (Isa. vi, 6.)

THE HYMN

I

It was the Winter wild,
 While the Heav'n-born child, 30
 All meanly wrapt in the rude manger lies;
 Nature in awe to him
 Had doff't her gaudy trim,
 With her great Master so to sympathize:
 It was no season then for her 35
 To wanton with the Sun, her lusty Paramour.

II

Only with speeches fair
 She woos the gentle Air
 To hide her guilty front with innocent Snow,
 And on her naked shame, 40
 Pollute with sinful blame,
 The Saintly Veil of Maiden white to throw,
 Confounded, that her Maker's eyes
 Should look so near upon her foul deformities.

29-31. Professor A. S. Cook compared Mantuan's description of a northern European winter as extending even to the Arabian desert at Christ's nativity (*Opera*, Ed. 1513, I, 70 a, b), but Milton may have thought simply of the popular tradition of the old song that

"On Christmas nyght, whan it was cold,
 Owr lady lay amonge bestes bolde."

36. Again in *Elegy V*, 95, Milton refers to the immemorial idea that the earth is the sun's mistress, or "Leman," as Spenser said in a passage (*F.Q.* I, i, 6, 7) which goes back to Virgil (*Georgics*, II, 325-6) and Lucretius. (*De rerum natura*, I, 251.) Compare the note on *Elegy V*, 55-6.

41. *Pollute*—polluted. The form is based on the Latin passive participle and was felt as such.

42. The far-flung symbolism of white raiment is rooted extensively in the Bible. Perhaps Milton thought of the angel's advice to the Laodiceans in Revelation iii, 18; "I counsel thee to buy . . . white raiment . . . that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear."

III

But he her fears to cease, 45
 Sent down the meek-ey'd Peace;
 She crown'd with Olive greea, came softly sliding
 Down through the turning sphere,
 His ready Harbinger,
 With Turtle wing the amorous clouds dividing, 50
 And waving wide her myrtle wand,
 She strikes a universal Peace through Sea and Land.

IV

No War, or Battle's sound
 Was heard the World around,
 The idle spear and shield were high up hung; 55
 The hooked Chariot stood
 Unstain'd with hostile blood;
 The Trumpet spake not to the armed throng,
 And Kings sat still with awful eye,
 As if they surely knew their sovran Lord was by. 60

45. *cease*—make cease, allay.

46. *Peace* corresponds roughly to Ben Jonson's description of Irene or Peace, who was the "principal person" in his *Entertainments at the Coronation of James I*; but with her olive crown and myrtle wand she answers even better to the details of a typical, allegorical print such as that by Galle.

48. *the turning sphere*—"the visible Diurnal Sphere" of *P.L.* VII, 22, which means the whole globe of the stars turning daily about the earth.

50. *Turtle wing*; *i.e.*, the wings of a dove, with all their traditional symbolism.

amorous: *i.e.*, in love with her beauty. Cowley uses the same classical conceit in *Bathing iii*, in *The Mistress*;

"The amorous Waves would fain about her stay."

53-54. Many Fathers of the Church appealed to the seven-year peace throughout the Roman Empire at the time when Christ was born as proof that His birth could occur only after the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Popularly it was believed—as Lyly said in *Euphues* (Arber Ed. p. 456)—that "Christ would not be borne, vntill there were peace throughout the whole worlde."

56. *hooked*—armed with hooks projecting from the hubs.

59. *awful*—full of awe, reverent.

V

But peaceful was the night
Wherein the Prince of light

His reign of peace upon the earth began:
The Winds, with wonder whist,
Smoothly the waters kiss't,

65

Whispering new joys to the mild Ocean,
Who now hath quite forgot to rave,
While Birds of Calm sit brooding on the charmed wave.

VI

The Stars with deep amaze
Stand fixt in steadfast gaze,

70

Bending one way their precious influence,
And will not take their flight,
For all the morning light,
Or *Lucifer* that often warn'd them thence;

61. The *peaceful . . . night* was also a tradition and found poignant expression in Herbert's *Christmas* sonnet:

"O Thou, Whose glorious yet contracted light,
Wrapt in Night's mantle, stole into a manger."

64. *whist*—stilled, hushed.

68. *Birds of Calm*—the halcyons of Greek tradition, at whose nesting time, "which happeneth about the brumal solstice," as Sir Thomas Browne says (*Pseudodoxia*, III, x), "it hath been observed even unto a proverb, that the Sea is calm, and the winds do cease, till the young ones are excluded."

69. *amaze*—amazement, wonder. Compare *P.R.* II, 38, and *S.A.* 1645.

71. Medieval astrologers believed in the effluence of an ethereal "liquid" from the stars, which

"with kindly heat
Of various influence foment and warm,
Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
Thir stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
On Earth."

(*P.L.* IV, 668-72.)

73. *For all the morning light*—in spite of the light of morning.

74. *Lucifer* may mean the morning star, Venus, or the sun itself, as it does in *Elegy III*, 50, and *Elegy V*, 46.

But in their glimmering Orbs did glow, 75
 Until their Lord himself bespake, and bid them go.

VII

65 And though the shady gloom
 Had given day her room,
 The Sun himself withheld his wonted speed,
 And hid his head for shame, 80
 As his inferior flame,
 The new enlight'n'd world no more should need;
 He saw a greater Sun appear
 Than his bright Throne, or burning Axletree could bear.

VIII

The Shepherds on the Lawn, 85
 Or ere the point of dawn,
 Sat simply chatting in a rustic row;
 Full little thought they than,

75. *Orbs*, in "Ptolemaic" terminology, meant the hollow, concentric "spheres" with the earth at their centre in which the planets and the fixed stars were supposed to move. Here the meaning is uncertain, for the orbs were regarded as invisible. Compare line 47 above.

76. *bespake*—spoke. Compare *Lycidas*, 112, and *P.R.* I, 43.

bid—bade. So in *P.L.* VIII, 518-9,

"the amorous Bird of Night

Sung Spousal, and bid haste the Ev'ning Star."

80. In the background are biblical conceptions such as St. John's description of Christ as "the light of men" (i, 4) and metaphors like Malachi's vision of "the Sun of righteousness" rising "with healing in his wings." (Mal. iv, 2.) A long Christian tradition lay behind lines like George Herbert's in *Miserie*:

"The sunne holds down his head for shame,
 Dead with eclipses, when we speak of Thee."

84. Compare *Comus*, 95-101, note.

85. *Lawn*—grassland or pasture.

86. *Or ere*—before.

88. *than*—then. The words were variant forms, neither of which had become exclusively established.

That the mighty *Pan*

Was kindly come to live with them below;
Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep,
Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep.

90

IX

When such music sweet

Their hearts and ears did greet,

As never was by mortal finger strook,

Divinely-warbled voice

Answering the stringed noise,

As all their souls in blissful rapture took:

The Air such pleasure loth to lose,

With thousand echoes still prolongs each heav'nly close.

95

100

X

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;

105

89. The Greek god Pan, whom Virgil called "the guardian of flocks" (*Georgics*, I, 17) and who appeared with mysterious, cosmic aspects in the Orphic Hymn to Pan, was early associated with Christ as a divine shepherd. In Renaissance pastoral poetry Pan was very often identified with Christ, "which," as the glosse to Spenser's *Maye* explains, "callethe himselfe the greate and good shepherd. The name is most rightly . . . applyed to him, for Pan signifieth all, or omnipotent, which is onely the Lord Jesus."

95. *strook* is more common than "struck" in Milton.

97. Compare the "melodious noise" of *At a Solemn Music*, 18.

98. *took*—captivated. Compare *Comus*, 256 and 558.

100. *close*—cadence.

102–103. *the hollow round Of Cynthia's seat*—the orb or sphere of the moon. Compare lines 75 above, 130 below, note, and *Comus*, 131, note.

103. The *Airy region* may be a reminiscence of Virgil's phrase in describing the flight of swans (*Aen.* I, 394). It definitely means the upper air, as "Region" does in *P.L.* VII, 425. Compare *P.R.* II, 117, and *P.L.* I, 516.

She knew such harmony alone
 Could hold all Heav'n and Earth in happier union.

XI

At last surrounds their sight
 A Globe of circular light, 110
 That with long beams the shame-fac't night array'd,
 The helmed Cherubim
 And sworded Seraphim
 Are seen in glittering ranks with wings display'd,
 Harping in loud and solemn quire, 115
 With unexpressive notes to Heav'n's new-born Heir.

XII

Such Music (as 'tis said)
 Before was never made,
 But when of old the sons of morning sung,
 While the Creator Great 120
 His constellations set,
 And the well-balanc't world on hinges hung,
 And cast the dark foundations deep,
 And bid the welt'ring waves their oozy channel keep.

107-108. The thought seems to be that the music of the spheres (compare *Arcades*, 63-9), which was a part of nature and was supposed to keep the frame of the universe together, was excelled by the songs of the angels, which Nature realized might, if they continued, bind the cosmos together into a happier union than she maintained with the harmony of the spheres.

110. Compare the "Globe of fiery Seraphim" in *P.L.* II, 512.

112-113. *Cherubim* . . . *Seraphim*; plural forms. For their places in the heavenly hierarchy see the notes on *Il Penseroso*, 52-4, and *S.A.* 672.

116. *unexpressive*—inexpressible. Compare *Lycidas*, 176.

117-119. The allusion is to Job's question about the universe; "Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? or who laid the corner stone thereof, When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" (Job xxxviii, 6-7.)

122. Perhaps, like *P.L.* VII, 242—"And Earth self-balanc't on her Centre hung"—this stems from Job xxvi, 7: "He . . . hangeth the earth upon nothing."

hinges; compare the picture in *Arcades*, 63-9, note.

XIII

Ring out ye Crystal spheres, 125
 Once bless our human ears,
 (If ye have power to touch our senses so)
 And let your silver chime
 Move in melodious time;
 And let the Bass of Heav'n's deep Organ blow; 130
 And with your ninefold harmony
 Make up full consort to th'Angelic symphony.

XIV

For if such holy Song
 Enwrap our fancy long,
 Time will run back, and fetch the age of gold, 135
 And speckl'd vanity
 Will sicken soon and die,
 And leprous sin will melt from earthly mould,
 And Hell itself will pass away,
 And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day. 140

XV

Yea, Truth and Justice then
 Will down return to men,

125-127. Milton's idea is as old as Pythagoras and it was as contemporary as Lorenzo's teaching of Jessica that every orb

"in his motion like an angel sings,
 Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins;
 Such harmony is in immortal souls,
 But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
 Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it."

(*Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 61-5.)

130. In the harmony of the spheres the bass was sometimes assigned to the outermost sphere, that of Saturn, and sometimes to the innermost, that of the Moon.

133-138. Perhaps Milton thought of Hesiod's account of the Golden Age, when the earth was filled with men so glorious that Zeus changed them into immortal, ministering spirits. (*Works and Days*, 111-126.) Here, as often in the Bible, *Vanity* stands for all the sins to which "the creature was made subject" (Rom. viii, 20), and from which Milton says that the angels' song might redeem human nature so that men could hear "the heavenly tune, which none can hear Of human mould." (*Arcades*, 72-3.)

141-146. The lines are built upon Psalm lxxxv, 10-1; "Mercy and

Th' enamel'd *Arras* of the Rain-bow wearing,
 And Mercy set between,
 Thron'd in Celestial sheen, 145
 With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering,
 And Heav'n as at some festival,
 Will open wide the Gates of her high Palace Hall.

XVI

But wisest Fate says no,
 This must not yet be so, 150
 The Babe lies yet in smiling Infancy,
 That on the bitter cross
 Must redeem our loss;
 So both himself and us to glorify:
 Yet first to those ychain'd in sleep, 155
 The wakeful trump of doom must thunder through the deep,

truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth and righteousness shall look down from heaven." The *enamel'd Arras*, or painted drapery, suggests the allegorical figures in contemporary masques as well as the angel in Revelation x, 1—"clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head."

143-144. In 1673 Milton changed the reading of these lines to:
 "Orb'd in a Rainbow; and like glories wearing
 Mercy will sit between."

147-148. The scene suggests Plato's allegory of the house of the gods, whither "they go to a feast and a banquet, mounting steeply to the vault of heaven." (*Phaedrus*, 247b.)

153. *loss*—ruin. *P.L.* III. 305-8, describes Christ as leaving "highest bliss Equal to God . . . to save A World from utter loss."

155. *ychain'd*, like *yclep'd* in *L'Allegro*, 12, keeps the Old English prefix *ge-*, reduced to *y-*, which survived sporadically in many of Chaucer's past participles. Milton added it here, as he did mistakenly to a present participle in the *Epitaph on Shakespeare*, 4, because, as the glosse to Spenser's *April* explains, "Y is a poetical addition."

sleep has its biblical sense of "death," from which many "that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake." (*Dan.* xii, 2.)

156. *wakeful*—awakening. Compare *awful* in 59.

XVII

With such a horrid clang
As on mount *Sinai* rang

While the red fire, and smould'ring clouds out brake:
The aged Earth aghast

160

With terror of that blast,

Shall from the surface to the centre shake,
When at the world's last session,

The dreadful Judge in middle Air shall spread his throne.

XVIII

And then at last our bliss
Full and perfect is,

165

But now begins; for from this happy day
Th'old Dragon under ground,
In straiter limits bound,

Not half so far casts his usurped sway,
And wrath to see his Kingdom fail,
Swinges the scaly Horror of his folded tail.

170

XIX

The Oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum

157-159. When Moses ascended the mountain to receive the Ten Commandments, "there were thunders and lightnings . . . and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud." (Ex. xix, 16.) In *P.L.* XI, 74-6, Milton suggested that the "Trumpet, heard in *Oreb*" may be destined "perhaps once more To sound at general Doom."

164. Milton remembered Christ's prophecy of the Day of Doom, when "they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." (Mat. xxiv, 30.)

168. "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth." (Rev. xii, 9.)

173. Like Spenser, Milton was interested in Plutarch's "booke of the ceasing of oracles" which many Christian writers had interpreted as a pagan testimony to the fact that Satan's "kingdome at that time was by Christ conquered . . . for at that time . . . all oracles surceased, and enchanted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth held theyr peace." Spenser's glosse to *Maye*. Compare *P.R.* I, 454-64, note.

174-220. Countless details in this survey of the flight of the pagan

Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving. 175
Apollo from his shrine
 Can no more divine,
 With hollow shriek the steep of *Delphos* leaving.
 No nightly trance, or breathed spell,
 Inspires the pale-ey'd Priest from the prophetic cell. 180

XX

The lonely mountains o'er,
 And the resounding shore,
 A voice of weeping heard, and loud lament;
 From haunted spring and dale
 Edg'd with poplar pale, 185
 The parting Genius is with sighing sent;
 With flow'r-inwov'n tresses torn
 The Nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.

XXI

In consecrated Earth,
 And on the holy Hearth, 190
 The *Lars*, and *Lemures* moan with midnight plaint;
 In Urns and Altars round,
 A drear and dying sound
 Affrights the *Flamens* at their service quaint;
 And the chill Marble seems to sweat, 195
 While each peculiar power forgoes his wonted seat.

gods—as Professor Cook's notes indicate—may be indebted to the *Apotheosis* (lines 435–89) of Prudentius or to the *Parthenicae* (III, i) of Mantuan. See the Introduction §20.

178. *Delphos*—Delphi, Apollo's famous oracle, which lay high on the precipitous upper slopes of Mt. Parnassus.

186. *Genius*—local divinity. Compare *Lycidas*, 184, and *Arcades*, 44–60.

191. *Lars*—tutelary gods of cities or of houses and families.

Lemures—ghosts or spirits of the dead. Both terms come from ancient Roman religion.

194. *Flamens*—priests serving any particular Roman deity.

quaint—ingenious or elaborate. Compare *S.A.* 1303.

195. Many ancient writers, like Virgil in the *Georgics*, I, 480, mention the sweating of ivory and bronze statues in the temples of the gods as portents of dire events to come.

XXII

Peor and *Baalim*

Forsake their Temples dim,

With that twice-batter'd god of *Palestine*,

And mooned *Ashtaroth*,

200

Heav'n's Queen and Mother both,

Now sits not girt with Tapers' holy shine,

The Libyc *Hammon* shrinks his horn,

In vain the *Tyrian* Maids their wounded *Thammuz* mourn.

XXIII

And Sullen *Moloch*, fled,

205

Hath left in shadows dread

197. Baal was the supreme god of the Canaanites, but countless inferior Baals or *Baalim* (the Hebrew plural) were worshipped in various places, of which the most famous was the mountain, *Peor*, "that looketh toward the wilderness" (Num. xxiii, 28), where he had a great shrine as Baal-Peor.

199. The *twice-batter'd god* is Dagon, to punish whose Philistine worshippers his image at Ashdod was twice miraculously broken, so that "only the stump of Dagon was left to him." (I Sam. v, 4. Compare *P.L.* I, 457-66, and *S.A.* 13, note.)

200-201. *Ashtaroth* is really a plural of *Ashtoreth*,

"whom the *Phœnicians* call'd

Astarte, Queen of Heav'n, with crescent Horns."

(*P.L.* I, 438-9.)

She was a fertility goddess, identified with the moon as Baal was with the sun, and the crescent moon was one of her symbols.

203. *Libyc Hammon*—the mysterious Egyptian deity, Ammon, who was represented as a ram with mighty horns, and had his chief shrine far in the Libyan desert to the west of Memphis.

204. *Thammuz* or Tammuz was the lover of *Ashtoreth* and the *Tyrian* (i.e., *Phœnician*) women had an annual ceremony of mourning for him as a symbol of the beauty of summer slain by the boar, winter. The Greeks adopted him as *Adonis*. Compare *P.L.* I, 446-57, and *Elegy I*, 52.

205-209. King Josiah's decree against any man's making "his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to *Molech*" (II Kings xxiii, 10) suggests the kind of worship given to the "Idoll of brasse, hauing the head of a Calfe, the rest of a kingly figure, with armes, extended to receive the miserable sacrifice," which is described in *Sandys' Travels* (Ed. of 1637, p. 186), where a point is made of the din of cymbals kept up to drown the cries of the children. Compare *P.L.* I, 392.

His burning Idol all of blackest hue;
 In vain with Cymbals' ring
 They call the grisly king,
 In dismal dance about the furnace blue; 210
 The brutish gods of *Nile* as fast,
Isis and *Orus*, and the Dog *Anubis* haste.

XXIV

Nor is *Osiris* seen
 In *Memphian* Grove or Green,
 Trampling the unshow'r'd Grass with lowings loud: 215
 Nor can he be at rest
 Within his sacred chest,
 Naught but profoundest Hell can be his shroud:
 In vain with Timbrel'd Anthems dark
 The sable-stoled Sorcerers bear his worshipt Ark. 220

XXV

He feels from *Juda's* Land
 The dreaded Infant's hand,

211. Compare the "wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms Rather than human" with which Milton reproached "Fanatic Egypt" in *P.L.* I, 480-2.

212. *Isis*, the sister and wife of *Osiris* and the mother of *Horus*, was usually represented by the Egyptians with the disc of the sun and a cow's horns on her head.

Orus or *Horus* was a sun god, and his figure had a hawk's head. *Anubis* was the god shown with a jackal's head in Egyptian art, conducting the souls of the dead to *Osiris* for judgement. The Greeks identified him with *Hermes* and the Romans with *Mercury*. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 88, and *One the Platonic Idea*, 31-4.

213-217. *Osiris*, the creator, the god of the Nile, whose shrine was at *Memphis*, was supposed to be incarnate in the sacred Bulls of *Memphis*, which were known as *Apis*.

215. *unshow'r'd* refers to the rainless Egyptian climate.

218. Compare *shroud* in *Comus*, 147, note.

219-220. Herodotus describes the priests of *Osiris* carrying his "image, placed in a small wooden temple, gilded all over," on a four-wheeled carriage, from one building in his sacred enclosure to another. (*Book II*, Cap. 63.)

220. *sable-stoled*—black-robed.

The rays of *Bethlehem* blind his dusky eyn;
 Nor all the gods beside,
 Longer dare abide, 225
 Nor *Typhon* huge ending in snaky twine:
 Our Babe, to show his Godhead true,
 Can in his swaddling bands control the damned crew.

XXVI

So when the Sun in bed,
 Curtain'd with cloudy red, 230
 Pillows his chin upon an Orient wave,
 The flocking shadows pale
 Troop to th' infernal jail;
 Each fetter'd Ghost slips to his several grave,
 And the yellow-skirted *Fays* 235
 Fly after the Night-steeds, leaving their Moon-lov'd maze.

XXVII

But see! the Virgin blest,
 Hath laid her Babe to rest.

223. *eyn*, the all but obsolete plural of "eye," is used for its rhyme.

226-228. Milton was thinking, probably, not of the Egyptian *Typhon*, the monstrous deity of evil whom Osiris overthrew, but of the Greek *Typhon*, whom Zeus or Hercules, or both together vanquished. Apollodorus describes him as a monstrous serpent below the waist and above it a man so tall that his head sometimes touched the stars. (*Bibliotheca*, I, 6, 3. Compare *P.L.* II, 539.)

229-231. With this much-criticized conceit compare Marvell's in *Upon Appleton House*, 661-4:

"The sun himself of her aware,
 Seems to descend with greater care,
 And, lest she see him go to bed,
 In blushing clouds conceals his head."

231. *Orient*—oriental, eastern.

232-236. Compare Puck's warning in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III, ii, 379-82:

"night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast,
 And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger,
 At whose approach, ghosts, wandering here and there,
 Troop home to churchyards;" etc.

Compare also *Comus*, 434, *L'Allegro*, 114, note.

236. *Moon-lov'd maze*—the forests, where Diana loved to hunt. Compare *Comus*, 131, note.

Time is our tedious Song should here have ending;
 Heav'n's youngest teemed Star 240
 Hath fixt her polisht Car,
 Her sleeping Lord with Handmaid Lamp attending:
 And all about the Courtly Stable,
 Bright-harness'd Angels sit in order serviceable.

(Dec. 1629)

240. *youngest teemed*—newest born. The star of the Wise Men is the most recent recruit to the heavenly host, and now the moment has arrived when it "came and stood over where the young child was." (Mat. ii, 9.)

243. *Courtly*, because it is a king's residence.

244. *Bright-harness'd*—clad in bright armour.

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,
 Nec sinit optatas posse sequi tenebras?
 Carmine scire velis quam te redamemque colamque. 5
 Crede mihi, vix hoc carmine scire queas,
 Nam neque noster amor modulis includitur artis,
 Nec venit ad claudos integer ipse pedes.
 Quam bene solennes epulas, hilaremque Decembrim
 Festaque caelifugam quae coluere Deum, 10
 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, 15
 Atque hederam lauro praeposuisse suae.

3. *Musa camenam*. The words, in this case, both mean poetic inspiration. *Camena* was the native Italian equivalent of the Greek word "Muse."

8. *claudos . . . pedes*. The term *clauda carmina* was used (e.g., by Ovid, *Tristia*, III, i, 11) to mean elegy, for it suggested the alternating elegiac hexameter and pentameter. Compare *To Salzilli*, i, note.

9. *hilaremque Decembrim*. Milton thought of the figure which was familiar in both painting and poetry,

"the chill December:

Yet he, through merry feasting which he made,
 And great bonfires, did not the cold remember;
 His Saviours birth his mind so much did glad."

(*F.Q.* VII, vii, 41, 1-4.)

10. *caelifugam*—heaven-forsaking—appears to be Milton's coinage.

14. Bacchus, Conti said (V, xiii, p. 506), was traditionally associated with the Muses because "the heat of wine awakens genius and strong potations make men fluent, bold and mighty." A Rabelaisian Eliza-

ELEGY VI

TO CHARLES DIODATI WHEN HE WAS VISITING IN THE
COUNTRY

(Who, when he wrote on the thirteenth of December, begging that his verses might be excused if they were not so good as usual, pled that, in the magnificence of his reception by his friends, he was not able to cultivate the Muses very prosperously. He had this answer:—)

ON AN empty stomach I send you a wish for the good health of which you, with a full one, may perhaps feel the lack. But why does your Muse³ provoke mine, instead of permitting her to seek the obscurity that she craves? You would like to be informed by a song how I return your love and how fond I am of you. Believe me, you can hardly learn it from this song, for my love is not confined by narrow metres and it is too sound to use the lame feet of elegy.⁸

How well you report the splendid feasts and the hilarious December⁹—the festivals which do honour to the heaven-forsaking¹⁰ God—the sports and pleasures of winter in the country and the French vintages quaffed beside merry fires. But why do you complain that poetry is a fugitive from wine and feasting? Song loves Bacchus¹⁴ and Bacchus loves songs. Phoebus was not ashamed to wear the green garland of ivy¹⁵ and to prefer its leaves to his own laurel.¹⁶ On the Aonian

bethan, John Eliot, in his *Fruits* urged that "Aeschylus (if you giue credit to Plutarchus in his bankets) did drinke composing, did compose drinking."

15. *corymbos*—clusters of ivy-leaves. Compare the "ivy-crowned Bacchus" of *L'Allegro*, 16, and "his clust'ring locks With Ivy berries wreath'd" in *Comus*, 54-5.

16. Compare the note on Apollo's ivy in *Elegy V*, 13.

Saepius Aoniis clamavit collibus Euae
 Mista Thyoneo turba novena choro.
 Naso Corallaeis mala carmina misit ab agris;
 Non illic epulae, non sata vitis erat. 20
 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, 25
 Et volat Eleo pulvere fuscus eques.
 Quadrimoque madens Lyricen Romanus Iaccho
 Dulce canit Glyceran, flavicomamque Chloen.
 Iam quoque lauta tibi generoso mensa paratu
 Mentis alit vires ingeniumque fovet. 30
 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 35
 Numine composito tres peperisse Deos.
 Nunc quoque Thressa tibi caelato barbitos auro
 Insonat arguta molliter icta manu;
 Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum,
 Virgineos tremula quae regat arte pedes. 40
 Illa tuas saltem teneant spectacula Musas,
 Et revocent quantum crapula pellit iners.

17. For the *Aonian hills* and their relation to the Muses see *Elegy IV*, 30, note.

Euae, the traditional cry of the Bacchantes, was the source of the name *Euan* (see l. 23 below) for Bacchus.

18. Bacchus is called *Thyoneus* because his mother, Semele, was known as Thyone after Zeus had translated her to heaven.

19. *Naso*—Ovid, whose full name was Publius Ovidius Naso. For his banishment see *Elegy I*, 22, note. The *Coralli* were a barbarous tribe on the Danube of whom he complained in the *Epistles from Pontus*, IV, viii, 80-3. The *Epistles* and *Tristia* both mention the dearth of vines, good wine and good cheer in Pontus.

21. *Lyaeum*—Bacchus. See *To his Father*, 43, note.

22. *Teia Musa*—The allusion here is to Anacreon, who was a native of Teios in Ionia.

brevibus . . . modis—short measures. The Anacreontics which were written by Anacreon and his imitators, both Greek and Latin, were typically short lyrics on erotic and convivial themes.

hills¹⁷ the chorus of the Nine has often mingled with the rout of Thyoneus¹⁸ and raised the cry, *Euoe*. Naso¹⁹ sent bad verses from the Corallian fields because there were no banquets in that land and the vine had not been planted. O what but wine and roses and Lyaeus²¹ wreathed with clusters did the Teian Poet sing in his short measures?²² Teumesian Euan inspires the Pindaric Odes²³ and their every page is redolent of the consumed wine; as he paints the crash of the heavy chariot overturned by a shattered axle, and the rush of the horseman, all blackened with the Elean dust. In his potations of four-year-old wine the Roman lyrist²⁷ sang of Glycera and of golden-haired Chloe.²⁸ In your case also the sumptuous board with its generous provision gives strength to your mind and fire to your genius. Your Massic cups foam with creative impulse and you decant the store of your verses out of the wine-jar itself. To all this we add the arts and Apollo's presence in your secret heart. In your single self the favour of Bacchus, Apollo,³³ and Ceres is united. No wonder, then, if the three gods by their combined potency should have brought forth such sweet songs through you!

Now also for you the Thracian lyre,³⁷ inlaid with gold and gently touched by a skilled hand, is sounding; and in tapestried halls you have the music of the harp that rules the dancing feet of maidens by its rhythmic art. At least, let these scenes hold the attention of your Muse and recall what-

23. *Pindaricos . . . numeros*. The Odes of Pindar, many of which celebrated the victors in the chariot races in the Olympian Games, which were held in Elis.

Teumesius Euan—Teumesian Bacchus. Teumesus was a town in Boeotia from which the whole country derived one of its names. Bacchus was supposed to have been born in Thebes, the Boeotian capital.

27. *Lycien Romanus*—Horace. *Iaccho*, one of the cult names of Bacchus, is used like *Lycio* in *To his Father*, 43, to mean "wine."

28. Glycera and Chloe both appear in several of Horace's *Odes* and once (III, ix, 19) Chloe is called "flava"—blond or golden-haired.

33-34. Apollo is mentioned as the god of poetry who conspires with the goddess of good cheer, Ceres, and with Bacchus to inspire Diodati.

37. *Thressa . . . barbitos*. The lyre is called Thracian because it belonged to Orpheus, the "Thracian Bard" of *P.L.* VII, 34. Compare *Lycidas*, 63, note.

Crede mihi, dum psallit ebur, comitataque plectrum Implet odoratos festa chorea tholos,	
Percipies tacitum per pectora serpere Phoebum, Quale repentinus permeat ossa calor;	45
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;	50
Liber adest elegis, Eratoque, Ceresque, Venusque, Et cum purpurea matre tenellus Amor.	
Talibus inde licent convivium larga poetis, Saepius et veteri commaduisse mero.	
At qui bella refert, et adulto sub Iove caelum, Heroasque pios, semideosque duces,	55
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.	60
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.	
Qualis veste nitens sacra, et lustralibus undis, Surgis ad infensos augur iture Deos.	65
Hoc ritu vixisse ferunt post rapta sagacem Lumina Tiresian, Ogygiumque Linon, Et lare devoto profugum Calchanta, senemque Orpheon edomitica sola per antra feris.	70

48. *Thalia*, who later became the Muse of Comedy, was first known as the patroness of rural sports and social pleasures.

51. *Liber* was an ancient Italian god who presided over vines and agriculture and who became identified with Bacchus.

Erato—the Muse of erotic and lyric poetry.

55. *adulto sub Iove* is, perhaps, an allusion to the settled reign of Jove on Olympus after his violent youth, when he usurped the power of his father, Saturn, and fought against the remaining Titans to defend his throne.

55-56. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 45-8.

58. The dog is Cerberus, the three-headed guardian of Hades.

59-60. *Samii . . . magistri*—Pythagoras, whom Ovid introduces (*Met.* XV, 60) as "a Samian by birth." The following passage is famous for

ever power dull dissipation drives away. Believe me, when the ivory key is played and the festive throng dances through the perfumed halls to the sound of the lute, you will feel the silent approach of Phoebus in your breast like a sudden heat that permeates to the marrow; and through a maiden's eyes and music-making fingers Thalia⁴⁸ will glide into full possession of your breast.

For many of the gods patronize the gay elegy and she calls whom she will to her measures. Liber and Erato,⁵¹ Ceres and Venus are at hand to help her, and beside his rosy mother is the stripling Cupid. For such poets, then; grand banquets are allowable and frequent potations of old wine. But he whose theme is wars and heaven under Jupiter in his prime,⁵⁵ and pious heroes and chieftains half-divine, and he who sings now of the sacred counsels of the gods on high, and now of the infernal realms where the fierce dog⁵⁸ howls, let him live sparingly, like the Samian teacher;⁵⁹ and let herbs furnish his innocent diet. Let the purest water stand beside him in a bowl of beech and let him drink sober draughts from the pure spring. Beyond this, his youth must be innocent of crime and chaste, his conduct irreproachable and his hands stainless. His character should be like yours, O Priest, when, glorious with sacred vestments and lustral water, you arise to go into the presence of the angry deities.

By this rule it is said that the wise Tiresias⁶⁷ lived after the loss of his eyes, and Ogygian⁶⁸ Linus, and Calchas⁶⁹ when he was a fugitive from his doomed home, and Orpheus in his old age, when he tamed the wild beasts among the lonely caves.

its account of the Pythagorean teaching about the origins of the universe and the Pythagorean belief that the consumption of all meats is "impious."

67-68. *sagacem* . . . *Tiresian*. See *On the Platonic Idea*, 25-6, and P.L. III, 36, notes.

68. *Ogygium*—Theban. Ogygia was an ancient name for Thebes.

69. *Calchanta*. Calchas was the most famous soothsayer in the Greek expedition against Troy. His association with Tiresias may be due to the coupling of their names by Cicero in *On the Nature of the Gods*, II, iii, 7.

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 75
 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)— 80
 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, 85
 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. 90

(Dec. 1629)

71. In Boccaccio's defence of the poets (*Genealogy of the Gods*, XIV, xix) the familiar tradition of Homer's blindness and wandering is developed into an account of an almost Christian hermit living a life of deprivation among rough crags and mountains, where he composed his poems. Milton was interested in the *Odyssey* here because, as Chapman said in the Epistle Dedicatory of his translation, the word "man" in its first line symbolized the triumph of manliness, or wisdom, over passion.

72. *Dulichium . . . virum*—the Dulichian man, *i.e.*, Ulysses, who was lord of the tiny (and now unknown) island of Dulichium, near Ithaca.

73. *Circe*. See *Comus*, 50-3, and 253-9, and *Elegy I*, 87, notes.

74. *vada foemineis insidiosa sonis*. Homer's story of Ulysses' escape from the Sirens is told in the *Odyssey*, XII, 165-200.

So Homer, the spare eater and the water-drinker,⁷¹ carried the Dulichian hero⁷² through vast stretches of ocean, through the monster-making palace of the daughter of Phoebus and Perseis,⁷³ through the seas made treacherous by the songs of the Sirens,⁷⁴ and through your mansions, O infernal King, where he is said to have constrained the hosts of shades by means of a libation of dark blood.⁷⁵ For truly, the bard is sacred to the gods and is their priest. His hidden heart and his lips alike breathe out Jove.

But if you will know what I am doing (if only you think it of any importance to know whether I am doing anything)—I am singing the heaven-descended King,⁸¹ the bringer of peace, and the blessed times promised in the sacred books—the infant cries of our God and his stabling under a mean roof who, with his Father, governs the realms above. I am singing the starry sky⁸⁵ and the hosts that sang high in air, and the gods that were suddenly destroyed in their own shrines.

These are my gifts for the birthday of Christ—gifts which the first light of its dawn brought to me. Also some simple strains that have been meditated on my native pipes are awaiting you; and you, when I recite them to you, shall be my judge.

75. Milton thought of the scene (*Od.* XI, 34-9) when the shadowy dead gathered around Ulysses as he poured a libation of the black blood of sheep.

81-90. The lines refer to the *Nativity Hymn* as the poem which has been composed *patriis . . . ciculis, i.e.*, in English, and fix the date of the *Elegy* at about Christmas, 1629.

85. *polum*. See *Elegy I*, 56, note.

THE PASSION

I

ERE-WHILE of Music and Ethereal mirth,
 Wherewith the stage of Air and Earth did ring,
 And joyous news of heav'nly Infant's birth,
 My muse with Angels did divide to sing;
 But headlong joy is ever on the wing, 5
 In Wintry solstice like the short'n'd light
 Soon swallow'd up in dark and long out-living night.

II

For now to sorrow must I tune my song,
 And set my Harp to notes of saddest woe,
 Which on our dearest Lord did seize ere long, 10
 Dangers, and snares, and wrongs, and worse than so,
 Which he for us did freely undergo:
 Most perfect *Hero*, tried in heaviest plight
 Of labours huge and hard, too hard for human wight.

III

He sovran Priest, stooping his regal head 15
 That dropt with odorous oil down his fair eyes,
 Poor fleshly Tabernacle entered,
 His starry front low-rooft beneath the skies;
 O what a Mask was there, what a disguise!
 Yet more; the stroke of death he must abide, 20
 Then lies him meekly down fast by his Brethren's side.

1. *Ethereal*—heavenly, *i.e.*, belonging to the angels. Compare the "ethereal People" of *P.L.* X, 27, and the "Ethereal Powers" of *P.R.* I, 163, note.

4. *divide* was a musical term nearly equivalent to "descant." A division was "a variation on or accompaniment to a plain song." (*N.E.D.*)

13-14. For the allusion to Hercules which is implicit here see the Introduction to *P.R.* and *S.A.* §3.

14. *wight*—creature.

15. Milton thought of Christ as St. Paul described him, setting aside his divinity "to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest . . . to make reconciliation for the

IV

These latter scenes confine my roving verse,
 To this Horizon is my *Phoebus* bound;
 His Godlike acts and his temptations fierce,
 And former sufferings other where are found; 25
 Loud o'er the rest *Cremona's* Trump doth sound;
 Me softer airs befit, and softer strings
 Of Lute or Viol still, more apt for mournful things.

V

Befriend me night, best Patroness of grief,
 Over the Pole thy thickest mantle throw, 30
 And work my flatter'd fancy to belief,
 That Heav'n and Earth are colour'd with my woe;
 My sorrows are too dark for day to know:
 The leaves should all be black whereon I write,
 And letters where my tears have washt, a wannish white. 35

VI

See, see the Chariot and those rushing wheels
 That whirl'd the Prophet up at *Chebar* flood;
 My spirit some transporting *Cherub* feels,
 To bear me where the Towers of *Salem* stood,
 Once glorious Towers, now sunk in guiltless blood; 40
 There doth my soul in holy vision sit,
 In pensive trance, and anguish, and ecstatic fit.

sins of the people." (Heb. ii, 17.) When he was consecrated, the Jewish High Priest was anointed with sacred oil.

23. Because Phoebus Apollo was the god of poetry, Milton speaks of him as he does of his Muse in line 4, meaning his poetic impulse.

26. *Cremona's Trump*—the *Christias* or epic poem on the life of Christ by Marco Girolamo Vida, who was a native of Cremona. See the Introduction, §5.

28. *still*—gentle. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 127.

30. Compare "the dusky Pole" of *Comus*, 99, and the "starry Pole" of *P.L.* IV, 724.

36-37. Ezekiel's vision of the marvellous living creatures whose appearance "was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel" (Ezek. i, 16) was "by the river of Chebar" (Ezek. i, 1), a name which perhaps meant the Euphrates to Milton and certainly stood for some Babylonian stream.

39. *Salem*—Jerusalem, which represents the home of sacred poetry.

VII

Mine eye hath found that sad Sepulchral rock
 That was the Casket of Heav'n's richest store,
 And here though grief my feeble hands up-lock, 45
 Yet on the soft'ned Quarry would I score
 My plaining verse as lively as before;
 For sure so well instructed are my tears,
 That they would fitly fall in order'd Characters.

VIII

Or should I thence hurried on viewless wing, 50
 Take up a weeping on the Mountains wild,
 The gentle neighbourhood of grove and spring
 Would soon unbosom all thir Echoes mild,
 And I (for grief is easily beguil'd)
 Might think th'infection of my sorrows loud 55
 Had got a race of mourners on some pregnant cloud.

*This Subject the Author finding to be above the years
 he had, when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied
 with what was begun, left it unfinished.*

(1630)

43. *that sad Sepulchral rock*—the new tomb where Joseph of Arimathea laid the body of Jesus.

48-49. Contrast Richard Crashaw's treatment of this conceit in *Upon the Death of a Gentleman*:

"Eyes are vocal, tears have tongues,
 And there be words not made with lungs;
 Sententious showers, O, let them fall,
 Their cadence is rhetorical."

50. *viewless*—invisible. Compare *Comus*, 92.

51. The extravagance is partly due to Jeremiah ix, 10; "For the mountains will I take up a weeping and a wailing, and for the habitations of the wilderness a lamentation."

ON SHAKESPEARE.

WHAT needs my *Shakespeare* for his honour'd Bones
 The labour of an age in piled Stones,
 Or that his hallow'd reliques should be hid
 Under a Star-ypointing *Pyramid*?
 Dear son of memory, great heir of Fame, 5
 What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
 Thou in our wonder and astonishment
 Hast built thyself a live-long Monument.
 For whilst to th'shame of slow-endeavouring art,
 Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart 10

1-4. In the Second Folio (1632) these lines appeared with the title, *An Epitaph on the Admirable Dramatic Poet, W. Shakespear*. When they were written, Milton evidently thought of them as an inscription for a monument of some kind. His dubious date, 1630, suggests that the poem may have been written some time before it was first published, perhaps with the expectation that the Stratford or some other monument would be reproduced instead of the Droeshout portrait, which is the actual frontispiece.

4. For the *y-* prefix in *-ypointing* see the note on *ychain'd* in *Nativity Hymn*, 155.

5. As the *son of memory*, Shakespeare becomes the brother of the Muses themselves, for Hesiod says (*Theogony*, 53-9) that Mnemosyne, or Memory, bore them to Zeus and that their hearts are free from care because they are dedicated to song.

7-8. Browne's line—

"No grave befits him but the hearts of men."
(Britannia's Pastorals, I, v, 186.)

—is only one of many parallels to Milton's fancy, but no other poet ever developed the conceit so boldly and poetically as he went on to do.

9-10. Perhaps Milton contrasted his own self-critical habits of work with the "excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein" Jonson complained in *Timber* that Shakespeare "flowed" with too much "facility." Certainly here, as in *L'Allegro*, 134-5, he thought of Shakespeare as "fancy's child."

10. *numbers*—verses.

In 1645 *heart* supplanted *part*, which appeared in 1632, probably not as a misprint, but because Milton meant to say that Shakespeare moved every part or faculty of the spirit.

Hath from the leaves of thy unvalu'd Book
 Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
 Then thou our fancy of itself bereaving,
 Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving;
 And so Sepulcher'd in such pomp dost lie, 15
 That Kings for such a Tomb would wish to die.

(1630)

11. *unvalu'd*—invaluable, precious. Mr. Garrod compares Chapman's postscript to his translation of the *Iliad*:

"In which, repaid
 With thine own value, go, unvalued book,
 Live and be loved."

12. The meaning of *Delphic* is hardly "oracular," but rather, "inspired by Apollo" and therefore authentically poetical. Carew used the word in the same way when he said that Donne possessed

"the fire

That fills with spirit and heat the Delphic choir."

(*An Elegy upon the Death of Doctor Donne, Dean of Paul's.*)

Compare the note on *Nativity Hymn*, 178.

14. *Dost make us Marble*; compare *Il Penseroso*, 42, note.

ON THE UNIVERSITY CARRIER

Who sicken'd in the time of his vacancy, being forbid to go
to *London*, by reason of the Plague.

HERE lies old *Hobson*, Death hath broke his girt,
And here, alas, hath laid him in the dirt,
Or else the ways being foul, twenty to one,
He's here stuck in a slough, and overthrown.
'Twas such a shifter, that if truth were known, 5
Death was half glad when he had got him down;
For he had any time this ten years full,
Dodg'd with him, betwixt *Cambridge* and the Bull.
And surely, Death could never have prevail'd,
Had not his weekly course of carriage fail'd; 10
But lately finding him so long at home,
And thinking now his journey's end was come,
And that he had ta'en up his latest Inn,
In the kind office of a Chamberlin
Show'd him his room where he must lodge that night, 15
Pull'd off his Boots, and took away the light:
If any ask for him, it shall be said,
Hobson has sup't, and 's newly gone to bed.

(1631)

1. Thomas Hobson had been carrier or coach-driver between Cambridge and the Bull Inn, in Bishopsgate Street, from 1564 until the spring of 1630, when his weekly trips to London were stopped on account of the plague there. He was a figure among the undergraduates because, beside his service as carrier, he owned what is supposed to have been the first livery stable in England. His clients are said to have had what came to be known as "Hobson's choice" among his mounts because he insisted that the horse nearest the door should always be the first to go out. Hobson died on New Year's Day, 1631, in his eighty-seventh year.

girt was a frequent variant form of "girth."

5. *shifter*—dodger, evader.

13. *ta'en up his latest Inn*—taken quarters in the last inn that he was to visit.

14. *Chamberlin*—a man-servant about an inn, such as appears in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part I, II, i, 52-106.

ANOTHER ON THE SAME

HERE lieth one who did most truly prove
 That he could never die while he could move,
 So hung his destiny never to rot
 While he might still jog on and keep his trot,
 Made of sphere-metal, never to decay 5
 Until his revolution was at stay.
 Time numbers motion, yet (without a crime
 'Gainst old truth) motion number'd out his time;
 And like an Engine mov'd with wheel and weight,
 His principles being ceast, he ended straight. 10
 Rest that gives all men life, gave him his death,
 And too much breathing put him out of breath;
 Nor were it contradiction to affirm
 Too long vacation hasten'd on his term.
 Merely to drive the time away he sick'n'd, 15
 Fainted, and died, nor would with Ale be quick'n'd;
 Nay, quoth he, on his swooning bed out-stretch'd,
 If I may not carry, sure I'll ne'er be fetch'd,
 But vow, though the cross Doctors all stood hearers,
 For one Carrier put down to make six bearers. 20
 Ease was his chief disease, and to judge right,
 He died for heaviness that his Cart went light.
 His leisure told him that his time was come,
 And lack of load made his life burdensome,
 That even to his last breath (there be that say't) 25

5-6. *sphere-metal*—the heavenly substance or "Ethereal Mould" of which God is described (*P.L.* VII, 353-6) as framing the "Celestial Bodies." Milton's "conceit" rests upon the Aristotelian doctrine that the heavenly substance is indestructible. (*De Coelo*, I, iii.)

7-8. Here the "conceit" depends upon the very familiar doctrine of Aristotle (*De Coelo*, I, 9) that time is the measure of motion.

10. *principles*—motive forces. The word is used punningly, for it could apply both to the motive power of a machine and to the faculties of the body. We still speak vaguely of a "life principle."

14. The play is on the vacations and terms or "semesters" of the University.

22. *heaviness; i.e.*, "the dumpishe heavinesse, that proceedeth of Melancholy." (Barnabe Googe's terms, quoted by the *N.E.D.*)

As he were prest to death, he cry'd, more weight;
 But had his doings lasted as they were,
 He had been an immortal Carrier.
 Obedient to the Moon he spent his date
 In course reciprocal, and had his fate
 Linkt to the mutual flowing of the Seas,
 Yet (strange to think) his wain was his increase:
 His Letters are deliver'd all and gone,
 Only remains this superscription.

(1631)

26. The victims of the old punishment of gradual pressing to death must often have asked for more weight to hasten the inevitable.

29. *date*—time, *i.e.*, allotted life-time.

32. *wain*—a wagon—puns with “wane,” a diminishing. We still say that the moon is “on the wane.”

AN EPITAPH ON THE MARCHIONESS OF
WINCHESTER

THIS rich Marble doth inter
 The honour'd Wife of *Winchester*,
 A Viscount's daughter, an Earl's heir,
 Besides what her virtues fair
 Added to her noble birth, 5
 More than she could own from Earth.
 Summers three times eight save one
 She had told; alas too soon,
 After so short time of breath,
 To house with darkness, and with death. 10
 Yet had the number of her days
 Been as complete as was her praise,
 Nature and fate had had no strife
 In giving limit to her life.
 Her high birth, and her graces sweet, 15
 Quickly found a lover meet;
 The Virgin quire for her request
 The God that sits at marriage feast;
 He at their invoking came
 But with a scarce-well-lighted flame; 20
 And in his Garland as he stood,
 Ye might discern a Cypress bud.

2-3. Jane Savage was the daughter of Thomas, Viscount of Rock-Savage, and through her mother she was the heir of Lord Darcy, Earl of Rivers. Her husband, John Paulet, was the fifth Marquis of Winchester. Whether Milton had any acquaintance with her family at the time of her death in April, 1631, is doubtful, but some of her relatives may have been among his friends at Cambridge. Or he may have written this Epitaph simply as an exercise in the vein of Ben Jonson's formal elegy upon her.

18-22. *The God*—Hymen. Perhaps in some masque entertainment at the lady's wedding the God of Marriage appeared, dressed in the traditional saffron robe in which Ovid (*Met.* X, 1) described him at the marriage of Orpheus and Eurydice, where he failed to bring a lucky omen and his torch sputtered out in spite of all his efforts to keep it blazing.

22. *Cypress* was a traditional funeral decoration. Compare Spenser's *Daphnida*, 528-9:

"When as my hearse shall happen to your sightes,
 Vouchsafe to deck the same with Cypresse."

Once had the early Matrons run
 To greet her of a lovely son,
 And now with second hope she goes, 25
 And calls *Lucina* to her throes;
 But whether by mischance or blame
Atropos for *Lucina* came,
 And with remorseless cruelty,
 Spoil'd at once both fruit and tree: 30
 The hapless Babe before his birth
 Had burial, yet not laid in earth,
 And the languisht Mother's Womb
 Was not long a living Tomb.
 So have I seen some tender slip 35
 Sav'd with care from Winter's nip,
 The pride of her carnation train,
 Pluck't up by some unheedy swain,
 Who only thought to crop the flow'r
 New shot up from vernal show'r; 40
 But the fair blossom hangs the head
 Side-ways as on a dying bed,
 And those Pearls of dew she wears,
 Prove to be presaging tears
 Which the sad morn had let fall 45
 On her hast'ning funeral.
 Gentle Lady, may thy grave
 Peace and quiet ever have:
 After this thy travail sore
 Sweet rest seize thee evermore, 50

24. The son was Charles, afterward first Duke of Bolton.

26. *Lucina*, the Roman goddess of childbirth. The mother in *Cymbeline* (V, iv, 43-4) complains that *Lucina*

"lent not me her aid,

But took me in my throes."

28. *Atropos*, the "inflexible," was the Fate who cut the threads of human lives. Compare *Arcades*, 63-9, note, and *Lycidas*, 75-6, note.

36-37. Compare the image in *S.A.* 1576-7.

46. *funeral*—death. Spenser describes a servant who, deeming his master dead,

"Fled fast away, to tell his funerall

Vnto his brother."

(*F.Q.* II, v, 25, 8-9.)

50. *seize*—possess.

That to give the world increase,
 Short'ned hast thy own life's lease;
 Here besides the sorrowing
 That thy noble House doth bring,
 Here be tears of perfect moan 55
 Wept for thee in *Helicon*,
 And some Flowers and some Bays
 For thy Hearse to strew the ways,
 Sent thee from the banks of *Came*,
 Devoted to thy virtuous name; 60
 Whilst thou, bright Saint, high sitt'st in glory,
 Next her much like to thee in story,
 That fair *Syrian* Shepherdess,
 Who after years of barrenness
 The highly favour'd *Joseph* bore 65
 To him that serv'd for her before,
 And at her next birth, much like thee,
 Through pangs fled to felicity,
 Far within the bosom bright
 Of blazing Majesty and Light; 70
 There with thee, new welcome Saint,
 Like fortunes may her soul acquaint,
 With thee there clad in radiant sheen,
 No Marchioness, but now a Queen.

(1631)

55. Compare *Lycidas*, 14. Tears was a name given to the mourning verses which it was customary to pin to the biers of the dead at funerals.

56. *Helicon*—the mountain range in Boeotia which was sacred to the Muses.

59. *Came*—the river Cam, standing here for Cambridge. Compare *Camus, reverend Sire*, in *Lycidas*, 103.

63-68. The *Syrian Shepherdess* is Rachel, who first enters the Bible story "with her father's sheep, for she kept them." (Gen. xxix, 9.) Jacob served her father, Laban, fourteen years for her and only after long disappointment she bore him Joseph, whom he loved "more than all his children." (Gen. xxxvii, 3.) She died in giving birth to Benjamin. (Gen. xxxv. 18.)

HOW SOON HATH TIME . . .

How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stol'n on his wing my three and twentieth year!
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th.
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth, 5
 That I to manhood am arriv'd so near,
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely-happy spirits endu'th.
 Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow, 10
 It shall be still in strictest measure ev'n
 To that same lot, however mean, or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heav'n;
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great task-Master's eye.

(1631 or 1632)

1-2. Milton's twenty-third birthday fell on December ninth, 1631, in the winter before he took his degree of M.A. and left the University. A few months later, seemingly, or not long after his residence at Horton had begun, he enclosed a copy of this sonnet to a friend who, he said, had accused him of "too much love of learning" and of dreaming away his "years in the arms of studious retirement." His reply is; "Lastly, the love of learning, as it is the pursuit of something good, it would sooner follow the more excellent and supreme good known and presented, and so be quickly diverted from the empty and fantastic chase of shadows . . . to the solid good flowing from due and timely obedience to that command in the Gospel set out by the terrible seising of him that hid the talent." Compare the Sonnet, *When I consider* . . . 3, note, and the Introduction, §3.

10. *still*—always, forever.

13-14. The pledge of the four preceding lines is transformed into an assertion of "due and timely obedience" to the Gospel command to labour.

L'ALLEGRO

HENCE loathed Melancholy
 Of *Cerberus* and blackest midnight born,
 In *Stygian* Cave forlorn
 'Mongst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy,
 Find out some uncouth cell, 5
 Where brooding darkness spreads his jealous wings,
 And the night-Raven sings;
 There under *Ebon* shades, and low-brow'd Rocks,
 As ragged as thy Locks,
 In dark *Cimmerian* desert ever dwell. 10
 But come thou Goddess fair and free,
 In Heav'n yclep'd *Euphrosyne*,
 And by men, heart-easing Mirth,
 Whom lovely *Venus* at a birth
 With two sister Graces more 15

1-4. Virgil describes the den of the three-headed dog, Cerberus, on the dark shores of the Styx where other monsters, "countless and various" (*Aen.* VI, 418), guard the rivers of Hades; but here the immediate background was the allegorical embroidery upon Virgil of mythographers like Natale Conti, who made Cerberus a symbol of death itself. So in this humorous invocation, which may parody *On the Fifth of November* (60 and 139-54), with its "Cimmerian darkness" and its monsters, Melancholy needs no classical justification for appearing as the daughter of Cerberus and Midnight.

5. *uncouth*—unfamiliar, solitary, desolate.

7. Whatever bird it be, the *night-Raven*, as Spenser tells us, belonged to the realm of "elvish ghosts" and "gastly owles." (*June*, 23-4.)

8-10. So Ovid described (*Met.* XI, 592-6) the cave of the slumber-god, Morpheus, lying under a mountain in the land of the Cimmerians, which Homer placed (*Od.* XI, 14-8) in a sunless region of perpetual clouds on the far confines of the ocean.

9. *ragged* and also the related "rugged" were used in both of the former's connexions here. Compare the biblical "ragged rocks" (Is. ii, 21) and Fairfax's lines:

"His feltred Locks, that on his Bosome fell,
 On rugged Mountains Briers and Thorns resemble."
 (*J.D.* IV, 7, 5-6.)

12. *yclep'd*—called. For the prefix see *Nativity Hymn*, 155, note.

12-16. Among the classical genealogies of the Graces—*Euphrosyne* (mirth), *Aglaia* (festive beauty) and *Thalia* (festive joy or the bloom of life)—Milton first followed Servius' account of them as the children

'To Ivy-crowned *Bacchus* bore;
 Or whether (as some Sager sing)
 The frolic Wind that breathes the Spring,
Zephyr with *Aurora* playing,
 As he met her once a-Maying, 20
 There on Beds of Violets blue,
 And fresh-blown Roses washt in dew,
 Fill'd her with thee a daughter fair,
 So buxom, blithe, and debonair.
 Haste thee nymph, and bring with thee 25
 Jest and youthful Jollity,
 Quips and Cranks, and wanton Wiles,
 Nods, and Becks, and Wreathed Smiles,
 Such as hang on *Hebe's* cheek,
 And love to live in dimple sleek; 30
 Sport that wrinkled Care derides,
 And Laughter holding both his sides.
 Come, and trip it as ye go
 On the light fantastic toe,
 And in thy right hand lead with thee, 35
 The Mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty;
 And if I give thee honour due,
 Mirth, admit me of thy crew

of Venus and Bacchus (commentary on *Aen.* I, 724) and then he invented his own wiser myth of the west wind, *Zephyr*, and the dawn, *Aurora*, as the parents of Euphrosyne.

18. *breathes*—exhales. Compare Aquilo, the north wind, "breathing" winter in *Nature is Immune to Old Age*, 55.

24. *buxom*—lively, merry.

debonair—courteous, pleasant.

Mr. G. C. Moore Smith compares Randolph's lines in *Aristippus*:

"A bowl of good wine is wondrous good cheer
 To make one blithe, buxom and debonair."

27. *Quips*: Lyly called a quip "a short saying of a sharpe wit, with a bitter sense in a sweet word." (*Alexander and Campaspe*, III, i, 30-1.)

Cranks—humorous turns of speech.

28. *Becks*—bows, curtseys.

29. *Hebe*, in Greek, signified both Youth personified and the goddess cupbearer of Zeus, who appears in the *Vacation Exercise*, 38, bringing "immortal Nectar."

31-32. Compare the derision of Rigour, Advice, "Strict Age, and sour Severity" in *Comus*, 108-9.

38. *of thy crew*—to membership in thy crew.

To live with her, and live with thee,
 In unproved pleasures free; 40
 To hear the Lark begin his flight,
 And singing startle the dull night,
 From his watch-tow'r in the skies,
 Till the dappled dawn doth rise;
 Then to come in spite of sorrow, 45
 And at my window bid good morrow,
 Through the Sweet-Briar, or the Vine,
 Or the twisted Eglantine;
 While the Cock with lively din,
 Scatters the rear of darkness thin, 50
 And to the stack, or the Barn door,
 Stoutly struts his Dames before;
 Oft list'ning how the Hounds and horn
 Cheerly rouse the slumb'ring morn,
 From the side of some Hoar Hill, 55
 Through the high wood echoing shrill;
 Some time walking not unseen
 By Hedge-row Elms, on Hillocks green,
 Right against the Eastern gate,

40. *unproved*—unreprovable. Compare the note on *unincharmed* in *Comus*, 395.

45. *in spite of sorrow*—in despite or contempt of sorrow.

46-48. Is it the dawn, the lark, or the poet who says good morning? And to whom? It seems to me that the poet is as plainly the subject of "to come . . . And . . . bid" as he is of "To live" (39), "To hear" (41), and "list'ning" (53); but Mr. Verity makes a strong plea for the lark on the strength of Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Grosart's ed. I, 49):

"But cheerful Birds, chirping him sweet good-morrows,
 With Nature's Musick do beguile his sorrows."

55. The *N.E.D.* defines *Hoar* in this line as meaning "grey from absence of foliage," but it is likely that in this description of a spring landscape Milton was thinking of effects of foliage like that which Shakespeare intended when he mentioned the willow as a tree

"That shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream."
 (*Hamlet*, IV, vii, 168.)

57. *not unseen*—not avoiding being seen. Contrast *Il Penseroso*, 65.

59. Compare Shakespeare's "eastern gate, all fiery-red," which

"Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
 Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams."
 (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, ii, 391-3.)

Where the great Sun begins his state, 60
 Rob'd in flames, and Amber light,
 The clouds in thousand Liveries dight;
 While the Plowman near at hand,
 Whistles o'er the Furrow'd Land,
 And the Milkmaid singeth blithe, 65
 And the Mower whets his scythe,
 And every Shepherd tells his tale
 Under the Hawthorn in the dale.
 Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures
 Whilst the Lantskip round it measures, 70
 Russet Lawns and Fallows Gray,
 Where the nibbling flocks do stray;
 Mountains on whose barren breast
 The labouring clouds do often rest;
 Meadows trim with Daisies pied, 75
 Shallow Brooks, and Rivers wide.
 Towers and Battlements it sees
 Bosom'd high in tufted Trees,
 Where perhaps some beauty lies,

60. *state*—stately procession.

62. *Liveries*—gorgeous costumes. Compare the verb in *Comus*, 455.

67. The *N.E.D.* seems to be right in interpreting *tells his tale* as meaning, "tells his story," for the expression does not occur in any other sense earlier than the nineteenth century. The traditional interpretation of "counts his tale" or tally of sheep is tempting beside such a line as Dryden's

"Once she takes the tale of all the lambs."

(Translation of Virgil's *Pastorals*, III, 51.)

70. *Lantskip* was an accepted form of "landscape" and Milton used it regularly. Compare *P.L.* II, 491.

71. *russet*—reddish brown or grey, like the homespun cloth called russet. Compare Shakespeare's "morn in russet mantle clad." (*Hamlet*, I, i, 166.)

75. *pied*—variegated, spotted. The phrase was very common. Compare Shakespeare's song beginning:

"When daisies pied and violets blue

* * * * *

Do paint the meadows with delight,—"

(*Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 882-5.)

78. *Bosom'd*—embraced, hidden.

Compare *tufted grove* in *Comus*, 225.

The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes. 80
 Hard by, a Cottage chimney smokes,
 From betwixt two aged Oaks,
 Where *Corydon* and *Thyrsis* met,
 Are at their savoury dinner set
 Of Herbs, and other Country Messes, 85
 Which the neat-handed *Phyllis* dresses;
 And then in haste her Bow'r she leaves,
 With *Thestylis* to bind the Sheaves;
 Or if the earlier season lead
 To the tann'd Haycock in the Mead. 90
 Sometimes with secure delight
 The up-land Hamlets will invite,
 When the merry Bells ring round,
 And the jocund rebecks sound
 To many a youth, and many a maid, 95
 Dancing in the Chequer'd shade;
 And young and old come forth to play
 On a Sunshine Holiday,
 Till the live-long day-light fail;
 Then to the Spicy Nut-brown Ale, 100
 With stories told of many a feat,
 How *Faery Mab* the junkets eat;

80. *Cynosure*—focus, object of attention. For the origin and poetic value of the word compare *Comus*, 342, note.

83. Milton found the names of his two rustics used over and over again by most of the poets in the pastoral tradition since Theocritus, in whose first and fourth Idyls respectively they first appear.

86–88. *Phyllis* is a common name in the Greek Anthology and Milton remembered it in Virgil's *Eclogues*, V, as well as in many an English pastoral. *Thestylis* is a slave girl in Theocritus' second Idyl.

87. *Bow'r* probably has its primitive meaning of "cottage" rather than the more familiar one of "chamber," as in *Comus*, 45.

91. *secure*—careless. The word keeps the force of the Latin phrase from which it is derived—"free from care."

94. *rebecks*—primitive fiddles, with three strings.

102.

"This is that very Mab

That plats the manes of horses in the night,
 And bakes the elf-locks in foul sluttish hairs."

(*Romeo and Juliet*, I, iv, 88–90.)

So ends Mercutio's account of Oberon's queen, the same Mab who

80 She was pincht and pull'd, she said,
 And he, by Friar's Lanthorn led,
 Tells how the drudging *Goblin* sweat 105
 To earn his Cream-bowl duly set,
 When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
 85 His shadowy Flail hath thresh'd the Corn
 That ten day-labourers could not end;
 Then lies him down the Lubber Fiend, 110
 And, stretch'd out all the Chimney's length,
 Basks at the fire his hairy strength;
 90 And Crop-full out of doors he flings,
 Ere the first Cock his Matin rings.
 Thus done the Tales, to bed they creep, 115
 By whispering Winds soon lull'd asleep.

95 sent Drayton's fairies to

"make our girls their sluttery rue
 By pinching them both black and blue,
 And put a penny in their shoe,
 The house for cleanly sweeping."

(*Nymphidia*, 65-8.)

104. *Friar's Lanthorn*—the will-o'-the-wisp.

105. *the drudging Goblin*—Robin Goodfellow or Hobgoblin, to both of which names Shakespeare's fairy makes Puck own when it accuses him of misleading "night-wanderers, laughing at their harm," while yet he is a willing household drudge for his friends.

"Those that Hobgoblin call you and sweet Puck,
 You do their work, and they shall have good luck."
 (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 39-41.)

106. In "superstitious times," Burton says (*Anatomy*, I, ii, 1, 2), it was believed that "*Hobgoblins* and *Robin Goodfellows* . . . would . . . grind corn for a mess of milk, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery work."

110. *the Lubber Fiend*; so Shakespeare's fairy calls Puck "thou lob of spirits." (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 16.) "Lob" and "lubber" are distinct words, but their meanings have long been associated.

111. *Chimney* has its original, but obsolete, meaning of "fire-place."

114. *matin*—song. At the cock's

"warning,
 Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
 The extravagant and erring spirit hies
 To his confine."

(*Hamlet*, I, i, 152-5.)

Tow'ed Cities please us then,
 And the busy hum of men,
 Where throngs of Knights and Barons bold,
 In weeds of Peace high triumphs hold, 120
 With store of Ladies, whose bright eyes
 Rain influence, and judge the prize
 Of Wit, or Arms, while both contend
 To win her Grace, whom all commend.
 There let *Hymen* oft appear 125
 In Saffron robe, with Taper clear,
 And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
 With mask, and antique Pageantry—
 Such sights as youthful Poets dream
 On Summer eves by haunted stream. 130
 Then to the well-trod stage anon,
 If *Jonson's* learned Sock be on,

117-120. Perhaps in contrast to the real pleasures which he described here Milton thought of the imaginary entertainment in Burton's *Abstract of Melancholy*:

"Methinks I hear, methinks I see,
 Sweet musick, wondrous melody,
 Towns, Palaces, and Cities fine;
 Here now, then there; the world is mine.
 Rare beauties, gallant Ladies shine."

120. *weeds*—dress, garments. Compare *Comus*, 16 and 84.
triumphs—splendid festivals. Compare the title of Bacon's *Essay XXXVII*, "Of Masques and Triumphs."

122. Milton thought of the ladies' eyes as being metaphorically stars, which could rain or shed their rays of influence, like the real stars in the *Nativity Hymn*, 71. Compare the Italian sonnet, *Bright Lady*, 7-8.

125. *Hymen*, the god of marriage, suggests the splendid masques in which he was the presiding deity and of which so many were given to celebrate great weddings. In *Jonson's Masque of Hymen* he appeared "in a saffron-coloured robe, . . . in his right hand a torch of pine-tree."

127. *revelry* stood to Milton for theatrical entertainments like those which it was the business of the Master of the Revels to arrange at Court.

131. *well-trod* seems to be a compliment to the acting.

132. *Sock*: the light shoe, called a sock, which Greek comic actors wore, came to stand for comedy itself. Milton was thinking of Ben Jonson's famous comedies, to the making of which a great deal of rather self-conscious learning contributed.

Or sweetest *Shakespeare*, fancy's child,
 Warble his native Wood-notes wild.
 And ever against eating Cares, 135
 Lap me in soft *Lydian* Airs,
 Married to immortal verse,
 Such as the meeting soul may pierce
 In notes, with many a winding bout
 Of linked sweetness long drawn out, 140
 With wanton heed, and giddy cunning,
 The melting voice through mazes running;
 Untwisting all the chains that tie
 The hidden soul of harmony;
 That *Orpheus'* self may heave his head 145
 From golden slumber on a bed
 Of heapt *Elysian* flow'rs, and hear
 Such strains as would have won the ear
 Of *Pluto*, to have quite set free
 His half-regain'd *Eurydice*. 150
 These delights if thou canst give,
 Mirth, with thee I mean to live.

(1631 ?)

133-134. By *fancy* Milton meant the imagination or creative faculty. It was on the poet's fancy that he insisted in the Epitaph *On Shakespeare*, thinking probably of the fluent poetry in passages like those from *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* which have been quoted in these notes.

135. *eating Cares* is paralleled in *On the Death of Damon*, 46, where the Latin varies a famous phrase of Horace for the cares which Bacchus dissipates. (*Odes* II, xi, 18.)

136. Milton hardly sympathized with Plato's condemnation of Lydian music and in *Areopagitica* he scoffed at the notion that, "No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and Doric." (*P.W.* II, 73. Compare *S.A.* 662, note.)

143-144. Compare *P.R.* IV, 254-7. The personification of Harmony rests upon the doctrine that the human soul is a kind of harmony.

145-150. On their wedding day, Orpheus lost his wife, Eurydice, and, when he followed her to Hades, his music drew tears even from the Furies and won the consent of Proserpina, Pluto's queen in the underworld, that he should take back his wife. But the consent, Ovid explains (*Met.* X, 50-63), was limited by the impossible condition that he should not once look back at her as he led her up into the sunlight.

IL PENSEROSO

HENCE vain deluding joys,
 The brood of folly without father bred,
 How little you bested,
 Or fill the fixed mind with all your toys;
 Dwell in some idle brain, 5
 And fancies fond with gaudy shapes possess,
 As thick and numberless
 As the gay motes that people the Sun-Beams,
 Or likest hovering dreams,
 The fickle Pensioners of *Morpheus'* train. 10
 But hail thou Goddess, sage and holy,
 Hail divinest Melancholy,
 Whose Saintly visage is too bright
 To hit the Sense of human sight;
 And therefore to our weaker view, 15
 O'erlaid with black, staid Wisdom's hue.
 Black, but such as in esteem,

1-2. Many superficial parallels are quoted, from the pious denunciation of "false Pleasures, momentary Joyes" and "illuding Toyes" in the first scene (lines 331-2) of Sylvester's *Tragedie of Henry the Great* to the Passionate Mad-Man's ditty in Fletcher's (?) *The Nice Valour* (III, iii):

"Hence all you vain Delights,
 As short as are the nights,
 Wherein you spend your folly,
 There's nought in this life sweet,
 If man were wise to see't,
 But only melancholy,
 O, sweetest melancholy."

3. *bested*—avail, profit.

5-6. Here, as in *L'Allegro*, 133, "fancy" means imagination and Milton thought of the diseased imagination of the traditional melancholy man, whom Spenser represented as sitting in a chamber

"disappointed all within,
 With sundry colours, in the which were writ
 Infinite shapes of things dispersed thin;

— — — — —
 Such as in idle fantasies doe flit:

— — — — —
 Deuices, dreams, opinions vnsound."

(*F.Q.* II, ix, 1,1-li, 7.)

Prince *Memnon's* sister might beseem,
 Or that Starr'd *Ethiop* Queen that strove
 To set her beauty's praise above 20
 The Sea Nymphs, and their powers offended.
 Yet thou art higher far descended;
 Thee bright-hair'd *Vesta* long of yore,
 To solitary *Saturn* bore;
 His daughter she (in *Saturn's* reign, 25
 Such mixture was not held a stain).
 Oft in glimmering Bow'rs and glades
 He met her, and in secret shades
 Of woody *Ida's* inmost grove,
 While yet there was no fear of *Jove*. 30

18. The Ethiopian prince, Memnon, whom Ulysses called the handsomest of men (*Od.* XI, 521), had, according to Dictys Cretensis (*Ephemeris Belli Trojani*, VI), a sister, Hemera, whose devotion to him seems to have given rise to the medieval idea that she was his wife. Milton, although he calls her Memnon's sister, may have been influenced by Lydgate's picture of her as his wife, appearing from the skies at his tomb years after they both had died. She comes,

"Downe descendyngc fro the fyrmament
 Full many man beyngc there present,
 Clade in a mantell ful celestyall
 And of hir porte passyngly royall."
 (*Troy Book*, V.)

19. The *Starr'd Ethiop Queen* is Cassiopeia, who, as Hyginus explained in his work on astronomy, 2, 10, was transformed into the familiar constellation as a punishment for boasting that *her daughter*, Andromeda, was more beautiful than the Nereids. Milton lets it appear that her boast was about herself.

23-24. Though she was one of the younger gods and, like Jove, a child of Saturn, Vesta stood apart as the patroness of purity. Milton made her the mother of Melancholy simply because in classic myth she never had any romantic adventures, while in Platonic allegory she appeared as enthroned forever in the heavenly house which can never be attained by any being with the least taint of impurity. (*Phaedrus*, 247a-b.)

25-30. Milton thought of the myth of the Golden Age when Saturn reigned on Mt. Ida in Crete, where Jove was born and later overthrew his father; but Saturn's share in this fanciful genealogy is due in part to Neo-Platonic interpretations of him as "the collective angelic mind" or embodiment of all contemplative spirits, and also to the astrological notion that all melancholic persons were born under

"ill disposed skyes,
 When oblique *Saturne* sate in the house of agonies."
 (*F.Q.* II, ix, lii, 8-9.)

Come pensive Nun, devout and pure,
 Sober, steadfast, and demure,
 All in a robe of darkest grain,
 Flowing with majestic train,
 And sable stole of *Cypress Lawn*, 35
 Over thy decent shoulders drawn.
 Come, but keep thy wonted state,
 With ev'n step, and musing gait,
 And looks commercing with the skies,
 Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes: 40
 There held in holy passion still,
 Forget thyself to Marble, till
 With a sad Leaden downward cast,
 Thou fix them on the earth as fast.
 And join with thee calm Peace and Quiet, 45
 Spare Fast, that oft with gods doth diet,
 And hears the Muses in a ring
 Aye round about *Jove's Altar* sing.
 And add to these retired Leisure,
 That in trim Gardens takes his pleasure; 50
 But first, and chiefest, with thee bring
 Him that yon soars on golden wing,
 Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne,
 The Cherub Contemplation;

33. *grain*—colour.

35. *stole*—a long robe.

Cypress Lawn—"A transparent material resembling . . . crape; when black, much used for habiliments of mourning." (*N.E.D.*)

36. *decent*—comely, beautiful.

37. *state*—stateliness. *N.E.D.* compares Fuller: "True, there is a state sometimes in decent plainness."

40. Compare *rapt* in *Comus*, 794, note.

42. Mr. Garrod parallels Thomas Tomkins' *Albumazor* (I, iv, 3-4); "Wonder for me, admire and be *astonished*, Marvel thyself to marble." Compare *On Shakespeare*, 13.

43. *sad*—serious. Compare *Comus*, 189. *Leaden*; compare *Damon's Epitaph*, 80.

47-48. Compare *Lycidas*, 15-6, note.

52-54. Ezekiel x, is the basis of this imagery, which was to take ampler form in the "Cherubic shapes" that convoy the "Chariot of Paternal deity" in *P.L.* VI, 750-3; but the thought reflects the medieval classification of the angels into nine orders, of which the highest was

And the mute Silence hist along, 55
 'Less *Philomel* will deign a Song,
 In her sweetest, saddest plight,
 Smoothing the rugged brow of night.
 While *Cynthia* checks her Dragon yoke,
 Gently o'er th' accustom'd Oak; 60
 Sweet Bird that shunn'st the noise of folly,
 Most musical, most melancholy!
 Thee Chantress oft the Woods among,
 I woo to hear thy even-Song;
 And missing thee, I walk unseen 65
 On the dry smooth-shaven Green,
 To behold the wand'ring Moon,
 Riding near her highest noon,
 Like one that had been led astray
 Through the Heav'n's wide pathless way; 70
 And oft, as if her head she bow'd,
 Stooping through a fleecy cloud.
 Oft on a Plat of rising ground,
 I hear the far-off *Curfew* sound,
 Over some wide-water'd shore, 75
 Swinging slow with sullen roar;
 Or if the Air will not permit,
 Some still removed place will fit,
 Where glowing Embers through the room
 Teach light to counterfeit a gloom, 80
 Far from all resort of mirth,
 Save the Cricket on the hearth,
 Or the Bellman's drowsy charm,

that of the seraphim and the second that of the cherubim, whose Hebrew name signifies "the fulness of knowledge" and who were supposed to live in contemplation of God. Compare *Upon the Circumcision*, I, note, and the Introduction, § 11.

56. *Philomel*, the Greek name for the nightingale, would suggest its etymology—"lover of song"—to Milton.

58. *rugged*—wrinkled. Compare *P.R.* II, 164.

59. *Cynthia*—Diana, the goddess of the moon. Compare the note on *Comus*, 131.

65. Compare *not unseen* in *L'Allegro*, 57.

83. A *Bellman* was a night-watchman who cried the hours.

charm is used with the Latin meaning of "a song." Compare *S.A.*

To bless the doors from nightly harm:
 Or let my Lamp at midnight hour, 85
 Be seen in some high lonely Tow'r,
 Where I may oft out-watch the *Bear*,
 With thrice great *Hermes*, or unsphere
 The spirit of *Plato* to unfold
 What Worlds, or what vast Regions hold 90
 The immortal mind that hath forsook
 Her mansion in this fleshly nook:
 And of those *Dæmons* that are found
 In fire, air, flood, or under ground,
 Whose power hath a true consent 95
 With Planet, or with Element.
 Sometime let Gorgeous Tragedy
 In Scepter'd Pall come sweeping by,

84. Compare Chaucer:

"Jhesu Crist and seinte Benedight,
 Blesses this hous from every wikked wight."
 (*The Miller's Tale*, I (A) 3483-4.)

nightly; i.e., occurring at night.

87. Outwatching the constellation of the Great Bear, which never sets, can have but one meaning.

88. *Hermes Trismegistus*, the Egyptian god *Thoth* who was identified with the Greek *Hermes*, was once believed to be the author of a body of forty-two esoteric books which actually were written by Alexandrian authors in the third and fourth centuries A.D., and had a great influence for two centuries after the appearance of the Latin translation of *Marsilio Ficino* at Paris in 1494. Bacon explained that the "triplicity, which in great veneration was ascribed to the ancient *Hermes*" consisted in "the power and fortune of a king, the knowledge and illumination of a priest, and the learning and universality of a philosopher." (Dedication of *The Advancement of Learning*.) Compare *On the Platonic Idea*, 33.

88-92. For the thought and the reference to *Plato* see the note on *Comus*, 1-3.

93-96. In one of the Hermetic books, the *Definitions of Asclepias to King Amon* (13), Milton may have read that each of the four elements of which the universe is composed has its own "choir of daemons," to each of which has been allotted authority over things upon the earth; but he need have gone no further than *Burton's* "Digression of Spirits" (*Anatomy*, I, ii, 1, 2) for the theory that the evil daemons "can work no farther than the four elements" and are commonly classified as fiery, aerial, terrestrial and watery, beside subterranean devils and "those Fairies, Satyrs, Nymphs, &c." Compare *P.R.* II, 122-4, note.

98. *Pall*—a splendid robe of any kind. Compare *Elegy I*, 37-8, note.

Presenting <i>Thebes</i> , or <i>Pelop's</i> line,	
Or the tale of <i>Troy</i> divine,	100
Or what (though rare) of later age,	
Ennobled hath the Buskin'd stage.	
But, O sad Virgin, that thy power	
Might raise <i>Musaeus</i> from his bower,	
Or bid the soul of <i>Orpheus</i> sing	105
Such notes as, warbled to the string,	
Drew Iron tears down <i>Pluto's</i> cheek,	
And made Hell grant what Love did seek.	
Or call up him that left half told	
The story of <i>Cambuscan</i> bold,	110
Of <i>Camball</i> , and of <i>Algarsife</i> ,	
And who had <i>Canace</i> to wife,	
That own'd the virtuous Ring and Glass,	
And of the wond'rous Horse of Brass,	
On which the <i>Tartar</i> King did ride;	115
And if aught else great Bards beside	
In sage and solemn tunes have sung,	
Of Tourneys and of Trophies hung,	
Of Forests, and enchantments drear,	
Where more is meant than meets the ear.	120

99-100. A review of the Greek tragic themes. *Thebes* suggests Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*; Pelops' descendants included Agamemnon, Orestes Iphigenia and Electra; and the *Tale of Troy* might include Euripidean tragedies such as *The Trojan Dames*, *Andromache* and *Hecuba*.

102. *Buskin'd stage*—the tragic stage. Because Greek tragic actors wore a high boot or buskin, the buskin became the emblem of tragedy. Compare the note on *Sock* in *L'Allegro*, 132.

104. Perhaps Milton remembered Virgil's picture of the heroes and priests and bards in the laurel groves of Elysium with "Musaeus foremost of all" (*Aen.* VI, 656-68), for he was already an almost vanished figure of myth when Virgil wrote.

105-108. Compare the note on *L'Allegro*, 145-50.

109-115. In *The Squire's Tale* Chaucer left half-told the story of the "Tartre Cambyuskan" and his three children, Algarsyf, Cambalo, and Canace, whose unknown lover gave her a marvellous mirror and ring and offered her father the *wond'rous Horse of Brass*.

118-120. Milton looked at the whole field of medieval romance which he was to survey in a very different spirit in *P.L.* VII, 34-42. Perhaps in stressing the allegorical value of the romances he had in

Thus night oft see me in thy pale career,
 Till civil-suited Morn appear,
 Not trickt and frounc't as she was wont
 With the Attic Boy to hunt,
 But Kerchieft in a comely Cloud, 125
 While rocking Winds are Piping loud,
 Or usher'd with a shower still,
 When the gust hath blown his fill,
 Ending on the rustling Leaves,
 With minute drops from off the Eaves. 130
 And when the Sun begins to fling
 His flaring beams, me Goddess bring
 To arched walks of twilight groves,
 And shadows brown that *Sylvan* loves
 Of Pine or monumental Oak, 135
 Where the rude Axe with heaved stroke
 Was never heard the Nymphs to daunt,
 Or fright them from their hallow'd haunt.
 There in close covert by some Brook,
 Where no profaner eye may look, 140
 Hide me from Day's garish eye,
 While the Bee with Honied thigh,
 That at her flow'ry work doth sing,
 And the Waters murmuring
 With such consort as they keep, 145
 Entice the dewy-feather'd Sleep;

mind particularly the enchanted forest of error in the first canto of *The Faerie Queene*. Compare *Comus*, 37-9, note.

122. *civil-suited*—soberly dressed.

123. *frounc't*—with hair frizzed or curled.

124. Compare the use made of Ovid's story of the love of Aurora for Cephalus, "*the Attic Boy*," in *Elegy III*, 67.

127. *still*—gentle, making a soft sound.

128. *his* had not yet been supplanted by the modern "its."

130. *minute drops*—drops falling at minute intervals.

134. *brown*—dark. Compare the note on *P.R.* II, 293.

Perhaps Milton thought of the ancient forest shrine of Sylvanus which Virgil mentions. *Aen.* VIII, 597-9. Compare *Comus*, 268.

141. *garish*; compare Shakespeare's "pay no worship to the garish sun." *Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii, 25.

145. *consort*—harmony.

And let some strange mysterious dream
 Wave at his Wings in Airy stream,
 Of lively portraiture display'd,
 Softly on my eye-lids laid. 150
 And as I wake, sweet music breathe
 Above, about, or underneath,
 Sent by some spirit to mortals good,
 Or th'unseen Genius of the Wood.
 But let my due feet never fail 155
 To walk the studious Cloister's pale,
 And love the high embowed Roof,
 With antic Pillars massy proof,
 And storied Windows richly dight,
 Casting a dim religious light. 160
 There let the pealing Organ blow
 To the full voic'd Quire below,
 In Service high and Anthems clear,
 As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
 Dissolve me into extasies, 165
 And bring all Heav'n before mine eyes.
 And may at last my weary age
 Find out the peaceful hermitage,
 The Hairy Gown and Mossy Cell,

147-150. The thought seems to be a wish that a dream may come floating (waving) on the wings of sleep, displaying a series of vivid images. Compare the speech of Night in Jonson's *Vision of Delight*:

"Break, Phant'sie, from thy cave of cloud,
 And spread thy purple wings;
 Now all thy figures are allowed,
 And various shapes of things;
 Create of airy forms a stream," etc.

153-154. Compare the Attendant Spirit in *Comus* (1-3, note) and the *Genius* into which Milton dreamed of Lycidas being transformed. (*Lycidas*, 183.)

157. *embowed*—arched.

158. *antic*—decorated with antic or quaint carving.

proof; the thought seems to be that by their massiveness the pillars are proof against destruction.

159. *storied Windows*—windows decorated with scenes from sacred story in the stained glass.

166. Compare the *Vacation Exercise*, 33-35.

Where I may sit and rightly spell 170
 Of every Star that Heav'n doth shew,
 And every Herb that sips the dew;
 Till old experience do attain
 To something like Prophetic strain.
 These pleasures *Melancholy* give, 175
 And I with thee will choose to live.

(1631 ?)

170. *spell*—consider, speculate.

170-174. Il Penseroso finally learns that

"Nothing hath got so farre
 But Man hath caught and kept it as his prey;
 His eyes dismount the highest starre;
 He is in little all the sphere;
 Herbs gladly cure our flesh, because that they
 Finde their acquaintance there."

(George Herbert's *Man*, 19-24.)

ON TIME

FLY envious *Time*, till thou run out thy race,
 Call on the lazy leaden-stepping hours,
 Whose speed is but the heavy Plummet's pace;
 And glut thyself with what thy womb devours,
 Which is no more than what is false and vain, 5
 And merely mortal dross;
 So little is our loss,
 So little is thy gain.
 For when as each thing bad thou hast entomb'd,
 And, last of all, thy greedy self consum'd, 10
 Then long Eternity shall greet our bliss
 With an individual kiss;
 And Joy shall overtake us as a flood,
 When everything that is sincerely good
 And perfectly divine, 15
 With Truth, and Peace, and Love, shall ever shine
 About the supreme Throne
 Of him, t'whose happy-making sight alone,
 When once our heav'nly-guided soul shall climb,
 Then all this Earthy grossness quit, 20
 Attir'd with Stars, we shall for ever sit,

3. An allusion to the plummet or weight which moved the works was appropriate in a poem which, as the manuscript sub-title suggests, was intended "to be set on a clock case."

4-8. These closing lines of the first movement of the poem lead through commonplace ideas, like those of "cormorant devouring Time" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, I, i, 4) and of time "that makes and unfolds error" (*Winter's Tale*, IV, i, 2), to the Christian hope of immortality, when "this corruptible must put on incorruption." (I Cor. xv, 53.)

12. *Individual*—undividable. The kiss symbolizes the union of the "individual Soul For ever happy" (*P.L.* VI, 610-1) to God.

16. Compare *Nativity Hymn*, 141-4.

18. In *happy-making sight* Milton anglicized the theological term, Beatific Vision—the vision of God to which Dante devoted the final canto of the *Paradiso*. The angels, he said in *P.L.* III, 61-2, from God's "sight receiv'd Beatitude past utterance."

20. *quit*—abandoned, discarded.

Triumphing over Death, and Chance, and thee
O Time.

(1631-3)

22. Ben Jonson ended his Elegy on the *Lady Jane Pawlet, Marchioness of Winton*, by describing the Christian soul which rises
"above Death and Sin,

And sure of Heaven, rides triumphing in."

Compare the Introduction, § 30.

UPON THE CIRCUMCISION

YE FLAMING Powers, and winged Warriors bright,
 That erst with Music, and triumphant song
 First heard by happy watchful Shepherds' ear,
 So sweetly sung your Joy the Clouds along
 Through the soft silence of the list'ning night, 5
 Now mourn; and, if sad share with us to bear
 Your fiery essence can distill no tear,
 Burn in your sighs, and borrow
 Seas wept from our deep sorrow:
 He, who with all Heav'n's heraldry whilere 10
 Enter'd the world, now bleeds to give us ease;
 Alas, how soon our sin
 Sore doth begin
 His Infancy to seize!
 O more exceeding love or law more just? 15
 Just law indeed, but more exceeding love!
 For we by rightful doom remediless

1. The *Powers* were the sixth among the nine traditional orders of angels. (Compare *Il Penseroso*, 52-4, and *S.A.* 673, notes.) They are *flaming* because Milton always thought of the heavenly beings as made of "Ethereal mould" (*P.L.* II, 139), *i.e.*, of the ether or fiery quintessence of which medieval philosophers learned from Aristotle to suppose that the heavens were composed. And he had the authority of the *Psalms* civ, 4, for regarding the angels as "a flaming fire."

2. *erst*—formerly, *i.e.*, at Christ's nativity.

7-8. The thought, which seems like a "conceit" of Crashaw's best mintage, reappears in Milton's account of the reception of the news of Adam's sin in heaven:

". . . dim sadness did not spare
 That time Celestial visages, yet mixt
 With pity, violated not thir bliss."
 (*P.L.* X, 23-5.)

15-16. The antithesis of Law with Love recurs in Michael's prophecy of Christ satisfying "high Justice":

"The Law of God exact he shall fulfil
 Both by obedience and by love, though love
 Alone fulfil the Law."
 (*P.L.* XII, 401-4.)

17. *doom*—judgement. "I submit," Adam says in his soliloquy in *P.L.* X, 769, after judgement has been pronounced on him from God for his sin, "his doom is fair."

Were lost in death, till he that dwelt above
 High thron'd in secret bliss, for us frail dust
 Emptied his glory, ev'n to nakedness; 20
 And that great Cov'nant which we still transgress
 Entirely satisfi'd,
 And the full wrath beside
 Of vengeful Justice bore for our excess,
 And seals obedience first with wounding smart 25
 This day; but Oh! ere long
 Huge pangs and strong
 Will pierce more near his heart.

(1632-3)

20. Milton thought of St. Paul's conception of Christ, "Who, being in the form of God, . . . took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." (Phil. ii, 6-7.)

21. The *Cov'nant* is the Law of Moses as found in the legal books of the Old Testament.

still—constantly, continually. Compare Satan "roving still About the world." (P.R. I, 33-4.)

AT A SOLEMN MUSIC

BLEST pair of *Sirens*, pledges of Heav'n's joy,
 Sphere-born harmonious Sisters, Voice, and Verse,
 Wed your divine sounds, and mixt power employ
 Dead things with inbreath'd sense able to pierce,
 And to our high-rais'd phantasy present 5
 That undisturbed Song of pure concert,
 Aye sung before the sapphire-colour'd throne
 To him that sits thereon,
 With Sainly shout, and solemn Jubilee,
 Where the bright Seraphim in burning row 10
 Their loud up-lifted Angel-trumpets blow,
 And the Cherubic host in thousand quires
 Touch their immortal Harps of golden wires,
 With those just Spirits that wear victorious Palms,
 Hymns devout and holy Psalms 15
 Singing everlastingly;
 That we on Earth with undiscording voice
 May rightly answer that melodious noise;

1. Compare the note on the "celestial Sirens" of *Arcades*, 63.

5. *phantasy*—imagination.

6. *concert*—harmony—is the certainly preferable reading in the 1673 edition for *content* in the edition of 1645.

7-8. Milton thought of the seraphs in Ezekiel's vision, over whose "heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone; and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it." (Ezck. i, 26.)

12-13. Compare Milton's description of the angelic symphony before the throne of God at the creation, when

"All sounds on Fret by String or Golden Wire
 Temper'd soft Tunings."

(*P.L.* VII, 597-8.)

14. The *just Spirits* are the souls of Christians with "palms in their hands," as St. John saw them (Rev. vii, 9); and their song is the "new song before the throne," which St. John said (Rev. xiv, 3-4) could be learned only by those "which were not defiled with women." What follows fuses Christian mysticism with the Pythagorean belief that the music of the spheres can be reproduced on earth. "Some learned men," of whom Pythagoras was the chief, Cicero says in *The Dream of Scipio*, "by imitating this harmony with strings and vocal melodies, have opened a way for their return" to heaven. Compare *Arcades*, 63, and *Nativity Hymn*, 107-8, notes.

As once we did, till disproportion'd sin
 Jarr'd against nature's chime, and with harsh din 20
 Broke the fair music that all creatures made
 To their great Lord, whose love their motion sway'd
 In perfect Diapason, whilst they stood
 In first obedience, and their state of good.
 O may we soon again renew that Song, 25
 And keep in tune with Heav'n, till God ere long
 To his celestial consort us unite,
 To live with him, and sing in endless morn of light.
 (1632-3)

19-24. So in the second *Prolusion* Milton spoke of men's wickedness as the "reason why we hear so little of this harmony" and added that, "if we possessed hearts so pure, so spotless, so snowy, as once upon a time Pythagoras had, then indeed would our ears be made to resound and to be entirely filled with that most delectable music of the revolving stars." The thought was familiar in Cardinal Bembo's prayer at the close of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*: "Make us to . . . hear the heavenly harmony so tunable, that no discorde of passion take place any more in us." (Hoby's translation.)

Compare the treatment of "Sin, that first distemper'd all things," in *P.L.* XI, 55-6.

23. *Diapason* is used in the double sense of "the concord of the octave" and of "spiritual harmony." The *N.E.D.* compares Burton's *Anatomy*: "A true correspondence, perfect amity, a diapason of vows and wishes" between friends.

27. *consort*—band of musicians. Compare George Herbert's *The Temple, Employment* vi, "Lord place me in thy consort; give one strain To my poore reed."

ARCADES

Part of an Entertainment presented to the Countess Dowager of *Derby* at *Harefield*, by some Noble persons of her Family, who appear on the Scene in pastoral habit, moving toward the seat of State, with this Song.

I. SONG

Look Nymphs, and Shepherds look,
 What sudden blaze of majesty
 Is that which we from hence descry,
 Too divine to be mistook:

This, this is she
 To whom our vows and wishes bend,
 Here our solemn search hath end.

5

Fame that her high worth to raise,
 Seem'd erst so lavish and profuse,
 We may justly now accuse
 Of detraction from her praise,

10

1. The *Nymphs and Shepherds*—the Arcades—are natives of *Arcady* (l. 28) or *Arcadia*, the ancient Greek state in central Peloponnesus within which lay the rivers *Alpheus* (l. 30) and *Ladon* (l. 97) and the mountains *Cyllene* (l. 98), *Erymanthus* (l. 100) and *Maenalus* (l. 102). Theocritus and Virgil did not connect their Eclogues with this region, but Ovid laid the story of Pan's unsuccessful courtship of the nymph *Syrinx* (l. 106, compare *Met.* I, 689) there and it was there also that he placed (*Met.* II, 405) Jove's wooing of one of Diana's nymphs, a figure with bow and javelin to whose family Milton's *silver-buskin'd Nymphs* (l. 33) belong. "Gilden buskins," like those which Spenser gave to *Belphoebe* (*F.Q.* II, iii, 27, 3), were a conventional part of the dress of huntress nymphs in "Arcadia," but the idealization of *Arcadia* itself was the greatest of such pastoral conventions in the poetry of the Renaissance—going back through the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney to that of *Sannazaro*.

2-5. For the Countess Dowager of *Derby* and Milton's mode of introducing her see the Introduction §23.

4. *mistook*—mistaken.

6. *vows* has its Latin meaning of "prayer" or "desire."

8. *Fame* is thought of vaguely as the goddess to whom Milton refers more definitely in *S.A.* 971. Compare the note there.

9. *erst*—before the present moment, until now.

Less than half we find exprest,
Envy bid conceal the rest.

Mark what radiant state she spreads,
 In circle round her shining throne, 15
 Shooting her beams like silver threads.
 This, this is she alone,
 Sitting like a Goddess bright,
 In the centre of her light.

Might she the wise *Latona* be, 20
 Or the tow'rd *Cybele*,
 Mother of a hunderd gods;
Juno dares not give her odds;

14. *state*—any “imposing display, such as befits persons of rank.” (N.E.D.) Here the word means the canopy and the illumination around the Countess' seat, as it does in *P.L.* X, 445-7, where Satan's

“high Throne, which under state
 Of richest texture spread, at th'upper end
 Was plac't in regal lustre.”

20. As she sits in state with her children around her, Milton suggests that the Countess is like the mother of Apollo and Diana, *Latona*. *Latona* is *wise*, perhaps because her myth was sometimes interpreted (e.g., by Conti, IX, vi) to mean that she was the source of the harmony of soul which men learn from Apollo, god both of the sun and of music, which banishes discord from life.

21-22. In the chapter preceding that on *Latona* Conti recalled that *Cybele* (otherwise called *Rhea*) was one of the eldest goddesses, often called the mother of gods and men, and that she appears in Virgil's *Aeneid* (X, 252-3) wearing a turreted crown because she first taught men to build fortified cities, and again (VI, 789) as the mother of a hundred gods. There are countless echoes of these Virgilian passages in Renaissance literature; e.g., Spenser's picture of

“Old *Cybele*, arayd with pompous pride,
 Wearing a diademe embattild wide
 With hundred turrets.”

(*F.Q.* IV, xi, 28, 4-7.)

23. *Juno*, the first of the goddesses because she was Jove's wife, dares not set aside the advantage of her divinity in order to compete on equal terms with the Countess's beauty. Compare George Wither's hope that with the help of his verses his lady's fame may,

“without respect of odds,
 Vie renown with demi-gods.”
 (*Fair Virtue*, London, 1818, p. 22.)

Who had thought this clime had held
A deity so unparallel'd? 25

As they come forward, the Genius of the Wood appears, and
turning toward them, speaks.

Genius. Stay gentle Swains, for though in this disguise,
I see bright honour sparkle through your eyes.
Of famous *Arcady* ye are, and sprung
Of that renowned flood, so often sung,
Divine *Alpheus*, who by secret sluice, 30
Stole under Seas to meet his *Arethuse*;
And ye the breathing Roses of the Wood,
Fair silver-buskin'd Nymphs as great and good,
I know this quest of yours and free intent
Was all in honour and devotion meant 35
To the great Mistress of yon princely shrine,
Whom with low reverence I adore as mine,
And with all helpful service will comply
To further this night's glad solemnity;
And lead ye where ye may more near behold 40

24. *clime*—region. In *P.L.* IX, 45, there is a more interesting reference to the belief that northern Europe was too cold for men to develop to their best.

26. The ideas in the Genius' account of himself in lines 44-60 are developed from the Roman conception (explained in Servius' commentary on Virgil's *Georgics*, I, 302) that a nature-divinity, called the genius of the place, was attached to every locality. In *Il Penseroso* (l. 154) Milton fancied an "unseen Genius of the Wood" rousing him with music in his ideal, forest retreat; while for his use of the Genius here he had the example of many masques, such as Jonson's *The Satyr*, where wood-gods take a leading part in the entertainment.

26-27. The masquers would all belong to the Countess's own family or to other noble houses no less honourable.

29-31. Nestor's story of the sacrifice of a bull to the river-god Alpheus in the *Iliad* (XI, 725-8) is the first of countless tributes to the river in ancient poetry. Ovid (*Met.* V, 574-641) makes the nymph, Arethusa, tell the story of her pursuit by the god, of her transformation into a stream by Diana, and of her escape in that form under the Adriatic Sea to Sicily, only to be overtaken there by the pursuing waters of the Alpheus.

32. *breathing* may mean either "living" (*i.e.*, human) or "fragrant," "exhaling perfume."

39. *solemnity* has the Latin meaning of "a festival." Compare the "conceal'd Solemnity" of the revellers in *Comus*, 142.

What shallow-searching *Fame* hath left untold;
 Which I full oft amidst these shades alone
 Have sat to wonder at, and gaze upon:
 For know by lot from *Jove* I am the pow'r
 Of this fair Wood, and live in Oak'n bow'r, 45
 To nurse the Saplings tall, and curl the grove
 With Ringlets quaint, and wanton windings wove.
 And all my Plants I save from nightly ill,
 Of noisome winds, and blasting vapours chill;
 And from the Boughs brush off the evil dew, 50
 And heal the harms of thwarting thunder blue,
 Or what the cross dire-looking Planet smites,
 Or hurtful Worm with canker'd venom bites.
 When Ev'ning gray doth rise, I fetch my round
 Over the mount, and all this hallow'd ground, 55
 And early ere the odorous breath of morn
 Awakes the slumb'ring leaves, or tassell'd horn
 Shakes the high thicket, haste I all about,
 Number my ranks, and visit every sprout

44. *by lot*—by the allotment of Jove. Compare the same phrase in *Comus*, 20.

47. *quaint* keeps its primitive meaning of "cunningly made" or "ingenious."

Wove—woven. *mistook* in l. 4 above is another case of the use of a preterite form for a past participle to secure a rhyme. The two forms were not always so definitely distinguished as they now are.

51. *thwarting thunder blue*—blue lightning, either zigzagging across the sky or striking diagonally across or athwart the trees. Compare "the cross blue lightning" in *Julius Caesar* (I, ii, 50-1) which "seem'd to open The breast of heaven."

52. The *dire-looking Planet* is Saturn, whose oblique rays are described as falling like a dart in *Epitaphium Damonis*, 79-80. With the idea of a planet smiting compare Marcellus' reference in *Hamlet* (I, i, 161) to the "wholesome" nights at Christmas time, when "no planets strike."

53. *canker'd*—infectious. Compare Titania's dispatch of her fairies "to kill cankers (*i.e.*, cankerworms) in the musk-rose buds." (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, ii, 3.)

54. *fetch*—take (a walk, run, leap). *N.E.D.* compares William Lithgow's *Travels* (v, 205); "I would often fetch a walke, to stretch my legs."

57-58. Compare *L'Allegro*, 53-4.

59. As in *P.L.* IV, 140, *ranks* refers to masses of trees. The Genius counts them as a general would his troops.

With puissant words and murmurs made to bless; 60
 But else in deep of night, when drowsiness
 Hath lockt up mortal sense, then listen I
 To the celestial *Sirens'* harmony,
 That sit upon the nine enfolded Spheres
 And sing to those that hold the vital shears 65
 And turn the Adamantine spindle round,
 On which the fate of gods and men is wound.
 Such sweet compulsion doth in music lie,
 To lull the daughters of *Necessity*,
 And keep unsteady Nature to her law, 70
 And the low world in measur'd motion draw

60. *puissant words*—words of magic power. *murmurs*—charms. Compare Comus' "baneful cup, With many murmurs mixt." (*Comus*, 525-6.)

62. *mortal sense*—the senses or consciousness of men.

63-69. The *celestial Sirens* are described in the vision of Er, at the close of Plato's *Republic*, as sitting on the eight spheres of the planets, each "uttering her voice in one monotone, but all of them being eight, composed one harmony." The entire vision of the Genius is based upon that of Er, whom Plato describes in the life beyond life as having seen "the distaff of Necessity, by which all the revolutions of the universe are maintained, whose spindle and point were both of adamant." Plato goes on to describe the distaff as driven right through the spheres which were supposed to support and move each of the seven planets, and through the eighth sphere, that of the fixed stars, comparing them to boxes inside one another. The distaff spins on the knees of Necessity, turning the eight spheres and the sirens with them. "At equal distances," Plato adds, three other personages are enthroned round about, the daughters of Necessity, the Fates, Lachesis, Clotho and Atropos, vested in white and with crowns on their heads. They sing to the harmony of the Sirens, Lachesis singing of the past, Clotho of the present and Atropos of the future." (*Republic*, 616-617.)

Strictly speaking, only Atropos held the shears which cut the threads of life which her sisters spun and drew out. Compare *At a Solemn Music*, 14, note.

70-72. Compare Sir Thomas Browne's suggestion that "thus far we may maintain the musick of the Sphears: for those well-ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony . . . There is something in it of Divinity more than the ear discovers: it is an Hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole World, and creatures of God; such a melody to the ear, as the whole World well understood, would afford the understanding." (*Religio Medici*, II, 9.)

Compare *Nativity Hymn*, 125-132, *At a Solemn Music*, and *To his Father*, 35-7.

After the heavenly tune, which none can hear
 Of human mould with gross unpurged ear;
 And yet such music worthiest were to blaze
 The peerless height of her immortal praise, 75
 Whose lustre leads us, and for her most fit,
 If my inferior hand or voice could hit
 Inimitable sounds; yet as we go,
 Whate'er the skill of lesser gods can show,
 I will assay, her worth to celebrate, 80
 And so attend ye toward her glittering state;
 Where ye may all that are of noble stem
 Approach, and kiss her sacred vesture's hem.

2. SONG

O'er the smooth enamell'd green
 Where no print of step hath been, 85
 Follow me as I sing,
 And touch the warbled string.
 Under the shady roof
 Of branching Elm Star-proof,
 Follow me; 90
 I will bring you where she sits
 Clad in splendor as befits
 Her deity.
 Such a rural Queen
 All *Arcadia* hath not seen. 95

73. *mould*—substance. Compare “the mortal mixture of Earth’s mould” in *Comus*, 243.

74. *blaze*—publish, proclaim. Compare Mark I, 45: “he . . . began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter.”

80. *assay*—essay, try, test. Compare *P.R.* I, 143, note.

82. *stem*—line, stock, family.

84. *enamell'd* seems intended to intensify the impression of absolutely unbroken smoothness in the lawn, but in *Lycidas* (l. 139) it refers to flowers spangling the turf, and in *P.L.* (IV, 149) the foliage and fruit of trees appear “with gay enamell'd colours mixt.”

89. *Star-proof*—“Not perceivable with power of any starr,” as Spenser described a summer forest in *F.Q.* I, i, 7, 6.

3. SONG

Nymphs and Shepherds dance no more
 By sandy *Ladon's* Lillied banks.
 On old *Lycaeus* or *Cyllene* hoar,
 Trip no more in twilight ranks,
 Though *Erymanth* your loss deplore, 100
 A better soil shall give ye thanks.
 From the stony *Mænalus*,
 Bring your Flocks, and live with us.
 Here ye shall have greater grace,
 To serve the Lady of this place. 105
 Though *Syrinx* your *Pan's* mistress were,
 Yet *Syrinx* well might wait on her.
 Such a rural Queen
 All *Arcadia* hath not seen.

(1633 ?)

97. *Ladon*; see the note on l. 1.

98. *Lycaeus* is mentioned by Theocritus (I, 123) as one of the haunts of the supreme wood-god, Pan. Like Erymanthus, it is a mountain in Arcadia.

102. Virgil's invocation of Pan, the guardian of flocks, in *Georgics*, I, 16-17, associates him with both mounts Lycacus and Macnalus.

106. For the story of Pan and Syrinx see the note on l. 1. Pan and "His paramour, the Syrinx bright," are the gods whom Fletcher's shepherds invoke in *The Faithful Shepherdess*.

A MASK

PRESENTED AT LUDLOW CASTLE

1634:

ON MICHAELMAS NIGHT, BEFORE THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN, EARL OF BRIDGEWATER, VISCOUNT BRACKLEY, LORD
PRESIDENT OF WALES, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST
HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Eheu quid volui misero mihi! floribus austrum Perditus . . .

(The title-page of the first (1637) edition of the then anonymous masque which we know as *Comus* read as above, and the volume carried the following dedication by Henry Lawes.)

To the Right Honourable John, Lord Viscount Brackley,
Son and heir-apparent to the Earl of *Bridgewater*, &c.

MY LORD,

This Poem, which receiv'd its first occasion of Birth from your Self, and others of your Noble Family, and much honour from your own Person in the performance, now returns again to make a final Dedication of itself to you. Although not openly acknowledg'd by the Author, yet it is a legitimate off-spring, so lovely, and so much desired, that the often Copying of it hath tir'd my Pen to give my several friends satisfaction, and brought me to a necessity of producing it to the public view; and now to offer it up in all rightful devotion to those fair Hopes, and rare Endowments of your much-promising Youth, which give a full assurance, to all that know you, of a future excellence. Live sweet Lord to be the honour of your Name, and receive this as your own, from the hands of him, who hath by many favours been long oblig'd to your most honour'd Parents, and as in this representation your attendant Thyrsis, so now in all real expression

Your faithful, and most
humble Servant

H. LAWES.

The Copy of a Letter writt'n by SIR HENRY WOTTON, to the Author, upon the following Poem.¹

From the College, this 13. of April, 1638.

SIR,

It was a special favour, when you lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of your acquaintance, though no longer than to make me know that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly; and in truth, if I could then have imagined your farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterwards by Mr. *H.*, I would have been bold (in our vulgar phrase) to mend my draught (for you left me with an extreme thirst) and to have begged your conversation again, jointly with your said learned Friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good Authors of the ancient time: Among which, I observed you to have been familiar.

Since your going, you have charg'd me with new Obligations, both for a very kind Letter from you dated the sixth of this Month, and for a dainty piece of entertainment which came therewith. Wherein I should much commend the Tragical part, if the Lyrical did not ravish me with a certain Doric delicacy in your Songs and Odes, whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our Language: *Ipsa mollities*. But I must not omit to tell you, that I now only owe you thanks for intimating unto me (how modestly soever) the true Artificer. For the work itself I had view'd some good while before, with singular delight, having receiv'd it from our common Friend Mr. *R.* in the very close of the late *R's* Poems, Printed at *Oxford*, whereunto it was added (as I now suppose) that the Accessory might help out the Principal, according to the Art of *Stationers*, and to leave the Reader *Con la bocca dolce*.

Now Sir, concerning your travels, wherein I may challenge a little more privilege of Discourse with you; I suppose you

¹Omitted in 1673.

will not blanch *Paris* in your way; therefore I have been bold to trouble you with a few lines to Mr. *M. B.* whom you shall easily find attending the young Lord *S.* as his Governor, and you may surely receive from him good directions for the shap- ing of your farther journey into *Italy*, where he did reside by my choice some time for the King, after mine own recess from *Venice*.

I should think that your best Line will be through the whole length of *France* to *Marseilles*, and thence by Sea to *Genoa*, whence the passage into *Tuscany* is as Diurnal as a *Gravesend* Barge: I hasten, as you do, to *Florence* or *Siena*, the rather to tell you a short story from the interest you have given me in your safety.

At *Siena* I was tabled in the House of one *Alberto Scipioni*, an old Roman Courtier in dangerous times, having been Steward to the *Duca di Pagliano*, who with all his Family were strangled, save this only man that escap'd by foresight of the Tempest: With him I had often much chat of those affairs; Into which he took pleasure to look back from his Native Harbour; and at my departure toward *Rome* (which had been the centre of his experience) I had won confidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry myself securely there, without offence of others, or of mine own conscience. *Signor Arrigo mio* (says he) "I pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto" will go safely over the whole World: Of which *Del- phian* Oracle (for so I have found it) your judgement doth need no commentary; and therefore (Sir) I will commit you with it to the best of all securities, God's dear love, remaining

Your Friend as much at command

as any of longer date,

Henry Wotton.

Postscript.

SIR, I have expressly sent this my Foot-boy to prevent your departure without some acknowledgement from me of the receipt of your obliging Letter, having myself through some business, I know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance.

In any part where shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad and diligent to entertain you with Home-Novelties; even for some fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the Cradle.

THE PERSONS

The attendant Spirit, afterwards in the habit of *Thyrsis*.

Comus with his crew.

The Lady.

First Brother.

Second Brother.

Sabrina, the Nymph.

The chief persons which presented, were

The Lord *Brackley*.

Mr. *Thomas Egerton*, his Brother.

The Lady *Alice Egerton*.

The first Scene discovers a wild Wood.

The attendant Spirit descends or enters.

BEFORE the starry threshold of *Jove's* Court
My mansion is, where those immortal shapes
Of bright aerial Spirits live inspher'd

1-3. *mansion*—home. In contrast to the opening of *Comus* in the Cambridge manuscript, where the Spirit comes from the "Hesperian gardens" to which he returns in line 982 below, this may be an allusion to the many mansions promised by Christ (John xiv, 2) to his disciples. In the manuscript the Spirit is called a daemon, for Renaissance Neo-Platonists identified good angels with the daemons which Hesiod said (*Works and Days*, 109-23) were the souls of men of the Golden Age who are now the unseen guardians of all who deserve the protection of Zeus. Plato imagined such daemons as at home in the vague heavens of the myth of Er, to which *Arcades* (63-9) refers, and which were in Milton's mind when he dreamt of unsphering

"The spirit of *Plato* to unfold
What Worlds, or what vast Regions hold
The immortal mind that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshly nook."

(II *Penseroso*, 89-92. Compare *P.L.* III, 461-2, and *To Leonora*, I, note.)

In Regions mild of calm and serene Air,
 Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot, 5
 Which men call Earth, and with low-thoughted care
 Confin'd and pester'd in this pin-fold here,
 Strive to keep up a frail and Feverish being,
 Unmindful of the crown that Virtue gives
 After this mortal change, to her true Servants 10
 Amongst the enthron'd gods on Sainted seats.
 Yet some there be that by due steps aspire
 To lay their just hands on that Golden Key
 That opes the Palace of Eternity:
 To such my errand is, and but for such, 15
 I would not soil these pure Ambrosial weeds
 With the rank vapours of this Sin-worn mould.
 But to my task. *Neptune*, besides the sway
 Of every salt Flood, and each ebbing Stream,
 Took in by lot 'twixt high and nether *Jove*, 20

4. Perhaps there is a reminiscence of the home of the gods, where no storm ever blows and the landscape smiles in perpetual glory, as Homer describes it in a passage (*Od.* VI, 42-5) which Lucretius paraphrased in *De rerum natura*, III, 18-22. Compare *P.L.* II, 867.

5. Perhaps Milton thought of London, for the line is an echo of Horace's invitation of Maecenas away from the "smoke and luxury and noise of Rome." (*Odes*, III, xxix, 12.)

7. *pester'd*—embarrassed, clogged. *pinfold*—pound (for animals).

9. The Wisdom of Solomon (iv, 2) says that virtue "weareth a crown, . . . having gotten the victory, striving for undefiled rewards."

11. *Sainted seats*—seats of saints, such as those which St. John describes "about the throne" of God; "and upon the seats . . . elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold." (Rev. iv, 4.)

16. *ambrosial*—heavenly. Compare the note on I. 840.
weeds—garments.

17. *mould*—(human) substance. In *P.L.* IV, 360, Satan contrasts the fallen angels, who are made of heavenly substance, with men, "Creatures of other mould, earth-born."

18-23. In the *Iliad*, XV, 190-3, when Zeus asserts the right to control him, Poseidon (in Latin, Neptune) retorts that he and Zeus and Hades (Milton's *nether Jove*; in Latin, Pluto) are brothers among whom the universe has been divided by equal lots; the hoary sea falling to him, the wide sky to Zeus, and the murky darkness of the underworld to Hades.

Imperial rule of all the Sea-girt Isles
 That like to rich and various gems inlay
 The unadorned bosom of the Deep;
 Which he to grace his tributary gods
 By course commits to several government, 25
 And gives them leave to wear their Sapphire crowns,
 And wield their little tridents; but this Isle,
 The greatest and the best of all the main,
 He quarters to his blue-hair'd deities;
 And all this tract that fronts the falling Sun 30
 A noble Peer of mickle trust and power
 Has in his charge, with temper'd awe to guide
 An old and haughty Nation proud in Arms:
 Where his fair off-spring nurs't in Princely lore,
 Are coming to attend their Father's state, 35
 And new-entrusted Sceptre. But their way
 Lies through the perplex't paths of this drear Wood,
 The nodding horror of whose shady brows

21-23. The thought is like John of Gaunt's description of England as
 "This precious stone set in the silver sea."
 (*Richard II*, II, i, 46.)

24-29. Milton was familiar with Spenser's grand catalogue of over
 two hundred sea and river gods who follow "great Neptune with his
 three-forkt mace" (*F.Q.* IV, xi, 11, 1) and among whom Albion and
 the English river deities are prominent. Such deities actually figured
 in masques like Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph* and Beaumont and
 Fletcher's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*. In the latter
 four Naiads appeared "with blueish tresses on their heads." Compare
Elegy IV, 6, note.

29. *quarters to*—divides among.

30-31. *this tract*—Wales and the bordering counties which were
 under the "presidency" of the Earl of Bridgewater.
mickle trust—great fidelity.

33. There was a double compliment to the Welsh in this allusion to
 them by a phrase which translates Virgil's description of the Romans
 (whose descendants the Welsh believed themselves to be) as a nation
 "proud in arms." (*Aen.* I, 21.)

35. *state*—official position.

37-39. The wood with its *perplex't* (*i.e.*, tangled) *paths* is symbolic,
 like Spenser's wood of error which puzzled Redcross and Una because
 it had

"So many pathes, so many turnings scene,
 That which of them to take, in diverse doubt they been."
 (*F.Q.* I, i, 10, 8-9.)

Threats the forlorn and wand'ring Passenger;
 And here their tender age might suffer peril, 40
 But that by quick command from Soveran *Jove*
 I was dispatcht for their defence, and guard;
 And listen why, for I will tell ye now
 What never yet was heard in Tale or Song
 From old or modern Bard, in Hall or Bow'r. 45
Bacchus that first from out the purple Grape
 Crusht the sweet poison of mis-used Wine,
 After the *Tuscan* Mariners transform'd,
 Coasting the *Tyrrhene* shore, as the winds listed,
 On *Circe's* Island fell. (Who knows not *Circe* 50
 The daughter of the Sun? Whose charmed Cup
 Whoever tasted, lost his upright shape,
 And downward fell into a groveling Swine.)
 This Nymph that gaz'd upon his clust'ring locks,
 With Ivy berries wreath'd, and his blithe youth, 55

41. The spelling *Soveran*, a form which Milton preferred, is based on the Italian word *sovrano*.

43. *ye* was frequently used as object of a verb. Compare *S.A.*, 1453.

44-45. Many romances open with this boast; e.g., *Horned Seyfried* in the Nibelung Cycle:

"Herein ye find a noble lay
 Of Horny Seyfried's might;
 'Tis Hildebrand's, and I assay
 No man has heard its like."

Compare *P.L.* I, 16.

45. *Hall*—the great banquet room of a castle.

Bow'r—the ladies' apartment in a castle.

The phrase was a cliché when Chaucer wrote of Chauntecleer's mistress that,

"Ful sooty was hire bour and eek hir halle."
 (*Canterbury Tales*, 8444.)

46-49. The Homeric Hymn to Bacchus is the ultimate source of the story that the god transformed the ship of some Tuscan (Italian) pirates who kidnapped him into an arbour of vines. Ovid (*Met.* III, 670-686) added that his captors themselves were turned into dolphins.

48. For the construction of this line compare the note on *S.A.* 1294.

50. *Circe's Island*, *Aeaea*, as Homer called it in the *Odyssey* X, 135; was supposed to lie near the Circean promontory in the Tyrrhenian sea, off the southwest coast of Italy.

50-54. *Circe*: see *Elegy VI*, 73, note.

Had by him, ere he parted thence, a Son
 Much like his Father, but his Mother more,
 Whom therefore she brought up, and *Comus* nam'd:
 Who, ripe and frolic of his full grown age,
 Roving the *Celtic* and *Iberian* fields, 60
 At last betakes him to this ominous Wood,
 And in thick shelter of black shades imbow'r'd,
 Excels his Mother at her mighty Art,
 Off'ring to every weary Traveller
 His orient liquor in a Crystal Glass, 65
 To quench the drouth of *Phœbus*, which as they taste
 (For most do taste through fond intemperate thirst)
 Soon as the Potion works, their human count'nance,
 Th' express resemblance of the gods, is chang'd
 Into some brutish form of Wolf, or Bear, 70
 Or Ounce, or Tiger, Hog, or bearded Goat,
 All other parts remaining as they were.
 And they, so perfect is their misery,
 Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
 But boast themselves more comely than before 75
 And all their friends and native home forget
 To roll with pleasure in a sensual sty.

55. Bacchus' crown of ivy berries (compare *L'Allegro*, 16) was traditional as far back as Pindar (Fragment 75 [45]).

58. *Comus*: see the Introduction, §27-§29.

60. *Celtic*—French. *Iberian*—Spanish.

65. *orient*—bright. In *P.L.* I, 546, Milton mentions the "Orient Colours" of banners. The meaning arose from the fact that eastern or orient pearls were the most brilliant.

66. *the drouth of Phœbus*—the thirst caused by the sun, of which Phœbus Apollo was the god.

67. *fond*—foolish; *i.e.*, not in its nature but in its effect.

69. The idea that "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him" (Gen. i, 27), is echoed repeatedly in *P.L.* (IV, 292, 567, etc.)

71. *Ounce*—any member of the lynx family.

72-77. Homer describes Ulysses' men as changed into swine by Circe, who "mixed drugs with their food to make them utterly forget their own country" (*Od.* X, 237-40); but Milton, influenced perhaps by Ariosto's account of Alcina's victims (*O.F.* VI, 61-2), represents Comus's rout as human from the head downward. In Browne's *Inner Temple Masque* Circe appeared followed by "Two with harts'

Therefore when any favour'd of high *Jove*
 Chances to pass through this advent'rous glade,
 Swift as the Sparkle of a glancing Star, 80
 I shoot from Heav'n to give him safe convoy,
 As now I do: But first I must put off
 These my sky robes spun out of *Iris'* Woof,
 And take the Weeds and likeness of a Swain,
 That to the service of this house belongs, 85
 Who with his soft Pipe and smooth-dittied Song
 Well knows to still the wild winds when they roar,
 And hush the waving Woods, nor of less faith,
 And in this office of his Mountain watch
 Likeliest, and nearest to the present aid 90
 Of this occasion. But I hear the tread
 Of hateful steps, I must be viewless now.

Comus enters with a Charming Rod in one hand, his Glass in the other; with him a rout of Monsters, headed like sundry

heads and bodies, . . . two like wolves, . . . two like baboons, [and] Grillus (of whom Plutarch writes . . .) in the shape of a hog." Plutarch's dialogue, *Whether the Beasts Enjoy the Use of Wisdom*, which influenced Machiavelli's *Golden Ass* and the once famous *Circe* of Giambattista Gelli, treats Circe's beasts as pleased with their condition rather than pathetically human and unhappy, as they seem in the *Odyssey*.

80-82. Milton used the figure in *P.L.* IV, 555-7, to describe the descent of the angel

"Uriel, gliding through the Even
 On a Sun-beam, swift as a shooting Star
 In *Autumn* thwarts the night."

83. In *P.L.* XI, 244, to suggest the glorious colours worn by the angel Michael, Milton said that the rainbow goddess, Iris, "had dipt the woof."

86-88. Again in 494-6 Milton paid a compliment to Henry Lawes. The implied comparison of him here to Orpheus is no more extravagant than Herrick's question in the epigram *To Mr. Henry Lawes*, "tell me, canst thou be Less than Apollo?"

87. *knows to*—understands how to. Compare another instance of this Latinism in *Lycidas*, 10-11.

88. *nor of less faith*—no less trustworthy, *i.e.*, than he is admired as a musician.

90. *Likeliest*—best fitted. *N.E.D.* cites the Acts of Philip and Mary; "Suche as were most able and lykelyest to serve well."

92. *viewless*—invisible. Compare *The Passion*, 50.

sorts of wild Beasts, but otherwise like Men and Women, their Apparel glistering. They come in making a riotous and unruly noise, with Torches in their hands.

Comus. The Star that bids the Shepherd fold,
 Now the top of Heav'n doth hold,
 And the gilded Car of Day 95
 His glowing Axle doth allay
 In the steep *Atlantic* stream,
 And the slope Sun his upward beam
 Shoots against the dusky Pole,
 Pacing toward the other goal 100
 Of his Chamber in the East.
 Meanwhile welcome Joy, and Feast,
 Midnight shout and revelry,
 Topsy dance and Jollity.
 Braid your Locks with rosy Twine 105
 Dropping odours, dropping Wine.
 Rigour now is gone to bed,
 And Advice with scrupulous head,

93-94. So Spenser thought of Venus or Hesperus as "the folding star" because when it "rises" the shepherd,

"Gathering his straying flocke, does homeward fare;"

(*Virgils Gnat*, 319.)

and he suggested that a certain night was dark and late because

"Now the golden *Hesperus*

Was mounted high in top of heauen sheene."

(*F.Q.* III, iv, 51, 6-7.)

95-101. The Greek conception of the sun as "sitting exalted in a golden chariot and dividing his path through the starry heavens" (as Euripides described it, *Phoenician Damsels*, 1-2), and as cooling its glowing wheels in the western ocean at evening, reached Milton through many channels—among them St. Jerome's commentary on Ecclesiastes i, 5: "The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose."

102-105. The comic effect in this antimasque in contrast with that in Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, is lost in pure poetry which owes much to familiar Horatian odes, such as Horace's invitation to Maecenas to come and enjoy the chaplets of flowers and the perfumes for his hair that await him at the Sabine farm. (*Odes*, III, xxix, 1-5.)

107-109. Compare the abstractions in *Nativity Hymn*, 136, 141 and 144 and in *L'Allegro*, 26-32. Such personifications were a part of the tradition of the Morality plays and of the Court masque and they

Strict Age, and sour Severity,
 With their grave Saws in slumber lie. 110
 We that are of purer fire
 Imitate the Starry Quire,
 Who in their nightly watchful Spheres,
 Lead in swift round the Months and Years.
 The Sounds and Seas with all their finny drove 115
 Now to the Moon in wavering Morrice move,
 And on the Tawny Sands and Shelves
 Trip the pert Fairies and the dapper Elves;
 By dimpled Brook, and Fountain brim,
 The Wood-Nymphs deckt with Daisies trim, 120
 Their merry wakes and pastimes keep:
 What hath night to do with sleep?
 Night hath better sweets to prove,
Venus now wakes, and wak'ns Love.
 Come let us our rites begin, 125
 'Tis only day-light that makes Sin,
 Which these dun shades will ne'er report.

were at home even in pastoral poetry like Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, where (I, v) figures like Riot and Remembrance play vague parts.

110. *Saws*—sayings, maxims. Compare Jaques' justice, "Full of wise saws and modern instances."
(As You Like It, II, vii, 156.)

111. The Attendant Spirit has referred (l. 17) to the earthy "mould" of which men are made. The hierarchy of spirits, as an interesting passage in *P.L.* II, 139-142, suggests, was regarded as being made of fire of various degrees of refinement.

113. Compare the "Spheres of watchful fire" in *Vacation Exercise*, 40, and the references to the music and dances of the spheres in *Nativity Ode*, 117-132, and *P.L.* V, 178 and 620-7.

114. There is an allusion to the creation of the "lights in the firmament" in Genesis i, 14, which were to "be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years."

116. *Morrice*—any grotesque dance by people in fancy dress. *N.E.D.* cites John Fryer's *New Account of East India and Persia*, 23; "A Chorus of Porpoises had taken the sea in their Dance; which Morris once over, the Seas were quiet."

118. *pert*—brisk, sprightly. Compare *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, i, 13; "Awake the pert and nimble spirit of mirth."

121. Originally a wake was a religious festival lasting through the night.

Hail Goddess of Nocturnal sport,
 Dark veil'd *Cotyto*, t' whom the secret flame
 Of mid-night Torchés burns; mysterious Dame 130
 That ne'er art call'd, but when the Dragon womb
 Of Stygian darkness spets her thickest gloom,
 And makes one blot of all the air,
 Stay thy cloudy Ebon chair,
 Wherein thou rid'st with *Hecat'*, and befriend 135
 Us thy vow'd Priests, till utmost end
 Of all thy dues be done, and none left out,
 Ere the blabbing Eastern scout,
 The nice Morn on th' *Indian* steep,
 From her cabin'd loop-hole peep, 140
 And to the tell-tale Sun descriy
 Our conceal'd Solemnity.
 Come, knit hands, and beat the ground,
 In a light fantastic round.

128-130. In his condemnation of Rome as more skilful in oriental vices than the East itself Juvenal (*Satire* ii, 91-2) attacked the orgies of the Thracian goddess, *Cotyto*. Her obscene rites at midnight were burlesqued by Horace. (*Epode* xvi, 56-7.) Perhaps Milton alludes to Horace in 535.

131. Perhaps in *Dragon womb* there is an allusion like that in the prayer of Iachimo to the "dragons of the night" (*Cymbeline*, II, ii, 48) to cover him with darkness. Dragons seem to have composed "triple Hecate's team" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 373). For Hecate's three-fold nature as the Moon or Cynthia, Diana or Artemis, and Proserpina, who was uncertainly identified with Hecate, see *On the death of the Bishop of Ely*, 57 and 58, notes.

132. *Stygian darkness*—darkness like that around the Styx, the river of hell.

spets—spits. The form was obsolescent when Milton wrote.

134. *ebon*—black like ebony.

135. *Hecate* was familiar to Milton in many classical invocations like the terrible appeals to her which Ovid put into Medea's mouth (*Met.* VII, 94, 194), and he knew her also as the "Mistress" of the witches and the "close contriver of all harms" in *Macbeth*, III, v, 10.

140. "Peep" was constantly used in this sense. *N.E.D.* cites Goodwyn's *Blanchardyn*, ii, I ij; "When the day began to peepe, they tooke their horses and rode to Tormaday."

142. *Solemnity*; compare *Arcades*, 39, note.

144. Compare the "fantastic toe" of *L'Allegro*, 34, and the shep-

The Measure.

Break off, break off, I feel the different pace, 145
 Of some chaste footing near about this ground.
 Run to your shrouds, within these Brakes and Trees;
 Our number may affright: Some Virgin sure
 (For so I can distinguish by mine Art)
 Benighted in these Woods. Now to my charms, 150
 And to my wily trains; I shall ere long
 Be well stock't with as fair a herd as graz'd
 About my Mother *Circe*. Thus I hurl
 My dazzling Spells into the spongy air,
 Of power to cheat the eye with blear illusion, 155
 And give it false presentments, lest the place
 And my quaint habits breed astonishment,
 And put the Damsel to suspicious flight,
 Which must not be, for that's against my course.
 I under fair pretence of friendly ends, 160
 And well plac't words of glozing courtesy,
 Baited with reasons not unplausible,
 Wind me into the easy-hearted man,

herds' song in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, I, ii, 32-5:

"And arm in arm
 Tread we softly in a round,
 Whilst the hollow neighbouring ground
 Fills the music with her sound."

The Measure which was actually danced, as the name implied, was probably rather formal.

147. "Shroud" is used similarly in *Nativity Ode*, 218. Compare the verb in l. 316, below.

151. *trains*; compare "venereal trains" (*i.e.*, lures) in *S.A.* 533.

154. In the Cambridge MS "powder'd" in the place of *dazzling* suggests that something bright like confetti may have been thrown.
spongy—absorbing.

155. *blear*—misty, confusing.

156. *false presentments*—misleading representations, illusions.

157. *quaint habits*—strange dress. Compare "quaint" in *Nativity Ode*, 194, and *S.A.* 1303.

160. *ends*—objects, purposes.

161. *glozing*—insinuating, flattering.

163. *Wind me*—insinuate myself—Compare *Coriolanus*, III, iii, 64; "To winde Yourselfe into a power tyranicall."

And hug him into snares. When once her eye
 Hath met the virtue of this Magic dust, 165
 I shall appear some harmless Villager
 Whom thrift keeps up about his Country gear;
 But here she comes, I fairly step aside,
 And hearken, if I may her business hear.

The Lady enters.

Lady. This way the noise was, if mine ear be true, 170
 My best guide now; methought it was the sound
 Of Riot and ill manag'd Merriment,
 Such as the jocund Flute or gamesome Pipe
 Stirs up among the loose unletter'd Hinds,
 When for their teeming Flocks and granges full 175
 In wanton dance they praise the bounteous Pan,
 And thank the gods amiss. I should be loath
 To meet the rudeness and swill'd insolence
 Of such late Wassailers; yet O where else
 Shall I inform my unacquainted feet 180
 In the blind mazes of this tangl'd Wood?
 My Brothers, when they saw me wearied out

165. *virtue*—power.

167. *gear*—tasks, occupations. Properly the word means a kit of tools for any purpose or equipment of any kind.

168. *fairly*—gently, quietly.

174. *Hinds*—farm-servants, field labourers.

175. *teeming*—multiplying, bearing young.
granges—barns.

176. Compare the note on Pan in *Arcades*, 106. "Pan, the shepherds god" (*Calendar*, April, 5), as Spenser often called him, commonly represented the Christian God in pastoral poetry rather than the classical nature deity whom it would be natural for the peasants to worship with revelry.

178. *swill'd*—glutted with drink, *N.E.D.* cites Elyot's *Appotus*; "welle . . . swilled with drynke, almost drunke."

179. *Wassailers*—drinkers of wassail, a traditional old English spiced ale. Compare Herrick's *The Country Life*:

"Thy wakes, thy quintals, here thou hast,
 Thy Maypoles too with garlands graced,
 Thy morris-dance, thy Whitsun-ale,
 Thy shearing feast, which never fail,
 Thy harvest home, thy wassail bowl."

180. *inform*—guide, teach. Compare *S.A.* 335.

With this long way, resolving here to lodge
 Under the spreading favour of these Pines,
 Stept as they said to the next Thicket side 185
 To bring me Berries, or such cooling fruit
 As the kind hospitable Woods provide.
 They left me then, when the gray-hooded Ev'n
 Like a sad Votarist in Palmer's weed
 Rose from the hindmost wheels of *Phæbus'* wain. 190
 But where they are, and why they came not back,
 Is now the labour of my thoughts; 'tis likeliest
 They had engag'd their wand'ring steps too far,
 And envious darkness, ere they could return,
 Had stole them from me; else O thievish Night 195
 Why shouldst thou, but for some felonious end,
 In thy dark lantern thus close up the Stars,
 That nature hung in Heav'n, and fill'd their Lamps
 With everlasting oil, to give due light
 To the misled and lonely Traveller? 200
 This is the place, as well as I may guess,
 Whence ev'n now the tumult of loud Mirth
 Was rife and perfet in my list'ning ear,
 Yet nought but single darkness do I find.
 What might this be? A thousand fantasies 205

189. *sad Votarist*—solemn pilgrim. A votarist was a religious person under any kind of vow, but a palmer was a pilgrim who carried a bit of palm as evidence that he had been to the Holy Land. Compare the morning "with Pilgrim steps in amice grey." (*P.R.* IV, 427.)

198-199. The figure was very familiar. Compare Fairfax's Tasso IX. 10, 5; "when Heav'n's small Candles next shall shine." And Banquo's "There's Husbandry in Heaven, Their Candles are all out." (*Macbeth*, II, i, 10-11.)

203. *perfet*—perfectly distinct.

204. *single*—absolute, total.

205-209. Fletcher refers to similar popular superstitions when he makes Clorin say:

"No goblin, wood-god, fairy, elf, or fiend,
 Satyr, or other power that haunts these groves,
 Shall hurt my body, or by vain illusion
 Draw me to wander after idle fires;
 Or voices calling me in dead of night,
 To make me follow, and so tole me on,
 Through mire and standing pools, to find my ruin."

(*The Faithful Shepherdess*, I, i, 114-20. Compare *P.L.* I, 781-7.)

Begin to throng into my memory
 Of calling shapes, and beck'ning shadows dire,
 And airy tongues, that syllable men's names
 On Sands and Shores and desert Wildernesses.
 These thoughts may startle well, but not astound 210
 The virtuous mind, that ever walks attended
 By a strong siding champion Conscience.—
 O welcome pure-ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope,
 Thou hov'ring Angel girt with golden wings,
 And thou unblemish't form of Chastity, 215
 I see ye visibly, and now believe
 That he, the Súpreme good, t' whom all things ill
 Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
 Would send a glist'ring Guardian, if need were,
 To keep my life and honour unassail'd. 220
 Was I deceiv'd, or did a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night?
 I did not err, there does a sable cloud
 Turn forth her silver lining on the night,
 And casts a gleam over this tufted Grove. 225
 I cannot hallow to my Brothers, but
 Such noise as I can make to be heard farthest
 I'll venture, for my new enliv'n'd spirits
 Prompt me; and they perhaps are not far off.

212-220. There is a suggestion of the Christian virtues of Faith and Hope as they appeared in allegorical paintings and in masques, but Milton put Chastity in the place of the third Theological Virtue of Charity or Love because he thought of that virtue in Platonic terms, as the love of the Supreme Good which chastens all inferior passions. It is almost visible to the Lady because he thought, like Bacon (*Advancement*, II, xviii, 3), "that virtue, if she could be seen, would move great love and affection"; so seeing that she cannot be showed to the sense by corporal shape, the next degree is to show her to the imagination in lively representation."

221-223. See *Elegy V*, 5, note.

SONG

- Sweet Echo, sweetest Nymph that liv'st unseen* 230
Within thy airy shell
By slow Meander's margent green,
And in the violet embroider'd vale
Where the love-lorn Nightingale
Nightly to thee her sad Song mourneth well. 235
Canst thou not tell me of a gentle Pair
That likest thy Narcissus are?
O if thou have
Hid them in some flow'ry Cave,
Tell me but where 240
Sweet Queen of Parley, Daughter of the Sphere,
So mayst thou be translated to the skies,
And give resounding grace to all Heav'n's Harmonies.

Comus. Can any mortal mixture of Earth's mould
 Breathe such Divine enchanting ravishment? 245
 Sure something holy lodges in that breast,
 And with these raptures moves the vocal air
 To testify his hidd'n residence;
 How sweetly did they float upon the wings
 Of silence, through the empty-vaulted night, 250
 At every fall smoothing the Raven down
 Of darkness till it smil'd: I have oft heard

230-243. Songs in which Echo answered, as in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* and Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, were common; but this lyric springs out of memories of myths like that which made Echo a mountain nymph in love with Narcissus (*Met.* III, 351-401) and of glimpses of her in the Greek Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 825) as a water nymph. Her haunts were everywhere, from the river Meander in Phrygia to the valleys of the nightingales below Pindar's "violet-crowned Athens." (Frag. 75 [45].) She is the *Daughter of the Sphere* perhaps because—as Thomas Warton suggested—her *airy shell* is the overarching sky.

244-8. The thought is explained by *To Leonora Singing*, where Milton suggested that the voice was that of an angel in the singer's breast or of God himself mysteriously speaking through her.

250-251. Compare the imagery in *L'Allegro*, 6-7.

My mother *Circe* with the Sirens three,
 Amid'st the flow'ry-kirtl'd *Naiades*,
 Culling their Potent herbs and baleful drugs, 255
 Who as they sung, would take the prison'd soul,
 And lap it in *Elysium*; *Scylla* wept,
 And chid her barking waves into attention,
 And fell *Charybdis* murmur'd soft applause:
 Yet they in pleasing slumber lull'd the sense, 260
 And in sweet madness robb'd it of itself,
 But such a sacred and home-felt delight,
 Such sober certainty of waking bliss,
 I never heard till now. I'll speak to her
 And she shall be my Queen. Hail foreign wonder, 265
 Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
 Unless the Goddess that in rural shrine
 Dwell'st here with *Pan*, or *Silvan*, by blest Song
 Forbidding every bleak unkindly Fog
 To touch the prosperous growth of this tall Wood. 270
Lady. Nay gentle Shepherd, ill is lost that praise
 That is addrest to unattending Ears;
 Not any boast of skill, but extreme shift
 How to regain my sever'd company
 Compell'd me to awake the courteous Echo 275
 To give me answer from her mossy Couch.

253-259. Influenced, perhaps, by the *Inner Temple Masque* and remembering Ovid's picture of *Circe* gathering flowers with the *Nereids* (*Met.* XIV, 264-270), Milton brought the water nymphs, the *Naiades*, together here with *Circe* and the *Sirens*, whose songs lured seamen to death. (*Od.* XII, 39-46, and 166-200.) The *Sirens'* rocks were near the Sicilian straits where the whirlpool, *Charybdis*, confronts the surf-beaten rocks into which *Circe* was fabled to have transformed the nymph, *Scylla*. (*Met.* XIV, 8-74.) Her "barking waves" go back to *Homer*. (*Od.* XII, 85.)

265-267. Warton traced this bit of "classical gallantry" to the *Odyssey* (VI, 149) where *Ulysses* greets *Nausicaa* as lady or goddess. Pastoral drama has countless parallels, e.g., *Ferdinand's* greeting to *Miranda*:

"Most sure, the goddess
 On whom these airs attend!"
 (*Tempest*, I, ii, 420-421.)

268. Here *Pan* is simply a wood-god, like *Sylvanus*, with whom *Virgil* linked him. (*Eclogues*, X, 24-26.)

273. *boast of skill*—wish to display skill.

Comus. What chance, good Lady, hath bereft you thus?

Lady. Dim darkness and this leavy Labyrinth.

Comus. Could that divide you from near-ushering guides?

Lady. They left me weary on a grassy turf. 280

Comus. By falsehood, or discourtesy, or why?

Lady. To seek i'th' valley some cool friendly Spring.

Comus. And left your fair side all unguarded, Lady?

Lady. They were but twain, and purpos'd quick return.

Comus. Perhaps fore-stalling night prevented them. 285

Lady. How easy my misfortune is to hit!

Comus. Imports their loss, beside the present need?

Lady. No less than if I should my brothers lose.

Comus. Were they of manly prime, or youthful bloom?

Lady. As smooth as *Hebe's* their unrazor'd lips. 290

Comus. Two such I saw, what time the labour'd Ox

In his loose traces from the furrow came,

And the swink't hedger at his Supper sat;

I saw them under a green mantling vine

That crawls along the side of yon small hill, 295

Plucking ripe clusters from the tender shoots;

Their port was more than human, as they stood;

I took it for a faëry vision

Of some gay creatures of the element

277-290. Milton was experimenting with the device of alternate lines of question and answer, known as *stichomythia* in Greek tragedy, which often gave curious excitement to encounters between strangers, as it does in many of the scenes in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*.

289. In *P.L.* XI, 245-6, Michael is described as "prime In Manhood where Youth ended."

290. The epithet *unrazor'd* seems like a reminiscence of Virgil's contrast of the beardless Euryalus with his older friend, Nisus. (*Aen.* IX, 181.)

291-292. Virgil made the unyoking of oxen a warning of approaching sunset (*Eclogues*, II, 66-7) and in Homer's language (*Il.* XVI, 779) the "unyoking of oxen" meant evening.

293. *swink't*—hard-worked, tired.

297. *port*—bearing, deportment. Todd compared the situation with that in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* (260-273), when a herdman tells Iphigenia that at his first view of her ship-wrecked brother, Orestes, and Pylades he took them for gods.

299. *element*—the air. For the belief about the spirit-inhabitants of the air compare *P.R.* II, 122-4, note, and *Il Penseroso*, 93-6.

That in the colours of the Rainbow live 300
 And play i'th' plighted clouds. I was awe-strook,
 And as I past, I worshipt; if those you seek
 It were a journey like the path to Heav'n,
 To help you find them.

Lady. Gentle villager,
 What readiest way would bring me to that place? 305

Comus. Due west it rises from this shrubby point.

Lady. To find out that, good Shepherd, I suppose,
 In such a scant allowance of Star-light,
 Would overtask the best Land-Pilot's art,
 Without the sure guess of well-practis'd feet. 310

Comus. I know each lane and every alley green,
 Dingle or bushy dell of this wild Wood,
 And every bosky bourn from side to side,
 My daily walks and ancient neighbourhood,
 And if your stray attendance be yet lodg'd, 315
 Or shroud within these limits, I shall know
 Ere morrow wake, or the low-roosted lark
 From her thatch't pallet rouse; if otherwise,
 I can conduct you, Lady, to a low
 But loyal cottage, where you may be safe 320
 Till further quest.

Lady. Shepherd, I take thy word,
 And trust thy honest offer'd courtesy,

301. *plighted*—interwoven or folded.

312. *Dingle*—a cleft between hills.

313. *bosky bourn*—a stream overhung by shrubbery. *Bosk* is a dialectal variant of *bush*.

316. *shroud*—take shelter. Compare the noun in 147.

317. *morrow*—morning.

318. *thatch't pallet*—bed or nest of straw.

322-326. Milton is less confident than Spenser that,
 "Of Court, it seemes, men Courtesie doe call,
 For that it there most useth to abound."

(*F.Q.* VI, I, i, 1-2.)

Perhaps he remembered that in the *Orlando Furioso* (XIV, 62) Mandricardo and Doralice were glad to discover that

"courtesie oftimes in simple bowres
 Is found as great as in the stately towres."

(Harington's translation.)

The commonplace goes back to Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, 772-3.

Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds
 With smoky rafters, than in tap'stry Halls
 And Courts of Princes, where it first was nam'd, 325
 And yet is most pretended: In a place
 Less warranted than this, or less secure
 I cannot be, that I should fear to change it.
 Eye me blest Providence, and square my trial
 To my proportion'd strength. Shepherd lead on.— 330

The Two Brothers.

Elder Brother. Unmuffle ye faint stars, and thou fair Moon
 That wont'st to love the traveller's benison,
 Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that reigns here
 In double night of darkness and of shades; 335
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up
 With black usurping mists, some gentle taper,
 Though a rush Candle from the wicker hole
 Of some clay habitation, visit us
 With thy long levell'd rule of streaming light, 340
 And thou shalt be our star of *Arcady*,
 Or *Tyrian Cynosure*.

324. *tap'stry Halls*—halls hung with tapestries.

327. *warranted*—protected, secure.

331. *Unmuffle*: compare Romeo's speech; "Muffle me, night, awhile."
 (*Romeo and Juliet*, V, iii, 21.)

332. *wont'st*—art accustomed. Compare *S.A.* 1487, note.

benison—blessing. So Spenser said of the moon shining unexpectedly through the clouds—

"Of the poore traeller, that went astray,
 With thousand blessings she is heried."

(*F.Q.*, III, i, 43, 5-6.)

333. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 71-2.

334. *disinherit*—dispossess. Milton thought of the traditional association of "Night And Chaos, Ancestors of Nature." (*P.L.* II, 894-5.)

335. Compare the thought of night and the forest double-shading the desert in *P.R.* I, 500.

336. Compare the "precious influence" of the stars in *Nativity Ode*, 71.

341-342. *Tyrian Cynosure*—the pole star by which the Phoenician sailors steered. Milton remembered Ovid's story (*Met.* II, 401-507) of

Second Brother. Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happiness, might we but hear
 The folded flocks penn'd in their wattled cotes,
 Or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stops, 345
 Or whistle from the Lodge, or village cock
 Count the night watches to his feathery Dames,
 'Twould be some solace yet, some little cheering
 In this close dungeon of innumerable boughs.
 But O that hapless virgin, our lost sister, 350
 Where may she wander now, whither betake her
 From the chill dew, amongst rude burrs and thistles?
 Perhaps some cold bank is her bolster now
 Or 'gainst the rugged bark of some broad Elm
 Leans her unpillow'd head fraught with sad fears. 355
 What if in wild amazement and affright,
 Or while we speak, within the direful grasp
 Of Savage hunger, or of Savage heat?

Elder Brother. Peace brother, be not over-exquisite
 To cast the fashion of uncertain evils; 360
 For grant they be so, while they rest unknown,
 What need a man forestall his date of grief,
 And run to meet what he would most avoid?
 Or if they be but false alarms of Fear,

the Arcadian princess, Callisto, whose fate it was, after bearing a son, Arcas, to Jove, to be set in the heavens as the Great Bear, while Arcas became the Little Bear, the tip of whose tail is the North Star.

344. *wattled cotes*—sheepfolds made of upright stakes with twigs twisted over them. Both words were popular, yet the phrase was poetical, like the "hurd'l'd Cotes" of *P.L.* IV, 186.

345. The traditional shepherd's instrument in English pastoral poetry was the "oaten pype" of Colin Clout in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, 72.

349. *innumerable*—innumerable.

355. *fraught*—freighted, filled.

359. *exquisite*—curious, anxious.

360. *cast the fashion*—forecast or anticipate the nature. *N.E.D.* cites E. F.'s *History of Edward II*, 126, "With a world of melancholy thought, he casts the danger."

361. *grant they be so*—even if it be granted that they are as you imagine them.

362. *forestall*—anticipate.

How bitter is such self-delusion? 365
 I do not think my sister so to seek,
 Or so unprincipl'd in virtue's book,
 And the sweet peace that goodness bosoms ever,
 As that the single want of light and noise
 (Not being in danger, as I trust she is not) 370
 Could stir the constant mood of her calm thoughts,
 And put them into mis-becoming plight.
 Virtue could see to do what virtue would
 By her own radiant light, though Sun and Moon
 Were in the flat Sea sunk. And Wisdom's self 375
 Oft seeks to sweet retired Solitude,
 Where with her best nurse Contemplation
 She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings
 That in the various bustle of resort
 Were all to-ruffl'd, and sometimes impair'd. 380
 He that has light within his own clear breast
 May sit i'th' centre, and enjoy bright day,

365. Pronounce *delusi-ön*. This was the usual pronunciation of the ending and it is illustrated in *Contemplation* in l. 377 and *condition* in l. 685.

366. *to seek*—at a loss. *N.E.D.* cites Lassels' *Voyage to Italy*, II (1670), 317, "Lest they should grow idle and have their strength to seek when the war should break out."

367. *unprincipl'd*—untaught in the principles.

368. *bosoms*—keeps in its breast. Compare Norfolk's advice to Buckingham; "Bosom up my counsel." (*Henry VIII*, I, i, 112.)

369. *single*—mere.

373-375. Compare the Redcross Knight's maxim to encourage Una in the wood of error:

"Vertue giues her selfe light, through darkenesse for to wade."

(*F.Q.* I, i, 12, 9.)

375. *the flat Sea*; compare "the level brine" of *Lycidas*, 98.

376. *seeks to*—resorts to.

377. Compare *Contemplation* in *Il Penseroso*, 54, and the notes on lines 212-220 and 365 above.

379. *resort*—assembly, meeting of people.

380. *to-ruffl'd*—ruffled up, bedraggled.

381. So Milton prayed the "Celestial light" to "shine inward" in *P.L.* III, 51-2, and made Samson deplore the loss of "inward light." (*S.A.*, 162.)

382. *centre*—the earth, the depths of the soil which Milton says are "ransack'd" for metals. (*P.L.* I, 686.)

But he that hides a dark soul and foul thoughts
Benighted walks under the mid-day Sun;
Himself is his own dungeon.

Second Brother. 'Tis most true 385
That musing meditation most affects
The Pensive secrecy of desert cell,
Far from the cheerful haunt of men and herds,
And sits as safe as in a Senate house;
For who would rob a Hermit of his Weeds, 390
His few Books, or his Beads, or Maple Dish,
Or do his gray hairs any violence?
But beauty, like the fair Hesperian Tree
Laden with blooming gold, had need the guard
Of dragon watch with unenchanted eye, 395
To save her blossoms, and defend her fruit
From the rash hand of bold Incontinence.
You may as well spread out the unsunn'd heaps
Of Miser's treasure by an out-law's den,
And tell me it is safe, as bid me hope 400
Danger will wink on Opportunity,

385. The thought was a great commonplace, embodied again in Milton's picture of Satan as unable to escape from the "Hell within him" (*P.L.* IV, 20) and in the Chorus's reproach to Samson:

"Thou art become (O worst imprisonment!)
The Dungeon of thyself."

(*S.A.* 155-6.)

386. *affects*, loves, feels an affection for.

391. The *Beads* of the rosary were a part of the traditional picture of the hermit,

"Silly old man, that liues in hidden cell,
Bidding his beades all day for his trespass."

(*F.Q.* I, i, 30, 6-7.)

393-395. In lines 981-3 below Milton returns to the Golden Tree in the Gardens of the Hesperides which was watched by a dragon so terrible that only Hercules could conquer it.

unenchanted—unenchantable. This use of the perfect participle is a Greek and Latin practice. Compare "unblemished" in l. 215.

398. *unsunn'd*—unseen by the sun, hidden.

401. Ulysses uses *Opportunity* with great effect in this sense when he jeers at women of Cressida's kind as

"sluttish spoils of opportunity
And daughters of the game."

(*Troilus and Cressida*, IV, v, 62-3.)

And let a single helpless maiden pass
 Uninjured in this wild surrounding waste.
 Of night, or loneliness it recks me not,
 I fear the dread events that dog them both, 405
 Lest some ill-greeting touch attempt the person
 Of our unowned sister.

Elder Brother. I do not, brother,
 Infer as if I thought my sister's state
 Secure without all doubt or controversy:
 Yet where an equal poise of hope and fear 410
 Does arbitrate th'event, my nature is
 That I incline to hope, rather than fear,
 And gladly banish squint suspicion.
 My sister is not so defenceless left
 As you imagine, she has a hidden strength 415
 Which you remember not.

Second Brother. What hidden strength,
 Unless the strength of Heav'n, if you mean that?

Elder Brother. I mean that too, but yet a hidden strength
 Which if Heav'n gave it, may be term'd her own:
 'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity: 420
 She that has that, is clad in complete steel,
 And like a quiver'd Nymph with Arrows keen

404. *it recks me not*—it makes no difference to me whether. Compare *Lycidas*, 122 for another impersonal use of the verb and *P.L.* II, 50, for the more usual, personal use; "of God, or Hell, or worse He reck'd not."

407. *unowned*—unaccompanied, unprotected.

408. *Infer*—mean, intend to speak as if, etc.

409. *without all*—beyond any.

411. *arbitrate th'event*—determine the outcome.

413. The adjective *squint* commonly meant "suspicious" or "envious," as it does in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*, August, 129:

"Herdgrome, I fear me thou have a squint eye."

421. Perhaps Milton thought of the steel-clad championess of chastity, Britomart, in *The Faerie Queene*; but his conception, as Todd suggested, may owe something to passages in the Fathers of the Church such as St. Ambrose's account of virginity as walled about with a rampart and guarded by a fence of divine protection. (*D. Ambrosii Opera*, Paris, 1586, Vol. III, p. 1046.)

422. *a quiver'd Nymph*—a nymph whose quiver of arrows marked her as a follower of "the huntress Dian" (l. 441), all whose attendants

May trace huge Forests and unharbour'd Heaths,
 Infamous Hills and sandy perilous wilds,
 Where through the sacred rays of Chastity, 425
 No savage fierce, Bandit, or mountaineer
 Will dare to soil her Virgin purity:
 Yea there, where very desolation dwells,
 By grotts and caverns shagg'd with horrid shades,
 She may pass on with unblench't majesty, 430
 Be it not done in pride or in presumption.
 Some say no evil thing that walks by night
 In fog or fire, by lake or moorish fen,
 Blue meagre Hag, or stubborn unlaid ghost,
 That breaks his magic chains at *curfew* time, 435
 No goblin or swart Faëry of the mine,

were bound to chastity. Editors compare Phineas Fletcher's embodiment of virgin chastity, the

"warlike maid,
 Parthenia, all in steel and gilded arms."
 (*The Purple Island*, X, 27, 1-2.)

423. *trace*—travel through. Compare *P.R.* II, 109.

unharbour'd—lacking harbours, offering no shelter.

424. *Infamous* has the Latin meaning of "ill-famed."

426. *mountaineer* had lawless and monstrous connotations. Gonzalo in *The Tempest* (III, iii, 45-7) remembered stories that

"there were mountaineers
 Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
 Wallets of flesh."

428. *very*—absolute. Compare *P.R.* IV, 12.

429. *horrid* keeps the Latin meaning of "bristling" or "rough" as applied to undergrowth. Compare *P.R.* I, 296, and *P.L.* IX, 185: "in horrid Shade or dismal Den."

430. *unblench'd*—undismayed. *N.E.D.* cites Fletcher's *False One*, IV, iv; "Art thou so poor to blench at what thou has done?"

433. *fire*: *i.e.*, the will-o'-the-wisp, Jack-o'-lantern or fatuous fire. Compare 205-9, note.

434. A hag was any "evil spirit . . . in female form." (*N.E.D.*) Macbeth's "black and midnight hags" were identified by Burton (*Anatomy*, I, ii, i, 2) with water-devils, and Milton may have thought of his *meagre Hag* as a bluish fog-form. Or perhaps he had in mind the "flame of fyre that shyneth by night" which Palgrave said was popularly called a "Hagge." (*L'esclaircissement de la langue Francoyse*, 228-32, quoted by *N.E.D.*) Ghosts could walk only after curfew.

436. Compare the daemons of underground in *Il Penseroso*, 93-4. A wide-spread folk-belief imagined some earth-spirits as living in mines

Hath hurtful power o'er true virginity.
 Do ye believe me yet, or shall I call
 Antiquity from the old Schools of *Greece*
 To testify the arms of Chastity? 440
 Hence had the huntress *Dian* her dread bow,
 Fair silver-shafted Queen for ever chaste,
 Wherewith she tam'd the brinded lioness
 And spotted mountain pard, but set at nought
 The frivolous bolt of *Cupid*; gods and men 445
 Fear'd her stern frown, and she was queen o' th' Woods.
 What was that snaky-headed *Gorgon* shield
 That wise *Minerva* wore, unconquer'd Virgin,
 Wherewith she freez'd her foes to congeal'd stone
 But rigid looks of Chaste austerity, 450
 And noble grace that dash't brute violence
 With sudden adoration, and blank awe?
 So dear to Heav'n is Sainly chastity,
 That when a soul is found sincerely so,
 A thousand liveried Angels lackey her, 455
 Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
 And in clear dream and solemn vision

and stained from smelting ore, like the fiends which Guyon saw at their furnaces in Mammon's delve,

"Deformed creatures, horrible in sight."

(*F.Q.* II, vii, 35, 7.)

441-446. Milton's allegory was then very familiar, for Conti's chapter on Diana (*Mythologiae*, III, xviii) explains that the myths of the huntress-virgin are symbols of the value of field-sports in taming and "sublimating" passion.

444. *pard*, panther or mountain "lion."

447-452. The traditional figure of *Minerva*, carrying the *Gorgon's* head as she is described in the *Iliad* V, 738-41, is explained by Conti (*Mythologiae*, IV, v) as symbolizing the dread which she strikes into her lustful enemies, "not one of whom dare arise when she wears the frightful *Gorgon's* head with its serpent-hair on her breast."

449. *freez'd*—froze. There was much uncertainty in the use of regular *vs.* irregular preterite forms of many verbs.

452. *blank*—helpless. Compare the verb in *S.A.* 471.

455. The picture is that of a nobleman followed by his retainers dressed in the gorgeous uniforms or liveries which were once common sights in London.

457. Bacon quoted from "the Hebrew rabbins—"Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams'" to prove

Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,
 Till oft converse with heav'nly habitants
 Begin to cast a beam on th'outward shape, 460
 The unpolluted temple of the mind,
 And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,
 Till all be made immortal: but when lust
 By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,
 But most by lewd and lavish act of sin, 465
 Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
 The soul grows clotted by contagion,
 Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
 The divine property of her first being.
 Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp 470
 Oft seen in Charnel vaults, and Sepulchres,
 Lingerin', and sitting by a new made grave,

that the object of education should be to secure such "apparitions of God." (*Advancement*, I, iii, 3.) Compare *P.L.* xii, 611.

459-463. In *P.L.* V, 469-504, Raphael explains the laws of matter to Adam as ground for hope that perhaps human

"bodies may at last turn all to Spirit,
 Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend Ethereal."

461-463. The thought is Platonic, but Milton remembered St. Paul's words; "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" Compare the advice given to Imogene; "keep unshak'd That temple, thy fair mind." (*Cymbeline*, II, i, 60-1.)

466. There is a glance at Psalm li, 6; "Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts."

468. Compare Satan's protest, when he enters the serpent in order to tempt Eve, that he is

"constrain'd
 Into a Beast, and mixt with bestial slime
 This essence to incarnate and imbrute."

(*P.L.* IX, 164-6.)

469. *property*—quality, nature.

470. *gloomy shadows damp* is Milton's recollection of Plato's phrase (*Phaedo*, 81d) in a passage where Socrates argues for the soul's immortality on the ground that noble spirits welcome the release from the body and its passions which death brings; while the souls of the wicked are dragged back after death to this visible world by their fear of the invisible and their load of fleshly lusts, and are seen haunting their tombs. Plato's thought, with emphasis on the *contagion* of the body as evil in itself, was echoed by Lactantius (*Divine Institutes*, VII, xx, §8-9) and by other Christian writers, who may have influenced Milton's impression of Plato's famous passage.

As loath to leave the body that it lov'd,
 And link't itself by carnal sensual'ty
 To a degenerate and degraded state. 475

Second Brother. How charming is divine Philosophy!
 Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
 But musical as is *Apollo's* lute,
 And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
 Where no crude surfeit reigns.

Elder Brother. List, list, I hear 480
 Some far off hallow break the silent Air.

Second Brother. Methought so too; what should it be?

Elder Brother. For certain
 Either some one like us night-founder'd here,
 Or else some neighbour Wood-man, or at worst,
 Some roving Robber calling to his fellows. 485

Second Brother. Heav'n keep my sister! Again again and
 near,
 Best draw, and stand upon our guard.

Elder Brother. I'll hallow;
 If he be friendly he comes well, if not,
 Defence is a good cause, and Heav'n be for us.

The attendant Spirit habited like a Shepherd.

That hallow I should know, what are you? speak; 490
 Come not too near, you fall on iron stakes else.

Spirit. What voice is that? my young Lord? speak again.

Second Brother. O brother, 'tis my father's Shepherd sure.

476-480. The conventionality of the younger brother's answer is illustrated by the first canto of Henry More's *Platonical Song of the Soul* (1647), where—as Todd pointed out—"crabbed" and "sour" doctrines are contrasted with the philosophy of "divinest Plato," which "fires the nobler heart with spotlesse love,

And sadder minds with Nectar drops doth chear."

(Stanza 18.)

480. *crude*—indigestible or undigested.

483. *night-founder'd*—overwhelmed by the night. Compare the "night-founder'd Skiff" of *P.L.* I, 204.

486-487. In the performance the shout would be heard again, coming closer, while the brothers draw their swords.

491. *iron stakes*—i.e., their swords.

- Elder Brother. Thyrsis?* Whose artful strains have oft de-
lay'd
- The huddling brook to hear his madrigal, 495
And sweeten'd every muskrose of the dale.
How cam'st thou here good Swain? hath any ram
Slipt from the fold, or young Kid lost his dam,
Or straggl'ing wether the pent flock forsook?
How couldst thou find this dark sequester'd nook? 500
Spirit. O my lov'd master's heir, and his next joy,
I came not here on such a trivial toy
As a stray'd Ewe, or to pursue the stealth
Of pilfering Wolf; not all the fleecy wealth
That doth enrich these Downs, is worth a thought 505
To this my errand, and the care it brought.
But O my Virgin Lady, where is she?
How chance she is not in your company?
Elder Brother. To tell thee sadly, Shepherd, without blame,
Or our neglect, we lost her as we came. 510
Spirit. Ay me unhappy! then my fears are true.
Elder Brother. What fears good *Thyrsis*? Prithee briefly
show.
Spirit. I'll tell ye; 'tis not vain or fabulous,
(Though so esteem'd by shallow ignorance)
What the sage Poets taught by th' heav'nly Muse 515
Storied of old in high immortal verse

494. *Thyrsis* is the name given to the first shepherd mentioned in Theocritus' *Idyls*. For the compliment to Lawes in these lines compare the note on 86-8.

495. A *madrigal* was a love-song often written in parts for several voices, but its original Italian associations were with pastoral poetry. Masson suggested that the rhymed dialogue (495-512) bears the stamp of the heroic couplet in which English pastoral poetry had usually been written.

huddling—pressing, crowding, *i.e.*, to hear.

501. *his next joy* is the Spirit's way of addressing the Second Brother.

502. *toy*—trifle, insignificant matter.

506. *to*—in comparison to.

508. *How chance*—how does it happen that, *etc.*

509. *sadly*—seriously. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 191; "Tell me in sadness, who is that you love."

without blame—without our being blameworthy.

515-519. Homer, with whom the myth of the fire-spouting Chimaera

Of dire *Chimeras* and enchanted Isles,
 And rifted Rocks whose entrance leads to hell,
 For such there be, but unbelief is blind.

Within the navel of this hideous Wood, 520
 Immur'd in cypress shades, a Sorcerer dwells,
 Of *Bacchus* and of *Circe* born, great *Comus*,
 Deep skill'd in all his mother's witcheries,
 And here to every thirsty wanderer,
 By sly enticement gives his baneful cup, 525
 With many murmurs mixt, whose pleasing poison
 The visage quite transforms of him that drinks,
 And the inglorious likeness of a beast
 Fixes instead, unmoulding reason's mintage
 Charáct'er'd in the face; this have I learnt 530
 Tending my flocks hard by i'th' hilly crofts,
 That brow this bottom glade, whence night by night
 He and his monstrous rout are heard to howl
 Like stabl'd wolves, or tigers at their prey,

begins (*ll.* VI, 179), and all the poets down to Spenser, who was the last who

"counselled,
 To shunne *Rocke of Reproch*, and it as death to dred,"
 (*F.Q.* II, xii, 9, 9.)

were in Milton's mind. In the invocation to the *heav'nly Muse*, *Urania*, in *P.L.* VII, 1-20, he referred to the myth of *Bellerophon*, who killed the *Chimaera*, with the same sense of the value of the story that transpires here.

520. *navel*—centre. Todd paralleled this Greek use of the word from Michael Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song xxxiii, 147-8:

"Up tow'rds the navell then of England from her flanke,
 Which Lincolnshire we call."

526. *murmurs*—incantations muttered while the drink was being mixed. Compare *S.A.* 934-5.

529. *mintage*—stamp.

530. *Charáct'er'd*—impressed or engraved. Compare *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, vii, 3-4, where Julia calls Lucetta

"the table wherein all my thoughts
 Are visibly character'd and engrav'd."

531. *crofts*—small, enclosed farms or tilled fields.

532. *brow*—overlook. *bottom glade*—glade in a valley.

533. *monstrous rout*—mob or crowd of monsters.

534. If "stabl'd" has the force that it does in *P.L.* XI, 752, *stabl'd*

Doing abhorred rites to *Hecate* 535
 In their obscured haunts of inmost bow'rs.
 Yet have they many baits and guileful spells
 To inveigle and invite th'unwary sense
 Of them that pass unweeting by the way.
 This evening late, by then the chewing flocks 540
 Had ta'en their supper on the savoury Herb
 Of Knot-grass dew-besprent, and were in fold,
 I sat me down to watch upon a bank
 With Ivy canopied, and interwove
 With flaunting Honey-suckle, and began, 545
 Wrapt in a pleasing fit of melancholy,
 To meditate my rural minstrelsy,
 Till fancy had her fill; but ere a close
 The wonted roar was up amidst the Woods,
 And fill'd the Air with barbarous dissonance, 550
 At which I ceas't, and listen'd them a while,
 Till an unusual stop of sudden silence
 Gave respite to the drowsy-flighted steeds

wolves means "wolves in their lairs." Perhaps the meaning, however, is, "wolves in the stables or sheepfolds."

535. *abhorred*—abominable. Compare the note on *unenchantèd* in 395, and the note on 128–130 above.

539. *unweeting*—unwitting, uninformed.

546. *melancholy*; not sadness but the mood invoked in *Il Penseroso*, 12.

547. Compare *meditate* in *Lycidas*, 66. *Thyrsis* means that he improvised a tune on his pipe. The language is that of Virgil's *Eclogue*, 1, 2.

548. *ere a close*—before a close (probably a cadence or conclusion of the musical theme) was reached.

549. *wonted*—accustomed.

551. *listen'd*—listened to. Originally the verb was transitive, as it is in *Macbeth's* confession (II, ii, 29); "List'ning their feare, I could not say Amen."

553. *drowsy-flighted* is the reading of the Cambridge MS, while all the original editions have *drowsie frighted*. So Browne describes the "pitchy curtains" about "Night's chariot"—

"All-drowsie night, . . . in a car of jet,
 By steeds of iron-gray
 drawne through the skye."
 (*Britannia's Pastorals*, Book II, Song I.)

That draw the litter of close-curtain'd sleep;
 At last a soft and solemn breathing sound 555
 Rose like a steam of rich distill'd Perfumes,
 And stole upon the Air, that even Silence
 Was took ere she was ware, and wish't she might
 Deny her nature, and be never more,
 Still to be so displac't. I was all ear, 560
 And took in strains that might create a soul
 Under the ribs of Death; but O ere long
 Too well I did perceive it was the voice
 Of my most honour'd Lady, your dear sister.
 Amaz'd I stood, harrow'd with grief and fear, 565
 And O poor hapless Nightingale, thought I,
 How sweet thou sing'st, how near the deadly snare!
 Then down the Lawns I ran with headlong haste
 Through paths and turnings oft'n trod by day,
 Till guided by mine ear I found the place 570
 Where that damn'd wizard hid in sly disguise
 (For so by certain signs I knew) had met
 Already, ere my best speed could prevent,
 The aidless innocent Lady his wish't prey,
 Who gently ask't if he had seen such two, 575
 Supposing him some neighbour villager;
 Longer I durst not stay, but soon I guess'd
 Ye were the two she meant; with that I sprung
 Into swift flight, till I had found you here,
 But further know I not.
 Second Brother. O night and shades, 580

554. *litter*—a chariot built so that the traveller could lie down.
 With *close-curtain'd sleep* compare Macbeth's "Curtain'd sleepe."
 (*Macbeth*, II, i, 64.)

555-556. Todd quoted Bacon's remark in the *Essay Of Gardens* that
 "the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and
 goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand."

557-558. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 56-7.

560. *Still to be so displac't*: i.e., provided that she might always be
 supplanted by such music.

562. Allegorical pictures of skeletons were very familiar in books
 like Quarles's *Emblems*, where (Book V, No. viii) Milton may have
 seen such a figure with a pendant poem morbidly preaching chastity.

568. *Lawns*—grassy, open lanes in the forest.

How are ye join'd with hell in triple knot
 Against th'unarmed weakness of one Virgin
 Alone, and helpless! Is this the confidence
 You gave me Brother?

Elder Brother. Yes, and keep it still,
 Lean on it safely, not a period 585
 Shall be unsaid for me: against the threats
 Of malice or of sorcery, or that power
 Which erring men call Chance, this I hold firm;
 Virtue may be assail'd, but never hurt,
 Surpris'd by unjust force, but not enthrall'd, 590
 Yea even that which mischief meant most harm
 Shall in the happy trial prove most glory.
 But evil on itself shall back recoil,
 And mix no more with goodness, when at last
 Gather'd like scum, and settl'd to itself, 595
 It shall be in eternal restless change
 Self-fed and self-consum'd; if this fail,
 The pillar'd firmament is rott'ness,
 And earth's base built on stubble. But come, let's on.
 Against th' opposing will and arm of Heav'n 600
 May never this just sword be lifted up,
 But for that damn'd magician, let him be girt
 With all the grisly legions that troop
 Under the sooty flag of *Acheron*,

585. *period*—sentence.

586. *for me*—for my part, by my judgement.

591. *i.e.*, the very thing which mischievous men meant should do most harm.

592. *happy trial*—trial whose outcome proves fortunate.

593-597. So in *P.L.* XI, 50-3, Milton explains that by the Law of Nature

“Those pure immortal Elements that know
 No gross, no unharmonious mixture foul,
 Eject him (*i.e.*, Adam) tainted now, and purge him off
 As a distemper.”

598. Compare “the pillar'd frame of Heaven” in *P.R.* IV, 455 and note.

604. *Acheron* was one of the four rivers of Hades (all of which figure together in *P.L.* II, 577-80), but here it represents hell itself.

Harpies and *Hydras*, or all the monstrous forms 605
 'Twi't *Africa* and *Inde*, I'll find him out,
 And force him to restore his purchase back,
 Or drag him by the curls, to a foul death,
 Curs'd as his life.

Spirit. Alas good vent'rous youth,
 I love thy courage yet, and bold Emprise, 610
 But here thy sword can do thee little stead;
 Far other arms, and other weapons must
 Be those that quell the might of hellish charms.
 He with his bare wand can unthread thy joints,
 And crumble all thy sinews.

Elder Brother. Why, prethee Shepherd, 615
 How durst thou then thyself approach so near
 As to make this relation?

Spirit. Care and utmost shifts
 How to secure the Lady from surprisal,
 Brought to my mind a certain Shepherd Lad
 Of small regard to see to, yet well skill'd 620
 In every virtuous plant and healing herb
 That spreads her verdant leaf to th'morning ray.
 He lov'd me well, and oft would beg me sing,
 Which when I did, he on the tender grass
 Would sit, and hearken even to extasy, 625

605. *Harpies* (compare *P.R.* II, 403, note) and *Hydras*, like the "Gorgons and Hydras, and Chimeras dire" of *P.L.* II, 628, stand for "all monstrous, all prodigious things."

606. *Inde*, India, stands for the far east as Africa does for the west, since Mt. Atlas, opposite Gibraltar, represented the extreme western landmark for the ancient world.

607. *purchase*—prey, captive. Originally the word meant the chase of wild animals.

611. *stead*—advantage, service.

614. *bare*—mere.

615. *prethee*—prithee, a very common contraction of "I pray thee." Compare 512.

617. *relation*—report.

620. *to see to*—to look at.

621. *virtuous*—rich in healing quality, like Friar Lawrence's

"precious-juiced' flowers . . .
 Many for many virtues excellent."
 (*Romeo and Juliet*, II, iii, 8 and 13.)

And in requital ope his leathern scrip,
 And show me simples of a thousand names,
 Telling their strange and vigorous faculties;
 Amongst the rest a small unsightly root,
 But of divine effect, he cull'd me out; 630
 The leaf was darkish, and had prickles on it,
 But in another Country, as he said,
 Bore a bright golden flow'r, but not in this soil:
 Unknown, and like esteem'd, and the dull swain
 Treads on it daily with his clouted shoon, 635
 And yet more med'cinal is it than that *Moly*
 That *Hermes* once to wise *Ulysses* gave;
 He call'd it *Haemony*, and gave it me,
 And bade me keep it as of sovran use
 'Gainst all enchantments, mildew blast, or damp, 640
 Or ghastly furies' apparitiön;
 I purs't it up, but little reck'ning made,
 Till now that this extremity compell'd,
 But now I find it true; for by this means
 I knew the foul enchanter though disguis'd, 645

626. *scrip*—bag.

627. *simples*—medically useful plants, so called because they were classed with the simple remedies.

634. *like esteem'd*; i.e., unknown and so unvalued.

635. *clouted*—patched, or studded with iron clouts.

636–638. *Moly* was the herb given to Ulysses by Hermes (*Od.* X, 287) to immunize him against Circe's charms. Thereby said Roger Ascham (*English Works*, Ed. Wright, p. 226), "the Diuine Poete Homer ment couertly . . . that loue of honestie, and hatred of ill, which *Dauid* more plainly doth call the feare of God." Traditionally it symbolized temperance, and in *Elegy I*, 88, Milton said that it was his antidote against the Circean charms of London. By calling it *Haemony*, a word derived from *Haemonia*, an ancient name for Thrace, the land of magic, he suggested Socrates' story (in Plato's *Charmides*, 157) of the charm of a Thracian physician who wrought magical cures because he understood that the body's health depends upon the soul.

639. *sovran*—superlatively efficacious. Hotspur was told that

"the sovereign'st thing on earth

Was parmececi for an inward bruise."

(*Henry IV*, Part I, I, iii, 57–8.)

640. The "foul fiend Flibbertigebbet," says Edgar in *Lear* III, iv, 118–22, "mildews the white wheat, and hurts the poor creature of earth."

641. *Furies*' has the vague meaning of Hag in 435 above.

Enter'd the very lime-twigs of his spells,
 And yet came off: if you have this about you
 (As I will give you when we go) you may
 Boldly assault the necromancer's hall;
 Where if he be, with dauntless hardihood 650
 And brandish't blade rush on him, break his glass,
 And shed the luscious liquor on the ground,
 But seize his wand; though he and his curst crew
 Fierce sign of battle make, and menace high,
 Or like the sons of *Vulcan* vomit smoke, 655
 Yet will they soon retire, if he but shrink.

Elder Brother. *Thyrsis* lead on apace, I'll follow thee,
 And some good angel bear a shield before us.

The Scene changes to a stately Palace, set out with all manner of deliciousness; soft Music, Tables spread with all dainties. Comus appears with his rabble, and the Lady set in an enchanted Chair, to whom he offers his Glass, which she puts by, and goes about to rise.

Comus. Nay Lady, sit; if I but wave this wand,
 Your nerves are all chain'd up in Alabaster, 660

646. The figure is that of a bird flying safely among twigs smeared with bird-lime.

650-651. So Mercury (*Od.* X, 294-5) tells Ulysses to draw his sword and spring to attack Circe on the instant when she smites him with her long wand.

651-652. Spenser's Knight of Temperance, Guyon, when he met the tempter Agdistes in the Circean Bower of Bliss,

"his idle curtesie defide,
 And ouerthrew his bowle disdainfully,"

(*F.Q.* II, xii, 49, 7-8.)

and a second such cup

"to ground did violently cast
 That all in peeces it was broken fond,
 And with the liquor stained all the lond."

(*Ibid.* 57, 3-5.)

655. The *sons of Vulcan*: the god of fire, whose forge was under Mt. Aetna, was the father or master of the "Fiery Spirits" which Burton (*Anatomy*, I, ii, 1, 2) describes as supposed to keep "their residence in chat *Hecla*, a mountain in *Iceland*, *Aetna*, in *Sicily*, *Lipari*, *Vesuvius*, &c."

658. The "irony" in this prayer which is fulfilled before it is made suggests the influence of Greek drama.

660. *nerves*—*sinews*. Compare *S.A.* 1646.

And you a statue; or as *Daphne* was,
Root-bound, that fled *Apollo*.

Lady. Fool, do not boast,
Thou canst not touch the freedom of my mind
With all thy charms, although this corporal rind
Thou hast immanacl'd, while Heav'n sees good. 665

Comus. Why are you vext, Lady? why do you frown?
Here dwell no frowns, nor anger, from these gates
Sorrow flies far: See, here be all the pleasures
That fancy can beget on youthful thoughts,
When the fresh blood grows lively, and returns 670
Brisk as the *April* buds in Primrose-season.

And first behold this cordial Julep here,
That flames and dances in his crystal bounds
With spirits of balm and fragrant Syrops mixt.
Not that *Nepenthes* which the wife of *Thone* 675
In *Egypt* gave to *Jove-born Helena*

Is of such power to stir up joy as this,
To life so friendly, or so cool to thirst.
Why should you be so cruel to yourself,
And to those dainty limbs which nature lent 680
For gentle usage and soft delicacy?

But you invert the cov'nants of her trust,
And harshly deal like an ill borrower

661-662. When *Daphne*, the daughter of *Peneus*, was caught by her lover, *Apollo*, *Ovid* says (*Met.* I, 547-52) that she was changed in his arms into a laurel, her arms turning into branches and her feet into roots where she stood. Compare *Elegy V*, 13.

664. *corporal rind*; i.e., the body thought of as the husk of the soul.

670. *returns*—resumes the lively circulation of spring after winter.

675-676. On their way home from *Troy* *Homer* says (*Od.* IV, 220-29) that *Menelaus* and *Zeus-born Helen* were entertained by an Egyptian named *Thone* at a banquet where *Polydamna*, his wife, mixed a marvelous drug called *nepenthes* with the wine to banish all sorrow.

679-681. *Comus's* appeal is a tissue of distortions of the wisdom of the wise. His approach, like *Shakespeare's* in *Sonnet I*, 8—

"Thyself thy foe, to thy sweet self too cruel"—

may carry a reminiscence of *Proverbs xi*, 17; "The merciful man doeth good to his own soul: but he that is cruel troubleth his own flesh."

682-686. Compare *Shakespeare's Sonnet IV*, 3-4:

"Nature's bequest gives nothing, but doth lend,
And being frank, she lends to those are free."

With that which you receiv'd on other terms,
 Scorning the unexempt condition 685
 By which all mortal frailty must subsist,
 Refreshment after toil, ease after pain,
 That have been tir'd all day without repast,
 And timely rest have wanted; but, fair Virgin,
 This will restore all soon.

Lady. 'Twill not, false traitor, 690
 'Twill not restore the truth and honesty
 That thou hast banish't from thy tongue with lies.
 Was this the cottage, and the safe abode
 Thou told'st me of? What grim aspects are these,
 These ugly-headed Monsters? Mercy guard me! 695
 Hence with thy brew'd enchantments, foul deceiver;
 Hast thou betray'd my credulous innocence
 With visor'd falsehood and base forgery,
 And wouldst thou seek again to trap me here
 With lickerish baits fit to ensnare a brute? 700
 Were it a draught for *Juno* when she banquets,
 I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none
 But such as are good men can give good things,
 And that which is not good, is not delicious
 To a well-govern'd and wise appetite. 705

Comus. O foolishness of men! that lend their ears
 To those budge doctors of the *Stoic* Fur,

685. *unexempt condition*—condition from which none is exempt.

698. *visor'd*—masked.

forgery—deception. In *P.L.* IV, 800–3, Satan sitting “close at the ear of *Eve*,” tried to

“forge

Illusions as he list, Phantasms and Dreams.”

700. *lickerish*—delicious, tempting.

701. Milton seems to have thought of the scene in the *Iliad* I, 584, when Hephaestus appeased Hera's (*Juno's*) wrath in the presence of all the other gods by offering her a glorious cup of nectar.

707. *budge* was one of the kinds of fur regularly used on doctoral hoods when Milton was a student at Cambridge and it evidently had unpleasant connotations. For his attitude both toward the scholastic spirit and toward Stoicism see the Introduction to *Paradise Regained*, §7.

And fetch their precepts from the *Cynic* Tub,
 Praising the lean and sallow Abstinence.
 Wherefore did Nature pour her bounties forth 710
 With such a full and unwithdrawing hand,
 Covering the earth with odours, fruits, and flocks,
 Thronging the Seas with spawn innumerable,
 But all to please and sate the curious taste?
 And set to work millions of spinning Worms, 715
 That in their green shops weave the smooth-hair'd silk
 To deck her Sons; and that no corner might
 Be vacant of her plenty, in her own loins
 She hutch't th'all-worshipt ore and precious gems
 To store her children with. If all the world 720
 Should in a pet of temperance feed on Pulse,
 Drink the clear stream, and nothing wear but Frieze,
 Th'all-giver would be unthank't, would be unprais'd,
 Not half his riches known, and yet despis'd,
 And we should serve him as a grudging master, 725
 As a penurious niggard of his wealth,
 And live like Nature's bastards, not her sons,
 Who would be quite surcharg'd with her own weight,
 And strangl'd with her waste fertility;
 Th'earth cumber'd, and the wing'd air dark't with plumes, 730
 The herds would over-multitude their Lords,
 The Sea o'erfraught would swell, and th'unsought diamonds
 Would so emblaze the forehead of the Deep,
 And so bestud with Stars, that they below

708. The Cynic philosopher, Diogenes, was famous for living in a tub in Athens to express his contempt for the amenities of civilization.

719. *hutch'd*—locked away, shut up.

721. *pet*—fit.

722. *Frieze*—coarse woolen cloth.

723-724. The recurrence of this idea in *P.L.* V, 318-20, lends colour to Professor Shorey's suggestion that it was part of a tradition going back to Porphyry's work *On Abstinence*, I, 16-7, where a critic of vegetarianism argues that, if the doctrine prevailed, the rivers would be choked with fish and the land overrun by animals.

732-736. Milton's variant of 733—"Would so bestud the centre with their starlight"—indicates that *Deep* means the earth, as it does in

Would grow inur'd to light, and come at last 735
 To gaze upon the Sun with shameless brows.
 List Lady, be not coy, and be not cosen'd
 With that same vaunted name Virginity;
 Beauty is nature's coin, must not be hoarded,
 But must be current, and the good thereof 740
 Consists in mutual and partak'n bliss,
 Unsavoury in th' enjoyment of itself.
 If you let slip time, like a neglected rose
 It withers on the stalk with languish't head.
 Beauty is nature's brag, and must be shown 745
 In courts, at feasts, and high solemnities

P.L. VI, 482, where Satan argues of certain substances in the ground that, when

"toucht

With Heav'n's ray, and temper'd, they shoot forth
 So beauteous, op'ning to the ambient light."

Again in *P.L.* III, 609-612, Milton refers to the belief that the sun's rays continually produce gold and gems out of the base material in the ground. Here his thought seems to be that, if the precious metals were not mined, the face of the earth would soon be luminous like a star and the earth-spirits who inhabit its depths would learn to face the sunshine. Compare *That Nature is not subject to Old Age*, 65-6.

735. *inur'd*—accustomed. Compare *P.R.* II, 102, and IV, 139.

737-755. These lines are not found in the Bridgewater MS. and therefore were not spoken when *Comus* was presented.

737. *coy*—shy, reserved. *cosen'd*—deluded, duped.

738. Compare the witch Armida's appeal in Tasso:

"O Fools who Youth possess, yet scorn the same,
 A precious, but a short-abiding Treasure,
 Vertue it self is but an Idle Name."
 (*J.D.* XIV, 63, 1-3. Fairfax's translation.)

739-742. The classic expression of this commonplace is in Shakespeare's first seventeen Sonnets, notably the sixth:

"Then let not winter's ragged hand deface
 In thee thy summer, ere thou be distill'd:
 Make sweet some vial; treasure thou some place
 With beauty's treasure, ere it be self-kill'd.
 That use is not forbidden usury,
 Which happies those that pay the willing loan."

743-744. Theseus makes use of the commonplace with Hermia;

"But earthlier happy is the rose distill'd,
 Than that which withering on the virgin thorn
 Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness."
 (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, i, 76-8.)

Where most may wonder at the workmanship;
 It is for homely features to keep home,
 They had their name thence; coarse complexions
 And cheeks of sorry grain will serve to ply 750
 The sampler, and to tease the huswife's wool.
 What need a vermeil-tinctur'd lip for that,
 Love-darting eyes, or tresses like the Morn?
 There was another meaning in these gifts,
 Think what, and be advis'd; you are but young yet. 755
Lady. I had not thought to have unlockt my lips
 In this unhallow'd air, but that this Juggler
 Would think to charm my judgement, as mine eyes,
 Obtruding false rules prankt in reason's garb.
 I hate when vice can bolt her arguments, 760
 And virtue has no tongue to check her pride:
 Impostor, do not charge most innocent nature,
 As if she would her children should be riotous
 With her abundance; she good cateress
 Means her provision only to the good 765
 That live according to her sober laws,
 And holy dictate of spare Temperance:
 If every just man that now pines with want
 Had but a moderate and beseeming share
 Of that which lewdly-pamper'd Luxury 770
 Now heaps upon some few with vast excess,
 Nature's full blessings would be well dispens't
 In unsuperfluous even proportion,
 And she no whit encumber'd with her store,
 And then the giver would be better thank't, 775
 His praise due paid, for swinish gluttony
 Ne'er looks to Heav'n amidst his gorgeous feast,

750. *grain*—colour.

751. *tease*—comb.

752. *vermeil-tinctur'd*—vermilion.

760. *bolt*; the metaphor is from bolting flour and the meaning is illustrated in Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*; "Neither may I boul't out the whole Etymologic . . . of every Townes name." (*N.E.D.*)

766-778. The thought was a part of the Christian condemnation of gluttony as far back as Dio Chrysostom's Oration 30, where the prodigal and incontinent are accused of seeing and hearing nothing above them while they eat like swine in the pen. In *King Lear*, IV, i, 68-72,

But with besotted base ingratitude
 Crams, and blasphemes his feeder. Shall I go on?
 Or have I said enough? To him that dares 780
 Arm his profane tongue with contemptuous words
 Against the Sun-clad power of Chastity
 Fain would I something say, yet to what end?
 Thou hast nor Ear nor Soul to apprehend
 The sublime notion, and high mystery 785
 That must be utter'd to unfold the sage
 And serious doctrine of Virginitie,
 And thou art worthy that thou shouldst not know
 More happiness than this thy present lot.
 Enjoy your dear Wit and gay Rhetoric 790
 That hath so well been taught her dazzling fence,
 Thou art not fit to hear thyself convinc't;
 Yet should I try, the uncontrolléd worth
 Of this pure cause would kindle my rapt spirits
 To such a flame of sacred vehemence, 795
 That dumb things would be mov'd to sympathize,
 And the brute Earth would lend her nerves, and shake,

the same charge is brought against "the superfluous and lust-dieted man . . . that will not see Because he does not feel. . . .

So distribution should undo excess,
 And each man have enough."

779. *Shall I go on, etc.*, as far as "more strongly" in 806 are not found in the Bridgewater MS.

785. *mystery* is used in its religious sense of a doctrine revealed supernaturally, like St. Paul's great "mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh." (I Tim. iii, 16.) Milton is thinking of mysteries such as Socrates says that he learned from Diotima about love (*Symposium*, 201d-212b) as well as of "the doctrine of Holy Scripture unfolding those chaste and high mysteries . . . that the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body." (*An Apology for Smectymnuus*, P.W. III, 122.)

791. *fence*—art of fencing or debating.

793. *uncontrolléd*—uncontrollable. Compare *Unenchanted* in 395, note.

794. *rapt*—transported. Compare the word in *P.R.* II, 40, note.

797. *brute Earth* translates Horace's phrase (*Odes*, I, xxxiv, 9) where he describes the earth as shaken by a thunderbolt so marvellous that it shook his scepticism about the gods.

nerves; compare 660, note.

Till all thy magic structures rear'd so high,
Were shatter'd into heaps o'er thy false head.

Comus. She fables not, I feel that I do fear 800
Her words set off by some superior power;
And though not mortal, yet a cold shudd'ring dew
Dips me all o'er, as when the wrath of *Jove*
Speaks thunder, and the chains of *Erebus*
To some of *Saturn's* crew. I must dissemble, 805
And try her yet more strongly. Come, no more,
This is mere moral babble, and direct
Against the canon laws of our foundation;
I must not suffer this, yet 'tis but the lees
And settlings of a melancholy blood; 810
But this will cure all straight, one sip of this
Will bathe the drooping spirits in delight
Beyond the bliss of dreams. Be wise, and taste.—

The Brothers rush in with Swords drawn, wrest his Glass out of his hand, and break it against the ground; his rout make sign of resistance, but are all driven in; The attendant Spirit comes in.

Spirit. What, have you let the false enchanter scape?
O ye mistook, ye should have snatcht his wand 815
And bound him fast; without his rod revers't,
And backward mutters of dissevering power,

800. *fables not*—does not talk idly or falsely. Compare *P.R.* IV, 295.

803. *the wrath of Jove*; a Latinism for wrathful Jove.

804-805. By another classical figure of speech, called *zeugma*, *Speaks* is used in two senses; (1) utters thunder and (2) pronounces the sentence of bondage under Mt. Erebus upon the Titans who rebelled with Saturn and were overthrown by Jove's thunderbolts.

810. Compare the discussion of *melancholy* in the third note on Milton's Preface to *S.A.*⁶

811. Armida's cup is so potent that

"One Sup thereof the Drinker's Heart doth bring
To sudden Joy, whence Laughter vain doth rise,
Nor that strange Merriment once stops or stayes,
Till with his Laughters End, he end his Dayes."
(*J.D.* XIV, 74, 5-8. Fairfax's translation.)

816-817. So Ovid (*Met.* XIV, 300-1) says that Circe's charms were annulled with her rod reversed and her formula of words said back-

We cannot free the Lady that sits here
 In stony fetters fixt, and motionless;
 Yet stay, be not disturb'd, now I bethink me, 820
 Some other means I have which may be us'd,
 Which once of *Meliboeus* old I learnt
 The soothest Shepherd that ere pip't on plains.
 There is a gentle Nymph not far from hence,
 That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream, 825
Sabrina is her name, a Virgin pure;
 Whilom she was the daughter of *Lochrine*,
 That had the Sceptre from his father *Brute*.
 She, guiltless damsel, flying the mad pursuit
 Of her enraged stepdam *Guendolen*, 830
 Commended her fair innocence to the flood
 That stay'd her flight with his cross-flowing course.
 The water Nymphs that in the bottom play'd,

ward; and so Milton remembered that the charms of the enchanter Bussyran in *The Faerie Queene* III, xii, 36, and of many another wizard and witch, were undone when they were reversed.

822. In giving the name of one of the two shepherds, Meliboeus and Tityrus, in Virgil's First Eclogue to his "shepherd" Milton intended a reference to Spenser, just as Spenser regularly used the other name to refer to Chaucer. Milton's version of the myth of Sabrina is so sketchy that it might be derived from any of its treatments by sixteenth century writers such as Drayton in the Sixth Song of *Polyolbion*, or Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*, II, x, 14-9, or Thomas Sackville in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, or the author of the old play of *Lochrine*, as well as from that of Geoffrey of Monmouth (who is sometimes identified with Meliboeus) in his *History of the Kings of Britain*.

823. *soothest*—truest, most trustworthy.

825. *curb*—the chain placed under the bit for controlling an unruly horse.

sways—governs, controls.

825-834. Sabrina was the Roman name (given in Tacitus' *Annals*, 12, 31) for the river Severn which rises in Montgomeryshire in Wales and flows through Shropshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire into the Bristol Channel. In Geoffrey's version of the story of the nymph Sabrina both she and her mother, for whose unlawful love King Lochrine deserted his wife, Guendolen (whom Milton calls her *stepdam*), are thrown into the Severn together. Because Sabrina is to be a symbol of purity and was also a favourite figure in local Welsh tradition, Milton says nothing at all about her guilty mother, but lays stress on her descent from Brutus, the mythical grandson of Aeneas whom Geoffrey says colonized England and founded the line of British kings. In *The*

Held up their pearled wrists and took her in,
 Bearing her straight to aged *Nereus'* Hall, 835
 Who piteous of her woes, rear'd her lank head,
 And gave her to his daughters to imbathe
 In nectar'd lavers strew'd with *Asphodil*,
 And through the porch and inlet of each sense
 Dropt in Ambrosial Oils till she reviv'd 840
 And underwent a quick immortal change,
 Made Goddess of the River; still she retains
 Her maid'n gentleness, and oft at Eve
 Visits the herds along the twilight meadows,
 Helping all urchin blasts, and ill luck signs 845
 That the shrewd meddling Elf delights to make,
 Which she with precious vial'd liquors heals.
 For which the Shepherds at their festivals
 Carol her goodness loud in rustic lays,
 And throw sweet garland wreaths into her stream 850

History of Britain (Book I, P.W. V, pp. 173-4) Milton's version of the story agrees with Geoffrey's.

835-838. Milton was familiar with Spenser's use of the myth of *Nereus*, Homer's "Ancient One of the Sea" (*Il.* XVIII, 141), and his fifty daughters, the Nereids, who are described in *The Faerie Queene*, III, iv, 40-44, as taking a wounded mortal to a submarine chamber where they treat his wounds with

"soueraine Balme, and Nectar good,
 Good both for earthly med'cine, and for heauenly food."
 (Stanza 40, 8-9.)

Compare *Elegy IV*, 7, note.

838. *Asphodil*, which covered the meadows where Ulysses found the immortal spirits of the great dead (*Od.* XI, 538), was traditionally a flower of immortality. *Asphodel* belongs to the lily family and the white variety or "King's Spear covers large tracts . . . in Apulia." (*N.E.D.*)

839. *porch*; compare *Hamlet*, I, v, 61-4; "thy uncle . . . in the porches of my ears did pour . . . leperous distilment."

840. Ambrosia, the food of the gods, was supposed to confer immortality. Compare *P.R.* IV, 589-90.

845. *urchin* was a common name for the hedgehog, but mischievous fairies like those described in *L'Allegro*, 102-14, were supposed to take its form. Caliban, fearing Prospero's "spirits," says,

"But they'll nor pinch,
 Fright me with urchin-shows, pitch me i' the mire,
 Nor lead me, like a firebrand, in the dark
 Out of my way, unless he bid 'em."
 (*Tempest*, II, ii, 4-7.)

Of pansies, pinks, and gaudy Daffadils.
 And, as the old Swain said, she can unlock
 The clasping charm and thaw the numbing spell,
 If she be right invok't in warbled Song,
 For maid'nhood she loves, and will be swift 855
 To aid a Virgin, such as was herself,
 In hard besetting need. This will I try
 And add the power of some adjuring verse.

SONG

Sabrina fair
Listen where thou art sitting 860
Under the glassy, cool, translucent wave,
In twisted braids of Lilies knitting
The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair;
Listen for dear honour's sake,
Goddess of the silver lake, 865
Listen and save.

Listen and appear to us
 In name of great *Oceanus*,
 By the earth-shaking *Neptune's* mace,
 And *Tethys'* grave majestic pace, 870
 By hoary *Nereus'* wrinkled look,

852. *the old Swain*—Meliboeus.

863. *amber-dropping*; Milton wrote that
 "the river of Bliss through midst of Heav'n
 Rolls o'er *Elysian* Flow'rs her Amber stream."
 (P.L. III, 358-59.)

868. Editors note that many of the epithets of the sea-gods have classical justification. *Ocean* is called "the great" in the list of deities which opens Hesiod's *Theogony* (20) and in the *Iliad*, XXI, 195, it is from the great strength of deep-flowing Ocean that all rivers come.

869. Poseidon (*Neptune*) is regularly called the "Earthshaker" in Homer.

mace, i.e., his trident.

870. *Tethys*, the wife of *Oceanus*, Hesiod says (*Theogony*, 337-70) was the mother of the rivers and of countless divine children.

871. To Virgil (*Georgic* IV, 392) *Nereus* was "most aged." Compare 835.

And the *Carpathian* wizard's hook,
 By scaly *Triton's* winding shell,
 And old sooth-saying *Glaucus'* spell,
 By *Leucothea's* lovely hands, 875
 And her son that rules the strands,
 By *Thetis'* tinsel-slipper'd feet,
 And the Songs of *Sirens* sweet,
 By dead *Parthenope's* dear tomb,
 And fair *Ligea's* golden comb, 880
 Wherewith she sits on diamond rocks
 Sleeking her soft alluring locks,
 By all the *Nymphs* that nightly dance
 Upon thy streams with wily glance,
 Rise, rise, and heave thy rosy head 885
 From thy coral-pav'n bed,

872. The *Carpathian wizard* is the Old Man of the Sea, Proteus, who, Virgil says (*Georgics* IV, 433), haunted the Carpathian Sea between Crete and Rhodes. He carries a sheep-hook because Homer described him (*Od.* IV, 411-3) as counting his sea-calves and lying down among them like a shepherd.

873. *Triton*, the merman god whose body terminated in the tail of a fish, appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, I, 330-5, as the herald of the sea, announcing Neptune's decrees with his conch shell. Compare *Lycidas*, 89.

874. Milton remembered the appearance of "Glaucus, that wise southsayer understood," in similar romantic catalogues of sea-gods in Spenser (*F.Q.* IV, xi, 13, 3) and Virgil. (*Aen.* V, 823.)

875-876. Homer (*Od.* V, 331-8) says that Ulysses was befriended by "Ino of the fair ankles, Leucothea, who in time past was a maiden of mortal speech, but now in the depths of the salt sea she had obtained a share of the honour of the gods." The name *Leucothea* means "the white goddess" and Roman writers identified her with the goddess of the dawn, Matuta, and even with Aurora (Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, V, 656), whose epithet of "rosy-fingered" Milton may have adapted for her here. Compare *P.L.* XI, 135. Her son, Melicertes, was changed into a sea-god and so he *rules the strands*.

877. *Thetis*, one of the Nereids and the mother of Achilles, often is called the "silver-footed" in the *Iliad*.

879. *Parthenope* was a siren whose tomb, Strabo says (i, 23, 26) was supposed to lie near Naples, and from whom the city took its ancient name.

880. *Ligea* is a name given to one of Homer's sirens by the commentator, Eustathius.

885. *heave*—lift. Compare *L'Allegro*, 145.

And bridle in thy headlong wave,
 Till thou our summons answer'd have.
 Listen and save.

Sabrina rises, attended by water-Nymphs, and sings.

By the rushy-fringed bank, 890
 Where grows the Willow and the Osier dank,
 My sliding Chariot stays,
 Thicke set with Agate and the azurn sheen
 Of Turkis blue and Em'rald green
 That in the channel strays, 895
 Whilst from off the waters fleet
 Thus I set my printless feet
 O'er the Cowslip's Velvet head,
 That bends not as I tread;
 Gentle swain at thy request 900
 I am here.

Spirit. Goddess dear
 We implore thy powerful hand
 To undo the charmed band
 Of true Virgin here distrest, 905
 Through the force and through the wile
 Of unblest enchanter vile.

892. Warton recalled Drayton's "wasteful luxuriance of fancy" in describing Sabrina "as a Queene miraculously fair," who
 "Is absolutely plac'd in her imperial Chair,
 Of crystal richly wrought, that gloriously did shine."
 (*Polyolbion*, Song V, 1-2.)

893. *azurn*—azure.

894. *Turkis*—turquoise.

897. *printless*—leaving no trace. Prospero summons the
 "elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves,
 And ye that on the sands with printless foot
 Do chase the ebbing Neptune."
 (*Tempest*, V, i, 33-5.)

907. *unblest*—excluded from the blessing of God's grace, or *damu'd*, as he is called in 571.

Sabrina. Shepherd 'tis my office best
 To help ensnared chastity;
 Brightest Lady look on me, 910
 Thus I sprinkle on thy breast
 Drops that from my fountain pure
 I have kept of precious cure,
 Thrice upon thy finger's tip,
 Thrice upon thy rubied lip; 915
 Next this marble venom'd seat
 Smear'd with gums of glutinous heat
 I touch with chaste palms moist and cold.
 Now the spell hath lost his hold;
 And I must haste ere morning hour 920
 To wait in *Amphitrite's* bow'r.

Sabrina descends, and the Lady rises out of her seat.

Spirit. Virgin, daughter of *Lochrine*
 Sprung of old *Anchises'* line,
 May thy brimmed waves for this
 Their full tribute never miss 925
 From a thousand petty rills,
 That tumble down the snowy hills:

911-913. The scene vaguely resembles that in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, where *Amarillis* presides over a "holy well" which

"Hath power to change the form of any creature,"
 and whose water avails to heal the wounded *Amoret* while the God of the River chants:

"If thou be'st a virgin pure,
 I can give a present cure:
 Take a drop into thy wound,
 From my watery locks, more round
 Than orient pearl, and far more pure,
 Than unchaste flesh may endure."

(III, i, 380-5.)

914-915. This detail is found in the account of the disenchantment of *Burd* (maiden) *Ellen* in the story of *Childe Rowland*.

921. *Amphitrite* was *Neptune's* wife.

923. *Anchises* was the father of *Aeneas*, whom *Geoffrey* made the great grandfather of *Lochrine*. Compare 825-34, note.

Summer drouth, or singed air
 Never scorch thy tresses fair,
 Nor wet *October's* torrent flood 930
 Thy molten crystal fill with mud;
 May thy billows roll ashore
 The beryl and the golden ore,
 May thy lofty head be crown'd
 With many a tower and terrace round, 935
 And here and there thy banks upon
 With Groves of myrrh, and cinnamon.

Come Lady, while Heaven lends us grace,
 Let us fly this cursed place,
 Lest the Sorcerer us entice 940
 With some other new device.
 Not a waste or needless sound
 Till we come to holier ground.
 I shall be your faithful guide
 Through this gloomy covert wide, 945
 And not many furlongs thence
 Is your Father's residence,
 Where this night are met in state
 Many a friend to gratulate
 His wish't presence, and beside 950

928. *singed*—burned, torrid with summer heat.

928–937. Editors refer to other blessings pronounced on streams, such as Marina's in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*:

"May first,"
 (Quoth Marine) "swaines give lambs to thee;
 And may thy fload have seignorie
 Of all floads else.
 Let no man dare
 To spoil thy fish, make locke or ware,
 But on thy margent still let dwell
 Those flowers which have the sweetest smell.
 And let the dust upon thy strand
 Become like Tagus' golden sand.
 Let as much good betide to thee,
 As thou hast favour shew'd to me."
 (Book I, Song ii.)

942. *waste*—idle, unnecessary.

949. *gratulate*—welcome. Compare *P.R.* IV, 438.

All the Swains that there abide,
 With Jigs and rural dance resort.
 We shall catch them at their sport,
 And our sudden coming there
 Will double all their mirth and cheer; 955
 Come let us haste, the Stars grow high,
 But night sits monarch yet in the mid sky.

The Scene changes, presenting Ludlow Town and the President's Castle, then come in Country-Dancers, after them the attendant Spirit, with the two Brothers and the Lady.

SONG

*Spirit. Back Shepherds, back, enough your play,
 Till next Sun-shine holiday;
 Here be without duck or nod 960
 Other trippings to be trod
 Of lighter toes, and such Court guise
 As Mercury did first devise
 With the mincing Dryades
 On the Lawns and on the Leas. 965*

This second Song presents them to their father and mother.

*Noble Lord, and Lady bright,
 I have brought ye new delight,
 Here behold so goodly grown
 Three fair branches of your own.
 Heav'n hath timely tri'd their youth, 970*

960. *duck*—a jerky curtsy or bow. The meaning is that no peasants' dances must interfere with the courtly dancing by the Earl of Bridgewater's guests which is to follow the presentation of *Comus*.

963-964. As early as the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* the god was a leader of the dancing nymphs. Jonson's nymphs in *Pan's Anniversary* (*Masques*, ed. by H. Morley, p. 336) sing of

"the best of leaders, Pan,
 That leads the Naiads and the Dryads forth;
 And to their dances more than Hermes can."

964. *mincing*—dancing with delicate steps.

970. *timely*—early.

*Their faith, their patience, and their truth,
And sent them here through hard assays
With a crown of deathless Praise,
To triumph in victorious dance
O'er sensual Folly, and Intemperance.*

975

The dances ended, the Spirit Epilogizes.

Spirit. To the Ocean now I fly,
And those happy climes that lie
Where day never shuts his eye,
Up in the broad fields of the sky:
There I suck the liquid air
All amidst the Gardens fair
Of *Hesperus*, and his daughters three
That sing about the golden tree:
Along the crisped shades and bow'rs
Revels the spruce and jocund Spring,
The Graces and the rosy-bosom'd Hours,
Thither all their bounties bring,
That there eternal Summer dwells,
And West winds with musky wing

980

985

972. *assays*—trials, ordeals. Compare *P.R.* I, 264.

976-983. The mood and rhythm are obviously those of Ariel's song,
"Where the bee sucks, there suck I."

(*Tempest*, V, i, 87-94.)

The Spirit is returning to that vaguely located mansion from which he has come. Compare ll. 1-3, note. The tree is *golden* only because it is "Laden with blooming gold," as Milton described it in 393.

984. *crisped*: *N.E.D.* compares "the crisped yew" in Herrick's *Ceremonies for Candlemas Eve*."

985. *spruce*—brisk, lively.

986. The pastoral poetry of the Renaissance is filled with visions of the Graces,

"the daughters of sky-ruling Jove,
By him begot of faire Euronyme,"

(*F.Q.* VI, x, 22, 1-2.)

dancing in fields of more than earthly beauty such as Spenser described and Botticelli painted. All of them go back to the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo (16-19), where "the fair-tressed Graces, and the wise Hours, and Harmony, and Hebe, and Venus, the daughter of Jove, dance, holding one another's hands by the wrist."

989. *West winds etc.*, zephyrs loaded with perfume.

About the cedarn alleys fling 990
Nard, and *Cassia's* balmy smells.
Iris there with humid bow,
 Waters the odorous banks that blow
 Flowers of more mingled hue
 Than her purfl'd scarf can shew, 995
 And drenches with *Elysian* dew
 (List mortals, if your ears be true)
 Beds of *Hyacinth* and *Roses*
 Where young *Adonis* oft reposes,
 Waxing well of his deep wound 1000
 In slumber soft, and on the ground
 Sadly sits th' *Assyrian* Queen;
 But far above in spangled sheen
 Celestial *Cupid* her fam'd son advanc't,
 Holds his dear *Psyche* sweet intranc't 1005

990. *cedarn*—lined with cedar trees.

991. *Nard*—spikenard. Compare the earthly paradise in *P.L.* V, 293-4, with its

"flow'ring Odours, Cassia, Nard and Balm;
 A Wilderness of sweets."

992. *Iris*—the goddess of the rainbow.

993. *blow*—cause to blossom.

995. *purfl'd*—variegated, decorated.

996. *Elysian*—"heavenly." Literally, the word refers to the land of the blessed dead which Homer placed (*Od.* IV, 561-4) on the verge of the western ocean.

997. Compare the charge that Comus has no ear for mystery, 784.

999-1002. Milton thought of the story of Venus, whom he called *th' Assyrian Queen* because the Assyrians were "the first men to revere the Celestial Aphrodite" (Pausanias, I, 14, 6), and of Adonis, her lover whose death while boar-hunting she mourns, as the allegory of the immortality of love which Spenser embodied in his description of the Garden of Adonis:

"There yet, some say, in secret he does ly,
 Lapped in flowres and pretious spycery,
 By her hid from the world, and from the skill
 Of *Stygian* Gods, which doe her loue enuy;
 But she her selfe, when euer that she will,
 Possesseth him, and of his sweetnesse takes her fill."

(*F.Q.* III, vi, 46, 4-9.)

1004-1011. The story of Cupid's much-thwarted love for Psyche was told by Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, 4, 28-36, 24), who says that when

After her wand'ring labours long,
 Till free consent the gods among
 Make her his eternal Bride,
 And from her fair unspotted side
 Two blissful twins are to be born, 1010
 Youth and Joy; so *Jove* hath sworn.

But now my task is smoothly done,
 I can fly, or I can run
 Quickly to the green earth's end,
 Where the bow'd welkin slow doth bend, 1015
 And from thence can soar as soon
 To the corners of the Moon.

Mortals that would follow me,
 Love virtue, she alone is free,
 She can teach ye how to climb 1020

at last the gods in full council had given the lovers to each other Psyche bore the child Pleasure to Cupid. Spenser made
 "Pleasure, that doth both gods and men aggrate,
 Pleasure, the daughter of *Cupid* and *Psyche* late,"
 (*F.Q.* III, vi, 50, 8-9.)

a symbol of idealized love, and Milton, with similar motives, put the twins Youth and Joy in her place. Compare *Damon's Epitaph*, 193-7, note.

1012-1017. Again there are echoes of Ariel's song and perhaps of the Satyr's final offer of his services to Clorin in *The Faithful Shepherdess*, V, v:

"Shall I stray
 In the middle air, and stay
 The sailing rack, or nimbly take
 Hold by the moon, and gently make
 Suit to the pale queen of night
 For a beam to give thee light?"

1015. *welkin*—sky. The line alludes to the gradual bending of the sky down to the horizon.

1018-1023. Comparison is inevitable with the summons of Mercury to the masquers at the close of Jonson's *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* to return to their mountain peak and to the pursuit of Virtue, who

"though a stranger here on earth,
 In heaven she hath her right of birth.

There, there is Virtue's seat:
 Strive to keep her your own;
 'Tis only she can make you great,
 Though place here make you know."

Higher than the Sphery chime;
 Or if Virtue feeble were,
 Heav'n itself would stoop to her.

THE END.

1021. *Sphery chime*—the music of the spheres, which plays a conspicuous part in *Arcades*, 63-9.

1023. Spenser's pervasive presence in *Comus* is finally confessed, as Professor Hanford suggests, by this reminiscence of his comment upon Florimel's rescue from the lustful fisherman:

"See how the heavens of voluntary grace,
 And soueraine fauour towards chastity,
 Doe succour send to her distressed case:
 So much high God doth innocence embrace."
 (*F.Q.* III, viii, 39, 2-5).

PSALM 114

Ἰσραὴλ ὅτε παῖδες, ὅτ' ἀγλαὰ φύλλ' Ἰακώβου
 Αἰγύπτιον λίπε δῆμον, ἀπεχθέα, βαρβαρόφωνον,
 Δὴ τότε μῦνον ἦν ὅσιον γένος υἱες Ἰουδα.
 Ἐν δὲ θεὸς λαοῖσι μέγα κρείων βασίλευεν.
 Εἶδε, καὶ ἐντροπάδην φύγαδ' ἐρρώησε θάλασσα, 5
 Κύματι εἰλυμένη ῥοθίῳ, ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἐστυφελίχθη
 Ἰρὸς Ἰορδάνης ποτὶ ἀργυροειδέα πηγῆν.
 Ἐκ δ' ὄρεα σκαρθμοῖσιν ἀπειρέσια κλονέοντο,
 Ὡς κριοὶ σφριγόνωντες ἐϋτραφερῶ ἐν ἀλωῇ.
 Βαιότεραι δ' ἅμα πάσαι ἀνασκίρτησαν ἐρίπναι, 10
 Οἷα παραὶ σύριγγι φίγη ὑπὸ μητέρι ἄρνες.
 Τίπτε σύ γ' αἰνὰ θάλασσα πέλωρ φυγάδ' ἐρρώησας,
 Κύματι εἰλυμένη ῥοθίῳ; τί δ' ἄρ' ἐστυφελίχθης
 Ἰρὸς Ἰορδάνη ποτὶ ἀργυροειδέα πηγῆν;
 Τίπτ' ὄρεα σκαρθμοῖσιν ἀπειρέσια κλονέεσθε 15
 Ὡς κριοὶ σφριγόνωντες ἐϋτραφερῶ ἐν ἀλωῇ;
 Βαιότεραι τί δ' ἄρ' ὕμμες ἀνασκίρτησατ' ἐρίπναι,
 Οἷα παραὶ σύριγγι φίλη ὑπὸ μητέρι ἄρνες,
 Σείεο, γαῖα, τρέουσα θεὸν μεγάλ' ἐκτυπέοντα,
 Γαῖα, θεὸν τρέουσα ὑπατον σέβας Ἰσσακίδαο 20
 Ὃς τε καὶ ἐκ σπιλάδων ποταμοὺς χέε μορμύροντας
 Κρήνην τ' ἀένωνον πέτρης ἀπὸ δακρυόεσης.

(1634)

PSALM 114

WHEN the children of Israel, when the glorious tribes of Jacob left the land of Egypt—a land abhorred and barbarous in speech—then, in truth, the only holy race was the sons of Judah, and among those tribes God reigned in mighty power. The sea saw it and, reverently rolling back its roaring waves, it gave comfort to the fugitive. The sacred Jordan was thrust back upon its silver sources. The huge mountains flung themselves about with mighty leaps like lusty rams in a flourishing garden. All the little hills skipped like lambs dancing to the music of the syrinx about their dear mother.

Why, O dreadful and monstrous sea, didst thou give comfort to the fugitive, rolling back thy roaring waves? Why wast thou, sacred Jordan, thrust back upon thy silver fountains? Why did the huge mountains fling themselves about with mighty leaps like lusty rams in a flourishing garden? Why did you, O little hills, skip like lambs dancing to the music of the syrinx about their dear mother?

Shake, O earth, and fear the Lord who does mighty things; O earth, fear the Lord, the high and holy One of the seed of Isaac, who poured roaring rivers out of the crags and a perennial fountain out of the trickling rock.

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. 5
 Hoc utcunq; tibi gratum, pater optime, carmen
 Exiguum meditatatur opus, nec novimus ipsi
 Aptius a nobis quae possint munera donis
 Respondere tuis, quamvis nec maxima possint
 Respondere tuis, nedum ut par gratia donis 10
 Esse queat vacuis quae redditur arida verbis.
 Sed tamen haec nostros ostendit paginæ census,
 Et quod habemus opum charta numeravimus ista,
 Quae mihi sunt nullae, nisi quas dedit aurea Clio
 Quas mihi semoto somni peperere sub antro, 15
 Et nemoris laureta sacri, Parnassides umbrae.
 Nec tu vatis opus divinum despice carmen,
 Quo nihil aethereos ortus, et semina caeli,
 Nil magis humanam commendat origine mentem,
 Sancta Prometheae retinens vestigia flammae. 20
 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; 25

1-3. Compare the allusion to *Parnassus* in *Elegy IV*, 30-1, note.

4. *tenues . . . sonos*, "trivial songs." Some of the Latin poems, such as *Elegy V*, are likely to have been in Milton's mind.

4-5. Compare the invocation of the Muse to aid the

"advent'rous Song,

That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above th' *Aonian* Mount,"

in *P.L.* I, 13-5.

5. Compare the use of *Muse* to mean poetic inspiration in *Vacation Exercise*, 53, and *Lycidas*, 133.

14. If Milton meant anything in particular by referring to Clio, the Muse of history, it was the glory that he hoped to win for himself and his country by writing poetry based on the heroic past of England.

TO HIS FATHER

Now I wish that the Pierian¹ fountains would send their waters flooding through my breast and make my lips the channel for the whole stream that pours from the twin peaks, so that my Muse⁵—her trivial songs⁴ forgotten—might rise on bold wings to do honour to my revered father. The song that she is meditating is a poor attempt, dearest father, and not at all certain to please you. Yet I do not know what gifts of mine could more aptly repay yours—though my greatest gifts could never repay yours, for they cannot be equalled by any barren gratitude of futile words. On this page, however, you have an account of my means and whatever wealth I possess I have reckoned up on this paper, for I have nothing except what golden Clio¹⁴ has given and what has been the fruit of dreams in a remote cavern and of the laurel groves of the sacred wood and of the shadows of Parnassus.

You should not despise the poet's task, divine song, which preserves some spark of Promethean fire²⁰ and is the unrivalled glory of the heaven-born human mind and an evidence of our ethereal origin and celestial descent. The gods on high love song and song has power to move the frightful depths of Tartarus and to bind the gods below and control the implacable shades with triple adamant. By song Apollo's priestesses²⁵

20. The story that Prometheus brought down fire from heaven to men was interpreted by Conti (*Mythology*, IV, vi), on the authority of Theophrastus, as meaning that he first gave men "cognizance of philosophy and divine matters."

25. *Phoebades*—priestesses of Apollo, especially at Delphi, where the answers of the oracle were usually made in verse.

tremulae . . . *Sibyllae*: Milton may have thought particularly of the Cumaeen Sibyl, whose prophecies Aeneas called "songs" (*carmina*, *Aen.* VI, 74) and whose changing colour and excitement when she made her prophecy to him (*Aen.* VI, 46-9) were familiar to every schoolboy.

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, 30
 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 35
 Nunc quoque sidereis intercinit ipse choreis
 Immortale melos et inenarrabile carmen;
 Torrida dum rutilus compescit sibila serpens,
 Dемissoque ferox gladio mansuescit Orion,
 Stellarum nec sentit onus Maurusius Atlas. 40
 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, 45
 Heroumque actus imitandaque gesta canebat,
 Et chaos, et positi late fundamina mundi,

27. The ancient custom of gilding the horns of sacrificial bulls goes back as far as Homer's account of Nestor's sacrifice, with its solemn prayer to Athene and a final felling of the victim by a single blow of the axe. (*Od.* III, 435-50.) In ancient Rome the forecasting of the future from the entrails of sacrificed animals was a prominent feature of official religion.

30-33. Milton remembered St. John's account of the heavenly elders who are crowned with gold (*Rev.* iv, 4) and of the "voice of harpers harping with their harps" (*Rev.* xiv, 2). Compare the description of "Olympus" in Christian terms in *On the death of the Bishop of Ely*, 63, note.

34. Compare the "starry Pole" of *P.L.* IV, 724, where "pole" is used, as Virgil used it (*Aen.* III, 586), to mean the sky itself.

35-37. Perhaps Milton remembered Virgil's allusion (*Aen.* VI, 724-7) to the Pythagorean doctrine that heaven and earth are animated by a spirit which is interfused through all their parts. Compare Milton's allusions to the Pythagorean doctrine of the music of the spheres in *Arcades*, 70-3, *Nativity Hymn*, 125-32, note, and in *At a Solemn Music*.

37. With the quintessentially Miltonic phrase, *inenarrabile carmen*, compare the "unexpressive Nuptial Song" of *Lycidas*, 176.

38. Milton thought of Ovid's account of Phaeton riding the chariot

and the trembling Sibyl, with blanched features, lay bare the mysteries of the far-away future. Songs are composed by the sacrificing priest at the altar, both when he smites the bull that tosses its gilded horns²⁷ and when his acute eye consults the secrets of destiny in the steaming flesh and reads fate in the warm entrails. When we return to our native Olympus and the everlasting ages of immutable eternity are established, we shall walk, crowned with gold,³⁰ through the temples of the skies and with the harp's soft accompaniment we shall sing sweet songs to which the stars shall echo and the vault of heaven from pole to pole.³⁴ Even now the fiery spirit³⁵ who flies through the swift spheres is singing his immortal melody and unutterable³⁷ song in harmony with the starry choruses. Meanwhile the shining Serpent restrains his burning hisses,³⁸ fierce Orion³⁹ grows gentle and drops his sword, and Mauretanian Atlas⁴⁰ no longer feels the load of the stars.

Songs were the usual ornaments of royal tables in the times before luxury and the bottomless appetite of gluttony were known, when Lyaeus⁴³ sparkled at the banquet in temperate cups. Then the custom was that the bard should sit at the festal banquet, wearing a garland of oak leaves on his unshorn locks, and should sing of the deeds and emulable achievements of heroes, and of chaos and of the broad foundations on which

of the sun, when he was threatened by the Serpent (the constellation which winds between the two celestial bears) and by all the other formidable constellations in the sky. (*Met.* II, 173-5.)

39. See the note on Orion in *On the death of the Bishop of Ely*, 54.

40. See the note on Atlas in *On the Platonic Idea*, 24.

43. *Lyaeus*, "the releaser," was one of Bacchus' epithets. Classical tradition used both names as synonyms for "wine." *N.E.D.* quotes Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, V, iv, "Let Lyeus flote in burnisht goblets."

43-48. Milton thought of Iopas' song about the heavenly bodies and the origin of the human race at the banquet of Dido and Aeneas (*Aen.* I, 740-55) and perhaps of Apollo's song to the lyre at the banquet of the gods in the *Iliad*, I, 603-4.

Reptantesque Deos, et alentes numina glandes,
 Et nondum Aetnaeo quaesitum fulmen ab antro.
 Denique quid vocis modulamen inane iuvabit 50
 Verborum sensusque vacans, numerique loquacis?
 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. 55
 Nec tu perge, precor, sacras contemnere Musas,
 Nec vanas inopesque puta, quarum ipse peritus
 Munere mille sonos numeros componis ad aptos,
 Millibus et vocem modululis variare canoram
 Doctus, Arionii merito sis nominis haeres. 60
 Nunc tibi quid mirum si me genuisse poetam
 Contigerit, caro si tam prope sanguine iuncti
 Cognatas artes studiumque affine sequamur?
 Ipse volens Phoebus se dispertire duobus,
 Altera dona mihi, dedit altera dona parenti, 65
 Dividuumque Deum genitorque puerque tenemus.
 Tu tamen ut simules teneras odisse Camenas,
 Non odisse reor. Neque enim, pater, ire iubebas
 Qua via lata patet, qua prouior area lucri,
 Certaue condendi fulget spes aurea nummi; 70
 Nec raris ad leges, male custoditaue gentis
 Iura, nec insulsis damnas clamoribus aures.
 Sed magis excultam cupiens ditescere mentem,

48. The deities who loitered through the forests in search of acorns seem to be the primitive Titans, before they learned the art of agriculture from Ceres, as Apollonius of Rhodes says that they did. (*Argonautica*, IV, 982.)

49. Jove's thunderbolts were forged by the Cyclops under Mount Aetna, where Virgil describes them at work in *Georgic* IV, 170-3.

50-51. There is no inconsistency between these lines and the invocation of Voice and Verse as "sphere-born, harmonious Sisters" in *At a Solemn Music*, 1-2, for in both cases Milton was expressing his attachment to the traditional conception of the two arts as vitally related to each other.

52. Compare the allusions to Orpheus in *L'Allegro*, 145-50, and *Il Penseroso*, 105-8, notes.

58-60. Of the musical gifts and interests of John Milton, Sr., his songs in *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601) and his tunes, *Norwich* and *York*, in Ravenscroft's *Whole Book of Psalms* (1621), are convincing evidence.

the earth rests, of the deities who once went creeping about in search of their acorn-food,⁴⁸ and of the thunderbolt not yet sought out of the depths of Aetna.⁴⁹ And now, to sum it all up, what pleasure is there in the inane modulation of the voice without words and meaning and rhythmic eloquence?⁵⁰ Such music is good enough for the forest choirs, but not for Orpheus,⁵² who by his song—not by his cithara—restrained rivers and gave ears to the oaks, and by his singing stirred the ghosts of the dead to tears. That fame he owes to his song.

Do not persist, I beg of you, in your contempt for the sacred Muses, and do not think them futile and worthless whose gift has taught you to harmonize a thousand sounds to fit numbers,⁵⁸ and given you skill to vary the voice of the singer with countless modulations, so that you are deservedly the heir of Arion's⁶⁰ name. Now, since it is my lot to have been born a poet, why does it seem strange to you that we, who are so closely united by blood, should pursue sister arts and kindred interests? Phoebus himself,⁶⁴ wishing to part himself between us two, gave some gifts to me and others to my father; and, father and son, we share the possession of the divided god.

You may pretend to hate the delicate Muses,⁶⁷ but I do not believe in your hatred. For you would not bid me go where the broad way lies wide open, where the field of lucre is easier and the golden hope of amassing money is glittering and sure; neither do you force me into the law and the evil administration of the national statutes. You do not condemn my ears to noisy impertinence. But rather, because you wish to enrich the mind which you have carefully cultivated, you

60. Arion was a lyric poet of Methymna, in Lesbos, famous for Herodotus' story (I, 23-4) of his rescue from drowning by the dolphins that he charmed with his song to his own accompaniment on the lyre.

64. Compare the allusions to Phoebus Apollo as god of music in *At a Vacation Exercise*, 37, *Comus*, 478, *On Shakespeare*, 12, and *Mansus*, 2.

67. *Camenas*; compare the note on *Camenam* in *Elegy VI*, 3.

- Me procul urbano strepitu, secessibus altis
 Abductum, Aoniae iucunda per otia ripae, 75
 Phoebaeo lateri comitem sinis ire beatum.
 Officium cari taceo commune parentis;
 Me poscunt maiora. Tuo, pater optime, sumptu
 Cum mihi Romuleae patuit facundia linguae,
 Et Latii veneres, et quae Iovis ora decebant 80
 Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,
 Addere suasisti quos iactat Gallia flores,
 Et quam degeneri novus Italus ore loquellam
 Fundit, Barbaricos testatus voce tumultus
 Quaeque Palaestinus loquitur mysteria vates. 85
 Denique quicquid habet caelum, subiectaque caelo
 Terra parens, terraeque et caelo interfluis aer,
 Quicquid et unda tegit, pontique agitabile marmor,
 Per te nosse licet, per te, si nosse libebit.
 Dimotaque venit spectanda scientia nube, 90
 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 95
 Iupiter, excepto, donasset ut omnia, caelo?
 Non potiora dedit, quamvis et tuta fuissent,
 Publica qui iuveni commisit lumina nato,
 Atque Hyperionios currus, et fraena dieci,

75. *Aonia*, the name of a plain in Boeotia, standing for the country itself. Here Milton was thinking of "th' Aonian Mount," *i.e.* Helicon, the haunt of the Muses, to which he refers in *P.L.* I, 15. Compare *Elegies IV*, 29, and *VI*, 17, and *On the Marchioness of Winchester*, 56.

78-85. In *The Reason of Church Government* Milton confirms what is said here by writing, "I must say . . . that . . . 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." (*P.W.* II, 477.)

79. In the Renaissance Romulus was treated as the progenitor of all the Romans—

"Great *Romulus* the Grandsyre of them all,"

(*F.Q.* I, v, 49, 5.)

as Spenser called him.

75 lead me far away from the uproar of cities into these high
retreats of delightful leisure beside the Aonian⁷⁵ stream, and
you permit me to walk there by Phoebus' side, his blessed
companion.

80 I will not mention a father's usual generousities, for greater
things have a claim on me. It was at your expense,⁷⁸
dear father, after I had got the mastery of the language of
Romulus⁷⁹ and the graces of Latin, and acquired the lofty
speech of the magniloquent Greeks, which is fit for the lips of
85 Jove himself, that you persuaded me to add the flowers which
France boasts and the eloquence which the modern Italian
pours from his degenerate mouth—testifying by his accent to
the barbarian wars—and the mysteries uttered by the Pales-
tinian prophet.⁸⁵ And finally, all that heaven contains and
earth, our mother, beneath the sky, and the air that flows be-
90 tween earth and heaven, and whatever the waters and the
trembling surface of the sea cover, your kindness gives me the
means to know, if I care for the knowledge that your kindness
offers. From the opening cloud science appears and, naked,
95 she bends her face to my kisses, unless I should wish to run
away or unless I should find her enjoyment irksome.

Go now, gather riches,⁹³ whoever you are whose morbid
preference is for the ancient treasures of Austria and the
lucre of Peru. What greater gift could come from a father,
or from Jove himself if he had given everything, with the
single exception of heaven? He who gave to his young son
the common light,⁹⁸ the chariot of Hyperion⁹⁹ and the reins
of day and the aureole radiating a flood of glory (even assum-

85. The mysteries of the Palestinian prophet stand for the Old Testa-
ment Scriptures.

93. Warton compared Ovid's ironical advice to amass wealth,
"I nunc, Sisyphias, improbe, confer opes!"
(*Heroides*, xii, 204.)

98. The *common lights* (*Publica . . . lumina*) are an echo of Phaeton's address of his father, Apollo, as "O lux inmensi publica mundi." (*Met.* II, 35. Compare the note on 38 above.)

99. Hesiod first made Hyperion the father of the sun god (*Theogony*,

Et circum undantem radiata luce tiaram. 100
 Ergo ego iam doctae pars quamlibet ima catervae
 Victricis hederas inter laurosque sedebo,
 Iamque nec obscurus populo miscebor inertī,
 Vitabuntque oculos vestigia nostra profanos.
 Este procul vigiles curae, procul este querelae, 105
 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. 110
 At tibi, care 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, 115
 Si modo perpetuos sperare audebitis annos,
 Et domini superesse rogo, lucemque tueri,
 Nec spisso rapiant oblivia nigra sub Orco,
 Forsitan has laudes, decantatumque parentis
 Nomen, ad exemplum, sero servabitis aevo. 120

(1636-7)

371-4), but later classical tradition justified his identification with the sun himself. Compare Spenser in his paraphrase of Virgil's *Culex*:

"Hyperion throwing foorth his beames full hott,
 Into the highest top of heaven gan clime,
 And the world parting by an equall lott,
 Did shed his whirling flames on either side."

(*Virgils Gnat*, 156-9.)

101-104. The thought, though it is characteristic of Milton and looks forward to his hope for "fit audience . . . though few" in *P.L.* VII, 31, was probably an echo of Horace's boast that his poetry would distinguish him from the mob. (*Odes*, I, i, 29-34.) The spirit of the entire passage is conventional. Compare Spenser:

"But such as neither of themselves can sing,
 Nor yet are sung of others for reward,
 Die in obscure oblivion," etc.

(*The Ruines of Time*, 344-6.)

105-107. Again the attitude is conventional. Compare the young Spenser's saying that

"The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes,
 Ne wont with crabbed Care the Muses dwell:
 Unwisely weaves, that takes two webbes in hand."

(*October*, 100-2.)

ing that those gifts were harmless) bestowed no grander gifts. Therefore, however humble my present place in the company of learned men, I shall sit with the ivy and laurel of a victor.¹⁰¹ I shall no longer mingle unknown with the dull rabble and my walk shall be far from the sight of profane eyes. Begone,¹⁰⁵ sleepless cares and complaints, and the twisted glance of envy with goatish leer.¹⁰⁶ Malevolent Calumny, open not your dragon gorge. You have no power to harm me, O detestable band; and I am not under your jurisdiction. I shall walk with heart secure, lifted high above your viper stroke.

But to you, dear father, since no requital equal to your desert and no deeds equal to your gifts are within my power, let it suffice that with a grateful mind I remember and tell over your constant kindnesses, and lay them up in a loyal heart.

And you, my juvenile verses and amusements, if only you dare hope for immortality¹¹¹ and a life and a glimpse of the light beyond your master's funeral pyre, and if dark oblivion does not sweep you down into the throngs of Orcus,¹¹⁸ perhaps you will preserve this eulogy and the name of the father whom my song honours as an example to remote ages.

106. The allusion is to the "evil eye" of envy and the twisted syntax, as MacKellar points out, seems to owe something to Virgil's "transversa tuentibus hircis," in *Eclogue* III, 8.

111-120. Milton's faith in the power of his verse to confer immortality is more modest than Horace's in the famous Ode (III, xxx) which begins, "I have raised a monument more enduring than brass."

118. *Orcus*—the abode of the dead.

LYCIDAS

In this Monody the Author bewails a learned Friend, unfortunately drown'd in his Passage from *Chester* on the *Irish* Seas, 1637. And by occasion foretells the ruin of our corrupted Clergy then in their height.

YET once more, O ye Laurels, and once more
 Ye Myrtles brown, with Ivy never sere,
 I come to pluck your Berries harsh and crude,
 And with forc'd fingers rude,
 Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year. 5
 Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear,
 Compels me to disturb your season due:
 For *Lycidas* is dead, dead ere his prime,
 Young *Lycidas*, and hath not left his peer:
 Who would not sing for *Lycidas*? he knew 10

1-2. In the invocation of the laurel, with which poets since Pindar were traditionally supposed to be crowned, and of its kindred myrtle, and of the ivy, with which Horace in his first Ode prayed that his learned brows might some day be bound, there is an indication that Milton's real theme is to be his own poetic aspirations.

2. *brown*—dusky, dark. Compare "the alleys brown" of *P.R.* II, 293.

2. *sere*—dry, withered.

3-5. *crude*—unripe. Milton was thinking of his own "late spring" as an artist and of the want of "inward ripeness" which disturbed him in the Sonnet *On his being arrived at the Age of Twenty-three*.

6. *dear* has the obsolete meaning, "of intimate concern," "personally costly." So Shakespeare spoke of himself as "made lame by fortune's dearest spite." (Sonnet xxxvii, 3.)

7. *Compels* is singular because its two subjects fuse into one conception. Compare Shakespeare's "Plenty and Peace breeds cowards." (*Cymbeline*, III, vi, 21.)

8-9. Spenser, in his "pastoral elegie" for Sir Philip Sidney, who died in his thirty-second year, when he was seven years older than King, used similar repetition with its stress on youth:

"Young *Astrophel* the pride of shepherds praise,
 Young *Astrophel*, the rusticke lasses love."

(*Astrophel*, 7-8.)

10. The line translates Virgil's question, "Who would refuse songs for Gallus?" (*Eclogues*, X, 3.)

10-11. *he knew . . . to sing*, i.e., he understood singing, is a Latin idiom. King's music seems to have been limited to a few mediocre Latin poems.

Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.
 He must not float upon his wat'ry bier
 Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
 Without the meed of some melodious tear.

Begin then, Sisters of the sacred well, 15
 That from beneath the seat of *Jove* doth spring,
 Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.
 Hence with denial vain, and coy excuse,
 So may some gentle Muse
 With lucky words favour my destin'd Urn, 20
 And as he passes turn,
 And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud.
 For we were nurst upon the self-same hill,
 Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill.
 Together both, ere the high Lawns appear'd 25

11. Milton may have thought of Horace's compliment to Florus on his skill in "building lovely verses" (*Epistles*, I, iii, 24) and perhaps also of Aristophanes' praise of Aeschylus (*Frogs*, 1004) for his "towering language."

14. Compare the Heliconian "tears of perfect moan" in *An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, l. 55.

15. The line brings back the refrain with which Thyrsis begins his lament for Daphnis in Theocritus' first Idyl and the similar refrain in Moschus' *Lament for Bion*; "Begin ye Sicilian Muses, begin the dirge."

15-16. Here and in *Il Penseroso*, 47-8, Milton thought of Hesiod's induction to the *Theogony*, which chants the Muses, "queens of Mount Helicon," who dance about the fountain Aganippe and the altar of Zeus. In the second *Prolusion* he found a symbol of the divine harmony of the universe in the story—which "has prevailed from the very beginning of things about the Muses dancing day and night about the altar of Jove."

19-22. "So (*i.e.*, on condition that I lament Lycidas) may some gentle poet favour my memory by writing something felicitous" is Milton's thought, which, like his syntax, was moulded by Virgil's invocation of his Muse to mourn for Gallus. (*Eclogues* X, 4-5.)

23-24. In Castiglione's Latin elegy, *Alcon*, he describes himself as living with his friend from childhood, bearing heat and cold and day and night with him; but in Milton's use of the convention there is little more than recognition that both he and King were alumni of the same nursing mother, Cambridge.

25. *high Lawns*—grassy uplands. Milton's setting is really a conventional Italian landscape rather than the drenched plains which surround Cambridge.

Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,
 We drove afield, and both together heard
 What time the Gray-fly winds her sultry horn,
 Batt'ning our flocks with the fresh dews of night,
 Oft till the Star that rose, at Ev'ning, bright 30
 Toward Heav'n's descent had slop'd his westering wheel.
 Meanwhile the Rural ditties were not mute,
 Temper'd to th'Oaten Flute;
 Rough *Satyrs* danc'd, and *Fauns* with clov'n heel,
 From the glad sound would not be absent long, 35
 And old *Damaetas* lov'd to hear our song.
 But O the heavy change, now thou art gone,
 Now thou art gone, and never must return!
 Thee Shepherd, thee the Woods, and desert Caves,
 With wild Thyme and the gadding Vine o'ergrown, 40
 And all their echoes mourn.
 The Willows and the Hazel Copses green
 Shall now no more be seen,
 Fanning their joyous Leaves to thy soft lays.
 As killing as the Canker to the Rose, 45

26. Perhaps there is a trace of the marginal reading in Job iii, 9—"the eyelids of the morning"—both here and in *Comus*, 978. Henry More used Milton's phrase here in *Psychozoia*, Canto I, stanza 24.

28. *winds*—blows.

sultry refers to the noon-day heat when the "horn" is heard.

29. *Batt'ning*—fattening.

30-31. Compare *Comus*, 93, *rose*—appeared in the zenith.

33. Compare *Comus*, 345, note.

34. So Virgil says that the Wood-gods and wild beasts came thronging to hear the song of Old Silenus. (*Eclogues*, VI, 27.)

36. *Damaetas* must have meant some figure of Milton's undergraduate days, perhaps someone who had actually had the name of the character in Virgil's third *Eclogue* attached to him. Miss Nicolson suggests Joseph Mede, the greatest of the Cambridge tutors in Milton's time.

39-41. The "pathetic fallacy" goes back to Theocritus' first *Idyl*, but there it is the flocks and even the wild animals that grieve for Daphnis. In the *Lament for Bion* the spirits of the fountains grieve and "Echo in the rocks laments that thou art silent, and no more she mimics thy voice." (Lang's translation of Moschus' *Idyl*, III.)

44. The trees flutter their leaves with pleasure, as Virgil says that the oaks did when Silenus sang.

45. *Canker*; compare *Arcades*, 53, note.

Or Taint-worm to the weanling Herds that graze,
 Or Frost to Flowers, that their gay wardrobe wear,
 When first the White-thorn blows,
 Such, *Lycidas*, thy loss to Shepherd's ear.

Where were ye Nymphs when the remorseless deep 50
 Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd *Lycidas*?

For neither were ye playing on the steep,
 Where your old *Bards*, the famous *Druids*, lie,

Nor on the shaggy top of *Mona* high,
 Nor yet where *Deva* spreads her wizard stream: 55

Ay me, I fondly dream!

Had ye been there—for what could that have done?

46. The *Taint-worm*, which Thomas Tusser's *Hundreth pointes of good husbandry* says "lurks where ox should eat," was supposed to be deadly to cattle.

47. *wardrobe* was written by Milton in the not unusual seventeenth century form, "wardrop."

48. *White-thorn*—hawthorn.

50. So Thyrsis begins his lament in Theocritus' first *Idyl* by asking: "Where were ye, O where were ye, Nymphs, when Daphnis was languishing? Beside the Peneus in beautiful Tempe or on the slopes of Pindus? For surely you were not near the great stream of the river Anapus nor on the look-out crest of Aetna nor by the sacred water of Acis." Virgil's lament for Gallus makes a similar, but less poignant and circumstantial appeal to the Naiades. (*Eclogues*, X, 9-12.)

52-53. Warton was probably right in identifying *the steep* with the mountain Kerig-y-Druidion in Denbigh, the ancient burying-place of the Druids. In the opening paragraph of *The History of Britain* Milton betrays his enthusiasm over "the *British Druids*, who taught those of *Gaul*," and were masters of Greek and "inquisitive into the highest" things, especially into "the Knowledge of Times and Ages." Compare *Manso*, 41-3.

54. *Mona*—the Isle of Anglesea, a centre of Druid activity.

55. *Deva*—the river Dee, which forms part of the boundary between England and Wales and falls into the Irish Sea northwest of Chester, is called *wizard* because, as Drayton explained, it was

"an ominous flood,

That changing of his foards, the future ill or good

Of either country told, of either's war or peace,

The sickness or the health, the death or the increase."

(*Polyolbion*, Song X, 205-8.)

56. *I fondly dream etc.*—*i.e.*, it is idle to dream that ye might have been there.

What could the Muse herself that *Orpheus* bore,
 The Muse herself, for her enchanting son
 Whom Universal nature did lament, 60
 When by the rout that made the hideous roar,
 His gory visage down the stream was sent,
 Down the swift *Hebrus* to the *Lesbian* shore?
 Alas! What boots it with uncessant care
 To tend the homely slighted Shepherd's trade, 65
 And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
 Were it not better done as others use,
 To sport with *Amaryllis* in the shade,
 Or with the tangles of *Neaera's* hair?
Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise 70
 (That last infirmity of Noble mind)
 To scorn delights, and live laborious days;
 But the fair Guerdon when we hope to find,
 And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
 Comes the blind *Fury* with th'abhorred shears, 75

58. *the Muse*—Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, or Polyhymnia, the muse of hymns to the gods.

60-63. Milton remembered Ovid's description of "the huge uproar of Bercyntian flutes, mixed with discordant horns, the drums, the breast-beatings and howlings" of the Thracian women, devotees of Bacchus, who found Orpheus with the beasts and trees and rocks about him, enchanted by his song, and tore him limb from limb, sending his head adrift down the Hebrus to float at last across the Aegean sea to Lesbos. (*Met.* XI, 1-60.) In *P.L.* VII, 32-5, he reverted to the myth, but identified himself with Orpheus.

64. *boots*—profits. Compare S.A. 560, note.

65-69. "To meditate the Muse" is Virgil's phrase (*Eclogues*, I, 2) for the poet's task, and Virgil's *Amaryllis* (*Eclogues*, II, 14-5) might serve as a symbol for the inspiration of the erotic poets whom Milton condemned. The names of both nymphs were traditional and Milton may have had a poem of George Buchanan entitled *Naera* in mind.

67. *as others use*—as other poets are accustomed to do. Compare *use* in 136 below.

70. Compare *Comus*, 381; "He that has light within his own clear breast."

71. A famous passage in Tacitus' *Histories*, IV, v, praises Helvidius Priscus for dedicating his youth to strenuous study and excuses his ambition on the ground that "the passion for glory is the last from which even wise men free themselves."

75-76. *the blind Fury*—Atropos, the Fate whose duty it was to cut the threads of men's lives after her sisters had spun them out. See

And slits the thin-spun life. But not the praise,
Phoebus repli'd, and touch'd my trembling ears;
Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
 Nor in the glistening foil

Set off to th'world, nor in broad rumour lies, 80
 But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
 And perfect witness of all judging *Jove*;

As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
 Of so much fame in Heav'n expect thy meed.

O Fountain *Arethuse*, and thou honour'd flood, 85
 Smooth-sliding *Mincius*, crown'd with vocal reeds,
 That strain I heard was of a higher mood:

But now my Oat proceeds,
 And listens to the Herald of the Sea
 That came in *Neptune's* plea. 90

He ask'd the Waves, and ask'd the Felon winds,

Arcades, 63-9, note. Milton called her *blind* because she works indiscriminately, like the goddess Fortune. He called her a Fury, perhaps thinking of Prometheus' saying that those who guide the helm of Necessity are the "Fates triple-formed, the Furies unforgetting." (Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, 516.)

77. *Phoebus*—Apollo, god of poetic inspiration, who Virgil says (*Eclogues* VI, 3-4) plucked his ears, warning him against hasty ambitions.

79. *glistening foil*—the glittering setting of a gem. Fuller speaks of false diamonds as deceptive even to a good jeweller when "set with a good foil." (*Worthies*, I, 300 [1840].)

80. *broad rumour*—widespread fame or reputation.

81-84. These essentially Christian lines have been compared with Lactantius' promise that, although it may suffer in this world, virtue is sure of an eternal reward with God as its judge (*Divine Institutes*, V, xviii, §9); and they might be compared with St. Thomas Aquinas' faith in the beatific vision as the heavenly reward of those who are not blinded by earthly prizes. (*Summa contra Gentiles*, III, lxiii, §5.)

85-87. By invoking the Sicilian fountain *Arethusa*, to which Theocritus made Thyrsis appeal (*Idyl* I, 117), and the river *Mincius* which Virgil describes in its course across the Lombard plains to join the Po as moving between banks sheltered by delicate reeds (*Eclogues*, VII, 12-3), Milton returns from the "higher mood" of the preceding lines to the level of pastoral poetry. Compare the note on *mood*, *S.A.* 662.

88. *Oat*—oaten pipe, song. Compare *Comus*, 345, note.

89. *Herald of the Sea*—Compare the note on Triton as the herald of Neptune in *Comus*, 873.

90. *in Neptune's plea*—for Neptune's defence, *i.e.*, against the charge that he was responsible for the drowning of Lycidas in his realm.

What hard mishap hath doom'd this gentle swain?
 And question'd every gust of rugged wings
 That blows from off each beaked Promontory.
 They knew not of his story, 95
 And sage *Hippotades* their answer brings,
 That not a blast was from his dungeon stray'd,
 The Air was calm, and on the level brine,
 Sleek *Panope* with all her sisters play'd.
 It was that fatal and perfidious Bark 100
 Built in th'eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,
 That sunk so low that sacred head of thine.
 Next *Camus*, reverend Sire, went footing slow,
 His Mantle hairy, and his Bonnet sedge,
 Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge 105
 Like to that sanguine flower inscrib'd with woe.
 Ah! Who hath reft (quoth he) my dearest pledge?

96. *Hippotades*—Aeolus, the son of Hippotas and god of the winds, is called sage, perhaps because Diodorus Siculus says that he invented sails and taught the art of predicting storms. (*Historical Library*, 5, 7.) Compare *Elegy IV*, 5-6, note.

99. *Panope* is mentioned in the *Aeneid* V, 240, as if she were the greatest of the Nereids and one of the gods who have "the empire of the sea." Compare *Comus*, 837, note, and *Elegy IV*, 7.

100. Here (and perhaps elsewhere in *Lycidas*) there may be a reminiscence of Propertius' *Elegies*, III, 7. Mr. F. R. B. Godolphin compares Propertius' doomed voyagers in the line (100) ". . . portabat sanctos alveus ille viros." (*Elegies*, IV, vi, 16.)

101. Milton suggests that the ship was doomed because a curse was laid on it when it was first built or because an eclipse shed its "disastrous twilight" (*P.L.* I, 597) on the construction.

103. *Camus*, the river god of the Cam, represents the ancient University of Cambridge. Milton makes him as mysterious and venerable as Virgil did the river god of the Tiber, the "Father Tiber" to whom Aeneas prays. (*Aen.* VIII, 72.)

105. The *figures dim* may refer to the markings on the ripening sedge-leaves or to symbolical embroidery of some kind on the mantle.

106. The *sanguine flower* is the "inscribed hyacinth" of Theocritus (*Idyl* X, 28), which Ovid explains was created by Apollo from the blood of the youth, Hyacinth, whom he killed by accident when they were throwing the discus together. "And not satisfied with this, Apollo inscribed his grieving words upon the leaves, AI AI, characters of mourning." (*Met.* X, 214-6.)

107. *pledge*—a child, considered as "a hostage given to fortune." (*N.E.D.*)

Last came, and last did go,
 The Pilot of the *Galilean* lake.
 Two massy Keys he bore of metals twain, 110
 (The Golden opes, the Iron shuts amain).
 He shook his Mitred locks, and stern bespake:
 How well could I have spar'd for thee, young swain,
 Enough of such as for their bellies' sake,
 Creep and intrude and climb into the fold? 115
 Of other care they little reck'ning make,
 Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast,
 And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
 Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
 A Sheep-hook, or have learn'd aught else the least 120

109-112. *The Pilot*—St. Peter, in whose ship Jesus preached to the crowd beside the Sea of Galilee (Luke v, 2-4) and to whom Jesus promised (Mat. xvi, 19) to give "the keys of the kingdom of heaven." He comes wearing a mitre as the first bishop of the universal Church, for King was preparing to become a clergyman. By a symbolism like that which represents God as ruling Heaven with a golden sceptre and Hell with a sceptre of iron in *P.L.* II, 327-8, Milton imagined St. Peter's keys as made of gold and iron so as respectively to open and shut Heaven's gates.

114-115. Milton remembered Jesus' ideal of the good shepherd who "giveth his life for the sheep" and his parable of the thief who "entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way." (John x, 11 and 1.) Satire of the corrupt clergy which stemmed from this passage went back in English pastoral poetry through *The Shepherdes Calendar*—May, July and September eclogues—to John Skelton's charge that:

Laye men say indede
 How they take no hede
 Theyr sely shepe to fede,
 But plucke away and pull
 The fleeces of theyr wull,
 Vnethes they leue a locke
 Of wull amonges theyr flocke.

(*Colin Clout*, 75-81.)

117. *the shearers' feast*—Compare *Comus*, 179, note.

119. *Blind mouths*—the spiritually blind pastors whose sermons Milton said were "huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week," while they often rambled "from benefice to benefice, like ravenous wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest." (*Tenure of Kings*, *P.W.* II, 36.)

120. As a matter-of-course in his prose Milton used the sheep-hook as an emblem of a clergyman's responsibility, and threatened the clergy who could "reject the pastorly rod and sheep-hook of Christ"

That to the faithful Herdman's art belongs!
 What reck's it them? What need they? They are sped;
 And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
 Grate on their scrannel Pipes of wretched straw.
 The hungry Sheep look up, and are not fed, 125
 But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,
 Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread:
 Besides what the grim Wolf with privy paw
 Daily devours apace, and nothing said;
 But that two-handed engine at the door 130
 Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

Return *Alpheus*, the dread voice is past,
 That shrunk thy streams; Return *Sicilian* Muse,
 And call the Vales, and bid them hither cast

with "the iron sceptre of his anger." (*Of Reformation in England*, P.W. II, 412.)

122. *What reck's it them?*—Of what importance is it to them? For the impersonal verb see *Comus*, 404, note.

They are sped—they have prospered (*i.e.*, are in secure positions).

123. *flashy*—tasteless, vapid. "Distilled books," said Bacon, "are flashy things." (*Of Studies*.)

124. *scrannel*—thin, feeble. The racy word is Milton's parallel to a jibe of one of Virgil's shepherds at another whose strident pipe had been heard too often in the market-place. (*Eclogues*, II, 27.)

126. *rank*—poisonous.

128-131. The *grim Wolf* may refer both to the Roman Catholics and to the partisans of the reactionary Archbishop Laud. Of the countless interpretations of the *two-handed engine* which have been proposed none is demonstrable, but the two hands may represent the two Houses of Parliament. The engine seems like a symbol of its power to establish true liberty, like the "wholesome and preventive Shears" which Milton foresaw the Long Parliament using against "the New Forcers of Conscience." (*On the New Forcers etc.*, l. 15.)

132-133. To make a transition like that at line 85 Milton invokes the river *Alpheus*, whose god loved *Arethusa* and mingled his streams with hers. Compare *Arcades*, 30, note.

134-135. Milton's justification here is found in passages in earlier pastoral elegies, like Spenser's fancy that grief for Dido could

"undoe Dame Natures kindly course;

The faded lockes fall from the loftie oke,

The flouds do gaspe, for dryed is theyr sourse,

And flouds of teares flowe in theyr stead perforce.

The mantled meadows mourne,

Theyr sondry colours tourne."

(November Eclogue, 124-9. Compare ll. 39-41 above, note.)

Their Bells and Flowrets of a thousand hues. 135
 Ye valleys low where the mild whispers use
 Of shades and wanton winds and gushing brooks,
 On whose fresh lap the swart Star sparely looks,
 Throw hither all your quaint enamell'd eyes,
 That on the green turf suck the honied showers, 140
 And purple all the ground with vernal flowers.
 Bring the rathe Primrose that forsaken dies,
 The tufted Crow-toe, and pale Jessamine,
 The white Pink, and the Pansy freakt with jet,
 The glowing Violet, 145
 The Musk-rose, and the well' attir'd Woodbine,
 With Cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
 And every flower that sad embroidery wears:
 Bid *Amaranthus* all his beauty shed,

135. *Bells*—flowers.

138. *the swart Star*—Sirius, whose rising in the late summer brings heats which burn the landscape swart or dark.

139. *quaint*—fantastic. Compare the use in *Arcades*, 47.

enamell'd; so Milton spoke of the "gay enamell'd colours mixt" of the "Blossoms and Fruits . . . of golden hue" against their background of foliage in Eden. (*P.L.* IV, 147-8.)

141. *purple*—stain with purple or brilliant colour, as Milton described the celestial pavement, "Impurpl'd with Celestial Roses." (*P.L.* III, 363.)

142. *rathe*—early. Milton's first draft for *forsaken* was "unwedded." In the first *Prolusion* he speaks of the languishing flowers as "almost surrendering themselves to the sun and secretly asking that he wipe away with his kisses their tears, which his absences had caused." So George Wither made the primrose the sun's lover, who

"droops and mourns,
Bedew'd, as 'twere, with tears till he returns."

143. *Crow-toe*—probably the hyacinth, although the name is popularly given in England to various species of buttercup. (*N.E.D.*)

144. *freakt*—mottled, speckled.

146. *attir'd* may imply comparison with a woman's hat, for the word was used, as Palsgrave explained (195/2), to mean something appropriate for a gentlewoman's head.

149. *Amaranthus*, "the unfading flower" in St. Peter's "crown of glory that fadeth not away" (I Peter v, 4), seems always to have been for Milton

"a Flow'r which once
In Paradise, fast by the Tree of Life
Began to bloom."

(*P.L.* III, 353-5.)

And Daffadillies fill their cups with tears, 150
 To strew the Laureate Hearse where *Lycid* lies.
 For so to interpose a little ease,
 Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise.
 Ay me! Whilst thee the shores, and sounding Seas
 Wash far away, where'er thy bones are hurl'd, 155
 Whether beyond the stormy *Hebrides*,
 Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide
 Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world;
 Or whether thou to our moist vows denied,
 Sleep'st by the fable of *Bellerus* old, 160
 Where the great vision of the guarded Mount
 Looks toward *Namancos* and *Bayona's* hold;

151. *Hearse*—bier. Compare *An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 22 and 55, notes.

152. Perhaps Milton was familiar with the "flower passage" in Castiglione's *Alcon*. Like Milton's, it is justified as "a solace for our grief."

155. *Hebrides*—the large island group west of Scotland.

158. *the monstrous world*—the world of sea-monsters. Compare the "monstrous rout" in *Comus*, 533.

159. *moist vows*—tearful prayers. Compare the use of "vows" in *Arcades*, 6.

160. The phrasing of *by the fable of Bellerus* (i.e., by fabulous Bellerus) should be compared with *the dreaded name of Demogorgon* (i.e., dreadful Demogorgon) in *P.L.* II, 964–5.

Bellerium was the Roman name for Land's End, supposedly for Bellerus, a companion of the legendary Corineus for whom Giraldus Cambrensis (*Description of Wales, Historical Works*, ed. by Wright, 1863, p. 479) says that Cornwall was named. In Milton's manuscript *Corineus* is deleted in favour of *Bellerus*, and in *Manso*, 46, there is an allusion to him. Here he may have been influenced by Ludowick Briskett's *Elegy* for Sir Philip Sidney, where Corineus appears, "cursing oft the fates that this mishap had bred." (*The Mourning Muse of Thestylis*, 31.)

162. *Nemancos* is a region near the Spanish coast just east of Cape Finisterre, which was represented in Ojea's map of Galicia (first published by Ortelius in 1606) as so picturesquely mountainous that Milton could readily imagine a landmark there to correspond with St. Michael's Mount. Ojea was responsible for the misspelling, *Namancos*, which was perpetuated by Mercator's and many other popular atlases.

Bayona was a famous Spanish stronghold with a fortification on a steep promontory about fifty miles south of Cape Finisterre.

Look homeward Angel now, and melt with ruth:
And, O ye *Dolphins*, waft the hapless youth.

Weep no more, woeful Shepherds weep no more, 165
For *Lycidas* your sorrow is not dead,
Sunk though he be beneath the wat'ry floor,
So sinks the day-star in the Ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new spangled Ore, 170
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky:
So *Lycidas*, sunk low, but mounted high,
Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves,
Where other groves, and other streams along,

163. If the thought in lines 161-2 is parenthetical, the *Angel* is *Lycidas*; but the play on *Looks—Look* suggests that Michael is meant.
ruth—pity.

164. In the background is the story of the poet, Arion, whom a crew of pirates cast adrift; but his song

"unto him drew
The cares and hearts of all that goodly crew,
That even yet the dolphin, which him bore
Through the Ægean seas from pirates vew,
Stood still by him astonisht at his lore,
And all the raging seas for joy forgot to rore."

(*F.Q.* IV, xi, 23, 4-9.)

waft—to convey safely by water. (*N.E.D.*) Compare, "Away with her, and waft her hence to France." (*III Henry VI*, V, vi, 41.)

165. This form of transition to the final movement of the elegy was a tradition which went back to the corresponding line in Theocritus' first *Idyl*; "Stay, O Muses, stay your pastoral songs."

166. *your sorrow*—the cause of your sorrow.

168. The *day-star* is probably the sun, the "diurnal star" of *P.L.* X, 1069, rather than the morning star.

170. *tricks*—dresses gorgeously. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 123.

171. The ancient conception of the sun sinking into the ocean at night in order to rise more glorious in the morning appears again in *Comus*, 95-101.

173. *him that walk'd the waves*—Christ, whom "the disciples saw . . . walking on the sea." (*Mat.* xiv, 26.)

174-176. Milton thought of the marriage song of the Lamb in Revelation, xix, and of "the living fountains of waters" (*Rev.* vii, 17) and "the tree of life" (*Rev.* xxii, 2) beside which he later described "the Spirits elect" binding "thir resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams." (*P.L.* III, 361. Compare the *Third Elegy*, 40-68, and *Damon's Epitaph*, 198-219.)

With *Nectar* pure his oozy Locks he laves, 175
 And hears the unexpressive nuptial Song,
 In the blest Kingdoms meek of joy and love.
 There entertain him all the Saints above,
 In solemn troops, and sweet Societies
 That sing, and singing in their glory move, 180
 And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes.
 Now *Lycidas* the Shepherds weep no more;
 Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
 In thy large recompense, and shalt be good
 To all that wander in that perilous flood. 185
 Thus sang the uncouth Swain to th'Oaks and rills,
 While the still morn went out with Sandals gray.
 He touch't the tender stops of various Quills,
 With eager thought warbling his *Doric* lay:
 And now the Sun had stretch't out all the hills, 190
 And now was dropt into the Western bay;

176. *unexpressive*—inexpressible, indescribable. Compare the closing allusion to the "marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rev. xix, 9) in *Epitaphium Damonis*, 216-7.

181. An echo of the promise that "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." (Rev. vii, 17 and xxi, 4.)

183-185. King becomes a *Genius* or local god of the Irish Sea, who will be "good" to voyagers there. So Virgil imagined Julius Caesar as deified and begged him (*Eclogues*, V, 56-65) to look down from above the stars and be "good" to his countrymen. In countless pastoral elegies the pagan motif had been christianized, and perhaps most strikingly by Sannazaro in his Latin piscatory eclogues (I), where he mourned for a friend who had been drowned at sea and begged him to look down from the sacred societies on high to be kind to poor travellers and fishermen. Compare *Damon's Epitaph*, 207-8.

186. *uncouth*—unknown or unlearned and rude. In either sense, the word is an apotheotic allusion to the writer.

187. Compare the "Pilgrim steps" and "amicc gray" of morning in *P.R.* IV, 427.

188. *Quills*—hollow stems of reeds in Pan's pipes.

189. Because Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus wrote in the Doric Greek of Sicily, *Doric* became the conventional term for pastoral poetry.

190. Milton remembered the allusion to the lengthening shadows from the mountain-tops which closes Virgil's first *Eclogue*.

At last he rose, and twitch't his Mantle blue:
Tomorrow to fresh Woods, and Pastures new.

(Nov. 1637)

192. *twitch't: i.e.*, threw the mantle on.

193. The line is little more than the poet's leave-taking of his song—like Virgil's leave-taking of his lament for Gallus in closing *Eclogue X*, but it may bear interpretation as a solemn farewell to pastoral poetry, or to England (*i.e.*, for Italy), or to scenes which too poignantly recall the poet's happiness with Lycidas.

AD LEONORAM ROMAEE 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, 5
 Per tua secreto guttura serpit agens;
 Serpit agens, facilisque docet mortalia corda
 Sensim immortalī assuescere posse sono.
 Quod, si cuncta quidem Deus est, per cunctaque fusus,
 In te una loquitur, caetera mutus habet. 10
 (1638-9)

1-2. The Attendant Spirit in *Comus* is Milton's best expression of the belief in guardian spirits. "Socrates had his *Daemonium saturnium & igneum*," said Burton (*Anatomy*, I, ii, 1, 2), "Plotinus his; and we Christians our assisting Angel."

3. Masson (*Life of Milton*, 1881, Vol. I, p. 803) suggests that it was during his first Roman visit, in October and November, 1638, at an entertainment in the palace of Cardinal Barberini, that Milton heard the famous Neapolitan singer, Leonora Baroni. In 1639 a volume of tributes to her, by many hands and in several languages, was published in Rome: *Applausi Poetici alle Glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*.

5. Is this an allusion to I John v, 7: "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost"?

TO LEONORA SINGING IN ROME

OVER everyone—so let the nations believe—his own particular angel¹ from out the heavenly hierarchies spreads protecting wings. What wonder, Leonora,³ if a greater glory be yours? For the music of your voice itself bespeaks the presence of God. Either God, or certainly some third mind⁵ from the untenanted skies, is moving mysteriously in your throat—mysteriously moving and graciously teaching mortal hearts how they may gradually become accustomed to immortal tones. If God is all things and permeates all things,⁹ in you alone he speaks and possesses all His other creatures in silence.

9-10. Keightley properly compared Virgil's conception of the universe as moved by an omnipresent intelligence:

". . . totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et toto se corpore miscet";

(*Aen.* VI, 726-7.)

for it was constantly cited by Italian Neo-Platonists in proof of pantheistic theories like those of Giordano Bruno, who cited the lines in *De la causa, Principio e Uno*. (*Opere Italiane*, Ed. by Gentile, 1925, I, p. 179.)

AD EANDEM

ALTERA Torquatam cepit Leonora Poetam,
 Cuius ab insano cessit amore furens.
 Ah miser ille tuo quanto felicius aevo
 Perditus, et propter te, Leonora, foret!
 Et te Pieria sensisset voce canentem 5
 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; 10
 Et poteras, aegro spirans sub corde quietem,
 Flexanimo cantu restituisse sibi.

(1638-9)

1. The insanity of Torquato Tasso (1544-95), from which he suffered intermittently during the last twenty years of his career, was due to many causes—among them his difficulties with the critics of the *Jerusalem Delivered*. His attachment to Leonora d'Este, the sister of his patron, Alfonso, the Duke of Ferrara, has played a larger part in the literature about him than it did in his life.

TO THE SAME

ANOTHER Leonora made a captive of the poet, Torquato, who, for passionate love of her, went mad.¹ Ah, unhappy man, how much more blessedly he might have been brought to ruin in your times and for your sake, Leonora. He would have heard you singing with Pierian voice as you touched the strings of your mother's harp.⁶ Although he had rolled his eyes more dreadfully than that Dircean Pentheus,⁷ and raved until he was insensible, your voice could still have composed his straying wits in their blind confusion. And, breathing peace into his diseased breast with your heart-stirring song, you might have restored him to himself.

6. Leonora's mother, Adriana Baroni, was a musician.

7. *Dircaeo*—Theban. See *On the Platonic Idea*, 26, note.

Pentheo—Pentheus, the king of Thebes who was torn to pieces by the celebrants of the orgies of Bacchus—among them (according to Euripides' *Bacchae*, 916-28), his own mother, Agave.

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 5
 Mutavit rauci murmura Pausilipi.
 Illic, Romulidum studiis ornata secundis,
 Atque homines cantu detinet atque Deos.
(1638-9)

1-3. *Parthenope*. See *Comus*, 253 and 879, notes.

4. *Chalcidico*. See *Damon's Epitaph*, 182, note.

TO THE SAME

WHY, credulous Naples, do you boast of your liquid-voiced Siren and of the famous shrine of the daughter of Achelous, Parthenope,¹ the Naiad of the shore, that, when she perished on your coast, her body was consecrated on a Chalcidian⁴ pyre? In truth, she lives and has exchanged the confusion of noisy Pausilipus⁶ for the smooth waves of the Tiber. There she is honoured by the cordial applause of the sons of Romulus and lays the spell of her song upon both men and gods.

6. *Pausilipi*—Pausilipum, a mountain between Naples and Puteoli, penetrated by a tunnel through which passed much of the traffic of the metropolis.

AD SALSILLUM

POETAM ROMANUM, AEGROTANTEM, SCAZONTES

O MUSA gressum quae volens trahis claudum,
 Vulcanioque tarda gaudes incessu,
 Nee sentis illud in loco minus gratum
 Quam cum decentes flava Dēiope suras
 Alternat aureum ante Iunonis lectum, 5
 Adesdum, et haec s'is verba pauca Salsillo
 Refer, camena nostra cui tantum es cordi,
 Quamque ille magnis praetulit immerito divis.
 Haec ergo alumnus ille Londini Milto
 Diebus hisce qui suum linquens nidum 10
 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, 15
 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. 20

1. Compare the use of "Muse" to mean the poetic impulse or inspiration in *To his Father*, 5, note.

To the Greeks, who invented the scazontic, or "limping" metre, the name corresponded with the effect of using a final spondee in the iambic line and allowing occasional variations from the iambic base in any position. Milton's Latin models seldom varied irregularly from the iambic pattern, and never in the position before the final spondee, but he did not feel himself bound by their example.

2. *Vulcan*, or Hephaestus, Homer's "limping god" (*Il.* I, 607), appears under the name *Mulciber* in *P.L.* I, 739-46, where Milton repeats Homer's story (*Il.* I, 588-95) of his fall from Heaven upon the island of Lemnos.

4. Virgil made Juno herself declare that *Dēiope* was the loveliest of all her nymphs. (*Aen.* I, 72.)

6. The forgotten Roman poet, Giovanni Salzilli, was identified by Masson (*Poetical Works*, ed. by Masson, 1893, I, 105) as the contributor of eleven sonnets and several other poems to the *Poesie de' Signori*

TO SALZILLI

A ROMAN POET, WHEN HE WAS ILL

O MY MUSE¹—fond as you are of moving with a halting step and pleased as you are with a gait like Vulcan's,² which seems to you, when it is in the right place, no less charming than the graceful ankles of blond Dëiope⁴ dancing before the golden couch of Juno—come, if you please, and carry these few words to Salzilli,⁶ who likes my Muse⁷ so cordially that, quite undeservedly, he ranks me above great and divine poets.⁸ For you, then, Salzilli, these are the wishes of that London-bred Milton who recently left his nest and his own quarter of the sky⁹—where the worst of the winds¹¹ in its headlong flight, with its lungs uncontrollably raging, rolls its panting gusts beneath the heavens¹³—and came to the genial soil of Italy to see its cities, which their proud fame has made familiar, and its men and its talented and cultured youth; that same Milton, Salzilli, wishes you many blessings and a healthy constitution for your exhausted body, whose reins are deeply infected with the bile¹⁸ which spreads bane from its seat in your vitals.

Accademici Fantastici (Poems by Members of the Academy of Fantastics) to Cardinal Cesarini in 1637.

7. Compare the note on *Camēnam* in *Elegy VI*, 3.

8. In his epigram of compliment to Milton, which appears among the commendatory verses prefixed to the volume of 1645, Salzilli ranked him above Homer, Virgil and Tasso. See page 4 above.

9-16. Compare stanzas 7 to 9 of Francini's Italian ode among the commendatory verses in the volume of 1645. See page 8 above.

11. The "worst of the winds" is Aquilo (whose Greek name was "Boreas"), the north wind which appears as Winter's charioteer in *Fair Infant*, 8. The epithet "impotens," which Milton found in Horace's *Odes* (III, xxx, 3), expressed the impotence of the wind to control its own violence.

13. Milton was familiar with many instances, such as Horace's "sub love frigido" ("under the cold sky," *Odes*, I, i, 25), where Roman writers used "Jupiter" as a name for the sky. "Zeus" and "Jupiter" both go back to the root *div* or *diu*, which means "the bright sky."

18-20. Compare the allusion to melancholy, or black bile, in Milton's preface to *S.A.* and the note there.

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 25
 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. 30
 Sic ille caris redditus rursum Musis
 Vicina dulci prata mulcebit cantu.
 Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos
 Numa, ubi beatum degit otium aeternum,
 Suam reclivis semper Aegeriam spectans. 35
 Tumidusque et ipse Tiberis, hinc delinitus,
 Spei favebit annuae colonorum;
 Nec in sepulchris ibit obsessum reges,
 Nimum sinistro laxis irruens loro;
 Sed fraena melius temperabit undarum, 40
 Adusque curvi salsa regna Portumni.

(1638-9)

22. Alcaeus and Sappho, both natives of Lesbos, were the greatest lyric poets of ancient Greece.

23-24. The name of Hebe, whom Hesiod called (*Theogony*, 950-5) the daughter of Zeus and Hera and the heavenly bride of Heracles, and who became for later writers the goddess of youth, was merely the Greek word for "youth," personified. The Latin word for health, *salus*, was also personified and the goddess, Salus, had her temple on the Quirinal hill in Rome.

25. Homer mentions (*Il.* V, 401, 899, etc.) *Paean* as the physician of the gods, but as early as the *Agamemnon* (146) of Aeschylus the name had become an epithet of Apollo when he was thought of as the god of healing. Compare the allusion to *Python* in *Elegy VII*, 31.

26. MacKellar compares Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, 160-62, the passage which Blackie translates thus:

"Jove, or what other name
 The god that reigns supreme delights to claim,
 Him I invoke."

27. As the father of the first king of Latium, Latinus, whom Virgil pictures as consulting his oracle beside the Tiber, was the protecting deity of the countryside, whose sacrifices Horace describes (*Odes*, I, iv, 11-2). The wood-god *Faunus* typifies the plains and hills which

Although you have taught your Roman mouth to produce elegant Lesbian melody,²² the accursed thing has shown you no mercy.

O sweet gift of the gods, O Health, sister of Hebe!²³ And you too, O Phoebus—or Paeon,²⁵ if you prefer to be called by that name²⁶—you who by virtue of your destruction of Python became the terror of diseases—this man is your priest. Oakgroves of Faunus,²⁷ and you hills that are generous with the liquor of the grape, and you seats of the gentle Evander,²⁸ if any health-giving plant burgeons in your valleys, let all of you contend to be the first to bring alleviation to the suffering Bard. Thus restored again to his dear Muses he will gladden the neighbouring meadows with his sweet song. Numa³⁴ himself will marvel, under the dark groves where he lies forever entertaining the leisure of eternity in the contemplation of his Egeria. The swelling Tiber³⁶ himself, calmed by the song, will bless the annual hopes of the farmers. He will not run wild and uncontrolled, with his left rein lax,³⁹ to overwhelm kings in their sepulchres, but he will more effectively control his waves as far as the salt realms of curving Portumnus.⁴¹

surround Rome. Compare *Elegy V*, 127, *Damon's Epitaph*, 32, and *Comus*, 268.

28. Milton thought of the scene (*Aen.* VIII, 51–65) where *Evander* welcomes *Aeneas* to Italy and recounts his own settlement in the country and his building of a lofty city, Pallanteum, beside the Tiber.

34–35. *Numa*, the second of the legendary kings of Rome, Livy says (I, 19), established himself by pretending to hold nightly interviews with the goddess, *Egeria*, who taught him to institute various religious rites and to work out a calendar by interpreting the heavenly bodies. Ovid's less sceptical account (*Met.* XV, 482–92) of the goddess justifies the poetical faith in "*Aegerie*, that *Numa* taught" which Milton met in *The Faerie Queene* (II, x, 42, 8).

36–41. The "swelling Tiber" was traditional. Milton may have thought of Horace's description of the river in spate. (*Odes*, I, ii, 13–20.)

39. The Tiber's left bank was especially subject to floods.

41. The name of the god of harbours, *Portumnus*, Cicero explains (*On the Nature of the Gods*, II, xxvi), was derived from the word for a port, *portus*. Milton may have thought of his temple on the curving shore of the Tiber.

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 Etrusci.

Tu quoque, si nostrae tantum valet aura Camenae, 5
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, 10

1. Manso's patronage of countless Italian poets had brought him many literary tributes before Milton sent him "these verses." In the *Second Defence* Milton recalled his introduction 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." (*P.W.* I, 256.) Compare the note on 70-2, below.

2. *Pierides*—the Muses, whom Hesiod describes (*Theogony*, 53-5) as born in Pieria, a region lying between Mt. Olympus and the south-eastern shore of Macedonia.

3-4. Cornelius Gallus, who was himself the first great Roman elegist, was the friend of Virgil to whom the tenth *Eclogue* was dedicated. In *Eclogue* VI, 64-6, he is described as walking by the banks of the Permessus on Mt. Helicon and being saluted by Apollo's choir (*i.e.*, the Muses). Here Milton borrowed Virgil's phrase to mean the poets.

MANSO

John Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, is one of the first men in Italy alike for the renown of his intellect and his literary pursuits and no less for his martial prowess. There is extant a dialogue on Friendship which Torquato Tasso wrote to him; for he was in the highest degree friendly to Tasso, by whom he is honoured among the Campanian princes in the poem entitled *Jerusalem Conquered*, Book 20:

Among magnanimous and courteous cavaliers
Manso is resplendent.

This gentleman honoured the present author with supreme kindness during his stay in Naples and showed him many courteous attentions. Accordingly, before leaving the city, the visitor, in order not to seem ungrateful, sent him this poem.

THESE verses¹ also, Manso, the Pierides² are meditating in your praise—in yours, Manso of the wide acquaintance among the choir of Phoebus, for since the death of Gallus³ and Etruscan Maecenas⁴ the god has granted to hardly any one else honours equal to yours. If my Muse has breath sufficient, you too shall sit among the victorious ivy and laurels.⁶

You were once bound to the great Tasso⁷ by a happy friendship which has written your names in an everlasting record. Not long afterward the Muse, not ill-advised, entrusted to you the sweet-tongued Marini,⁹ who took pleasure in being called your foster-child when he sang his voluminous song of the

4. *Maecenas*, the great patron of letters under Augustus, is addressed in the opening line of Horace's *Odes* as the descendant of Rome's early kings, several of whom were Etruscans. Propertius saluted him (*Elegies*, 3, 9, 1) as sprung "from the Etruscan blood of kings."

6. Compare *To his Father*, 102.

7-8. Manso's claim that he had shown hospitality to Tasso has been challenged, but there is no reason to doubt that during the three visits which the poet made to Naples in his old age, in 1588, 1592, and 1594, he lived in Manso's villa and perhaps even finished the *Jerusalem Conquered* there.

9. *Marini* (1569-1625) published the *Adone*, a poem of some 40,000 lines, on the Venus and Adonis story, in 1623.

Dum canit Assyrios divum prolixus amores,
 Mollis et Ausonias stupefecit carmine nymphas.
 Ille itidem moriens tibi soli debita vates
 Ossa, tibi soli supremaque vota reliquit.
 Nec manes pietas tua cara fefellit amici; 15
 Vidimus arridentem operoso ex aere poetam.
 Nec satis hoc visum est in utrumque, et nec pia cessant
 Officia in tumulto; cupis integros rapere Orco,
 Qua potes, atque avidas Parcarum eludere leges:
 Amborum genus, et varia sub sorte peractam 20
 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, 25
 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 modulantes flumine cygnos 30
 Credimus obscuras noctis sensisse per umbras,
 Qua Thamesis late puris argenteus urnis

11. Renaissance mythography stressed the eastern origin of Adonis. Conti's chapter on him (V, xvi) first identifies him as the son of the Assyrian king, Thias, and later cites the account in Lucian's *Syrian Goddess* (6-8) of the annual mourning for him beside the river Adonis, which turns red during the freshets, supposedly with blood from the god's wound by the boar on Mt. Lebanon. His "annual wound in Lebanon," Milton wrote in *P.L.* I, 447-9,

"allur'd

The *Syrian* Damsels to lament his fate
 In amorous ditties all a Summer's day."

Compare the note on *Comus*, 999.

12. *Ausonia* was an ancient name of Italy.

18. *Orco*—the infernal world.

19. See the allusion to the Fates in the first epigram *On the Gunpowder Plot*, 7, note.

21. Milton's word here is our only evidence that Manso wrote a life of Marini. His authorship of the life of Tasso has been challenged, but there is little doubt that he really wrote the biography which appeared first, in part, in 1620.

Minerva's gifts are intellectual endowments.

loves of the Assyrian gods¹¹ and laid the soft spell of his song upon the Italian¹² maidens. So, at his death, the poet paid his obligation by leaving his remains in your care and entrusting his last wishes to you alone. And your affectionate devotion has not disappointed your friend's spirit, for we have seen him smiling down from his carved bronze. But you were not content to do merely this much for either poet, and your loving fidelity did not end at the tomb. As far as lies within your power, you labour to snatch them uninjured out of Orcus¹⁸ and to cheat the voracious laws of the Fates.¹⁹ So you write the family history of both,²¹ the varying fortunes through which their lives were lived, their traits, and their gifts from Minerva. You are the rival of that eloquent man, the son of lofty Mycale, who recounted the life of Aeolian Homer.²² Therefore, father Manso, in the name of Clio²⁴ and of great Phoebus, I, a young pilgrim sent from Hyperborean²⁶ skies, wish you health and long life. You, who are so good, will not despise an alien Muse, which, though poorly nourished under the frozen Bear,²⁸ has recently presumed to make her rash flight through the cities of Italy.²⁹ I believe that in the dim shadows of night I too have heard the swans singing on our river, where the silvery Thames with pure urns

22-23. Although modern scholarship discredits the tradition that Herodotus wrote the life of Homer which Milton had in mind here, it was of Herodotus that he was thinking, and of his birthplace, Mycale, whose "lofty crests" on the coast of Asia Minor figure in the *Iliad*, II, 869. Most of the cities which claimed to be Homer's birthplace were in Asia Minor.

24. Compare the allusion to *Clio* in *To his Father*, 14, note, and that to *Phoebus* in the same poem, 64, note.

26. Compare *Hyperboreo* . . . *sub axe* in *On the Fifth of November*, 95.

28. A "cold Climate," as Milton remembered in *P.L.* IX, 44-5, was traditionally supposed to dull the mind. In *Arcopagitica* he hopes that his "natural endowments" are "haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude." (*P.W.* II, 53.)

29. Milton was thinking of other poems, like that to Salzilli in Rome, with which he had challenged attention in Italy.

Oceani glaucos profundit gurgite crines.
 Quin et in has quondam pervenit Tityrus oras.
 Sed neque nos genus incultum, nec inutile Phoebo, 35
 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) 40
 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 herbosa Graiae de more puellae 45
 Carminibus laetis memorant Corineïda Loxo,
 Fatidicamque Upin, cum flavicoma Hecaërge,
 Nuda Caledonio variatas pectora fuce.
 Fortunate senex! ergo quacunq̄ue per orbem
 Torquati decus et nomen celebrabitur ingens, 50
 Claraque perpetui succrescet fama Marini,
 Tu quoque in ora frequens venies plausumque virorum,
 Et parili carpes iter immortale volatu.
 Dicitur tum sponte tuos habitasse penates
 Cynthius, et famulas venisse ad limina Musas. 55

34. Milton must have been familiar with the references to Chaucer as *Tityrus* in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*—February, 92, June, 81, and December, 4.

36. *Triones*—the ploughing oxen—was an early name for the constellation of the Great Bear, which was imagined as a plough with seven oxen. Martial spoke of the *Triones* as "Hyperborean." (*Epigrams*, 9, 46, 1.)

37. Compare *Boötes* in *On the death of the Bishop of Ely*, 51, note.

41-43. John Selden's *Notes upon Drayton's Polyolbion* (*Opera Omnia*, 1726, III, 1785-6), as Warton noticed, identified the Druid god of healing, Belinus, with Apollo. Both here and in *Lycidas*, 53, Milton thought of the Druids as "bards," in accordance with a tradition going back to Caesar's statement (*Gallie War*, VI, 14) that they were reputed to have their memories stored with many verses.

46. The patronymic *Corineïda* is formed from the name of the ancient British hero, Corineus. Compare the note on *Lycidas*, 160.

46-48. Milton fused Herodotus' story (IV, 35) of two Hyperborean virgins, Arge and Opis, who in a dim past carried tribute to Delos and were honoured there in a hymn which became popular among all the Ionian Greeks, with the account in Callimachus' Hymn to Delos (291-

spreads her green locks wide in the swell of the ocean. And Tityrus³⁴ also long ago made his way to these shores.

Yet we, who in the long nights endure the wintry Boötes³⁷ in that zone of the world which is furrowed by the seven-fold Wain,³⁸ are no uncultivated race, profitless to Phoebus. We also worship Phoebus and—unless antiquity asserts vain things—we sent him gifts, golden ears of grain, baskets of yellow apples, the fragrant crocus and chosen bands of the stock of the Druids. The ancient race of the Druids, experienced in the cult of the gods, used to sing the praises of heroes⁴¹ and their emulable acts. So, as often as the Greek maidens observe their custom of encircling the altars in grassy Delos with a festal chant, their happy songs commemorate Corinedian⁴⁶ Loxo and Prophetic Upis,⁴⁷ with golden-haired Hecaërge—damsels whose naked breasts were coloured with Caledonian woad.

Fortunate old man!⁴⁹ For wherever the glory and the mighty name of Torquato shall be celebrated through all the world and wherever the glorious reputation of the immortal Marini shall spread, your name and fame also shall constantly be in men's mouths,⁵² and with flight no less swift than theirs you shall mount the way of immortality. It shall be said that of his own free will Apollo⁵⁵ dwelt in your house and that the Muses were familiar attendants at your doors. Unwillingly that same Apollo came, when he was an exile from

4) of Upis, Loxo and Hecaërge, maidens from the remote north who came with a chosen band of youths bearing offerings of first-fruits to Delos.

49. The line adapts Virgil's

"Fortunate senex! ergo tua rura manebunt."

("Fortunate old man! for your farms shall remain secure." *Eclogue* I, 46.)

52. See the Introduction, §6.

54. *penates*; compare *Elegy I*, 17, note.

55. Apollo's poetical name of Cynthius is derived from Mt. Cynthus on the island of Delos, where the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (l. 26) fixes his birth.

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, 60
 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 65
 Saxa stetero 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 70
 Nascentem, et miti lustrarit lumine Phoebus,
 Atlantisque nepos; neque enim nisi carus ab ortu
 Diis superis poterit magno favisse poetae.
 Hinc longaeva tibi lento sub flore senectus
 Vernat, et Aesonios lucratur vivida fusos, 75
 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,

56-69. The story of Apollo's banishment from heaven and of his year of service as herdsman to Admetus, the king of Pherae in Thessaly and son of Pheres, goes back as far as Pindar's *Pythian Odes* (IX, 112-4).

58. Milton admired the account in the *Alcestis* of Euripides of the visit of Hercules to Admetus' house and of his hospitable welcome there on the day when the queen, Alcestis, died. According to the myth, however, Hercules' visit was later than Apollo's.

For Hercules' patronymic name, Alcides, see the note on *P.R.* IV, 565.

60. Chiron, of whom Homer spoke as "the most righteous of the centaurs" and as the guardian of Achilles (*Il.* XI, 830-1), was famous also as the guardian of Hercules, Jason, and Jason's son, Medeus, and because (according to Ovid, *Met.* II, 630), Apollo entrusted his own son, Aesculapius, to his care.

61-62. Perhaps there is a reminiscence of Ovid's description (*Met.* I, 567-73) of the course of the Peneus through the groves in the vale of Tempe, in Thessaly, to the Aegean Sea.

66. Mt. Oeta, between Thessaly and Aetolia, was called the "Trachinian cliff" because the town of Trachis was situated there.

60 heaven,⁵⁶ to the farmstead of Admetus, although Admetus had been host to the great Alcides.⁵⁸ When he wished to get away from the clamorous ploughmen, he retreated to the renowned cave of the gentle Chiron⁶⁰ among the moist woodland pastures and verdurous shades beside the river Peneus.⁶¹ There, under the dark ilex, persuaded by his friend's soft entreaty, he would lighten the hard labours of exile by singing to the accompaniment of the cithara. Then neither the banks nor the rocks fixed in the lowest depths of the chasm stood fast in their places; the Trachinian cliff⁶⁶ swayed and no longer felt the vast weight of its familiar forests; the trees were moved and hastened down from their hills and the spotted lynxes became gentle at the unfamiliar song.⁶⁸

65
70 Old man, beloved of the gods!⁷⁰ At your birth Jupiter must have been favourable, Phoebus, and the grandson of Atlas⁷² must have shed their gentle light upon you, for no one, unless from his birth he were dear to the gods, could have befriended a great poet. Therefore your old age is green with lingering bloom and, still robust, amasses the spindles of Aeson⁷⁵—preserving the honours of your brow unfallen, your spirit strong and the power of your mind at its height. O, if my lot might but bestow such a friend upon me, a friend who understands how to honour the devotees of Phoebus—if ever

68. Milton may have thought of Ovid's great catalogue (*Met.* X, 87-106) of the trees which crowded to hear Orpheus singing to his lyre, or of the singers, Damon and Alpheisiboeus, whose song, Virgil said (*Eclogue* VIII, 1-5), quieted the lynxes and made rivers turn backward in their courses to listen.

70-72. For thirty years before Milton's visit, says Angelo Borzelli in *Giovan Battista Manso* (Naples, 1916, p. 101), Manso had received countless poetical tributes which compared him to Jove, Apollo and Mars.

72. The *grandson of Atlas* is Mercury. See *On the Platonic Idea*, 27, note.

75. The spindles are those of the Fates (see the note on *Lycidas*, 75-6).

Aeson, the father of Jason, as Ovid tells the story (*Met.* VII, 251-93), was delivered by Medea's enchantments from forty years of his burden of age.

Si quando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges, 80
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
 Aut dicam invictae sociali foedere mensae
 Magnanimos Heroas, et—O modo spiritus adsit—
 Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!
 Tandem ubi non tacitae permensus tempora vitae, 85
 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. 96
 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, 95
 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. 100
(1639)

80. Out of ninety-nine possible subjects jotted down in the Cambridge manuscript as suggestions for the epic poem which Milton dreamed of writing, twenty-eight were subjects in British history. Milton was familiar with the tradition that Arthur was alive in the other world and would return to rule over the Britons—a tradition which he perhaps knew in the closing pages of the *Bruts* of Wace and Layamon or in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, XXI, vii. His dream was to bring Arthur to life in a great poem, as Spenser had done in *The Faerie Queene*.

82. *mensae*: the famous Round Table.

84. Even in Latin prose "Mars" was often used by metonymy to mean the shock of war. Livy (3, 62, 9) describes the shock of two battle-lines, "where Mars was most furious."

91. See the Introduction, §6.

92. The *myrtle*, which, like the laurel, was used in the wreaths of victors, was sacred to Venus, one of whose favourite shrines was at the city of *Paphos* in Cyprus.

92. See the note on *Parnassus* in *Elegy IV*, 30.

96. See the Introduction, §6.

100. Compare the use of *Olympus* in *On the death of the Bishop of Ely*, 63.

80 I shall summon back our native kings into our songs,⁸⁰ and
 Arthur, waging his wars beneath the earth, or if ever I shall
 proclaim the magnanimous heroes of the table⁸² which their
 mutual fidelity made invincible, and (if only the spirit be with
 me) shall shatter the Saxon phalanxes under the British
 85 Mars!⁸⁴ And at last, after I shall have lived through the span
 of no silent career, and when, full of years, I shall pay to the
 ashes their due, that friend would stand with tears in his eyes
 beside my bed. I should be content if I might say to him as
 he stood there, "Take me into your care." He would see to
 90 it that, when livid death had relaxed them, my limbs were
 gently bestowed in a little urn. Perhaps he might even cause
 my features to take form in marble and wreath my locks with
 Paphian myrtle⁹² and Parnassian laurel.⁹² So I should rest in
 perfect peace. Then, if there be such a thing as faith and
 assured rewards of the righteous, I myself, far remote in the
 ethereal homes of the gods who dwell in heaven, whither
 labour and a pure mind and ardent virtue lead,⁹⁶ shall look
 down upon these events—as much as the fates permit—from
 some part of that mysterious world, and with a serene spirit
 and a face suffused with smiles and rosy light, I shall con-
 100 gratulate myself on ethereal Olympus.¹⁰⁰

Cam-
 Milton
 Mil-
 other
 ich he
 yamon
 bring
 Faerie

ny to
 of two

ths of
 was at

hop of

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 accepit. Domum postea reversus, et rem ita esse comperto, se, suamque solitudinem hoc carmine deplorat. Damonis autem sub persona hic intelligitur Carolus Diodatus ex urbe Etruriae 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,
 Et quibus assiduis exercuit antra querelis 5
 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, 10
 Ex quo summa dies tulerat Damona sub umbras,
 Nec dum aderat Thyrsis; pastorem scilicet illum
 Dulcis amor Musae Tusca retinebat in urbe.
 Ast ubi mens expleta domum pecorisque relictī
 Cura vocat, simul assueta seditque sub ulmo, 15
 Tum vero amissum, tum denique, sentit amicum,
 Coepit et immensum sic exonerare dolorem:

1-2. The northern of the two rivers in Sicily which were called Himera (the modern Fiume Grande) figures twice in Theocritus' *Idyls* (v, 124, and vii, 75). Milton's invocation of its Muses, like his appeal to the "Sicilian Muse" of pastoral poetry in *Lycidas*, 133, means that he looked back to such models as Theocritus' *Lament for Daphnis* (*Idyl* I) and Moschus' *Epitaph of Bion* (*Idyl* III). Compare the notes on lines 4 and 18 below.

1. *Hylas*. See *P.R.* II, 353, note.

4. *Thyrsis*, by whose name Milton refers to himself, is the mourning shepherd in Theocritus' *Lament for Daphnis*.

DAMON'S EPITAPH

ARGUMENT

(Thyrsis and Damon, shepherds of the same neighbourhood, from childhood had pursued the same interests and were most affectionate friends. While studying abroad, Thyrsis received the report of Damon's death. When, later, he returned home and found that it was so, he bewailed himself and his loneliness in this song. Now Damon represents Charles Diodati, who through his father was descended from the Tuscan city of Lucca, but in all else was an Englishman—a youth who, while he lived, was outstanding for genius, learning, and every other splendid virtue.)

NYPHS OF HIMERA¹—for you remember Daphnis and Hylas and the long-lamented destiny of Bion—utter your Sicilian song through the cities of the Thames. Sing the moans and sighs that the wretched Thyrsis⁴ poured out, his ceaseless complaints that importuned the caves and rivers, the vagrant streams and the depths of the groves, when he mourned the cutting off of Damon and went wandering through solitary places, even in the latest hours of the night never sparing his groans. And now twice⁹ the stalk with its green ear had grown up and twice the yellow harvest had been numbered into the barns since his last day had swept Damon to the shades below, and still Thyrsis was absent, for love of the sweet Muse detained that shepherd in the Tuscan city.¹³ But when he had filled his mind full and the care of the flock that he had left behind him recalled him to his home, and when he sat down under the accustomed elm, then truly, then at last, he felt the loss of his friend, and he began to pour out his tremendous sorrow in words like these:

9-11. Spring and harvest time have twice come and gone since Charles Diodati's death in August, 1638.

13. The Tuscan city is Florence, where Milton's second sojourn detained him during March and April, 1639.

"Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.
 Hæi mihi! quæ terris, quæ dicam numina caelo,
 Postquam te immiti rapuerunt funere, Damon; 20
 Sicine 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 procul pecus arceat omne silentum. 25
 "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 30
 Solvere post Daphnin, post Daphnin dicere laudes
 Gaudebunt, dum rura Pales, dum Faunus amabit—
 Si quid id est, priscamque fidem coluisse, piumque,
 Palladiusque artes, sociumque habuisse canorum.
 "Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni. 35
 Hæc tibi certa manent, tibi erunt hæc præmia, Damon.
 At mihi quid tandem fiet modo? quis mihi fidus
 Haerebit lateri comes, ut tu sæpe solebas
 Frigoribus duris, et per loca foeta pruinis,

18. Similar refrains are used to give unity and variety in Bion's *Epitaph of Adonis* and Moschus' *Epitaph of Bion*. In Theocritus' *Lament for Daphnis* there are sixteen repetitions (with one variation) of the refrain,

"Begin, dear Muses, begin your pastoral songs."

Milton's line is an adaptation of Virgil's

"Ite domum pasti, siquis pudor, ite iuveni."

(*Ecloques* VII, 44.)

"Away home, if you have any shame, away, full-fed bullocks."

23. Milton thought of Virgil's account of Mercury, which Dryden rendered:

"But first he grasps within his awful hand
 The mark of sov'reign pow'r, his magic wand:
 With this he draws the ghosts from hollow graves;
 With this he drives them down the Stygian waves;
 With this he seals in sleep the wakeful sight,
 And eyes, though clos'd in death, restores to light."

(*Aen.* IV, 242-5.)

27. The Romans believed that if a wolf saw a man before the man saw him, the man became dumb. So Virgil explained the loss of his voice by the sorcerer, Moeris, on the ground that the wolves had seen him. (*Ecloques*, IX, 53-4.)

20 "Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my
lambs.¹⁸ Ah me! what deities shall I profess in earth or
heaven, now that they have torn you mercilessly away in
death, O Damon? And do you leave us in this way and
shall your virtue go down without a name to be numbered
with the company of the unknown dead? But he who divides
25 the souls with his golden wand would not wish this,²³ for he
would lead you into a company worthy of you and would
warn off the whole brutal herd of the silent dead.

30 "Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my
lambs. Whatever befalls, Damon, you may be sure—unless a
wolf first sets eyes upon me²⁷—that you shall not turn to dust
in the sepulchre unmourned.²⁸ Your fame shall abide and
long be held in esteem among the shepherds. To you, next
after Daphnis, it shall be their delight to pay their vows,³⁰ and
35 to sing praises of you next after Daphnis, as long as Pales³²
and Faunus shall love the fields—if there be any profit in
having cultivated the ancient faith and piety and the Pal-
ladian³⁴ arts, and in having possessed a comrade who was a
poet.

"Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my
lambs. For you these rewards are certainly in store and you
shall certainly possess them, Damon. But what at last is to
become of me? What faithful companion will stay by my side
as you always did when the cold was cruel and the frost thick
on the ground, and when the herbs were dying of thirst under

28. Compare *Manso*, 17-8, and *Lycidas*, 14.

30-32. Editors compare the lines in Virgil's *Eclogue* V, 76-80, which Dryden rendered:

"While savage boars delight in shady woods,
And finny fish inhabit in the floods—
While bees on thyme, and locusts feed on dew—
Thy grateful swains these honours shall renew.
Such honours as we pay to pow'rs divine,
To Bacchus and to Ceres, shall be thine."

32. The goddess *Pales*, whom Milton made Eve outrival in loveliness (*P.L.* IX, 393), was a protectress of the flocks. For *Faunus* see the note on *To Salzilli*, 27.

34. The *Palladian arts* are the arts protected by Pallas Athene.

Aut rapido sub sole, siti morientibus herbis, 40
 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 45
 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. 50
 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 colonus,
 Quis mihi blanditiasque tuas, quis tum mihi risus 55
 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 60
 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, 65
 Nec myrteta iuvant; ovium quoque taedet, at illae

45. Milton's entire correspondence with Diodati (in *Elegies I* and *VI* and in the two *Familiar Letters*) bore out the tradition that, "A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce." (Bacon, *Essays*, xxvii.)

45-49. The spirit and letter here are both indebted to Horace's *Epode* xiii, with its contrast of song and wine and the confidences of friends within to the uproar of winter outside. Compare the *Sonnets To Mr. Lawrence* and the first *To Cyriack Skinner*.

52-53. The picture of the still heat of noon is a relic of Theocritus' Sicily and Pan's noonday rest, as Warton suggested, recalls the goat-herd's warning against waking the sleeping Pan as he rests from the chase at noon. (*Idyl* I, 15-7.) Compare *Arcades*, 1, note.

56. "All life's charm and its greatest pleasures and rest from its

40 a consuming sun—whether the work were to chase the lions
to close quarters or to frighten the hungry wolves away from
the high sheepfolds? Who now is to beguile my days with
conversation and song?

45 “Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my
lamb. To whom shall I confide my heart? Who will teach
me to alleviate my mordant cares and shorten the long
night with delightful conversation while the ripe pear simmers
before the grateful fire and nuts burst on the hearth, when the
wicked southwind makes general confusion outside and thun-
50 ders in the peak of the elm tree?⁴⁵

“Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my
lamb. Or in summer, when the day is at the turn of high
noon, and Pan is asleep and out of sight in the shade of the
oak,⁶² and the nymphs go back to their familiar haunts beneath
the waters, and the shepherds hide themselves, and the
ploughman snores under the hedge, who then will bring back
to me your mirth and Cecropian salt,⁶⁶ your culture and
60 humour?

“Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my
lamb. Alone now I stray through the fields, alone through
the pastures, wherever the branches make dense shadows in
the valleys, there I wait for the evening. Over my head the
rain and the southeast wind make their sad sound in the rest-
65 less twilight of the wind-swept trees.

“Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my
lamb. Alas, how entangled with insolent weeds are my
once well cultivated fields! The tall grain itself is tumid with
mould. The unwedded grapes⁶⁵ are shrivelled on their neg-
lected vine and the myrtle groves have no loveliness. My

labours,” Pliny explained (31, 7, 41), were called its salt, and Martial
refers (3, 20, 9) to Attic salt as proverbial for witty conversation.

Cecropian—Attic—is derived from the name of the legendary
founder of Athens, Cecrops.

65. Because vines were traditionally “wedded” to trees, Horace
could speak playfully of trees which lacked their vines as “celibate”
(*Odes*, II, xv, 4) or “widowed” (*Odes*, IV, v, 30). Compare *P.L.* V,
215-9.

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: 70

'Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco,
Hic Zephyri, hic placidas interstrepit arbutus undas.'
Ista canunt surdo, frutices ego nactus abibam.

"Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.

Mopsus ad haec, nam me redeuntem forte notarat, 75
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.' 80

"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 chorus, lususque leves, et semper amorem 85
Iure petit; bis ille miser qui serus amavit.'

"Ite domum impasti, domino iam non vacat, agni.

Venit Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Aegle,

69-70. *Tityrus*, *Aegon* and *Amyntas* are all names found in Theocritus' *Idyls*. *Alphesiboeus*, "the bringer of oxen," is also of Greek origin. They stand for the friends of Thyrsis and may, of course, have stood for some once recognizable individuals.

71. See the Introduction, §6.

75-76. Mopsus, who is first mentioned in Hesiod's *Buccler*, 181, and whom Virgil (*Aen.* 359-61) called a master of the lore of the stars and the birds and of many other divine mysteries, had his counterpart in the "Mopso, who understands the speech of birds" in Tasso's *Aminta* and the burlesque seer, Mopsus, of Randolph's *Amyntas*.

77. Compare Milton's use of *bile* in *To Salzilli*, 19, and in his preface to *S.A.*, note.

79-80. Saturn's remoteness and sluggish motion made astrologers attribute a malign influence to the planet. In Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* Saturn confesses to many evils wrought by his influence, among them "the maladyes colde" (l. 2467) and the "pestilence" (l. 2469); and Spenser's melancholy man, Phantastes, looked as if he had been born

"When oblique Saturne sate in the house of agonyes."

(*F.Q.* II, ix, 52-9.)

In Alchemy Saturn was the technical name for lead. Compare *Il Penseroso*, 43.

sheep also are disgusting and mope and turn their gaze upon their master.

70 "Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. Tityrus⁶⁹ is calling me to the hazels, Alphisiboeus to the ash-trees, Aegon to the willows, and comely Amyntas to the rivers. 'Here are cool springs, here are lawns soft with moss, here are zephyrs, and here the arbutus and the quiet streams whisper together.'⁷¹ They sing to deaf ears, for I slip away into the thickets and am gone.

s? "Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. The next was Mopsus⁷⁵—Mopsus who had skill in the language of the birds and the stars—for he had chanced to notice my return: 'What now, Thyrsis?' he said, 'what excess of bile'⁷⁷ ails you? Either you are pining away with love or you are banefully influenced by some star. Saturn's star has often been malignant to shepherds and his slanting, leaden shot strikes to the innermost vitals.'⁷⁹

80 "Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. The nymphs are astonished and cry, 'What is to become of you, Thyrsis? What do you wish? The brow of youth is not usually clouded, nor its eyes severe, nor its aspect stern. Youth's lawful pursuits are dances and frivolous sports and love always. Twice miserable is the man who loves late.'⁸⁶

85 "Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. Hyas⁸⁸ and Dryope came, and Aegle, the daughter of Baucis—Aegle accomplished in music and skilled with the

86. The epigram is obviously traditional. Jerram quoted from Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, I, i, a saying which may be translated thus:

"If your hairs are grey,
When first love troubles,
The misery doubles."

88. All the names of the girls are Greek, but all are to be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. *Baucis* and her husband, *Philemon*, were the old couple whom Ovid describes (*Met.* VIII, 630-724) as entertaining Jupiter and Mercury unawares. According to the myth, she had no children, but her name—as Persius' use of it (*Satires*, iv, 21) proves—might mean simply an old woman.

Docta modos, citharaeque sciens, sed perdita fastu;
 Venit Idumanii Chloris vicina fluenti. 90
 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 iuveni,
 Omnes unanimi secum sibi lege sodales, 95
 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 100
 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 fessor,
 Protinus ille alium socio petit inde volatu. 105
 Nos durum genus, et diris exercita fati
 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 110
 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? 115
 Quamvis illa foret, qualem dum viseret olim,
 Tityrus ipse suas et oves et rura reliquit,
 Ut te tam dulci possem caruisse sodale,

89. The line is based upon Horace's account of "Thracian Chloe" as "Dulcis docta modos et citharae sciens," in the famous "Lovers' quarrel." (*Odes*, III, ix, 9-10.)

90. The *Idumanum aestuarium* was identified by Camden (*Britain*, 1607, II, 45) with Blackwater Bay in Essex. A real person seems to be lurking behind Chloris, but no editor has identified her.

99-100. The earliest appearance of Proteus, the "Shepherd of the sea," as Spenser called him (*F.Q.* III, viii, 30, 1), is Homer's picture of him counting his "flock" of seals as a shepherd would his sheep. (*Od.* IV, 411-3.) Compare *Elegy* III, 26, and *P.L.* III, 604.

106. The phrasing derives from Virgil's allusion to the repeopling

harp, but ruined by pride⁸⁹—and Chloris, the neighbour of the Idumenian river,⁹⁰ came also. No flattery and no words of comfort move me, nor does anything that is present nor any hope of the future.

“Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. How like one another are the steers at play in the meadows, all mutually companions together, because, under the law which gives them one mind together in common, not one singles out another from the herd as a friend. So the wolves come to their food in packs and the rough-coated wild asses mate together by turns. The law of the sea is the same, where Proteus⁹⁹ counts his hosts of seals on the deserted shore. Even that pariah of birds, the sparrow, always has a fellow to play with and flits gaily about to every shock of grain, returning late to his own roof. Yet if death has chanced to carry off his fellow, or the kite’s hooked beak has brought his doom, or the peasant’s arrow has struck him down, the bird incontinently seeks out another to share his flight. But we men are a painful race,¹⁰⁶ a stock tormented by cruel fate, with minds mutually alienated and hearts discordant. A man can hardly find a comrade for himself in a thousand; or, if one is granted to us by a fate at last not unkind to our prayers, a day and hour when we apprehend nothing snatches him away, leaving an eternal loss to all the years.

“Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. Alas! what wandering fancy carried me across the skyey cliffs of the snow-bound Alps to unknown shores? Was it of such importance to have seen buried Rome, even though it were what it was when long ago Tityrus¹¹⁷ left his sheep and his fields to see it, that I should suffer separation from so

of the earth after Deucalion’s flood by the stones which turned into men:

“Unde nati homines, durum genus.”

(*Georgics* I, 63.)

(“Whence were born men, the hard race.”)

117. *Tityrus*, here, as in *Manso*, 34, refers to Chaucer, neither of whose Italian journeys, however, appears to have included Rome.

Possem tot maria alta, tot interponere montes,
 Tot silvas, tot saxa tibi, fluviosque sonantes? 120
 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, 125
 Pastores Tusci, Musis operata iuventus,
 Hic Charis, atque Lepos; et Tuscus 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, 130
 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. 135
 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, 140
 Dum solus teneros claudebam cratibus haedos.
 Ah! quoties dixi, cum te cinis ater habebat,
 'Nunc canit, aut lepori nunc tendit retia Damon

119. Compare *Elegy IV*, 21-2.

121-122. So Castiglione's Alcon, who is mourning in Rome for the childhood friend who has died in his absence, cries out that he might have held his dying friend's hand and given him a final kiss. (*Alcon*, 84-6.)

128. *Lucumo* was an Etruscan title for princes and priests which was misunderstood by Livy (I, 34) as the personal name of Tarquinius Priscus (of whom Milton thought as the founder of Lucca) before he left Tarquinii to seek his fortune in Rome.

129. The beautiful upper valley of the Arno, the *Valdarno* of *P.L.* I, 290, became familiar to Milton during his visits to Florence in 1638 and 1639. In a letter written September 10, 1638, and addressed to Benedetto Buonmattai, he speaks of "visiting with delight the stream of the Arno, and the hills of Faesolae." (*P.W.* III, p. 497.)

132. *Menalcas* and *Lycidas* are both names of shepherds in Theocritus' *Idyls*. In *Idyl VII* Menalcas is a competitor in such a contest of song with another shepherd as Milton imagines here, but here the

sweet a friend or be able to put so many deep seas,¹¹⁹ so many mountains, so many forests and cliffs and roaring rivers between us? Ah! had I not gone, surely I might have touched his right hand at the last and closed his eyes as he lay peacefully dying,¹²¹ and have said, 'Farewell! remember me in your flight to the stars.'

"Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. Though I shall never weary of your memory, Tuscan shepherds, youths in the service of the Muses, yet here was grace and here was gentleness; you also, Damon, were a Tuscan, tracing your lineage from the ancient city of Lucca.¹²⁸ Ah, what a man was I when I lay beside cool, murmuring Arno,¹²⁹ where the soft grass grows by the poplar grove, and I could pluck the violets and the myrtle shoots and listen to Menalcas competing with Lycidas.¹³² And I myself even dared to compete, and I think that I did not much displease, for your prizes¹³³ are still in my possession, the baskets of reeds and osiers and the pipes with fastenings of wax. Even their beech-trees learned my name from Dati and Francini, men who were both famous for their song and their learning, and both were of Lydian blood.¹³⁸

"Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. These things the dewy moon would say to me, when happy and solitary, I would be shutting the tender kids in the wattled folds.

"Ah! how often would I say, when already dark ashes possessed you, 'Now Damon is singing or stretching his nets for

contest represents the poetical duels which he witnessed in the Gaddian Academy in Florence.

133-137. The gifts represent books or copies of verses like the Ode by Antonio Francini which Milton placed at the head of his Latin poems in the edition of 1645. In a letter to Carlo Dati, dated April 21, 1647, he recalls "the memory of those times, when . . . with you, I tasted bliss without alloy." (*P.W.* III, p. 501.)

138. Virgil's belief that "long ago the Lydian race, glorious in war, settled the Etruscan hills" (*Aen.* VIII, 479-80), goes back to Herodotus (i, 74).

Vimina nunc texit varios sibi quod sit in usus;
 Et quae tum facile sperabam mente futura 145
 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, 150
 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 155
 Fistula—ab undecima iam lux est altera nocte—
 Et tum forte novis admoram labra cicutis,
 Dissilueret tamen, rupta compage, nec ultra
 Ferre graves potuere sonos; dubito quoque ne sim
 Turgidulus, tamen et referam; vos cedite, silvae. 160
 "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,

144. Editors refer to the closing warning to Corydon in Virgil's *Eclogue II*, 71-2, to mind the ordinary needs of life and work at his weaving of willow twigs.

"Quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,
 Viminiibus mollique paras dextere iunco?"

149. The river *Colne* flows near Horton. *Cassibelauni* is interpreted by Gilbert (p. 76) as signifying "the neighborhood of Horton, Buckinghamshire, for the realm of Cassivelaunus lay north of the Thames, and included that county." Cassivellaunus was a British leader whose conquest cost Caesar serious effort. (See the *Gallie War*, V, xi.)

150-152. At Cambridge Diodati took medical training.

153-154. Compare *On the Death of the Vice-Chancellor*, 22.

155-160. Milton's grief for Diodati, as the broken exclamations are intended to suggest, prevents him from prosecuting the poetical ambitions which we know from *Manso*, 80-4, that he cherished in Italy.

160. The dismissal of the forests is a conventional farewell to pastoral poetry. So Virgil's Gallus takes leave of Arcadianism (*Eclogue X*, 63) with the words, "concedite silvae." In the next paragraph Milton turns to an epic theme.

162. Milton may have thought of opening his British epic with a picture of the Dardanian (*i.e.*, Trojan) fleet, under Brutus (see *Comus*,

the hare or weaving osiers for his various objects.¹⁴⁴ And all that my careless mind hoped for the future I snatched from the mere wish and imagined it to be a present reality. 'Ho, good friend, have you any work in hand? If, by good luck, nothing prevents, let us go and lie for a little while in the murmurous shade, either by the waters of Colne¹⁴⁹ or in the country of Cassivellaunus. You shall run over all your healing balms and herbs,¹⁵⁰ your hellebore, humble crocus, and leaf of the hyacinth—all the simples that the meadow holds—and the arts of the physicians.'

"Ah! let the herbs and simples perish, let all the arts of the doctors perish, since they are worthless to their master.¹⁵³ And myself¹⁵⁵—for I do not know what grand song my pipe was sounding—it is now eleven nights and a day—perhaps I was setting my lips to new pipes, but their fastenings snapped and they fell asunder and could carry the grave notes no further. I am afraid that I am vain, yet I will relate it. Give way, then, O forest.¹⁶⁰

"Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. I, for my part, am resolved to tell the story of the Dardanian ships¹⁶² in the Rutupian sea and of the ancient kingdom of Inogene,¹⁶³ the daughter of Pandrasus, and of the chiefs, Brennus and Arviragus, and of old Belinus,¹⁶⁴ and of

828, note), approaching the English coast. *Rutupina*, to which Lucan refers (*Pharsalia*, VI, 67), as one of the great colonial cities of the Roman Empire, was identified by Camden, in his account of Kent, with Richborow.

163. *Inogene*—whom Spenser called "Inogene of Italy" (*F.Q.* II, x, 13, 5) and the wife of "Trojan Brute"—is represented by Geoffrey of Monmouth as having been won by Brutus in a struggle with her father, Pandracos, a king of Greece.

164. "*Brennus* and *Belinus*, kings of Britany," as Spenser recalled (*F.Q.* II, x, 40), were supposed to have "ransackt Greece," beside conquering France and Germany. Brennus is identified with the Gallic leader who sacked Rome in 390 B.C.

Arvirago was supposed to have led the Britons bravely against the legions of Claudius:

"Was neuer king more highly magnifide,
Nor dred of Romanes, then was *Arvirage*."
(*F.Q.* II, x, 52, 1-2.)

Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;	165
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernen,	
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,	
Merlini dolus. O, mihi tum si vita supersit,	
Tu procul annosa pendebris, fistula, pinu	
Multum oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata camenis	170
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,	175
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.	180
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,	185

165. In the *History of Britain* (P.W. V, p. 251) Milton tells the story of the establishment of a colony of British veterans by Constantine the Great in what is now Brittany.

166–168. Milton intended to retell the story of King Uther Pendragon's deception of Igraine, the wife of Gorlois, Duke of Cornwall, when the King, disguised like her husband, “by the means of Merlin,” (as Malory has it in *Morte d'Arthur*, I, ii) lay with the Duchess and begot Arthur.

169. *fistula*, as Professor Rand insists, must mean pastoral poetry, which Milton intends to abandon, in Latin at least.

172–178. In the Second Book of *The Reason of Church Government* (P.W. II, 478) Milton recorded the resolve “to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue, . . . to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect.”

175. The Ouse flows through the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntington, Cambridge, and Norfolk into the Wash. Compare *Vacation Exercise*, 92.

According to Camden, the Alne in Northumberland and the united Stour and Avon in Hampshire both bore the Latin name of *Alaunus*.

178. Gilbert quotes Camden (i, 7) as saying that the Tamar, be-

the Armorican settlers who came at last under British law.¹⁶⁵ Then I shall tell of Igraine pregnant with Arthur by fatal deception,¹⁶⁶ the counterfeiting of Gorlois' features and arms by Merlin's treachery. And then, O my pipe,¹⁶⁹ if life is granted me, you shall be left dangling on some old pine tree far away and quite forgotten by me; or else, quite changed, you shall shrill forth a British theme to your native Muses.¹⁷² What then? One man cannot do everything nor so much as hope to do everything. I shall have ample reward and think my glory great—though I may be forever unknown and inglorious throughout all the outside world—if only blond-haired Ouse¹⁷⁵ reads me and he who drinks from the Alne and the Humber with its many whirlpools, and every forest by the Trent, and before them all my Thames, and the Tamora,¹⁷⁸ which minerals discolour, and if the Orkneys in their distant seas will learn my song.

"Go home unfed, for your master has no time for you, my lambs. These things I was keeping for you in the tough-barked laurel.¹⁸⁰ These and more also—and in addition the two cups¹⁸¹ which Manso gave me—Manso, who is not the least glory of the Chalcidian shore.¹⁸² They are a marvellous work of art, and he is a marvellous man. Around them goes an engraving with a double motif.¹⁸⁵ In the middle are the

tween Devon and Cornwall, "passes at the bottom of a range of very high mountains . . . anciently rich in mines."

180. Some editors believe that Milton was cherishing his poetic purposes like valuables in a box of laurel bark, but may it not mean that the songs which he dreamed of singing were like those which Virgil says that Apollo taught to his sacred laurel (*Eclogue*, VI, 83)?

181. Instead of two real cups, Mr. M. De Filippis suggests that Manso gave Milton two volumes of his poems corresponding in subject with the decorations on the cups. One of them would be his *Poesie nomiche* (Venice, 1635) which contained his translation of the poem on the Phoenix which is attributed to Lactantius. See the note on ll. 133-7 above and on *S.A.* 1699.

182. Like Virgil (*Aen.* VI, 17) Milton calls the Neapolitan coast the Chalcidian shore. The advent of the Greek colonists from Chalcis in Euboea, in 326 B.C., is dramatically recorded by Livy (VIII, 22).

185-197. Elaborate descriptions of such carvings on cups run through pastoral literature from Theocritus' account of the relief showing a

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. 190
 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 orbis 195
 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? 200
 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, 205
 Aethereos haurit latices et gaudia potat
 Ore Sacro. Quin tu, caeli post iura recepta,
 Dexter ades, placidusque fave, quicumque vocaris,

boy weaving a basket while a fox steals his lunch, which ornamented a prize cup, to Spenser's portrayal of the decorated "mazer" in *August*, 26-35.

186. Compare the allusion to "*Araby* the blest" and its perfumed seas in *P.L.* IV, 159-165.

187-189. Of the many possible ancient "sources" for this description of the brilliant colours of the Phoenix, that in the *De ave Phoenici* (125-44), which is attributed to Lactantius, is perhaps the closest in letter and spirit to Milton's. But see *S.A.* 1699, note.

189. Compare the note on the goddess of the dawn, Eos or Aurora, in *On the Fifth of November*, 133.

190. *Olympus*—the heavens. Compare *Nature is not subject to Old Age*, 46; *To his Father*, 30; and *Manso*, 100.

193-197. Milton's Cupid is akin to the Heavenly Eros which Plato distinguished from the Popular Eros (*Symposium*, 180c, ff.) and to Hesiod's Eros (*Theogony*, 120-2), the deity who masters the mind and the wise will in the breasts of gods and men. From such conceptions—and especially from the Orphic picture of Eros as a winged deity

waves of the Red Sea, the perfumed springtime, the far-stretching shores of Arabia,¹⁸⁶ and the groves that distil balsam. Among those trees the Phoenix,¹⁸⁷ the divine bird which is unique on earth, gleams cerulean with parti-coloured wings, and watches Aurora¹⁸⁹ rise over the glassy waters. In another part are the widespreading sky and mighty Olympus.¹⁹⁰ Who would suppose such a thing? Here is Cupid¹⁹³ also, his quiver painted against a cloud, his gleaming arms, his torches and his darts of bronze tincture, the colour of flame. From that height he does not wound frivolous spirits or the ignoble hearts of the rabble, but—looking around him with flaming eyes—he tirelessly scatters his darts aloft through the spheres and never points his shots downward. That is why the minds of the elect and the essences of the gods themselves are enkindled.

“You also are among them—for no uncertain hope deceives me—certainly you also are among them; for where else should your sweet and holy simplicity have gone? Where else your unsullied virtue? It would be sinful to look to find you in Lethean Orcus.²⁰¹ Tears for you are an impertinence and I do not shed them any more. Be gone, my tears! Damon dwells in the pure aether, the aether which he is pure enough to possess, and his foot spurns the rainbow. Among the souls of heroes and the immortal gods he drinks the draughts of heaven and quaffs its joys with his sacred lips. And now, since you have received the privileges of heaven, assist and gently favour me, however you may be called;²⁰⁷ whether you

floating on the tenuous air and creating both gods and men—the Neo-Platonism of the Renaissance evolved Spenser's celestial Cupid, the

“Victor of Gods, subduer of mankind,”

(*An Hymne in Honour of Love*, 45.)

and the

“Lord of truth and loialtie,
Lifting himselfe out of the lowly dust
On golden plumes up to the purest skie.”

(*Ibid.* 176-8.)

Compare *Comus*, 1004-11, note, and the Introduction, §6.

201. Compare *Lethe* in *On the Fifth of November*, 132, note.

207-208. Compare *Lycidas*, 183-5, note.

Seu tu noster eris Damon, sive aequior audis
 Diodatus, quo te divino nomine cuncti 210
 Caelicolae norint, silvisque vocabere Damon.
 Quod tibi purpureus pudor, et sine labe inventus
 Grata fuit, quod nulla tori libata voluptas,
 En! etiam tibi virginei servantur honores!
 Ipse, caput nitidum cinctus rutilante corona, 215
 Laetaque frondentis gestans umbracula palmae,
 Aeternum perages immortales hymenaeos,
 Cantus ubi, choreisque furit lyra mista beatis,
 Festa Sionaeo bacchantur et Orgia Thyrso." (1640)

210. *Diodatus*, like the Greek name, Theodore, means "God-given."

212. Editors trace the phrase *purpureus pudor* to Ovid's *Amores*, I, iii, 14. Milton was thinking of modesty or shame like that which Plato said (*Phaedrus*, 254a) restrains the soul from incontinence, or like that which was called by St. Bernard "the sister of Continence," and by St. Ambrose, "the friend of Pudicity."

215. Milton was moved by St. John's heavenly vision of those "which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins" (Rev. xiv, 4), and he must have been familiar with the medieval tradition which gave to virgins a crown of lilies like that brought by an angel to St. Cecilia before her martyrdom in Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale*, 220-3.

216-217. Compare St. John's vision of the heavenly host before the throne "with palms in their hands" (Rev. vii, 9) and of "the marriage of the Lamb" (Rev. xix, 7). Compare *Lycidas*, 176-7, note.

219. The thyrsus was the vine-wreathed wand carried by Bacchic revellers. By comparing the joys of heaven to their orgies Milton—to whom Bacchus was a symbol of all human passions in excess (as he was to Bacon in *The Wisdom of the Ancients*)—meant to say that in the life to come the passions of this life would be intensified and chastened into ecstasy.

are to be known as our Damon or would rather be Diodati, by which divine name²¹⁰ the inhabitants of heaven will know you, while in the forests you will keep the name of Damon. Because you loved the blush of modesty²¹² and a stainless youth and because you did not taste the delight of the marriage-bed, lo! the rewards of virginity are reserved for you. Your glorious head shall be bound with a shining crown²¹⁵ and with shadowing fronds of joyous palms in your hands²¹⁶ you shall enact your part eternally in the immortal marriage where song and the sound of the lyre are mingled in ecstasy with blessed dances, and where the festal orgies rage under the heavenly thyrsus."²¹⁹

TRANSLATIONS FROM *OF REFORMATION TOUCH-
ING CHURCH DISCIPLINE IN ENGLAND.*

Ah, *Constantine*, of how much ill was Cause,
Not thy Conversion, but those rich Domains
That the first wealthy *Pope* receiv'd of thee.
(Dante, *Inferno*, xix, 115-7.)

Founded in chaste and humble Poverty,
'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou lift thy Horn,
Impudent Whore, where hast thou plac'd thy Hope?
In thy Adulterers, or thy ill got wealth?
Another *Constantine* comes not in haste.
(Petrarch, *Sonnet* 138. [108.])

And to be short, at last his guide him brings
Into a goodly Valley, where he sees
A mighty Mass of Things, strangely confus'd,
Things that on Earth were lost, or were abus'd.¹
(Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*,
Canto xxxiv, stanza 73.)

Then past he to a flow'ry Mountain green,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;
This was that Gift (if you the Truth will have)
That *Constantine* to good *Sylvestro* gave.²
(*Orlando Furioso*, xxxiv, 80.)
(1641)

¹The lines correspond word for word with Harington's translation, except that Harington has "But" for "And" in the first line.

²These lines seem to be quite independent of Harington.

TRANSLATION FROM *THE REASON OF CHURCH
GOVERNMENT URGED AGAINST PRELACY.* BOOK
I, CAP. V.

When I die, let the Earth be roll'd in Flames.

(Attributed to Tiberius.)

(1641)

TRANSLATIONS FROM *AN APOLOGY FOR
SMECTYMNUS*

—laughing to teach the Truth

What hinders? As some teachers give to Boys
Junkets and Knacks, that they may learn apace.

(Horace, *Satires*, I, i, 25-7.)

—Jesting decides great Things

Stronglier, and better oft than earnest can.

(Horace, *Satires*, I, x, 14-5.)

'Tis you that say it, not I: you do the Deeds,
And your ungodly Deeds find me the Words.

(Sophocles, *Electra*, 624-5.)

(1642)

WHEN THE ASSAULT WAS INTENDED TO THE
CITY¹

CAPTAIN or Colonel, or Knight in Arms,
 Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,
 If ever deed of honour did thee please,
 Guard them, and him within protect from harms;
 He can requite thee, for he knows the charms 5
 That call Fame on such gentle acts as these,
 And he can spread thy Name o'er Lands and Seas,
 Whatever clime the Sun's bright circle warms.
 Lift not thy spear against the Muse's Bow'r:
 The great *Emathian* Conqueror bid spare 10
 The house of *Pindarus*, when Temple and Tow'r
 Went to the ground; And the repeated air
 Of sad *Electra's* Poet had the pow'r
 To save th' *Athenian* Walls from ruin bare.

(1642)

¹The Cambridge manuscript entitles this sonnet, *When the assault was intended to the city*, or alternatively, *On his door when the city expected an assault*. Milton wrote it about the thirteenth of November, 1642, when the Royalists, fresh from their partial victory at Edgehill on October twenty-third, reached London fully resolved to take the city, but were turned back by the unexpectedly large force brought against them by the Earl of Essex at Turnham Green.

1. *Colonel* has three syllables, for in the seventeenth century it had not much altered from its original, French form.

10. The *Emathian* is Alexander the Great of Macedon. Again in *P.R.* III, 290, there is an allusion to Macedon by its ancient name of Emathia. Here Milton refers to Alexander's punishment of the Boeotian capital, Thebes, for its revolt in 335 B.C., when—according to a dubious but popular tradition—the only house which he spared was the ancient home of the poet, Pindar. (Pliny tells the story, *Natural History*, VII, 19.)

12. *the repeated air*—the repetition of the air. For the Latin construction compare *S.A.* 1294, note.

13. In his *Life of the Spartan general, Lysander*, who conquered Athens in 404 B.C., Plutarch says that the officers who decided the city's fate would have destroyed it outright, if one of them had not dissuaded the rest by singing the first chorus in Euripides' *Electra*, which begins:

"Electra, Agamemnon's child, I come
 Unto thy desert home."

LADY THAT IN THE PRIME

LADY, that in the prime of earliest youth
 Wisely hast shunn'd the broad way and the green,
 And with those few art eminently seen,
 That labour up the Hill of Heav'nly Truth,
 The better part with *Mary*, and with *Ruth*, 5
 Chosen thou hast; and they that overween,
 And at thy growing virtues fret their spleen,
 No anger find in thee, but pity and ruth.
 Thy care is fixt and zealously attends
 To fill thy odorous Lamp with deeds of light, 10
 And Hope that reaps not shame. Therefore be sure
 Thou, when the Bridegroom with his feastful friends
 Passes to bliss at the mid-hour of night,
 Hast gain'd thy entrance, Virgin wise and pure.

(1642-5)

1. Until positive evidence comes to light, little is to be gained by speculation about the *Lady's* identity. Smart's assumption that she was "a girl . . . still very young" who had made Milton her confidant about her social difficulties among people who found her prudish, is certainly preferable to the conjecture that she was the Miss Davis whom he had some thought of marrying in 1644.

2-4. Milton thought of Christ's saying that "broad is the way that leadeth to destruction" (Mat. vii, 13), and probably also of one of Holbein's endlessly reproduced illustrations of the Table of Cebes, where young people play on the lawns among temptations at the foot of a rugged mountain while men and women climb a rocky path to the citadel of true felicity and are crowned by a king, who—in spite of the pagan origin of the Table—seems to be the Christian God himself. Compare *P.R.* II, 217, note.

5. *Mary*, whom Jesus praised for having "chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her" (Luke x, 42), and *Ruth*, who preferred to give up her home in Moab for the sake of her Hebrew mother-in-law, Naomi, were traditional exemplars of Christian womanhood. (See *Ruth* i, 14.)

8. *ruth*—pity. Milton had the example of Italian poetry and of many earlier English poets for rhyming words of the same sound and of different meanings.

10-14. Milton thought of the parable of the ten virgins, of whom only five were wise enough to fill their lamps with oil and be ready to go to the marriage feast when, "at midnight, there was a cry made, Behold, the bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him." (Mat. xxv, 6.)

TRANSLATION PREFIXED TO *AREOPAGITICA*

This is true Liberty, when freeborn Men,
 Having to advise the Public, may speak free:
 Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise:
 Who neither can nor will may hold his Peace.
 What can be juster in a State than this?

(Euripides, *Suppliants*, 438-42.)

(1644)

TRANSLATION IN *TETRACHORDON*

Whom do we count a good man, whom but he
 Who keeps the laws and statutes of the Senate,
 Who judges in great suits and controversies,
 Whose witness and opinion wins the cause?
 But his own house, and the whole neighbourhood
 See his foul inside through his whited skin.

(Horace, *Epistles*, I, xvi, 40.)

(1645)

TO THE LADY MARGARET LEY

DAUGHTER to that good Earl, once President
 Of *England's* Council, and her Treasury,
 Who liv'd in both, unstained with gold or fee,
 And left them both, more in himself content,
 Till the sad breaking of that Parliament 5
 Broke him, as that dishonest victory
 At *Chaeronéa*, fatal to liberty,
 Kill'd with report that Old man eloquent;
 Though later born than to have known the days
 Wherein your Father flourisht, yet by you, 10
 Madam, methinks I see him living yet;
 So well your words his noble virtues praise,
 That all both judge you to relate them true,
 And to possess them, Honour'd *Margaret*.
 (1644-5)

1. After Mary Powell left him in 1642, Milton's nephew, Phillips, says that he, being "now as it were a single man again, made it his chief diversion now and then in an evening, to visit the Lady Margaret Lee, daughter to the — Lee, Earl of Marlborough. . . . This lady being a woman of great wit and ingenuity had a particular honor for him, and took much delight in his company, as likewise her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman."

The *good Earl* was Sir James Ley, who became Lord Chief Justice in 1622, and successively Lord High Treasurer and Lord President of the Council under Charles I, who created him Earl of Marlborough.

5-6. The Earl died on March 14, 1629, four days after the dissolution of Parliament which marked the first violent and open breach between its leaders and the King. Presumably, his sympathies were with Charles, for most of his family later sided with the Royalists, although his oldest daughter married the Parliamentary Captain, John Hobson, in December, 1641.

6. *dishonest* has the Latin meaning of "disgraceful" or "shameful."

7. At Chaeronea, in eastern Boeotia, in 338 B.C., Philip of Macedon crushed the united armies of Thebes and Athens and permanently ended the independence of both cities.

8. The *Old man eloquent*—Isocrates, the Athenian orator, who was ninety-eight years old when the battle occurred. A questionable tradition says that within four days, and while the slain were being buried, he starved himself to death.

Philosophus ad regem quendam qui eum ignotum & insontem inter reos forte captum inscius damnaverat τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ πορευόμενος, haec subito misit.

Ὡ ἄνα εἰ ὀλέσῃς με τὸν ἔννομον, οὐδέ τιν' ἀνδρῶν
 Δεινὸν ὄλως δράσαντα, σοφώτατον ἴσθι κάρηνον
 Ρηϊδίως ἀφέλοιο, τὸδ' ὕστερον αὖθι νοήσεις,
 Μαψ αὐτῶς δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα χρόνῳ μάλα πολλὸν ὀδύρη,
 Τοιόνδ' ἐκ πόλεως περιώνυμον ἄλκαρ ὀλέσσας.

(1645?)

IN EFFIGIEI EIUS SCULPTOREM.¹

Ἄμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα
 Φαίης τάχ' ἄν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφυῆς βλέπων'
 Τὸν δ' ἐκτυπῶτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγρόντες, φίλοι,
 Γελάτε φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου.

(1645)

¹Humorous lines placed by Milton below the engraving of himself which served as a frontispiece to the edition of 1645. It is so bad a likeness that its only interest is bibliographical.

This message was suddenly sent to a king by a philosopher who was on the way to his death because the ruler had unwittingly condemned him—unrecognized and innocent—when he happened to be seized among some robbers.

O King, if you make an end of me, an observer of the laws and a doer of absolutely no harm to any man, you must know that you would find it easy to destroy one of the wisest of heads, but later you will sorrow vainly and grievously because you have done away with so famous a protection of the city.

ON THE ENGRAVER OF HIS LIKENESS

Looking at the form of its original, you might say, mayhap, that this likeness had been drawn by a tyro's hand; but, friends, since you do not recognize what is modelled here, have a laugh at a caricature by a good-for-nothing artist.

TO MY FRIEND, MR. HENRY LAWES

HARRY, whose tuneful and well measur'd Song
 First taught our English Music how to span
 Words with just note and accent, not to scan
 With *Midas'* Ears, committing short and long,
 Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng, 5
 With praise enough for Envy to look wan;
 To after age thou shalt be writ the man
 That with smooth air couldst humour best our tongue.
 Thou honour'st Verse, and Verse must lend her wing
 To honour thee, the Priest of *Phoebus'* Quire 10
 That tun'st thir happiest lines in Hymn, or Story.
Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
 Than his *Casella*, whom he woo'd to sing,
 Met in the milder shades of Purgatory.

(1646)

1. Milton's admiration for Lawes emerges in the opening song which is given to him in the part of the Attendant Spirit in *Comus*. (See also lines 86-8, note.) Although his devotion to the Royalist cause was confessed in the Dedication of his *Choice Psalms* to Charles I in 1648 and in 1653 by his *Airs and Dialogues*—in which the verses set to music represent the poetry of all the better known "Cavalier Lyrists"—Milton's friendship for him did not suffer. In the Cambridge manuscript this sonnet is dated February 9, 1646 and it may have been written then in the expectation that the *Airs* would soon appear. It was first published among the poetic tributes to Lawes in the *Choice Psalms* in 1648, with the present title.

4. The famous ass's ears of King Midas, Ovid relates, were given to him because he preferred Pan's music to Apollo's. (*Met.* XI, 153-79.) *committing* has the rare meaning (which contains a reminiscence of the term for pitting gladiators against each other in the Roman arena) of "putting into a state of hostility or incongruity." (*N.E.D.*)

11. The *Story*, as a marginal note in the *Choice Psalms* points out, was William Cartwright's poem, the *Complaint of Ariadne*, which Lawes set to music.

13-14. Milton thought of Dante's greeting, "My Casella," to the friend whom he met on the threshold of Purgatory, of his vain attempt to embrace the shade, and of his joy in finding that Casella could still charm him with the song of love which he remembered as having long ago brought unfailing consolation to his famished spirit. (*Purgatory*, II, 76-119.)

14. *milder, i.e.*, than those of hell.

I DID BUT PROMPT THE AGE

I DID but prompt the age to quit their clogs
 By the known rules of ancient liberty,
 When straight a barbarous noise environs me
 Of Owls and Cuckoos, Asses, Apes and Dogs.
 As when those Hinds that were transform'd to Frogs 5
 Rail'd at *Latona's* twin-born progeny
 Which after held the Sun and Moon in fee.
 But this is got by casting Pearl to Hogs,

1-2. The *known rules of ancient liberty* to which Milton appealed in his divorce tracts were drawn mainly from the Mosaic law and from other records of early Hebrew practice about marriage and divorce in the Old Testament.

4. All the beasts mentioned had rich traditions of bad character, such for example as the shallowness or lewdness of the cuckoo which figures in the sonnet *O Nightingale*, or the owl's barbarity as it appears in the thirteenth-century *Owl and the Nightingale*, or the dog's vociferous impudence as it was embodied in Spenser's slanderous Blatant Beast, the off-spring of Cerberus, the dog of hell.

5-7. Ovid tells the story of the Lycian peasants who wantonly refused to let Latona drink of their lake when she came to them, weary after a long journey with the infant Apollo and Diana, the destined deities of the sun and moon, in her arms. At her prayer, the children's father, Jove, turned her tormentors into frogs. (*Met.* VI, 317-81.)

7. *fee*, *i.e.*, fee-simple, absolute possession.

That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
 And still revolt when truth would set them free. 10
 Licence they mean when they cry liberty;
 For who loves that, must first be wise and good;
 But from that mark how far they rove we see
 For all this waste of wealth, and loss of blood.

(1646?)

11. The distinction between liberty and licence goes back to some famous episodes in Roman history. Livy was perhaps the first to make the distinction, when he described the licentiousness of the young nobles who refused to support the better elements in Republican Rome against the tyranny of Appius Claudius and the other Decemvirs. (*History of Rome*, III, 37.)

12. Compare Michael's explanation to Adam that since his
 "original lapse, true Liberty
 Is lost, which always with right Reason dwells
 Twinn'd."

(P.L. XII, 83-5.)

ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE UNDER
THE LONG PARLIAMENT

BECAUSE you have thrown off your Prelate Lord,
 And with stiff Vows renounc'd his Liturgy
 To seize the widow'd whore Plurality
 From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd,
 Dare ye for this adjure the Civil Sword 5
 To force our Consciences that Christ set free,
 And ride us with a classic Hierarchy
 Taught ye by mere *A. S.* and *Rotherford*?
 Men whose Life, Learning, Faith and pure intent
 Would have been held in high esteem with *Paul* 10
 Must now be nam'd and printed Heretics
 By shallow *Edwards* and Scotch what d'ye call:
 But we do hope to find out all your tricks,

1-4. On July first, 1643, shortly after the abolition of the episcopate in the English Church by the Long Parliament, the Westminster Assembly began the deliberations "for the settling of the liturgy and the government of the Church of England," which lasted until February 22, 1649. There was a heavy majority of Presbyterians, and those "great rebukers of non-residence," as Milton called them again in his *History of Britain* (III), "were not ashamed to be seen quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths." (*P.W.* V, p. 238.)

7. *Classis* was a usual name for the presbyteries or governing bodies under Presbyterianism. Samuel Butler made the zealously Independent Ralpho opine that

*"Bear-baiting may be made out
 In Gospel-times, as lawful as is
 Provincial, or Parochial Classis.
 (Hudibras, I, i, 837-9.)"*

8. *A.S.* was Adam Stewart, a Scottish divine who was in London as an active pamphleteer against the Independents during the first year of the sessions of the Westminster Assembly, although he was not one of its members.

9-10. Milton referred to the leaders of the small minority of Independents, with whom he sympathized and who were destined, thanks to Cromwell's support, to triumph in the end. Thomas Goodwin, whose pamphlets in defence of religious freedom anticipated the essential points in *Areopagitica*, was the most conspicuous.

12. Thomas Edwards deserved the charge of *shallow* by his *Antapologia*, which was written in reply to the collaborative *Apologetical*

Your plots and packing worse than those of *Trent*,
 That so the Parliament 15
 May with their wholesome and preventive Shears
 Clip your Phylacteries, though baulk your Ears,
 And succour our just Fears,
 When they shall read this clearly in your charge:
New Presbyter is but *Old Priest* writ Large. 20
 (1646?)

Narration in which Goodwin and several other Independents stated the case for religious freedom.

Robert Baillie, the most outspoken and bitter of the Scottish members of the Westminster Assembly, appears to be *Scotch what d'ye call*.

14. The Council of Trent, which met irregularly from 1545 to 1563, was famous for its intrigues and compromises.

15. This and the two normal lines which follow it constitute the first of the sonnet's two tails. Italian practice permitted satirical sonneteers to add indefinite numbers of such "tails" to the normal fourteen lines.

17. *Phylacteries*, little parchments containing fragments of the Mosaic law which were worn conspicuously by pious Jews, were made a by-word for hypocrisy by Jesus' charge that the Pharisees made "broad their phylacteries." (Mat. xxiii, 5.)

baulk—stop short of, *i.e.*, do not clip the ears. Milton's eye was on William Prynne, the Presbyterian pamphleteer who actually lost his ears in 1633 for publishing *Histriomastix*. In the manuscript the line originally ran:

"Clip ye as close as marginal P——'s ears."

20. *Presbyter* and *Priest* are originally derived from the same Greek word, but the latter came into English through French and Latin very early, while the former was a learned invention of the close of the sixteenth century.

In 1644 (June or July) William Walwyn had written in the *Compassionate Samaritane* (pp. 16-7) that, "Some say the tyrannie over conscience that was exercised by the Bishops, is like to be continued by the Presbiters: that the oppressours are only changed, but the oppression not likely to be removed."

ON THE RELIGIOUS MEMORY OF
MRS. CATHARINE THOMASON, MY CHRISTIAN
FRIEND,
DECEASED DECEMBER, 1646¹

WHEN Faith and Love which parted from thee never,
Had ripen'd thy just soul to dwell with God,
Meekly thou didst resign this earthy load
Of Death, call'd Life; which us from Life doth sever.
Thy Works and Alms and all thy good Endeavour 5
Stay'd not behind, nor in the grave were trod;
But, as Faith pointed with her golden rod,
Follow'd thee up to joy and bliss for ever.
Love led them on, and Faith who knew them best
Thy hand-maids, clad them o'er with purple beams 10
And azure wings, that up they flew so drest,
And spake the truth of thee in glorious Themes
Before the Judge, who thenceforth bid thee rest
And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.

(1646)

¹From George Thomason's will, which was written about the time of his death in 1666, Smart drew evidence of Thomason's lasting affection for his wife, whom he had mourned for twenty years as a widower. Milton's conventional sonnet may have been a tribute as much to Thomason's affection for her as to the lady herself. The friendship of the two men in the years previous to her death is attested by Milton's signature as the donor of several of his prose pamphlets which form a part of Thomason's great collection of Civil War tracts, which is now in the British Museum.

4. Compare Sir Thomas Browne in *Religio Medici*, I, 38; "When I take a full view and circle of my self, without this reasonable moderator, . . . Death, I do conceive my self the miserablist person extant; were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this World should not intreat a moment's breath from me." Compare *On the death of the Bishop of Ely*, 37, note.

6. "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." (Rev. xiv, 13.)

11-13. So the prayers of Adam and Eve, "clad With incense, where the Golden Altar fum'd, . . . came in sight Before the Father's Throne." (*P.L.* XI, 17-20.)

14. *immortal*—immortality-conferring. Milton thought of the "pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb." (Rev. xxii, 1.)

AD IOANNEM ROUSIUM

OXONIENSIS ACADEMIAE BIBLIOTHECARIUM

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

Strophe 1

Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,	
Fronde licet gemina,	
Munditieque nitens non operosa	
Quam manus attulit	
Iuvenilis olim	5
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	10
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,	15
Docto iugiter obsecrante amico,	
Illustre tendebas iter	
Thamesis ad incunabula	
Caerulei patris,	
Fontes ubi limpidi	20
Aonidum, thyasusque sacer,	
Orbi notus per immensos	

1. This poem was first published in 1673. The stolen book was the volume of poems published in 1645, a copy of which Milton had sent to Rouse together with a volume containing the eleven prose pamphlets which he had published up to that date. The replacement copy of the poems is still in the Bodleian with the manuscript of this ode where Milton placed it, between the English and Latin poems.

TO JOHN ROUSE

LIBRARIAN OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY

(An ode on a volume of my poems which was lost and another copy of which he requested so that he might place it in the public library with the rest of my books.)

Twin-membered book¹ rejoicing in a single cover, yet with a double leaf,² and shining with unlaboured elegance which a hand once young imparted—a careful hand, but hardly that of one who was too much a poet—while he played, foot-loose, now in the forest-shades of Ausonia⁷ and now on the lawns of England, and, following his own devious ways aloof from the people, he trifled with his native lute or chanted some exotic strain with a Daunian¹⁰ quill to his neighbours—his foot scarcely touching the ground.

Who was it, little book, who furtively purloined you from your remaining brothers, when, in response to my learned friend's importunity, you had been dispatched from the town and were going on the glorious journey to the nursery of the Thames¹⁸—blue father Thames—where the limpid fountains of the Muses²¹ are found and also that consecrated band, which has been famous through the world while vast ages

2. *fronde*—either the title pages under which the Latin and English poems were separately paginated or the double crown deserved by the collections of poems in the two languages.

7. *Ausonia*—an ancient name for Italy.

7-12. Compare Milton's statement in *The Second Defence*: "I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home." (*P.W.* I, p. 256.)

10. *Daunia* was the ancient name of the modern province of Puglia in southeastern Italy. Here it stands by metonymy for the whole country.

18. Milton refers to Oxford as the birthplace of the Thames because it lies on the river Isis, not far above that river's confluence with the Thames, where the Thames proper begins.

21. *Aonidum*—the Aonides or Muses, whose traditional home was Mount Helicon in Aonia. Compare *To his Father*, 75, note.

Temporum lapsus redeunte caelo,
Celeberque futurus in aevum?

Strophe 2

Modo quis deus, aut editus deo,	25
Pristinam gentis miseratus indolem—	
Si satis noxas luimus priores,	
Mollique luxu degener otium—	
Tollat nefandos civium tumultus,	
Almaque revocet studia sanctus,	30
Et relegatas sine sede Musas	
Iam paene totis finibus Angligenum,	
Immundasque volucres	
Unguibus imminentes	
Figat Apollinea pharetra,	35
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,	40
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	45
In Iovis aulam remige penna:	

Strophe 3

Nam te Rousius sui	
Optat peculi, numeroque iusto	
Sibi pollicitum queritur abesse,	
Rogatque venias ille, cuius inclyta	50
Sunt data virum monumenta curae;	

29. Milton was writing in the fourth year of the Civil War.

31-33. As the headquarters of Charles I's forces for about three

have rolled under the revolving heaven, and which is destined to be glorious forever?

25 What god or what god-begotten man will take pity on the ancient character of our race—if we have sufficiently atoned for our earlier offenses and the degenerate idleness of our effeminate luxury—and will sweep away these accursed
tumults among the citizens?²⁹ What deity will summon our
30 fostering studies home³¹ and recall the Muses who have been left with hardly a retreat anywhere in all the confines of England? Who will use the arrows of Apollo to transfix the foul birds³³ whose claws menace us,³⁵ and will drive the pest of Phineas far away from Pegasus' river?³⁶

35 But, my little book—even though, thanks to a messenger's dishonesty or drowsiness, you have wandered from the company of your brothers—whether some den or some dive im- prisons you now, where perhaps you are scraped by the dirty, calloused hand of an illiterate dealer—still you may rejoice, for you are fortunate. Lo, again a new hope shines that you may avoid the depths of Lethe and be carried on oaring wing to the courts of Jupiter on high.

40 For Rouse—to whose keeping are entrusted the glorious monuments of heroes⁵¹—covets you as part of his treasure,

years, before it surrendered to Lord Fairfax in June, 1646, Oxford had almost completely lost its academic character.

45 33-36. Milton thought of the Harpies as Virgil described them (*Aen.* III, 225-41), monstrous birds that defiled everything which they could not devour, and of a story (stemming from Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, II, 195-228) that they had once been sent by Zeus to punish the prophet, Phineas, for the abuse of his powers.

35. See the note on Apollo's destruction of the Python in *Elegy VII*, 31-2.

50 36. Milton called the Thames the river of Pegasus not merely because he thought of the more famous fountain of Pirene, near Corinth, which was associated with the winged horse, but also because his flight to heaven with Bellerophon (Compare *P.L.* VII, 18) was regarded (*e.g.*, by Conti, IX, iv) as a symbol of the human mind in quest of astronomical knowledge and of the control of nature generally.

51. Compare the description in *Areopagitica* of a good book as "the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." (*P.W.* II, p. 55.)

Teque adytis etiam sacris
 Voluit reponi, quibus et ipse praesidet
 Aeternorum operum custos fidelis,
 Quaestorque gazae nobilioris 55
 Quam cui praefuit Ion,
 Clarus Erechtheides,
 Opulenta dei per templa parentis,
 Fulvosque tripodas, donaue Delphica,
 Ion Actaea genitus Creusa. 60

Antistrophe

Ergo tu visere lucos
 Musarum ibis amoenos
 Diamque Phoebi rursus ibis in domum
 Oxonia quam valle colit,
 Delo posthabita, 65
 Bifidoque Parnassi iugo.
 Ibis honestus,
 Postquam egregiam tu quoque sortem
 Nactus abis, dextri prece sollicitatus amici.
 Illic legeris inter alta nomina 70
 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 75
 Perfunctam invidia requiem, sedesque beatas
 Quas bonus Hermes
 Et tutela dabit solers Roüsi,
 Quo neque lingua procax vulgi penetrabit, atque longe
 Turba legentum prava facesset; 80
 At ultimi nepotes,

55. *gazae*. See the note on *gazar* in *To his Father*, 94, note.

56-60. Milton thought of the atmosphere of charmed magnificence thrown around Apollo's Delphian temple in the first act of Euripides'

complains that you are missing from the just number promised, and requests that you may come to him. He has desired that you may be placed in those sacred sanctuaries where he himself presides, a faithful warden of immortal works and a custodian of wealth⁵⁵ nobler than the gilt tripods and Delphic offerings which were committed in the rich temple of his divine father to Ion,⁵⁶ the glorious descendant of Apollo—Ion who was born of Actæan Creusa.

So you shall go to see the delightful groves of the Muses⁶² and again you shall go to the divine home of Phoebus, which he inhabits in Oxford's valley in preference to Delos⁶⁵ and the riven⁶⁶ peak of Parnassus. You shall go with honour, since you are departing assured of a splendid destiny and are invited by a propitious friend. There you shall be read among the sublime names of authors who were the ancient lights and the true glory of the Greek and Latin race.

You then, my labours⁷³—whatever my sterile brain has produced—have hardly been in vain. Now at last I bid you look forward to quiet rest, after you have outlived envy, in the blessed retreats provided by kind Hermes⁷⁷ and the alert protection of Rouse, where the insolent noise of the crowd never shall enter and the vulgar mob of readers shall forever be excluded.⁷⁹ But our distant descendants and a more sensitive

Ion. The hero, who is Apollo's son, begotten by violence on Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens, has been secretly reared to be the custodian of his father's temple. Creusa is called *Actæan* because Acte was an ancient name of Attica.

62. So, at Cambridge, in the sixth *Prolusion*, Milton humorously imagined "that all Helicon, and whatsoever shrines of the Muses there are in addition, have poured forth all their foster children for the purposes of taking part in the exercises."

65. See the note on *Delo* in *Manso*, 45.

66. *Bifidoque Parnassi iugo.* See *Elegy IV*, 30, note.

73. By *labores* Milton intended, probably, to refer to the controversial pamphlets which he had presented to the Bodleian as well as to the poems in the volume which he was sending to Rouse.

77. *Hermes.* See *On the Platonic Idea*, 32-4, note.

79-80. Compare Milton's promise to himself of no vulgar fame in *To his Father*, 103-4.

Et cordatior aetas
 Iudicia rebus aequiora forsitan
 Adhibebit integro sinu.
 Tum livore sepulto,
 Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet
 Roüsio favente.

85

(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*.¹ Phaleucia quae sunt, spondaicum tertio loco bis admittunt, quod idem in secundo loco Catullus ad libitum fecit.)

(Jan. 23, 1647)

¹Compare the use of the same term in Milton's Preface to *S.A.*

age will perhaps render a more nearly just judgement of things out of its unprejudiced heart. Then, when envy has been buried, a sane posterity will know what my deserts are—thanks to Rouse.

(The ode consists of three strophes and the same number of antistrophes, concluding with an epode. Although these units do not perfectly correspond in their number of verses or in divisions which are strictly parallel, nevertheless I have divided them in this way with a view rather to convenience in reading than to conformity with the ancient rules of versification. In other respects a poem of this kind should perhaps more correctly be called monostrophic. The metres are in part regularly patterned and in part free. There are two Phaleucian¹ verses which admit a spondee in the third foot, a practice which Catullus freely followed in the second foot.)

¹The Phaleucian line consisted of a spondee, a dactyl, and three trochees:

— — / — ∪ ∪ / — ∪ / — ∪ / — ∪.

Milton reasoned badly, as Landor protested, in appealing to Catullus to justify his liberties with his verse. He really meant to declare his purpose to experiment with his metre as freely as he had experimented with his sczons in *To Salzilli*.

ON THE DETRACTION WHICH FOLLOWED UPON
MY WRITING CERTAIN TREATISES

A Book was writ of late call'd *Tetrachordon*;
 And wov'n close, both matter, form and style;
 The Subject new: it walk'd the Town a while,
 Numb'ring good intellects; now seldom por'd on.
 Cries the stall-reader, bless us! what a word on 5
 A title page is this! and some in file
 Stand spelling false, while one might walk to Mile-
 End Green. Why is it harder, Sirs, than Gordon,
 Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp?
 Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek 10
 That would have made *Quintilian* stare and gasp.
 Thy age, like ours, O Soul of Sir *John Cheke*,
 Hated not Learning worse than Toad or Asp,
 When thou taught'st *Cambridge*, and King *Edward* Greek.
(1647?)

1-6. In spite of the confusion which the title of Milton's third divorce tract caused, the term *tetrachord*—a half-octave or scale-series of four notes—was familiar, at least to musicians. He knew that the three modes or scales of Greek music had all been limited to tetrachords and his title expressed his feeling that he had wrought genuine harmony within the metaphorical tetrachord of four great biblical passages on divorce—in Genesis, Deuteronomy, St. Matthew's Gospel and I Corinthians respectively. Casual readers, dipping into his book in the shops, may have been puzzled; but such readers, as he knew from one of Martial's Epigrams (xi, 1), had been fair targets for satire even in ancient Rome.

7. *spelling false*—misreading, misinterpreting.

8-10. Instead of *rugged* Milton originally wrote *barbarian*, for he assumed that his readers would sympathize with the condemnation of foreign names and words in Quintilian's *Institutes*, that "easy and delightful book of education" (*P.W.* III, p. 468) which he thought should be the foundation of a boy's training in Latin. He chose his names for their roughness rather than for their politics. *Colkitto* was a lieutenant of the Marquis of Montrose, while *Galasp*, if any individual was definitely intended, is probably to be identified with the Covenanting clergyman, George Gillespie.

9. *our like mouths*; i.e., our mouths which are beginning to be like the barbarous names that are too familiar to them.

12. Sir John Cheke, the first Professor of Greek at Cambridge and later tutor to the young King Edward VI, was said by Roger Ascham

April, 1648. J. M.

*Nine of the Psalms done into Metre, wherein all but what is
in a different Character, are the very words of the Text,
translated from the Original.*

PSAL. LXXX

- 1 THOU Shepherd that dost Israel *keep*
Give ear *in time of need,*
Who leadest like a flock of sheep
Thy loved Joseph's seed,
That sitt'st between the Cherubs *bright* 5
Between their wings out-spread,
Shine forth, *and from thy cloud give light,*
And on our foes thy dread.
- 2 In Ephraim's view and Benjamin's,
And in Manasse's sight 10
Awake* thy strength, come, and *be seen* *Gnorera.
To save us by thy might.
- 3 Turn us again, *thy grace divine*
To us O God vouchsafe;
Cause thou thy face on us to shine 15
And then we shall be safe.
- 4 Lord God of Hosts, how long wilt thou,
How long wilt thou declare
Thy *smoking wrath, *and angry brow* *Gnashanta.
Against thy people's pray'r? 20
- 5 Thou feed'st them with the bread of tears,
Their bread with tears they eat,
And mak'st them* largely drink the tears *Shalish.
Wherewith their cheeks are wet.
- 6 A strife thou mak'st us *and a prey* 25
To every neighbour foe,
Among themselves they* laugh, they* play, *Jilgnagu.
And flouts at us they throw.

(Works, ed. by Giles, I, p. xxxvii) to have made his subject more popular than Latin. He had enemies, chief among whom was Bishop Gardiner, against whom he had to defend Erasmus' way of pronouncing Greek and, indeed, the whole attitude of the Reformers toward the language.

- 7 Return us, *and thy grace divine,*
 O God of Hosts *vouchsafe;* 30
 Cause thou thy face on us to shine,
 And then we shall be safe.
- 8 A Vine from Egypt thou hast brought,
Thy free love made it thine,
 And drov'st out Nations *proud and haut* 35
 To plant this *lovely* Vine.
- 9 Thou did'st prepare for it a place
 And root it deep and fast
 That it *began to grow apace,*
And fill'd the land at last. 40
- 10 With her *green shade that cover'd all,*
 The Hills were *over-spread,*
 Her Bows as *high as Cedars tall*
Advanc'd their lofty head.
- 11 Her branches *on the western side* 45
 Down to the Sea she sent,
 And *upward* to that river *wide*
 Her other branches *went.*
- 12 Why hast thou laid her Hedges low
 And brok'n down her Fence, 50
 That all may pluck her, as they go,
With rudest violence?
- 13 The *tusk'd* Boar out of the wood
 Upturns it by the roots,
 Wild Beasts there browse, and make their food 55
Her Grapes and tender Shoots.
- 14 Return now, God of Hosts, look down
 From Heav'n, thy Seat divine,
 Behold *us, but without a frown,*
 And visit this *thy* Vine. 60
- 15 Visit this Vine, which thy right hand
 Hath set, and planted *long,*
 And the young branch, that for thyself
 Thou hast made firm and strong.
- 16 But now it is consum'd with fire, 65
 And cut *with Axes* down,
 They perish at thy dreadful ire,
 At thy rebuke and frown.

- 17 Upon the man of thy right hand
 Let thy *good* hand be *laid*,
 Upon the Son of Man, whom thou
 Strong for thyself hast made. 70
- 18 So shall we not go back from thee
To ways of sin and shame,
 Quick'n us thou, then *gladly* wee
 Shall call upon thy Name. 75
 Return us, *and thy grace divine*
 Lord God of Hosts *voutsafe*,
 Cause thou thy face on us to shine,
 And then we shall be safe. 80

PSAL. LXXXI

- 1 To God our strength sing loud, *and clear*,
 Sing loud to God *our King*,
 To Jacob's God, *that all may hear*
 Loud acclamations ring.
- 2 Prepare a Hymn, prepare a Song, 5
 The Timbrel hither bring,
 The *cheerful* Psaltry bring along
 And Harp *with pleasant string*.
- 3 Blow, *as is wont*, in the new Moon
 With Trumpets' *lofty sound*, 10
 Th' appointed time, the day whereon
 Our solemn Feast *comes round*.
- 4 This was a Statute *giv'n of old*
 For Israel *to observe*,
 A Law of Jacob's God, *to hold* 15
From whence they might not swerve.
- 5 This he a Testimony ordain'd
 In Joseph, *not to change*,
 When as he pass'd through Egypt land;
 The Tongue I heard, was strange. 20
- 6 From burden, *and from slavish toil*,
 I set his shoulder free;
 His hands from pots, *and miry soil*,
 Deliver'd were *by me*.

- 7 When trouble did thee sore assail,
On me then didst thou call, 25
 And I to free thee *did not fail*,
And led thee out of thrall.
 I answer'd thee in *thunder deep *Be Sether ragnam.
 With clouds encompass'd round; 30
 I tried thee at the water *steep*
 Of Meriba *renown'd*.
- 8 Hear O my people, *heark'n well*,
 I testify to thee
Thou ancient stock of Israel, 35
 If thou wilt list to mee,
- 9 Throughout the land of thy abode
 No alien God shall be,
 Nor shalt thou to a foreign God
 In honour bend thy knee. 40
- 10 I am the Lord thy God which brought
 Thee out of Egypt land;
 Ask large enough, and I, *besought*,
 Will grant thy full demand.
- 11 And yet my people would not *hear*, 45
 Nor hearken to my voice;
 And Israel *whom I lov'd so dear*
 Mislik'd me for his choice.
- 12 Then did I leave them to their will
 And to their wand'ring mind; 50
 Their own conceits they follow'd still
 Their own devices blind.
- 13 O that my people would *be wise*
 To serve me *all their days*,
 And O that Israel would *advise* 55
 To walk my *righteous* ways.
- 14 Then would I soon bring down their foes
 That now so *proudly rise*,
 And turn my hand against *all those*
 That are their enemies. 60
- 15 Who hate the Lord should *then be fain*
 To bow to him and bend,
 But *they, His people*, should remain,
 Their time should have no end.

- 16 And he would feed them *from the shock* 65
 With flour of finest wheat,
 And satisfy them from the rock
 With Honey *for their Meat.*

PSAL. LXXXII

- 1 God in the *great *assembly stands *Bagnadath-el.
Of Kings and lordly States,
 Among the gods† on both his hands †Bekerev.
 He judges and debates.
- 2 How long will ye *pervert the right *Tishphetu
 With *judgement false and wrong, gnavel. 5
 Favouring the wicked *by your might,*
Who thence grow bold and strong?
- 3 *Regard the *weak and fatherless, *Shiphthu-dal.
 *Dispatch the *poor man's cause, 10
 And †raise the man in deep distress
 By †just and equal Laws. †Hatzdiku.
- 4 Defend the poor and desolate,
 And rescue from the hands
 Of wicked men the low estate 15
 Of him *that help demands.*
- 5 They know not nor will understand,
 In darkness they walk on,
 The Earth's foundations all are *mov'd *Jimmotu.
 And *out of order gone. 20
- 6 I said that ye were Gods, yea all
 The Sons of God most high;
- 7 But ye shall die like men, and fall
 As other Princes *die.*
- 8 Rise God, *judge thou the earth *in might,* 25
 This *wicked* earth *redress, *Shiphtha.
 For thou art he who shalt by right
 The Nations all possess.

PSAL. LXXXIII

- 1 BE NOT thou silent *now at length*
 O God hold not thy peace,
 Sit not thou still O God of *strength*,
We cry and do not cease.
- 2 For lo thy *furios* foes *now* *swell 5
 And *storm outrageously, *Jehemajun.
 And they that hate thee *proud and fell*
 Exalt their heads full high.
- 3 Against thy people they †contrive †Jagnarimu.
 †Their Plots and Counsels deep, †Sod. 10
 *Them to ensnare they chiefly strive *Jithjagnatsu gnal.
 *Whom thou dost hide and keep. *Tsephuneca.
- 4 Come let us cut them off say they,
 Till they no Nation be,
 That Israel's name for ever may 15
 Be lost in memory.
- 5 For they consult †with all their might, †Lev jachdau.
 And all as one in mind
 Themselves against thee they unite,
 And in firm union bind. 20
- 6 The tents of Edom, and the brood
 Of *scornful* Ishmael,
 Moab, with them of Hagar's blood
That in the Desert dwell,
- 7 Gebal and Ammon *there conspire,* 25
 And *hateful* Amalec,
 The Philistines, and they of Tyre
Whose bounds the Sea doth check.
- 8 With them *great* Asshur also bands,
 And *doth confirm the knot,* 30
All these have lent their armed hands
 To aid the Sons of Lot.
- 9 Do to them as to Midian *bold*
That wasted all the Coast,
 To Sisera, and as *is told* 35
Thou didst to Jabin's host,

- 2 My Soul doth long and almost die
 Thy Courts O Lord to see,
 My heart and flesh aloud do cry,
 O living God, for thee. 5
- 3 There ev'n the Sparrow *freed from wrong*
 Hath found a house of *rest*, 10
 The Swallow there, to lay her young
 Hath built her *brooding nest*,
 Ev'n by thy Altars Lord of Hosts
They find their safe abode,
And home they fly from round the Coasts 15
Toward thee, My King, my God.
- 4 Happy who in thy house reside
 Where thee they ever praise,
- 5 Happy whose strength in thee doth bide,
 And in their hearts thy ways! 20
- 6 They pass through Baca's *thirsty Vale*,
That dry and barren ground
 As through a fruitful wat'ry Dale
 Where Springs and Show'rs abound.
- 7 They journey on from strength to strength 25
With joy and gladsome cheer,
Till all before our God at length
 In Sion do appear.
- 8 Lord God of Hosts hear *now* my prayer,
 O Jacob's God give ear, 30
- 9 Thou God our shield look on the face
 Of thy anointed *dear*.
- 10 For one day in thy Courts *to be*
 Is better, *and more blest*
 Then *in the joys of Vanity*, 35
 A thousand days *at best*.
 I in the temple of my God
 Had rather keep a door,
 Than dwell in Tents, *and rich abode*,
 With Sin *for evermore*. 40
- 11 For God the Lord, both Sun and Shield,
 Gives grace and glory *bright*,
 No good from them shall be with-held
 Whose ways are just and right.

- 12 Lord *God of Hosts that reign'st on high,* 45
 That man is *truly* blest
 Who *only* on thee doth rely.
 And in thee only rest.

PSAL. LXXXV

- 1 THY Land to favour graciously
 Thou hast not Lord been slack,
 Thou hast from *hard* Captivity
 Returned Jacob back.
- 2 Th' iniquity thou didst forgive 5
That wrought thy people woe,
 And all their Sin, *that did thee grieve*
 Hast hid *where none shall know*.
- 3 Thine anger all thou hadst remov'd,
 And *calmly* didst return 10
 From thy †fierce wrath which we had prov'd †Heb. The burning
heat of thy
wrath.
 Far worse than fire to burn.
- 4 God of our saving health and peace,
 Turn us, and us restore,
 Thine indignation cause to cease 15
 Toward us, *and chide no more*.
- 5 Wilt thou be angry without end,
 For ever angry thus?
 Wilt thou thy frowning ire extend
 From age to age on us? 20
- 6 Wilt thou not* turn, and *hear our voice* *Heb. Turn to
quicken us.
 And us again* revive,
 That so thy people may rejoice
 By thee preserv'd alive.
- 7 Cause us to see thy goodness Lord, 25
 To us thy mercy show,
 Thy saving health to us afford
And life in us renew.
- 8 *And now* what God the Lord will speak 30
 I will go *straight and* hear,
 For to his people he speaks peace
 And to his Saints *full dear*,

- To his dear Saints he will speak peace,
 But let them never more
 Return to folly, *but surcease*
To trespass as before. 35
- 9 Surely to such as do him fear
 Salvation is at hand
 And glory shall *ere long appear*
To dwell within our Land. 40
- 10 Mercy and Truth *that long were miss'd*
 Now *joyfully* are met;
 Sweet Peace and Righteousness have kiss'd
And hand in hand are set.
- 11 Truth from the earth *like to a flower*
 Shall bud and blossom *then,*
 And Justice from her heavenly bow'r
 Look down *on mortal men.* 45
- 12 The Lord will also then bestow
 Whatever thing is good; 50
 Our Land shall forth in plenty throw
 Her fruits *to be our food.*
- 13 Before him Righteousness shall go
His Royal Harbinger,
 Then* will he come, and not be slow, 55
 His footsteps cannot err.

*Heb. *He will set
 his steps to the
 way.*

PSAL. LXXXVI

- 1 THY *gracious* ear, O Lord, incline,
 O hear me *I thee pray,*
 For I am poor, and almost pine
 With need, *and sad decay.*
- 2 Preserve my soul, for† I have trod 5
 Thy ways, and love the just,
 Save thou thy servant O my God
 Who *still* in thee doth trust.
- 3 Pity me Lord for daily thee
 I call; 4 O make rejoice 10
 Thy Servant's Soul; for Lord to thee
 I lift my soul *and voice,*

†Heb. *I am good,
 loving, a doer
 of good and
 holy things.*

- 5 For thou art good, thou Lord art prone
 To pardon, thou to all
 Art full of mercy, thou *alone* 15
 To them that on thee call.
- 6 Unto my supplication Lord
 Give ear, and to the cry
 Of my *incessant* prayers afford
 Thy hearing graciously. 20
- 7 I in the day of my distress
 Will call on thee *for aid*;
 For thou wilt *grant me free access*
 And answer, *what I pray'd*.
- 8 Like thee among the gods is none 25
 O Lord, nor any works
Of all that other Gods have done
 Like to thy *glorious* works.
- 9 The Nations all whom thou hast made
 Shall come, *and all shall frame* 30
 To bow them low before thee Lord,
 And glorify thy name.
- 10 For great thou art, and wonders great
 By thy strong hand are done,
 Thou *in thy everlasting Seat* 35
 Remainest God alone.
- 11 Teach me O Lord thy way *most right*,
 I in thy truth will bide,
 To fear thy name my heart unite,
So shall it never slide. 40
- 12 Thee will I praise O Lord my God
Thee honour, and adore
 With my whole heart, and blaze abroad
 Thy name for ever more.
- 13 For great thy mercy is toward me, 45
 And thou hast freed my Soul,
 Ev'n from the lowest Hell set free
From deepest darkness foul.
- 14 O God the proud against me rise
 And violent men are met 50
 To seek my life, and in their eyes
 No fear of thee have set.

- 15 But thou Lord art the God most mild
 Readiest thy grace to show,
 Slow to be angry, and *art styl'd* 55
 Most merciful, most true.
- 16 O turn to me *thy face at length*,
 And me have mercy on,
 Unto thy servant give thy strength,
 And save thy hand-maid's Son. 60
- 17 Some sign of good to me afford,
 And let my foes *then* see
 And be asham'd, because thou Lord
 Dost help and comfort me.

PSAL. LXXXVII

- 1 AMONG the holy Mountains *high*
 Is his foundation fast,
 There Seated in his Sanctuary,
 His Temple there is plac't.
- 2 Sion's *fair* Gates the Lord loves more 5
 Than all the dwellings *fair*
 Of Jacob's Land, though there be store,
 And all within his care.
- 3 City of God, most glorious things
 Of thee *abroad* are spoke; 10
- 4 I mention Egypt, where proud Kings
 Did our forefathers yoke,
 I mention Babel to my friends,
 Philistia full of scorn,
 And Tyre with Ethiop's *utmost ends*, 15
 Lo this man there was born:
- 5 But *twice that praise shall in our ear*
 Be said of Sion last:
 This and this man was born in her,
 High God shall fix her fast. 20
- 6 The Lord shall write it in a Scroll
 That ne'er shall be out-worn
 When he the Nations doth enroll
 That this man there was born.

- 7 Both they who sing, and they who dance 25
With sacred Songs are there,
 In thee *fresh brooks and soft streams glance,*
And all my fountains clear.

PSAL. LXXXVIII

- 1 LORD GOD that dost me save and keep,
 All day to thee I cry;
 And all night long before thee *weep,*
 Before thee *prostrate lie.*
- 2 Into thy presence let my prayer 5
With sighs devout ascend;
 And to my cries, that *ceaseless are,*
 Thine ear with favour bend.
- 3 For cloy'd with woes and trouble store 10
 Surcharg'd my Soul doth lie,
 My life *at death's uncheerful door*
 Unto the grave draws nigh.
- 4 Reck'n'd I am with them that pass
 Down to the *dismal* pit;
 I am a *man, but weak alas
 And for that name unfit. *Heb. *A man* 15
without manly
strength.
- 5 From life discharg'd and parted quite
 Among the dead *to sleep,*
 And like the slain *in bloody fight*
 That in the grave lie *deep;* 20
 Whom thou rememberest no more,
 Dost never more regard,
 Them from thy hand deliver'd o'er
Death's hideous house hath barr'd.
- 6 Thou in the lowest pit *profound* 25
 Hast set me *all forlorn,*
 Where thickest darkness *hovers round,*
 In horrid deeps *to mourn.*
- 7 Thy wrath *from which no shelter saves*
 Full sore doth press on me;
 *Thou break'st upon me all thy waves, 30
 *And all thy waves break me.
 *The Heb. bears
both.

- 8 Thou dost my friends from me estrange,
 And mak'st me odious,
 Me to them odious, *for they change,* 35
 And I here pent up thus.
- 9 Through sorrow, and affliction great
 Mine eye grows dim and dead,
 Lord all the day I thee entreat,
 My hands to thee I spread. 40
- 10 Wilt thou do wonders on the dead,
 Shall the deceas'd arise
 And praise thee *from their loathsome bed*
With pale and hollow eyes?
- 11 Shall they thy loving kindness tell 45
 On whom the grave *hath hold,*
 Or they *who* in perdition *dwell*
 Thy faithfulness *unfold?*
- 12 In darkness can thy mighty *hand*
 Or wondrous acts be known, 50
 Thy justice in the *gloomy land*
 Of *dark* oblivion?
- 13 But I to thee O Lord do cry
Ere yet my life be spent,
 And *up to thee* my prayer *doth hie* 55
 Each morn, and thee prevent.
- 14 Why wilt thou Lord my soul forsake,
 And hide thy face from me,
- 15 That am already bruis'd, and †shake †Heb. *Prae Concussione.* 60
 With terror sent from thee;
 Bruised, and afflicted and *so low*
 As ready to expire,
 While I thy terrors undergo
 Astonish'd with thine ire.
- 16 Thy fierce wrath over me doth flow 65
 Thy threat'nings cut me through:
- 17 All day they round about me go,
 Like waves they me pursue.
- 18 Lover and friend thou hast remov'd
 And sever'd from me far. 70
 They *fly me now* whom I have lov'd,
 And as in darkness are.

ON THE LORD GENERAL FAIRFAX AT THE SIEGE
OF COLCHESTER

FAIRFAX, whose name in arms through Europe rings
 Filling each mouth with envy, or with praise,
 And all her jealous monarchs with amaze
 And rumours loud, that daunt remotest kings,
 Thy firm unshak'n virtue ever brings 5
 Victory home, though new rebellions raise
 Thir Hydra heads, and the false North displays
 Her brok'n league; to imp their serpent wings.
 O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand;
 For what can War, but endless war still breed, 10
 Till Truth, and Right from Violence be freed,
 And Public Faith clear'd from the shameful brand
 Of Public Fraud. In vain doth Valour bleed
 While Avarice, and Rapine share the land.

(1648)

1. Sir Thomas Fairfax's victories over the Royalists at Marston Moor on July 2, 1644, and Naseby, June 14, 1645, decided their fate. When sporadic revolts against the Parliament broke out in 1648, he drove the Royalists of Kent and Essex into Colchester, but his career virtually ended with his capture of that city on August 27, after a siege of seventy-five days.

5. *virtue* keeps the Latin force of "manly courage." Compare Gloucester's praise of Henry V:

"Virtue he had, deserving to command:
 His brandish'd sword did blind men with his beams."
 (*I Henry VI*, I, i, 10-1.)

7. So Shakespeare used the metaphor comparing civil war to the *Hydra*, the many-headed monster which instantly developed two new heads for every one that was cut off, until Hercules destroyed it. In *II Henry IV*, IV, ii, 38, the rebels speak of their own movement as "this Hydra son of war."

The *false North*—Scotland, which, in spite of having entered into the Solemn League and Covenant with the English Parliament in September, 1645, sent the Duke of Hamilton to Charles's support in 1648. This sonnet must have been written before news of his defeat by Cromwell at Preston, August 17-19, reached London.

8. Imping or grafting feathers to the injured wing of a falcon was once a common practice. Compare Shakespeare's metaphor, to

"Imp out our drooping country's broken wing."

(*Richard II*, II, i, 292.)

TRANSLATION FROM *THE TENURE OF KINGS AND
MAGISTRATES*

THERE can be slain
No sacrifice to God more acceptable
Than an unjust and wicked king.

(Seneca, *Hercules Mad*, 922-4.)
(1649)

LATIN VERSES FROM *PRO POPULO ANGLICANO
DEFENSIO*

IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM

Quis expedit Salmasio suam *hundredam*
Picamque docuit verba nostra conari?
Magister artis venter, et Iacobaei
Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.
Quod, si dolosi spes refulserit nummi, 5
Ipse, Antichristi modo qui primatum Papae
Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,
Cantabit ultro Cardinalitium melos.

(1651)

1. Claude de Saumaise (1588-1653) was a French scholar whose Protestant sympathies cost him the post of Counsellor to the Parliament of Dijon and caused his early migration to Holland. After he became a professor at the University of Leyden in 1631 he was acknowledged the foremost classical scholar in western Europe. In 1649 he was induced to write his *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I ad Regem Carolum II*, to which Milton replied in March, 1651 with *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*. Salmasius' challenge to papal supremacy with his *De Primatu Papae* (1645), to which Milton refers in line 6, was sincere; but, because he had shown some sympathy with the English Presbyterians and later declared for a limited episcopacy and for monarchy, Milton regarded him as a traitor to what should have been their common cause.

In the *Defensio Regia* Salmasius had paraded a knowledge of English law and government and had expatiated on the term "hundred," which was applied to the subdivisions of the English counties.

AGAINST THE *HUNDRED* OF SALMASIUS

WHO made Salmasius¹ so glib with his "Hundred" and taught the magpie to try our words? His teacher in this art was his stomach and the hundred Jacobuses³ that were the vitals of the purse of the exiled king. If there were a glimmer of hope of ill-gotten lucre, this very fellow—who recently threatened to blow to pieces the supremacy of the Pope, the Antichrist, with a single puff—would be perfectly willing to sing the song of the Cardinals.

3. Rumour had it that Charles II paid Salmasius a hundred Jacobuses (a gold coin worth about 24 shillings) for writing the *Defensio Regia*.

TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL

*On the proposals of certain ministers at the Committee for
Propagation of the Gospel*

CROMWELL, our chief of men, who through a cloud
 Not of war only, but detractions rude,
 Guided by faith and matchless Fortitude,
 To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
 And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud 5
 Hast rear'd God's Trophies, and his work pursu'd,
 While Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbru'd,
 And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud,
 And Worcester's laureate wreath; yet much remains
 To conquer still; peace hath her victories 10
 No less renown'd than war, new foes arise
 Threat'ning to bind our souls with secular chains:
 Help us to save free Conscience from the paw
 Of hireling wolves whose Gospel is their maw.

(May, 1652)

1-4. Newton suggested that *Truth and Peace* were the professed objects of the Parliamentarians, for the words were inscribed on one of their coins in 1651.

7. The battle of Preston was fought on the banks of the river *Darwen*. Compare the note on line 7 in the Sonnet *On the Lord General Fairfax*.

8. On September 3, 1650, Cromwell routed the Scots under Leslie at *Dunbar*, in Scotland, and exactly a year later defeated the Scottish invaders, led by Leslie and Charles II, at Worcester.

10-11. There seems to be a clear allusion to Cicero's balancing of the glories of war against those of peace in the *De officiis*, I, xxii.

12-14. Smart points out that in the debate in 1652 over the limitation of the rights of irregular preachers and the proposal to empower the regularly installed and salaried clergy to license them, Cromwell so far sympathized with Milton as to say that he "had rather that Mahometanism were permitted among us than that one of God's children should be persecuted."

14. Compare the echo in *Lycidas* (114-22) of Christ's warning to "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." (Mat. vii, 15.)

WHEN I CONSIDER

for WHEN I consider how my light is spent,
 Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
 And that one Talent which is death to hide,
 Lodg'd with me useless, though my Soul more bent
 To serve therewith my Maker, and present 5
 My true account, lest he returning chide;
 Doth God exact day-labour, light denied,
 I fondly ask; But patience to prevent
 That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
 Either man's work or his own gifts; who best 10
 Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his State
 Is Kingly. Thousands at his bidding speed
 And post o'er Land and Ocean without rest:
 They also serve who only stand and wait.

(1652?)

1-2. Total blindness overtook Milton soon after the publication of the *Defence of the English People* in March, 1651, and Mr. Tillyard is surely right in suggesting that this allusion to his life as half spent corresponds better with his age then, forty-two, than it does with the age of forty-six which is implied by the position of this sonnet after that *On the Late Massacre in Piemont* in the Cambridge manuscript. Milton's light *is spent*. It has just failed and he is in poignant doubt over his future as thinker and artist.

3. Again, as he did in his sonnet on arriving at the age of twenty-three, Milton thought of the parable of the servants to whom various numbers of talents were intrusted, but here he identifies himself with the man who received only one talent and by neglecting it deserved the reproof of a "wicked and slothful servant." (Mat. xxv, 26. Compare *How soon hath Time . . .*, line 3, note.)

12-13. The *Thousands* are the "huge, mighty and royal armies" of the angels of God, which Hooker described as "rapt with the love of his beauty" and "unweariable and even unsatiable in their longing to do by all means all manner good unto all the creatures of God, but especially unto the children of men." (*Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, I, iv, 1.) Compare Milton's picture of the angels,

"Who in God's presence, nearest to his Throne
 Stand ready at command, and are his Eyes
 That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th'Earth
 Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
 O'er Sea and Land."

(P.L. III, 649-53.)

14. Perhaps Milton remembered Beatrice's explanation to Dante in

TO SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER

VANE, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
 Than whom a better Senator ne'er held
 The helm of Rome, when gowns not arms repell'd
 The fierce Epirot and the African bold,
 Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
 The drift of hollow states, hard to be spell'd,
 Then to advise how war may best, upheld,
 Move by her two main nerves, Iron and Gold,

5

the ninth circle of heaven (*Paradise*, XXVIII, 110) that the highest orders of angels enjoy a knowledge of God which excels even the joy of expressing the love of God in action. In any case, he was content to believe that, "It is good that a man should . . . quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord." (Lam. iii, 26.)

1. Sir Henry Vane was born in 1612. In 1636-7 he was Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but lost the post by defending the right of the religious enthusiast, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, to immunity from interference by the civil authorities. In 1640 he entered Parliament and in 1643 took a leading part in negotiating the Covenant with Scotland. On June 4, 1652, when hostilities between Van Tromp's fleet and Blake's had already begun, the Council of State appointed him the first member of a committee to deal with the Dutch ambassadors, who were suspected of protracting negotiations merely in order to stay in London as spies. They received their passports four days before Milton sent this sonnet to Vane.

2-4. Repeatedly in his accounts of the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, early in the third century B.C., and by Hannibal towards its end, Livy lays stress upon the courage of the Senate in such crises as that which followed the Carthaginian victory at Cannae. (*History of Rome*, XXII, lx.)

6. The *hollow states*—Holland. There is a punning suggestion that they are as hollow, or false, in character as their territory is hollow, or low-lying.

8. *nerves*—sinews. Compare the word in *S.A.* 1646.

In all her equipage; besides to know
 Both spiritual power and civil, what each means, 10
 What severs each, thou hast learnt, which few have done.
 The bounds of either sword to thee wee owe.
 Therefore on thy firm hand religion leans
 In peace, and reck'ns thee her eldest son.

(July, 1652)

10-12. Smart offers evidence that Vane was one of the leaders in the Westminster Assembly of Divines whom Milton described in *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes* as championing the doctrine that "then both commonwealth and religion will at length, if ever, flourish in Christendom, when either they who govern discern between civil and religious, or they only who so discern shall be admitted to govern." (*P.W.* II, p. 521.)

12. *either sword; i.e.*, the spiritual and temporal swords, the former of which the *N.E.D.* quotes Bishop Latimer as describing as the weapon of the preacher to "teach, improue, amende and instruct in rightwesnes."

PSAL. I

Done into Verse, 1653.

BLESS'D is the man who hath not walk'd astray
 In counsel of the wicked, and i'th'way
 Of sinners hath not stood, and in the seat
 Of scorers hath not sat. But in the great
Jehovah's Law is ever his delight, 5
 And in his Law he studies day and night.
 He shall be as a tree which planted grows
 By wat'ry streams, and in his season knows
 To yield his fruit, and his leaf shall not fall,
 And what he takes in hand shall prosper all. 10
 Not so the wicked, but as chaff which fann'd
 The wind drives, so the wicked shall not stand
 In judgement, or abide their trial then,
 Nor sinners in th'assembly of just men.
 For the Lord knows th'upright way of the just, 15
 And the way of bad men to ruin must.

PSAL. II

Done Aug. 8. 1653. Terzetti.

WHY do the Gentiles tumult, and the Nations
 Muse a vain thing, the Kings of th'earth upstand
 With power, and Princes in their Congregations
 Lay deep their plots together through each Land,
 Against the Lord and his Messiah dear? 5
 Let us break off, say they, by strength of hand
 Their bonds, and cast from us, no more to wear,
 Their twisted cords: he who in Heaven doth dwell
 Shall laugh, the Lord shall scoff them, then severe
 Speak to them in his wrath, and in his fell 10
 And fierce ire trouble them; but I, saith hee,
 Anointed have my King (though ye rebel)
 On Sion my holy hill. A firm decree
 I will declare; the Lord to me hath said,
 Thou art my Son, I have begotten thee 15

This day; ask for me, and the grant is made;
 As thy possession I on thee bestow
 Th'Heathen, and as thy conquest to be sway'd
 Earth's utmost bounds: them shalt thou bring full low
 With Iron Sceptre bruis'd, and them disperse 20
 Like to a potter's vessel shiver'd so.
 And now be wise at length ye Kings averse,
 Be taught ye Judges of the earth; with fear
 Jehovah serve, and let your joy converse
 With trembling; kiss the Son lest he appear 25
 In anger and ye perish in the way,
 If once his wrath take fire like fuel sere.
 Happy all those who have in him their stay.

PSAL. III

*Aug. 9. 1653.**When he fled from Absalom.*

LORD, how many are my foes!
 How many those
 That in arms against me rise!
 Many are they
 That of my life distrustfully thus say, 5
 No help for him in God there lies.
 But thou, Lord, are my shield, my glory,
 Thee through my story
 Th' exalter of my head I count,
 Aloud I cried 10
 Unto Jehovah, he full soon replied
 And heard me from his holy mount.
 I lay and slept, I wak'd again,
 For my sustain
 Was the Lord. Of many millions 15
 The populous rout
 I fear not though incamping round about
 They pitch against me their Pavilions.
 Rise Lord, save me my God, for thou
 Hast smote ere now 20

On the cheek-bone all my foes,
 Of men abhorr'd
 Hast broke the teeth. This help was from the Lord;
 Thy blessing on thy people flows.

PSAL. IV

Aug. 10. 1653.

ANSWER me when I call,
 God of my righteousness;
 In straits and in distress
 Thou didst me disinthrall
 And set at large; now spare, 5
 Now pity me, and hear my earnest pray'r.
 Great ones how long will ye
 My glory have in scorn?
 How long be thus forborne
 Still to love vanity, 10
 To love, to seek, to prize
 Things false and vain and nothing else but lies?
 Yet know the Lord hath chose,
 Chose to himself apart,
 The good and meek of heart 15
 (For whom to choose he knows);
 Jehovah from on high
 Will hear my voice what time to him I cry.
 Be aw'd, and do not sin,
 Speak to your hearts alone, 20
 Upon your beds, each one,
 And be at peace within.
 Offer the offerings just
 Of righteousness and in Jehovah trust.
 Many there be that say 25
 Who yet will show us good?
 Talking like this world's brood;
 But Lord, thus let me pray,
 On us lift up the light,
 Lift up the favour of thy count'nance bright. 30
 Into my heart more joy
 And gladness thou hast put

Than when a year of glut
 Their stores doth over-cloy,
 And from their plenteous grounds 35
 With vast increase their corn and wine abounds.
 In peace at once will I
 Both lay me down and sleep,
 For thou alone dost keep
 Me safe where'er I lie: 40
 As in a rocky Cell
 Thou Lord alone in safety mak'st me dwell.

PSAL. V

Aug. 12. 1653.

JEHOVAH, to my words give ear,
 My meditation weigh,
 The voice of my complaining hear,
 My King and God, for unto thee I pray.
 Jehovah thou my early voice 5
 Shalt in the morning hear,
 I'th'morning I to thee with choice
 Will rank my Prayers, and watch till thou appear.
 For thou art not a God that takes
 In wickedness delight, 10
 Evil with thee no biding makes;
 Fools or mad men stand not within thy sight.
 All workers of iniquity
 Thou hat'st; and them unblest
 Thou wilt destroy that speak a lie; 15
 The bloody and guileful man God doth detest.
 But I will in thy mercies dear,
 Thy numerous mercies go
 Into thy house; I in thy fear
 Will towards thy holy temple worship low. 20
 Lord lead me in thy righteousness,
 Lead me because of those
 That do observe if I transgress,
 Set thy ways right before, where my step goes.

For in his falt'ring mouth unstable 25
 No word is firm or sooth;
 Their inside, troubles miserable;
 An open grave their throat, their tongue they smooth.
 God, find them guilty, let them fall
 By their own counsels quell'd; 30
 Push them in their rebellions all
 Still on; for against thee they have rebell'd;
 Then all who trust in thee shall bring
 Their joy, while thou from blame
 Defend'st them, they shall ever sing 35
 And shall triumph in thee, who love thy name.
 For thou Jehovah wilt be found
 To bless the just man still,
 As with a shield thou wilt surround
 Him with thy lasting favour and good will. 40

PSAL. VI

Aug. 13. 1653.

LORD in thine anger do not reprehend me,
 Nor in thy hot displeasure me correct;
 Pity me, Lord, for I am much deject,
 Am very weak and faint; heal and amend me, 5
 For all my bones, that even with anguish ache,
 Are troubled, yea my soul is troubled sore;
 And thou, O Lord, how long? turn Lord, restore
 My soul, O save me for thy goodness' sake!
 For in death no remembrance is of thee;
 Who in the grave can celebrate thy praise? 10
 Wearied I am with sighing out my days,
 Nightly my Couch I make a kind of Sea;
 My Bed I water with my tears; mine Eye
 Through grief consumes, is waxen old and dark
 I'th' mid'st of all mine enemies that mark. 15
 Depart all ye that work iniquity.
 Depart from me, for the voice of my weeping
 The Lord hath heard, the Lord hath heard my pray'r
 My supplication with acceptance fair
 The Lord will own, and have me in his keeping. 20

25 Mine enemies shall all be blank and dash't
 With much confusion; then grow red with shame;
 They shall return in haste the way they came,
 And in a moment shall be quite abash't.

PSAL. VII

Aug. 14. 1653.

Upon the words of Chush the Benjamite against him.

35 LORD my God to thee I fly,
 Save me and secure me under
 Thy protection while I cry,
 40 Lest as a Lion (and no wonder)
 He haste to tear my Soul asunder,
 Tearing and no rescue nigh. 5

Lord my God, if I have thought
 Or done this, if wickedness
 Be in my hands, if I have wrought
 Ill to him that meant me peace, 10
 Or to him have render'd less,
 And not freed my foe for naught; 5

Let th'enemy pursue my soul
 And overtake it, let him tread
 My life down to the earth and roll 15
 In the dust my glory dead,
 In the dust and there outspread
 Lodge it with dishonour foul.

15 Rise Jehovah in thine ire
 Rouse thyself amidst the rage 20
 Of my foes that urge like fire;
 And wake for me, their fury assuage;
 Judgement here thou didst engage
 And command which I desire.

So th' assemblies of each Nation 25
 Will surround thee, seeking right,
 Thence to thy glorious habitation
 Return on high and in their sight.
 Jehovah judgeth most upright
 All people from the world's foundation. 30

Judge me Lord, be judge in this
 According to my righteousness
 And the innocence which is
 Upon me: cause at length to cease
 Of evil men the wickedness, 35
 And their power that do amiss.

But the just establish fast,
 Since thou art the just God that tries
 Hearts and reins. On God is cast
 My defence, and in him lies, 40
 In him who both just and wise
 Saves th' upright of Heart at last.

God is a just Judge and severe,
 And God is every day offended;
 If th' unjust will not forbear, 45
 His Sword he whets, his Bow hath bended
 Already, and for him intended
 The tools of death, that waits him near.

(His arrows purposely made he
 For them that persecute.) Behold 50
 He travels big with vanity,
 Trouble he hath conceiv'd of old
 As in a womb, and from that mould
 Hath at length brought forth a Lie.

He digg'd a pit, and delv'd it deep, 55
 And fell into the pit he made;
 His mischief that due course doth keep,
 Turns on his head, and his ill trade
 Of violence will undelay'd
 Fall on his crown with ruin steep. 60

25 Then will I Jehovah's praise
According to his justice raise
And sing the Name and Deity
Of Jehovah the most high.

PSAL. VIII

Aug. 14. 1653.

35 O JEHOVAH, our Lord, how wondrous great
And glorious is thy name through all the earth!
So as above the Heavens thy praise to set
Out of the tender mouths of latest birth,

40 Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou 5
Hast founded strength because of all thy foes,
To stint th'enemy, and slack th'avenger's brow
That bends his rage thy providence to oppose.

45 When I behold thy Heavens, thy Fingers' art,
The Moon and Stars which thou so bright hast set 10
In the pure firmament, then saith my heart,
O what is man that thou rememb'rest yet,

50 And think'st upon him? or of man begot
That him thou visit'st and of him art found?
Scarce be less than Gods, thou mad'st his lot, 15
With honour and with state thou hast him crown'd.

55 O'er the works of thy hand thou mad'st him Lord,
Thou hast put all under his lordly feet,
All Flocks, and Herds, by thy commanding word,
All beasts that in the field or forest meet. 20

60 Fowl of the Heavens, and Fish that through the wet
Sea-paths in shoals do slide, and know no dearth
O Jehovah, our Lord, how wondrous great
And glorious is thy name through all the earth!

LATIN VERSES FROM *DEFENSIO SECUNDA PRO
POPULO ANGLICANO*

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 5
 Vobis cucullos, praeferentes Claudii
 Insignia, nomenque et decus, Salmasii;
 Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum
 Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium
 Cubito virorum, et capsulis, gratissimos. 10

DE MORO

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,
 Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget?
 (1654)

ON SALMASIUS

REJOICE, ye mackerel and all salt-water fishes which live freezing in the seas in the cold winter!¹ The good knight, Salmasius,³ sympathizing with you, is meditating how he may clothe your nudity. Prodigal of his stationery, he is preparing paper cowls for you, marked with the insignia, name and dignity of Claudius Salmasius, so that you may promenade through the whole fish-market like a knight's clients—most welcome to the boxes and kegs of the gentlemen who wipe their noses on their elbows.⁹

(ABOUT MORE)

O Pontia, pregnant with More's Gallic lust, who denies that you have played the *morigerate* fool more than enough?

1-4. The condemnation of bad verses to wrap fish was proverbial. So Martial (III, ii, 1-5) deprecates the untimely end of his book as a garb for sardines, and Persius (I, 45) speaks of verses "which have no dread of mackerel." In an *Apology for Smectymnuus* Milton jeered at the Remonstrant, Bishop Hall, "whose best folios are predestined to no better end than to make winding sheets in Lent for pilchers." (*P.W.* III, p. 144.)

3. *Salmasius Eques*—the salmon knight. Milton punned on the resemblance of Salmasius' name to the Latin *salmo*, a salmon. Salmasius had the doubtful honour of the Order of St. Michael, with which Louis XIII had invested him.

9-10. *mungentium Cubito*—wiping their noses on their elbows. Warton compared Suetonius's reference to Horace's father in the *Vita Horatii*:

"Quoties ego vidi patrem tuum cubito emungentem."

The phrase, Warton explained, "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."

ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEMONTE

AVENGE, O Lord, thy slaughter'd Saints, whose bones
 Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,
 Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old
 When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones,
 Forget not: in thy book record their groans 5
 Who were thy Sheep and in their ancient Fold
 Slain by the bloody *Piemontese* that roll'd
 Mother with Infant down the Rocks. Their moans
 The Vales redoubl'd to the Hills, and they
 To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow 10

1. The "Piedmontese Easter," as the massacre on April 24, 1655, was called, was carried out with extraordinary cruelty by the soldiers of the Marquis of Pianezza, who had been billeted among the unsuspecting mountaineers. Cromwell immediately voiced English resentment, not only by dispatching a formal protest, which Milton wrote in May, to the Duke of Savoy, but also by successful appeals to Cardinal Mazarin and to many Protestant statesmen throughout Europe to protect the Waldensians. In England a national fast was declared and a subscription of about £80,000 was secured for the refugees.

3-4. The Waldensian heresy arose early in the twelfth century. Its first martyr was Peter of Bruys, who was burned at Saint-Gilles in 1140, which was probably the birth-year of the leader who gave the movement his name, Peter Valdo. At first his followers had no more thought than did those of St. Francis of leaving the Catholic Church, but in 1215 they were formally excommunicated. Their doctrines spread into France and Germany, Hungary and Poland and at the Reformation they joined forces with the Protestant Churches. Exactly a century before the "Piedmontese Easter" they secured local rights of worship in Savoy.

7-8. Sir Samuel Morland, who took Cromwell's protest to the Duke of Savoy, brought back ample, documented evidence of Milton's charges.

O'er all th'*Italian* fields where still doth sway
 The triple Tyrant: that from these may grow
 A hunderd-fold, who having learnt thy way
 Early may fly the *Babylonian* woe.

(1655)

12. *The triple Tyrant*—the Pope, "that Priest-king" of whom Phineas Fletcher explained;

"Three mitred crownes the proud Impostor weares,
 For he in Earth, in Hell, in Heav'n will raigne."

(*Apollyonists*. Phineas Fletcher's *Poems*, ed. by Grosart, Vol. II, p. 117.)

14. The *Babylonian woe* is a reminiscence of Petrarch's reference to the Papal Court as a modern Babylon and a "fountain of woe" in the first quatrain of Sonnet CXXXVIII (or CVIII in Milton's reference), from which Milton translated the sestet at the close of the First Book of his tract *Of Reformation in England*. (*P.W.* II, 383.) See p. 388 above.

LAWRENCE OF VIRTUOUS FATHER

LAWRENCE of virtuous Father virtuous Son,
 Now that the Fields are dank, and ways are mire,
 Where shall we sometimes meet, and by the fire
 Help waste a sullen day; what may be won
 From the hard Season gaining: time will run 5
 On smoother, till *Favonius* re-inspire
 The frozen earth; and clothe in fresh attire
 The Lily and Rose, that neither sow'd nor spun.
 What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,

1. The *virtuous Father* was Henry Lawrence of St. Ives, in the county of Huntingdon, who became Lord President of the Council under Cromwell. His earlier years were spent among the German and Dutch Protestants and he published several theological works, of which the best known was *Our Communion and War with Angels*, 1646.

The *Son* has been shown by Smart to have been Edward Lawrence, Henry's oldest son. He was born in 1633 and in November, 1656, he became a member of Parliament, but died a year later. A poem addressed to him by Davenant and a reference to him in Milton's letter of August first, 1657, to Henry Oldenburg, who was later the first Secretary of the Royal Society, suggest that he possessed the most solid virtues.

6. The Latin name of the west wind, *Favonius*, suggests the opening line of Horace's famous *Ode* (I, iv) on the coming of spring, with its Epicurean invitation to gather rosebuds.

8. Compare the counsel of Jesus; "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin." (Mat. vi, 28.)

Of Attic taste, with Wine, whence we may rise 10
 To hear the Lute well toucht, or artful voice
 Warble immortal Notes and *Tuscan* Air?
 He who of those delights can judge, and spare
 To interpose them oft, is not unwise.

(1655)

10. Attic or Athenian banquets seem always to have been *light and choice*. Even the taste of Epicurus, in his *Symposium*, was abstemious. Milton's sonnet is an example of the grave Epicureanism which Owen Feltham expressed in his *Resolve On the Use of Pleasure*, when he said, "Pleasure that . . . brings detriment . . . was laughed at by Epicurus himself; but a lawful *pleasure*, lawfully used, doubtless, is an Emanation of the *goodness* of the *Deity* to *Man*."

12. *Tuscan* is equivalent to "Italian," for Tuscany and its capital, Florence, were the centre of Italian culture.

13. *spare*—forbear.

14. In *unwise* there seems to be an allusion to the "wise man" of whom the ancient Epicureans as well as the Stoics spoke, meaning one who realized the ethical ideal of his philosophic creed.

CYRIACK, *WHOSE GRANDSIRE*

CYRIACK, whose Grandsire on the Royal Bench
 Of British *Themis*, with no mean applause
 Pronounc't and in his volumes taught our Laws,
 Which others at their Bar so often wrench:
 Today deep thoughts resolve with me to drench 5
 In mirth, that after no repenting draws;
 Let *Euclid* rest and *Archimedes* pause,
 And what the *Swede* intend, and what the *French*.
 To measure life learn thou betimes, and know
 Toward solid good what leads the nearest way; 10
 For other things mild Heav'n a time ordains,
 And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
 That with superfluous burden loads the day,
 And when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

(1655)

1. Cyriack Skinner was the posthumous son of William Skinner of Thornton Curtis in Lincolnshire and the grandson of Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1613 to 1616 and famous as the prosecutor of Essex, Southampton and Raleigh as well as for his support of the Petition of Right in the Parliament of 1628. Cyriack was born in 1627 and became one of Milton's pupils in the house in Aldersgate Street. Their friendship was life-long. "In a letter written in 1654," says Smart, Andrew Marvell "congratulated Milton on the fact that Mr. Skinner has taken a dwelling near his, and may now be more frequently in his society."

2. *Themis*—the Greek goddess of Justice.

3. Coke's *Institutes of the Law of England* ("Coke upon Littleton") and his *Reports* were great legal classics.

7. We know that Skinner was a lawyer and a liberal political thinker, while the references to the Greek mathematicians, *Euclid* and *Archimedes*, imply other interests.

8. Between 1654 and 1660 Charles X of Sweden was conducting his dashing campaigns first against the Poles and later against the Danes. At the same time French policy was being astutely guided by Cardinal Mazarin.

The line is an echo of Horace's invitation to Quintius Hirpinus to forget what "the warlike Cantabrian and the Scyth" may be meditating and to remember that "youth flees fast away." (*Odes*, II, xi, 1-6.) Compare the Horatian echo in *Lawrence of virtuous Father*, 6. The two sonnets are pitched in the same key and may have been invitations to the same entertainment.

CYRIACK, *THIS THREE YEARS' DAY*

CYRIACK, this three years' day these eyes, though clear
 To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
 Bereft of light thir seeing have forgot;
 Nor to thir idle orbs doth sight appear
 5 Of Sun or Moon or Star throughout the year, 5
 Or man or woman. Yet I argue not
 Against heav'n's hand or will, nor bate a jot
 Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
 Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?
 10 The conscience, Friend, to have lost them overplid 10
 In liberty's defence, my noble task,
 Of which all Europe talks from side to side.
 This thought might lead me through the world's vain masque
 Content though blind, had I no better guide.

(1655)

1. *this three years' day*—throughout the past three years.

Since Milton finally lost his sight shortly after the publication of the *Defence of the English People* in March, 1651, this sonnet can hardly be dated later than 1654-5.

2. In the *Second Defence*, in the spring of 1654, Milton said, in replying to charges which had been brought against his character and appearance on the score of his blindness: "At this moment I have the same courage, the same strength, though not the same eyes; yet so little do they betray any external appearance of injury, that they are as unclouded and bright as the eyes of those who most distinctly see." (*P.W.* I, p. 235.)

7-8. Compare the allusion in the *Second Defence* to "those wise and ancient bards," Tiresias and Phineus, to whom he referred in *P.L.* III, 36, thinking in both cases that their misfortunes were "compensated by superior endowments."

"God himself is truth;" he continued, "in propagating which, as men display a greater integrity and zeal, they approach nearer to the similitude of God, and possess a greater portion of his love." (*P.W.* I, p. 236.)

10. *conscience*—consciousness. Compare "the conscience of her worth" in *P.L.* VIII, 502.

12-14. "Surrounded by congregated multitudes," Milton wrote in the *Second Defence* (*P.W.* I, p. 220), "I now imagine that, from the columns of Hercules to the Indian Ocean, I behold the nations of the earth recovering that liberty which they so long had lost."

METHOUGHT I SAW

METHOUGHT I saw my late espoused Saint
 Brought to me like *Alcestis* from the grave,
 Whom *Jove's* great Son to her glad Husband gave,
 Rescu'd from death by force though pale and faint.
 Mine as whom washt from spot of child-bed taint, 5
 Purification in the old Law did save,
 And such, as yet once more I trust to have
 Full sight of her in Heaven without restraint,
 Came vested all in white, pure as her mind:
 Her face was veil'd, yet to my fancied sight, 10
 Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shin'd
 So clear, as in no face with more delight.
 But O, as to embrace me she inclin'd,
 I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night.
 (1658)

1. *Saint* is used in its primitive English sense of "a soul in heaven." Milton thought of his wife as he did of the Marchioness of Winchester, whom he called in her *Epitaph* (l. 71) a "new welcome Saint" in heaven. She appears "vested all in white" because he could imagine her only as one of the throng "which are arrayed in white robes," as St. John describes the redeemed in heaven, "which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." (Rev. vii, 13-4.) He can hardly have seen the living Katherine Woodcock, whom, as Phillips says, understating the time, he married "about two or three years after his being wholly deprived of sight." She was twenty-eight when they were married and her child, which was born in October, 1657, survived her by only a few weeks. She died when she was not quite thirty years old, in February, 1658.

2-4. Milton thought of the moving scene in Euripides' *Alcestis*, when Hercules, "the child of Zeus" (l. 1121), wrests the wife who has offered to die for her husband, Admetus, from the arms of Death himself. Looking at her veiled figure without recognizing her, Admetus says, "I seem to see my wife. She stirs my heart and fountains burst from my eyes." (Ll. 1062-3.)

5-6. Hebrew law regarded a woman as "unclean" after the birth of a child and provided a ritual of sacrifice before the priest could make "atonement" for her. (Lev. xii.)

TRANSLATIONS FROM *THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN*,
BOOK I

(Geoffrey of Monmouth says that Brutus the Trojan asked the advice of Diana at her shrine on the forsaken, Mediterranean island of Leogecia. The Greek verses of his address to the goddess were turned by Gildas into the Latin elegiacs which Milton translated.)

GODDESS of Shades, and Huntress, who at will
Walk'st on the rolling Sphere, and through the deep,
On thy third Reign, the Earth, look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of rest thou bidst me seek,
What certain Seat, where I may worship thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.

"To whom sleeping before the Altar," says Milton, "*Diana* in a Vision that night thus answer'd;"

Brutus, far to the West, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a Land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People; thither bend
Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat,
There to thy Sons another Troy shall rise,
And Kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might
Shall awe the World, and Conquer Nations bold.

(1645-70)

APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO¹

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, 5
 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! 10
 Possem Ego avaritiam frenare, gulamque voracem:
 Nunc periere mihi et foetus et ipsa parens.'

¹Beyond the fact that this poem was added to the *Book of Elegies* in 1673, there is no evidence of its date and nothing to indicate whether it was a schoolboy exercise in translation from William Bullokar's "fable taken out of Mantuane" (in his *Aesop's Fables in True Orthography*, London, 1585), which Mr. MacKellar notes that it resembles, or whether—as Masson suggested—it was written after 1645 and had "a touch of political significance."

A FABLE OF A PEASANT AND HIS LANDLORD¹

A PEASANT gathered most savoury fruit year after year from his apple-tree and gave the choice specimens to his city-dwelling landlord. The latter, pleased with the unbelievable sweetness of the fruit, transferred the tree itself to his own gardens. The tree, though it had long been fruitful, was enfeebled by old age and, when it was moved out of its accustomed soil, it forthwith withered past all bearing. When it was clear at last to the master that he had been tricked by a vain hope, he cursed the hands that were so swift to their own undoing:

“Alas!” he cried, “how much more satisfactory it was to receive my tenant’s offerings with a grateful heart, small though they were! If only I might bridle my cupidity and my voracious gullet! Now both the fruit and the parent tree are lost to me.”

PARADISE REGAINED
AND
SAMSON AGONISTES

INTRODUCTION

I. *PARADISE REGAINED*

1. To enjoy *Paradise Regained* as poetry—as a part of Milton's testament of beauty—we need not go to it convinced, like M. Saurat, that he embodied a perfectly coherent philosophy in both his epics of *Paradise*, nor persuaded, like Herr Mutschmann, that philosophically he was as blind as he was physically. What we do need, when we are confronted by his theme of "one man's firm obedience fully tried Through all temptation," is to be able to feel somewhat as he did about Christ. The poem is an epic of Christ's self-realization. It is a very much more interesting effort to handle that mystery than is Milton's chapter on *The Son* in his treatise *On Christian Doctrine*. Traditional theology had solved the mystery by the doctrine of the Incarnation, which traditional art had popularized in countless paintings of the Annunciation to the Virgin. Milton inherited a new theology, tinged with Platonism and enthusiastically critical of the Bible, yet loyal to its letter. He could draw upon the Neo-Platonism and Kabbalistic scholarship of the Renaissance as well as upon the currents of speculation which flowed from bold, antitrinitarian reformers like the Italians, Faustus and Laelius Socinus, and the Spaniard, Servetus, whom Calvin sent to the stake for heresy. Although he was too independent to be individually indebted to any of these men, he was deeply interested in liberal religious thought and even in the "libertinism" of the famous French jurist, Jean Bodin. Yet, like many of his contemporaries who regarded Jesus in quite unorthodox ways, he believed passionately in the "*Almighty spirit of Christ*," the "very same Spirit, that once *moved upon the waters* of the universe at the first Creation, and spreading mighty wings over

them, did hatch the new-born World into this perfection." The quoted words come from a sermon by the Cambridge Platonist, Ralph Cudworth, preaching before Parliament at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the thirty-first of March, 1647. He continued, in a sentence very like the opening lines of *Paradise Regained*, to explain that, "The *first Adam* . . . brought in a reall defilement, which like a noisome Leprosie, hath overspread all mankind: and therefore *the second Adam* must . . . convey such an *immortall seed* of Grace into the hearts of true Believers, as may prevailē still more and more in them, till it have at last, quite wrought out that *poison* of the *Serpent*."

2. Most of the humanistic reformers of the Church had regarded Adam as a kind of Platonic ideal, a man actually perfect until his ruin by the Serpent, the principle of evil or Satan. Christ's life seemed to them most significant as the reconquest of that lost perfection. It was not hopelessly lost, for they thought of it as still potential "in every child, who comes now, as Adam did, made in the image of God, and with creative freedom of the will to settle his own destiny."¹ Stoic control of the passions, or obedience to the will of God, or, at all events, some stern variety of Puritanism is what we today see in that vanished faith in the creative freedom of the will. Milton saw more than that. When in the tractate *Of Education* he wrote that the "end . . . of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright" he was sincere in his romantic hope that English schoolboys might be made to blossom into "the highest perfection." He was thinking of a life surpassing the idyl of Adam and Eve in "the happy Garden." Perhaps since Adam very few men, except Jesus, had had even a glimpse of that life; but the way to it had been pointed by some ideal figures, the heroes of the world's great epics, the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*. Like most Renaissance critics, Milton read those poems as biographies of men in search of perfection. Their meaning crystallize^d for him in the word man, which occurs in the first lines of both;

¹Rufus Jones, *Spiritual Reformers*, p. xxxi.

and he crystallized *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* in the disobedient and obedient men of their respective openings. The essence of an epic poem was an inner conflict of the hero. That is why for the subject of *Paradise Regained* he chose Christ's temptation rather than any of the more familiar dramas of the Gospels—the Nativity, the arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Crucifixion, or the Resurrection—subjects which he had jotted down as possibilities in 1641.

3. Milton was by no means alone in his view of epic poetry. The same idea had inspired Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and in England it had produced *The Faerie Queene*. Indeed, Spenser's hero, Guyon, is most interestingly related to Milton's Christ. The resemblance is close enough to make it worth while for any reader of *Paradise Regained* to compare it with the second book of *The Faerie Queene* or at least with the story of Guyon's temptation in the Cave of Mammon. In Spenser's Legend of Temperance the hero tries to realize an ideal of perfection which is at heart Christian, although, like Milton's conception of Christ, it has striking classical features. Aristotle's principle of continence coloured it, and so did the doctrine of the mastery of anger and sensuality which is found in Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*. At the climax of Guyon's story in Canto VII his threefold ordeal curiously corresponds with Christ's triple temptation by Satan. Though Mammon first tries to seduce Guyon with the lure of vulgar riches while Satan's first appeal to Christ is much subtler, the two adversaries proceed alike in the second temptations. Both offer the bait of worldly power and glory in varied forms. Superficially the third temptations differ, but they concur in being mysteriously symbolical. Mammon's final bid is the tree that bore the golden apple which plunged Athene, Aphrodite, and Hera into a quarrel, and so, indirectly, brought on the Trojan War.

On earth like neuer grew, ne liuing wight
 Like euer saw, but they from hence were sold;
 For those, which *Hercules* with conquest bold
 Got from great *Atlas* daughters, hence began.¹

¹*Faerie Queene*, II, vii, 54, 3-6.

What the last temptation in Spenser's allegory meant every reader must decide for himself. Whatever it meant, the hero, Hercules, in his conquest of the apples of the Hesperides, seems to have been a symbol of its mastery. Spenser thought of him as mystically identifiable with Christ, for the classic myths were commonly regarded as strange, pagan versions of the true records preserved in the Bible. When Sir Walter Raleigh wrote in *The History of the World* (I, 6, 4) that "the prophecies, that Christ should break the serpent's head, and conquer the power of hell, occasioned the fables of Hercules killing the serpent of Hesperides," he was expressing a general opinion. It was shared by Milton, and that is why, at the climax of *Paradise Regained*, immediately after Christ's victory is complete, he is compared to Hercules vanquishing the giant, Antaeus. Throughout his life Milton instinctively thought of Hercules as symbolically related to Christ. We can trace the idea in *The Passion*, when as a boy following Giles Fletcher's example in *Christ's Victory and Triumph*, he called Christ a

Most perfect Hero, tried in heaviest plight
Of labours huge and hard, too hard for human wight.¹

4. *Paradise Regained* is an attempt to pierce the mystery of Christ's superhumanity by all the imaginative resources at Milton's command. So, with apologies for the irreverence, he compared it to the mythical divinity won by Hercules in the twelve labours. He was charmed by youthful memories of the platonizing art in Italy which represented Hercules in all his labours as an ideal athlete, a figure of titanic strength with a Galahad's purity. The story of the struggle with the giant, Antaeus, had been a favourite subject with the Italian engravers of the sixteenth century, and typical representations of it had been chosen as the emblems of some of the famous Italian academies. Many years before *Paradise Regained* was written, the president of one of them, the *Elevati* in Ferrara, explained their emblem to the members in an oration which was later published in a once popular collection of speeches.

¹Ll. 13-14.

Milton may never have read his words but their purport was a part of his recollection of his great days as a young man in Italy. It was as natural for him as the president of the *Elevati* thought it ought to be for the members, to feel that, "As Hercules, when he fought with the son of earth and perceived whence it was that strength was being imparted to him, lifted him with mighty force aloft and, pressing him against his breast, crushed him with his strong arms until he gave up the ghost; so we constantly fight with our earthly appetites as with an Antaeus, and compress him with the arms of reason, so that he breathes out his venomous life." When he brought the story of Christ's victory to an abrupt close with the line,

But Satan smitten with amazement fell,¹

and immediately added the picture of earth's son, Antaeus, thrown by Hercules, Milton used no casual simile. He wished to suggest that the perfection of Christ included the spiritual and physical health of which Hercules was the symbol.

5. Very much more significant than this equation of Christ with a mythical hero is Milton's way of making Christ constantly compare himself with real men in the ancient world. He admires the republican Romans,

Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus,²

and mentions them with the modest hope that he may

Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more.³

By common consent the greatest figure in the ancient world was Socrates. Comparison of Christ with him was inevitable and, to a greater extent than appears on the surface, that comparison is the basis of the last two books of *Paradise Regained*. He is first mentioned, admiringly, by Christ. It is early in the second temptation and Satan has been describing a career like Caesar's. In lines that are tinged with tragic irony because

¹IV, 562.

²II, 446.

³II, 452.

they are an outline of his own destiny, Christ prefers to live like Socrates, who

By what he taught and suffer'd for so doing,
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
Equal in fame to proudest Conquerors.¹

Much later in the second temptation, when Satan has reluctantly learned that, if any kind of glory is likely to attract Christ, it can only be a thinker's place in history, he proposes that Christ should study the four schools of thought—Academic, Stoic, Epicurean, and Peripatetic—which stemmed from Socrates,

Whom well inspir'd the Oracle pronounc'd
Wisest of men.²

Christ's answer is, to modern ears, shockingly contemptuous of the four schools, but there is no contempt in his remark that Socrates, the wisest of ancient thinkers, knew nothing except that he knew nothing. The words cap Satan's reference to the story in Plato's *Apology* that the Delphian oracle gave that reason for recognizing Socrates as the wisest man in Greece. Milton remembered the *Apology* and other Platonic dialogues where, as St. Augustine said, Socrates appears to have been inspired by that "incomprehensible light, which contains the causes of all creation." Christ has just claimed inspiration from the "Fountain of Light." Milton seems to have felt, as St. Augustine did, that it was because Socrates shared that inspiration that "in his moral disputations he did with most elegant and acute urbanity tax and detect the ignorance of those overweening fellows that build castles on their own knowledge, either in this, confessing his own ignorance, or dissembling his understanding, whereupon envy taking hold, he was wrecked by a caluminous accusation, and so put to death."³

¹III, 97-99.

²IV, 275-276.

³*The City of God*, VII, iii. Healey's translation.

6. In his "moral disputations" with Satan Christ is all but a professed disciple of Socrates and perhaps most clearly so in his long speech at the end of Book II. The thought there, it is true, is based upon the maxim in Proverbs (xvi, 32.), "he that ruleth his spirit [is greater] than he that taketh a city." The same principle was familiar in Horace's Odes (II, ii, 9-12.) and in the *Meditations* (VIII, lxi.) of Marcus Aurelius. Even the ancient Epicureans agreed with the Stoic, Epictetus, that no man is free who cannot rule himself. Milton knew that his thought was a commonplace too general for any thinker or for any civilization to claim it. Yet his development of it in lines 466-480 is clearly Platonic, and to him that meant Socratic. The passage is one of several, to be found mainly in *Paradise Lost*, where he wrote out of a passionate sympathy with Plato's identification of the problems of politics with those of private character. It compares with Michael's discussion of "rational liberty" with Adam in the twelfth book of *Paradise Lost*. There all Socrates's great principles—the ideas that goodness springs from right thinking, that the angry and lustful passions of the soul must be dominated by Reason, and that tyranny in the government of a state results directly from private lawlessness—are put into the angel's mouth. Michael is as good a Platonist as Christ when he tells Adam that since his disobedience,

true Liberty

Is lost, which always with right Reason dwells
 Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:
 Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,
 Immediately inordinate desires
 And upstart Passions catch the Government
 From Reason, and to servitude reduce
 Man till then free.¹

7. Plato's thought is built into the ethics of Milton's poems as substantially as some parts of the Bible are built into their plots. In the famous passage of the fourth book of *Para-*

¹P.L., XII, 83-90.

dise Regained, where Christ condemns the schools of philosophy which stemmed from Socrates, there is no inconsistency. Milton's admiration for them and for Greek culture in most of its aspects is no less strong here than it is in the rhapsody on Greek freedom in *Areopagitica*. No less than Jeremy Taylor, Milton looked upon Christian literature as "the great treasure house of those excellent, moral, and perfective discourses, which with much pains and pleasure, we find respersed and thinly scattered in all the Greek and Roman poets, historians, and philosophers." Even in the heat of the debate he did not make Christ condemn Socrates, and it is the abuse and degradation of Stoicism rather than Stoicism itself which he attacks. The same is true of Aristotle's disciples, the Peripatetics. What Milton, like Bacon, hated in Aristotelianism was its scientific pretentiousness, the same vice which in pre-Socratic philosophy Satan (here echoing Cicero's words in the *Tusculan Disputations*, V, iv, 10.) said was eradicated when it descended from vain speculations about heaven to "Socrates's low-roof'd house." When he made Christ condemn the futilities of the Stoics Milton was unconsciously attacking the bugbear of all enlightened men, the logic-chopping and grandiose claims to scientific knowledge of the decadent medieval Scholasticism which was not yet dead in Europe. His feeling was like Taylor's at the close of his devotional commentary on the Gospels, *The Great Exemplar*. Wisest men, said Taylor, find more to value in the Greek poets and philosophers and even in "the old Academics and Stoics" than in "the triflings of many of the latter schoolmen," who "added nothing to Christianity but trouble, scruple, and vexation."¹ Most Englishmen of the seventeenth century who thought about the triumph of Christianity over the philosophical schools of ancient Greece unconsciously confused those schools with the degenerate Scholasticism which the Renaissance had inherited from the Middle Ages. In *The Church Militant*

¹*The Whole Works of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D.D.* edited by Reginald Heber. Revised edition, London, 1850, Vol. II, p. 36.

George Herbert betrays the same confusion when he describes Christianity penetrating Greece,

where arts
 Gave her the highest place in all men's hearts;
 Learning was pos'd, Philosophie was set,
 Sophisters taken in a fisher's net.
 Plato and Aristotle were at a losse,
 And wheel'd about again to spell Christ-Crosse.
 Prayers chas'd syllogismes into their den,
 And Ergo was transform'd into Amen.

8. It is a paradox in the criticism of *Paradise Regained* that after making Christ condemn Stoicism for its "philosophic pride" Milton should have been blamed for giving him "speeches which display . . . the defiant virtue of the Stoic or the self-conscious righteousness of the pharisee." Indeed the Stoic element in both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* has seemed to some recent readers, especially in Germany, to outweigh the Platonic. Herr Josef Reck says bluntly that Christ is a purely Stoic figure, an incarnation of obedience to Law, and of Intellect triumphing over Sensuality. While he recognizes a mighty source of strength in the resulting personality, he is repelled by its "moral fanaticism." Whether Christ is a prig or the Christian hero of Milton's own hero-worship may be a matter of individual taste. But it is marvellous that Milton created nothing at all like the pale saint of Giles Fletcher's treatment of the Temptation in *Christ's Victorie on Earth*. Traditionally Christian art had made the temptation a spectacle of perfect virtue snubbing impudent sin. The Christ of the Coventry Temptation play is a naïve pharisee. At the end he solemnly exhorts the audience to

example take
 By these grete werkys that thou dost se.

In his duel with Satan no such complacency is possible for Milton's Christ. He is no more a Stoic than he is a mere allegorical figure or the bare abstract principle which Mark Pattison thought him.

9. Both intellectually and emotionally it is hard to feel the full power of the psychological drama in Milton's Christ. We are too far away from the medieval debates between the body and the soul and from the morality plays, where Everyman struggles against the almost infinite force of the devil for his puny soul and yet, thanks to the Grace of God which is never quite distinct from his own conscience, has a chance to win and usually does win. We are too far from the medieval hope of spiritual perfection which had its loveliest expression in the Grail romances. There Milton remembered that

Knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot or Pelleas, or Pellenore,¹

encounter the fiend "in likeness of a man of religion," as Malory says, or again, "in woman's likeness." Malory ends his fourteenth book with the picture of a mysterious old man (who is, of course, an angel and like the angelic comforters of Christ after his victory) congratulating Sir Bors on his resistance of a temptress who was really "the master fiend of hell. . . . And that was the champion that thou foughtest withal." The romancers thought of their knights as possessing an enchanted virtue, but Milton made Christ's virtue as human as he could. He stopped short of dogmatic explanation of it, however, and there is not a word of dogma in the address of God to the angels in heaven. Even there Milton did not try to rationalize the mystery of Christ's dual nature. God refers to his virgin birth as a matter of miraculous fact, but He also refers to the defeat of Satan by the Old Testament worthy, Job, as if Satan's imminent defeat by Jesus were analogous.

10. In spite of his embroidery upon the story, Milton accepted the accounts of it in the Gospels, and especially in Luke, whose record he followed in the order of the temptations. For comparison it will be convenient to insert the short passage here. After his baptism by John the Baptist, Luke says in his fourth chapter that

¹*P.R.*, II, 360-361.

Jesus, being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness, being forty days tempted of the devil. And in those days he did eat nothing: and when they were ended, he afterward hungered. And the devil said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it be made bread. And Jesus answered him, saying, It is written, That man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God. And the devil, taking him up into an high mountain, showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it. If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

And he brought him to Jerusalem, and set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence; For it is written, He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee; and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone. And Jesus answering said unto him, It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

And when the devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a season.

II. Beside these verses from Luke, the reader of *Paradise Regained* should know the accounts of the temptation in Matthew (iv, 1-11.) and Mark (i, 12-13.) and, to imagine the duel between Christ and Satan as Milton did, he should be familiar with the Book of Job. Although in the *Reason of Church Government* Job is called a model "short epic," it is really a drama. In the main, it consists of dialogue between Job and his comforters, as *Paradise Regained* mainly consists of a rather different kind of dialogue between Christ and his tempter, and as *Samson Agonistes* consists of dialogues between the hero and various other persons. The narrative opening of Job brings Satan before God's throne, boasting that he can shake Job's faith by taking away his property and, finally, his children. The attack is on Job's confidence in God

and the value of life itself is at stake. Here perhaps Milton found an impulse towards his treatment of Satan's suggestion that the stones be turned into bread as a temptation of distrust. So Christ calls it (I, 355.), evidently seeing in it both a vulgar appeal to anxiety about his daily bread and a subtler appeal to him to upset the order of nature by relieving the desert folk

With Food, whereof we wretched seldom taste.¹

Milton's treatment of the first temptation ends with the close of Book I. In the second temptation (II, 242-IV, 393.) Job's example is still a factor, but now he is a type of Aristotle's supreme virtue of magnanimity, which to Milton meant indifference to money, power, and glory. The patriarch Job had long been a conventional symbol of that Christian interpretation of the proud, Greek quality of high-mindedness. In a popular Italian work on ethics,² which was only one among many of its kind, Job's name appears linked with Christ's, in the chapter *On Ambition*, among other instances of magnanimous refusal of earthly glory. The influence of the Book of Job in *Paradise Regained* may not be so great as Milton's frequent allusions to it suggest, but a share of his interest in it will help a modern reader to enjoy his poem.

12. It is important to understand that the gorgeous banquet offered to Christ (II, 337-377.) is a part of the second temptation and not a repetition of the first, as many good Miltonists have supposed. It is a part of that "show of luxury" which is never far from Satan's mind. To the very end of the struggle, he cannot realize that Jesus despises any life which includes "sumptuous gluttonies and gorgeous feasts" (IV, 114.). DeQuincey made the suggestion that the psychological value of the banquet is the sudden contrast of the throng of lovely demon servitors with the solitariness of the desert. Christ is taken unawares by the pleasure which moves almost anyone returning from nature's fastnesses to civilized life. It has its

¹I, 345.

²*Selva Nuovissima di Concetti*, by Alessandro Calamato, Venice, 1648.

philosophical side also, for Milton is reverting to the sophistry of Comus when he argues with the Lady against the "lean and sallow Abstinence" of "the budge doctors of the Stoic Fur" and asks:

Wherefore did Nature pour her bounties forth,
With such a full and unwithdrawing hand,
Covering the earth with odours, fruits, and flocks,
Thronging the Seas with spawn innumerable,
But all to please, and sate the curious taste?

13. Though he is a less sympathetic tempter than Comus, Satan is a more dramatic figure. True, he is the principle of evil and the embodiment of deceit. His trick of profiting by what he learns of Christ's nature to improve upon his temptations may seem to be a mere reflection of the facts of psychology. Money first, then power, then earthly fame of the noblest kind, is the series of bids made to Spenser's Guyon by Mammon as it is to Christ by Satan. There is an unconscious hierarchy among men which is based upon their various abilities to penetrate these three lures. Those who are blinded by the second fall victims to the first, for, as Satan points out, the sinews of power are wealth. And fame, when it is not sought out of sheer vanity, can be an object only for men who wish to feel their power stretching beyond the grave. So Satan may be regarded as a mere allegory of the self-deception of life and his temptations as symbols of the *maya* of the Hindu philosophers or of the vanity of the world taught by Christian mystics. But Milton did not think of him primarily in any such fashion. Without belief in the Old Nick of popular tradition, he thought of himself and of all Christians as wrestling—to use St. Paul's words (Ephesians, vi, 12.)—against "principalities and powers," or spiritual forces without ourselves which make for unrighteousness. He thought of them as being what Satan called them, "Powers of Air and this wide World" (I, 44-45.), who had escaped from Hades and established themselves here when Adam "fell." Of Satan he thought as their leader, who had stirred them up to their first

revolt against God and who is sure, whenever a heroic man is born, to become his "Adversary." Satan is no longer the glorious rebel of *Paradise Lost*, but he is still dictator in the parliaments of his followers. In *Paradise Regained* there are two councils of the demons, neither of them comparable with the great debate in the second book of *Paradise Lost*; but the first serves admirably to set the stage and let the villain exhibit his character in speeches which are really soliloquies. Like a protagonist in a Greek tragedy, Satan is aware of a prophecy of a "fatal wound" (I, 53.) hanging over him and knows that signs are pointing to Christ as his dangerous enemy. At the baptism in the river Jordan he has heard a voice from heaven call Christ God's son, and the word fills him with foreboding. Can this son be like the first-begotten Son by whom, he reminds his followers, in the struggle for the mastery of heaven, before the creation of the world, they were driven down to hell,

When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep?¹

Who this new son is, he tells the demons,

we must learn, for man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face
The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.²

By his pertinacity in answering that question Satan brings on the catastrophe, his second fall, "smitten with amazement."

14. Early Christian tradition helped to shape Milton's Satan as a spirit inviting his own doom by reckless curiosity about Christ. The source may have been Prudentius or St. Augustine's story that "the prince of devils made question of his deity, and tempted Him for the trial of His deity, trying how far He would suffer Himself to be tempted."³ From early times the Christian imagination had played around the scene. Some of the fathers of the Church, like Origen, thought of

¹I, 90.

²I, 91-93.

³*The City of God*, VIII, xxi.

Christ's entire forty days in the wilderness as a continual conflict between him and Satan. The desert beyond Jordan, as they imagined it, was not unlike the wilderness in Malory where the foul fiend tempted knights of utter purity "in likeness of a man of religion." That disguise became fixed. In old Bishop Bale's interlude, *The Temptation of Our Lord*, Satan first attacks in that guise, for he knows that,

Subtlety must help; else all will be amiss,
A godly pretense, outwardly, must I bear,
Seeming religious, devout and sad in my gear.

In the desert where Spenser's Knights of Holiness and Temperance wander it is really the devil who comes to them in the person of the enchanter, Archimago, wearing the dress of a hermit. So inevitably Satan first appears in the disguise of a pious old man. Milton may have been familiar with the scene in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie* where Satan is only a shadow of Spenser's Archimago. Christ sees an "aged Syre"

Come slowly footing, everie step he guest
One of his feete he from the grave did drawe,
Three legges he had, the wooden was the best,
And all the waie he went, he ever blest
With benedicities, and prayers store,
But the bad ground was blessed ne'r the more,
And all his head with snowe of Age was waxen hore.¹

15. Satan's nature must correspond with his disguise and it is only in the short, third temptation (IV, 451-559.) that he tries at all to resume his dominating character in *Paradise Lost*. Then on the pinnacle of the temple, in the despair of defeat, he is all insolence. Both physically and psychologically Milton is setting the stage for his downfall. Elsewhere he is a wise hypocrite and he has the dignity of that character. Milton is "modern" in endowing him with perfect comprehension of the constraints of evil upon the wicked. In the long speech which closes the first book, for example—balancing the speech of

¹Stanza 27

Christ at the end of the second—the poignancy of Pirandello's *Clothe the Naked* is compressed in the question to Christ,

where
Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not inforc'd oft-times to part from truth?¹

A little later, when he claims privileges with Christ like those permitted to the atheist priests whom God tolerates about his altars, Satan is fencing with a sceptical idea which must have disturbed Milton himself. In *Paradise Lost* (V, 117.) he had recognized evil as entering into the mind of God and here again he is confronting the old difficulty of all theologians; is evil indispensable to the existence of good and can it justify itself as a humble, necessary attendant on good? When the question is put by evil incarnate it becomes its own answer. Milton's prose, especially the *Christian Doctrine*, proves that all his life he had been harassed by such questions, and the Satan of *Paradise Regained* expresses even better than the Satan of *Paradise Lost* his haunting sense of their difficulty. In that respect, autobiography can be read into both his Satans. As Professor Dowden pointed out, Jesus' censure of the Greek philosophers for accusing God under the name of Fortune (IV, 316.) is Milton's commentary on the hypocrisy of Satan's famous lines in Book I (358-360.):

'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate,
Who leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt
Kept not my happy Station.

16. It is in the rhythms of the poem and particularly of passages like those which have just been quoted that we should look for autobiography. Here rather than in *Paradise Lost* the Miltonic blank verse reaches its final form. The charge of lost grandeur is futile, for the poem is pitched to record the conquest of the lust of the eye and the pride of life and it can hardly encourage any lust of the ear. Under severe restraint the old glory is still there, ready to flame up in sudden remi-

¹I, 470-472.

niscences of young Pompey quelling the "Pontic King" (III, 36.) or in panoramas

Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales.¹

There is no evidence of decay in the increasing proportion of lines which overflow the strict pattern of the pentameter; *e.g.*,

To be infring'd, our freedom and our being.²

Like the hypermetric lines of Shakespeare's later plays, they indicate the poet's increasing command of his medium. These later rhythms are more like those of speech, Milton's own personal speech, and of his thought in his last years, after he had escaped from the illusions of a singularly disinterested life of action. If there is any justice in the charge that his Christ is made in his own image, the resemblance is less in Jesus' recollection of his serious youth than in his decision not

To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,³

because he

held it more humane, more heavenly first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts.⁴

The real Milton transpires less in the Saviour's contempt for the "miscellaneous vulgar" (III, 51.) than it does in the picture of the

Plain Fishermen

Close in a Cottage low together got;⁵

for Christ's last act is to turn his back on both earthly and heavenly glory to resume a life like theirs. In youth Milton had been preoccupied with the thought that

Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,⁶

¹III, 318.

²I, 62.

³I, 217.

⁴I, 221-222.

⁵II, 27-28.

⁶*Lycidas*, 78.

and he speaks his final word on that subject, which is the real theme of *Paradise Regained*, in the subdued but confident rhythm of Christ's retort to Satan:

This is true glory and renown, when God
Looking on the Earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
To all his Angels.¹

II. SAMSON AGONISTES

17. Again in the rhythms of *Samson Agonistes* we meet Milton's signature. When he wrote the tragedy, probably in close succession to *Paradise Regained* and not very far from the publication of *Paradise Lost* in 1667, he was ready to manipulate his blank verse in some ways more boldly than Shakespeare did even in *The Tempest*. In his choruses he invented measures for which he has had the most various blame and praise, but which—whatever may be said for or against them—certainly bear the form and pressure of his mind. He acknowledged in his introduction that they were written without regard to the stanzaic patterns of strophe, antistrophe, and epode in the choral odes of Greek drama. The measure, he said, was "of all sorts, called by the Greeks monostrophic." Actually, his rhythms drew upon both the spoken and the sung utterances of the Attic choruses; but, perhaps more than has been realized, their occasional rhymes and their long sentences—overflowing with cryptic distortions of normal grammar from one irregular verse to the next—betray how deeply he had learned to admire the irregular though richly rhymed lines of such Italian tragedies as Trissino's *La Sofonisba*. No one should go to *Samson Agonistes* expecting to find lyric strophes like those of Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*. Indeed, any metrical prejudice is fatal here. The flexible, minor music of the choruses subtly offsets Samson's moods, which at the outset are darker than those of his comforters, but become more confident than theirs after the tide within him turns. The

¹III, 60-63.

shifting rhythms are those of the enveloping thought and emotion which created the tragedy. The better we understand it—both intellectually and emotionally—the less likely we are to concur in the opinion that “there is a harshness in the metre of his Chorus . . . such at least as the ear will not patiently endure, nor which any recitation can make harmonious.” When Richard Cumberland wrote those words in *The Observer*,¹ in a really able essay replying to Dr. Johnson’s criticism of *Samson*, he may not have been unfair to Milton; but today—whatever reasons we may have for subscribing to his opinion—we are quite sure that the metrical prejudices of the eighteenth century, which made him entertain it, are for ever invalid.

18. As for the blank verse, the key to its harmony has been available since Robert Bridges first published his little essay *On the Prosody of “Paradise Regained” and “Samson Agonistes”* in 1889. Anarchy rather than harmony is the first impression of a conventional eye scanning these lines where the regular ten syllables are sometimes truncated to eight or six and may be extended to twelve (*e.g.*, in l. 497); and where unstressed, extra-metrical syllables insinuate themselves not merely at the end of the verses, but indiscriminately in any position. In l. 1095,

To have wrought / such won- / ders with / an Ass- / 's Jaw,

the extra syllable is in the first foot and in l. 1109 it is in the second,

Afford / me, assas- / sinat- / ed and / betray'd.

In Milton’s flexible iambic pattern one or even two “feet” may drop out of step, as the two opening trochees in l. 170 do,

Uni- / versal- / ly crown'd / with high- / est praises.

The art of reading such a line consists in putting just the right, deliberate stress upon *crown'd* to give it the predominance which it was evidently intended to have, and which marks it

¹No. 76.

as the point of recovery of the iambic rhythm. A similar appreciation of the pivotal importance of the second syllable in *extraordinary* is the key to l. 1383,

To some- / thing ex- / traordi- / nary / my thoughts.

Against the opinion of many editors but—as it seems to me—rightly, Mr. Bridges¹ insisted upon pronouncing the word *extraordinary* in the normal, correct way here, as a word of five syllables with a very heavy stress upon the second and with the last three enunciated distinctly, but very lightly and rapidly. The result, if we use the terms of classical scansion, is to make the first foot iambic, the second and third trochaic, the fourth a very light trochee and the fifth a heavy iambus with the first element, *my*, given almost as much emphasis as should be laid upon *thoughts*, so that the last foot comes only a little short of being a spondee. Many examples of very light feet which are immediately compensated by spondees might be cited: *e.g.*, in l. 960,

Ī see / thou art / ĩmpla- / cable / more deaf—

or in l. 143,

The Īaw / of a / dead Ass, / this sword / of bone,

or in l. 1362,

What act / more ex- / ecrably / unclean / profane.

This is an interesting case, for two heavy feet, which are better treated as spondees than as iambs, close the line after a very light foot of *three* syllables. This third foot would lose its first syllable, *e*, by elision in conventional scansion, which might justify itself by pointing to the elision of the first *i* in *med'cinal* in l. 627, where the spelling with the apostrophe goes back to the first edition and presumably has Milton's own authority. In general, however, I feel that he did not intend to syncopate many syllables and would have

¹In the *Athenaeum* of July 18, 1903, pp. 93-94.

sounded the *u* in *miraculous* in l. 587 and the *e* in *miseries* in l. 65, both of which many editors would like to elide. It is harder to justify such syncopations than it is to sustain Mr. Bridges' bold elision of *atr* in *idolatrous* in l. 443,

By the / Idol- / *atrous* rout / amidst / thir wine.

Milton had the art of subduing every word to his metre without violence even to the lightest syllables. Whatever elisions there are, we may be sure, were as a rule made in the best spoken English of his times. It is his voice that we hear in *Samson*, speaking the language of his "sessions of sweet silent thought," often tortured into the Greek and Latin constructions which were a part of the fibre of his brain, but never falsified by the pattern of his verse nor falsifying a word to conform it to that pattern. Unless there is evidence that an elision was made in the spoken English of his times, we should be chary of making it to satisfy a modern ear or a modern theory.

19. There are other personal, or even autobiographical, elements in the tragedy besides its metrical characteristics, but it is easy to overstress them. Nowhere in *Paradise Lost* nor even in the sonnet *On his Blindness* does that subject provoke anything so poignant as Samson's

O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon.¹

The poignancy, however, is the result of Milton's complete mastery and objectification of his own blindness. Samson is less the mouthpiece for his creator's lyric cry than he is the representative of all blind humanity. To some degree he may represent the physically blind Milton, but a more important question is the extent to which Milton applied to himself one of the observations of the Chorus about Samson:

thy Soul
(Which Men enjoying sight oft without cause Complain)
Imprison'd now indeed,

¹L. 80.

In real darkness of the body dwells,
 Shut off from outward light
 To incorporate with gloomy night;
 For inward light, alas,
 Puts forth no visual beam.¹

20. So many recent students have focused attention upon *Samson* as a personal document, and as Milton's last defiance of the triumphant Royalists in the name of his republican principles, that we are in danger of becoming more concerned about it as autobiography than as literature. If we accept the criticism—much of it excellent—which has followed the lead of Sir Walter Raleigh in *Milton's Last Poems*, the poet's old age becomes interesting as a psychological problem at the price of becoming spiritually more remote from us than is necessary. For Sir Walter *Samson* expressed a personal isolation magnificent but dreadful. Unfortunately for his enjoyment of the poem, its political principles are a lost cause which has never been at home in Oxford. In the Edinburgh of the nineteenth century where, if they were not completely at home, they were at least very welcome visitors, they did not seem like the self-justification of a defeated old man living in splendid isolation. Professor Masson spoke Milton's language when he asked, "Who are the Philistines but the partisans of the Restoration? . . . Who are the Philistine lords and ladies, and captains, and priests, assembled in their seats within the covered part of the temple of Dagon on the day of festival? Who but Charles himself, and the Duke of York, and the whole pell-mell of the Clarendons, Buckingham, Buckhursts, Killigrews, Castlemaines, Moll Davises, Nell Gwynns, Sheldons, Morleys, and some hundreds of others, . . . priests and laymen, . . . that formed the court-society of England in that most swinish period of her annals?"²

21. There is something to be said for Professor Masson's point of view. We may, for one thing, be sure that Harapha

¹Ll. 156-163.

²*The Life of John Milton*, Vol. VI, p. 676.

stands for what he called "the whole pell-mell." Efforts, which when everything has been said are mere guesswork, have been made to identify this giant with the Duke of York, who is known to have spoken insultingly of Milton, and with his old foe, Salmasius. There can be no doubt, however, that Harapha is what Herr Christian Kreipe calls a *collectivum*, a collective representative of the whole court party. He is a monstrous, composite portrait standing opposite to the mass of caricatures of the Commonwealth men in Butler's *Hudibras*. There is comedy about him and if Milton's principles of dramatic decorum had been less exacting and his dramatic talent more genial, the giant might have become as comic a personage as some of the representatives of the degenerate Athenian demos in Aristophanes' *Birds*. Plato, says the *Areopagitica*, "commended the reading of Aristophanes" and "holy Chrysostom" learned from him "the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the style of a rousing sermon." Harapha's scene may be an inartistically vehement attack upon his class, but for that reason he is interesting historically if not dramatically. And as he was created to embody a social group, so his enemy, Samson, was very much more than a mere projection of John Milton sitting alone, defeated but defiant, in the little house in Artillery Walk.

22. Long before he wrote his tragedy, and before he was in danger of losing his sight, we know that Milton thought of Samson as the symbol of a national ideal. In 1641, three years before the first symptoms of failing sight appeared, he ended *The Reason of Church Government* by likening "the state and person of a king . . . to that mighty Nazarite Samson; who being disciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike shoulders." One wonders whether the "illustrious and sunny locks" were not a side-glance at Charles I. The whole passage is pointed in its reference to the King, and it goes on to twist the story of

Samson's exploits in Judges xiv-xvi into a parable against the bishops. There is sad stuff about the "strumpet flatteries of the prelates," which are compared to Dalila's betrayal of the secret of her lover's hair; but the tragedy to be written long afterward flashes out in the final picture of the King, a modern Samson, knowing at last "this prelatical razor to have bereft him of his wonted might," nourishing again "his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right; and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself." When these words were written Milton had not lost all confidence in the King. Looking back upon them after twenty-five years—if he still remembered the peroration to his youthful pamphlet—he must have taken grim pleasure in pouring all the disillusion and indomitable purpose of the intervening quarter-century into the Samson of our tragedy.

23. About this same year, 1641, Milton jotted down in the Cambridge Manuscript the subjects of a very large number of possible dramas on biblical themes, and among them a group of five which were to be based upon episodes in Samson's career: (1) *Samson in Ramoth Lechi*, Judges xv (the episode which is recalled in lines 142-5), (2) *Samson marrying* (the episode of Samson's marriage with the woman of Timnath to which lines 219-226 and 381-7 refer), (3) *Dagonalia*, Judges xvi (the overthrow of the temple of Dagon in Gaza which is the subject of our tragedy), (4) *Samson pursophorus* (Samson the fire-bearer, or Samson when he burned the Philistines' corn by driving three hundred foxes into it with lighted torches between them, Judges xv, 3-5), and (5) *Samson Hybristes* (the Insolent Samson, or Samson inviting a tragic fate by some act of over-confidence like his betrayal of his secret to Dalila). If the *Dagonalia* had been written when it was planned, we may be sure that at the outset Samson would have been made a glorious symbol of the leadership of the English, who are described in *Areopagitica* as "a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages and of worthies." And his death would have appealed to Milton's sanguine imagination as a symbol,

not of defeat, but of the act of self-discipline which he was begging his country to perform and so "wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honorable in these latter ages." As an individual Samson might have been superficially tragic, but his failure would not have had the dark background of recreancy among the national leaders which embitters his feeling towards

Israel's Governors, and Heads of Tribes,
Who, seeing those great acts which God had done
Singly by me against their Conquerors,
Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd
Deliverance offer'd.¹

Even in prison the Samson of 1641 would probably have been a conventionally heroic figure. Milton was familiar with the traditional conception of him which John Donne recalled in *Biathanatos* (III, v, 4.): "A man so exemplar, that not onely the times before him had him in Prophecy, and the times after him more consummately in Christ, of whom he was a Figure, but even in his own time, other nations may seeme to have had some type, or Copy of him, in Hercules." This traditional identification of Hercules with Samson is responsible for the Chorus's comparison of the two worthies in line 150—a comparison which has been questioned as anachronistic. It was part of an established idealization of Samson, just as the comparison of Christ with Hercules in *Paradise Regained* was a part of His idealization as Milton inherited it from the liberal theologians of the sixteenth century. In 1641 Milton would have had need of extraordinary originality to emancipate himself from the accepted view of his hero as a saint, and even as a type of Christ, sufficiently to make him genuinely tragic. An admirer of the tragedy of *Samson or Sacred Vengeance* (1660) by the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel (with whose work Milton was more or less familiar, though it is a question whether he knew this play) insists that beside Milton's demi-

¹Ll. 241-246.

god, who is human only in his implacable hatred for Dalila, Vondel's Samson is a sympathetic human being who has loved, suffered, and made a supreme sacrifice. Yet even Vondel was conventional enough to end his play with a scene where Samson's mourners are met by the angel who prophesied his birth, Fadaël, and are forbidden to mourn for a spirit emancipated from its anguish and for a body freed from its blindness. Samson is at rest with the heroes of the past and, the angel adds, he is a type of another and greater hero, still unborn, whose death will mean the conquest, not of the Philistines, but of enemies more terrible than the grave itself.

24. There is nothing conventional in Milton's treatment of the story of Samson, yet, like all works of art, his tragedy was built upon tradition. Broadly speaking, the tradition was the heroic one which had created the *Franciad*, the *Jerusalem Delivered*, and *The Faerie Queene*, and which had just produced the tragedies of Corneille and was still producing those of Racine. Milton has been condemned for making Samson so noble that his indiscretion with Dalila is absurd. Critics prefer now to go to the opposite extreme and imagine him as Leonid Andreev drew him, foul in his prison, a hairy ape of the historical imagination, passionately loved to the end by a no less primitive Dalila. The difference between Andreev's tradition and that which Milton inherited is strikingly illustrated by the contrast between the former's handling of the moment when Samson gathers all his powers together to pull down the pillars of Dagon's temple and the treatment of that same scene by a minor English poet, Francis Quarles, who published *The Historie of Samson* in 1631. Andreev was interested in the incident as a case of abnormal power produced by the psychic stimulus of fanaticism. What it meant to Quarles is indicated by the prayer which he put into Samson's mouth at the moment of catastrophe:

Lord, the wrong is thine:
The punishment is just and onely mine:
I am thy Champion, Lord; It is not me
They strike at; Through my sides, they thrust at thee:

Against thy Glory 'tis, their Malice lies;
They aym'd at that, when they put out these eyes.¹

25. This traditional view of the situation as ultimately a struggle between God and Dagon is woven all through *Samson Agonistes*. Manoa first suggests it when he says that the worst consequence of his son's indiscretion is that

So Dagon shall be magnifi'd, and God,
Besides whom is no God, compar'd with Idols,
Disglorifi'd, blasphem'd, and had in scorn
By th'Idalotrous rout amidst thir wine.²

Samson's reply is to say that his only hope consists in the fact that "All the contest is now 'Twixt God and Dagon." And in the end the Chorus chants God's delusion of his enemies with a "mad desire to call in haste for thir destroyer" when they were

Drunk with Idolatry, drunk with Wine,
And fat regorg'd of Bulls and Goats,
Chanting thir Idol, and preferring
Before our living Dread who dwells
In Silo his bright Sanctuary.³

Milton's proneness to think of Samson as the soldier of a jealous God may be a particularly savage aspect of his "Hebraism" and consequently questionable both as art and as religion. To students with the Freudian conceptions about the artistic temperament which Mr. E. H. Visiak applied to *Paradise Lost* in *Milton Agonistes*, Samson will seem like a savage attempt to compensate in the ideal world for the poet's defeat in old age. Even Masson suspected that he sometimes took a "fell pleasure" in imagining some cruel triumph over his enemies, like that of Samson, for himself; and Mr. Tillyard accuses him of something very like ferocity. There is justice in the charge, but we would be unjust to Milton if we did not remember the

¹Section 23.

²Ll. 440-443.

³Ll. 1670-1674.

part played by tried and sound tradition in his portrayal of the champion of God. It will be worth while to compare the influence of tradition upon his portrayal of Dalila.

26. The third act of his tragedy opens with the Chorus's first glimpse of her

this way sailing
Like a stately Ship
Of Tarsus.¹

It ends when they dismiss her with the words,

She's gone, a manifest Serpent by her sting
Discover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.²

In the whole drama, hers is the only glamorous scene and to most readers it is very moving. Its dramatic purpose is put beyond doubt by Samson when he says after she disappears,

God sent her to debase me,
And aggravate my folly.³

We acquiesce in his refusal of her invitation to leave his slavery in the mill and go to live with her again mainly because it is an indispensable step towards the catastrophe. Within the limits of the act itself our sympathies are divided. They go out to both Samson and Dalila, but more strongly to her than to him. We feel a conflict in ourselves something like that felt in reading Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. It would be odd if Milton's treatment of the situation did not have something suggestive of Shakespeare's play about it, for both poets were dealing with stories which had been for centuries bracketed together as emblems of what Spenser called

beauties lovely baite, that doth procure
Great Warriours oft their rigour to repress.⁴

¹Ll. 713-715.

²Ll. 997-998.

³Ll. 999-1000.

⁴*F.Q.*, V, viii, 1.

In a curious stanza Spenser recalled that

whylome learnd that mighty Jewish swaine,
Each of whose lockes did match a man in might,
To lay his spoiles before his lemans traine:

* * * *

And so did warlike Antony neglect
The worlds whole rule for Cleopatras sight.¹

Milton inherited Dalila from Spenser as one of the many daughters of Circe, and to that fact both the starkness and the beauty of his treatment of her are due. The presence of the myth of Circe in the background transpires strangely when Samson calls her invitation to him

Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms.²

Essentially she stands to Samson as Circe's son, Comus, does to the Lady. If Milton had been less of a poet and more of a puritan, he would have drawn her without subtlety and treated the situation as crudely as Phineas Fletcher did when he wrote in *The Apollyonists* that the

strongest Champion, who with naked hands
A Lyon tore, who all unarm'd and bound
Heap't mounts of armed foes on bloody sands,
By womans art, without or force or wound
Subdu'd, now in a mill blind grinding stands.³

The marvellous thing about Milton's Dalila is that she is both the traditional incarnation of treacherous lust and a subtly characterized woman. We almost believe in her remorse, for it is as eloquent as Cleopatra's denial of a cold heart:

Ah! dear, if I be so,
From my cold heart let heaven engender hail,
And poison it in the source; and the first stone
Drop in my neck.⁴

¹*F.Q.*, V, viii, 2.

²L. 934.

³Canto IV, xxiii.

⁴*Antony and Cleopatra*, III, xi, 158-161.

Cleopatra's sincerity comes out of the tragic torture of a complex nature, but Dalila's eloquence is the charming rhetoric of a diabolic temptress. Milton betrayed the working of his imagination about her when he made her plead in her own defence that "to the public good Private respects must yield." When he wrote those words he must have remembered Satan in *Paradise Lost* pleading that

public reason just,
Honour and Empire with revenge enlarged,
By conquering this new World, compels me now
To do what else though damn'd I should abhor.¹

Another link with *Paradise Lost* is the simile there which compares Adam's rising from his drugged sleep after eating the forbidden fruit to the awakening of

the *Danite* strong
Herculean Samson from the Harlot-lap
Of *Philistean Dalilah*.²

Because he thought of Dalila as a temptress in the service of the powers of darkness, Milton made Samson treat her as severely as Spenser made his Knight of Temperance, Guyon, treat the enchantress, Acrasia, when he broke her charms and destroyed her gardens. Yet it was the tradition which placed Dalila in the enchanting tribe of Acrasia and Circe which enriched his limited dramatic talent so that he could endow her with more than a suggestion of the glory of Shakespeare's Cleopatra.

27. No one denies life to Dalila, but—leaving her apart—many readers may agree with Mr. Max Beerbohm that "the *personae* come on, speak, go off, without any swelling or expediting the volume of the idea. . . . All is quite static and marmoreal."³ A similar verdict is often brought against the Book of Job, for it is a series of actionless dialogues without even a tragic ending to offset the pious protagonist's triumphs

¹*P.L.*, IV, 389-392.

²*P.L.*, IX, 1059-1061.

³*The Saturday Review of Literature*, LXXXIX, p. 489.

over misfortunes any one of which would threaten an ordinary man with tragedy. Job had some influence upon *Samson*. In the preface to the second book of *The Reason of Church Government* Milton mentioned it as a model for his imitation—not as a drama, it is true, but in close conjunction with the Greek dramas which he admired, “those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign.” His preface to *Samson* leaves no doubt that the Greeks were his models, constantly in his thoughts as he wrote; and his text is sown with their reminiscences. One of the most interesting aspects of the drama and one of the moot questions about it is its relation to the Greeks. Is the play, as Mr. Beerbohm says, void of all Greek dramatic quality, with a hero whose attitude of submission to God is “admirable, edifying, correct, but . . . never for one instant touching drama”?

28. In essence Mr. Beerbohm’s objection is the same as Dr. Johnson’s in the *Life of Milton*, when he said that although *Samson* “has a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved, . . . it must be allowed to have no middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of *Samson*. . . . Yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry has applauded.” For a good many years now the consensus of critical opinion has generally condemned this judgement. The third act, *Dalila’s*, is recognized as complete in itself and vital to *Samson’s* recovery of his power. The fourth, *Harapha’s*, provides the motive for summoning *Samson* to the temple of *Dagon* and in itself, especially if its satire is understood, it is dramatic. The second act, which opens with *Manoa’s* first appearance, begins at once to prepare for the catastrophe, and the messenger’s report of *Samson’s* death in the fifth act is as moving as the parallel reports of the death of *Oedipus* and that of *Electra* by *Sophocles*. In the second act *Samson* first unconsciously prophesies the catastrophe when he says that God

will arise and his great name assert:
Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive

Such a discomfit as shall quite despoil him
Of all these boasted Trophies won on me,
And with confusion blank his Worshippers.¹

Manoa exclaims that he takes the words as a prophecy. The reader, knowing what is to come, looks forward with a sudden thrill to the collapse of the pillars in the temple. If he is familiar with Euripides, he may be struck by a resemblance between Manoa's words and those of Xuthus in the *Ion* (l. 561), when Ion salutes him as father and he joyfully treats the words as an auspicious omen. There *is* a prophecy in them, but its full import is clear only to the audience. Throughout Milton's drama such tragic irony continually prepares for the catastrophe. It is pathetic when Manoa, confident at last of his hopes for ransoming his son, persuades himself that

God had not permitted
His strength again to grow up with his hair,

* * * * *

were not his purpose
To use him further yet in some great service.²

It is terrible when Manoa mentions his confidence that the Philistines will be willing to liberate Samson because he can no longer do them any harm. As Samson recovers his sense of his mission and begins to feel some "rousing motions" in him, his utterances—like his remark that the hatred of the Philistines for him may involve them all in a common ruin—seem almost clairvoyant. When the catastrophe arrives its way has been prepared by every effect of the tragic irony which the Greeks loved. Mr. Tillyard, following Professor Jebb and several other classical scholars, has pointed out that "the essence of the plot in *Samson* is that nearly all the actions should lead whither they had not seemed to lead."³

¹Ll. 467-471.

²Ll. 1495-1499.

³*Milton*, p. 343.

Outward events point to Samson's hopeless degradation until he is seemingly forced to submit to the utter ignominy which is destined to become his utter triumph.

29. Milton's plot is undeniably Sophoclean, but it is hard to tell whether Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides had the greatest influence upon him. The traditional opinion is that it was Euripides. Macaulay, who thought that he should have "taken Aeschylus for his model" and "given himself up to the lyric inspiration," blamed the influence of Euripides for the fact that, "We cannot identify ourselves with the characters, as in a good play. We cannot identify ourselves with the poet, as in a good ode." Macaulay disliked Euripides for what seem to-day to have been wrong reasons. Our objection to him depends upon Nietzsche's criticism that his tragic effects "depended on. . . the great rhetero-lyric scenes in which the passion and dialectics of the chief hero swelled to a broad and mighty stream. Everything was arranged for pathos, not for action; and whatever was not arranged for pathos was regarded as objectionable."¹ Now it is undeniable that the symmetrically arranged debates of Samson with Dalila and Harapha, with their clever twisting and retorting of ideas, are Euripidean; but their end is action. The choruses, which Milton took care to relate closely to his situations instead of allowing them to speculate at large as Euripides did, are rather Sophoclean. Verbal reminiscences of all three Greeks are scattered broadcast through *Samson*, but it seems to me that those from Aeschylus have more significance than has been recognized. Mr. Wilmon Brewer has suggested that Samson's character owes something to Aeschylus' Prometheus and that the plots of *Samson* and the *Prometheus Bound* are too much alike for the resemblance to be accidental. It is strange that in each drama the three middle acts should consist of three interviews which are mutually so unrelated that both dramatists should have been accused of losing sight of Aris-

¹*The Birth of Tragedy*, translated by W. A. Haussmann, New York, 1924. P. 99.

tole's basic principle of unity of action. Yet in each play the interviews lead straight to the catastrophe, for each hero is "roused successively to hope, resentment, and a confident sense of power, which find expression in three speeches of defiance."¹ After all, however, the question of Milton's relative indebtedness to the Greeks cannot be solved, and it is much less important than the question whether his drama is at bottom Greek at all, or even tragic.

30. The great difficulty with Samson for Mr. Beerbohm and for many modern readers is his perfect submission to God, the sense of sin which Mlle. Stengers rather absurdly complains makes him a "demi-god," and which certainly does make him a religious man. Professor Hanford would like to regard him as an example of classical *hybris*, but admits that "the cloak of Prometheus . . . refuses to fit the less majestic Hebrew Titan."² For real tragic pride or *hybris* he turns to the Philistines—"Drunk with Idolatry, drunk with Wine"—as they are described in the semi-chorus which has already been quoted. There is no denying that, from the outset, Samson is outspokenly repentant for the sin which has brought him, blind, to the mill in Gaza, or that, passively and actively, he is the servant of God. And in his world God is undisputed lord of Fate. Only once does Milton seem to conceive of him as contending with an all-powerful Destiny. In the Chorus's description of Samson as

self-kill'd
Not willingly, but tangl'd in the fold
Of dire necessity,³

Mr. Verity's note objects that there is an inconsistent lapse into the Greek conception of Fate. The phrase, however, seems like a recollection of the Ode (III, xxiv, 6.) where Horace speaks of dire Necessity as having final power to destroy a

¹*P.M.L.A.* XLII, p. 914.

²"*Samson Agonistes* and Milton in Old Age," p. 184.

³Li. 1664-1666.

corrupt civilization. In the ancient world Necessity was as vague a force as it is today, but its use by the tragedians can hardly be called irreligious. Plato defined it as the essence of the laws of nature and in that sense he said that there was truth in the adage, "Not even God will ever be seen fighting against Necessity." But when misapplied to the affairs of men he said that it was "of all sayings by far the most fatuous."¹ Although in this chorus Milton may have written "necessity" without a very definite idea, we may be sure that he would not have run foul of Plato. If there is anything fatalistic in *Samson*, it is in the implied Stoicism of some of the choruses, not in their deliberate opinions.

31. The charge that Stoicism vitiates the religious spirit in both *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* is often made, but in the latter case it can be almost formally refuted. The essence of Stoicism, Bacon said in *The Advancement of Learning* (II, xx, 10.), is the quest of security through the selfish limitation of our ideas of happiness to things which are within our power. He was thinking of the sacrifice of spiritual integrity to mere well-being, physical and moral. To that he opposed "the wisdom of that heavenly leader . . . who hath affirmed that 'a good conscience is a continual feast.'" Now Samson makes just that distinction when the Philistine officer tells him to regard himself and he answers,

Myself? my conscience and internal peace.²

In quest of that peace he follows the officer to his death.

32. The "calm of mind, all passion spent" on which the Chorus congratulates itself as it takes leave is, of course, the mood to which Milton expected to bring his audience. It is a mood of confidence in a too obviously just God, a very "Hebraic" mood indeed. Yet it is Greek and Christian too. In the end he quite consistently put the broadly religious interpretation upon his tragedy which Euripides put upon the

¹*Laws*, Book VII, 818, B.

²L. 1334.

Alcestis, *Andromache*, *Bacchae*, and *Helen* by closing them all with the lines which are paraphrased in the last chorus:

All is best, though oft in doubt,
 What th'unsearchable dispose
 Of highest wisdom brings about,
 And ever best found in the close.¹

The Chorus does not mean that Samson has in any sense escaped his tragic end. What it does mean is that he has redeemed himself by his last act from the passions which were his spiritual tragedy. In accordance with the conception of Aristotle's principle of tragic "catharsis" as he interpreted it in his preface, Milton expected our pleasure in watching the disease of passion run its course in his hero to work as a kind of homeopathic medicine upon us and "purge" us of the "pity" and "fear" by which we are beset. This view of the Aristotelian principle is far from orthodox, and even in the seventeenth century it was questioned. It makes tragedy a matter of morality and edification rather than primarily of profound aesthetic experience. The result here is a drama which to some degree reconciles genuinely Greek with genuinely Christian elements. Hellenists like Sir Richard Jebb may discount its Greek qualities and Christians like Mr. T. S. Eliot may sense a pagan Stoicism pervading all Milton's work. Both opinions are extreme. When our drama has been read to the end, Samson, even more clearly than Archbishop Thomas à Becket in *Murder in the Cathedral*, has vindicated himself of the sin which Mr. Eliot makes the last chorus in that most Christian tragedy confess, both for itself and for the other actors—the sin of fearing the injustice of men more than the justice of God. Professor Clyde Curry has good reason to rank *Samson* among the tragedies which revolve "about the central idea of the Christian religion, namely sin and its inevitable ravages in the human heart, purification and reconciliation through repentance, self-sacrifice and atonement."² For

¹Ll. 1745-1748.

²*The Sewanee Review*, XXXII, p. 351.

that very reason *Samson* has seemed to many readers untragic. Certainly, no one is obliged to take sides with Professor Curry in his challenge to Professor Paul Baum's dictum that a "deep religious feeling *paramount* . . . and a high tragic spirit are antithetical." On that point every reader is entitled to his own opinion; but whatever we may think, final revolt against the will of heaven is hardly compatible with a tragic hero's experience—whether he be the Prometheus of Aeschylus or the Oedipus of Sophocles or the Samson of Milton.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PARADISE REGAINED

Excellent discussion of *Paradise Regained* and of *Samson Agonistes* will be found in Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard's *Milton*, in John C. Bailey's *Milton*, Mark Pattison's *Milton*, and Sir Walter Raleigh's *Milton*, though of these only the first is abreast of modern scholarship. The following list of articles and monographs indicates the scope of recent specialized study and mentions some other works of value for the understanding of the two poems. The best modern edition of *Paradise Regained* is by Mr. E. H. Blakeney, London, 1932.

Bridges, Robert, *Milton's Prosody*. Revised edition, Oxford University Press, 1921.

It contains the substance of the privately printed essay *On the Prosody of "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes."*

Cory, Herbert E., *Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton*. University of California Publications. Modern Philology, 1912.

Dowden, Edward, *Paradise Regained*. In *Milton Memorial Lectures*. Oxford, 1909.

One of Professor Dowden's most illuminating essays.

Gilbert, Allan H., *The Temptation in "Paradise Regained."* *J.E.G.P.* XV, 599-611.

Notable for its interpretation of the second temptation.

Hanford, James H., *The Temptation Motive in Milton*. *S.P.* XV, 176-94.

Miller, R. D., *Milton's Conception of the Temptation as Portrayed in "Paradise Regained."* M.L.N. XV, 202-5.

The last statement of some traditional misconceptions.

Raleigh, Sir Walter A., *Milton's Last Poems. Living Age*, CCLX, 251-3.

Traeger, E., *Milton's "Paradise Regained."* Werdau, 1900.

II. SAMSON AGONISTES

The best modern edition is by Mr. A. W. Verity in "The Pitt Press Series," issued by the Cambridge University Press most recently in 1931. Professor H. M. Percival's edition, issued by Macmillan and Company, London, 1916, is also excellent.

Baum, Paull F., "*Samson Agonistes*" Again. P.M.L.A. XXXVI, 354-71.

Brewer, Wilmon, *Two Athenian Models for "Samson Agonistes."* P.M.L.A. XLII, 910-20.

Brown, Macmillan, *The "Samson Agonistes" of Milton.* New Zealand and London, 1905.

Clark, E. M., *Milton's Conception of Samson.* University of Texas Studies in English. VIII, 88-99.

Curry, Walter C., "*Samson Agonistes*" Yet Again. *Sewanee Review*, XXXII, 336-52.

Epps, P. H., *Two Notes on English Classicism.* S.P. XIII, 190-6.

Grierson, H. J. C., "*Samson Agonistes*" and "*Samson of Heilige Wraeck.*" *Melanges . . . Baldensperger.* Paris. 1930. Vol. I, pp. 332-9.

Milton and Wordsworth. Cambridge University Press. 1937. Chapter VI has a significant treatment of Milton's *Samson*.

Hanford, James H., "*Samson Agonistes*" and *Milton in Old Age. Studies in Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne.* New York, 1925.

The most scholarly and penetrating interpretation of the drama as a key to Milton's mind.

Jebb, Sir Richard C., "*Samson Agonistes*" and the Hellenic Drama. Proceedings of the British Academy, 1907-8, pp. 341-8.

A fine overstatement of the "Hebraism" in *Samson*.

Knowlton, Edgar C., *Causality in "Samson Agonistes."* *M.L.N.* XXXVII, pp. 333-9.

Kreipe, Christian E., *Milton's "Samson Agonistes."* Halle, 1926.

Larson, Martin A., *Milton's Puritanism and Stoicism.* *P.Q.* VI, 201-220.

Mahaffy, John P., *What Have the Greeks Done for Modern Civilization?* New York, 1909.

Parker, W. R., *Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in "Samson Agonistes."* Johns Hopkins Press. 1937.

Here Mr. Parker gathers up the results of his many valuable studies of *Samson Agonistes* and presents a final reply to the position of Sir Richard Jebb.

The Kommos of Milton's "Samson Agonistes." *S.P.* XXXII, 240-4.

Powell, Chilton L., *Milton Agonistes.* *Sewanee Review*, XXXIV, 169-83.

Thompson, Edward J., *Samson Agonistes.* *L.Q.R.* CXXV, 244-54.

Thompson, E. N. S., *Milton's Puritanism.* *P.Q.* VI, 291-4.

Timberlake, P. W., *Milton and Euripides.* *The Parrott Presentation Volume.* Princeton University Press, 1935.

Tupper, James W., *The Dramatic Structure of "Samson Agonistes."* *P.M.L.A.* XXXV, 375-89.

PARADISE
REGAIN'D.

A
POEM.

In IV BOOKS.

To which is added

SAMSON AGONISTES.

The Author

JOHN MILTON.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *John Starkey* at the
Mitre in Fleetstreet, near Temple-Bar.

MDCLXXI.

PARADISE REGAINED

The First Book

I WHO erewhile the happy Garden sung,
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
By one man's firm obedience fully tried
Through all temptation, and the Tempter foil'd 5
In all his wiles, defeated and repuls't,
And *Eden* rais'd in the waste Wilderness.
Thou Spirit who led'st this glorious Eremite
Into the Desert, his Victorious Field
Against the Spiritual Foe, and brought'st him thence 10
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted Song, else mute,
And bear through highth or depth of nature's bounds
With prosperous wing full summ'd to tell of deeds

1. The allusion to the happy Garden of Eden recalls four spurious lines prefixed to all early editions of the *Aeneid* in which Virgil was supposed to turn regretfully away from his Arcadian theme in the *Georgics*. In opening *The Faerie Queene* Spenser set the example of imitating them.

2-4. For the background of this use of St. Paul's verse (Rom. v, 19): "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous;" see the Introduction §1-2.

8-12. Milton thought of the Spirit of God, which Luke (iv, 1) says led Jesus into the desert, as "that divine breath or influence by which everything is created and nourished," and he invoked it in *P.L.*, I, 17, because it also signified to him "a divine impulse, or light, or voice, or word, transmitted from above." (*C.D.*, I, vi.)

8. The poetical form *Eremite* derives more directly than *hermit* from the original Greek word, which means a desert-dweller.

14. In falconry a hawk with full grown feathers was called *full summ'd*, i.e., developed to the sum of perfection.

Above Heroic, though in secret done, 15
 And unrecorded left through many an Age,
 Worthy t' have not remain'd so long unsung.
 Now had the great Proclaimer with a voice
 More awful than the sound of Trumpet, cried
 Repentance, and Heaven's Kingdom nigh at hand 20
 To all Baptiz'd: to his great Baptism flock'd
 With awe the Regions round, and with them came
 From *Nazareth* the Son of *Joseph* deem'd
 To the flood *Jordan*, came as then obscure,
 Unmarkt, unknown; but him the Baptist soon 25
 Descried, divinely warn'd, and witness bore
 As to his worthier, and would have resign'd
 To him his Heavenly Office, nor was long
 His witness unconfirm'd; on him baptiz'd
 Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a Dove 30
 The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
 From Heav'n pronounc'd him his beloved Son.
 That heard the Adversary, who roving still
 About the world, at that assembly fam'd
 Would not be last, and with the voice divine 35

15. In *P.L.*, IX, 25, Milton asserted that he had a better "Subject for Heroic Song" than Homer or Virgil, for he thought the warlike deeds of Achilles, Ulysses and Aeneas less truly *heroic* than the spiritual warfare of Adam and Christ.

18. The *Proclaimer* is John the Baptist, who preached "in the wilderness of Judaea, . . . saying, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. . . . Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judaea, and all the region round about Jordan. And were baptized of him in Jordan." (Mat. iii, 1-6.)

26. *divinely* keeps a trace of its Latin meaning of which we are more conscious in the verb *to divine*, *i.e.*, to guess or know something by supernatural guidance. Compare *P.L.*, VIII, 500 and *S.A.*, 226.

30-32. After Jesus' baptism Matthew describes "the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him: And lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." (iii, 16-17.)

33. The Evil One appears as the *Adversary* in Job (i, 6) and frequently in the N.T. as the False Accuser, which is the meaning of the Greek word from which *devil* and *diabolic* are both derived.

roving: In Job i, 7, Satan tells the Lord that he comes "From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it."

still has its regular early meaning of "always" or "constantly."

Nigh Thunder-struck, th' exalted man, to whom
 Such high attest was giv'n, a while survey'd
 With wonder, then with envy fraught and rage
 Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
 To Council summons all his mighty Peers, 40
 Within thick Clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,
 A gloomy Consistory; and them amidst
 With looks aghast and sad he thus bespake.

O ancient Powers of Air and this wide world—
 For much more willingly I mention Air, 45
 This our old Conquest, than remember Hell
 Our hated habitation—well ye know
 How many Ages, as the years of men,
 This Universe we have possest, and rul'd
 In manner at our will th' affairs of Earth, 50
 Since *Adam* and his facile consort *Eve*
 Lost Paradise deceiv'd by me, though since
 With dread attending when that fatal wound

39-42. The demonic councils in *P.R.* compare better with those in the first book of Vida's *Christias*, the fourth canto of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, and Alain's *Anticlaudian*, VIII, iii-vii, or with Milton's own juvenile epic *On the Fifth of November*, than with those in *P.L.* They were a conventional part of the Christian epic which could hardly be altogether eliminated from *P.R.*

39-45. Satan's title of "prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii, 2) and the tradition that the devils were "rulers of the darkness of this world" (Eph. vi, 12) were based upon ancient Jewish ideas. Burton (*Anatomy*, II, ii, 3) records the current belief that the air was "full of Spirits which inhabit it, as the *Paracelsians* and *Platonists* hold." Compare *P.L.*, I, 516, and X, 185.

43. *bespake* is intransitive, although the prefix *be-* usually made a verb transitive, as it does in modern English.

46. A part of the judgement upon Adam for his disobedience in *P.L.*, X, 189, was the promise that Christ should vanquish the powers of the air,

"The Realm itself of Satan long usurpt."

50. *In manner at our will*: as if the affairs of earth were at our disposal (instead of being in God's power).

53-55. The judgement upon the serpent, which was generally interpreted as referring to Satan for tempting Eve, was that her "seed" should bruise its head. (Gen. iii, 15.) Compare the Introduction §13.

53. *attending* has its original French meaning of waiting. *when* is equivalent to until.

Shall be inflicted by the Seed of *Eve*
 Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heav'n 55
 Delay, for longest time to him is short;
 And now too soon for us the circling hours
 This dreaded time have compast, wherein we
 Must bide the stroke of that long threat'n'd wound,
 At least if so we can, and by the head 60
 Broken be not intended all our power
 To be infrin'g'd, our freedom and our being
 In this fair Empire won of Earth and Air;
 For this ill news I bring, the Woman's seed
 Destin'd to this, is late of woman born: 65
 His birth to our just fear gave no small cause,
 But his growth now to youth's full flow'r, displaying
 All virtue, grace and wisdom to achieve
 Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
 Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim 70
 His coming, is sent Harbinger, who all
 Invites, and in the Consecrated stream
 Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so
 Purified to receive him pure, or rather
 To do him honour as their King; all come, 75
 And he himself among them was baptiz'd,
 Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
 The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
 Thenceforth the Nations may not doubt; I saw
 The Prophet do him reverence; on him rising 80

55-58. Milton thought of the psalm (xc, 4) which makes a thousand years like a day in God's sight and of the thought of fate which was associated in Homer (*Od.*, XI, 247) and Virgil (*Aen.*, I, 234) with phrases like "circling months" or "years."

60. Understand *if* as repeated before *by*.

62. *infring'd* keeps its literal Latin force of "broken."

68. Milton remembered Luke's account of Jesus' youth, when he "increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." (Luke ii, 52.)

73. Satan speaks ironically in referring to John's claim to cleanse from sin as a pretense.

74. The turn of thought seems to follow I John iii, 3; "Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure."

78-85. Compare the note on 30.

55 Out of the water, Heav'n above the Clouds
 Unfold her Crystal Doors, thence on his head
 A perfect Dove descend, whate'er it meant,
 And out of Heav'n the Sovran voice I heard,
 This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd. 85
 His Mother then is mortal, but his Sire,
 He who obtains the Monarchy of Heav'n,
 And what will he not do to advance his Son?
 His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
 When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep; 90
 Who this is we must learn, for man he seems
 In all his lineaments, though in his face
 The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.
 Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
 Of hazard, which admits no long debate, 95
 But must with something sudden be oppos'd,
 Not force, but well couch't fraud, well woven snares,
 Ere in the head of Nations he appear
 Their King, their Leader, and Supreme on Earth.
 I, when no other durst, sole undertook 100
 The dismal expedition to find out
 And ruin *Adam*, and the exploit perform'd
 Successfully; a calmer voyage now

82. *her* is very frequent in Milton's poetry instead of "its," a form which was only beginning to be established early in the seventeenth century.

84. The Italian spelling *Sovran* was Milton's preference, although in the first edition the French spelling *souvrain* occurs in this line.

86-93. Compare the Introduction §14-15, and Book IV, 501-540.

87. *obtains* keeps its Latin meaning of "possesses."

94-95. Compare Bertram's promise to be loyal "To th' extreme edge of hazard," in *All's Well that Ends Well*, III, iii, and the pursuit to "the edge of all extremities," in *Troilus and Cressida*, IV, v.

97. *couch't* meant "concealed." *N.E.D.* quotes Holinshed as describing "some harquebusiers secretlie couched in couert."

100-102. Satan reminds the demons of the scene in hell when he undertook to seek "deliverance" for them by exploring the way from the deep of hell across Chaos to this universe. (*P.L.*, II, 430-466.)

103. The way from the middle "region" of the air down to earth is *calmer* than Satan found his voyage through the "warring Winds" of Chaos. (*P.L.*, II, 905.)

Will waft me; and the way found prosperous once
 Induces best to hope of like success. 105

He ended, and his words impression left
 Of much amazement to th' infernal Crew,
 Distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay
 At these sad tidings; but no time was then
 For long indulgence to their fears or grief: 110
 Unanimous they all commit the care
 And management of this main enterprise
 To him their great Dictator, whose attempt
 At first against mankind so well had thriv'd
 In *Adam's* overthrow, and led thir march 115
 From Hell's deep-vaulted Den to dwell in light,
 Regents and Potentates, and Kings, yea gods
 Of many a pleasant Realm and Province wide.
 So to the Coast of *Jordan* he directs
 His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles, 120
 Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,
 This man of men, attested Son of God,
 Temptation and all guile on him to try,
 So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd
 To end his Reign on Earth so long enjoy'd: 125
 But contrary unweeting he fulfill'd
 The purpos'd Counsel pre-ordain'd and fixt
 Of the most High, who, in full frequency bright
 Of Angels, thus to *Gabriel* smiling spake.

104. The fact that the way has been *found prosperous once* gives ground for hoping that it will prove so again. Compare "Since first her Salutation heard" in II, 107.

117. Milton's conception of the demons as having been worshipped under the names of the pagan deities is found more significantly in the *Nativity* ode (197-228) and in *P.L.*, I, 361-521.

120. *girded with snaky wiles* resembles Virgil's phrase to describe the treacherous Sinon (*Aen.* II, 152) and Homer's to describe Ulysses (*e.g.*, *Il.*, IV, 339), but Milton's phrase is a contrast to Isaiah's prophecy (which he understood to refer to Christ) that "righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins." (*Isa.* xi, 5.)

126. *unweeting*: unknowingly.

128. *full frequency*: thronged assembly. The word is used in this Latin sense again in II, 130.

129. *Gabriel*, whose name means "the strength or champion of God," appears as the guardian of Eden in *P.L.*, IV, 549. His interest in

Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold, 130
 Thou and all Angels conversant on Earth
 With man or men's affairs, how I begin
 To verify that solemn message late,
 On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
 In *Galilee*, that she should bear a Son 135
 Great in Renown, and call'd the Son of God;
 Then told'st her doubting how these things could be
 To her a Virgin, that on her should come
 The Holy Ghost, and the power of the highest
 O'er-shadow her: this man born and now up-grown, 140
 To show him worthy of his birth divine
 And high prediction, henceforth I expose
 To Satan; let him tempt and now assay
 His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
 And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng 145
 Of his Apostasy; he might have learnt

Christ as the angel of the annunciation to Mary and of the prophecy of John the Baptist's birth to his father, Zachariah, makes it natural to address him particularly here.

Milton made God speak *smiling* not merely because he remembered Virgil's picture of Jove answering Venus with a smile (*Aen.*, I, 254), but because he had the courage of his belief that, "If God be said 'to have made man in his own image,' it is not beneath the dignity of God to grieve in that for which he is grieved, or to be refreshed in that which refresheth him." (*C.D.*, I, ii.)

131-132. Hesiod's belief that "upon the bounteous earth Zeus has thrice ten thousand spirits, watchers of mortal men," (*Works and Days*, 252-254) is perhaps echoed in Adam's words,

"Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth
Unseen."

(*P.L.*, IV, 677-8.)

134-140. The story of Gabriel's visit to the Virgin is found in Luke i, 26-38.

135. *Galilee* was the most northern part of Palestine, bounded on the east by the Jordan and on the west by Phoenicia and the Mediterranean Sea.

143. *assay*, to put to a test of any kind, is now an archaic form of "essay" (except that we still use "assay" of metals). Compare the noun "assay" in 264 below.

145-146. *the throng Of his Apostasy*; Satan's host of apostate, or rebel angels. So Milton calls Abraham's followers abstractly his "numerous servitude." (*P.L.*, XII, 132.)

Less over-weening, since he fail'd in *Job*,
 Whose constant perseverance overcame
 Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
 He now shall know I can produce a man 150
 Of female Seed, far abler to resist
 All his solicitations, and at length
 All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell,
 Winning by Conquest what the first man lost
 By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean 155
 To exercise him in the Wilderness;
 There he shall first lay down the rudiments
 Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
 To conquer Sin and Death the two grand foes,
 By Humiliation and strong Sufferance: 160
 His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength
 And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh;
 That all the Angels and Ethereal Powers,
 They now, and men hereafter, may discern
 From what consummate virtue I have chose 165
 This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
 To earn Salvation for the Sons of men.
 So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven

147. Compare the references to *Job* in 369 and 425 below and in III, 64, 67 and 95, and in the Introduction, §12.

155. *fallacy*; speciously false reasoning.

157. *rudiments* has its Latin force of "beginnings" and this line and the next may echo Evander's grief over the sad beginnings of his dead son, Pallas, as a warrior. (*Aen.*, XI, 157.)

159. Milton presumes that his reader knows his vivid pictures of *Sin* and *Death* in *P.L.*, II, 648-673 and X, 585-609.

161. Compare I Corinthians i, 27: ". . . God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

163. The *Ethereal Powers* are the angels, whose bodies Milton imagined as made of the "Ethereal mould" (*P.L.* II, 139) or refined fire which is the substance of heaven.

165-166. In *C.D.*, I, v, Milton denied any "unity of essence" between the Son and God, although there is perfect "intimacy of communion" between them. In *P.L.* the Son, who vanquishes the apostate angels, "by right of merit reigns" (VI, 43); as here, it is his *consummate virtue* which deserves the name Son. Compare the Introduction §10.

165. *chose* was not entirely extinct as a participle for more than a century after Milton's time.

Admiring stood a space, then into Hymns
 Burst forth, and in Celestial measures mov'd, 170
 Circling the Throne and Singing, while the hand
 Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

Victory and Triumph to the Son of God
 Now ent'ring his great duel, not of arms,
 But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles. 175

The Father knows the Son; therefore secure
 Ventures his filial Virtue, though untried,
 Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
 Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
 Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell, 180
 And devilish machinations come to nought.

So they in Heav'n their Odes and Vigils tun'd.
 Meanwhile the Son of God, who yet some days
 Lodg'd in *Bethabara* where *John* baptiz'd,
 Musing and much revolving in his breast, 185
 How best the mighty work he might begin
 Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first

169-171. So in *P.L.*, V, 619, there is "song and dance" when God's Son is first presented to the angels. Compare *P.L.*, V, 178. The circling choirs of angels were a tradition which is most familiar in Dante's *Paradise* (canto xxviii) but Tibullus' description of his vision of Apollo "singing with hands (*i.e.*, on the lyre) and voice" (*Carmina*, III, iv, 41) also flashed into Milton's imagination.

172. *argument*: subject. Compare *P.L.*, I, 24, VI, 84, IX, 13.

174. Compare Michael's prophecy of this *duel* in *P.L.*, XII, 386-400.

175. The scansion is strange, but the accent ought probably not to be shifted from the first syllable of *vanquish*.

176. Compare Jesus' words; "As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father." (John x, 15.)

secure keeps its Latin force of "careless," or "justifiably free from all anxiety." So Milton condemned Charles I because "with a bloody surprise (he) falls on our secure forces." (*Eikonoklastes*, xviii.)

180. *frustrate* is equivalent to "frustrated." Compare "instruct" in 439 below. Adjectives derived, like these, from Latin perfect passive participles were often used with something like their Latin grammatical force.

182. *Vigils*: prayers or hymns sung in a service at night.

184. *Bethabara* was the ford of Jordan where John baptized. The town of the same name was just east of the river.

185-186. *much revolving* . . . *How*: a Latinism, equivalent to our idiom of "turning something over in the mind."

Publish his God-like office now mature,
 One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading
 And his deep thoughts, the better to converse 190
 With solitude, till far from track of men,
 Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
 He enter'd now the bordering Desert wild,
 And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
 His holy Meditations thus pursu'd. 195
 O what a multitude of thoughts at once
 Awak'n'd in me swarm, while I consider
 What from within I feel myself, and hear
 What from without comes often to my ears,
 Ill sorting with my present state compar'd. 200
 When I was yet a child, no childish play
 To me was pleasing, all my mind was set
 Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
 What might be public good; myself I thought
 Born to that end, born to promote all truth, 205
 All righteous things: therefore above my years,
 The Law of God I read, and found it sweet,
 Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
 To such perfection that, ere yet my age
 Had measur'd twice six years, at our great Feast 210
 I went into the Temple, there to hear
 The Teachers of our Law, and to propose
 What might improve my knowledge or their own;

193. Gilbert quotes Adrichomius as placing Christ's temptation in the Desert of Quarentana, between Jerusalem and Jericho.

200. *sorting*: corresponding.

200-214. Milton has been blamed for the supposed autobiography in this passage and also for its representation of Jesus' youth; but, compared with ideas of Christ's infancy and childhood which medieval painters took from the apochryphal gospels, it is credible and humane.

205. Compare Jesus' words to Pilate: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." (John xviii, 37.)

208. His "delight in the law of the Lord" is the description of the righteous man in Psalm i, 2.

209-214. The account of Jesus' talk with the doctors of the Law is found in Luke ii, 46-50.

210. The *great Feast* is the Passover.

And was admir'd by all: yet this not all
 To which my Spirit aspir'd, victorious deeds 215
 Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts; one while
 To rescue *Israel* from the *Roman* yoke,
 Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth
 Brute violence and proud Tyrannic pow'r,
 Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd: 220
 Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
 By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
 And make persuasion do the work of fear;
 At least to try, and teach the erring Soul
 Not wilfully mis-doing, but unaware 225
 Misled: the stubborn only to subdue.
 These growing thoughts my Mother soon perceiving
 By words at times cast forth, inly rejoic'd,
 And said to me apart, high are thy thoughts 230
 O Son, but nourish them and let them soar
 To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
 Can raise them, though above example high;
 By matchless Deeds express thy matchless Sire.
 For know, thou art no Son of mortal man;
 Though men esteem thee low of Parentage, 235
 Thy Father is the Eternal King, who rules
 All Heaven and Earth, Angels and Sons of men.
 A messenger from God fore-told thy birth
 Conceived in me a Virgin; he fore-told
 Thou shouldst be great and sit on *David's* Throne, 240
 And of thy Kingdom there should be no end.
 At thy Nativity a glorious Quire

214. *admir'd* has its original, Latin force of "wondered at." Compare Thomas Fuller's aphorism, "Admiration is the daughter of Ignorance."

218-219. Milton intended a contrast with Virgil's famous dictum that Rome's destiny was to impose peace in the world and quell the proud. (*Aen.*, VI, 851-853.)

222. Perhaps the nearest of many vague classical parallels to this line was suggested by Jortin in Xenophon's remark that it is more divine than human to govern men who freely consent. (*Oeconomics*, XXI, 12.)

228. Compare *inly* in 466 below and III, 203.

240-254. The details of Christ's birth are taken from the second chapter of Matthew and the first two chapters of Luke.

Of Angels in the fields of *Bethlehem* sung
 To Shepherds watching at their folds by night,
 And told them the Messiah now was born, 245
 Where they might see him, and to thee they came,
 Directed to the Manger where thou lay'st,
 For in the Inn was left no better room.
 A Star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing
 Guided the Wise Men thither from the East, 250
 To honour thee with Incense, Myrrh, and Gold,
 By whose bright course led on they found the place,
 Affirming it thy Star new grav'n in Heaven,
 By which they knew thee King of *Israel* born.
 Just *Simeon* and Prophetic *Anna*, warn'd 255
 By Vision, found thee in the Temple, and spake,
 Before the Altar and the vested Priest,
 Like things of thee to all that present stood.
 This having heard, straight I again resolv'd
 The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ 260
 Concerning the Messiah, to our Scribes
 Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake
 I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
 Through many a hard assay even to the death,
 Ere I the promis'd Kingdom can attain, 265
 Or work Redemption for mankind, whose sins'
 Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.
 Yet neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,
 The time prefixt I waited, when behold
 The Baptist (of whose birth I oft had heard, 270

255-259. The prophecies of *just Simeon* and *Anna* about Christ are in Luke ii, 25-36.

262-263. The elliptical construction, expanded, would be:

" . . . I soon found that he of whom they spake I am . . . "

264. Compare the note on *assay* in 143 above.

266-267. Milton applied Isaiah's words—"The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all" (liii, 6)—to Christ.

268. *neither* . . . or for "neither . . . nor" is a result of the influence of Latin idiom.

270-279. Mark's gospel opens with the account of John the Baptist as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." Details are taken from Matthew iii, and Luke iii.

Not knew by sight) now come, who was to come
 Before Messiah and his way prepare.
 I as all others to his Baptism came,
 Which I believ'd was from above; but he
 Straight knew me, and with loudest voice proclaim'd 275
 Me him (for it was shown him so from Heaven)
 Me him whose Harbinger he was; and first
 Refus'd on me his Baptism to confer,
 As much his greater, and was hardly won.
 But as I rose out of the laving stream, 280
 Heaven open'd her eternal doors, from whence
 The Spirit descended on me like a Dove;
 And last the sum of all, my Father's voice,
 Audibly heard from Heav'n, pronounc'd me his,
 Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 285
 He was well pleas'd; by which I knew the time
 Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
 But openly begin, as best becomes
 The Authority which I deriv'd from Heaven.
 And now by some strong motion I am led 290
 Into this Wilderness, to what intent
 I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know;
 For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.
 So spake our Morning Star then in his rise,
 And looking round on every side beheld 295
 A pathless Desert, dusk with horrid shades;
 The way he came not having mark'd, return

281. *eternal doors*: the "everlasting doors" of Psalm XXIV, 7 and 9.

286-7. The belief that "when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son" (Gal. iv, 4) is involved in the treatment of both Christ and Satan. Compare lines 55-65 above.

291-293. In common with most Protestant commentators on the Gospels, Milton held that, "Even the Son . . . knows not all things absolutely; there being some secret purposes, the knowledge of which the Father has reserved to himself alone." (*C.D.*, I, v.)

294. In St. John's Apocalypse (xxii, 16) Jesus appears saying, "I am . . . the bright and morning star."

296. *horrid* has its Latin meaning of "bristling." *N.E.D.* cites Evelyn's description of "a very romantic seate" on a "horrid Alp," *i.e.*, a mountain covered with trees.

297-298. The broken construction seems to mean that return was

Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
 And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
 Accompanied of things past and to come 300
 Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
 Such Solitude before choicest Society.
 Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
 Sometimes, anon in shady vale, each night
 Under the covert of some ancient Oak, 305
 Or Cedar, to defend him from the dew,
 Or harbour'd in one Cave, is not reveal'd;
 Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt
 Till those days ended, hunger'd then at last
 Among wild Beasts: they at his sight grew mild, 310
 Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd, his walk
 The fiery Serpent fled, and noxious Worm,
 The Lion and fierce Tiger glar'd aloof.
 But now an aged man in Rural weeds,
 Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray Ewe, 315
 Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve
 Against a Winter's day when winds blow keen,
 To warm him wet return'd from field at Eve,
 He saw approach; who first with curious eye

difficult both because Jesus had not marked the way he came and because there were no people in the desert to make beaten paths.

302. Cowley's essay *Of Solitude* opens with the remark that Cicero's aphorism, "Never less alone than when in solitude" (*De Officiis*, III, i, 1), "is now become a very vulgar saying." Compare *P.L.* VIII, 427 and IX, 249.

310-313. Mark's statement (i, 13) that Jesus "was with the wild beasts" in the desert is employed because Christ was regarded as fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy (lxv, 25) that: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord." Compare Isaiah, xi, 6-9, and Ezekiel xxxiv, 25.

312. *Worm*—serpent. The clown who brings the asp in *Antony and Cleopatra* (V, ii, 254-5) "makes a very good report o' the worm." Milton's memory was reaching back to the "fiery serpents" (Num. xxi; 6) of the desert experiences of the Israelites.

314. Satan's disguise has a long history, which is sketched in the Introduction §14.

319. Phrases like an "angry, jealous, lickerous," or "wandering eye" are cited by the *N.E.D.* since 1300. Here *curious* means "jealously

Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake. 320
 Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place
 So far from path or road of men, who pass
 In Troop or Caravan, for single none
 Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
 His Carcase, pin'd with hunger and with drought? 325
 I ask the rather, and the more admire,
 For that to me thou seem'st the man whom late
 Our new baptizing Prophet at the Ford
 Of *Jordan* honour'd so, and call'd thee Son
 Of God; I saw and heard, for we sometimes 330
 Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
 To Town or Village nigh (nighest is far)
 Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear,
 What happ'ns new; Fame also finds us out.
 To whom the Son of God. Who brought me hither 335
 Will bring me hence, no other Guide I seek.
 By Miracle he may, replied the Swain,
 What other way I see not, for we here
 Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd
 More than the Camel, and to drink go far, 340
 Men to much misery and hardship born;
 But if thou be the Son of God, Command
 That out of these hard stones be made thee bread;

appraising," as it does in Mercutio's use of the phrase, "curious eye," in *Romeo and Juliet*, I, iv, 31.

320. *Perus'd* is similarly used by Adam when he says that on first coming to himself after his creation he perused himself, "and Limb by Limb Survey'd." (*P.L.*, VIII, 267-8.)

325. "Pine" is used transitively in *P.L.* XII, 77, where Adam surmises that the "thin Air" on the summit of the tower of Babel would "pine" the "entrails gross" of the builders.

331. "Dwell" is no longer used transitively, as it is here and again in *P.L.*, III, 670, and the use was never common.

333-334. aught . . . What: anything that.

Fame keeps its Latin meaning of "rumour" and has a trace of personification, as in Chaucer's *Hous of Fame* and Virgil's *Aeneid*.

339. Commentators have struggled to justify any meaning for *stubs* which would suggest edibility, but Milton may have intended to suggest the futile search for food in a desert full of

"stubs of trees,

Whereon nor fruit, nor leafe was euer scene."

(*F.Q.*, I, ix, 34.)

So shalt thou save thyself and us relieve
 With Food, whereof we wretched seldom taste. 345
 He ended, and the Son of God replied.
 Think'st thou such force in Bread? is it not written
 (For I discern thee other than thou seem'st)
 Man lives not by Bread only, but each Word
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed 350
 Our Fathers here with Manna? In the Mount
Moses was forty days, nor eat nor drank,
 And forty days *Elijah* without food
 Wander'd this barren waste, the same I now:
 Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, 355
 Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?
 Whom thus answer'd th' Arch Fiend now undisguis'd.
 'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate,
 Who, leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt,
 Kept not my happy Station, but was driv'n 360
 With them from bliss to the bottomless deep,
 Yet to that hideous place not so confin'd
 By rigour unconniving, but that oft,

349. Christ cites from Deuteronomy viii, 3. The dialogue between him and Satan is based upon the passage in Luke iv, which is found in the Introduction §10, and upon Matthew's parallel account.

352. Exodus xxiv, 18, describes *Moses*, when he went up Mt. Sinai to receive the Ten Commandments, as being "in the mount forty days and forty nights."

353. *eat*, rather than "ate," was the usual past tense.

Elijah (or *Elijah*, as the name is spelled in II, 268 and 277), after eating the food which an angel brought to him, "went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God." (I Kings, xix, 8.)

355. The Introduction, §11, suggests that *distrust* is the essence of the first temptation.

357. The third syllable should have the first stress in this line. Its odd scansion, with the pause after the spondee, *Arch Fiend*, makes a deliberate transition between the two speeches.

360. Jude (6) calls the devils "Angels which kept not their first estate."

361. Only four stresses are possible, but the pause at the end of the line and the very distinct caesura after *bliss* assimilate it to the five-stress pattern.

363. *unconniving*: literally "unwinking"; i.e., never relaxing vigilance.

Leaving my dolorous Prison, I enjoy
 Large liberty to round this Globe of Earth, 365
 Or range in th' Air, nor from the Heav'n of Heav'ns
 Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
 I came among the Sons of God, when he
 Gave up into my hands *Uzzean Job*
 To prove him, and illustrate his high worth; 370
 And when to all his Angels he propos'd
 To draw the proud King *Ahab* into fraud
 That he might fall in *Ramoth*, they demurring,
 I undertook that office, and the tongues
 Of all his flattering Prophets glibb'd with lies 375
 To his destruction, as I had in charge;
 For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
 Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
 To be below'd of God, I have not lost
 To love, at least contéplate and admire 380
 What I see excellent in good, or fair,
 Or virtuous; I should so have lost all sense.
 What can be then less in me than desire
 To see thee and approach thee, whom I know

366-368. Satan is described (Job i, 6) as presenting himself before God's throne in heaven with the other "sons of God." Compare the Introduction §11.

369. *Uz* may have lain somewhere in Arabia Deserta, where Fuller placed it, but it was "a land . . . obscure" (III, 94) to Milton.

370. *illustrate* keeps its Latin meaning of "add lustre to."

371-377. In I Kings xxii, 19-22, Milton read that "a lying spirit" volunteered before the throne of God to deceive the prophets, or soothsayers, of the wicked king Ahaz and so lure him to his death at Ramoth in Gilead.

372. *fraud* keeps a Latin force of "wickedness which is deceitful" in the doer. So Satan is said to draw Eve (*P.L.*, IX, 643-644) and the rebel angels (*P.L.* VII, 143) into fraud.

373. *they demurring*: when they hesitated. An absolute construction, like many others which are a mark of the influence of Latin syntax upon Milton.

377-378. Tradition identified Satan with Lucifer,
 "brighter once amidst the Host
 Of Angels, than that Star the Stars among."
 (*P.L.*, VII, 132-133.)

Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent 385
 Thy wisdom, and behold thy God-like deeds?
 Men generally think me much a foe
 To all mankind: why should I? they to me
 Never did wrong or violence; by them
 I lost not what I lost, rather by them 390
 I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell
 Copartner in these Regions of the World,
 If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,
 Oft my advice by presages and signs,
 And answers, oracles, portents and dreams, 395
 Whereby they may direct their future life.
 Envy they say excites me, thus to gain
 Companions of my misery and woe.
 At first it may be; but long since with woe
 Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof, 400
 That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
 Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load:
 Small consolation then, were Man adjoin'd.
 This wounds me most (what can it less) that Man,
 Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I never more. 405
 To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied.
 Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies

385. *attent*: attentively.

393-396. Milton shared the widespread interest of his age in the problem of the ancient oracles, whose answers to questions were as "truthful" as those of modern "mediums"; but, like St. Augustine and all the fathers of the Church, he regarded the spirits which spoke in the oracles as mere pretenders to be divine "messengers and bringers of men's good fortunes." (*The City of God*, VII, xxii.)

397-9. From his first sight of Adam's happiness in Paradise (*P.L.*, IV, 115.) envy is a dominant motive with Satan.

401-403. Milton thought of the tradition represented in the question of Marlowe's Faustus to Mephistophilis as to why Lucifer desires his soul. The answer is, to "enlarge his kingdom," for misery loves company. (*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*, II, i.) The thought was a commonplace as far back as Seneca's letter *To Polybius on Consolation* (XII, ii). Like Milton, Sir Thomas Browne challenged "that natural fallacy of Man, to take comfort from Society, and think adversities less, because others also suffer them." (*Christian Morals*, I, xviii.)

407. In John viii, 44, Jesus calls the devil "a liar, and the father of it."

From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;
 Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come
 Into the Heav'n of Heavens; thou com'st indeed, 410
 As a poor miserable captive thrall
 Comes to the place where he before had sat
 Among the Prime in Splendor, now depos'd,
 Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,
 A spectacle of ruin or of scorn 415
 To all the Host of Heaven; the happy place
 Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
 Rather inflames thy torment, representing
 Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,
 So never more in Hell than when in Heaven. 420
 But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.
 Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
 Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?
 What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem
 Of righteous *Job*, then cruelly to afflict him 425
 With all inflictions? But his patience won.
 The other service was thy chosen task,
 To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
 For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
 Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all Oracles 430
 By thee are giv'n, and what confest more true
 Among the Nations? That hath been thy craft,

413. *Prime*: first, foremost.

414. *gazed* (at): compare "dwell" without the usual preposition following it in 331 above.

420. When Satan was in Eden,

"the hot Hell that always in him burns,
 Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight."

(*P.L.*, IX, 467-468.)

Compare *P.L.*, I, 255 and IV, 20.

423. In *P.L.*, I, 160, Satan tells Beelzebub that their "sole delight" will be "ever to do ill."

428. The lying prophets of Ahaz mentioned in 475 above, numbered four hundred.

430-432. Robert Burton expressed the prevailing belief of the times when he said that the greater demons which fell from heaven with Satan became "those false gods of the Gentiles, which were adored heretofore in several Idols, and gave Oracles at Delphos, and elsewhere; whose Prince is Beelzebub." (*Anatomy*, I, ii, 1, 2.)

By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
 But what have been thy answers, what but dark,
 Ambiguous and with double sense deluding, 435
 Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,
 And not well understood as good not known?
 Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
 Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct
 To fly or follow what concern'd him most, 440
 And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
 For God hath justly giv'n the Nations up
 To thy Delusions; justly, since they fell
 Idolatrous; but when his purpose is
 Among them to declare his Providence 445
 To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
 But from him or his Angels President
 In every Province, who, themselves disdain
 To approach thy Temples, give thee in command

434-441. Ancient literature contained much sceptical discussion of the oracles, such as the lost collection of their false, true, and treacherously ambiguous replies by Chrysippus, which Cicero mentioned (*Of Divination*, II, lvi). The Fathers of the Church, like Lactantius (*Divine Institutes*, II, xvi), attributed the oracles to the demons posing as gods, and the "words deceiving" of Apollo and the other pagan deities in Milton's *Nativity* (l. 175) are an expression of that view. Although scientific thought was moving toward the essentially modern opinion of that theory which Fontenelle advanced in his *History of Oracles* (1687), thinkers of all schools shared Thomas Hobbes's lively contempt for "the ambiguous or senseless answers of the Priests at *Delphi*, *Delos*, *Ammon*, and other famous oracles." (*Leviathan*, I, xii.)

439. *instruct*: instructed. Compare the note on "frustrate" in l. 180 above.

447-448. Jewish tradition regarded the points of the compass as angelic provinces. Before his fall, Lucifer possessed the "Quarters of the North" (*P.L.*, V, 689), where he rallied his rebel angels. Gabriel's post was in the east, where Milton placed him when he was set as a watchman

"Against the eastern Gate of Paradise."
(*P.L.*, IV, 542.)

449-453. Lactantius (*Institutes*, II, xvi) explained that by virtue of their experience as God's ministers before they fell the demons could claim honours not properly theirs by more or less accurately forecasting the future. Fontenelle interpreted similar passages in Tertullian and other early Fathers as having contributed to keep pagan superstitions alive for centuries in the Christian world. (*Histoire des Oracles*, iii.)

What to the smallest tittle thou shalt say
 To thy Adorers? thou with trembling fear,
 Or like a Fawning Parasite obey'st;
 Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth fore-told.
 But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd;
 No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
 The Gentiles; henceforth Oracles are ceast,
 And thou no more with Pomp and Sacrifice
 Shalt be inquir'd at *Delphos* or elsewhere,
 At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.
 God hath now sent his living Oracle
 Into the World, to teach his final will,
 And sends his Spirit of Truth henceforth to dwell
 In pious Hearts, an inward Oracle
 To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend,
 Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
 Dissembl'd, and this answer smooth return'd.

Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
 And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will
 But misery hath wrested from me; where
 Easily canst thou find one miserable,
 And not inforc'd oft-times to part from truth;
 If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
 Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?

454-464. Milton's most interesting use of the tradition that at the birth of Christ the oracles ceased throughout the world is in *Nativity*, 173-180. It was specifically to attack this tradition in its crude form that Fontenelle wrote, but he acknowledged its interpretation in Platonic Christian literature as meaning that after God's Son, or the Logos of Platonic thought, had been incarnated in the world the impostures of paganism little by little disappeared. Milton's emphasis here upon the *living Oracle* (i.e., Christ as distinguished from the Holy Spirit) suggests that he had in mind St. Augustine's distinction between the instruction which men supposed that they got from oracles and the real illumination that comes from God's Son and Holy Spirit. (*The City of God*, IX, xxiii.)

458. *Delphos* is a form drawn from the Greek accusative plural. The nominative, *Delphi*, is more usual. Apollo's Delphian oracle, situated in a magnificent gorge in Phocis, in central Greece, was the most famous shrine in the Greek world.

462. Jesus promised his disciples that "when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." (John xvi, 13.)

But thou art plac't above me, thou art Lord; 475
 From thee I can and must submit endure
 Check or reproof, and glad to scape so quit.
 Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
 Smooth on the tongue discourst, pleasing to th' ear,
 And tuneable as Silvan Pipe or Song; 480
 What wonder then if I delight to hear
 Her dictates from thy mouth? most men admire
 Virtue, who follow not her lore: permit me
 To hear thee when I come (since no man comes)
 And talk at least, though I despair to attain. 485
 Thy Father, who is holy, wise and pure,
 Suffers the Hypocrite or Atheous Priest
 To tread his Sacred Courts, and minister
 About his Altar, handling holy things,
 Praying or vowing, and vouchsaf'd his voice 490
 To *Balaam* Reprobate, a Prophet yet
 Inspir'd; disdain not such access to me.
 To whom our Saviour with unalter'd brow.
 Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
 I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'st 495
 Permission from above; thou canst not more.
 He added not; and Satan, bowing low

476. *submit*: submissive. Or perhaps the word was felt as equivalent to the Latin participle from which it comes and meant "submitted," *i.e.*, because I am subjected to thee, I must endure, *etc.*

477. *quit* is still used colloquially to mean "rid of" or "free from."

480. So Milton called the prayers of Adam and Eve
 "More tuneable than needed Lute or Harp
 To add more sweetness."

(*P.L.*, V, 151.)

487. *Atheous*: atheistic, unbelieving.

490-492. When Balaam was urged to curse the Israelites by his master, the King of Moab, his answer was that God had commanded him "to bless; and he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it." (*Num.* xxiii, 20.)

491. *Reprobate*: alienated from God, "damned" or desperately wicked.

494. *scope*: purpose. Literally the word means the object of a person's view, or a mark to shoot at.

497-499. *gray dissimulation* crystallizes Satan's nature as the great deceiver, disappearing like his own dark delusions in the presence of Truth. There is a resemblance in Milton's scene to the disappearances

His gray dissimulation, disappear'd
 Into thin Air diffus'd: for now began
 Night with her sullen wing to double-shade 500
 The Desert; Fowls in thir clay nests were couch't;
 And now wild Beasts came forth the woods to roam.

The End of the First Book

The Second Book

MEANWHILE the new baptiz'd, who yet remain'd
 At *Jordan* with the Baptist, and had seen
 Him whom they heard so late expressly call'd
 Jesus Messiah, Son of God declar'd,
 And on that high Authority had believ'd, 5
 And with him talkt, and with him lodg'd, I mean
Andrew and *Simon*, famous after known
 With others though in Holy Writ not nam'd,
 Now missing him thir joy so lately found,
 So lately found, and so abruptly gone, 10
 Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
 And as the days increas'd, increas'd thir doubt:
 Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,
 And for a time caught up to God, as once
Moses was in the Mount, and missing long; 15
 And the great *Thisbite* who on fiery wheels
 Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come.

of the gods in Homer, Virgil and Ovid; e.g., Mercury's vanishing into thin air after an interview with Aeneas. (*Aen.*, IV, 278.)

4. The Hebrew word *Messiah* was translated in the Septuagint by the Greek word, *Christ*. Both words mean "anointed one."

7. John's Gospel says that about the time of Jesus' baptism Andrew and Simon Peter went with him "and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day." (John i, 39.)

14-15. Compare the note on I, 352.

16-17. The *great Thisbite*: Elishah or Elijah, as Milton spells the name in 268 and 277 below. He found the form *Thisbite* in the Vulgate and in some early English translations of the Bible instead of *Tishbite* in the Authorized Version (I Kings xvii, 1). *Thisbe* was a city east of

Therefore as those young Prophets then with care
 Sought lost *Elijah*, so in each place these
 Nigh to *Bethabara*; in *Jericho* 20
 The City of Palms, *Aenon*, and *Salem* Old,
Machaerus and each Town or City wall'd
 On this side the broad lake *Genezaret*,
 Or in *Peraea*, but return'd in vain.
 Then on the bank of *Jordan*, by a Creek, 25
 Where winds with Reeds and Osiers whisp'ring play,
 Plain Fishermen, (no greater men them call)
 Close in a Cottage low together got,
 Thir unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.

the Jordan in Gilead, but in *Elegy IV*, 97, Milton confused it with Thebez by Mount Ephraim.

In *P.L.* (III, 522) Milton referred to the story in II Kings ii, 11, of the translation of the prophet Elijah to heaven,

"Rapt in a Chariot drawn by fiery Steeds."

Compare his grimly humorous use of the story in the Epigram (I) on Guy Fawkes, and the allusion in *The Passion* (36-37).

Malachi (iv, 5) prophesied the return of Elijah "before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord," and Jesus told the Jews that, if they would accept him, John the Baptist was "Elias, which was for to come." (Mat. xi, 14.)

18-19. After Elijah was translated, "fifty strong men" of the "sons of the prophets" searched for him "three days, but found him not." (II Kings ii, 15-17.)

20-24. Identification of these places is interesting, but it gives only a pale suggestion of the delight that was taken in such biblical panoramas as Thomas Fuller drew in *A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and The Confines thereof*.

20. *Bethabara* has been mentioned in I, 184. *Jericho*, just west of the Jordan and about five miles from the Dead Sea, is called the "city of palm trees" in Deuteronomy xxxiv, 3.

21. Beside baptizing at Bethabara, "John also was baptizing in Aenon near to Salim." (John iii, 23.) Both places seem to have been on the west bank of the Jordan.

22. *Machaerus* was a tremendous fortress on a wild mountain in Peraea, in the desert east of the Dead Sea. It was there that legends fixed the death of John the Baptist.

23. *Genezaret* was an alternative name for the Sea of Galilee, a lake formed by the widening of the Jordan north of Bethabara.

24. *Peraea* was the region east of the Jordan, opposite the towns on "this side," i.e., the west bank of the river as Milton visualized it from his house in London.

27. The words in parentheses seem to be a deliberate reminiscence of

Alas, from what high hope to what relapse 30
 Unlook'd for are we fall'n! Our eyes beheld
 Messiah certainly now come, so long
 Expected of our Fathers; we have heard
 His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth,
 Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand, 35
 The Kingdom shall to *Israel* be restor'd:
 Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
 Into perplexity and new amaze:
 For whither is he gone, what accident
 Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire 40
 After appearance, and again prolong
 Our expectation? God of *Israel*,
 Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come;
 Behold the Kings of the Earth how they oppress
 Thy chosen, to what highth thir pow'r unjust 45
 They have exalted, and behind them cast
 All fear of thee; arise and vindicate
 Thy Glory, free thy people from thir yoke!
 But let us wait; thus far he hath perform'd,
 Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him, 50
 By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown,

Spenser's reference to himself in *The Shepheardes Calendar* (January, 1) as

"A shepheards boye (no better doe him call)."

30-31. *from what high hope . . . are we fall'n!* an odd application of a phrase in Terence's comedy, *The Self-tormentor* (II, iii, 9), which was a by-word with every schoolboy in Milton's England.

34. An echo of John's passage (i, 14); "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, . . . full of grace and truth."

35-36. Milton adapted the question put to Christ by the disciples when they first met him after the Resurrection: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i, 6.)

38. *amaze*: amazement, stupefaction. Except rarely in poetry, the word is obsolete.

40. *rapt*: probably from the obsolete verb "rap," which meant "to snatch" or "to carry away."

43. Milton intended the sense of breathless expectation of the fulfilment of the prophecies about the Messiah to pervade his poem. Compare I, 55-65 and 286.

50. *Anointed* is the English equivalent of Messiah. Compare the note on 4 above.

In public, and with him we have convers'd;
 Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
 Lay on his Providence; he will not fail
 Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall, 55
 Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence,
 Soon we shall see our hope, our joy return.

Thus they out of their complaints new hope resume
 To find whom at the first they found unsought:
 But to his Mother *Mary*, when she saw 60
 Others return'd from Baptism, not her Son,
 Nor left at *Jordan*, tidings of him none;
 Within her breast, though calm, her breast though pure,
 Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd
 Some troubl'd thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad. 65

O what avails me now that honour high
 To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute,
 Hail highly favour'd, among women blest!
 While I to sorrows am no less advanc't,
 And fears as eminent, above the lot 70
 Of other women, by the birth I bore,
 In such a season born when scarce a Shed
 Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
 From the bleak air; a Stable was our warmth,
 A Manger his; yet soon enforc't to fly 75
 Thence into *Egypt*, till the Murd'rous King
 Were dead, who sought his life, and missing fill'd
 With Infant blood the streets of *Bethlehem*.
 From *Egypt* home return'd, in *Nazareth*
 Hath been our dwelling many years, his life 80
 Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,

60. *to his Mother Mary* is a Latin, dative construction, equivalent to "for his mother, Mary, there were cares," etc.

62. The double negative and the detached, or absolute construction are both Latin.

68-69. The salute is in the words of Gabriel at the Annunciation. (Luke i, 28.)

75-78. Herod the Great was *the Murd'rous King* who "slew all the children that were in Bethlehem" (Mat. ii, 16) and drove Joseph and Mary to take refuge in Egypt.

79. Nazareth, in Galilee, is still the site of a church which stands over the traditional place of the Annunciation.

Little suspicious to any King; but now
 Full grown to Man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
 By *John* the Baptist, and in public shown,
 Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice; 85
 I look't for some great change; to Honour? no,
 But trouble, as old *Simon* plain fore-told,
 That to the fall and rising he should be
 Of many in *Israel*, and to a sign
 Spoken against, that through my very Soul 90
 A sword shall pierce, this is my favour'd lot,
 My Exaltation to Afflictions high;
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;
 I will not argue that, nor will repine.
 But where delays he now? some great intent 95
 Conceals him: when twelve years he scarce had seen,
 I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
 He could not lose himself; but went about
 His Father's business; what he meant I mus'd,
 Since understand; much more his absence now 100
 Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.

82. *suspicious*: worthy of suspicion.

83-86. The participles, *grown*, *acknowledg'd*, *shown* and *own'd*, stand apart from the main verb, *look'd*, in a kind of Latin absolute construction. Before every one of them Milton felt an unexpressed phrase like "since he is."

87-91. Simeon's prophecy has been recalled in I, 255-256. The words here closely paraphrase Luke ii, 34-35.

95. *intent*: intention. Compare the "sincere intent" of *P.L.*, III, 192.

97. *as*: that. This use occurs frequently in Shakespeare, *e.g.*,

"You shall be so received
 As you shall deem yourself lodged in my heart."
 (*Love's Labour's Lost*, II, i, 174.)

98-99. Jesus' justification of himself, to Mary, when, aged twelve, he left her to talk for three days in the Temple with the scribes, was, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" (Luke ii, 49.)

99-104. Luke's account adds that "his mother kept all these sayings in her heart." (ii, 51. Compare Luke ii, 19.)

99. *mus'd*: wondered.

101. *obscures*: hides. The word often kept its Latin meaning of "make dark" or "conceal."

But I to wait with patience am inur'd;
 My heart hath been a store-house long of things
 And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus *Mary* pondering oft, and oft to mind 105
 Recalling what remarkably had pass'd
 Since first her Salutation heard, with thoughts
 Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:
 The while her Son tracing the Desert wild,
 Sole, but with holiest Meditations fed, 110
 Into himself descended, and at once
 All his great work to come before him set;
 How to begin, how to accomplish best
 His end of being on Earth, and mission high:
 For Satan with sly preface to return 115
 Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
 Up to the middle Region of thick Air,
 Where all his Potentates in Council sat;
 There without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
 Solicitous and blank he thus began. 120
 Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, Ethereal Thrones,
 Demonian Spirits now, from the Element

102. *inur'd*: accustomed, used (in the colloquial sense of "using to do something" or "being used to something").

109. *trace*: traverse.

111. *Into himself descended*: perhaps a reminiscence of similar language in Persius' fourth *Satire*, l. 23.

116. *vacant*: unoccupied, at leisure.

117. An accepted scientific theory divided the air into three levels or regions, in the middle of which Bacon said that "Rains [are condensed] by the Cold" (*Silva*, §81). The middle region was thought to be the special haunt of demons, which, as Burton pointed out (*Anatomy*, II, ii, 3) are called "Princes of the Air" because they cause storms and all portents in the sky. It is, of course, a demonic storm which sweeps the desert in IV, 409-425. Compare *P.L.*, I, 516.

120. *Solicitous*: disturbed and excited.

blank: at a loss what to say. Milton used the word in *Eikonoklastes* (xxi) to describe the Duchess of Burgundy when in open council her own letters proved her guilty of a lie.

122-124. Milton's interest in the belief that the devils were attached to the four elements was expressed in *Il Penseroso* (93-96). He found it in the writings of alchemists like Cornelius Agrippa and of Neo-Platonists like Michael Psellus, and in Jewish tradition it went back to the Book of Enoch (lx, 11-21). To some extent it was implicit in

Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd,
 Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth beneath,
 So may we hold our place and these mild seats 125
 Without new trouble; such an Enemy
 Is ris'n to invade us, who no less
 Threat'ns than our expulsion down to Hell.
 I, as I undertook, and with the vote
 Consenting in full frequence was impow'r'd, 130
 Have found him, view'd him, tasted him, but find
 Far other labour to be undergone
 Than when I dealt with *Adam* first of Men,
 Though *Adam* by his Wife's allurements fell,
 However to this Man inferior far, 135
 If he be Man by Mother's side, at least
 With more than human gifts from Heav'n adorn'd,
 Perfections absolute, Graces divine,
 And amplitude of mind to greatest Deeds.
 Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence 140
 Of my success with *Eve* in Paradise
 Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
 Of like succeeding here; I summon all
 Rather to be in readiness with hand
 Or counsel to assist; lest I who erst 145
 Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.

the interpretation of the gods by the mythologists of the Renaissance as sovereigns of the elements, Vulcan of the fire,

"Ops, of the earth; and Juno, of the ayre;
 Neptune, of seas."

(*F.Q.*, VII, vii, 26.)

125. *So may we hold* may express a hope that the devils will keep their rule of the elements or a fear that, if prophecy is fulfilled, they will lose it.

131. *tasted*: examined. Basically the word means "to investigate by touching."

136. In the original editions the comma did not precede, but followed, *at least*.

139. Milton had in mind an ideal that stemmed from Aristotle's great-souled man, whose supreme virtue of magnanimity consisted in honourable ambition. (*Nicomachean Ethics*, IV, iii.) He thought of Christ as magnanimous in the way that he himself defined the term; "Magnanimity is shown, when in seeking or avoiding . . . riches, advantages, or honours, we are actuated by a regard to our own dignity, rightly understood." (*C.D.*, II, ix.)

So spake the old Serpent doubting, and from all
 With clamor was assur'd thir utmost aid
 At his command; when from amidst them rose
Belial the dissolutes Spirit that fell, 150
 The sensuallest, and after *Asmodai*
 The fleshliest Incubus, and thus advis'd.
 Set women in his eye and in his walk,
 Among daughters of men the fairest found;
 Many are in each Region passing fair 155
 As the noon Sky; more like to Goddesses
 Than Mortal Creatures, graceful and discreet,
 Expert in amorous Arts, enchanting tongues
 Persuasive, Virgin majesty with mild
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach, 160
 Skill'd to retire, and in retiring draw
 Hearts after them tangl'd in Amorous Nets.
 Such object hath the power to soft'n and tame
 Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,
 Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve, 165
 Draw out with credulous desire, and lead
 At will the manliest, resolute breast,

150. The word *Belial*, in the Old Testament, was simply an abstract noun meaning "worthlessness" and was used in the Hebraic phrase "sons of Belial" to mean, as Milton said, "the draff of men." In late Jewish and in medieval tradition it began vaguely to mean Satan or a distinct demon, but as such Milton first gave it real character in the great appearances in *P.L.* I, 490, II, 109, 226, and VI, 620.

151. *Asmodai*, or Asmodeus, as Milton called him in *P.L.*, IV, 168, is the lustful angel of the apochryphal Book of Tobit. He loved Tobit's wife, Sara, and on their wedding nights killed seven men who married her.

152. In the Middle Ages belief in *incubi* was universal enough to be the basis of established criminal laws and it persisted in the notion that witches "use venerie with a divell called Incubus." (Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, II, ix.)

160. *allay'd*: tempered, softened.

164. *temper*: temperament, character. Compare *P.L.*, II, 218.

rugged'st: very corrugated, frowning. Compare the nightingale's song "Smoothing the rugged brow of Night" in *Il Penseroso*, 58. For the comparison of the adjective see Abbott, §473.

165. *Enerve*: enervate.

166. There seems to be a deliberate allusion to Horace's "credulous hope" of response from his mistress in a lover's heart. (*Odes*, IV, i, 30.)

As the Magnetic hardest Iron draws.
 Women, when nothing else, beguill'd the heart
 Of wisest *Solomon*, and made him build, 170
 And made him bow to the Gods of his Wives.
 To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.
Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
 All others by thyself; because of old
 Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring 175
 Thir shape, thir colour, and attractive grace,
 None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
 Before the Flood thou with thy lusty Crew,
 False titl'd Sons of God, roaming the Earth,
 Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, 180
 And coupl'd with them, and begot a race.
 Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
 In Courts and Regal Chambers how thou lurk'st,
 In Wood or Grove by mossy Fountain side,
 In Valley or Green Meadow, to way-lay 185
 Some beauty rare, *Calisto*, *Clymene*,
Daphne, or *Semele*, *Antiopa*,
 Or *Amymone*, *Syrinx*, many more
 Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd,

168. *Magnetic*: magnet. The word was often used as a noun.

170. In *P.L.*, I, 444-446, there is a similar allusion to the story of Solomon's worship of the gods of his wives in I Kings xi, 1-8.

178-181. Here and in *P.L.*, III, 463-465 (in contrast with the interpretation in *P.L.*, XI, 574-592) the strange story of the "sons of God" who took wives of the "daughters of men" (Gen. vi, 2) is interpreted as if it referred to the fallen angels. As far back as Clement of Alexandria Christian apologists had treated the pagan myths of the amours of the gods as Milton does here, but the charm of his passage betrays his admiration of Ovid's handling of those stories in the *Metamorphoses*.

186-188. All these nymphs figure in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; some of them famous, like Daphne, whom Apollo loved (see *Comus*, 661, note), and others mentioned for their amours with the sylvan gods. Professor Osgood suggests (p. 10.) that Milton was influenced here by patristic arraignments of the gods for their incontinence, like that in the *Protrepticus* (27 P, ff.) of Clement of Alexandria.

189. *scapes*—escapades. The word was common in this sense. N.E.D. cites Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*: "Maydens that haue made a scape are commonly called to be nurses."

100 long; i.e., to mention all of them. Compare *P.L.* III, 473.

Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan, 190
 Satyr, or Faun, or Silvan? But these haunts
 Delight not all; among the Sons of Men,
 How many have with a smile made small account
 Of beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
 All her assaults, on worthier things intent? 195
 Remember that *Pelleian* Conqueror,
 A youth, how all the Beauties of the East
 He slightly view'd, and slightly over-pass'd;
 How hee surnam'd of *Africa* dismiss'd
 In his prime youth the fair *Iberian* maid. 200
 For *Solomon*, he liv'd at ease, and full
 Of honour, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
 Higher design than to enjoy his State;
 Thence to the bait of Women lay expos'd.
 But he whom we attempt is wiser far 205
 Than *Solomon*, of more exalted mind,
 Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
 Of greatest things; what woman will you find,
 Though of this Age the wonder and the fame,
 On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye 210
 Of fond desire? or should she confident,
 As sitting Queen ador'd on Beauty's Throne,
 Descend with all her winning charms begirt
 To enamour, as the *Zone of Venus* once
 Wrought that effect on *Jove*, so Fables tell; 215
 How would one look from his Majestic brow,

196. Alexander the Great was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia. In his *Life* by Plutarch, Milton read that after the battle of Issus he treated the wife and daughters of Darius as "ladies, not only of high rank, but also of great modesty and virtue, and took care that they should not hear an indecent word, nor have the least cause to suspect any danger to their honour."

199-200. Livy's *History of Rome* (xxvi, 50) says that Scipio—who, Milton later recalls, "brought down The Carthaginian pride" (III, 35) and so won the title of Africanus—treated one of his beautiful Spanish prisoners at the capture of Cartagena with distinguished respect. Livy's candid avowal of his diplomatic motive in doing so makes it a little hard to understand why "the praise of . . . Scipion" (Spenser, *Virgils Gnat*, 613) should have been as cordial as it was in Renaissance poetry.

214-215. Homer describes *Jove's* surrender to *Juno* when she came

Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,
 Discount'nance her despis'd, and put to rout
 All her array; her female pride deject,
 Or turn to reverent awe! for Beauty stands 220
 In the admiration only of weak minds
 Led captive; cease to admire, and all her Plumes
 Fall flat and shrink into a trivial toy,
 At every sudden slighting quite abasht:
 Therefore with manlier objects we must try 225
 His constancy, with such as have more show
 Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise;
 Rocks whereon greatest men have ofttest wreck'd;
 Or that which only seems to satisfy
 Lawful desires of Nature, not beyond; 230
 And now I know he hungers where no food
 Is to be found, in the wide Wilderness;
 The rest commit to me, I shall let pass
 No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.
 He ceas'd, and heard thir grant in loud acclaim; 235

to him wearing the girdle of Venus. It was decorated with all the symbols of passion, Homer says (*Il.*, XIV, 214-218), for Venus'

"husband Vulcan whylome for her sake,
 When first he loved her with heart entire,
 This pretious ornament, they say, did make."
 (*F.Q.*, IV, v, 4.)

217. The subject of *seated* is implied in *his*. Compare "the Prison of his Tyranny who Reigns." (*P.L.*, II, 59.)

Newton suggested that Milton had in mind the hill to which the allegorical figure of Virtue points in the illustrations of Prodicus' famous apologue, *The Judgment of Hercules*, and mentioned particularly that by Annibal Caracci in the Farnese palace in Rome. Compare Sonnet, *Lady that in the prime*, 4, note.

220-222. Milton shared the contempt which Bacon expressed (*Essay X*) for a lover who can "do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye; which was given him for higher purposes."

222-223. Milton certainly was thinking of a peacock and probably, as Dunster suggested, of a passage in Ovid's *Art of Love*, I, 627, which says that the bird of Juno shows its plumes only to an admiring audience.

235. *grant*: assent. The first meaning of the word is "consent" or "permission."

Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
 Of Spirits likest to himself in guile
 To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
 If cause were to unfold some active Scene
 Of various persons, each to know his part; 240
 Then to the Desert takes with these his flight;
 Where still from shade to shade the Son of God
 After forty days fasting had remain'd,
 Now hung'ring first, and to himself thus said.

Where will this end? four times ten days I have pass'd, 245
 Wand'ring this woody maze, and human food
 Nor tasted, nor had appetite: that Fast
 To Virtue I impute not, or count part
 Of what I suffer here; if Nature need not,
 Or God support Nature without repast 250
 Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
 But now I feel I hunger, which declares,
 Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
 Can satisfy that need some other way,
 Though hunger still remain: so it remain 255
 Without this body's wasting, I content me,
 And from the sting of Famine fear no harm,
 Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts that feed
 Mee hung'ring more to do my Father's will.

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son 260
 Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
 Under the hospitable covert nigh

236-240. The lovely forms which these spirits assume are comparable with the beauty of Spenser's false Florimell, which was assumed by

"A wicked Spright yfraught with fawning guile,
 And faire resemblance aboue all the rest,
 Which with the Prince of Darknesse fell somewhile,
 From heauens blisse and cuerlasting rest."

(*F.Q.*, III, viii, 8.)

240. *persons . . . part*; dramatic terms.

246. *Wand'ring* is transitive, as it is in I, 354.

255. *so*: provided that.

258. Compare Milton's reference to himself as feeding on the thoughts out of which he wrote in *P.L.*, III, 37.

259. In John iv, 34, Jesus says, "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me."

Of Trees thick interwoven; there he slept,
 And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,
 Of meats and drinks, Nature's refreshment sweet. 265
 Him thought, he by the Brook of *Cherith* stood
 And saw the Ravens with thir horny beaks
 Food to *Elijah* bringing Even and Morn,
 Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought:
 He saw the Prophet also how he fled 270
 Into the Desert, and how there he slept
 Under a Juniper; then how awakt,
 He found his Supper on the coals prepar'd,
 And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,
 And eat the second time after repose, 275
 The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days;
 Sometimes that with *Elijah* he partook,
 Or as a guest with *Daniel* at his pulse.
 Thus wore out night, and now the Herald Lark
 Left his ground-nest, high tow'ring to descry 280
 The morn's approach, and greet her with his Song.
 As lightly from his grassy Couch up rose
 Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream,
 Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.
 Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd, 285
 From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
 If Cottage were in view, Sheep-cote or Herd;
 But Cottage, Herd or Sheep-cote none he saw,

264. *appetite*: a hungry man. The abstract is put for the concrete as it is in the word *Apostasy* in I, 146.

266. *Him* is used instead of the nominative form because *thought* is not the preterite of "think" but of an obsolete verb meaning "to seem."

266-276. In I Kings xvii, 5-6, Milton found the account of Elijah's retreat to the "brook Cherith, that is before Jordan," where "the ravens brought him bread and flesh," and in I Kings xix, 4-8, the story of the angel and the food which lasted him forty days. Compare I, 353.

269. The only excuse for the pun on *ravenous* is the fact that contemporary taste approved paronomasia, or plays on words, as the ornament of epic poetry which Abraham Fraunce called them in his *Arcadian Rhetorike*, xxiv.

277. *that* connects the following clause with *thought* in l. 266.

278. The story of Daniel's refusal of King Nebuchadnezzar's meat to live on his usual diet of pulse is found in the Book of Daniel i, 8-19.

Only in a bottom saw a pleasant Grove,
 With chant of tuneful Birds resounding loud. 290
 Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
 To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
 High rooft and walks beneath, and alleys brown
 That open'd in the midst a woody Scene;
 Nature's own work it seem'd (Nature taught Art) 295
 And to a Superstitious eye the haunt
 Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs; he view'd it round,
 When suddenly a man before him stood,
 Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,
 As one in City, or Court, or Palace bred, 300
 And with fair speech these words to him address'd.
 With granted leave officious I return,
 But much more wonder that the Son of God
 In this wild solitude so long should bide
 Of all things destitute, and well I know, 305
 Not without hunger. Others of some note,
 As story tells, have trod this Wilderness:
 The Fugitive Bond-woman with her Son
 Outcast *Nebaioth*, yet found he relief
 By a providing Angel; all the race 310

289. *bottom*: low-lying land, dell or valley.

293. *alleys*: paths.

brown: dusky, dark. This is the primitive meaning of the word. Compare its use to describe foliage "broad and brown as Evening" in *P.L.*, IX, 1088.

295. It seems that Milton intended to suggest that the scene, which looked "natural," was really raised by Satan's art. Like the Garden of Eden, this enchanted grove was "sweet" because "Wild above rule or art" (*P.L.*, V, 296-297), but its contrast with the desert was an artistic effect which Tasso recommended when he said in his essay *On the Heroic Poem* (Book III) that "the view of deserts and of the ruggedness and sternness of mountains is agreeable in contrast with the amenity of lakes and gardens."

302. *officious* had none of its modern, unpleasant connotation, but kept its Latin force of "anxious to please."

306-310. The *Bond-woman* is Hagar, whose son, Ishmael, would have died in the desert if "the angel of God" had not shown her "a well of water." (Gen. xxi, 17-19.) It is not clear why Milton should have called Ishmael by the name of his oldest son, Nebaioth. (Gen. xxv, 13.)

310-312. In the wilderness of Sin (or Zin) "the children of Israel did

Of *Israel* here had famish'd, had not God
 Rain'd from Heaven Manna; and that Prophet bold
 Native of *Thebez* wand'ring here was fed
 Twice by a voice inviting him to eat.

Of thee these forty days none hath regard, 315
 Forty and more deserted here indeed.

To whom thus Jesus; what conclud'st thou hence?
 They all had need, I as thou seest have none.

How hast thou hunger then? Satan replied.
 Tell me, if Food were now before thee set, 320

Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like
 The giver, answer'd Jesus. Why should that
 Cause thy refusal, said the subtle Fiend,
 Hast thou not right to all Created things,
 Owe not all Creatures by just right to thee 325

Duty and Service, nor to stay till bid,
 But tender all their power? nor mention I
 Meats by the Law unclean, or offer'd first
 To Idols, those young *Daniel* could refuse;
 Nor proffer'd by an Enemy, though who 330

Would scruple that, with want opprest? behold
 Nature asham'd, or better to express,
 Troubl'd that thou shouldst hunger, hath purvey'd
 From all the Elements her choicest store
 To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord 335

With honour; only deign to sit and eat.

He spake no dream, for as his words had end,
 Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld

eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited." (Exod. xvi, 35.)

312. The *Prophet* is Elijah the Thisbite. Compare the note on 16-17 above.

324-327. Satan is challenging Jesus as God's "Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds." (Heb. i, 2.)

328-329. The "king's meat" which Daniel refused must have included the flesh of many animals forbidden by the Mosaic law in Deuteronomy xiv, 3-20, and Leviticus xi. The selling of meat that had been offered to idols disturbed some tender consciences, which St. Paul reassured. (I Cor. x, 28.)

331. *scruple*, used transitively, did not become rare until the nineteenth century.

In ample space under the broadest shade
 A Table richly spread, in regal mode, 340
 With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort
 And savour, Beasts of chase, or Fowl of game,
 In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,
 Gris-amber-steam'd; all Fish from Sea or Shore,
 Freshet, or purling Brook, of shell or fin, 345
 And exquisitest name, for which was drain'd
Pontus and *Lucrine* Bay, and *Afric* Coast.
 Alas how simple, to these Cates compar'd,
 Was that crude Apple that diverted *Eve!*
 And at a stately side-board by the wine 350
 That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood
 Tall stripling youths rich-clad, of fairer hue

340. Milton remembered Armida's extravagant banquet in the open air to tempt her lovers, for she offered

"All Beasts, all Birds beguil'd by Fowler's Trade,
 All Fish were there in Floods or Seas that pass,
 All Dainties made by Art, and at the Table
 An hundred Virgins serv'd, for Husbands able."

(*J.D.*, X, 64.)

Such "regal" luxury would seem to Jesus as burdensome as Cowley's essay *Of Liberty* says that his table is to the rich man who "seems to be the Lord of All Nature; the Earth affords him her best Metals for his Dishes, her best Vegetables and Animals for his Food; the Air and Sea supply him with their choicest Birds and Fishes."

regal mode seems to be an echo of Virgil's description of the banquet with which Pirithous was tormented in Taratarus. (*Aen.*, VI, 605.)

344. *Gris-amber*: amberggris, which was used as a sauce. *N.E.D.* quotes Sedley's *Bellamira* (IV, i): "Breakfast . . . upon new-laid eggs, ambergrease and gravy."

347. *Pontus*, the Black Sea. The *Lucrine Bay* was a lagoon near Naples. Juvenal mentions connoisseurship of its oysters as a mark of one of his decadent Romans. (*Satires*, IV, 141.)

348. *Cates*: delicacies.

349. *diverted* keeps its literal, Latin meaning, which is close to that of "pervert" in modern English.

352-361. In Michael Psellus' dialogue, *Timothy, or about Demons*, (18, 19), or in some similar work, Milton may have found the theory that the devils could assume any form at pleasure by the working of their imagination upon their subtle, airy bodies, and that the demons inhabiting the water resembled women and were called by the Greeks Naiades and Nereids.

Than *Ganymede* or *Hylas*; distant more
 Under the Trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood
 Nymphs of *Diana's* train, and *Naiades* 355
 With fruits and flowers from *Amalthea's* horn,
 And Ladies of th' *Hesperides*, that seem'd
 Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabl'd since
 Of Fairy Damsels met in Forest wide
 By Knights of *Logres*, or of *Lyones*, 360
Lancelot or *Pelleas*, or *Pellenore*;
 And all the while Harmonious Airs were heard
 Of chiming strings, or charming pipes, and winds
 Of gentlest gale *Arabian* odours fann'd
 From their soft wings, and *Flora's* earliest smells. 365
 Such was the Splendor, and the Tempter now
 His invitation earnestly renew'd.
 What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
 These are not Fruits forbidden; no interdict

353. *Ganymede*. Compare *Elegy VII*, 21, note.

Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica*, I, 127, ff.) tells the story of the kidnapping of Hylas, the friend of Hercules, by the nymphs who admired his beauty.

356. *Amalthea's horn*: the cornucopia or horn of plenty. Ovid (*Fasti*, V, 115, ff.) says that Amalthea was a goat which nursed Jove when he was an infant on Mount Ida, and that the marvellous horn was her reward.

357. The *Hesperides*, or daughters of Hesperus, were not "feign'd of old" to be particularly beautiful, but Milton had the authority of the mythologist, Natale Conti (VII, vii) for representing them so. He thought of them as resembling the fairy mistresses of knights like Lancelot, Pelleas and Pellenore. Compare the Introduction §9.

360. *Logres*: according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, England east of the Severn and south of the Humber.

Lyones: Lyonesse was the land from which Arthur was supposed to have come. It lay somewhere near Cornwall and is sometimes said to be the submerged region between Land's End and the Scilly Isles.

363. *charming* keeps its Latin meaning of "singing." Compare the use of "charm" for the song of birds in *P.L.*, IV, 642.

364. Compare the "Odours from the spicy shore of *Araby* the blest" in *P.L.*, IV, 162-163.

365. *Flora*: the goddess of flowers.

368. *What doubts*: why hesitates? The Latin neuter, interrogative pronoun is used in this way and *doubts* has its Latin meaning of "to be in two minds."

Defends the touching of these viands pure; 370
 Thir taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
 But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
 Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.

All these are Spirits of Air, and Woods, and Springs,
 Thy gentle Ministers, who come to pay 375
 Thee homage, and acknowledge thee thir Lord:
 What doubt'st thou Son of God? sit down and eat.

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied:
 Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?
 And who withhold's my pow'r that right to use? 380
 Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
 When and where likes me best, I can command?

I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
 Command a Table in this Wilderness,
 And call swift flights of Angels ministrant 385
 Array'd in Glory on my cup to attend;

Why shouldst thou then obtrude this diligence,
 In vain, where no acceptance it can find,
 And with my hunger what hast thou to do?
 Thy pompous Delicacies I contemn, 390
 And count thy specious gifts no gifts but guiles.

To whom thus answer'd Satan malcontent:
 That I have also power to give thou seest;
 If of that pow'r I bring thee voluntary
 What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd, 395

370. *Defends*: forbids. The word retains the meaning which it has in French.

382. *likes me*: a construction like our "it pleases me!" Milton says that Spirits "as they please

. Limb themselves, and colour, shape or size
 Assume, as likes them best."

(*P.L.*, VI, 351-353.)

384. There may be an allusion to the blasphemy of the Israelites in the desert of Sin, when they asked, "Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?" (Psalm lxxviii, 19.)

385. Perhaps there is an echo of the "flights of angels" which Horatio invokes to sing Hamlet to his rest. (*Hamlet*, V, ii, 347.)

391. The proverb that the gifts of enemies are no gifts is in Sophocles' *Ajax*, 664.

394. *voluntary*: voluntarily. For the adverb without the suffix -ly see Abbott §23.

And rather opportunely in this place
 Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
 Why shouldst thou not accept it? but I see
 What I can do or offer is suspect;
 Of these things others quickly will dispose 400
 Whose pains have earn'd the far-fet spoil. With that
 Both Table and Provision vanish quite
 With sound of Harpies' wings and Talons heard;
 Only the importune Tempter still remain'd,
 And with these words his temptation pursu'd. 405
 By hunger, that each other Creature tames,
 Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd;
 Thy temperance invincible besides,
 For no allurement yields to appetite,
 And all thy heart is set on high designs, 410
 High actions; but wherewith to be achiev'd?
 Great acts require great means of enterprise,
 Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
 A Carpenter thy Father known, thyself
 Bred up in poverty and straits at home; 415
 Lost in a Desert here and hunger-bit:
 Which way or from what hope dost thou aspire
 To greatness? whence Authority deriv'st,
 What Followers, what Retinue canst thou gain,
 Or at thy heels the dizzy Multitude, 420

399. *suspect*: suspected. Compare the note on "frustrate" in I, 180.

401. *far-fet*: far-fetched. "Fet" for "fetched" was not unusual; e.g., Spenser's "brasse from Corinth fet" (*Muiopotmos*, 77).

403. In the *Aeneid* (III, 225-228) the Trojans' meal is interrupted
 "When from the mountain-tops, with hideous cry,
 And clatt'ring wings, the hungry harpies fly:
 They snatch the meat, defiling all they find."
 (Dryden's translation, 293-5.)

The scene suggests the stage direction in *Tempest* (III, iii): "Enter Ariel like a harpy; claps his wings upon the table; and with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes."

404. *importune*: importunate.

416. Satan's words may echo those of one of Job's comforters; "His strength shall be hunger-bitten." (Job xviii, 12.)

420-421. The thought is too typically Miltonic to make it certain that the language owes anything to Horace's *Epistles*, I, xix, 37, which it closely resembles.

Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?
 Money brings Honour, Friends, Conquest, and Realms;
 What rais'd *Antipater* the *Edomite*,
 And his Son *Herod* plac'd on *Judah's* Throne
 (Thy throne) but gold that got him puissant friends? 425
 Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
 Get Riches first, get Wealth, and Treasure heap,
 Not difficult, if thou hearken to me,
 Riches are mine, Fortune is in my hand;
 They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain, 430
 While Virtue, Valour, Wisdom sit in want.
 To whom thus Jesus patiently replied:
 Yet Wealth without these three is impotent,
 To gain dominion or to keep it gain'd.
 Witness those ancient Empires of the Earth, 435
 In highth of all thir flowing wealth dissolv'd;
 But men endu'd with these have oft attain'd
 In lowest poverty to highest deeds:
Gideon and *Jephtha*, and the Shepherd lad,
 Whose off-spring on the Throne of *Judah* sat 440

422. The entire scene resembles the temptation of Spenser's Knight of Temperance in the cave of Mammon, and here the thought recalls Mammon's appeal to Guyon to purchase honour with riches:

"Here is the fountaine of the worldes good:
 Now therefore, if thou wilt enriched bee,
 Auise thee well, and chaunge thy wilfull mood."
 (*F.Q.* II, vii, 38, 6-8).

423. Milton found the story of the rise of Antipater, "who was very rich, and in his nature an active and seditious man," in Josephus *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIV, i.

427. Here there is certainly the memory of Horace's line, "O citizens, citizens, money should be the first object." (*Epistles*, I, i, 53.)

439. When God called Gideon to be the champion of Israel against the Midianites, he answered, "Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold, my family is poor in Manasseh." (*Judges* vi, 15.)

Jephthah, who delivered Israel from the Ammonites, was disinherited and banished in his youth. (*Judges* xi, 2.)

The *Shepherd lad*: David, whom God "took from the sheep-folds. From following the ewes great with young he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance." (*Psalms* lxxviii, 70-71.)

440-442. The last of many prophecies of the endurance of David's line is in the message of Gabriel to Mary; that her son should "be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David." (*Luke* i, 32.)

So many Ages, and shall yet regain
 That seat, and reign in *Israel* without end.
 Among the Heathen, (for throughout the World
 To me is not unknown what hath been done
 Worthy of Memorial) canst thou not remember 445
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?
 For I esteem those names of men so poor
 Who could do mighty things, and could contemn
 Riches though offer'd from the hand of Kings.
 And what in me seems wanting, but that I 450
 May also in this poverty as soon
 Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
 Extol not Riches then, the toil of Fools,
 The wise man's cumbrance if not snare, more apt
 To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge, 455
 Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.
 What if with like aversion I reject
 Riches and Realms; yet not for that a Crown,
 Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
 Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights 460
 To him who wears the Regal Diadem,
 When on his shoulders each man's burden lies:

446. *Quintius*: better known as Cincinnatus, the Roman Dictator who, after holding power for sixteen days, defeated the Aequians in 456 B.C. and went back to his ploughing in the Alban hills.

Milton remembered *Fabricius'* reply to Pyrrhus: "If I am dishonest, I am not worth a bribe; if honest, you know I will not take one."

Curius Dentatus, a hero of the Samnite wars, was said to have been found cooking turnips by some Samnites who came to bribe him and discovered that he wanted nothing which their money could buy. The scene figures in several books of emblems.

Regulus, who was conquered in Africa in the First Punic War, preferred death in Carthage to the dishonour of breaking his word to the Carthaginians. "Those old *Fabritii* and *Curii*," Milton said in the conclusion of *The Reason of Church Government*, knew that God "delights most to work from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instruments." (*P.W.* II, 504.)

458-465. The implication is that Jesus, if he were not convinced of the futility of violence, would be willing to forego the "infinite heart's ease" which Shakespeare's *Henry V* (IV, i, 256-257) says that kings must neglect and "private men enjoy." Milton regarded kings as mere "entrusted servants of the commonwealth" who could not make any personal sacrifice too large "in discharge of their public duty." (*Eikonoklastes*, xiii.)

For therein stands the office of a King,
 His Honour, Virtue, Merit and chief Praise,
 That for the Public all this weight he bears. 465
 Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
 Passions, Desires, and Fears, is more a King;
 Which every wise and virtuous man attains:
 And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
 Cities of men, or head-strong Multitudes, 470
 Subject himself to Anarchy within,
 Or lawless passions in him which he serves.
 But to guide Nations in the way of truth
 By saving Doctrine, and from error lead
 To know, and knowing worship God aright, 475
 Is yet more Kingly; this attracts the Soul,
 Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
 That other o'er the body only reigns,
 And oft by force, which to a generous mind
 So reigning can be no sincere delight. 480
 Besides to give a Kingdom hath been thought
 Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
 Far more magnanimous than to assume.
 Riches are needless then, both for themselves,
 And for thy reason why they should be sought, 485
 To gain a Sceptre, ofttest better miss't.

The End of the Second Book.

The Third Book

So SPAKE the Son of God, and Satan stood
 A while as mute confounded what to say,
 What to reply, confuted and convinc't
 Of his weak arguing, and fallacious drift;

466-480. Compare the Introduction §6.

481-483. Milton's conception of magnanimity (see the note on 139 above) could best be illustrated by the refusal of a crown. "Carolus Martellus," wrote Sir Richard Barckley in *The Felicitie of Man* (1631), "shewed great magnanimitie in refusing principallitie."

3. *convinc't*: convicted, vanquished in debate. Compare *Comus*, 792: "Thou art not fit to hear thyself convinc'd."

At length collecting all his Serpent wiles, 5
 With soothing words renew'd, him thus accosts.
 I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
 What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
 Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words
 To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart 10
 Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.
 Should Kings and Nations from thy mouth consult,
 Thy Counsel would be as the Oracle
Urim and *Thummim*, those oraculous gems
 On *Aaron's* breast; or tongue of Seers old 15
 Infallible; or wert thou sought to deeds
 That might require th' array of war, thy skill
 Of conduct would be such, that all the world
 Could not sustain thy Prowess, or subsist
 In battle, though against thy few in arms. 20
 These God-like Virtues wherefore dost thou hide?
 Affecting private life, or more obscure
 In savage Wilderness, wherefore deprive
 All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
 The fame and glory, glory the reward 25

11. *shape*: ideal form or pattern. When Milton wrote "Virtue in her shape how lovely" (*P.L.*, IV, 848), and made the Lady in *Comus* (215-216) speak of seeing the "unblemish't form of Chastity . . . visibly," he was influenced by the Platonic doctrine that "the very form and shape of Moral Goodness, if it could be seen with the physical eye, would"—as Cicero said to his son, Marcus (*De officiis*, I, v. 15)—"awaken a marvellous love of wisdom." So in *The Reason of Church Government*, II, iii, he spoke of "the very shape and visage of truth," which is obscured by "the subtle imposture of these sensual mistresses, that keeps the ports and passages between her and the object."

14. It is not certain what the *urim* and *thummim* worn by Aaron in his high-priestly breastplate (*Lev.* viii, 8) were, but the *Urim* were used by Eleazar the priest to "ask counsel . . . before the Lord." (*Num.* xxvii, 21. Divination of some kind seems to have been meant.)

18. *conduct*: leadership, direction.

22. *Affecting*: aspiring to, preferring. Both meanings were often combined in the word, as the corresponding meanings may be in the abstract noun "affection."

23. *savage* keeps its Latin meaning of "pertaining to woodland," *i.e.*, uncultivated, wild.

25-30. Compare the Introduction, §16. Perhaps there is a trace here of Cicero's observation that "in the greatest minds and the most

That sole excites to high attempts the flame
 Of most erected Spirits, most temper'd pure
 Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,
 All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
 And dignities and powers all but the highest? 30
 Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe, the Son
 Of *Macedonian Philip* had ere these
 Won *Asia* and the Throne of *Cyrus* held
 At his dispose; young *Scipio* had brought down
 The *Carthaginian* pride, young *Pompey* quell'd 35
 The *Pontic* King and in triumph had rode.
 Yet years, and to ripe years judgement mature,
 Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
 Great *Julius*, whom now all the world admires,
 The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd 40
 With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long
 Inglorious: but thou yet art not too late.
 To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied.
 Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
 For Empire's sake, nor Empire to affect 45
 For glory's sake by all thy argument.

splendid spirits is found the greatest passion for honour, empire, power and glory." (*De officiis*, I, viii, 26.)

27. *erected*: upright, noble. Mammon is called "the least erected Spirit that fell From heav'n." (*P.L.*, I, 679-680.)

32-36. Alexander was twenty-five when he won his first victory over the Persians at Arbela (331 B.C.).

Scipio was about twenty-seven when he drove the Carthaginians out of Spain. Compare the note on II, 199-200.

Pompey did not conquer the Pontic king, Mithridates, until he was forty years old (in 66 B.C.), but he was distinguished for his part in the Social War and against Marius before he was thirty.

34. *dispose*: disposal.

37. *to*: in addition to.

39-42. In his *Life of Caesar* Plutarch related how, when he was commanding in Spain, Caesar happened to read the history of Alexander's wars and burst into tears because he did not have "one glorious achievement to boast."

44-59. Even when he began *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in February, 1649, and felt himself "endued with fortitude and heroic virtue to fear nothing but the curse written against those 'that do the work of the Lord negligently,'" Milton shrank from the sweat and labour "amidst the throng and noises of vulgar and irrational men."

For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
 The people's praise, if always praise unmixt?
 And what the people but a herd confus'd,
 A miscellaneous rabble, who extol 50
 Things vulgar, and well weigh'd, scarce worth the praise?
 They praise and they admire they know not what;
 And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
 And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
 To live upon thir tongues and be thir talk, 55
 Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise?—
 His lot who dares be singularly good.
 Th' intelligent among them and the wise
 Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.
 This is true glory and renown, when God 60
 Looking on the Earth, with approbation marks
 The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
 To all his Angels, who with true applause
 Recount his praises; thus he did to *Job*,
 When to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth, 65
 As thou to thy reproach mayst well remember,
 He ask'd thee, hast thou seen my servant *Job*?
 Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known;
 Where glory is false glory, attributed
 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame. 70
 They err who count it glorious to subdue
 By Conquest far and wide, to over-run
 Large Countries, and in field great Battles win,
 Great Cities by assault: what do these Worthies,
 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave 75
 Peaceable Nations, neighbouring, or remote,
 Made Captive, yet deserving freedom more
 Than those thir Conquerors, who leave behind

60-63. Compare *Lycidas*, 78-84.

62. *divulges*: publishes, proclaims. Compare *S.A.*, 1248.

64-68. Compare the Introduction, §12. The quoted words in line 67 are paraphrased from *Job* i, 8.

71-87. This passage is an expansion of the attack in *P.L.*, XI, upon the conquerors who are styled

“Patrons of Mankind, Gods, and Sons of Gods,
 Destroyers rightlier call'd and Plagues of men.”

(696-697.)

Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy, 80
 Then swell with pride, and must be titl'd Gods,
 Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
 Worship't with Temple, Priest and Sacrifice?
 One is the Son of *Jove*, of *Mars* the other,
 Till Conqueror Death discover them scarce men, 85
 Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
 Violent or shameful death thir due reward.
 But if there be in glory aught of good,
 It may by means far different be attain'd,
 Without ambition, war, or violence; 90
 By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
 By patience, temperance; I mention still
 Him whom thy wrongs with Sainly patience borne,
 Made famous in a Land and times obscure;
 Who names not now with honour patient *Job*? 95
 Poor *Socrates* (who next more memorable?)
 By what he taught and suffer'd for so doing,
 For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
 Equal in fame to proudest Conquerors.
 Yet if for fame and glory aught be done, 100
 Aught suffer'd; if young *African* for fame
 His wasted Country freed from *Punic* rage,
 The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,
 And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
 Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek 105

81-84. The Roman emperors generally were granted the title of "Divine" by the Senate. Ptolemy III enjoyed the title of "Benefactor" and similar titles were taken by several of Alexander's successors. Alexander himself posed as the son of Jupiter Ammon, and Romulus was called the son of Mars. Romulus died violently and Alexander's ambition and miserable death in Babylon made him a by-word as the man who

"would as *Ammons* sonne be magnifide,
 Till scordn of God and man a shamefull death he didde."

(*F.Q.*, I, v, 48.)

96-99. For this parallel of Socrates with Job see the Introduction, §6.

101. *young African*; Scipio Africanus Major, the Scipio already mentioned in 34 above. In the Second Punic War his campaigns in Spain finally delivered Italy from Hannibal's invasion.

Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his
Who sent me, and thereby witness whence I am.

To whom the Tempter murmuring thus replied.
Think not so slight of glory: therein least
Resembling thy great Father; he seeks glory, 110
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs, nor content in Heaven
By all his Angels glorifi'd, requires
Glory from men, from all men good or bad,
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption; 115
Above all Sacrifice, or hallow'd gift
Glory he requires, and glory he receives
Promiscuous from all Nations, Jew, or Greek,
Or Barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd;
From us his foes pronounc't glory he exacts. 120

To whom our Saviour fervently replied.
And reason; since his word all things produc'd,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to show forth his goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul 125
Freely; of whom what could he less expect
Than glory and benediction, that is thanks,
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense

106-107. Jesus said to the Pharisees (John viii, 50), "I seek not mine own glory"; and appealed to the witness of his Father to justify himself. (John v, 31-32.)

110-120. The sophistry is based upon the doctrine in the Westminster Shorter Catechism that the chief end of man is "to glorify God," and upon scriptures like the words of the four and twenty elders before the throne of God, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." (Rev. iv, 11.)

119. *Barbarous* is used with its Greek meaning to signify all the nations outside of the Greek world, as "gentile" is used to signify all nations outside of Israel.

122. In passages like II Peter iii, 5, "by the word of God the heavens were of old," and in the opening statement of John's Gospel that the Word was in the beginning with God, Milton found justification for his conception in *P.L.*, VII, 163-167, of God's Word as identical with his Son, who is sent out into Chaos to create the universe.

123-131. Orthodox Catholic doctrine taught that God's object in the creation of the universe was to provide means for the expression of his love.

From them who could return him nothing else,
 And not returning that would likeliest render 130
 Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?
 Hard recompense, unsuitable return
 For so much good, so much beneficence.
 But why should man seek glory? who of his own
 Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs 135
 But condemnation, ignominy, and shame?
 Who for so many benefits receiv'd
 Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,
 And so of all true good himself despoil'd,
 Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take 140
 That which to God alone of right belongs;
 Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
 That who advance his glory, not thir own,
 Them he himself to glory will advance.
 So spake the Son of God; and here again 145
 Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
 With guilt of his own sin, for he himself
 Insatiable of glory had lost all,
 Yet of another Plea bethought him soon.
 Of glory as thou wilt, said he, so deem, 150
 Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass:
 But to a Kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
 To sit upon thy Father *David's* Throne;
 By Mother's side thy Father, though thy right
 Be now in powerful hands, that will not part 155
 Easily from possession won with arms;
Judaea now and all the promis'd land

136. *ignominy* should have the accent distinctly on the first syllable while the others have very light but about equal stress.

138. *recreant*: unfaithful, apostate.

147-148. Raphael, speaking of the rebel angels to Adam, explained that

"strength from Truth divided and from Just,
 Illaudable, naught merits but dispraise
 And ignominy, yet to glory aspires
 Vain-glorious, and through infamy seeks fame."

(P.L., VI, 381-384.)

157-160. *Judaea* became a Roman province in A.D. 6, when Jesus was a boy of ten, if modern computation is trustworthy. Tiberius, who was emperor from A.D. 24 to 37, kept Pilate in office from 26 to 36,

Reduc't a Province under Roman yoke,
 Obeys *Tiberius*; nor is always rul'd
 With temperate sway; oft have they violated 160
 The Temple, oft the Law with foul affronts,
 Abominations rather, as did once
Antiochus: and think'st thou to regain
 Thy right by sitting still or thus retiring?
 So did not *Maccabaeus*: he indeed 165
 Retir'd unto the Desert, but with arms;
 And o'er a mighty King so oft prevail'd,
 That by strong hand his Family obtain'd,
 Though Priests, the Crown, and *David's* Throne usurp'd,
 With *Modin* and her Suburbs once content. 170
 If Kingdom move thee not, let move thee Zeal,
 And Duty; Zeal and Duty are not slow;
 But on Occasion's forelock watchful wait.
 They themselves rather are occasion best,
 Zeal of thy Father's house, Duty to free 175

in spite of many acts of tyranny like the massacre of "the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." (Luke xiii, 1.)

161. Pompey violated the Holy of Holies in the Temple at Jerusalem in B.C. 63.

162-163. Antiochus Epiphanes "entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof. . . . And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly." (I Maccabees, i, 21-24.)

165-170. In 166 B.C., Judas surnamed Maccabaeus, or the Hammerer, a scion of a Levite family in the obscure Judaeen town of Modin, began the struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes which ended by putting his family on the throne of David as the Asmonean Dynasty.

171. *Kingdom*: kingship.

173. Renaissance literature abounded in references to Occasion; sometimes represented [as Milton may have seen it in Alciati's *Emblemata* (cxxxii)] as an old woman whose

"lockes, that loathly were and hoarie gray,
 Grew all afore, and loosely hong vnrold,
 But all behind was bald, and worne away,
 That none thereof could euer taken hold."

(*F.Q.*, II, iv, 4.)

175. Christ's whipping of the money-changers out of the Temple was interpreted by his disciples (John ii, 17) as fulfilling a prophecy in Psalm lxix, 9: "For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up."

Thy Country from her Heathen servitude;
 So shalt thou best fullfil, best verify
 The Prophets old, who sung thy endless reign,
 The happier reign the sooner it begins.
 Reign then; what canst thou better do the while? 180
 To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.
 All things are best fulfill'd in their due time,
 And time there is for all things, Truth hath said:
 If of my reign Prophetic Writ hath told
 That it shall never end, so when begin 185
 The Father in his purpose hath decreed,
 He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
 What if he hath decreed that I shall first
 Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
 By tribulations, injuries, insults, 190
 Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
 Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting
 Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
 What I can suffer, how obey? who best
 Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first 195
 Well hath obey'd; just trial e'er I merit
 My exaltation without change or end.
 But what concerns it thee when I begin
 My everlasting Kingdom, why art thou
 Solicitous, what moves thy inquisition? 200

183. "The first of those attributes which show the inherent nature of God," Milton wrote in *C.D.*, I, ii, "is *Truth*." He thought of the Bible as containing God's truth, even in so worldly-wise a book as *Ecclesiastes*, a verse of which (iii, 1) is paraphrased here.

187. "It is not for you," Jesus said to his disciples, "to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." (Acts i, 7.)

194-197. The antithesis between suffering and doing great things was a commonplace in ancient literature; e.g., Caius Mucius' famous retort to Porsena that, "To act and to suffer with fortitude is the behaviour of a Roman," and the amusing comic twist of the maxim in Plautus' *Comedy of Asses* (324), of which the present line might serve as a translation.

The principle that obedience is the best discipline for rule goes back at least as far as Plato's doctrine that "the ministration of the laws must be assigned to that man who is most obedient to the laws." (*Laws*, IV, 715, C.)

Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
 And my promotion will be thy destruction?
 To whom the Tempter inly rackt replied.
 Let that come when it comes; all hope is lost
 Of my reception into grace; what worse? 205
 For where no hope is left, is left no fear;
 If there be worse, the expectation more
 Of worse torments me than the feeling can.
 I would be at the worst; worst is my Port,
 My harbour and my ultimate repose, 210
 The end I would attain, my final good.
 My error was my error, and my crime
 My crime; whatever for itself condemn'd,
 And will alike be punish'd; whether thou
 Reign or reign not; though to that gentle brow 215
 Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,
 From that placid aspect and meek regard,
 Rather than aggravate my evil state,
 Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,
 (Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell) 220
 A shelter and a kind of shading cool
 Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
 If I then to the worst that can be haste,
 Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,
 Happiest both to thyself and all the world, 225
 That thou who worthiest art shouldst be thir King?
 Perhaps thou linger'st in deep thoughts detain'd
 Of the enterprise so hazardous and high;
 No wonder, for though in thee be united
 What of perfection can in man be found, 230
 Or human nature can receive, consider
 Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
 At home, scarce view'd the *Galilean* Towns,

204-211. Here Satan speaks with no less fortitude, though with less insolence, than in the soliloquy in *P.L.*, IV, 108-110:

"So farewell Hope, and with Hope farewell Fear,
 Farewell Remorse: all Good to me is lost;
 Evil be thou my Good."

213-214. Whatever the crime, its punishment is within itself. In the soliloquy in *P.L.*, IV, 75, Satan realizes that he is his own hell, regardless where he may be.

And once a year *Jerusalem*, few days'
 Short sojourn; and what thence couldst thou observe? 235
 The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
 Empires, and Monarchs, and thir radiant Courts,
 Best school of best experience, quickest in sight
 In all things that to greatest actions lead.
 The wisest, unexperienc't, will be ever 240
 Timorous and loth, with novice modesty,
 (As he who seeking Asses found a Kingdom)
 Irresolute, unhardy, unadvent'rous:
 But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
 Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes 245
 The Monarchies of the Earth, thir pomp and state,
 Sufficient introduction to inform
 Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal Arts,
 And regal Mysteries; that thou mayst know
 How best their opposition to withstand. 250
 With that (such power was giv'n him then) he took
 The Son of God up to a Mountain high.
 It was a Mountain at whose verdant feet
 A spacious plain outstretcht in circuit wide

234-235. Luke says (ii, 41) that Jesus' "parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover."

242. I Samuel ix, tells the story of Saul's quest of his father's lost asses, which ended in his meeting with the prophet, Samuel, who "took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, . . . and said, Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance?" (I Sam. x, 1.)

244-245. *quit Those rudiments*: go beyond that elementary knowledge. Compare *rudiments* in I, 157.

249. *Mysteries* may be used, with a touch of irony, as it is in Christ's words to the disciples, "It is given to you to know the mysteries of the kingdom." (Mat. xiii, 11.)

252-258. The Mountain was probably Mount Niphates, where Milton made Satan land when he first reached this world (*P.L.*, III, 742); but it is hardly more definitely located than the mountain of Adam's final vision of the future, which is compared with it in *P.L.*, XI, 381-384. Luke and Matthew both say simply that Satan took Jesus up into a high mountain, and the instantaneousness of his vision suggests that he saw with the mind's rather than the body's eye. The two rivers are the Tigris and Euphrates and they correspond with the situation of Mount Niphates in the Taurus range on the Assyrian border of Armenia.

Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flow'd, 255
 Th'one winding, the other straight, and left between
 Fair Champain with less rivers intervein'd,
 Then meeting join'd thir tribute to the Sea:
 Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil and wine,
 With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills, 260
 Huge Cities and high tow'r'd, that well might seem
 The seats of mightiest Monarchs; and so large
 The Prospect was, that here and there was room
 For barren desert fountainless and dry.
 To this high mountain top the Tempter brought 265
 Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,
 Forest and field, and flood, Temples and Towers
 Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold'st
Assyria and her Empire's ancient bounds, 270
Araxes and the *Caspian* lake, thence on
 As far as *Indus* East, *Euphrates* West,
 And oft beyond; to South the *Persian* Bay,
 And inaccessible the *Arabian* drouth;
 Here *Ninevee*, of length within her wall 275

255. *his: i.e.*, the mountain's. Compare the note on "her" in I, 82.

267-344. Virgil's survey of the regions and races of Italy which sent troops to the support of Turnus against Aeneas (*Aen.* VII, 641-782) has fine panoramic quality, but it was tuned to the theme of Roman glory and flattered the parochial traditions of the Italians; Milton's outlook was as wide as the entire ancient world with the dimension of time deepened by the perspective of a really profound and critical student of history who read the records in the light of his Christian faith.

271. The river Araxes flows eastward from near Erzerum in Armenia and falls into the Caspian. With this use of *lake* compare the "lake Genezaret" in II, 23, and the "Galilean lake" in *Lycidas*, 109.

273. *Persian Bay*: the arm of the Indian ocean between Persia and Arabia which receives the Tigris and Euphrates.

274. *drouth*: desert. The abstract for the concrete.

275-279. Nineveh was supposed, at least by the Greeks, to be named for its mythical founder, Ninus. All ancient writers speak of its length (*i.e.*, circuit) with wonder, like the Old Testament writers, who called it "an exceeding great city of three days journey" (Jonah iii, 3) to walk the length of the circumvallations. Salmanassar (Shalmaneser) carried the ten northern tribes of Israel into captivity in 726 B.C.

Several days' journey, built by *Ninus* old,
 Of that first golden Monarchy the seat,
 And seat of *Salmanassar*, whose success
Israel in long captivity still mourns;
 There *Babylon* the wonder of all tongues, 280
 As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy Father *David's* house
 Led captive, and *Jerusalem* laid waste,
 Till *Cyrus* set them free; *Persepolis*
 His city there thou seest, and *Bactra* there; 285
Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,
 And *Hecatompylos* her hunderd gates,
 There *Susa* by *Choaspes*, amber stream,
 The drink of none but Kings; of later fame
 Built by *Emathian*, or by *Parthian* hands, 290
 The great *Seleucia*, *Nisibis*, and there

280-283. The new Babylonian empire was founded in 625 B.C. and its second king, Nebuchadnezzar, who was an even greater builder than conqueror, attacked Jerusalem in 605 B.C. and again in 597, when he carried away King Jehoiachin "and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives." (II Kings xxiv, 14.)

284-288. *Cyrus*, the founder of the Persian empire, seized Ecbatana, the capital of Media, and in 538 B.C. took Babylon. His capital, *Persepolis*, lay in southern Persia, but he transferred it to Susa on the river Choaspes. Herodotus (I, 188) says that on all his marches the Great King "took with him water of the Choaspes boiled, . . . of which alone and of no other river the king drinks."

Bactra, modern Balkh in Afghanistan, was the capital of the Persian province of Bactria. *Hecatompylos*, "the city of a hundred gates," was a city in Parthia, the site of which is unknown.

289-293. After the death of Alexander the Great *Seleucia* (or *Seleucia*) was founded by the Emathian (*i.e.*, Macedonian) general Seleucus Nicator and became one of the greatest cities in the ancient world. It was on the Tigris about fifty miles from the site of Babylon on the Euphrates.

Nisibis was a city in northern Mesopotamia, near the Armenian border, which became important in the struggle of the Parthians with Rome.

Artaxata was the ancient capital of Armenia.

Teredon, somewhere near the mouth of the river formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, became known to the Greeks when it was visited by Alexander's admiral, Nearchus, on his voyage from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Euphrates.

Ctesiphon was built by the Parthians on the Tigris close to Seleucia and for some time it was their capital.

Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
 Turning with easy eye thou mayst behold.
 All these the *Parthian*, now some Ages past,
 By great *Arsáces* led, who founded first 295
 That Empire, under his dominion holds
 From the luxurious Kings of *Antioch* won.
 And just in time thou com'st to have a view
 Of his great power; for now the *Parthian King*
 In *Ctesiphon* hath gather'd all his Host 300
 Against the *Scythian*, whose incursions wild
 Have wasted *Sogdiana*; to her aid
 He marches now in haste; see, though from far,
 His thousands, in what martial equipage
 They issue forth, Steel Bows and Shafts their arms, 305
 Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;
 All Horsemen, in which fight they most excel;
 See how in warlike muster they appear,
 In Rhombs and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.
 He look't and saw what numbers numberless 310
 The City gates out pour'd, light armed Troops
 In coats of Mail and military pride;
 In Mail thir horses clad, yet fleet and strong,

294-297. About 250 B.C. *Arsaces* broke the Seleucid dynasty whose capital was then at Antioch on the river Orontes, in Syria, about twenty miles from its mouth.

301-302. The barbarians living east and north of the Caspian Sea were known as *Scyths* and the Parthian province adjacent to them was *Sogdiana*. It was roughly divided into halves by the river Oxus, the modern Amu-Daria.

309. *Rhombs*: formations of infantry in the shape of a rhombus, really a double wedge with points in two directions. Milton's interest in the art of war made him think often in terms of the geometrical arrangements of troops which his contemporaries admired in ancient military practice. His interest found expression in the squared regiments of *P.L.* I, 758 and VIII, 232, the "Globe of fiery Seraphim" of II, 512, and the "cubic Phalanx" of the angels in VI, 399.

311-314. Milton shared Montaigne's interest in Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the Parthian arms; "they had (saith he) their horses stiffe and strong, covered with thicke hides and themselves armed from head to foot, with massie iron plates so artificially contrived, that where the joynts are, there they furthered the motion, and helped the stirring. A man would have said, they had been men made of yron." Florio's *Montaigne*, II, ix.

Prancing their riders bore, the flower and choice
 Of many Provinces from bound to bound; 315
 From *Arachosia*, from *Candaor* East,
 And *Margiana* to the *Hyrceanian* cliffs
 Of *Caucasus*, and dark *Iberian* dales;
 From *Atropatia* and the neighbouring plains
 Of *Adiabene*, *Media*, and the South 320
 Of *Susiana* to *Balsara's* hav'n.
 He saw them in thir forms of battle rang'd,
 How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot
 Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face
 Of thir pursuers, and overcame by flight; 325
 The field all iron cast a gleaming brown,
 Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn,
 Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight;

316-321. *Arachosia* was a province west of the Indus, in modern Beluchistan.

Candaor, now called Candahar, was not an ancient name. It is a province of Afghanistan.

Margiana corresponds with modern Khorasan.

Hyrkania bordered on the Caspian Sea not far from the Caucasus, but Milton was probably thinking of Virgil's lines where Dido, in language already conventional, vituperates Aeneas with being the son of the rugged Caucasus mountains and the nursling of Hyrcanian tigers. (*Aen.*, IV, 366-367.)

This *Iberia* is not Spain but a region of the Caucasus lying near the Caspian Sea. Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, 3, 110) speaks of its "palpable darkness" and mysterious inhabitants.

Atropatia was a province of Media south of the river Araxes.

Adiabene is mentioned by Strabo (XVI, i, 1) as one of the great plains around Nineveh.

Susiana was the most southerly province of the Persian and Parthian realms. It bordered on the Persian Gulf.

Balsara, the modern Bassora, on the Chatt-el-Arab or united Tigris and Euphrates, was a great port which Milton's contemporaries identified with the ancient Tereodon.

323-324. Horace (*Odes*, II, xiii, 17-18) spoke of the arrows and swift flight of Parthians as the terror of the Roman soldiers, and Virgil (*Georgic*, III, 31) called Augustus' victory over the Parthian, whose reliance is on flight and his backward arrows, a supreme triumph. A "Parthian shot" originally meant more than "the last word."

326. Compare the note on *brown* in II, 293.

327. A "cloud of foot" was a phrase inherited from Homer (*Il.*, IV, 274) and Virgil (*Aen.*, VII, 793).

Chariots or Elephants indorst with Towers
 Of Archers, nor of labouring Pioners 330
 A multitude with Spades and Axes arm'd
 To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
 Or where plain was raise hill, or over-lay
 With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;
 Mules after these, Camels and Dromedaries, 335
 And Waggon's fraught with Utensils of war.
 Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
 When *Agrican* with all his Northern powers
 Besieg'd *Albracca*, as Romances tell,
 The City of *Gallaphrone*, from thence to win 340
 The fairest of her Sex, *Angelica*,
 His daughter, sought by many Prowest Knights,
 Both *Paynim*, and the Peers of *Charlemagne*.
 Such and so numerous was thir Chivalry;
 At sight whereof the Fiend yet more presum'd, 345

329. "Indorse" first entered English as a legal word with essentially its modern meaning. *N.E.D.* calls Milton's use of the literal, Latin sense of "put on the back" pedantic, but to him it seemed perhaps a bit playfully ornate, as it must have seemed to Ben Jonson when he wrote his epigram saying of the Earl of Newcastle's horse that his master's "seat his beauties did endorse."

Elephants carrying howdahs with archers were familiar to the Greeks from the time when Alexander faced them in the armies of Darius.

334. There may be a shadow here of the prophetic picture of the river Araxes reluctantly submitting to a Roman bridge, which was a part of the decoration of the shield which Vulcan made for Aeneas. (*Aen.*, VIII, 728.)

338-343. In Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (I, x-xiv) *Angelica* is responsible for involving Astolfo, Roland, and other less famous of Charlemagne's Twelve Peers of France in the fighting around *Albracca*, a fabulous fortress of her father, *Gallaphrone*, the king of Cathay (China), when it is besieged by her lover, *Agrican*, the king of Tartary. The exploits of the knights were as fantastic as their numbers—twenty-two hundreds of thousands in the investing army alone. (I, x, 26.)

342. *Prowest*: hardest. The derivation is from the Old French word *prou*, meaning "knightly."

343. *Paynim*: pagan. Compare the "*Paynim* chivalry" of *P.L.*, I, 765, and the other passage in *P.L.*, I, 581-587, where Milton evoked his early reading of the Italian romances.

344. *Chivalry* was "applied by early translators to the horsemen of ancient Greece and Rome, for which 'cavalry' is the modern equivalent." *N.E.D.* The word stands for the whole army indiscriminately.

And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

That thou mayst know I seek not to engage
 Thy Virtue, and not every way secure
 On no slight grounds thy safety; hear, and mark
 To what end I have brought thee hither and shown 350
 All this fair sight: thy Kingdom though foretold
 By Prophet or by Angel, unless thou
 Endeavour, as thy Father *David* did,
 Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still
 In all things, and all men, supposes means, 355
 Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
 But say thou wert possess'd of *David's* Throne
 By free consent of all, none opposite,
Samaritan or *Jew*; how couldst thou hope
 Long to enjoy it quiet and secure, 360
 Between two such enclosing enemies
Roman and *Parthian*? therefore one of these
 Thou must make sure thy own, the *Parthian* first
 By my advice, as nearer and of late
 Found able by invasion to annoy 365
 Thy country, and captive lead away her Kings,
Antigonus, and old *Hyrchanus* bound,
 Maugre the *Roman*: it shall be my task
 To render thee the *Parthian* at dispose;
 Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league. 370
 By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
 That which alone can truly reinstall thee
 In *David's* royal seat, his true Successor,

358. *opposite*: opposing.

359. An alliance of Samaritans with Jews would be almost impossible, for the Jews had "no dealings with the Samaritans." (John iv, 9.)

367-368. Josephus (*Antiquities*, XIV) recounts the consolidation of *Antigonus'* brief power by Parthian support against his uncle, the High Priest, *Hyrchanus*, who had been confirmed in his position by Julius Caesar. Although he carried *Hyrchanus* captive to Seleucia, *Antigonus* reigned only three years when his shameful execution by Herod the Great ended the Asmonean dynasty about 37 B.C. *Hyrchanus* returned to Jerusalem, but was degraded by Herod and at last executed treacherously at the age of eighty, in 30 B.C.

Maugre: in spite of. From French *malgré*.

373-380. About 722 B.C. Shalmaneser IV and his successor Sargon,

Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten Tribes
 Whose off-spring in his Territory yet serve 375
 In *Habor*, and among the *Medes* dispers't,
 Ten Sons of *Jacob*, two of *Joseph* lost
 Thus long from *Israel*; serving as of old
 Thir Fathers in the land of *Egypt* serv'd,
 This offer sets before thee to deliver. 380
 These if from servitude thou shalt restore
 To thir inheritance, then, nor till then,
 Thou on the Throne of *David* in full glory,
 From *Egypt* to *Euphrates* and beyond
 Shalt reign, and *Rome* or *Caesar* not need fear. 385
 To whom our Saviour answer'd thus unmov'd.
 Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,
 And fragile arms, much instrument of war
 Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
 Before mine eyes thou hast set; and in my ear 390
 Vented much policy, and projects deep
 Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,
 Plausible to the world, to me worth naught.
 Means I must use thou say'st, prediction else
 Will unpredict and fail me of the Throne: 395
 My time I told thee, (and that time for thee

crushed the ten northern tribes of Israel (including the two named after Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph) and placed them "in Habor [*i.e.*, the land adjacent to river Habor, a tributary of the Euphrates] by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." (II Kings xvii, 6.)

384. God's covenant with Abraham was to give his descendants the whole region "from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen. xv, 18), and David's son, Solomon, actually reigned over all the kingdoms from the Euphrates "unto the border of Egypt." (I Kings iv, 21.)

387. There is an allusion to the curse in Jeremiah xvii, 5, on the "man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm."

391. *policy*: shrewd statecraft. Satan's purpose in hell was to found a

"nether Empire, which might rise
 By policy, and long process of time,
 In emulation opposite to Heav'n."

(*P.L.*, II, 296-298.)

Compare *politic* in 400 below.

396-397. *My time . . . is not yet come*: the words of Jesus to his

Were better farthest off) is not yet come;
 When that comes think not thou to find me slack
 On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
 Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome 400
 Luggage of war there shown me, argument
 Of human weakness rather than of strength.
 My brethren, as thou call'st them, those Ten Tribes,
 I must deliver, if I mean to reign
David's true heir, and his full Sceptre sway 405
 To just extent over all *Israel's* Sons;
 But whence to thee this zeal, where was it then
 For *Israel*, or for *David*, or his Throne,
 When thou stood'st up his Tempter to the pride
 Of numb'ring *Israel*, which cost the lives 410
 Of threescore and ten thousand *Israelites*
 By three days' Pestilence? such was thy zeal
 To *Israel* then, the same that now to me.
 As for those captive Tribes, themselves were they
 Who wrought their own captivity, fell off 415
 From God to worship Calves, the Deities
 Of *Egypt*, *Baal* next and *Ashtaroth*,
 And all the Idolatries of Heathen round,
 Besides thir other worse than heathenish crimes;
 Nor in the land of their captivity 420
 Humbled themselves, or penitent besought

unfriendly "brethren" in a context (John vii, 6) that rebuked worldly standards.

409-412. "Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." (I Chron. xxi, 1.) Why the taking of the census should have displeased God is not indicated clearly, but, perhaps as a punishment for confidence in numbers, "the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men."

414-417. Jeroboam, who divided the Ten Tribes from Judah and Benjamin, and founded the northern kingdom of Samaria, "made two calves of gold, and said unto them, . . . behold, thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." (I Kings xii, 28.) Compare *P. L.*, I, 482-489.

417-418. Jeroboam also "went and served Baal and worshipped him" (I Kings xvi, 31) after his marriage with the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Zidon. *Baal* was a name common to many local gods worshipped under local names like Baal-Peor and Baal-hammon. *Ash-toreth* (plural *Ashtaroth*) was the Phoenician Venus. Compare *P.L.*, I, 422 and 438.

The God of their fore-fathers; but so died
 Impenitent, and left a race behind
 Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
 From Gentiles, but by Circumcision vain, 425
 And God with Idols in their worship join'd.
 Should I of these the liberty regard,
 Who freed, as to their ancient Patrimony,
 Unhumb'l'd, unrepentant, unreform'd,
 Headlong would follow; and to thir Gods perhaps 430
 Of *Bethel* and of *Dan*? no, let them serve
 Thir enemies, who serve Idols with God.
 Yet he at length, time to himself best known,
 Rememb'ring *Abraham*, by some wond'rous call
 May bring them back repentant and sincere, 435
 And at their passing cleave the *Assyrian* flood,
 While to their native land with joy they haste,
 As the Red Sea and *Jordan* once he cleft,
 When to the promis'd land thir Fathers pass'd;
 To his due time and providence I leave them. 440
 So spake *Israel's* true King, and to the Fiend
 Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
 So fares it when with truth falsehood contends.

The End of the Third Book.

427-431. The thought is a doubt whether, if they were repatriated, the Ten Tribes would not return to the worship of the pagan deities whose cults their kings had established in the cities of *Bethel* and *Dan*. (1 Kings xii, 29.)

429. The three negative adjectives give an effect of stubborn wickedness which is exactly the reverse of the picture of Abdiel's loyalty to God,

"unmov'd,
 Unshak'n, uneduc'd, unterrifi'd"
 (*P.L.*, V, 898-899. Compare II, 185.)

It is natural to compare Hamlet's description of his father as sent into the other world,

"Unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd."
 (*Hamlet*, I, v, 77.)

Probably Milton remembered many similar effects in Greek literature, such as Hector's wish that Paris had been unbegotten or at least unwed (*Il.*, III, 40).

436-439. Isaiah (xi, 16) had prophesied a "highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt."

The Fourth Book

PERPLEX'D and troubl'd at his bad success
 The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
 Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope,
 So oft, and the persuasive Rhetoric
 That sleek't his tongue, and won so much on *Eve*, 5
 So little here, nay lost; but *Eve* was *Eve*,
 This far his over-match, who self-deceiv'd
 And rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd
 The strength he was to cope with, or his own:
 But as a man who had been matchless held 10
 In cunning, over-reach't where least he thought,
 To salve his credit, and for very spite
 Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
 And never cease, though to his shame the more;
 Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time, 15
 About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,
 Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
 Or surging waves against a solid rock,
 Though all to shivers dash't, the assault renew,
 Vain batt'ry, and in froth or bubbles end; 20
 So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse

1. *success*: outcome, result. Compare the pertinacity of Satan who, "by success untaught" (*P.L.*, II, 9) conspired to attack heaven after being cast into hell.

3. *Discover'd*: exposed.

thrown from his hope: an idiom common in Latin; e.g., Cicero's description of Catiline as fallen from his hope of subverting the state. (Second Catilinarian oration, §7.)

4-5. In *P.L.*, IX, 532-732, Milton tried to realize that *persuasive Rhetoric*.

10-20. In *P.L.* the similes are often chained together as they are in the Homeric poems. Homer's comparison of the warriors around the body of Sarpedon to flies around the milk cans in a peasant's hut (*Il.* XVI, 641), and of the courage of Menelaus to the boldness of a persistent fly (*Il.* XVII, 570), may have suggested the first simile here. Tasso had set the example of likening the demons to flies or bees, as Milton did in *P.L.* I, 768, and Spenser compared the illusions of temptation to buzzing flies. (*F.Q.* II, ix, 51.) The cunning man of the first simile has been identified with Salmasius; but, if a real counterpart for him must be found in history, Charles I, as he is represented in *Eikonoklastes*, is a possibility.

Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
 Yet gives not o'er though desperate of success,
 And his vain importunity pursues.
 He brought our Saviour to the western side 25
 Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
 Another plain, long but in breadth not wide;
 Wash'd by the Southern Sea, and on the North
 To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills
 That screen'd the fruits of the earth and seats of men 30
 From cold *Septentrion* blasts, thence in the midst
 Divided by a river, of whose banks
 On each side an Imperial City stood,
 With Towers and Temples proudly elevate
 On seven small Hills, with Palaces adorn'd, 35
 Porches and Theatres, Baths, Aqueducts,
 Statues and Trophies, and Triumphal Arcs,
 Gardens and Groves presented to his eyes,
 Above the highth of Mountains interpos'd:
 By what strange Parallax or Optic skill 40
 Of vision multiplied through air, or glass
 Of Telescope, were curious to enquire:
 And now the Tempter thus his silence broke.
 The City which thou seest no other deem
 Than great and glorious *Rome*, Queen of the Earth 45
 So far renown'd, and with the spoils enricht
 Of Nations; there the Capitol thou seest,

27-31. The *plain* washed by the southern (*i.e.*, Mediterranean) sea is Latium, with Rome in the centre and the Apennines screening it from the *Septentrion blasts* or north winds. The *Septentrion* is the group of seven stars constituting the constellation of the Great Bear.

37. *Arcs*: triumphal arches. The three great arches of Titus, Trajan, and Constantine were, of course, not yet in existence, but Augustus had erected an arch to commemorate his victory over Antony at Actium. In general it seems to be imperial Rome of the first or even of a later century which Milton visualized.

40. *Parallax*: any displacement of vision. The word is not used in its astronomical sense, although Milton was thinking of the wizardry of the new science of optics and the newly invented telescope.

44-45. Satan's first words evoke the proud picture of Rome in the Apocalypse (xviii, 7): "for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow."

47. The *Capitol* meant to Milton the temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the Capitoline hill. At the close of the Punic wars it was

Above the rest lifting his stately head
 On the *Tarpeian rock*, her Citadel
 Impregnable, and there Mount *Palatine* 50
 The Imperial Palace, compass huge, and high
 The Structure, skill of noblest Architects,
 With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,
 Turrets and Terraces, and glittering Spires.
 Many a fair Edifice besides, more like 55
 Houses of Gods (so well I have dispos'd
 My Aery Microscope) thou mayst behold
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs
 Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd Artificers
 In Cedar, Marble, Ivory or Gold. 60
 Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
 What conflux issuing forth, or ent'ring in,
 Praetors, Proconsuls to thir Provinces
 Hasting or on return, in robes of State;
 Lictors and rods, the ensigns of thir power, 65
 Legions and Cohorts, turms of horse and wings:
 Or Embassies from Regions far remote
 In various habits on the *Appian* road,

reconstructed at an expense which has been estimated at \$20,000,000.00 and it was crowded with splendid trophies of Roman victories.

49. The *Tarpeian rock* was the steepest precipice of the Capitoline hill and was famous because condemned men were thrown down there.

50-54. Perhaps Milton intended to suggest Nero's famous Golden House, which stood on the Palatine hill.

57. *Aery*; the spelling was Milton's preference. Compare *P.L.*, I, 430, 775, etc., in all a dozen times in that poem.

63. The powers of the *Praetors*, which were originally those of a judge within the city of Rome, had been extended to imply a year of provincial government like the proconsular year as a colonial governor to which the consuls looked forward, and their number had been increased to sixteen.

65. *Lictors*: the ceremonial attendants of the higher Roman officials. Twelve of them followed a consul and twenty-four a dictator, carrying bundles of rods to signify his power to punish criminals.

66. A *Cohort* was, technically, the tenth part of a legion. Because the cavalry fought on the flanks of the Roman armies its units were called *wings*, and the tenth part of a *wing* was a *turn*.

68. The *Appian* Way was constructed from Rome to Brindisi by Appius Claudius in 312 B.C. It is still lined for several miles outside of Rome by the ruins of monumental tombs.

Or on the *Aemilian*, some from farthest South,
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls, 70
Meroe, *Nilotic* Isle, and more to West,
The Realm of *Bocchus* to the Black-moor Sea;
From the *Asian* Kings and *Parthian* among these,
From *India* and the golden *Chersonese*,
And utmost *indian* Isle *Taprobane*, 75
Dusk faces with white silken Turbants wreath'd:
From *Gallia*, *Gades*, and the *British* West,
Germans and *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* North
Beyond *Danubius* to the *Tauric* Pool.
All Nations now to *Rome* obedience pay, 80

69. Various extensions of the *Aemilian* Way connected Rome with Dertona in Cis-Alpine Gaul and with Aquileia, near the head of the Adriatic Sea, and points east as far as Bononia.

70-86. The romantic imperialism here is like Claudian's in his picture of the Roman Empire as uniting Colchian and Iberian, mitred Arab and coifed Armenian, painted Sacian and dyed Mede, dark Indians in their jewelled pavilions and warriors from the Rhone and Atlantic shores. (*On Stilicho's Consulship*, I, 152-160.)

70. *Syene*: the modern Assouan, lying at the foot of the Great Falls of the Nile. It was a Roman frontier post.

71. The Nile, the Blue Nile, and the Atbara partly surrounded the "Isle" of *Meroe*. The city of *Meroe* was the Ethiopian capital, famous for mysterious temples and a sacred dynasty of queens, and famous also because "twice in the yeere the shadowes are gone, and none at all scene, to wit, when the summer is in the 18 degree of Taurus, and in the 14 of Leo." (Pliny's *Natural History*, Book II, Cap. 73, Sec. 75. Holland's translation.) The latitude is 14° north.

72. *Bocchus*, who was king of what is now Mauretania and western Algeria, was famous for his betrayal of his son-in-law, Jugurtha, to the Romans in 106 B.C.

Black-moor Sea: the part of the Mediterranean off the coast of Mauretania.

74. Sumatra and Malacca were rivals for identification with "the land called Ophir, but now the *Aurea Chersonesus*, which belongs to India," where Josephus (*Antiquities*, VIII, vi, 4) says that Solomon sent for gold. Compare *P.L.*, XI, 392.

75. *Taprobane* (four syllables): the ancient name for Ceylon.

77. *Gallia*: Gaul, modern France.

Gades: modern Cadiz.

78. *Scythians* was a general name for the barbarians of central *Asia*. The *Sarmatians* occupied most of modern Poland and Russia west of the Volga.

The *Tauric Pool*, or Pool Maeotis of *P.L.*, IX, 78; the Sea of Azof.

To *Rome's* great Emperor, whose wide domain
 In ample Territory, wealth and power,
 Civility of Manners, Arts, and Arms,
 And long Renown thou justly mayst prefer
 Before the *Parthian*; these two Thrones except, 85
 The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
 Shar'd among petty Kings too far remov'd;
 These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
 The Kingdoms of the world, and all thir glory.
 This Emperor hath no Son, and now is old, 90
 Old, and lascivious, and from *Rome* retir'd
 To *Capreae*, an Island small but strong
 On the *Campanian* shore, with purpose there
 His horrid lusts in private to enjoy,
 Committing to a wicked Favourite 95
 All public cares, and yet of him suspicious,
 Hated of all, and hating; with what ease
 Indu'd with Regal Virtues as thou art,
 Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
 Might'st thou expel this monster from his Throne 100
 Now made a sty, and in his place ascending
 A victor people free from servile yoke?
 And with my help thou mayst; to me the power
 Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
 Aim therefore at no less than all the world, 105
 Aim at the highest, without the highest attain'd
 Will be for thee no sitting, or not long
 On David's Throne, be prophesi'd what will.

83. *Civility*: the spirit of civilized people. *N.E.D.* cites Sir Thomas Browne anent bees and ants; "The civility of these little citizens . . . neatly sets forth the wisdom of their maker."

90-94. Tiberius (42 B.C.-A.D. 37) was attracted to *Capri* in the Bay of Naples, off the *Campanian* shore, "because," as Suetonius says, "it was accessible only by one small beach and was girt about everywhere else by sheer rocks and deep water"; but the crimes of which he was traditionally accused in his retirement there seem exaggerated. (*Lives of the Caesars*, III, xl.)

95-97. The *Favourite* was Sejanus. Though Suetonius says that he moderated Tiberius' cruelty, the pictures of him in Juvenal's Tenth Satire and Ben Jonson's play are in general not unjust.

104. "And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them; for that is delivered unto me." (Luke iv, 6.)

To whom the Son of God unmov'd replied.
 Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show 110
 Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
 More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
 Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell
 Thir sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
 On *Citron* tables or *Atlantic* stone, 115
 (For I have also heard, perhaps have read)
 Their wines of *Setia*, *Cales*, and *Falerne*,
Chios and *Crete*, and how they quaff in Gold,
 Crystal and Murrhine cups imboss'd with Gems
 And studs of Pearl, to me should'st tell who thirst 120
 And hunger still: then Embassies thou show'st
 From Nations far and nigh; what honour that,
 But tedious waste of time to sit and hear
 So many hollow compliments and lies,
 Outlandish flatteries? then proceed'st to talk 125
 Of the Emperor, how easily subdu'd,
 How gloriously; I shall, thou say'st, expel
 A brutish monster: what if I withal
 Expel a Devil who first made him such?
 Let his tormentor Conscience find him out, 130
 For him I was not sent, nor yet to free

115-116. The suggestion in parentheses is a reminder that Milton thought of Christ's knowledge of the world as human, not divine. He himself was familiar with Roman records of extravagant feasting like Juvenal's attack on those who "search every element for the delicacies that they love" and whose pleasure in food depends on nothing but its cost. (*Satire XI*, 14-16.)

115. The African citrus furnished a perfumed wood which Pliny (*Natural History*, XIII, xxix, Sec. 15) says was used for expensive furniture.

The Atlas mountains in Algeria gave their name to the marble from their slopes as well as to the ocean beyond them.

117. *Setia* lay near Rome, while *Cales* and the *Falernian* region, which were still more famous for their wines, were in Campania, in the neighbourhood of Mount Vesuvius.

118. The islands of *Chios* and *Crete* furnished expensive Greek wines.

119. *Murrhine cups* were made of a rare earth and seem to have been first brought from Parthia. Juvenal speaks of a huge diamond, and of crystal and murrhine cups as the three great objects of a spoiled woman's wishes. (*Satire VI*, 155-156.)

That people victor once, now vile and base,
 Deservedly made vassal, who once just,
 Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,
 But govern ill the Nations under yoke, 135
 Peeling thir Provinces, exhausted all
 By lust and rapine; first ambitious grown
 Of triumph, that insulting vanity;
 Then cruel, by thir sports to blood inur'd
 Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd, 140
 Luxurious by thir wealth, and greedier still,
 And from the daily Scene effeminate.
 What wise and valiant man would seek to free
 These thus degenerate, by themselves enslav'd,
 Or could of inward slaves make outward free? 145
 Know therefore when my season comes to sit
 On *David's* Throne, it shall be like a tree
 Spreading and over-shadowing all the Earth,
 Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash
 All Monarchies besides throughout the world, 150
 And of my Kingdom there shall be no end:
 Means there shall be to this, but what the means,
 Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

132-145. The thought is a reinforcement of that in Book II, 446-480. In *Of Reformation in England* (Book II, *P.W.*, III, p. 178) Milton spoke of the civil government of Republican Rome as so "divinely and harmoniously tuned" that no nation except reformed England might excel it, but he thought of Imperial Rome as an example of a powerful state enslaved by the passions of its citizens.

136. *Peeling*: pillaging. Milton thought of the systematic robbery of the provinces by the proconsuls, such as the stripping of Sicily as Cicero described it in his invective *Against Verres*.

138-142. Lactantius (*Divine Institutes*, VI, xx, 12-13 and 27-29) attacked the gladiatorial sports for dehumanizing the Romans and the corrupt mimes in the theatres for making them effeminate. Milton was deliberately recalling one of the great charges of the early Church against the civilization of Rome.

142. *Scene*: stage, theatre.

147-150. Jesus appropriates Nebuchadnezzar's vision of a tree which "reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth." (Dan. iv, 11.) And he sees a prophecy of his own destiny in Daniel's vision of a stone which smote the image of worldly power and "became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." (Dan. ii, 35.)

To whom the Tempter impudent replied.
 I see all offers made by me how slight 155
 Thou valu'st, because offer'd, and reject'st:
 Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
 Or nothing more than still to contradict:
 On the other side know also thou, that I
 On what I offer set as high esteem, 160
 Nor what I part with mean to give for naught;
 All these which in a moment thou behold'st,
 The Kingdoms of the world to thee I give;
 For giv'n to me, I give to whom I please,
 No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else, 165
 On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
 And worship me as thy superior Lord,
 Easily done, and hold them all of me;
 For what can less so great a gift deserve?
 Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain. 170
 I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less,
 Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter
 The abominable terms, impious condition;
 But I endure the time, till which expir'd,
 Thou hast permission on me. It is written 175
 The first of all Commandments, Thou shalt worship
 The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve;
 And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
 To worship thee accurst, now more accurst
 For this attempt bolder than that on *Eve*, 180
 And more blasphemous? which expect to rue.
 The Kingdoms of the world to thee were giv'n,
 Permitted rather, and by thee usurp't,
 Other donation none thou canst produce:

157. *nice*: fastidious. So Raphael, when Adam offers him food in Eden, accepts it with the words; "to taste Think not I shall be nice." (*P.L.*, V, 432-433.)

163-169. Compare the Introduction, §10.

176-177. Jesus is quoting from Deuteronomy vi, 13: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him."

184. *donation* has its legal force—as in Latin—of bestowal of property or privilege by a superior authority upon an individual or institution.

If given, by whom but by the King of Kings, 185
 God over all supreme? if giv'n to thee,
 By thee how fairly is the Giver now
 Repaid? But gratitude in thee is lost
 Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
 As offer them to me the Son of God, 190
 To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
 That I fall down and worship thee as God?
 Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
 That Evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.
 To whom the Fiend with fear abasht replied. 195
 Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
 Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men;
 If I to try whether in higher sort
 Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
 What both from Men and Angels I receive, 200
 Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth
 Nations besides from all the quarter'd winds,
 God of this world invoc't and world beneath;
 Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
 To me so fatal, me it most concerns. 205
 The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
 Rather more honour left and more esteem;
 Me naught advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.
 Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
 The Kingdoms of this world; I shall no more 210
 Advise thee, gain them as thou canst, or not.
 And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd

185-186. St. Paul gave the title "King of kings" to God (I Tim. vi, 15), and St. John gave it to the risen Christ. (Rev. xvii, 14 and xix, 16.)

197. In Job i, 6, Satan is included among the other "sons of God" who appear in heaven. Hosea (i, 10) anticipated the Christian teaching that all men who "are led by the spirit of God, are sons of God." (Rom. viii, 14.)

201-203. Compare the note on II, 122-124. *Tetrarch* was a Greek and Roman title given to a ruler of a fourth part of a country and it is given here to the demons because they were supposed to be assigned respectively to their individual elements among the traditional four. Satan means that his subordinate devils give him control of the elements, while the blindness of men to the truth makes him "the god of this world." (II Cor. iv, 4.)

Than to a worldly Crown, addicted more
 To contemplation and profound dispute,
 As by that early action may be judg'd, 215
 When slipping from thy Mother's eye thou went'st
 Alone into the Temple; there wast found
 Among the gravest Rabbies disputant
 On points and questions fitting *Moses' Chair*,
 Teaching not taught; the childhood shows the man, 220
 As morning shows the day. Be famous then
 By wisdom; as thy Empire must extend,
 So let extend thy mind o'er all the world,
 In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
 All knowledge is not couch't in *Moses' Law*, 225
 The *Pentateuch* or what the Prophets wrote,
 The *Gentiles* also know, and write, and teach
 To admiration, led by Nature's light;
 And with the *Gentiles* much thou must converse,
 Ruling them by persuasion as thou mean'st, 230
 Without thir learning how wilt thou with them,
 Or they with thee hold conversation meet?
 How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
 Thir Idolisms, Traditions, Paradoxes?
 Error by his own arms is best evinc't. 235

215-220. Jesus has already mentioned his youthful talks in the Temple (I, 209-214) with the Scribes and Pharisees who pretended to interpret the Law and "sit in Moses' seat." (Mat. xxiii, 2.)

226. *Pentateuch*: the first five books of the Old Testament, in which the Mosaic law is embodied.

228. Like Richard Hooker, Milton was struck by the belief of many pagan thinkers who found proof in natural law that "nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways." (*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, I, iii, 4.)

230. Compare I, 221-3.

234. *N.E.D.* mentions *Idolism*—meaning the practice of idolatry—as having been used first by Sylvester in his translation of Du Bartas' *The Divine Weekes*.

Milton may have been thinking of the five Stoic *paradoxes*, which dealt in such doctrines as the proposition that wise men are the only kings, or of sceptical paradoxes, like Carneades' proof that assent to an idea is impossible because judgement involves thought processes for which we have no criterion. Compare the note on ll. 300-308.

235. *evinc't* keeps its Latin force of "conquered."

Look once more ere we leave this specular Mount
 Westward, much nearer by Southwest, behold
 Where on the *Aegean* shore a City stands
 Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil,
Athens, the eye of *Greece*, Mother of Arts 240
 And Eloquence, native to famous wits
 Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
 City or Suburban, studious walks and shades;
 See there the Olive Grove of *Academe*,
Plato's retirement, where the *Attic* Bird 245
 Trills her thick-warbl'd notes the summer long;
 There flow'ry hill *Hymettus* with the sound
 Of Bees' industrious murmur oft invites
 To studious musing; there *Ilissus* rolls
 His whispering stream; within the walls then view 250
 The schools of ancient Sages; his who bred
 Great *Alexander* to subdue the world,

236. *specular Mount*: mountain of wide outlook. The Latin *specula* means "watch-tower."

239. Athenian intelligence was, at least from the time of Plato (*Timaeus*, 24, C), explained by the clear air of Athens and the temperate living appropriate to its light soil.

240. Justinus (*Epitome*, 5, 8, 4) spoke of Athens and Sparta as the eyes of Greece.

241-242. Milton remembered that Socrates and Plato were almost the only natives of Athens who became great philosophers, while Aristotle and a host of other famous thinkers came to enjoy the city's hospitality.

wits: wise (rather than witty) men. In *Arcopagitica* Milton spoke of Athens as a place where "wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece."

recess: asylum, retreat.

243. *studious*: study-inviting.

244-246. The *Olive Grove* in the suburbs of Athens where Plato met his disciples was called the Academy.

247-250. The mountain range to the southeast of Athens was famous for its bees. Roman, as well as Greek, poets often called it "flowery Hymettus." The river *Ilissus*, which Plato made the setting of some of his dialogues, rises there and flows through the city of Athens.

251-253. The *Lyceum* was a park with covered walks to the east of Athens and gave its name to Aristotle's school because his disciples were in the habit of walking with him there.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, taught in a colonnade in the market-place of Athens which Pausanias (1, 3, 1; 14, 6, 3) described in

Lyceum there, and painted *Stoa* next;
 There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
 Of harmony in tones and numbers hit 255
 By voice or hand, and various-measur'd verse,
Aeolian charms and *Dorian Lyric* Odes,
 And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
 Blind *Melesigenes* thence *Homer* call'd,
 Whose Poem *Phoebus* challeng'd for his own. 260
 Thence what the lofty grave Tragoedians taught
 In *Chorus* or *Iambic*, teachers best
 Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
 Of fate, and chance, and change in human life; 265
 High actions, and high passions best describing:
 Thence to the famous Orators repair,
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
 Wielded at will that fierce Democracy,
 Shook the Arsenal and fulmin'd over *Greece*, 270
 To *Macedon*, and *Artaxerxes'* Throne;
 To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,

the second century, A.D. as having been decorated with frescos by famous painters like Micon and Polygnotus.

257. *charms* keeps its Latin meaning of "songs," as it does in *P.L.*, IV, 642; "charm of earliest Birds." *Aeolian* lyric poetry is best represented by Sappho's songs and *Dorian* by Pindar's odes and hymns.

259-260. The epics of Homer, who, according to one tradition, was born near the river Meles in Ionia, are in the Ionic dialect. An epigram in the Greek Anthology (found in the *Palatine Anthology*, 9, 455) suggested that Apollo admired the Homeric epics enough to lay claim to them: "It was I who sang, but divine Homer wrote it down."

262. Aside from the choral odes, Greek tragedy was mainly written in iambic meter.

269. *Democracy*: democracy.

270-271. Perhaps Milton was thinking of Aristophanes' satire of the Athenian democracy for crying up good government and the virtue of temperance when what it really desired was control of the arsenal and of the treasury. (*Birds*, 1540.) Pericles, the leader of the democratic party in Athens, "thundered and lightened and confounded Hellas" (Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, 530), when its troops were involved in the Peloponnesian War against Sparta and its fleet was challenging the ships of the Persian king, Artaxerxes. Demosthenes' greatest orations were efforts to arouse public opinion in Athens against Philip of Macedon.

272-294. See the Introduction, §5.

From Heaven descended to the low-rooft house
 Of *Socrates*, see there his Tenement,
 Whom well inspir'd the Oracle pronounc'd 275
 Wisest of men; from whose mouth issu'd forth
 Mellifluous streams that water'd all the schools
 Of Academics old and new, with those
 Surnam'd *Peripatetics*, and the Sect
Epicurean, and the *Stoic* severe; 280
 These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,
 Till time mature thee to a Kingdom's weight;
 These rules will render thee a King complete
 Within thyself, much more with Empire join'd.
 To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied. 285
 Think not but that I know these things; or think
 I know them not; not therefore am I short
 Of knowing what I ought: he who receives
 Light from above, from the fountain of light,
 No other doctrine needs, though granted true; 290
 But these are false, or little else but dreams,
 Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
 The first and wisest of them all profess'd
 To know this only, that he nothing knew;
 The next to fabling fell and smooth conceits; 295
 A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;
 Others in virtue plac'd felicity,
 But virtue join'd with riches and long life;
 In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;
 The Stoic last in Philosophic pride, 300

295. *The next* is Plato, whose myths evidently seemed the most vulnerable part of his thought to Milton when the college exercise *On the Platonic Idea* was written.

The word *conceits* is used as Spenser used it when he called *The Faerie Queene* a "continued Allegory or darke conceit."

296. Pyrrho was the founder of the sceptical school and Carneades (see the note on 234 above) was its leader in the second century, B.C.

297-298. *Others*: Aristotle's followers, the Peripatetics.

299. *he*: Epicurus. In spite of the slurring tone of the line, Milton may not have meant to do an injustice to the Epicurean principle of tranquillity of mind got by means of a life of controlled physical pleasure.

300-308. From boyhood Milton was familiar with the famous debate in Cicero's *De finibus* where the Aristotelian ethic prevails over the

Sto
 im
 ind
 II,
 ser
 tru
 the
 arg
 Sto
 III,
 an
 of
 is a
 wa
 sci

By him call'd virtue; and his virtuous man,
 Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing
 Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,
 As fearing God nor man, contemning all
 Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life, 305
 Which when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,
 For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
 Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
 Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead;
 Ignorant of themselves, of God much more, 310
 And how the world began, and how man fell
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
 Much of the Soul they talk, but all awry,
 And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
 All glory arrogate, to God give none, 315
 Rather accuse him under usual names,
 Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
 Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
 True wisdom, finds her not, or by delusion
 Far worse, her false resemblance only meets, 320
 An empty cloud. However, many books
 Wise men have said are wearisome; who reads
 Incessantly, and to his reading brings not

Stoic ideal of the perfectly virtuous man, utterly self-sufficient in his impossible realization of the five paradoxes (see the note on 234 above), indifferent to wealth and honour and even insensible to pain. In *C.D.*, II, x, he condemns this insensibility to pain or "stoical apathy, for sensibility to pain, and even lamentations, are not inconsistent with true patience; as may be seen in Job and the other saints, when under the pressure of affliction." By making the devils in hell (*P.L.*, II, 564) argue about "apathy" he indicated his opinion of the ingenuity of the Stoics in defending their paradoxes.

314-315. Editors cite Cicero's argument (*On the Nature of the Gods*, III, 36) that, to be genuine, virtue must be rooted in the human heart and not be, like outward possessions, a gift of the gods.

316-318. Compare the Introduction, §15.

320-321. Milton refers to the myth that Jove made a cloud-image of Juno for her lover, Ixion, to embrace.

321-322. "Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh." (Eccl. xii, 12.)

322-330. It is just possible that Sir Isaac Newton's confession that he was like a child playing with pebbles on the shore of the ocean of science was an allusion to this passage.

A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
 (And what he brings, what needs he elsewhere seek) 325
 Uncertain and unsettl'd still remains,
 Deep verst in books and shallow in himself,
 Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys,
 And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;
 As Children gathering pebbles on the shore. 330
 Or if I would delight my private hours
 With Music or with Poem, where so soon
 As in our native Language can I find
 That solace? All our Law and Story strew'd
 With Hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscrib'd, 335
 Our Hebrew Songs and Harps in *Babylon*,
 That pleas'd so well our Victors' ear, declare
 That rather *Greece* from us these Arts deriv'd;
 Ill imitated, while they loudest sing
 The vices of their Deities, and thir own 340
 In Fable, Hymn, or Song, so personating
 Thir Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
 Remove thir swelling Epithets thick laid

328. *Crude* has its Latin meaning of "surfeited."

329. *worth a sponge* probably means "fit to be expunged."

334. *Story*: history. Compare II, 307.

335. *artful*: full of art. The reference is to the terms at the beginning of the psalms to indicate their poetical classification or the instruments to be used with them.

336-337. "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. . . . For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song." (Psalm cxxxvii, 1-3.)

338. "Poesy," said Ben Jonson in *Timber*, inheriting a belief which went back to the Fathers of the Church, "had her original from heaven, received thence from the Hebrews, and had in prime estimation among the Greeks, transmitted to the Latins and all nations that professed civility." See the Introduction, §3.

340-342. Compare II, 178-191. Milton was influenced by the Church Fathers who, like St. Augustine (*City of God*, VI, vii) attacked the "fabulous, scenical, filthy and ridiculous" divinities of the pagans as betraying the hearts of the men who invented them.

341. *personating*: impersonating, *i.e.*, presenting the gods on the stage, or scene, as they were in both the Greek tragedies and—with the utmost indecency—in the Roman mimes, and even in a play like Plautus' *Amphitruo*.

343. Milton had in mind epithets like "the far-darter" of Apollo,

As varnish on a Harlot's cheek, the rest,
 Thin sown with aught of profit or delight, 345
 Will far be found unworthy to compare
 With *Sion's* songs, to all true tastes excelling,
 Where God is prais'd aright, and Godlike men,
 The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints;
 Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee; 350
 Unless where moral virtue is express'd
 By light of Nature not in all quite lost.
 Thir Orators thou then extoll'st, as those
 The top of Eloquence, Statists indeed,
 And lovers of thir Country, as may seem; 355
 But herein to our Prophets far beneath,
 As men divinely taught, and better teaching
 The solid rules of Civil Government
 In thir majestic unaffected style
 Than all the Oratory of *Greece* and *Rome*. 360
 In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
 What makes a Nation happy, and keeps it so,
 What ruins Kingdoms, and lays Cities flat;
 These only, with our Law, best form a King.
 So spake the Son of God; but Satan now 365
 Quite at a loss, for all his darts were spent,
 Thus to our Saviour with stern brow replied.
 Since neither wealth, nor honour, arms nor arts,
 Kingdom nor Empire pleases thee, nor aught

"the saviour" of Zeus or Jupiter, and "the golden" and "the crowned" of Aphrodite or Venus.

346-350. These lines should be read in the light of the Introduction, §7, and of the widespread opinion to which Sir Philip Sidney gave classical expression when he said in *An Apologie for Poetrie* that the best poets were the biblical writers who "did imitate the inconceivable excellencies of GOD. Such were *Dauid* in his *Psalmes*, *Salomon* in his song of *Songs*, in his *Ecclesiastes*, and *Prouerbs*, *Moses* and *Debora* in their *Hymnes*, and the writer of *Job*."

351-352. *Unless* qualifies *unworthy* in 346. Milton refers to thinkers like Socrates. Compare line 228 above.

354. *Statists*: statesmen. Sir Thomas Browne said that "Statists that labour to contrive a Commonwealth without poverty, take away the object of charity." (*Religio Medici*, II, xiii.)

366. Perhaps there is an allusion to "the fiery darts of the wicked" (Eph. vi, 16) which are turned by "the shield of faith."

By me propos'd in life contemplative, 370
 Or active, tended on by glory, or fame,
 What dost thou in this World? the Wilderness
 For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,
 And thither will return thee; yet remember
 What I foretell thee, soon thou shalt have cause 375
 To wish thou never hadst rejected thus
 Nicely or cautiously my offer'd aid,
 Which would have set thee in short time with ease
 On *David's* Throne; or Throne of all the world,
 Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season, 380
 When Prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
 Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,
 Or Heav'n write aught of Fate, by what the Stars
 Voluminous, or single characters,

370-371. St. Augustine made a distinction which had fundamental importance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance when he said that "the study of wisdom is either concerning action or contemplation, and thence assumes two several names, active and contemplative, the active consisting in the practice of morality in one's life, and the contemplative in penetrating into the abstruse causes of nature, and the nature of divinity." (*The City of God*, VII, iv.)

377. *Nicely*: squeamishly, fastidiously. Compare *nice* in l. 157.

380-381. Compare the note on I, 286.

382-393. In *P.L.* (especially in X, 656-672) Milton betrays a scientifically rationalized interest in judicial astrology. Its basis was the belief that the heavenly bodies

"Not only enlighten, but with kindly heat
 Of various influence foment and warm,
 Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
 Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
 On Earth."

(*P.L.* IV, 668-672.)

This belief came down both through "Ptolemaic" channels such as Pontano's cosmic poem in Latin, the *Urania* (1490), and also through the writings of such English pioneers of the Copernican astronomy as Robert Record and Leonard Digges. It was not at all incompatible with Pico della Mirandola's theories in his *Confutation* of the astrologers nor with John Calvin's treatise against astrology (1561). Even Bishop Carleton, whose great book on *the madness of the astrologers* (1624) attacked them on definitely modern scientific grounds, regarded them as being victims and tools of the devil. Newton suggested that in this passage Milton was satirizing the Italian astrologer and physician, Jerome Cardan (1501-1576), for his famous attempt to cast the horoscope of Jesus.

In their conjunction met, give me to spell, 385
 Sorrows, and labours, opposition, hate,
 Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
 Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death.
 A Kingdom they portend thee, but what Kingdom,
 Real or Allegoric I discern not, 390
 Nor when, eternal sure, as without end,
 Without beginning; for no date prefix
 Directs me in the Starry Rubric set.

So saying he took (for still he knew his power
 Not yet expir'd) and to the Wilderness 395
 Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
 Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
 As day-light sunk, and brought in louring night,
 Her shadowy off-spring, unsubstantial both,
 Privation mere of light and absent day. 400
 Our Saviour meek and with untroubl'd mind
 After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
 Hungry and cold betook him to his rest,
 Wherever, under some concourse of shades
 Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might shield 405
 From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head,
 But shelter'd slept in vain, for at his head

385. *conjunction*: the apparent near approach of two stars or planets. It was one of the unfavourable "aspects" of astrology. Compare the *Synod unbenign* of *P.L.* X, 661.

spell: decipher, unriddle.

391. *eternal sure*, in the light of l. 472 below, seems certainly ironical.

393. *Rubric*: a calendar or a document containing laws of any kind. The term was derived from the red coloring of the captions in ancient Roman law books and in medieval liturgical works.

397-400. Through Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* (I, v) and similar mythological works Milton inherited his interest in Hesiod's personification of Night as the wife and sister of Erebus or Darkness. (*Theogony*, 748-757.) His faith in the essential goodness of matter and of life made him allegorize Night as the wife of Chaos and contrast it as "unessential" (*P.L.* II, 439) with the Light which is coeternal with God.

402. *jaunt* originally meant a tiring or difficult journey.

404. *Wherever*: anywhere where rest could be found.

407-409. So in *P.L.* IV, 799-809, Satan is found "close at the ear of Eve," inspiring evil dreams,

The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams
 Disturb'd his sleep; and either Tropic now
 'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heav'n; the Clouds 410
 From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd
 Fierce rain with lightning mixt, water with fire
 In ruin reconcil'd: nor slept the winds
 Within thir stony caves, but rush'd abroad
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell 415
 On the vext Wilderness, whose tallest Pines,
 Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest Oaks
 Bow'd thir Stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
 Or torn up sheer: ill wast thou shrouded then,
 O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st 420
 Unshaken; nor yet stay'd the terror there.
 Infernal Ghosts, and Hellish Furies, round
 Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some shriek'd,
 Some bent at thee thir fiery darts, while thou
 Sat'st unappall'd in calm and sinless peace. 425
 Thus pass'd the night so foul till morning fair

409. *Tropic* is used loosely to mean opposite parts of the sky.

412-413. *ruin* has the Latin meaning of "fall." The phrasing suggests Aeschylus' storm in which "fire and sea, those old enemies, leagued together to hurl pitiless destruction upon the Greek fleet" returning from Troy. (*Agamemnon*, 659-661.)

Milton thought of this tempest as the work of demons, rulers of "the middle air" (*P.L.* I, 516; compare *P.R.* I, 39-45); but it is a symbol also, like "the hideous storme of raine" before the encounter of Spenser's Redcross Knight with the monster, Error, when a dark sky deluged the plain so fast

"That euery wight to shrowd it did constrain."

(*F.Q.* I, i, vi, 8.)

414. Milton thought of the vast cave in which Virgil (*Aen.* I, 52-64) describes the god Aeolus as confining the winds between the storms which devastate the sea.

415. We derive the term "cardinal" (as in cardinal points of the compass) from Latin *cardo*, which means a hinge.

419. *sheer*: completely, absolutely.

420. *only*: pre-eminent. Compare Shakespeare's "your onely ligge-maker." (*Hamlet*, III, ii, 131.)

426-430. Milton makes artistic use of the superstition that the fiends lose their power to torment men

"Ere the first Cock his Matin rings."

(*L'Allegro*, 114.)

Came forth with Pilgrim steps in amice gray;
 Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
 Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,
 And grisly Spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd 430
 To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.
 And now the Sun with more effectual beams
 Had cheer'd the face of Earth, and dried the wet
 From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds
 Who all things now behold more fresh and green, 435
 After a night of storm so ruinous,
 Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray
 To gratulate the sweet return of morn.
 Nor yet amidst this joy and brightest morn
 Was absent, after all his mischief done, 440
 The Prince of darkness; glad would also seem
 Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came,
 Yet with no new device, they all were spent;
 Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,
 Desperate of better course, to vent his rage, 445
 And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
 Him walking on a Sunny hill he found,
 Back'd on the North and West by a thick wood;
 Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,
 And in a careless mood thus to him said. 450
 Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
 After a dismal night; I heard the rack
 As Earth and Sky would mingle; but myself
 Was distant; and these flaws, though mortals fear them
 As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven, 455

427. *amice*: a hood or cape, lined with grey fur, worn by some religious orders.

436. *ruinous*: compare the note on *ruin* in l. 413.

438. *gratulate*: give thanks for. Compare *Comus*, 949.

449. *wonted shape*: usual form, *i.e.*, undisguised.

452. *rack*: ruin, destruction. Compare *P.L.* XI, 821:
 "A World devote to universal rack."

453. Here the reminiscence of Virgil's account of the storm on the Mediterranean mingling earth and sky (*Aen.* I, 133-134) seems deliberate.

455. Here, as in *Comus*, 598, the allusion is to *Job* xxvi, 11. "The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at his reproof."

Or to the Earth's dark basis underneath,
 Are to the main as inconsiderable,
 And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
 To man's less universe, and soon are gone;
 Yet as being oft times noxious where they light 460
 On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
 Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
 Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
 They oft fore-signify and threaten ill:
 This Tempest at this Desert most was bent; 465
 Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
 Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
 The perfect season offer'd with my aid
 To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong
 All to the push of Fate, pursue thy way 470
 Of gaining *David's* Throne no man knows when,
 For both the when and how is nowhere told,
 Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
 For Angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing
 The time and means: each act is rightliest done, 475
 Not when it must, but when it may be best.
 If thou observe not this, be sure to find,
 What I foretold thee, many a hard assay
 Of dangers, and adversities and pains,
 Ere thou of *Israel's* Scepter get fast hold; 480
 Whereof this ominous night that clos'd thee round,
 So many terrors, voices, prodigies
 May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.

457. *main*: the entire universe.

458-459. In medicine, Bacon observed (*Advancement of Learning*, II, x, 2), "the ancient opinion that man was *microcosmus*, an abstract or model of the world, hath been fantastically strained by Paracelsus and the alchemists, as if there were to be found in man's body certain correspondences and parallels, which should have respect to all varieties of things, as stars, planets, minerals, which are extant in the great world." The conception went back beyond Plato, and Milton may have been thinking of the passage in the *Timaeus* (81, A) which says that in the body "the processes of filling and evacuating take place just as the motion of everything in the Universe takes place."

468. *perfect*: Milton's usual spelling of "perfect," although no other instance is found in *P.R.*

478. *assay*: compare the note on l. 264 in Book I,

So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
And stay'd not, but in brief him answer'd thus. 485

Mee worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
Those terrors which thou speak'st of, did me none;
I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
And threat'ning nigh; what they can do as signs
Betok'ning, or ill-boding, I contemn 490
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I accepting
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,
Ambitious spirit, and wouldst be thought my God, 495
And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify
Mee to thy will; desist, thou art discern'd
And toil'st in vain, nor me in vain molest.*

To whom the Fiend now swoln with rage replied:
Then hear, O Son of *David*, Virgin-born; 500
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt:
Of the Messiah I have heard foretold
By all the Prophets; of thy birth at length
Announc't by *Gabriel* with the first I knew,
And of the Angelic Song in *Bethlehem* field, 505
On thy birth-night, that sung thee Saviour born.
From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
Till at the Ford of *Jordan* whither all 510
Flock'd to the Baptist, I among the rest,
Though not to be Baptiz'd, by voice from Heav'n
Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower Scrutiny, that I might learn 515
In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
The Son of God, which bears no single sense;
The Son of God I also am, or was,
And if I was, I am; relation stands;
All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought 520
In some respect far higher so declar'd.
Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,

501-521. See the Introduction, §13.

And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild;
 Where by all best conjectures I collect
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy. 525
 Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
 To understand my Adversary, who
 And what he is; his wisdom, power, intent,
 By parle, or composition, truce, or league
 To win him, or win from him what I can. 530
 And opportunity I here have had
 To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
 Proof against all temptation as a rock
 Of Adamant, and as a Centre, firm;
 To the utmost of mere man both wise and good, 535
 Not more; for Honours, Riches, Kingdoms, Glory
 Have been before contemn'd, and may again:
 Therefore to know what more thou art than man,
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heav'n,
 Another method I must now begin. 540
 So saying he caught him up, and without wing
 Of *Hippogrif* bore through the Air sublime

524. *collect*: draw an inference, gather.

525. *fatal* keeps its Latin meaning of "established by fate." Compare Moloch's confession that God's "fatal throne" is inaccessible. (*P.L.* II, 104.) From the opposite point of view, the word means "un-escapable" or "loaded with evil destiny"—as it does in l. 205 above.

529. *parle*: parley, negotiation. All the terms in this line have military connotations.

530. *win* . . . *win*: compare *drooping* . . . *dropping* in l. 434 above and the note on II, 269.

534. *Adamant*, Milton remembered, is etymologically the same word as "diamond." *Rock of Diamond* is similarly used in *P.L.* VI, 364, and in VI, 110, Satan wears arms of *Adamant*. The word keeps its Greek force of "unconquerable."

Centre: point of a body's equilibrium. *N.E.D.* cites Sir William Temple: "Things drawn out of their center are not to be moved without much force, or skill; . . . but, to make them return to their center again, there is required but little of either."

542. Milton probably thought of Ariosto's tale of Astolfo's journey to the moon on a *Hippogrif*:

"Only the Beast he rode was not of art,
 But gotten of a Griffeth on a Mare,
 And like a Griffeth had the former part,
 As Wings and Head, and Claws that hideous are,

Over the Wilderness and o'er the Plain;
 Till underneath them fair *Jerusalem*,
 The holy City, lifted high her Towers, 545
 And higher yet the glorious Temple rear'd
 Her pile, far off appearing like a Mount
 Of Alabaster, top't with golden Spires:
 There on the highest Pinnacle he set
 The Son of God; and added thus in scorn: 550
 There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
 Will ask thee skill; I to thy Father's house
 Have brought thee, and highest plac't, highest is best,
 Now show thy Progeny; if not to stand,
 Cast thyself down; safely if Son of God: 555
 For it is written, He will give command
 Concerning thee to his Angels, in thir hands
 They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
 Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.
 To whom thus Jesus: also it is written, 560
 Tempt not the Lord thy God; he said and stood.
 But Satan smitten with amazement fell
 As when Earth's Son *Antaeus* (to compare

And passing strength and force, and ventrous Heart,
 But all the rest may with a Horse compare."
 (*Orlando Furioso*, IV, 13. Harington's translation.)

sublime keeps its Latin meaning of "raised aloft." In *P.L.* VI, 771, Milton says that the Messiah "on the wings of Cherub rode sublime."

546. This was the vast temple built by Herod the Great on the site where Solomon had erected the first temple in Jerusalem.

549. *Pinnacle* suggests the spire of a European church rather than the "little wing" or projection which is indicated by St. Luke's word in the Greek N.T.

554. *Progeny*: birth, descent, parentage.

556-559. The lines paraphrase Psalm xci, 11-12.

561. The verse to which Jesus alludes, "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God" (Deut. vi, 16), was a warning to the Jews not to try the patience of God.

The emphatic word *stood* marks the moment of Satan's recognition of Christ's full power and identity, and the catastrophe of his own fall is the consequence. Compare the Introduction, §15.

563-571. Hercules was called *Alcides* after his grandfather, Alceus, and the myth represented Jove (Zeus) as his father. Milton seems to have remembered Pindar's account of his struggle with the giant,

Small things with greatest) in *Irassa* strove
 With *Jove's Alcides*, and oft foil'd still rose, 565
 Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,
 Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,
 Throttl'd at length in the Air, expir'd and fell;
 So after many a foil the Tempter proud,
 Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride 570
 Fell whence he stood to see his Victor fall.
 And as that *Theban* Monster that propos'd
 Her riddle, and him, who solv'd it not, devour'd;
 That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite
 Cast herself headlong from th' *Ismenian* steep, 575
 So strook with dread and anguish fell the Fiend,
 And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought
 Joyless triumphals of his hop't success,
 Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
 Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 580
 So Satan fell and straight a fiery Globe
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
 Who on their plumy Vans receiv'd him soft
 From his uneasy station, and upbore
 As on a floating couch through the blithe Air, 585
 Then in a flow'ry valley set him down
 On a green bank, and set before him spread

Antaeus, as having occurred in *Irassa* in Cyrenaica, or what is now Libya. Compare the Introduction, §3-4.

572-575. The *Monster* was the sphinx which threw itself from the acropolis of Thebes into the river Ismenus when Oedipus found the answer, "Man," to her question which animal walks first on four, then on two, and finally on three legs. Milton was familiar with many interpretations of the myth such as Bacon suggested when he said that "the riddle proposed to Oedipus . . . related to the nature of man, for whoever has a thorough insight into the nature of man may shape his fortune almost as he will, and is born for empire." (*Wisdom of the Ancients*, xxviii.)

576. *strook* had not given way entirely to "struck." Milton uses the latter form in III, 146.

578. *triumphals*: celebrations. Ironical, of course.

581. *Globe*: a solid body of soldiers. So Satan is surrounded by a "Globe of fiery Seraphim" in *P.L.* II, 512.

583. *Vans*: wings. In *P.L.* II, 927, Satan spreads "his Sail-broad Vans."

A table of Celestial Food, Divine,
 Ambrosial, Fruits fetcht from the tree of life,
 And from the fount of life Ambrosial drink, 590
 That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
 What hunger, if aught hunger had impair'd,
 Or thirst; and as he fed, Angelic Quires
 Sung Heavenly Anthems of his victory
 Over temptation, and the Tempter proud. 595
 True Image of the Father whether thron'd
 In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
 Conceiving, or remote from Heaven, enshrin'd
 In fleshly Tabernacle, and human form,
 Wand'ring the Wilderness, whatever place, 600
 Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
 The Son of God, with Godlike force indu'd
 Against th' Attempter of thy Father's Throne,
 And Thief of Paradise; him long of old
 Thou didst debel, and down from Heav'n cast 605
 With all his Army; now thou hast aveng'd
 Supplanted *Adam*, and by vanquishing

589. Although *Ambrosia*, the food of the Olympian gods, was supposed to give immortality, Milton used the word without that connotation when he described the trees of life in heaven as bearing "ambrosial fruitage" (*P.L.* V, 427). There the word means "divinely delicious," as it does here, and does again in *P.L.* II, 245, where Mammon mentions God's altar as breathing "Ambrosial Odours and Ambrosial Flowers."

589-590. Milton thought of the symbolic *well of life* from which Spenser's Knight of Holiness drank at the crisis of his combat with a satanic dragon (*F.Q.*, I, xi, 29), and perhaps of the place

"Where *Tigris* at the foot of Paradise
 Into a Gulf shot under ground, till part
 Rose up a Fountain by the Tree of Life."

(*P.L.* IX, 71-73.)

591-592. *repair'd* . . . *impair'd*: compare the note on l. 530.

596-597. The lines allude to the opening verses of John's gospel, where Christ, the Word, is said to have been from the beginning with God, who is Light and Life, and to have declared Him to men, because He "is in the bosom of the Father." (Verse 18.)

604. Perhaps Milton remembered his description of Satan when he entered Eden to seduce Eve as "this first grand Thief." (*P.L.* IV, 192.)

605. *debel*: war down. Milton thought of Anchises' prophecy that it should be Rome's destiny to debel proud lawlessness throughout the world. (*Aen.* VI, 853.)

Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise,
 And frustrated the conquest fraudulent:
 He never more henceforth will dare set foot 610
 In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke:
 For though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,
 A fairer Paradise is founded now
 For *Adam* and his chosen Sons, whom thou
 A Saviour art come down to re-install, 615
 Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be
 Of Tempter and Temptation without fear.
 But thou, Infernal Serpent, shalt not long
 Rule in the Clouds; like an Autumnal Star
 Or Lightning thou shalt fall from Heav'n trod down 620
 Under his feet: for proof, ere this thou feel'st
 Thy wound, yet not thy last and deadliest wound
 By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell
 No triumph; in all her gates *Abaddon* rues 625
 Thy bold attempt; hereafter learn with awe
 To dread the Son of God: he all unarm'd
 Shall chase thee with the terror of his voice
 From thy Demoniac holds, possession foul,
 Thee and thy Legions; yelling they shall fly,
 And beg to hide them in a herd of Swine, 630
 Lest he command them down into the deep
 Bound, and to torment sent before thir time.
 Hail Son of the most High, heir of both worlds,
 Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work

611. *broke*, for "broken," was already obsolete in the seventeenth century. There is an echo of Psalm cxxiv, 7: "the snare is broken, and we are escaped."

612. *be fail'd*: have disappeared. "To be absent or wanting" is the first meaning of the word.

620-621. Jesus' words, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Luke x, 18) are involved with prophecies like Malachi's promise that "ye shall tread down the wicked." (Mal. iv, 3.)

622. Milton refers to Satan's final destruction at the end of time as St. John foresaw it in the Apocalypse. (Rev. xx, 10.)

624. *Abaddon* is a name of hell in Job xxvi, 6, xxviii, 22, and xxxi, 12.

629-632. The legion of devils which Jesus cast out of the Gergesene madmen and allowed to take refuge in a herd of swine asked him, "Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" (Mat. viii, 29.)

Now enter, and begin to save mankind.

635

Thus they the Son of God our Saviour meek
Sung Victor, and from Heavenly Feast refresht
Brought on his way with joy; hee unobserv'd
Home to his Mother's house private return'd.

The End.

639. *private* has become a colourless word, but we can recover some appreciation of the meaning that it had for Milton and of its significance in this characteristic closing line, if we recall Satan's sneer at Jesus for "affecting private life" (III, 22) and his contempt for the life which Jesus lived in Nazareth,

"Private, unactive, calm, contemplative."

(II, 81.)

SAMSON AGONISTES¹

A DRAMATIC POEM

ARISTOT. POET. CAP. 6

Τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεω σπουδαίας, etc.

Tragoedia est imitatio actionis seriae, etc. per misericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.

OF THAT SORT OF DRAMATIC POEM WHICH IS
CALL'D TRAGEDY

TRAGEDY, as it was anciently compos'd, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other Poems: therefore said by *Aristotle*² to be of power by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, that is to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirr'd up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion: for so in Physic things of melancholic hue and quality are us'd against melancholy, sour

¹*Agonistes*, in the title, transliterates the Greek name for the amateur athletes who competed in the public games, and it refers to Samson's appearance at the festival of the Philistines in the temple of Dagon at the climax of the tragedy, when he wrestles with the pillars there. Milton used the epithet to point to that particular incident in his hero's life as Aeschylus used the epithets "Bound" and "Freed" in the titles of two of the tragedies in his Promethean trilogy to indicate the particular events in the life of Prometheus on which his plots were based.

²Milton is paraphrasing the Aristotelian definition of tragedy which he partly quotes in the original Greek and in Latin translation as an epigraph.

against sour, salt to remove salt humours.¹ Hence Philosophers and other gravest Writers, as *Cicero*, *Plutarch* and others, frequently cite out of Tragic Poets, both to adorn and illustrate their discourse. The Apostle *Paul* himself thought it not unworthy to insert a verse of *Euripides* into the Text of Holy Scripture,² 1 Cor. 15. 33. and *Paraeus*,³ commenting on the *Revelation*, divides the whole Book as a Tragedy, into Acts distinguisht each by a Chorus of Heavenly Harpings and Song between. Heretofore Men in highest dignity have labour'd not a little to be thought able to compose a Tragedy. Of that honour *Dionysius*⁴ the elder was no less ambitious,

¹In his *Art of Poetry* (1564) the Italian critic, Minturno, had applied the homeopathic, medical theory that "like cures like" to Aristotle's theory of tragic catharsis, saying that, "Medicine has no greater power, by means of poison, to expel poison from an afflicted body than tragedy has to purge the soul of its impetuous passions by the skilful expression of strong emotion in poetry."

Contemporary physicians sometimes applied homeopathic remedies in direct relation to the four humours of the body—blood, phlegm, choler or bile, and melancholy or black bile—as saffron is still popularly used for the liver, because its colour is like that of bile. Burton, in the *Anatomy* (I, i, 3, 3), recognized "diversity of melancholy matter" which appeared internally as a black humour and might cause black jaundice, scurvy, quartan ague or leprosy; or, "if it trouble the mind, as it is diversely mixed, it produces several kinds of madness and dotage." "But most commonly," he thought, "fear, grief, and some sudden commotion or perturbation of the mind, begin it, in such bodies especially as are ill-disposed." (*Ibid.*, I, ii, 5, 4. Compare lines 600-601 below.)

²The verse, "Evil communications corrupt good manners," was proverbial when St. Paul quoted it. Although Milton attributed it to Euripides, both here and in *Arcopagitica* (*P.W.*, II, 63), the fragment in which it has come down has been doubtfully assigned both to him and to Menander.

³Milton had long been interested in the commentaries of the German Calvinist, David Paraeus, whose work on Revelation was translated into English in 1644. Its eighth chapter, "Touching the Forme of the Revelation," suggested his description of the Apocalypse of St. John, in the Preface to Book II of *The Reason of Church Government*, as "the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies: and this may opinion the grave authority of Paraeus . . . is sufficient to confirm."

⁴Dionysius (431-367 B.C.), tyrant of Syracuse, consolidated the cities

than before of his attaining to the Tyranny. *Augustus Caesar* also had begun his *Ajax*,¹ but unable to please his own judgement with what he had begun, left it unfinished. *Seneca* the Philosopher is by some thought the Author of those Tragedies² (at least the best of them) that go under that name. *Gregory Nazianzen* a Father of the Church, thought it not unbecoming the sanctity of his person to write a Tragedy, which he entitl'd *Christ Suffering*.³ This is mention'd to vindicate Tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common Interludes; happ'ning through the Poet's error of intermixing Comic stuff with Tragic sadness and gravity; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And though ancient Tragedy use no Prologue,⁴ yet using sometimes, in case of self defence, or explanation, that which *Martial* calls an Epistle; in behalf of this Tragedy coming forth after the ancient

of Magna Graecia and stopped the Carthaginian expansion in Sicily. He patronized all the arts and wrote a tragedy himself, *The Ransom of Hector*, to which the Athenians gave the first prize at the Dionysiac festival.

¹Milton was familiar with the story about Augustus Caesar which Suetonius told (II, 85): "Though he began a tragedy with much enthusiasm, he destroyed it because his style did not satisfy him."

²The ten tragedies which are probably rightly attributed to Seneca were published in Newton's English translation in 1581.

³Like all his contemporaries, Milton believed that the tragedy called *Christ Suffering*, which now seems to have been written by a Byzantine Greek about the end of the twelfth century, was the work of Gregory Nazianzen (325?-390?), Bishop of Constantinople. He undoubtedly admired its many Euripidean echoes and must have been interested in a long-standing controversy as to whether the "Playe of Christ" by Nazianzenus, as Stephen Gosson called it in his *Schoole of Abuse*, was intended for acting on the stage or was composed "dialoguewise, as Plato and Tullie did their Philosophye, to be reade, not to be played."

⁴Milton used the word *Prologue* to mean an apology for a work of art, standing first, like the epistle to the reader prefixed to *Martial's* first book of *Epigrams*, or like the "epistles dedicatory" of some Restoration plays—disregarding the fact that Aristotle described "the whole of that part of a tragedy which precedes the entrance of the chorus" as the prologue. (*Poetics*, xii.)

manner, much different from what among us passes for best, thus much before-hand may be Epistl'd; that *Chorus* is here introduc'd after the Greek manner, not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the *Italians*. In the modeling therefore of this Poem, with good reason, the Ancients and *Italians*¹ are rather follow'd, as of much more authority and fame. The measure of Verse us'd in the Chorus is of all sorts, call'd by the Greeks *Monostrophic*, or rather *Apolelymenon*,² without regard had to *Strophe*, *Antistrophe* or *Epode*, which were a kind of Stanzas fram'd only for the Music, then us'd with the Chorus that sung; not essential to the Poem, and therefore not material; or being divided into Stanzas or Pauses, they may be call'd *Allaeostropha*.³ Division into Act and Scene referring chiefly to the Stage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted; it suffices if the whole Drama be found not produc't beyond the fift Act.

Of the style and uniformity, and that commonly call'd the Plot, whether intricate or explicit, which is nothing indeed but such economy,⁴ or disposition of the fable as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum; they only will best judge

¹So in *Of Education* Milton spoke of the Italians as the best representatives, after the ancients, of "that sublime art which in Aristotle's poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe." Milton was thinking of the great Senecan dramas in Italy of which Tasso's *Torrismondo* is a good example.

²*Apolelymenon* transliterates a Greek term meaning "free" in the sense that the choruses are not bound by the strict divisions into the elaborate stanzaic patterns of the strophe, antistrophe and epode which, in Greek classical tragedies, were distinctly marked off by being sung respectively as the singers moved from right to left, then from left to right, and finally as they stood stationary.

³*Allaeostropha*: having strophes or stanzas of irregular length.

⁴First and most important among the six elements of tragedy Aristotle named plot or the arrangement of incidents, which is what Milton meant by *economy*. Aristotle called plots in which there was no sudden reversal in the fortune of the hero from happiness to misery, or from misery to happiness and back again, simple, as contrasted with those in which such changes occur; and criticized them as likely to be episodic and disunited.

who are not unacquainted with *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, the three Tragic Poets unequal'd yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavour to write Tragedy. The circumscription of time¹ wherein the whole Drama begins and ends, is according to ancient rule, and best example, within the space of 24 hours.

THE ARGUMENT

Samson made Captive, Blind, and now in the Prison at Gaza,² there to labour as in a common work-house, on a Festival day, in the general cessation from labour, comes forth into the open Air, to a place nigh, somewhat retir'd, there to sit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be visited by certain friends and equals³ of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who seek to comfort him what they can; then by his old Father Manoa, who endeavours the like, and withal tells him his purpose to procure his liberty by ransom; lastly, that this Feast was proclaim'd by the Philistins⁴ as a day of Thanksgiving for thir deliverance from the hands of Samson, which yet more troubles him. Manoa then departs to prosecute his endeavour with the

¹The "unity of time," or principle that a drama ought not to exceed twelve, or at most twenty-four hours in the ideal duration of its action, was unconsciously observed by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides because it was almost inevitable on a stage without a drop curtain to mark long pauses between the acts. It was not, however, a part of Aristotle's doctrine, but was read into the *Poetics* by neoclassical critics.

²Milton seems to have visualized Gaza as Sandys described it in his *Travels* (p. 116): "But now return we unto Gaza, one of the five Cities, and that the principal that belonged to the Palestines, called Philistins in the Scripture, a warlike and powerful people . . . Gaza or Aza signifieth strong." It lay near the Mediterranean coast in southwestern Palestine. Compare the note on l. 1605.

³*equals* has its Latin meaning of "contemporaries," persons of about the same age.

⁴The *Philistins* seem to have been a Semitic people, for the name is derived from a Semitic root meaning "to wander," and Milton had the authority of Jeremiah (xlvii, 4) and Deuteronomy (ii, 23) for calling them "sons of Caphtor" in l. 1713. Caphtor has been very uncertainly identified with Crete, with the Nile delta, with Caria on the southwestern shore of Asia Minor and with Cappodocia in west-central Asia Minor.

Philistian Lords for Samson's redemption; who in the meanwhile is visited by other persons; and lastly by a public Officer to require his coming to the Feast before the Lords and People, to play or show his strength in thir presence; he at first refuses, dismissing the public Officer with absolute denial to come; at length persuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the second time with great threatenings to fetch him; the Chorus yet remaining on the place, Manoa returns full of joyful hope to procure ere long his Son's deliverance: in the midst of which discourse an Ebrew comes in haste; confusedly at first and afterward more distinctly relating the Catastrophe,¹ what Samson had done to the Philistins, and by accident to himself; wherewith the Tragedy ends.

THE PERSONS

Samson.

Manoa *the Father of Samson.*

Dalila *his Wife.*

Harapha *of Gath.*

Public Officer.

Messenger.

Chorus of Danites.

The Scene before the Prison in Gaza.

SAMSON AGONISTES

Samson. A little onward lend thy guiding hand
To these dark steps, a little further on;
For yonder bank hath choice of Sun or shade,
There I am wont to sit, when any chance
Relieves me from my task of servile toil, 5
Daily in the common Prison else enjoin'd me,

¹Milton thought again of Aristotle's *Poetics* (xviii), where the catastrophe or denouement is the name given to the final part of a tragedy, beginning at the point where the fortunes of the hero take their final turn.

1-2. The situation is like that in the opening scene of Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, where Antigone leads her blind father forward, and also like that in the *Phoenissae* (834-835) of Euripides, where the "blind feet" of Tiresias are guided forward by his daughter.

Where I a Prisoner chain'd, scarce freely draw
 The air imprison'd also, close and damp,
 Unwholesome draught: but here I feel amends,
 The breath of Heav'n fresh-blowing, pure and sweet, 10
 With day-spring born; here leave me to respire.
 This day a solemn Feast the people hold
 To *Dagon* thir Sea-Idol, and forbid
 Laborious works, unwillingly this rest
 Thir Superstition yields me; hence with leave 15
 Retiring from the popular noise, I seek
 This unfrequented place to find some ease,
 Ease to the body some, none to the mind
 From restless thoughts, that like a deadly swarm
 Of Hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone, 20
 But rush upon me thronging, and present
 Times past, what once I was, and what am now.
 O wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold
 Twice by an Angel, who at last in sight
 Of both my Parents all in flames ascended 25
 From off the Altar, where an Off'ring burn'd,
 As in a fiery column charioting
 His Godlike presence, and from some great act
 Or benefit reveal'd to *Abraham's* race?

11. *day-spring*—day-break. Compare *P.L.* V, 139, and VI, 521.

13. Milton's conception of *Dagon* as a "Sea Monster, upward Man And downward Fish" (*P.L.* I, 462-3) corresponds with the most usual derivation of his name from a Semitic root meaning "fish." He is very doubtfully identified with an Assyrian deity, *Dagan*. In Phoenicia his name was connected with the word for corn, *dagan*, and he seems to have been an agricultural deity. His cult, as Judges xvi, 23, and I Samuel v, indicate, was centred in the Philistine cities of Ashdod and Gaza.

19-20. The simile was a commonplace. Compare l. 623 and *P.R.* I, 196-7, and IV, 15, note.

20. *found* anticipates *me* in l. 21.

22. Compare Satan's "bitter memory Of what he was, what is." (*P.L.* IV, 24-5.)

24. Samson's birth was foretold to his mother (Judg. xiii, 3-5) and later to her and to Manoa (*Ibid.*, 10-20).

27-28. Milton thought of Elijah's translation to heaven in a chariot of fire. Compare the note on *P.R.* II, 16-7. Josephus (*Antiquities*, V, viii) says that after Manoa had sacrificed "the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke as by a vehicle."

Why was my breeding order'd and prescrib'd 30
 As of a person separate to God,
 Design'd for great exploits; if I must die
 Betray'd, Captiv'd, and both my Eyes put out,
 Made of my Enemies the scorn and gaze;
 To grind in Brazen Fetters under task 35
 With this Heav'n-gifted strength? O glorious strength
 Put to the labour of a Beast, debas't
 Lower than bondslave! Promise was that I
 Should *Israel* from *Philistian* yoke deliver;
 Ask for this great Deliverer now, and find him 40
 Eyeless in *Gaza* at the Mill with slaves,
 Himself in bonds under *Philistian* yoke;
 Yet stay, let me not rashly call in doubt
 Divine Prediction, what if all foretold
 Had been fulfill'd but through mine own default, 45
 Whom have I to complain of but myself?
 Who this high gift of strength committed to me,
 In what part lodg'd, how easily bereft me,
 Under the Seal of silence could not keep,
 But weakly to a woman must reveal it, 50
 O'ercome with importunity and tears.
 O impotence of mind, in body strong!
 But what is strength without a double share
 Of wisdom? Vast, unwieldy, burdensome,

30. *breeding*—training, education (*i.e.*, as a Nazarite. Compare Judges xiii, 7).

31. The root meaning of "Nazarite" was "to separate," in the sense that a man or woman who should "separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the Lord; He shall separate himself from wine and strong drink." (Num. vi, 2-3.)

34. *gaze*—gazing stock. So Macduff threatens to make Macbeth "the shew, and gaze o'th'time." (*Macbeth*, V, viii, 24.)

37. L. 1162 says that asses worked at the mills with the slaves.

38-39. Compare the angel's prophecy that Samson should "begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines." (Judg. xiii, 5.)

47. *gift* is the object of *keep* in l. 49.

53-54. Editors quote the saying that "strength without wisdom falls by its own weight" from Horace (*Odes*, III, iv, 65), but the commonplace goes back as far as Pindar (*Pythian Odes*, viii, 15). Samson was a proverbial example of unreasonable strength. Compare 208-209 below. *Ingenium Superat vires* was a familiar maxim.

Proudly secure, yet liable to fall 55
 By weakest subtleties, not made to rule,
 But to subserve where wisdom bears command.
 God, when he gave me strength, to show withal
 How slight the gift was, hung it in my Hair.
 But peace, I must not quarrel with the will 60
 Of highest dispensation, which herein
 Haply had ends above my reach to know:
 Suffices that to me strength is my bane,
 And proves the source of all my miseries;
 So many, and so huge, that each apart 65
 Would ask a life to wail, but chief of all,
 O loss of sight, of thee I most complain!
 Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,
 Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age!
 Light the prime work of God to me is extinct, 70
 And all her various objects of delight
 Annull'd, which might in part my grief have eas'd,
 Inferior to the vilest now become
 Of man or worm; the vilest here excel me,
 They creep, yet see; I dark in light expos'd 75
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse and wrong,
 Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
 In power of others, never in my own;
 Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.
 O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon, 80
 Irrecoverably dark, total Eclipse

55. *secure* keeps its Latin meaning of "careless," or "heedless of danger." Compare *P.R.* I, 176, note.

60. The first meaning of *quarrel* is "to find fault" or "to raise objections."

66. *ask*—require, need.

70. Milton thought of the conception of light as the "offspring of Heav'n first-born" which is the basis of the opening passage of *P.L.*, III.

extinct keeps its Latin meaning as the past participle of a verb meaning "extinguish."

73. *Inferior* refers to *me* in l. 70.

74. *Of man or worm*—of men or of worms.

77. *still*—always.

Without all hope of day!
 O first created Beam, and thou great Word,
 Let there be light, and light was over all;
 Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree? 85
 The Sun to me is dark
 And silent as the Moon,
 When she deserts the night,
 Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.
 Since light so necessary is to life, 90
 And almost life itself, if it be true
 That light is in the Soul,
 She all in every part; why was the sight
 To such a tender ball as th' eye confin'd?
 So obvious and so easy to be quench't, 95
 And not as feeling through all parts diffus'd,
 That she might look at will through every pore?
 Then had I not been thus exil'd from light;
 As in the land of darkness yet in light,
 To live a life half dead, a living death, 100
 And buried; but O yet more miserable!
 Myself my Sepulchre, a moving Grave,
 Buried, yet not exempt

82. *all*—any. Compare Lady Macbeth's words: "Things without all remedie Should be without regard." (*Macbeth*, III, ii, 11-12.)

83-84. A reminiscence of God's command, "Let there be light," in the story of the creation in Genesis (i, 3), which Milton expanded in *P.L.* VII, 243-260.

85. *bereav'd*—robbed of. In earlier English the preposition was often omitted. *N.E.D.* cites Elyot's *Boke of the Governour*: "Enuy had . . . bireft hym his lyfe."

87-89. *silent* has its Latin meaning of "inactive" or "quiet," a use of the word which Pliny explains (*Natural History*, XVI, 74) was regular in referring to the moon between its waning and its crescent phases.

89. *vacant* has its Latin force of "empty" or "at leisure."

93. Milton thought of the theory that the soul was diffused throughout every part of the body and perhaps of the contrast which he puts into Raphael's mouth between human bodies and those of the angels:

"All Heart they live, all Head, all Eye, all Ear,
 All Intellect, all Sense."

(*P.L.*, VI, 350-351.)

100. Compare Adam's dread of a "living death" in *P.L.* X, 788.

By privilege of death and burial
 From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs, 105
 But made hereby obnoxious more
 To all the miseries of life,
 Life in captivity
 Among inhuman foes.
 But who are these? for with joint pace I hear 110
 The tread of many feet steering this way;
 Perhaps my enemies who come to stare
 At my affliction, and perhaps to insult,
 Their daily practice to afflict me more.
Chorus. This, this is he; softly a while; 115
 Let us not break in upon him;
 O change beyond report, thought, or belief!
 See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,
 With languish't head unpropt,
 As one past hope, abandon'd, 120
 And by himself given over;
 In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds
 O'erworn and soil'd;
 Or do my eyes misrepresent? Can this be hee,
 That Heroic, that Renown'd, 125
 Irresistible *Samson*? whom unarm'd
 No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast could withstand;
 Who tore the Lion, as the Lion tears the Kid,
 Ran on embattled Armies clad in Iron,
 And weaponless himself, 130

106. *obnoxious* keeps its Latin meaning of "exposed to."

115-116. The first appearance of the chorus, which in Greek tragedy usually numbered twelve or fifteen persons, was termed the *parados*, and the same name was given to its first song. Here the rhythm and the situation evidently are a reminiscence of the scene in Euripides' *Orestes* (140-145) where Electra warns the chorus of maidens not to disturb her Fury-possessed brother.

118. *diffus'd* keeps its literal Latin meaning of "poured out." Editors compare Ovid's picture of himself in exile, his "languid limbs poured out upon his bed." (*From Pontus*, III, iii, 8.)

119. *languish't*—relaxed. The two words are etymologically related.

122. *habit*—dress. *weeds*—clothes.

128. Judges xiv, 5-6, tells the story of Samson's finding honey in the carcass of a young lion which "roared against him: . . . and he rent him as he would have rent a kid."

Made Arms ridiculous, useless the forgery
 Of brazen shield and spear, the hammer'd Cuirass,
Chalybean temper'd steel, and frock of mail
 Adamantean Proof;
 But safest he who stood aloof, 135
 When insupportably his foot advanc't,
 In scorn of thir proud arms and warlike tools,
 Spurn'd them to death by Troops. The bold *Ascalonite*
 Fled from his Lion ramp, old Warriors turn'd
 Thir plated backs under his heel; 140
 Or grov'ling soil'd thir crested helmets in the dust.
 Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,
 The Jaw of a dead Ass, his sword of bone,
 A thousand fore-skins fell, the flower of *Palestine*,
 In *Ramath-lechi* famous to this day: 145

131. *forgery* has the active meaning of "forging."

133. *Chalybean* is now accented on the third syllable, but Milton may have intended the stress to fall on the second. The usual Elizabethan accentuation of words ending in -ean was on the syllable preceding the ending.

The Chalybes lived in Pontus, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, and were famous for their skill in forging iron.

134. *Adamantean*. In the ancient world the word meant steel of the hardest kind, but in early English "the properties ascribed to it show a confusion of ideas between the diamond and the loadstone or magnet." (*N.E.D.*) Milton described Satan's shield as made of adamant. (*P.L.* VI, 254.)

136. *insupportably*—irresistibly.

137. *tools*—weapons. The word often meant "sword," as in *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 28-9; "Draw thy toole, here comes two of the house of the Montagues."

138. Ascalon, Askalon, or Ashkelon, was one of the five great Philistine cities and lay on the Mediterranean coast near Gaza. The reference is to Samson's raid when he "went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them, and took their spoil." (*Judg.* xiv, 19.)

140. *plated*—armour-clad. Shakespeare describes Antony as "like plated Mars." (*Antony and Cleopatra*, I, i, 4.)

142. The *trivial weapon* was the jawbone of an ass which Samson found "and slew a thousand men therewith. And Samson said, With the jawbone of an ass, heaps upon heaps, with the jaw of an ass have I slain a thousand men." (*Judg.* xv, 15-16.)

144. *Palestine* refers to Philistia. Compare note 4 on the Argument.

145. Samson "called that place Ramath-lechi." (*Judg.* xv, 17.) The

Then by main force pull'd up, and on his shoulders bore
 The Gates of *Azza*, Post, and massy Bar
 Up to the Hill by *Hebron*, seat of Giants old,
 No journey of a Sabbath day, and loaded so;
 Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heav'n. 150
 Which shall I first bewail,
 Thy Bondage or lost Sight,
 Prison within Prison
 Inseparably dark?
 Thou art become (O worst imprisonment!) 155
 The Dungeon of thyself; thy Soul
 (Which Men enjoying sight oft without cause complain)

margin translates the Hebrew words as "the casting away or the lifting up of the jawbone."

146-149. Samson's last great exploit, before his betrayal by Dalila, was his midnight surprise of the Gazites, when he "took the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts, and went away with them, bar and all, . . . and carried them up to the top of an hill, that is before Hebron." (Judg. xvi, 3.)

Milton remembered the account of the first Hebrew spies who penetrated Palestine and at Hebron saw "the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants; and so we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight." (Num. xiii, 33.)

147. *Azza* was a variant form of *Gaza*. Compare note 2 on the Argument.

148. *Hebron* lay about twenty miles south of Jerusalem, and about forty miles from Gaza; while the limit for a Sabbath day's journey in the Mosaic law (Exod. xvi, 29) was less than one mile.

150. It is odd to find the Hebrews casually referring to the Gentile (*i.e.*, Graeco-Roman) myth of the giant Atlas who was supposed to support the sky on his shoulders. Such allusions may not have seemed to Milton to be justified merely by poetic convention, for, like Sandys (*Travels*, p. 116), he thought of Samson as living "in the time of the Trojan Wars, an Age that produced Worthies, whose force and fortunes are said to have given to the Poets their inventions of Hercules, who lived not long before him." One of the poets' "inventions of Hercules" was the tale that he relieved Atlas temporarily of his load. Compare the Introduction, §23.

156. The First Brother puts the thought into this same metaphor in *Comus*, 383-5, and in *P.L.* IV, 20-23, it inspires the picture of Satan unable to fly from "The Hell within him."

157. *Which* refers to the entire thought following in lines 157 to 163. The blind man's soul cannot generate its own light for physical, or even spiritual vision. Compare *That Nature is not subject to old Age*, 3, note.

Imprison'd now indeed,
 In real darkness of the body dwells,
 Shut up from outward light 160
 To incorporate with gloomy night;
 For inward light, alas,
 Puts forth no visual beam.
 O mirror of our fickle state,
 Since man on earth unparallel'd! 165
 The rarer thy example stands,
 By how much from the top of wondrous glory,
 Strongest of mortal men,
 To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fall'n.
 For him I reckon not in high estate 170
 Whom long descent of birth
 Or the sphere of fortune raises;
 But thee whose strength, while virtue was her mate,
 Might have subdu'd the Earth,
 Universally crown'd with highest praises. 175

Samson. I hear the sound of words, thir sense the air
 Dissolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.

Chorus. Hee speaks, let us draw nigh. Matchless in might,
 The glory late of *Israel*, now the grief;
 We come thy friends and neighbours not unknown 180
 From *Eshtaol* and *Zora's* fruitful Vale
 To visit or bewail thee, or, if better,

163. *visual beam*, like the *visual ray* of *P.L.* III, 620, means the faculty of sight, which was imagined as a kind of ray of light emanating from the eye.

164. *mirror*—reflection or pattern. The reference to "the sphere of fortune" in l. 172 indicates that Milton was thinking of the mediaeval conception of the tragic hero as a man first raised high on Fortune's wheel and then swept down, but he seems also to have been trying to suggest—by his stress on Samson's sometime possession of strength combined with virtue—that he had a better hero than even Aristotle's ideal tragic figure. (*Poetics*, xiii.)

175. For the scansion refer to the Introduction, §18.

181. The story of Samson opens in Judges (xiii, 2) with the statement that his father, Manoah, was a citizen of *Zora*. The town lay in the coastal plain of *Sorec* (mentioned in l. 229), west of Jerusalem, and in the list of cities in that valley in Joshua xv, 33, it is mentioned as next in order after *Eshtaol*.

182. *if better*—if (we may do) better (than merely visit and bewail

Counsel or Consolation we may bring,
 Salve to thy Sores; apt words have power to swage
 The tumours of a troubl'd mind, 185
 And are as Balm to fester'd wounds.

Samson. Your coming, Friends, revives me, for I learn
 Now of my own experience, not by talk,
 How counterfeit a coin they are who friends
 Bear in their Superscription (of the most 190
 I would be understood); in prosperous days
 They swarm, but in adverse withdraw their head
 Not to be found, though sought. Yee see, O friends,
 How many evils have enclos'd me round;
 Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me, 195
 Blindness, for had I sight, confus'd with shame,
 How could I once look up, or heave the head,
 Who like a foolish Pilot have shipwrack't
 My Vessel trusted to me from above,
 Gloriously rigg'd; and for a word, a tear, 200
 Fool, have divulg'd the secret gift of God
 To a deceitful Woman: tell me, Friends,
 Am I not sung and proverb'd for a Fool

thee, we come to bring counsel). The comma before *if* is not found in the original editions.

184. *Salve to . . . Sores* was a proverbial phrase and is illustrated by Britomart's refusal in *F.Q.* III, ii, 36-37, to accept "idle wordes" as salve to her sores.

184-185. Of the many parallels to the thought one of the most interesting is the question of Ocean in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (l. 379)—which was famous because Cicero quoted it in the *Tusculan Disputations* (III, 31):

"Know'st thou not this, Prometheus, that mild words
 Are medicines of fierce wrath?"

185. *Tumour* was often used to mean a swelling of passion in the mind. *N.E.D.* quotes Sir Henry Wotton: "There is in him no tumour, no sowrenesse, . . . but a quiet mind."

190. *Superscription*—stamp denoting the value of a coin; on a counterfeit it would hardly correspond with the real value.

191. Editors compare Ovid's lines from the *Tristia* (I, ix, 5-6): "Whilst thou art happy, thou numberest countless friends; once skies are overcast, thou art alone."

197. *heave* was equivalent to "lift." The Spirit in *Comus* (885) called upon Sabrina to "rise, and heave thy rosy head."

203. David, in despair over his "foolishness," says (Psal. lxxix, 11) that

In every street; do they not say, how well
 Are come upon him his deserts? yet why? 205
 Immeasurable strength they might behold
 In me, of wisdom nothing more than mean;
 This with the other should, at least, have pair'd,
 These two proportion'd ill drove me transverse.

Chorus. Tax not divine disposal; wisest Men 210
 Have err'd, and by bad Women been deceiv'd;
 And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise.

Deject not then so overmuch thyself,
 Who hast of sorrow thy full load besides;
 Yet truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder 215
 Why thou shouldst wed *Philistian* women rather
 Than of thine own Tribe fairer, or as fair,
 At least of thy own Nation, and as noble.

Samson. The first I saw at *Timna*, and she pleas'd
 Mee, not my Parents, that I sought to wed, 220

he has become "a proverb" to his enemies, and Job's worst chagrin is the fact that he is "a byword to the people." (Job xvii, 6.) In Milton's England many an unpopular person was "sung" in ballads on the streets.

207. *mean*—ordinary, average.

208. *pair'd*—equalled. In this essentially Latin meaning the word is obsolete, but its root survives in "peer" and "compeer," both of which mean "an equal," and in verbs like "impair" and "compare."

209. *transverse*—off the straight course (*i.e.*, of Samson's intended career).

210. Both the English verb *tax* and the Latin verb from which it is derived meant "to blame" or "to complain against."

disposal often denoted divine control of events. *N.E.D.* cites *Tenure of Kings*: "God, out of his providence and high disposal," etc.

210–212. In *Tetrachordon* Milton had argued that only Adam, in his first perfection, "had the gift to . . . apprehend at first sight the true fitness of that consort which God provided him, while "the best and wisest men, amidst the sincere and most cordial designs of their hearts, do daily err in choosing."

212. *pretend* probably keeps its frequent, sixteenth century meaning of "intend" and the clause means, "however wisely they may intend," rather than, "however wise they pretend to be."

213. *Deject* survives only in the past participial form, "dejected."

219–225. The account of Samson's resolve to marry the woman of Timnath which Milton found in Judges xiv, 1–4, does not suggest that his motive was passion, and his reply to his parents' protest against his

The daughter of an Infidel: they knew not
 That what I motion'd was of God; I knew
 From intimate impulse, and therefore urg'd
 The Marriage on; that by occasion hence
 I might begin *Israel's* Deliverance, 225
 The work to which I was divinely call'd;
 She proving false, the next I took to Wife
 (O that I never had! fond wish too late)
 Was in the Vale of *Sorec, Dalila,*
 That specious Monster, my accomplisht snare. 230
 I thought it lawful from my former act,
 And the same end; still watching to oppress
Israel's oppressors: of what now I suffer
 She was not the prime cause, but I myself,
 Who vanquisht with a peal of words (O weakness!) 235
 Gave up my fort of silence to a Woman.
 · *Chorus.* In seeking just occasion to provoke
 The *Philistine*, thy Country's Enemy,
 Thou never wast remiss, I bear thee witness:
 Yet *Israel* still serves with all his Sons. 240
Samson. That fault I take not on me, but transfer

marriage with a Philistine woman—"Get her for me; for she pleaseth me well"—is justified by the statement that "his father and mother knew not that it was of the Lord, that he sought an occasion against the Philistines."

223. *intimate* has its literal, Latin meaning of "inward."

226. *divinely*—by divine or supernatural summons. Compare the same word in *P.R.* I, 26.

229. There is no suggestion of divine guidance in the statement that "it came to pass afterward that" Samson "loved a woman in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah." (*Judg.* xvi, 4.)

231–232. *lawful*—permissible because of the precedent of the former marriage and because the *end*, or object in view was the same.

235. It was only when Dalila "pressed him daily with her words, and urged him, so that his soul was vexed unto death, that he told her all his heart, and said unto her, There hath not a razor come upon mine head; for I have been a Nazarite unto God from my mother's womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me." (*Judg.* xvi, 16–17.)

peal is used again in this sense in l. 906 below. Compare the "hideous Peal" from the mouths of the Hell Hounds in *P.L.* II, 656. Milton thought of a peal of cannon discharged at a fort.

240. *serves*—is in subjection (*i.e.*, to the Philistines).

On *Israel's* Governors, and Heads of Tribes,
 Who seeing those great acts which God had done
 Singly by me against their Conquerors
 Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd 245
 Deliverance offer'd: I on th' other side
 Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds,
 The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the doer;
 But they persisted deaf, and would not seem
 To count them things worth notice, till at length 250
 Thir Lords, the *Philistines*, with gather'd powers
 Enter'd *Judea* seeking mee, who then
 Safe to the rock of *Etham* was retir'd,
 Not flying, but fore-casting in what place
 To set upon them, what advantag'd best; 255
 Meanwhile the men of *Judah* to prevent
 The harass of thir Land, beset me round;
 I willingly on some conditions came
 Into thir hands, and they as gladly yield me
 To the uncircumcis'd a welcome prey, 260
 Bound with two cords; but cords to me were threads

245. *consider'd*—esteemed, appreciated.

247. *ambition* keeps its primitive Latin meaning of going about or canvassing for public support. *N.E.D.* cites Houssaie's *Government of Venice*: "This bartering and ambition of Office was forbidden."

248. Samson's attitude is that of Shakespeare's Coriolanus, who, like a good soldier, "rewards His deeds with doing them." (*Coriolanus*, II, ii, 142-143.)

249. *persisted deaf*; *i.e.*, persisted in refusing to hear.

251. *powers*—forces, troops.

253-264. It was seemingly to consider his next step after smiting the Philistines "hip and thigh with a great slaughter," that Samson "went and dwelt in the top of the rock Etam." (Judg. xv, 8.) There he hoped that the Hebrews would rally to him, but the "three thousand men of Judah" who came to him asked him to allow them to bind him and deliver him to the Philistines. "And Samson said unto them, Swear unto me, that ye will not fall upon me yourselves. And they spake unto him, saying, No; but we will bind thee fast, and deliver thee into their hand. . . . And when he came unto Lehi, the Philistines shouted against him: and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax that was burnt with fire, and his bands loosed from off his hands." (*Ibid.*, 12-14.) The story of what followed has already been mentioned in 142-145 above.

Tought with the flame: on thir whole Host I flew
 Unarm'd, and with a trivial weapon fell'd
 Their choicest youth; they only liv'd who fled.
 Had *Judah* that day join'd, or one whole Tribe, 265
 They had by this possess'd the Towers of *Gath*,
 And lorded over them whom now they serve;
 But what more oft in Nations grown corrupt,
 And by thir vices brought to servitude,
 Than to love Bondage more than Liberty, 270
 Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty;
 And to despise, or envy, or suspect
 Whom God hath of his special favour rais'd
 As thir Deliverer; if he aught begin,
 How frequent to desert him, and at last 275
 To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds?
Chorus. Thy words to my remembrance bring
 How *Succoth* and the Fort of *Penuel*
 Thir great Deliverer contemn'd,
 The matchless *Gideon* in pursuit 280
 Of *Madian* and her vanquisht Kings:
 And how ingrateful *Ephraim*
 Had dealt with *Jephtha*, who by argument,

266. *by this*—by this time.

Gath stands here for the whole country of Philistia, one of whose five great cities it was.

268–271. For the part played by this principle in *P.L.* and *P.R.* see the Introduction, §6.

273–276. Perhaps as he wrote these lines Milton thought of the dashing, Puritan cavalry leader, General Lambert, whose resistance to the movement which eventuated in the restoration of Charles II was finally checked at York by the renegade Cromwellian officers, General Monk and Fairfax.

278–281. The *vanquisht Kings* were "Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian," in whose pursuit the men of the Hebrew cities of Succoth and Penuel refused to aid Gideon. (Judg. viii, 4–9.)

Madian is found only once in the Bible (in Acts vii, 29), but it is usual as the Greek rendering of the regular form in the Old Testament, *Midian*, in the Septuagint.

282–289. Jephthah's diplomatic and military victory over the Ammonites is recorded in Judges xi, 12–33. Later he and his Gileadite supporters quarreled with the Ephraimite Hebrews, who had refused to help him against the Ammonites. The successful Gileadites seized the fords of the Jordan and, "when those Ephraimites which were

Not worse than by his shield and spear
 Defended *Israel* from the *Ammonite*, 285
 Had not his prowess quell'd thir pride
 In that sore battle when so many died
 Without Reprieve adjudg'd to death,
 For want of well pronouncing *Shibboleth*.

Samson. Of such examples add mee to the roll, 290
 Mee easily indeed mine may neglect,
 But God's propos'd deliverance not so.

Chorus. Just are the ways of God,
 And justifiable to Men;
 Unless there be who think not God at all: 295
 If any be, they walk obscure;
 For of such Doctrine never was there School,
 But the heart of the Fool,
 And no man therein Doctor but himself.

Yet more there be who doubt his ways not just, 300
 As to his own edicts, found contradicting,
 Then give the reins to wand'ring thought,

escaped said, Let me go over; . . . the men of Gillead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay;

"Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth; and he said Sibboleth: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they . . . slew him . . . ; and there fell . . . of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand." (Judg. xii, 5-6.)

291. *mine: i.e., my people*. Compare the parallel Latinism in *thine* in l. 1169. Samson forgives his people for neglecting him, but reproaches them for forgetting the cause of God's deliverance of Israel.

293. There is an echo of the song of the triumphant host on the fiery sea of glass in Revelation xv, 3: ". . . just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints."

295. *think not God at all*—disbelieve absolutely in God. Milton used a Greek construction here which was familiar to him in many authors, from Herodotus to Plato, in expressions of disbelief in the gods.

298. Milton began his chapter "Of God" in *C.D.* with the acknowledgment that "there be not a few who deny the existence of *God*, for 'the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God,' Psalm xiv, 1"; but he rejoined immediately that "the Deity has imprinted upon the human mind so many unquestionable tokens of himself, and so many traces of him are apparent throughout the whole of nature, that no one in his senses can remain ignorant of the truth."

299. *Doctor* has its Latin meaning of "authoritative teacher."

300-301. Milton thought of the ancient question to which Plutarch's essay *On the Delay of the Divine Justice* was the best pagan answer.

Regardless of his glory's diminution;
 Till by thir own perplexities involv'd
 They ravel more, still less resolv'd,
 But never find self-satisfying solution. 305

As if they would confine th' interminable,
 And tie him to his own prescript,
 Who made our Laws to bind us, not himself,
 And hath full right to exempt 310
 Whomso it pleases him by choice
 From National obstruction, without taint
 Of sin, or legal debt;
 For with his own Laws he can best dispense.

He would not else who never wanted means, 315
 Nor in respect of the enemy just cause
 To set his people free,
 Have prompted this Heroic *Nazarite*,
 Against his vow of strictest purity,
 To seek in marriage that fallacious Bride, 320
 Unclean, unchaste.

Down Reason then, at least vain reasonings down,
 Though Reason here aver
 That moral verdict quits her of unclean:

305. *ravel* is used in its primitive meaning of "become tangled" or "confused."

resolv'd—decided. Compare the use in Luke xvi, 4: "I am resolved what to do."

307. *interminable*—infinite (*i.e.*, God). The thought is like that put into God's mouth in Job xl, 3: "Wilt thou also disannul my judgement? wilt thou condemn me, that thou mayest be righteous?"

312. *obstruction*—a legal bond or obligation. Here the word, which was first used, seemingly, by Milton, refers to the Mosaic law against gentile marriages in Deuteronomy vii, 3.

313. *legal debt*—any liability incurred by having broken the law.

319. *strictest purity* did not imply celibacy, according to Mosaic law, even for a Nazarite; but any infraction of the law constituted impurity and Samson had broken it by his gentile marriages.

320. *fallacious*—deceitful. *N.E.D.* quotes Cowley's *The Complaint*: "Teach me not then, O thou fallacious Muse, The Court . . . to accuse."

321. *Unclean* is used in an almost technical sense, for by the Mosaic law all gentiles were unclean.

324. *quits*—acquits. *verdict*—verdict.

Unchaste was subsequent, her stain not his. 325
 But see here comes thy reverend Sire
 With careful step, Locks white as down,
 Old *Manoa*: advise
 Forthwith how thou ought'st to receive him.
Samson. Ay me, another inward grief awak't, 330
 With mention of that name renews th' assault.
Manoa. Brethren and men of *Dan*, for such ye seem,
 Though in this uncouth place; if old respect,
 As I suppose, towards your once gloried friend,
 My Son now Captive, hither hath inform'd 335
 Your younger feet, while mine cast back with age
 Came lagging after; say if he be here.
Chorus. As signal now in low dejected state,
 As erst in highest, behold him where he lies.
Manoa. O miserable change! is this the man, 340
 That invincible *Samson*, far renown'd,
 The dread of *Israel's* foes, who with a strength
 Equivalent to Angels' walk'd thir streets,
 None offering fight; who single combatant
 Duell'd thir Armies rank't in proud array, 345
 Himself an Army, now unequal match
 To save himself against a coward arm'd
 At one spear's length. O ever failing trust
 In mortal strength! and oh, what not in man
 Deceivable and vain! Nay, what thing good 350
 Pray'd for, but often proves our woe, our bane?
 I pray'd for Children, and thought barrenness
 In wedlock a reproach; I gain'd a Son,

327. *careful* keeps its literal force of "full of care." Compare Spenser's refrain in his dirge in the November Eclogue in *The Shepherdes Calendar*: "O heavie herse! O carefull verse!"

328. *advise*—take thought, consider.

333. *uncouth*—unknown, strange. Compare Raphael's "voyage uncouth and obscure" in *P.L.* VIII, 230.

334. *gloried* may mean either "honoured" or "boasted."

335. *inform'd*—guided. So the Lady in *Comus*, 179-180, asks, ". . . where else, Shall I inform my unacquainted feet?"

338. *signal*—eminent, conspicuous.

345. *Duell'd*—fought duels with.

And such a Son as all Men hail'd me happy;
 Who would be now a Father in my stead? 355
 O wherefore did God grant me my request,
 And as a blessing with such pomp adorn'd?
 Why are his gifts desirable; to tempt
 Our earnest Prayers, then, giv'n with solemn hand
 As Graces, draw a Scorpion's tail behind? 360
 For this did the Angel twice descend? for this
 Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a Plant;
 Select, and Sacred, Glorious for a while,
 The miracle of men: then in an hour
 Ensnar'd, assaulted, overcome, led bound, 365
 Thy Foes' derision, Captive, Poor, and Blind,
 Into a Dungeon thrust, to work with Slaves?
 Alas! methinks whom God hath chosen once
 To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
 He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall 370
 Subject him to so foul indignities,
 Be it but for honour's sake of former deeds.
Samson. Appoint not heavenly disposition, Father,
 Nothing of all these evils hath befall'n me
 But justly; I myself have brought them on, 375
 Sole Author I, sole cause: if aught seem vile,
 As vile hath been my folly, who have profan'd
 The mystery of God giv'n me under pledge
 Of vow, and have betray'd it to a woman,
 A *Canaanite*, my faithless enemy. 380

354. *as* was often used to mean "that." Compare *Richard III*, III, iv, 38-40:

"Catesby . . . finds the testy gentleman so hot
 As he will lose his head ere give consent."

360. *Graces*—favours. Perhaps the line was influenced by Luke xi, 12. "If a son shall ask of his father an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?"

368. *methinks*—it seems to me.

373. *Appoint*—pin down to a fixed course of action. Compare *Arcopagitica* (*P.W.* II, 98): "Neither is God appointed and confined where his chosen shall be first heard to speak."

377. *profan'd* has the Latin meaning of "disclose a sacred secret."

380. *Canaanite*: the Philistines might be called Canaanites because they had conquered and occupied the land of Canaan before the advent of the Hebrews.

This well I knew, nor was at all surpris'd,
 But warn'd by oft experience: did not she
 Of *Timna* first betray me, and reveal
 The secret wrested from me in her highth
 Of Nuptial Love profest, carrying it straight 385
 To them who had corrupted her, my Spies,
 And Rivals? In this other was there found
 More Faith? who also in her prime of love,
 Spousal embraces, vitiated with Gold,
 Though offer'd only, by the scent conceiv'd 390
 Her spurious first-born; Treason against me?
 Thrice she assay'd with flattering prayers and sighs,
 And amorous reproaches to win from me
 My capital secret, in what part my strength
 Lay stor'd, in what part summ'd, that she might know: 395
 Thrice I deluded her, and turn'd to sport
 Her importunity, each time perceiving
 How openly, and with what impudence
 She purpos'd to betray me, and (which was worse
 Than undissembl'd hate) with what contempt 400
 She sought to make me Traitor to myself;
 Yet the fourth time, when must'ring all her wiles,

382-387. At Samson's wedding with the woman of Timna he challenged his thirty Philistine groomsmen to solve the riddle: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." Unable to solve it, "they said unto Samson's wife, Entice thy husband, that he may declare unto us the riddle. . . . And she wept before him the seven days, while their feast lasted; and . . . on the seventh day . . . he told her . . . and she told the riddle to the children of her people. And the men of the city said unto him . . . What *is* sweeter than honey? and what *is* stronger than a lion? And he said unto them, if ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle." (Judg. xiv, 11-18.) The story to which the riddle referred is in Judges xiv, 5-8.

390. The offer of the lords of the Philistines to Dalila, if she could extract Samson's secret, was "eleven hundred pieces of silver" from every one of them. (Judg. xvi, 5.)

394. Here and in the allusion to the Serpent's "capital bruise" (*P.L.* XII, 383) there is probably an overtone of the word's literal, Latin meaning of "pertaining to the head" from which the meaning "fatal" is derived.

402. *must'ring*—assembling (like troops)—is the first of several military metaphors suggesting that Samson was veritably besieged by Dalila.

With blandisht parleys, feminine assaults,
 Tongue-batteries, she surceas'd not day nor night
 To storm me over-watch't, and wearied out. 405
 At times when men seek most repose and rest,
 I yielded, and unlock'd her all my heart,
 Who with a grain of manhood well resolv'd
 Might easily have shook off all her snares:
 But foul effeminacy held me yok't 410
 Her Bond-slave; O indignity, O blot
 To Honour and Religion! servile mind
 Rewarded well with servile punishment!
 The base degree to which I now am fall'n,
 These rags, this grinding, is not yet so base 415
 As was my former servitude, ignoble,
 Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,
 True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,
 That saw not how degenerately I serv'd.
Manoa. I cannot praise thy marriage choices, Son, 420
 Rather approv'd them not; but thou didst plead
 Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st
 Find some occasion to infest our Foes.
 I state not that; this I am sure; our Foes
 Found soon occasion thereby to make thee 425
 Thir Captive, and thir triumph; thou the sooner
 Temptation found'st, or over-potent charms
 To violate the sacred trust of silence
 Deposited within thee; which to have kept

405. *over-watch't*—tired out with keeping awake. Compare the "seafaring men o'er-watcht" of *P.L.* II, 288.

414-419. In *The Conclusion of Reason of Church Government* Milton wrote a little allegory in which the prelates were represented by Dalila and the English Church by Samson, who "laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of prelates, while he sleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and weighty tresses of his laws, . . . which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which, as those Philistines, put out the fair and far-sighted eyes of his natural discerning." Compare the Introduction, §22.

417. Compare the note on *P.R.*, III, 429.

422. *prompting* modifies *impulsion*.

423. *infest*—annoy, molest.

424 *state*—make a statement about. We still say "to state a case."

Tacit, was in thy power; true; and thou bear'st 430
 Enough, and more the burden of that fault;
 Bitterly hast thou paid, and still art paying
 That rigid score. A worse thing yet remains.
 This day the *Philistines* a popular Feast
 Here celebrate in *Gaza*; and proclaim 435
 Great Pomp, and Sacrifice, and Praises loud
 To *Dagon*, as their God who hath deliver'd
 Thee, *Samson*, bound and blind into thir hands,
 Them out of thine, who slew'st them many a slain.
 So *Dagon* shall be magnifi'd, and God, 440
 Besides whom is no God, compar'd with Idols,
 Disglorifi'd, blasphem'd, and had in scorn
 By th' Idolatrous rout amidst thir wine;
 Which to have come to pass by means of thee,
Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest, 445
 Of all reproach the most with shame that ever
 Could have befall'n thee and thy Father's house.
Samson. Father, I do acknowledge and confess
 That I this honour, I this pomp have brought
 To *Dagon*, and advanc'd his praises high 450
 Among the Heathen round; to God have brought
 Dishonour, obloquy, and op't the mouths
 Of Idolists, and Atheists; have brought scandal

430. *tacit* keeps the force of the Latin participle from which it comes; "covered in silence," "not mentioned."

433. *score*—record of a debt.

434-439. After Samson's betrayal, "the lords of the Philistines gathered them together for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoice: for they said, Our god hath delivered Samson our enemy into our hand." (Judg. xvi, 23.)

439. *them* is in the dative case and *slain* is the direct object of *slew'st*; i.e., "slew many to their disadvantage."

442. *disglorifi'd*—robbed of glory. Compare "disenchant," and "disburden."

446. *reproach*—dishonour, shame.

450. *advanc'd*—raised. Compare Christ's words in *P.R.* III, 142-144:

" . . . so much bounty is in God, such grace,
 That who advance his glory, not thir own,
 Them he himself to glory will advance."

453. "Idolists" seems to have been first used by Sylvester. *N.E.D.*

To *Israel*, diffidence of God, and doubt
 In feeble hearts, propense enough before 455
 To waver, or fall off and join with Idols:
 Which is my chief affliction, shame and sorrow,
 The anguish of my Soul, that suffers not
 Mine eye to harbour sleep, or thoughts to rest.
 This only hope relieves me, that the strife 460
 With me hath end; all the contest is now
 'Twixt God and *Dagon*; *Dagon* hath presum'd,
 Me overthrown, to enter lists with God,
 His Deity comparing and preferring
 Before the God of *Abraham*. He, be sure, 465
 Will not connive, or linger, thus provok'd,
 But will arise and his great name assert:
Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
 Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him
 Of all these boasted Trophies won on me, 470
 And with confusion blank his Worshippers.

Manoa. With cause this hope relieves thee, and these words
 I as a Prophecy receive: for God,
 Nothing more certain, will not long defer
 To vindicate the glory of his name 475
 Against all competition, nor will long
 Endure it, doubtful whether God be Lord,
 Or *Dagon*. But for thee what shall be done?
 Thou must not in the meanwhile here forgot
 Lie in this miserable loathsome plight 480
 Neglected. I already have made way

quotes from *Bethulia's Rescue*, II, 498: "You shall . . . make ruddy Mocmur's Floud, With Idolist Assyrian Armies blood."

454. *diffidence*—distrust, absolute want of confidence.

455. *propense*—having a propensity, inclined.

463. *Me overthrown*—since my overthrow.

466. *connive*, here as in *P.L.* X, 624, has the Latin sense of "shut the eyes," or "ignore."

469. *discomfit*—discomfiture, crushing defeat.

470. *won on*—won over.

471. *blank*—confound. Compare Satan in *P.R.* II, 119-120; "without sign of boast, or sign of joy, Solicitous and blank."

472-473. See the Introduction, §28.

To some *Philistian* Lords, with whom to treat
 About thy ransom: well they may by this
 Have satisfi'd thir utmost of revenge
 By pains and slaveries, worse than death inflicted 485
 On thee, who now no more canst do them harm.

Samson. Spare that proposal, Father, spare the trouble
 Of that solicitation; let me here,
 As I deserve, pay on my punishment;
 And expiate, if possible, my crime, 490
 Shameful garrulity. To have reveal'd
 Secrets of men, the secrets of a friend,
 How heinous had the fact been, how deserving
 Contempt, and scorn of all, to be excluded
 All friendship, and avoided as a blab, 495
 The mark of fool set on his front? But I
 God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret
 Presumptuously have publish'd, impiously,
 Weakly at least, and shamefully: A sin
 That Gentiles in thir Parables condemn 500
 To thir abyss and horrid pains confin'd.

Manoa. Be penitent and for thy fault contríte,
 But act not in thy own affliction, Son;
 Repent the sin, but if the punishment
 Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids; 505
 Or th' execution leave to high disposal,

489. *pay on*—go on paying. Compare Acts xiii, 15: "If ye have any word of exhortation, . . . say on."

493. *fact*—deed. Adam, referring to the sin in Eden, says, "perhaps the Fact Is not so heinous now." (*P.L.* IX, 928–929.)

499–501. Milton thought of the myth of Tantalus, who, Euripides says (*Orestes*, l. 10), was punished in Hades for revealing the secrets of the gods. Natale Conti, in whose *Mythology* (VI, xviii) several allegorical interpretations of the myth are represented, preferred this of Euripides, and in support of it he cited Pindar's reference to Tantalus as suffering for giving nectar and ambrosia from the table of his father, Zeus, to his mortal friends. In a number of classical references to Tantalus, in which nothing is said definitely about his crime (*e.g.*, Ovid's *Met.* IV, 457), Conti found evidence that he was condemned for his "loquacity, because he divulged the secrets of the gods."

503–508. In *C.D.* II, viii, Milton defines *righteousness* as justice to a man's self. "Opposed to this is, first, a perverse hatred of self. In this class are to be reckoned those who lay violent hands on themselves."

And let another hand, not thine, exact
 Thy penal forfeit from thyself; perhaps
 God will relent, and quit thee all his debt;
 Who evermore approves and more accepts 510
 (Best pleas'd with humble and filial submission)
 Him who imploring mercy sues for life,
 Than who self-rigorous chooses death as due;
 Which argues over-just, and self-displeas'd
 For self-offence, more than for God offended. 515
 Reject not then what offer'd means, who knows
 But God hath set before us, to return thee
 Home to thy country and his sacred house,
 Where thou mayst bring thy off'rings, to avert
 His further ire, with prayers and vows renew'd. 520
Samson. His pardon I implore; but as for life,
 To what end should I seek it? when in strength
 All mortals I excell'd, and great in hopes
 With youthful courage and magnanimous thoughts
 Of birth from Heav'n foretold and high exploits, 525
 Full of divine instinct, after some proof
 Of acts indeed heroic, far beyond
 The Sons of *Anak*, famous now and blaz'd,
 Fearless of danger, like a petty God
 I walk'd about admir'd of all and dreaded 530
 On hostile ground, none daring my affront.
 Then swoll'n with pride into the snare I fell

509. *quit thee all his debt*—remit or cancel all your debt to him. Compare *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 381: "To quit the fine for one half of his goods, I am content."

514. *argues over-just*—proves a person excessively just or rigorous toward himself. Compare Satan's words to Gabriel: "But still thy words . . . Argue thy inexperience." (*P.L.* IV, 930-931.)

516-517. *what offer'd means, who knows But God hath set*—the means which are offered, and which—for aught anyone may know—God has provided.

526. *instinct*—inward knowledge or impulse. Compare *P.L.* X, 262-263:

"Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
 By this new felt attraction and instinct."

528. For the *Sons of Anak* see the note on ll. 147-148 above.

531. *none daring my affront*—no one daring to encounter me.

Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,
 Soft'n'd with pleasure and voluptuous life;
 At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge 535
 Of all my strength in the lascivious lap
 Of a deceitful Concubine who shore me
 Like a tame Wether, all my precious fleece,
 Then turn'd me out ridiculous, despoil'd,
 Shav'n, and disarm'd among my enemies. 540

Chorus. Desire of wine and all delicious drinks,
 Which many a famous Warrior overturns,
 Thou couldst repress, nor did the dancing Ruby
 Sparkling, out-pour'd, the flavour, or the smell,
 Or taste that cheers the heart of Gods and men, 545
 Allure thee from the cool Crystalline stream.

Samson. Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd
 Against the Eastern ray, translucent, pure,
 With touch ethereal of Heav'n's fiery rod

533. *venereal trains*—appeals to physical passion.

535-540. Milton remembered the scene in Judges xvi, 19, when Dalila made Samson "sleep upon her knees: and she called for a man, and she caused him to shave off the seven locks of his head; and she began to afflict him, and his strength went from him." Compare *P.L.* IX, 1059-1062.

537-538. *me* is indirect and *fleece* direct object of *shore*.

541-546. For the Nazarite vow of abstinence see the note on l. 31. Here there is a reminiscence of Jotham's parable of the trees which asked the vine to be their king. "And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?" (Judg. ix, 13.)

547-549. Here Thyer compared Tasso's verses in *The Seven Days of the World's Creation* (III, 133-40) which say that of all pleasant waters the most wholesome is that which springs out of clayey soil directly in the face of the rising sun. Professor Percival traces this idea, which is paralleled in Burton's *Anatomy*, II, ii, 1, back as far as Ezekiel's vision of the waters which "issue out toward the east country, and go down into the desert, and go into the sea; which being brought forth into the sea, the waters shall be healed." (Ezek. lvii, 8.)

549. Milton thought of *Heav'n's fiery rod* (*i.e.*, the sun's rays) as a

"Magnetic beam, that gently warms
 The Universe, and to each inward part
 With gentle penetration, though unseen,
 Shoots invisible virtue."

(*P.L.* III, 583-586.)

I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying
Thirst, and refresht; nor envied them the grape 550
Whose heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes.

Chorus. O madness, to think use of strongest wines
And strongest drinks our chief support of health,
When God with these forbidd'n made choice to rear 555
His mighty Champion, strong above compare,
Whose drink was only from the liquid brook.

Samson. But what avail'd this temperance, not complete
Against another object more enticing?

What boots it at one gate to make defence, 560
And at another to let in the foe,

Effeminately vanquish't? by which means,
Now blind, disheart'n'd, sham'd, dishonour'd, quell'd,
To what can I be useful, wherein serve
My Nation, and the work from Heav'n impos'd, 565

But to sit idle on the household hearth,
A burdenous drone; to visitants a gaze,
Or pitied object, these redundant locks
Robustious to no purpose clust'ring down,
Vain monument of strength; till length of years 570

550. *milky juice*, like the "milky stream" of *P.L.* V, 306, is used for sweet or fresh water.

551. *Thirst* is the object both of *allaying* and of *refresht*.

552. *fumes*—influences from food or drink penetrating the body and brain, like the "unkindly fumes" of *P.L.* IX, 1050, which bred a gross sleep in Adam and Eve after they had eaten the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

553-557. "The rule of not too much, by temperance taught,
In what thou eat'st and drink'st,"

(*P.L.* XI, 531-532.)

which was revealed to Adam by Michael, corresponds with these lines. In *C.D.* II, ix, Milton defined Temperance as consisting first in *Sobriety* or "abstinence from immoderate eating and drinking."

557. *liquid* is used in the Latin sense of "translucent" or "transparent." Compare the "liquid Light" of *P.L.* VII, 362, and the "liquid Air" of *Comus*, 980.

560. *What boots it*—what good does it do? Compare *Lycidas*, 64-65.

568. *redundant* is used in the Latin sense of "waving" or "flowing."

569. *Robustious* is used without any unfavourable connotation, and means strong or healthy looking. *N.E.D.* cites Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph*: "Not degenerate From my robustious manly Ancestors."

And sedentary numbness craze my limbs
 To a contemptible old age obscure?
 Here rather let me drudge and earn my bread,
 Till vermin or the draff of servile food
 Consume me, and oft-invoked death
 Hast'n the welcome end of all my pains. 575

Manoa. Wilt thou then serve the *Philistines* with that gift
 Which was expressly giv'n thee to annoy them?
 Better at home lie bed-rid, not only idle,
 Inglorious, unemploy'd, with age out-worn. 580
 But God whq caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
 From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst to allay
 After the brunt of battle, can as easy
 Cause light again within thy eyes to spring,
 Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast; 585
 And I persuade me so; why else this strength
 Miraculous yet remaining in those locks?
 His might continues in thee not for naught,
 Nor shall his wondrous gifts be frustrate thus.

Samson. All otherwise to me my thoughts portend, 590
 That these dark orbs no more shall treat with light,
 Nor th' other light of life continue long,
 But yield to double darkness nigh at hand:
 So much I feel my genial spirits droop,
 My hopes all flat, nature within me seems 595

571. *craze*—to impair or render infirm. *N.E.D.* cites Heywood's *Dialogue*; "Craz'd . . . or in health."

574. *draff*—offal. Compare the "draff and filth" of *P.L.* X, 630.

578. *annoy* keeps its basic meaning of "injure" or "damage."

581–583. The story is told, but not very clearly, in Judges xv, 18–19. Josephus says (*Antiquities*, V, viii, 9) that God, moved by Samson's entreaties when he was a-thirst after his victory at Ramath-lechi (see the note on l. 145 above), "raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Samson called the place *The jaw-bone.*" It seems that the rock itself resembled a jaw-bone.

586. *I persuade me*—I persuade myself. Compare l. 1495 below.

589. Because *frustrate* is directly derived from a Latin perfect passive participle, Milton used it as equivalent to "frustrated."

593. *double darkness*—darkness of blindness and of death.

594. *genial*—arising from a man's "genius" or natural character. *N.E.D.* cites Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*: "Naturall incapacity, and genial indisposition."

In all her functions weary of herself;
 My race of glory run, and race of shame,
 And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

Manoa. Believe not these suggestions which proceed
 From anguish of the mind and humours black, 600
 That mingle with thy fancy. I however
 Must not omit a Father's timely care
 To prosecute the means of thy deliverance
 By ransom or how else: meanwhile be calm,
 And healing words from these thy friends admit. 605

Samson. O that torment should not be confin'd
 To the body's wounds and sores
 With maladies innumerable
 In heart, head, breast, and reins;
 But must secret passage find 610
 To th' inmost mind,
 There exercise all his fierce accidents,
 And on her purest spirits prey,
 As on entrails, joints, and limbs,
 With answerable pains, but more intense, 615
 Though void of corporal sense.

My griefs not only pain me
 As a ling'ring disease,
 But finding no redress, ferment and rage,
 Nor less than wounds immedicable 620
 Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,
 To black mortification.
 Thoughts my Tormentors arm'd with deadly stings

599-601. Compare the note on ll. 8-11 in the Preface.

605. The traditional metaphor in *healing words* has occurred in l. 184 above, but the use of the same phrase in *P.L.* IX, 290, suggests that in both cases Milton may have remembered the misused "healing words" of the nurse in Euripides' *Hyppolitus*, l. 478.

609. *reins*—kidneys.

612. *accidents* was regularly used to mean symptoms of disease of any kind. Burton mentions "Old age, from which natural melancholy is almost an inseparable accident." (*Anatomy*, I, i, 3, 2.)

615. *answerable*—corresponding. So Milton prays (*P.L.* IX, 20) Urania to give him, for his epic, an "answerable style" to that which Homer's Muse gave to him.

Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts,
 Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise 625
 Dire inflammation which no cooling herb
 Or med'cinal liquor can assuage,
 Nor breath of Vernal Air from snowy *Alp*.
 Sleep hath forsook and giv'n me o'er
 To death's benumbing Opium as my only cure. 630
 Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,
 And sense of Heav'n's desertion.

I was his nursling once and choice delight,
 His destin'd from the womb,
 Promis'd by Heavenly message twice descending. 635
 Under his special eye

Abstemious I grew up and thriv'd amain;
 He led me on to mightiest deeds
 Above the nerve of mortal arm
 Against the uncircumcis'd, our enemies. 640

But now hath cast me off as never known,
 And to those cruel enemies,
 Whom I by his appointment had provok't,
 Left me all helpless with th' irreparable loss
 Of sight, reserv'd alive to be repeated 645

The subject of thir cruelty, or scorn.
 Nor am I in the list of them that hope;
 Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless;

This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,
 No long petition, speedy death, 650
 The close of all my miseries, and the balm.

624. *apprehensive*—sensitive. *N.E.D.* quotes Puttenham: “. . . disproportion to the partes apprehensiuæ, as . . . when a sound is either too loude or too low.”

628. *Alp*—any high mountain. *P.L.* II, 620, describes the devils passing “many a Frozen, many a Fiery Alp.”

635. *message*—messenger. Milton often used an abstract noun for a concrete thing. Compare “frequence” meaning “an assembly” in *P.R.* I, 128, and II, 130.

639. *nerve*—sinew or muscle. Compare the use of the word in l. 1646 below.

643. *appointment*: compare *appoint* in l. 373 above.

645. *repeated*—made to repeat the experience of being over and over (the subject, etc.).

Chorus. Many are the sayings of the wise
 In ancient and in modern books enroll'd,
 Extolling Patience as the truest fortitude,
 And to the bearing well of all calamities, 655
 All chances incident to man's frail life
 Consolatories writ
 With studied argument, and much persuasion sought
 Lenient of grief and anxious thought,
 But with th' afflicted in his pangs thir sound 660
 Little prevails, or rather seems a tune,
 Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his complaint,
 Unless he feel within
 Some source of consolation from above;
 Secret refreshings, that repair his strength, 665
 And fainting spirits uphold.
 God of our Fathers, what is man!
 That thou towards him with hand so various,

652-656. A good example of these traditional *sayings of the wise* is Henry More's chapter in *An Account of Virtue* (II, vii) which quotes from Aristotle, Andronicus of Rhodes, and Cicero in its consideration of "Fortitude" as "a Branch of Patience." Elsewhere (II, iii) More calls Christian patience "the highest Perfection of Man's Will." Compare the note on ll. 1287-1291 below.

659. *lenient*—softening, allaying. Milton felt the word as grammatically almost equivalent to the Latin present, active participle from which it is derived; and he may have remembered Horace's use of that verb in a famous assertion of the power of philosophy to heal suffering. (*Epistles*, I, i, 34.)

662. *mood* is obviously the musical term. In *P.L.* I, 550, Milton alludes to the Platonic doctrine that Dorian music inspires courage, and here perhaps he recalled the ideal personality described in Plato's *Laches* (188, d), whose spirit is constantly attuned to the Dorian mood and never to the effeminate Ionian, the passionate Phrygian, or the "soft Lydian." Compare *L'Allegro*, 136.

667. Milton repeats the question, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him?" which is echoed in Hebrews ii, 6, from Psalm viii, 4, and varied in Job vii, 17, to "What is man, that thou shouldest magnify him?" Probably he remembered the same question as put to Prometheus in the second choral hymn of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*:

"What is man? behold!
 Can he requite thy love—child of a day—
 Or help thy extreme need?"
 (Blackie's translation.)

Or might I say contrarious,
 Temper'st thy providence through his short course, 670
 Not evenly, as thou rul'st
 The Angelic orders and inferior creatures mute,
 Irrational and brute.
 Nor do I name of men the common rout,
 That wand'ring loose about 675
 Grow up and perish, as the summer fly,
 Heads without name no more remember'd,
 But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
 With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd
 To some great work, thy glory, 680
 And people's safety, which in part they effect:
 Yet toward these, thus dignifi'd, thou oft,
 Amidst thir highth of noon,
 Changest thy countenance and thy hand, with no regard
 Of highest favours past 685
 From thee on them, or them to thee of service.
 Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
 To life obscur'd, which were a fair dismissal,
 But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt them high,
 Unseemly falls in human eye, 690
 Too grievous for the trespass or omission,

672. The subdivision of the nine orders of the angels into three hierarchies was made in the anonymous *Angelic Hierarchy*, which, though it was probably written in the fifth century, was attributed to St. Paul's convert, Dionysius the Areopagite. The conception of angelic orders went back into early Christian and Jewish tradition.

Compare the angels

"Under thir Hierarchs in orders bright."

(*P.L.* V, 587.)

677. *Heads*—persons.

682. *dignifi'd*—raised to dignities or positions of power and distinction.

684–686. Perhaps there is a reference to the reverse of fortune which God permitted to overtake the Puritan party when Charles II returned to the throne in 1660, even though Milton thought that they might have expected better things after God's favours to them when the party was in power under the Cromwells and after the service which it had done in reforming the English Church.

687. *remit*—return, send back.

688. *obscur'd*—disgraced.

Oft leav'st them to the hostile sword
 Of Heathen and profane, thir carcases
 To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv'd:
 Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,
 And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude. 695

If these they scape, perhaps in poverty
 With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,
 Painful diseases and deform'd,
 In crude old age; 700

Though not disordinate, yet causeless suff'ring
 The punishment of dissolute days: in fine,
 Just or unjust, alike seem miserable,
 For oft alike, both come to evil end.

So deal not with this once thy glorious Champion, 705
 The Image of thy strength, and mighty minister.

What do I beg? how hast thou dealt already?
 Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn
 His labours, for thou canst, to peaceful end.

But who is this, what thing of Sea or Land? 710
 Female of sex it seems,

That so bedeckt, ornate, and gay,
 Comes this way sailing
 Like a stately Ship

693-694. Milton may have had in mind the insult to the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw. They were exhumed and publicly hanged on the gallows at Tyburn on the twelfth anniversary of Charles I's execution—worse treated than the Greeks whose bodies Homer says were thrown to the dogs and birds. (*Il.* I, 4-5.)

694-696. The surviving judges who were responsible for Charles's death were condemned to die; Sir Henry Vane was executed and General Lambert was imprisoned until his death in 1694.

697-700. Milton thought of the poverty and sickness to which he was reduced when he wrote, partly as a result of the loss of his income from the state and partly in consequence of the loss of his home in the fire of 1666.

700. *crude*—premature.

701. *Though not disordinate*—though they have not been intemperate in their lives.

706. *minister*—agent. The angels who pursue the falling demons in *P.L.* I, 170, are called God's "Ministers of vengeance."

714-715. Ships of Tarshish are often mentioned in the O.T. when proud ships of any kind are intended, and usually they are made objects

Of *Tarsus*, bound for th' Isles 715
 Of *Javan* or *Gadire*
 With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
 Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,
 Courted by all the winds that hold them play,
 An Amber scent of odorous perfume 720
 Her harbinger, a damsel train behind;
 Some rich *Philistian* Matron she may seem,
 And now at nearer view, no other certain
 Than *Dalila* thy wife.

Samson. My Wife, my Traitress, let her not come near
 me. 725

Chorus. Yet on she moves, now stands and eyes thee fixt,
 About t' have spoke, but now, with head declin'd
 Like a fair flower surcharg'd with dew, she weeps
 And words addrest seem into tears dissolv'd,
 Wetting the borders of her silk'n veil; 730
 But now again she makes address to speak.

Dalila. With doubtful feet and wavering resolution
 I came, still dreading thy displeasure, *Samson*,

of God's anger; e.g., "Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind." (Psalm xlviii, 7. Compare Isa. xxiii, 1 and 14.) Milton, like Josephus (*Antiquities*, VIII, vii, 2), seems to have identified *Tarsus* on the River Cydnus in Cilicia with the Tarshish of the O.T., but he probably thought of it as a Phoenician city with its navy held in common with Tyre.¹

715-716. Noah's grandson, *Javan* (see Gen. x, 2), was the traditional ancestor of the Ionians or of the Greeks generally, as Milton implies in *P.L.* I, 508. One of Ezekiel's taunts of the fallen city of Tyre was the reminder that "Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants." (Ezek. xxvii, 13.)

Gadire (modern Cadiz) was a Phoenician city.

717. *bravery*—finery. *N.E.D.* cites the *Remains* of Sir Walter Raleigh: "Exceed not in the humour of rags and bravery."

719. *hold them play*—hold them in play, play with them.

720. *amber* originally meant *ambergris*, which was used in the seventeenth century, as it now is, in perfumes.

728. The simile corresponds with the root meaning of the name "Dalila"—feeble or declining. Editors compare Homer's picture of the young Gorgythio, pierced by Teucer's arrow and drooping like a poppy—a comparison which Virgil (*Aen.* IX, 436) and Tasso (*J.D.* V, 85) borrowed to describe the deaths of boyish warriors.

729. *addrest*—ready for utterance. Compare *address* in l. 731.

73
 "de
 73
 73
 stru
 74
 74
 was
 entis
 the
 75
 76
 to re

Which to have merited, without excuse,
 I cannot but acknowledge; yet if tears 735
 May expiate (though the fact more evil drew
 In the perverse event than I foresaw)
 My penance hath not slack'n'd, though my pardon
 No way assur'd. But conjugal affection,
 Prevailing over fear and timorous doubt, 740
 Hath led me on desirous to behold
 Once more thy face, and know of thy estate.
 If aught in my ability may serve
 To light'n what thou suffer'st, and appease
 Thy mind with what amends is in my power, 745
 Though late, yet in some part to recompense
 My rash but more unfortunate misdeed.
Samson. Out, out *Hyaena*; these are thy wonted arts,
 And arts of every woman false like thee,
 To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray, 750
 Then as repentant to submit, beseech,
 And reconcilment move with feign'd remorse,
 Confess, and promise wonders in her change,
 Not truly penitent, but chief to try
 Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears, 755
 His virtue or weakness which way to assail:
 Then with more cautious and instructed skill
 Again transgresses, and again submits;
 That wisest and best men full oft beguil'd,
 With goodness principl'd not to reject 760
 The penitent, but ever to forgive,

736-737. *fact* and *event* keep their respective Latin meanings of "deed" and "outcome."

738. *penance*—penitence.

738-739. *though my pardon No way assur'd* is a Latin absolute construction. "Be" must be read in after *pardon*.

742. *estate*—condition.

748. Milton's readers were familiar with the belief that the hyaena was "a wilde beaste that counterfaiteth the voyce of men, and so entiseth them out of their houses and devoureth them." (Gloss of the Geneva Bible to Ecclesiasticus xiii, 18, quoted by *N.E.D.*)

752. *move*—propose.

760. *principl'd*—actuated by the principle (*i.e.*, that they ought not to reject, etc.).

Are drawn to wear out miserable days,
 Entangl'd with a pois'nous bosom snake,
 If not by quick destruction soon cut off
 As I by thee, to Ages an example. 765

Dalua. Yet hear me *Samson*; not that I endeavour
 To lessen or extenuate my offence,
 But that on th' other side if it be weigh'd
 By itself, with aggravations not surcharg'd,
 Or else with just allowance counterpois'd, 770
 I may, if possible, thy pardon find
 The easier towards me, or thy hatred less.

First granting, as I do, it was a weakness
 In me, but incident to all our sex,
 Curiosity, inquisitive, importune 775
 Of secrets, then with like infirmity

To publish them, both common female faults:
 Was it not weakness also to make known
 For importunity, that is for naught,
 Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety? 780
 To what I did thou show'd'st me first the way.
 But I to enemies reveal'd, and should not.

Nor shouldst thou have trusted that to woman's frailty;
 Ere I to thee, thou to thyself wast cruel.

Let weakness then with weakness come to parle 785
 So near related, or the same of kind,

Thine forgive mine; that men may censure thine
 The gentler, if severely thou exact not
 More strength from me, than in thyself was found.

And what if Love, which thou interpret'st hate, 790
 The jealousy of Love, powerful of sway

763. The treacherous snake cherished in the breast was proverbial. In *Richard II* (III, ii, 131) the king calls his unfaithful favourites "Snakes, in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting my heart!"

775. *Curiosity* is in apposition with *weakness* in 773, while the two adjectives following it modify *sex* in 774.

importune—persistently bent upon an object. Satan, returning persistently to his temptation of Christ, is called "the importune Tempter." (*P.R.* II, 404.)

777. *publish*—make public, betray.

785. *parle*—parley, discussion.

786. *kind*—nature.

In human hearts, nor less in mine towards thee,
 Caus'd what I did? I saw thee mutable
 Of fancy, fear'd lest one day thou wouldst leave me
 As her at *Timna*, sought by all means therefore 795
 How to endear, and hold thee to me firmest:
 No better way I saw than by importuning
 To learn thy secrets, get into my power
 Thy key of strength and safety: thou wilt say,
 Why then reveal'd? I was assur'd by those 800
 Who tempted me, that nothing was design'd
 Against thee but safe custody, and hold:
 That made for me, I knew that liberty
 Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprises,
 While I at home sat full of cares and fears 805
 Wailing thy absence in my widow'd bed;
 Here I should still enjoy thee day and night
 Mine and Love's prisoner, not the *Philistines'*,
 Whole to myself, unhazarded abroad,
 Fearless at home of partners in my love. 810
 These reasons in Love's law have pass'd for good,
 Though fond and reasonless to some perhaps:
 And Love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much woe,
 Yet always pity or pardon hath obtain'd.
 Be not unlike all others, not austere 815

794. *fancy*—affection, love. Compare "maiden meditation, fancy-free," in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 161.

794-795. Samson seems to have been a neglectful husband, for, when he visited his first wife after an absence, "her father said, I verily thought that thou hadst utterly hated her; therefore I gave her to thy companion." (Judg. xv, 2.)

796. *endear*: *s.v.*, myself.

800-802. Milton could count upon his readers to recognize a lie here because they would remember that the Philistines asked Dalila to entice his secret from Samson so that they might "bind him to afflict him." (Judg. xvi, 5.)

803. *That made for me*—that seemed to be for my advantage.

808. *Mine*, for "my," was regularly used when the word was separated from its noun.

811. Milton thought of the law of Love as traditionally administered in the medieval Courts of Love, such as Chartier's *Parliament of Love*, where Hope was judge, Desire was lawyer, and Sweet Thought was sergent-at-arms.

As thou art strong, inflexible as steel.
 If thou in strength all mortals dost exceed,
 In uncompassionate anger do not so.

Samson. How cunningly the sorceress displays
 Her own transgressions, to upbraid me mine! 820

That malice not repentance brought thee hither,
 By this appears: I gave, thou say'st, th' example,
 I led the way; bitter reproach, but true,
 I to myself was false ere thou to me;

Such pardon therefore as I give my folly, 825
 Take to thy wicked deed: which when thou seest
 Impartial, self-severe, inexorable,

Thou wilt renounce thy seeking, and much rather
 Confess it feign'd. Weakness is thy excuse,
 And I believe it, weakness to resist 830

Philistian gold: if weakness may excuse,
 What Murderer, what Traitor, Parricide,
 Incestuous, Sacrilegious, but may plead it?

All wickedness is weakness: that plea therefore 835
 With God or Man will gain thee no remission.

But Love constrain'd thee; call it furious rage
 To satisfy thy lust: Love seeks to have Love;
 My love how couldst thou hope, who took'st the way
 To raise in me inexpiable hate,

Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd? 840
 In vain thou striv'st to cover shame with shame,
 Or by evasions thy crime uncover'st more.

Dalila. Since thou determin'st weakness for no plea
 In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,

820. In *upbraid me mine* (instead of "upbraid me with mine") *me* is a dative, and the direct object of the verb is *mine*.

826. *which* refers to *pardon* in l. 825. The compressed thought means that when he feels an impulse to pardon himself he is inexorable with himself.

828. *thy seeking*—what thou seekest.

835. *remission*—forgiveness.

837. There are many classical parallels to the thought, such as Cicero's definition of love as nothing less than the cherishing of the loved person without ceasing and without thought of advantage of any kind. (*On Friendship*, xxvii, 100.)

840. *knowing . . . betray'd*—knowing myself to have been betrayed.

Hear what assaults I had, what snares besides, 845
 What sieges girt me round, ere I consented;
 Which might have aw'd the best resolv'd of men,
 The constantest to have yielded without blame.
 It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'st,
 That wrought with me: thou knowst the Magistrates 850
 And Princes of my country came in person,
 Solicited, commanded, threat'n'd, urg'd,
 Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil Duty
 And of Religion, press'd how just it was,
 How honourable, how glorious to entrap 855
 A common enemy, who had destroy'd
 Such numbers of our Nation: and the Priest
 Was not behind, but ever at my ear,
 Preaching how meritorious with the gods
 It would be to ensnare an irreligious 860
 Dishonourer of *Dagon*: what had I
 To oppose against such powerful arguments?
 Only my love of thee held long debate,
 And combated in silence all these reasons
 With hard contest: at length that grounded maxim 865
 So rife and celebrated in the mouths
 Of wisest men, that to the public good
 Private respects must yield, with grave authority
 Took full possession of me and prevail'd;
 Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty so enjoining. 870

Samson. I thought where all thy circling wiles would end;
 In feign'd Religion, smooth hypocrisy.
 But had thy love, still odiously pretended,
 Been, as it ought, sincere, it would have taught thee
 Far other reasonings, brought forth other deeds. 875

850-851. Compare the note on ll. 800-802 above.

854. *press'd*—urg'd. *N.E.D.* cites *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 425: "You press mee farre, and therefore I will yeeld."

866. *rife*—widespread, prevalent. Compare Satan's reference to "new Worlds; whereof so rife There went a fame in Heav'n." (*P.L.* I, 650-651.)

868. *respects*—interests, considerations. The reasoning is like Satan's justification of his attempt upon Eve on grounds of "public reason." (*P.L.* IV, 389.)

871. *circling*—devious, prevaricating, indirect in coming to the point.

I before all the daughters of my Tribe
 And of my Nation chose thee from among
 My enemies, lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st,
 Too well, unbosom'd all my secrets to thee,
 Not out of levity, but over-pow'r'd 880
 By thy request, who could deny thee nothing;
 Yet now am judg'd an enemy. Why then
 Didst thou at first receive me for thy husband,
 Then, as since then, thy country's foe profest?
 Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave 885
 Parents and country; nor was I their subject,
 Nor under their protection but my own,
 Thou mine, not theirs: if aught against my life
 Thy country sought of thee, it sought unjustly,
 Against the law of nature, law of nations, 890
 No more thy country, but an impious crew
 Of men conspiring to uphold thir state
 By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends
 For which our country is a name so dear;
 Not therefore to be obey'd. But zeal mov'd thee; 895
 To please thy gods thou didst it; gods unable
 To acquit themselves and prosecute their foes
 But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction

880. Milton thought of levity as a serious vice, opposed, as he says in *C.D.* II, xiii, to the virtue of gravity, which "consists in an habitual self-government of speech and action, . . . befitting a man of holiness and probity."

884. *profest*—avowed, declared.

885–886. Adam's words after the creation of Eve were, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh." (*Gen.* ii, 24.)

890. To a contemporary ear the line would recall the title—*Of the Law of Nature and of Nations*—of "that noble volume written by our learned Selden," as Milton called the book in *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xxii.

891. Milton often used *crew* in this derogatory sense in *P.L.* to refer to the devils. *N.E.D.* compares II *Henry VI*, II, ii, 72: "Winke at the Duke of Suffolkes insolence, At Beaufords Pride, at Somersets ambition, At Buckingham, and all the Crew of them."

895. *But zeal mov'd thee*: the words refer ironically to Dalila's plea in ll. 857–861 above.

897. *acquit*—clear one's self of any obligation. Here the word means "to pay off a score against an enemy."

Of
 Le
 Th
 Ba
 A
 G
 S
 Wi
 A
 In
 Le
 Af
 To
 Mi
 Bea
 To
 Lif
 WH
 At
 Exc
 Eye
 I to
 Th

9
 Tem
 by
 pain

9
 "get

9
 char

pe
 91
 doth
 good

91

91

92
 be f

Of their own deity, Gods cannot be:
 Less therefore to be pleas'd, obey'd, or fear'd. 900
 These false pretexts and varnish'd colours failing,
 Bare in thy guilt how foul must thou appear?
Dalila. In argument with men a woman ever
 Goes by the worse, whatever be her cause.
Samson. For want of words no doubt, or lack of breath, 905
 Witness when I was worried with thy peals.
Dalila. I was a fool, too rash, and quite mistaken
 In what I thought would have succeeded best.
 Let me obtain forgiveness of thee, *Samson*,
 Afford me place to show what recompense 910
 Towards thee I intend for what I have misdone,
 Misguided: only what remains past cure
 Bear not too sensibly, nor still insist
 To afflict thyself in vain: though sight be lost,
 Life yet hath many solaces, enjoy'd 915
 Where other senses want not their delights
 At home in leisure and domestic ease,
 Exempt from many a care and chance to which
 Eye-sight exposes daily men abroad.
 I to the Lords will intercede, not doubting 920
 Thir favourable ear, that I may fetch thee

901. *colours* was frequently used in this sense. So Prospero in *The Tempest* (I, ii, 143), speaking of the excuses for their treachery made by his brother's confederates, says that they "With colours fairer painted their foul ends."

904. *goes by*, like the modern colloquialism, "come by," means "gets."

906. *Witness when*—witness the times when. So to prove his charges against the Sons of Belial Milton wrote,

"Witness the Streets of *Sodom*, and that night
 In *Gibeah*, when the hospitable door
 Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape."

(*P.L.* I, 503-505.)

peals: compare "a peal of words" in 235 above.

913. *sensibly*—sensitively, acutely. *N.E.D.* cites Bunyan; "When he doth sensibly, and with heart-humiliation, thus think, then hath he good thoughts."

915. *enjoy'd*—capable of being enjoyed.

916. *want*—lack.

920-921. *not doubting Thir favourable ear*: not doubting that I shall be favourably heard.

From forth this loathsome prison-house to abide
 With me, where my redoubl'd love and care
 With nursing diligence, to me glad office,
 May ever tend about thee to old age 925
 With all things grateful cheer'd, and so supplied,
 That what by me thou hast lost thou least shalt miss;
 Samson. No, no, of my condition take no care;
 It fits not; thou and I long since are twain;
 Nor think me so unwary or accurst 930
 To bring my feet again into the snare
 Where once I have been caught; I know thy trains
 Though dearly to my cost, thy gins, and toils;
 Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms
 No more on me have power, their force is null'd, 935
 So much of Adder's wisdom I have learn't
 To fence my ear against thy sorceries.
 If in my flower of youth and strength, when all men
 Lov'd, honour'd, fear'd me, thou alone could hate me,
 Thy Husband, slight me, sell me, and forego me; 940
 How wouldst thou use me now, blind, and thereby
 Deceivable, in most things as a child
 Helpless, thence easily contemn'd, and scorn'd,
 And last neglected? How wouldst thou insult
 When I must live uxorious to thy will 945

924. *office*—responsibility, task.

930. *accurst*—under a divine curse or possessed by a hostile, supernatural power. Milton used the word in a Greek sense, as Homer did in describing Lycurgus as "A wretch accursed, and hated by the gods." (Pope's *Il.* VI, 177.)

933. *gins and toils*—traps and nets.

934-935. The allusion is to Circe,

"whose charmed Cup
 Whoever tasted lost his upright shape,
 And downward fell into a grovelling Swine."
 (*Comus*, 51-53.)

The word *charms* has the Latin meaning of "songs" as it does in *P.R.* IV, 257, where Satan mentions "Aeolian charms" as one of the amenities of Greek civilization, but it also means "spells."

935. *null'd*—annulled, destroyed.

936. The popular superstition that adders are deaf is as old as the account in Psalm lvi, 4-5, of "the deaf adder *that* stoppeth the ear: Which will not hearken to the voice of the charmers, charming never so wisely."

In perfit thraldom, how again betray me,
 Bearing my words and doings to the Lords
 To gloss upon, and censuring, frown or smile?
 This Gaol I count the house of Liberty
 To thine whose doors my feet shall never enter. 950
Dalila. Let me approach at least, and touch thy hand.
Samson. Not for thy life, lest fierce remembrance wake
 My sudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.
 At distance I forgive thee, go with that;
 Bewail thy falsehood, and the pious works 955
 It hath brought forth to make thee memorable
 Among illustrious women, faithful wives:
 Cherish thy hast'n'd widowhood with the gold
 Of Matrimonial treason: so farewell.
Dalila. I see thou art implacable, more deaf 960
 To prayers, than winds and seas, yet winds to seas
 Are reconcil'd at length, and Sea to Shore:
 Thy anger, unappeasable, still rages,
 Eternal tempest never to be calm'd.
 Why do I humble thus myself, and suing 965
 For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate?
 Bid go with evil omen and the brand
 Of infamy upon my name denounc't?
 To mix with thy concernments I desist
 Henceforth, nor too much disapprove my own. 970
 Fame if not double-fac't is double-mouth'd,

948. *gloss*—make remarks about. *censuring*—judging.

950. *To*—in comparison with.

953. Samson's wish is less ferocious than Polymestor's impulse to tear Hecuba limb from limb (Euripides' *Hecuba*, l. 1125), with which it is compared. His behaviour in this entire scene is an expression of Milton's belief that "Hatred . . . is in some cases a religious duty. . . We are to hate even our dearest connexions, if they endeavor to seduce or deter us from the love of God." (*C.D.* II, xi.)

954. *go with that*—go content with that.

967. The *evil omen* is Samson's warning of the kind of reputation and life in store for her (in ll. 956-959 above).

969. *concernments*—interests, affairs.

971. *double-fac't*—having two opposite faces (like "a subtile Janus," as Milton—in *Animadversions*, II—called the Roman god of gates whom he is comparing here with the goddess Fame). (*P.W.* III, 53.)

971-974. Here and in his picture of Fame flying through the clouds

And with contrary blast proclaims most deeds;
 On both his wings, one black, th' other white,
 Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.
 My name perhaps among the Circumcis'd 975
 In *Dan*, in *Judah*, and the bordering Tribes,
 To all posterity may stand defam'd,
 With malediction mention'd, and the blot
 Of falsehood most unconjugal traduc't.
 But in my country where I most desire, 980
 In *Ekron*, *Gaza*, *Asdod*, and in *Gath*
 I shall be nam'd among the famoussest
 Of Women, sung at solemn festivals,
 Living and dead recorded, who to save
 Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose 985
 Above the faith of wedlock-bands, my tomb
 With odours visited and annual flowers.
 Not less renown'd than in Mount *Ephraim*,

on multi-coloured wings in *On the Fifth of November* (205-212) Milton was influenced by Boccaccio's interpretation (*Genealogy of the Gods*, I, x) of the earth-born goddess in the *Aeneid* (IV, 173-190), who flies through the night sky with sinister news. Milton gives Fame one black wing and one white because he was familiar with symbolism like that which led Ben Jonson to introduce Good Fame in the *Masque of Queens* as a goddess "attired in white, with white wings." Milton's Fame is the author of mixed reports, like Chaucer's "femynyne creature" in the third book of *The House of Fame* who, when men asked her for glory, summoned the god, Eolus, to bring his golden trumpet, Clear Laud, and his black trumpet, Slander, and blow them indiscriminately. Why Milton should make Fame masculine is not easy to surmise, unless he partly confused her with her trumpeter, Eolus.

975. *the Circumcis'd*—the Jews.

976. The territory of *Dan*, Samson's own tribe, lay immediately northwest of that of the tribe of *Judah* and extended as far as the Mediterranean.

981. Beginning with the most northern Philistine city, *Ekron*, Dalila next names the southernmost, *Gaza*, and then two other principal cities of her countrymen, to suggest that she will be known everywhere in Philistia.

987. *odours*—spices. The promise is like that made by Jeremiah to Zedekiah: "But thou shalt die in peace: and with the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings which were before thee, so shall they burn odours for thee." (Jer. xxxiv, 5.)

988-990. The Song of Deborah (Judg. v) celebrates the death of the

Ja
 Sn
 N
 T
 C
 W
 A
 I
 D
 A
 T
 O
 A
 L
 Ca
 aft
 nai
 the
 die
 (Ju
 De
 (Ju
 5
 Tan
 to
 9
 Aja
 opi
 I
 gray
 I
 937
 Pow
 whe
 Chr

Jael, who with inhospitable guile
 Smote *Sisera* sleeping through the Temples nail'd. 990
 Nor shall I count it heinous to enjoy
 The public marks of honour and reward
 Conferr'd upon me, for the piety
 Which to my country I was judg'd to have shown.
 At this who ever envies or repines 995
 I leave him to his lot, and like my own.

Chorus. She's gone, a manifest Serpent by her sting
 Discover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.

Samson. So let her go, God sent her to debase me,
 And aggravate my folly who committed 1000
 To such a viper his most sacred trust
 Of secrecy, my safety, and my life.

Chorus. Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,
 After offence returning, to regain
Love once possest, nor can be easily 1005

Canaanite leader, *Sisera*, whom *Jael* lured to take refuge with her
 after his defeat by the Hebrews. "Then *Jael*, Heber's wife, took a
 nail of the tent, and took an hammer in her hand, . . . and smote
 the nail into his temples: . . . for he was fast asleep and weary: so he
 died." (Judg. iv, 21.) In the Song the tribe of Ephraim is mentioned
 (Judg. v, 14) as if it was foremost in the attack on the Canaanites.
Deborah lived "between Ramah and Bethel in Mount Ephraim."
 (Judg. iv, 5.)

993. *piety* is used in the Latin sense of devotion to one's country.
Tamora, the Gothic queen, in *Titus Andronicus* (I, i, 114-115), replies
 to *Titus*' refusal of mercy to her sons who are his captives:

"O! if to fight for king and commonweal
 Were piety in thine, it is in these."

995-996. There may be a reminiscence of the scene in *Sophocles'*
Ajax (1038-1039) where *Teucer* tells his opponents to love their
 opinions, as he intends to love his own.

1000. *aggravate* is used in the literal, Latin sense of "add to the
 gravity, or weight, of anything."

1003-1005. Here and in *Adam's* reconciliation with *Eve* in *P.L.* X,
 937-946, *Milton* may have recalled his own reconciliation with *Mary*
Powell; but he also regarded *Dalila* symbolically, as *Tasso* did *Armida*
 when he described the wizard, *Hidraort*, sending her to deceive the
 Christian host:

"Shed brinish Tears, Sob, Sigh, Entreat and Pray,
 Wring thy fair Hands, cast up thine Eyes above,
 (For Mourning Beauty hath much Power [Men say]
 The stubborn Hearts with Pity frail to move)."

(*J.D.* IV, 25. *Fairfax's* translation.)

Repuls't, without much inward passion felt
And secret sting of amorous remorse.

Samson. Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,
Not wedlock-treachery endangering life.

Chorus. It is not virtue, wisdom, valour, wit, 1010
Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit
That woman's love can win or long inherit;
But what it is, hard is to say,
Harder to hit,

(Which way soever men refer it) 1015
Much like thy riddle, *Samson*, in one day
Or seven, though one should musing sit;

If any of these or all, the *Timnian* bride
Had not so soon preferr'd
Thy Paronymph, worthless to thee compar'd, 1020
Successor in thy bed,

Nor both so loosely disallied
Thir nuptials, nor this last so treacherously
Had shorn the fatal harvest of thy head.
Is it for that such outward ornament 1025

Was lavish't on thir Sex, that inward gifts
Were left for haste unfinish't, judgement scant,
Capacity not rais'd to apprehend
Or value what is best

In choice, but ofttest to affect the wrong? 1030

1006. *passion*—emotion.

1007. *remorse*—pity. "It was your own pleasure and your own remorse," Celia tells her father in *As You Like It*, I, iii, 73, which permitted Rosalind to remain behind when her father was banished.

1008. A paraphrase of a famous line in Terence's *Andria*, 554-5.

1012. *inherit*—keep, possess. Compare Luke xviii, 18: "what shall I do to inherit eternal life?"

1014. *hit* means "strike a target."

1016-1017. Compare the note on ll. 382-387 above.

1020. *Paronymph*—groomsman. For the story, see the note on ll. 794-795 above.

1025. *for that*—because.

1030. *affect* has the Latin meaning of "aim at," or "ardently desire." The construction is elliptical, for *to affect* must be understood as dependent on "such as" or "so low as" or some other unexpressed phrase following *but* and modifying *Capacity* in 1028.

Or was too much of self-love mixt,
 Of constancy no root infixt,
 That either they love nothing, or not long?
 Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best
 Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil, 1035
 Soft, modest, meek, demure,
 Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn
 Intestine, far within defensive arms
 A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue
 Adverse and turbulent, or by her charms 1040
 Draws him awry enslav'd
 With dotage, and his sense deprav'd
 To folly and shameful deeds which ruin ends.
 What Pilot so expert but needs must wreck
 Embark'd with such a Steers-mate at the Helm? 1045
 Favour'd of Heav'n who finds
 One virtuous, rarely found,
 That in domestic good combines:

1034-1037. These lines and, less definitely, the entire chorus are related to Hippolytus' outburst against women in Euripides (*Hippolytus*, ll. 616-617, and the entire speech to l. 668, which contributed also to Adam's invective against women in *P.L.* X, 888-899). Euripides asks, "Why should a place in the light of the sun, O Zeus, Be granted to women, that specious curse upon men?"

1037. *Once join'd*—once married.

1037-1038. *a thorn Intestine* suggests St. Paul's phrase, "a thorn in the flesh," but *Intestine* is here equivalent to "domestic," as it is in Milton's reference to marital unhappiness as "an intestine evil." (*C.D.*, I, x.)

1038-1039. *far within defensive arms A cleaving mischief* seems like a reminiscence of "th'envenom'd robe" (*P.L.* II, 543) which fatally poisoned Hercules by its mere contact. Against it all defensive armour would be worthless.

1046-1047. Perhaps there are allusions here to the maxim in Proverbs (xix, 14) that, "A prudent wife is from the Lord," and to the cry of the chorus in Euripides' *Alcestis* (473-475) that it is a rare lot in life to find a wife good like their lady.

1048. *That in domestic good combines*—that unites herself perfectly with her husband for the sake of domestic happiness. Here and in *P.L.* IX, 232-234, Milton may have been thinking of the virtuous woman in Proverbs (xxxii, 10-11) whose "price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her." His ideal resembles Sir Thomas Overbury's in *A Good Woman*: "Now she is given fresh and alive to a husband, and she doth nothing more than

Happy that house! his way to peace is smooth:
 But virtue which breaks through all opposition, 1050
 And all temptation can remove,
 Most shines and most is acceptable above.

Therefore God's universal Law
 Gave to the man despotic power
 Over his female in due awe, 1055

Nor from that right to part an hour,
 Smile she or lour:
 So shall he least confusion draw
 On his whole life, not sway'd
 By female usurpation, nor dismay'd. 1060

But had we best retire, I see a storm?

Samson. Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.

Chorus. But this another kind of tempest brings.

Samson. Be less abstruse, my riddling days are past.

Chorus. Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear 1065

The bait of honied words; a rougher tongue
 Draws hitherward, I know him by his stride,
 The Giant *Harapha* of *Gath*, his look
 Haughty as is his pile high-built and proud.
 Comes he in peace? what wind hath blown him hither 1070

I less conjecture than when first I saw

The sumptuous *Dalila* floating this way:

His habit carries peace, his brow defiance.

Samson. Or peace or not, alike to me he comes.

love him, for she takes him to that purpose. So his good becomes the business of her actions, and she doth herself kindness upon him. After his, her chiefest virtue is a good husband. For she is he."

1053-1060. In *Doctrine of Divorce*, II, xv, Milton protested against the "female pride" which claims any domestic equality and he quoted; "I suffer not," saith St. Paul, "the woman to usurp authority over the man." Corresponding passages are found in *P.L.* IV, 295-299, and X, 145-156.

1062. *contracted* has the Latin meaning of "drawn together," or "assembled."

1064. For the allusion in *riddling days* see ll. 382-387 and ll. 1017-1033 above and ll. 1199-1200 below.

1068. The name *Harapha* is composed of the Hebrew definite article, *ha*, and of the word for giant, *raphah*.

1069. *his pile*—his enormous body, which is like a tremendous tower.

Chorus. His fraught we soon shall know, he now arrives.

Harapha. I come not, *Samson*, to condole thy chance, 1076
As these perhaps, yet wish it had not been,
Though for no friendly intent. I am of *Gath*;
Men call me *Harapha*, of stock renown'd
As *Og* or *Anak* and the *Emims* old 1080
That *Kiriathaim* held: Thou knowst me now
If thou at all art known. Much I have heard
Of thy prodigious might and feats perform'd
Incredible to me, in this displeas'd,
That I was never present on the place 1085
Of those encounters, where we might have tried
Each other's force in camp or listed field;
And now am come to see of whom such noise
Hath walk'd about, and each limb to survey,
If thy appearance answer loud report. 1090

Samson. The way to know were not to see but taste.

Harapha. Dost thou already single me; I thought

1075. *fraught*—freight, *i.e.*, charge or business.

1076. *condole*, as a transitive verb, is obsolete, but *N.E.D.* quotes from Cranley's *Amanda*: "A griev'd soule, That with repentance doth his sinnes condole."

1077. *these* refers to the chorus. *yet wish, etc.*: Though he does not sympathize with *Samson*, he regrets his mischance, for it has prevented them from meeting on equal terms.

1080. *Og*, king of Bashan, is described in Deuteronomy (iii, 11) as alone remaining "of the remnant of the giants; behold, his bedstead . . . Nine cūbits was the length thereof."

The *Emims* were "a people great, and many, and tall, as the *Anakims*; which also were accounted giants." (Deut. ii, 10-11.) In Genesis (xiv, 5) they are said to have been crushed by their enemies in the town of *Kiriathaim*, east of the Jordan.

1081-1082. So Satan says to Ithuriel and Zephon,
"Not to know mee argues yourselves unknown."
(*P.L.* IV, 830.)

1087. *camp* keeps the Italian meaning of "field" (*i.e.*, of battle). *listed*—furnished with lists such as those in which knights met in tournament.

1088. *noise*—rumour, fame.

1091. *taste*—try, examine. So Satan reports having found Jesus, "view'd him, tasted him." (*P.R.* II, 131.)

1092. *single*—challenge to single combat. *N.E.D.* quotes Richard's

Gyves and the Mill had tam'd thee? O that fortune
 Had brought me to the field where thou art fam'd
 To have wrought such wonders with an Ass's Jaw; 1095
 I should have forc'd thee soon wish other arms,
 Or left thy carcass where the Ass lay thrown:
 So had the glory of Prowess been recover'd
 To *Palestine*, won by a *Philistine*
 From the unforeskinn'd race, of whom thou bear'st 1100
 The highest name for valiant Acts; that honour
 Certain to have won by mortal duel from thee,
 I lose, prevented by thy eyes put out.

Samson. Boast not of what thou wouldst have done, but do
 What then thou wouldst, thou seest it in thy hand. 1105

Harapha. To combat with a blind man I disdain,
 And thou hast need much washing to be toucht.

Samson. Such usage as your honourable Lords
 Afford me assassinated and betray'd,
 Who durst not with thir whole united powers 1110
 In fight withstand me single and unarm'd,
 Nor in the house with chamber Ambushes
 Close-banded durst attack me, no not sleeping,
 Till they had hir'd a woman with their gold,
 Breaking her Marriage Faith to circumvent me. 1115
 Therefore without feign'd shifts let be assign'd
 Some narrow place enclos'd, where sight may give thee,
 Or rather flight, no great advantage on me;
 Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy Helmet

challenge: "Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone." (III *Henry VI*, II, iv, 1.)

1096. *wish* is the prevailing accepted editorial emendation for the reading "with" of the original editions.

1102. *mortal duel*—duel to the death of one of the parties.

1105. *in thy hand*—in thy power (*i.e.*, to fight man to man).

1109. *afford*—allow, grant. *assassinated*—treacherously attacked, not actually slain. An *N.E.D.* example, dated 1683, is: "William of Orange was twice Assassinated, and lost his Life the Second time."

1113. *close-banded*—secretly banded. A man practices closeness and secrecy, said Bacon (*Essay VI*) when he "leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is."

1116. *feign'd shifts*—deceptive tricks.

And Brigandine of brass, thy broad Habergeon, 1120
 Vant-brass and Greaves, and Gauntlet, add thy Spear
 A Weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield,
 I only with an Oak'n staff will meet thee,
 And raise such out-cries on thy clatter'd Iron,
 Which long shall not with-hold me from thy head, 1125
 That in a little time, while breath remains thee,
 Thou oft shalt wish thyself at Gath to boast
 Again in safety what thou wouldst have done
 To *Samson*, but shalt never see *Gath* more.

Harapha. Thou durst not thus disparage glorious arms 1130
 Which greatest Heroes have in battle worn,
 Their ornament and safety, had not spells
 And black enchantments, some Magician's Art
 Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong, which thou from Heaven
 Feign'd'st at thy birth was giv'n thee in thy hair, 1135
 Where strength can least abide, though all thy hairs
 Were bristles rang'd like those that ridge the back
 Of chaf't wild Boars, or ruffl'd Porcupines.

1120. *Brigandine*—Body armour of metal plates or rings sewed between layers of cloth or leather.

Habergeon—a sleeveless coat of mail.

1121. *Vant-brass*—vambrace, armour for the forearm.

1121-1122. *thy Spear, A Weaver's beam* is a reminiscence of the description of Goliath in I Samuel xvii, 7; "the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam."

1122. Milton may have thought of the shield of the gigantic Ajax, which was made of seven layers of bull's hide (*Il. VII*, 220) or of the seven-fold shield of Turnus which Aeneas pierced in their mortal duel. (*Aen. XII*, 925.)

1134. *Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong*: gave thee magically powerful arms or a charm of personal strength. For the jingle compare *P.R.* II, 269, note, and l. 1278 below.

1134-1135. *which* implies an unexpressed antecedent, "strength."

It is hard to understand why Milton should have represented Samson's story that his strength depended on his hair as incredible to *Harapha*, for he knew that ancient literature abounded with parallels, such as the myth of Nisus, whose daughter, Scylla, was able to betray him because his life and fortune depended on a purple lock in his hair. It would be natural, however, for the Philistines to explain Samson's strength by black magic.

1138. With the *ruffl'd Porcupines* compare the Ghost's words to Hamlet (*I, v*, 19-20): ". . . each particular hair to stand an end, Like quills upon the fretful porpentine."

Samson. I know no spells, use no forbidden Arts;
 My trust is in the living God who gave me 1140
 At my Nativity this strength, diffus'd
 No less through all my sinews, joints and bones,
 Than thine, while I preserv'd these locks unshorn,
 The pledge of my unviolated vow.
 For proof hereof, if *Dagon* be thy god, 1145
 Go to his Temple, invoke his aid
 With solemnest devotion, spread before him
 How highly it concerns his glory now
 To frustrate and dissolve these Magic spells,
 Which I to be the power of *Israel's* God 1150
 Avow, and challenge *Dagon* to the test,
 Offering to combat thee his Champion bold,
 With th' utmost of his Godhead seconded:
 Then thou shalt see, or rather to thy sorrow
 Soon feel, whose God is strongest, thine or mine. 1155
Harapha. Presume not on thy God, whate'er he be,
 Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off
 Quite from his people, and delivered up
 Into thy Enemies' hand, permitted them
 To put out both thine eyes, and fetter'd send thee 1160
 Into the common Prison, there to grind
 Among the Slaves and Asses thy comrades,
 As good for nothing else, no better service
 With those thy boist'rous locks, no worthy match
 For valour to assail, nor by the sword 1165

1139-1144. Todd compared the oath taken by the champions in medieval judicial combats: "I do swear that I have not upon me, nor on any of the arms I shall use, words, charms, or enchantments, to which I trust for help to conquer my enemy, but that I do only trust in God, in my right, and in the strength of my body and arms."

1143. *while*—as long as.

1147. *spread*—lay.

1157. The language is like that of the sanctions pronounced against disobedient Hebrews in the O.T.: "that soul shall be cut off from Israel." (Exod. xii, 15.)

1164. *boist'rous*—thick-growing. *N.E.D.* compares George Wither's *Mistress of Philarete*: the pool "overgrown with boystrous Sedge."

1165. *valour*—a brave man. Another case of an abstract noun used for a concrete.

1165-1166, *nor by the sword, etc.*, follows loosely upon *worthy*

Of noble Warrior, so to stain his honour,
But by the Barber's razor best subdu'd.

Samson. All these indignities, for such they are
From thine, these evils I deserve and more,
Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me 1170

Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon
Whose ear is ever open; and his eye
Gracious to re-admit the suppliant;

In confidence whereof I once again
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight, 1175
By combat to decide whose god is God,

Thine or whom I with *Israel's* Sons adore.

Harapha. Fair honour that thou dost thy God, in trusting
He will accept thee to defend his cause,
A Murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber. 1180

Samson. Tongue-doughty Giant, how dost thou prove me
these?

Harapha. Is not thy Nation subject to our Lords?
Thir Magistrates confest it, when they took thee
As a League-breaker and deliver'd bound
Into our hands: for hadst thou not committed 1185

Notorious murder on those thirty men
At *Askalon*, who never did thee harm,
Then like a Robber stripp'dst them of thir robes?

The *Philistines*, when thou hadst broke the league,
Went up with armed powers thee only seeking, 1190
To others did no violence nor spoil.

match; i.e., not worthy of a noble warrior's sword, for it would be a stain upon the honour of a warrior to attack you.

1168. *indignities* means unjust taunts; unjust, that is, from the Philistines.

1169. For *thine* used to mean Harapha's people generally see the note on *mine* in l. 291 above.

1175-1176. Again, as in 1139-1144 above, there is a reference to the medieval trials of the justice of various kinds of causes by combat between champions representing the parties.

1182-1185. For the original story of this incident see the note on 253-264 above.

1185-1188. After the betrayal of his riddle by the woman of Timna, Samson "went down to Ashkelom, and slew thirty men of them, and took their spoil, and gave change of garments to them which expounded the riddle." (Judg. xiv, 19.)

Samson. Among the Daughters of the *Philistines*
 I chose a Wife, which argu'd me no foe;
 And in your City held my Nuptial Feast:
 But your ill-meaning Politician Lords, 1195
 Under pretence of Bridal friends and guests,
 Appointed to await me thirty spies,
 Who, threat'ning cruel death, constrain'd the bride
 To wring from me and tell to them my secret,
 That solv'd the riddle which I had propos'd. 1200
 When I perceiv'd all set on enmity,
 As on my enemies, wherever chanc'd,
 I us'd hostility, and took thir spoil
 To pay my underminers in thir coin.
 My Nation was subjected to your Lords. 1205
 It was the force of Conquest; force with force
 Is well ejected when the Conquer'd can.
 But I a private person, whom my Country
 As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd
 Single Rebellion and did Hostile Acts. 1210
 I was no private but a person rais'd
 With strength sufficient and command from Heav'n
 To free my Country; if their servile minds
 Me their Deliverer sent would not receive,
 But to thir Masters gave me up for nought, 1215
 Th' unworthier they; whence to this day they serve.
 I was to do my part from Heav'n assign'd,
 And had perform'd it if my known offence
 Had not disabl'd me, not all your force:

1194. After Manoa had arranged for his marriage with the woman of Timna, his first wife, "Samson made there a feast; for so used the young men to do." (Judg. xiv, 10.)

1195-1197. Josephus (*Antiquities*, V, viii, 6) says that "the people of Timnath, out of dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding feast, . . . thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretense to be his companions, but in reality to be a guard upon him."

1198-1200. After Samson had propounded his riddle the thirty men "desired the damsel (*i.e.*, his wife) to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them; and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them." (*Ibid.*) For the substance of the riddle see the note on ll. 382-387 above.

1217. *I was to do*—I was under obligation to do.

These shifts refuted, answer thy appellat,
 Though by his blindness maim'd for high attempts, 1220
 Who now defies thee thrice to single fight,
 As a petty enterprise of small enforce.

Harapha. With thee a Man condemn'd, a Slave enroll'd,
 Due by the Law to capital punishment? 1225
 To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.

Samson. Cam'st thou for this, vain boaster, to survey me,
 To descant on my strength, and give thy verdit?
 Come nearer, part not hence so slight inform'd;
 But take good heed my hand survey not thee. 1230

Harapha. O *Baal-zebul!* can my ears unus'd
 Hear these dishonours, and not render death?

Samson. No man with-holds thee, nothing from thy hand

1220. *appellant*—challenger. *N.E.D.* quotes Caxton's *Chronicle of England*: "A great batayll . . . by twene two squyers, . . . Gloucestre that was the appellaunt and Arthur the defendaunt."

1221. *high attempts*—great enterprises. The words belonged to the language of romance and heraldry. *N.E.D.* quotes Guillim's *Heraldry*: "His noble courage and high attempts atchieved."

1222. *thrice*—for the third time. The medieval custom of challenging three times in judicial combats was familiar to Milton's contemporaries through the coronation ceremonies. When Charles II was crowned, a herald proclaimed that "if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a champion that would fight with him." "And with these words," Pepys says (under date of April 23rd, 1661), "the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table."

1224-1226. Todd quoted from the treatise on duelling (published in 1595) of Vincentio Saviolo, the London fencing master who suggested Touchstone's quarrelling "by the book" (*As You Like It*, V, iv, 94) to Shakespeare, a passage denying the right of single combat to traitors, robbers, "excommunicate persons, hereticks, vsurers, and all other persons, not liuing as a gentleman or a souldier."

1228. *descant* was often used in the sense of "make unfavourable comments," as Milton used it in *Eikonoklastes*: "To descant on the misfortunes of a Person fall'n from dignity is not commendable." (Quoted by *N.E.D.*)

1231. The god's name is regularly spelled "Beelzebul" in *P.L.* (e.g., in I, 81), but here Milton may have wished to stress its formation from its elements. Baal was the great sun-god of the Philistines, Canaanites and Phoenicians, but he was worshipped under many local and attributive names, of which Baal-zebul (literally "Baal" or "god of flies") was his title in his splendid temple at Ekron.

unus'd—unaccustomed (*i.e.*, to insults).

Fear I incurable; bring up thy van,
My heels are fetter'd, but my fist is free. 1235

Harapha. This insolence other kind of answer fits.

Samson. Go baffl'd coward, lest I run upon thee,
Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast,
And with one buffet lay thy structure low,
Or swing thee in the Air, then dash thee down 1240
To the hazard of thy brains and shatter'd sides.

Harapha. By *Astaroth*, ere long thou shalt lament
These braveries in Irons loaden on thee.

Chorus. His Giantship is gone somewhat crestfall'n,
Stalking with less unconsci'nable strides, 1245
And lower looks, but in a sultry chafe.

Samson. I dread him not, nor all his Giant-brood,
Though Fame divulge him Father of five Sons
All of Gigantic size, *Goliah* chief.

Chorus. He will directly to the Lords, I fear, 1250
And with malicious counsel stir them up
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.

Samson. He must allege some cause, and offer'd fight
Will not dare mention, lest a question rise
Whether he durst accept the offer or not, 1255
And that he durst not plain enough appear'd.
Much more affliction than already felt

1234. *bring up thy van*—bring up thy advance-guard, begin the fight.

1239. Compare *structure* with *pile* in 1069.

1242. In *P.L.* I, 338–339, Milton mentions "Astareth, whom the Phoenicians call'd *Astarte*, Queen of Heav'n," and in *P.L.* I, 422, he explains that the form *Ashtaroth* is plural. It was a general name for the many manifestations of the supreme goddess who stood opposite to Baal and represented fertility and passion, and seems to have been equivalent to the great goddess Ishtar of the Assyro-Babylonians.

1243. *braveries*—boasts.

1245. *unconsci'nable*—unreasonable, absurdly insolent.

1248. *divulge*—proclaim, announce. Compare *P.R.* III, 62. II Samuel xxi, tells the story of four sons who "were born to the giant in Gath, and fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants." The giant is called in Hebrew simply "Rapha," the word from which Milton derived the name "Harapha." See l. 1068, note. His fifth son was Goliath.

1250. *he will*—he will go.

1253. *offer'd fight, i.e.,* my offer to fight.

They cannot well impose, nor I sustain;
 If they intend advantage of my labours,
 The work of many hands, which earns my keeping 1260
 With no small profit daily to my owners.

But come what will, my deadliest foe will prove
 My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence,
 The worst that he can give, to me the best.
 Yet so it may fall out, because thir end 1265
 Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine
 Draw thir own ruin who attempt the deed.

Chorus. Oh how comely it is and how reviving
 To the Spirits of just men long opprest!
 When God into the hands of thir deliverer 1270
 Puts invincible might

To quell the might of the Earth, th' oppressor,
 The brute and boist'rous force of violent men
 Hardy and industrious to support
 Tyrannic power, but raging to pursue 1275

The righteous and all such as honour Truth;
 He all thir Ammunition
 And feats of War defeats
 With plain Heroic magnitude of mind 1280
 And celestial vigour arm'd,

Thir Armories and Magazines contemns,
 Renders them useless, while
 With winged expedition
 Swift as the lightning glance he executes
 His errand on the wicked, who surpris'd 1285
 Lose thir defence, distracted and amaz'd.

But patience is more oft the exercise

1263. The thought that "Though death be poor, it ends a mortal woe," (*Richard II*, II, i, 152) is too widespread, to suggest a "parallel" here.

1277. *Ammunition*—munitions of war.

1278–1280. It is worth while to compare the sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane the Younger.

1283. *expedition*—speed. Compare "The banded Powers of *Satan* hasting on With furious expedition." (*P.L.* VI, 85–86.)

1285. *errand*—mission or commission (*i.e.*, of vengeance).

1286. *defence*—power to defend themselves.

1287–1291. Compare the sentiment in 652–659. where Milton was

Of Saints, the trial of thir fortitude,
 Making them each his own Deliverer,
 And Victor over all 1290
 That tyranny or fortune can inflict.
 Either of these is in thy lot,
Samson, with might endu'd
 Above the Sons of men; but sight bereav'd
 May chance to number thee with those 1295
 Whom Patience finally must crown.
 This Idol's day hath been to thee no day of rest,
 Labouring thy mind
 More than the working day thy hands.
 And yet perhaps more trouble is behind, 1300
 For I descry this way
 Some other tending, in his hand
 A Sceptre or quaint staff he bears,
 Comes on amain, speed in his look.
 By his habit I discern him now 1305
 A Public Officer, and now at hand.
 His message will be short and voluble.
Officer. *Ebrews*, the Pris'ner *Samson* here I seek.
Chorus. His manacles remark him, there he sits.

thinking of Stoic virtue rather than of Christian patience, the Patience which spoke and resolved his own difficulty in the sonnet *On his Blindness*.

1294. *sight bereav'd*—loss of sight. This Latin construction was a favourite with Milton. Compare "never since created man" (*P.L.* I, 573), which means "never since the creation of man."

1296. Compare "the crown that Virtue gives." (*Comus*, 9.)

1303. *quaint*, curiously made or decorated, like the wands of office which Greek heralds and messengers carried.

1307. *voluble*—swift and pointed. Milton illustrates the word in *Eikonoklastes*, 32, with "A discours, voluble enough, and full of sentence."

1308. Milton's apparent inconsistency in spelling *Ebrews* here and in ll. 1319 and 1540 below, while in *P.R.* IV, 336, and Psalm cxxxvi, 50, he spelled the word *Hebrew*, must at least in part be due to his familiarity with the unaspirated form of the word in Greek and Italian. In the Latin Vulgate, however, he found it regularly spelled with initial *H* and he knew that in the Hebrew Bible its initial vowel was aspirated.

1309. *remark*—distinguish. *N.E.D.* compares Jeremy Taylor: "Those

Officer. *Samson*, to thee our Lords thus bid me say; 1310
 This day to *Dagon* is a solemn Feast,
 With Sacrifices, Triumph, Pomp, and Games;
 Thy strength they know surpassing human rate,
 And now some public proof thereof require
 To honour this great Feast, and great Assembly; 1315
 Rise therefore with all speed and come along,
 Where I will see thee heart'n'd and fresh clad
 To appear as fits before th' illustrious Lords.

Samson. Thou knowst I am an *Ebrew*, therefore tell them,
 Our Law forbids at thir Religious Rites 1320
 My presence; for that cause I cannot come.

Officer. This answer, be assur'd, will not content them.

Samson. Have they not Sword-players, and ev'ry sort
 Of Gymnic Artists, Wrestlers, Riders, Runners,
 Jugglers and Dancers, Antics, Mummers, Mimics, 1325
 But they must pick me out with shackles tir'd,
 And over-labour'd at thir public Mill,
 To make them sport with blind activity?
 Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels
 On my refusal to distress me more, 1330
 Or make a game of my calamities?
 Return the way thou cam'st, I will not come.

Officer. Regard thyself, this will offend them highly.

blessings and separations with which God hath remarked your family and person."

1312. *Triumph*—public festivity. Compare the note on *Pomp* in *L'Allegro*, 127.

1320. The Mosaic law commanded, "Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them; . . . but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images." (Exod. xxiii, 24.)

1323. Though *Sword-players* usually meant Roman gladiators, in this passage, where Milton's contempt for the sports of Restoration London made him abandon historical consistency, it must refer to professional fencers.

1324. *Gymnic Artists*—gymnasts.

1325. *Antics*—grotesquely dressed participants in a pageant or carnival of any kind.

Mummers—actors in a dumb show or in street entertainments such as still go by that name in Philadelphia.

1333. *Regard thyself*—watch yourself, look to your own interests.

Samson. Myself? my conscience and internal peace.
 Can they think me so broken, so debas'd 1335
 With corporal servitude, that my mind ever
 Will condescend to such absurd commands?
 Although thir drudge, to be thir fool or jester,
 And in my midst of sorrow and heart-grief
 To show them feats, and play before thir god, 1340
 The worst of all indignities, yet on me
 Join'd with extreme contempt? I will not come.

Officer. My message was impos'd on me with speed,
 Brooks no delay: is this thy resolution?

Samson. So take it with what speed thy message needs. 1345

Officer. I am sorry what this stoutness will produce.

Samson. Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow indeed.

Chorus. Consider, *Samson*; matters now are strain'd
 Up to the highth, whether to hold or break;
 He's gone, and who knows how he may report 1350
 Thy words by adding fuel to the flame?
 Expect another message more imperious,
 More Lordly thund'ring than thou well wilt bear.

Samson. Shall I abuse this Consecrated gift
 Of strength, again returning with my hair 1355
 After my great transgression, so requite
 Favour renew'd, and add a greater sin
 By prostituting holy things to Idols;
 A *Nazarite* in place abominable
 Vaunting my strength in honour to thir *Dagon*? 1360
 Besides, how vile, contemptible, ridiculous,
 What act more execrably unclean, profane?

1334. Compare "the sweet peace that goodness bosoms ever" of *Comus*, 368, and the Introduction, §31.

1342. *Join'd*—enjoined, imposed.

1344. *brooks*—permits, bears.

1346. *sorry what*—sorry to imagine what.

stoutness—pride, arrogance.

1355. The expectation that Samson's strength would return with his hair, which Manoa first expresses (in ll. 586–587), rests upon the statement that, "Howbeit the hair of his head began to grow again after he was shaven." (Judg. xvi, 22.)

1360. *Vaunting*—displaying proudly.

1362. *unclean* is used in the Jewish, legal sense in which Samson's

Chorus. Yet with this strength thou serv'st the *Philistines*,
Idolatrous, uncircumcis'd, unclean.

Samson. Not in thir Idol-Worship, but by labour 1365
Honest and lawful to deserve my food
Of those who have me in thir civil power.

Chorus. Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.

Samson. Where outward force constrains, the sentence
holds;

But who constrains me to the Temple of *Dagon*, 1370
Not dragging? the *Philistian* Lords command.

Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,
I do it freely; venturing to displease
God for the fear of Man, and Man prefer, 1375
Set God behind: which in his jealousy
Shall never, unrepented, find forgiveness.

Yet that he may dispense with me or thee
Present in Temples at Idolatrous Rites

For some important cause, thou needst not doubt.

Chorus. How thou wilt here come off surmounts my reach.

Samson. Be of good courage, I begin to feel 1381
Some rousing motions in me which dispose

Philistine bride is called "unclean" (in l. 321), *i.e.*, bearing the taint of association with the gentiles.

1366. *deserve*—earn. *N.E.D.* quotes *Henry VII*, Act II: "Artificers . . . waste moch part of the day and deserve not their wagis."

1368. The maxim may refer to Aristotle's great doctrine that "it is only voluntary feelings and actions for which praise and blame are given; those that are involuntary are condoned, and sometimes even pitied." (*Nicomachean Ethics*, III, i, 1.)

1369. *sentence*—maxim.

1374-1375. The Second Commandment forbids any kind of worship of idols: "Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." (Exod. xx, 5.)

1377. *dispense with*—arrange to remit a penalty for a person so that he may do a forbidden act. *N.E.D.* quotes Latimer's Sermons: "God had dispensed wyth them to haue many wyues."

1377-1379. In *C.D.* II, v, Milton raises the question "whether it be lawful for a professor of the true religion to be present at idol-worship, in cases where his attendance is necessary for the discharge of some civil duty. The affirmative seems to be established by the example of Naaman the Syrian, II Kings v, 17-19, who was permitted . . . to construct for himself a private altar of Israelitish earth."

To something extraordinary my thoughts.
 I with this Messenger will go along,
 Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonour 1385
 Our Law, or stain my vow of *Nazarite*.
 If there be aught of presage in the mind,
 This day will be remarkable in my life
 By some great act, or of my days the last.

Chorus. In time thou hast resolv'd, the man returns. 1390

Officer. *Samson*, this second message from our Lords
 To thee I am bid say. Art thou our Slave,
 Our Captive, at the public Mill our drudge,
 And dar'st thou at our sending and command
 Dispute thy coming? come without delay; 1395
 Or we shall find such Engines to assail
 And hamper thee, as thou shalt come of force,
 Though thou wert firmlier fast'n'd than a rock.

Samson. I could be well content to try thir Art,
 Which to no few of them would prove pernicious. 1400
 Yet knowing thir advantages too many,
 Because they shall not trail me through thir streets
 Like a wild Beast, I am content to go.
 Masters' commands come with a power resistless
 To such as owe them absolute subjection; 1405
 And for a life who will not change his purpose?
 (So mutable are all the ways of men)
 Yet this be sure, in nothing to comply
 Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.

Officer. I praise thy resolution; doff these links: 1410
 By this compliance thou wilt win the Lords
 To favour, and perhaps to set thee free.

Samson. Brethren farewell, your company along
 I will not wish, lest it perhaps offend them
 To see me girt with Friends; and how the sight 1415
 Of me as of a common Enemy,
 So dreaded once, may now exasperate them
 I know not. Lords are Lordliest in thir wine;

1396. *Engines*—probably “engines of torture.”

1397. *hamper*—fetter, confine. *of force*—by force.

1400. *pernicious* has the Latin meaning of “deadly.”

1402. *because*—so that.

And the well-feasted Priest then soonest fir'd
 With zeal, if aught Religion seem concern'd: 1420
 No less the people on thir Holy-days
 Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable.
 Happ'n what may, of me expect to hear
 Nothing dishonourable, impure, unworthy
 Our God, our Law, my Nation, or myself; 1425
 The last of me or no I cannot warrant.

Chorus. Go, and the Holy One
 Of *Israel* be thy guide
 To what may serve his glory best, and spread his name
 Great among the Heathen round: 1430
 Send thee the Angel of thy Birth, to stand
 Fast by thy side, who from thy Father's field
 Rode up in flames after his message told
 Of thy conception, and be now a shield

1419-1420. The lines resume the attack upon "such as for their bellies' sake, Creep and intrude, and climb into the Fold" (*Lycidas*, 114-115), the clergy whom Milton called in *Animadversions*, xiii, a "race of Capernaïtans, senseless of divine doctrine, and capable only of loaves and belly-cheer!" "Show us any one point in your Remonstrance," he challenged them (*Ibid.*, i), "that does not more concern superiority, pride, ease, and the belly, than the truth and glory of God."

1421-1422. In his controversial writing Milton fully sympathized with the Puritan condemnation of Sabbath-breaking as equivalent to idolatry. In *Of Reformation* (Book II, *P.W.* II, 402) he attacked the bishops who "took the ready way to despoil us both of manhood and grace at once, and that in the shamefullest and ungodliest manner, upon that day which God's law, and even our own reason hath consecrated; . . . at such a time that men should be plucked from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the church, instigated, by public edict, and with earnest endeavour pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing, is a horror to think! Thus did the reprobate hireling priest Balaam seek to subdue the Israelites to Moab, if not by force, then by his devilish policy, to draw them from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-peor."

1426. The thought is: "Whether you see me for the last time now or not, I cannot positively say."

1431-1435. The *Angel* has been mentioned in ll. 24, 361, and 635 above and his fiery ascent to heaven in ll. 27-28. Milton's belief that there are "Angels conversant on Earth With Man or men's affairs" (*P.R.* I, 131-2) is stated clearly in *C.D.* I, ix.

1433. *after his message told*: after the delivery of his message. Compare the note on l. 1294 above.

- Of fire; that Spirit that first rusht on thee 1435
 In the camp of *Dan*
 Be efficacious in thee now at need.
 For never was from Heaven imparted
 Measure of strength so great to mortal seed,
 As in thy wond'rous actions hath been seen. 1440
 But wherefore comes old *Manoa* in such haste
 With youthful steps? much livelier than erewhile
 He seems: supposing here to find his Son,
 Or of him bringing to us some glad news?
Manoa. Peace with you brethren; my inducement hither 1445
 Was not at present here to find my Son,
 By order of the Lords new parted hence
 To come and play before them at thir Feast.
 I heard all as I came, the City rings,
 And numbers thither flock; I had no will, 1450
 Lest I should see him forc't to things unseemly.
 But that which mov'd my coming now, was chiefly
 To give ye part with me what hope I have
 With good success to work his liberty.
Chorus. That hope would much rejoyce us to partake 1455
 With thee; say reverend Sire, we thirst to hear.
Manoa. I have attempted one by one the Lords
 Either at home, or through the high street passing,
 With supplication prone and Father's tears
 To accept of ransom for my Son thir pris'ner. 1460

1435-1436. In the biblical story, Samson's first inkling of his strength came when "the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol." (Judg. xiii, 25.)

1445. *Peace with you* is a constant greeting in the O.T.: e.g., Samuel's salute: "Peace be to thee, peace be to thy house, peace be to all." (I Sam. xxv, 6.)

1447. *new parted*—just departed.

1453. *To give ye, etc.*, to share whatever hope I have with you. *ye* is a dative here.

1454. *success*—effect, consequence. The word seldom had the modern force which would make *good* unnecessary. Compare Belial's "Ominous conjecture on the whole success" (*P.L.* II, 123) of the devils' purposes.

1457. *attempted*—appealed to, tried to win the sympathies of. *N.E.D.* compares *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 421; "Deare sir, of force I must attempt you further."

I.
Milt
Rest
of
mag
Parl
the
I
only
I
I
I
I

Some much averse I found and wondrous harsh,
 Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite;
 That part most reverenc'd *Dagon* and his Priests:
 Others more moderate seeming, but thir aim
 Private reward, for which both God and State 1465
 They easily would set to sale: a third
 More generous far and civil, who confess'd
 They had enough reveng'd, having reduc't
 Thir foe to misery beneath thir fears,
 The rest was magnanimity to remit, 1470
 If some convenient ransom were propos'd.
 What noise or shout was that? it tore the Sky.

Chorus. Doubtless the people shouting to behold
 Thir once great dread, captive, and blind before them,
 Or at some proof of strength before them shown. 1475

Manoa. His ransom, if my whole inheritance
 May compass it, shall willingly be paid
 And number'd down: much rather I shall choose
 To live the poorest in my Tribe, than richest,
 And he in that calamitous prison left. 1480
 No, I am fixt not to part hence without him.
 For his redemption all my Patrimony,
 If need be, I am ready to forego
 And quit: not wanting him, I shall want nothing.

Chorus. Fathers are wont to lay up for thir Sons, 1485
 Thou for thy Son are bent to lay out all;
 Sons wont to nurse thir Parents in old age,
 Thou in old age car'st how to nurse thy Son,
 Made older than thy age through eye-sight lost.

Manoa. It shall be my delight to tend his eyes, 1490

1461-1470. Perhaps there is a reminiscence here of the treatment of Milton's champions by various parties on the King's side after the Restoration. His anti-episcopal tracts had deserved the special hostility of the Anglican clergy, who may be intended in l. 1463, and the magnanimous group (l. 1469) may correspond to the liberal men in Parliament who kept Milton from being excepted from the benefit of the Indemnity Bill.

1470. *The rest etc.:* the rest of their revenge, they said, it would be only magnanimous to let go.

1480. *And he . . . left*—while he is left.

1484. *wanting*—lacking.

1487. *wont*—are wont.

And view him sitting in the house, ennobl'd
 With all those high exploits by him achiev'd,
 And on his shoulders waving down those locks,
 That of a Nation arm'd the strength contain'd:
 And I persuade me God had not permitted 1495
 His strength again to grow up with his hair
 Garrison'd round about him like a Camp
 Of faithful Soldiery, were not his purpose
 To use him further yet in some great service,
 Not to sit idle with so great a gift 1500
 Useless, and thence ridiculous about him.
 And since his strength with eye-sight was not lost,
 God will restore him eye-sight to his strength.

Chorus. Thy hopes are not ill-founded, nor seem vain,
 Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon 1505
 Conceiv'd, agreeable to a Father's love,
 In both which we, as next, participate.

Manoa. I know your friendly minds and—O what noise!
 Mercy of Heav'n! what hideous noise was that?
 Horribly loud, unlike the former shout. 1510

Chorus. Noise call you it or universal groan
 As if the whole inhabitation perish'd?
 Blood, death, and deathful deeds are in that noise,
 Ruin, destruction at the utmost point.

Manoa. Of ruin indeed methought I heard the noise, 1515
 Oh it continues, they have slain my Son.

Chorus. Thy Son is rather slaying them; that outcry
 From slaughter of one foe could not ascend.

Manoa. Some dismal accident it needs must be;
 What shall we do, stay here or run and see? 1520

1494. In Ovid's version of the story of Nisus (see ll. 1134-5, note) there is a similar line, which describes the hope of a mighty kingdom as dependent upon his hair. (*Met.* VIII, 10.)

1495. *had not; i.e.*, would not have permitted. Before *were* in 1498 understand "if it."

1503. *to his strength*—in addition to his strength.

1506. *agreeable to*—corresponding to.

1507. *next; i.e.*, of kin, because the chorus, like Samson, are Danites.

1515. *ruin* has the Latin meaning of "downfall" or "collapse." Compare "Heav'n ruining from Heav'n" in *P.L.* VI, 868.

1520-1522. So, in moments of crisis, Euripides' choruses sometimes

Chorus. Best keep together here, lest, running thither,
 We unawares run into danger's mouth.
 This evil on the *Philistines* is fall'n,
 From whom could else a general cry be heard?
 The sufferers then will scarce molest us here, 1525
 From other hands we need not much to fear.
 What if his eye-sight (for to *Israel's* God
 Nothing is hard) by miracle restor'd,
 He now be dealing dole among his foes,
 And over heaps of slaughter'd walk his way? 1530
Manoa. That were a joy presumptuous to be thought.
Chorus. Yet God hath wrought things as incredible
 For his people of old; what hinders now?
Manoa. He can, I know, but doubt to think he will;
 Yet Hope would fain subscribe, and tempts Belief. 1535
 A little stay will bring some notice hither.
Chorus. Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner;
 For evil news rides post, while good news baits.
 And to our wish I see one hither speeding,
 An *Ebrew*, as I guess, and of our Tribe. 1540
Messenger. O whither shall I run, or which way fly
 The sight of this so horrid spectacle
 Which erst my eyes beheld and yet behold?

question whether they should leave the scene. When Phaedria's death-cry is heard, the chorus divides:

Semi-chorus 1. "What shall we do, friends? Deem ye we should pass
 The doors, and from the halter loose the queen?"

Semi-chorus 2. "Wherefore? Are no young handmaids at her side?
 The busy meddler treadeth perilous paths."

(*Hippolytus*, 782-785.)

1529. *dole*—grief, pain. Perhaps there is a play on the homonym which means "something dealt," for it was familiar in phrases like Shakespeare's "dole of blows." (*II Henry IV*, I, i, 169.)

1538. *baits*—delays, travels slowly. The meaning arose from the use of "bait" to mean "to stop in a journey to feed horses."

1541. So the messengers in Greek tragedies, when they have dreadful news, often enter with distracted cries. "Wretch that I am!" exclaims the messenger who brings Creon the news of his nephews' fatal strife in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (1336-1338), "What language can I find? . . . Ah, wretched me, I yet again exclaim."

1543. *erst*—not long ago. The word was a favourite with Spenser; e.g., "the armes, that carst so bright did show." (*F.Q.* I, v, 9.)

For dire imagination still pursues me.
 But providence or instinct of nature seems, 1545
 Or reason though disturb'd, and scarce consulted,
 To have guided me aright, I know not how,
 To thee first, reverend *Manoa*, and to these
 My Countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,
 As at some distance from the place of horror, 1550
 So in the sad event too much concern'd.

Manoa. The accident was loud, and here before thee
 With rueful cry, yet what it was we hear not;
 No Preface needs, thou seest we long to know.

Messenger. It would burst forth, but I recover breath 1555
 And sense distract, to know well what I utter.

Manoa. Tell us the sum, the circumstance defer.

Messenger. *Gaza* yet stands, but all her Sons are fall'n,
 All in a moment overwhelm'd and fall'n.

Manoa. Sad, but thou knowst to *Israelites* not saddest 1560
 The desolation of a Hostile City.

Messenger. Feed on that first, there may in grief be surfeit.

Manoa. Relate by whom.

Messenger. By *Samson*.

Manoa. That still lessens
 The sorrow, and converts it nigh to joy.

Messenger. Ah *Manoa*, I refrain too suddenly 1565
 To utter what will come at last too soon;
 Lest evil tidings with too rude irruption
 Hitting thy aged ear should pierce too deep.

Manoa. Suspense in news is torture, speak them out.

Messenger. Then take the worst in brief, *Samson* is dead. 1570

1554. *No Preface needs*—no introduction is necessary. Compare "here needs no account." *P.L.* IV, 235.

1556. *distract*—distracted. Compare *extinct* in l. 70, note.

1557. *the sum*—the main thing, the gist. Compare *Henry V*, III, vi, 172; "the sum of all our answer is but this."

circumstance—circumstances. *N.E.D.* quotes Tournour's *Atheist's Tragedy*, I, iv; "Time cuts off circumstance; I must be briefe."

1562. Compare Valentine's words in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III, i, 220-221:

"O, I have fed upon this woe already,
 And now excess of it will make me surfeit."

1570. In the *Electra* (673) of Sophocles, Todd noticed that the death

- Manoa.* The worst indeed! O all my hope's defeated
 To free him hence! but death who sets all free
 Hath paid his ransom now and full discharge.
 What windy joy this day had I conceiv'd
 Hopeful of his Delivery, which now proves 1575
 Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring
 Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's frost.
 Yet ere I give the reins to grief, say first,
 How died he? death to life is crown or shame.
 All by him fell thou say'st, by whom fell he, 1580
 What glorious hand gave *Samson* his death's wound?
Messenger. Unwounded of his enemies he fell.
Manoa. Wearied with slaughter then or how? explain.
Messenger. By his own hands.
Manoa. Self-violence? what cause
 Brought him so soon at variance with himself 1585
 Among his foes?
Messenger. Inevitable cause
 At once both to destroy and be destroy'd;
 The Edifice where all were met to see him
 Upon thir heads and on his own he pull'd.
Manoa. O lastly over-strong against thyself! 1590
 A dreadful way thou took'st to thy revenge.
 More than enough we know; but while things yet
 Are in confusion, give us if thou canst,
 Eye-witness of what first or last was done,
 Relation more particular and distinct. 1595
Messenger. Occasions drew me early to this City,
 And as the gates I enter'd with Sun-rise,
 The morning Trumpets Festival proclaim'd

of Orestes is announced in just this way, with the bare words, "Orestes is dead."

1573. *Manoa's* dearest wish has been to ransom *Samson*. Compare ll. 483, 604, 1460 and 1476 above.

1574. *windy*—vain. *N.E.D.* quotes *Gabriel Harvey*: "A wan or windy Hope, is a notable breake-neckke vnto itselfe."

1576–1577. The clear Shakespearian quality of the lines has led editors to compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, i, 100–101: "Like an envious sneaping frost, That bites the first-born infants of the spring."

1596. *Occasions*—affairs, business.

Through each high street: little I had dispatch't
 When all abroad was rumour'd that this day 1600
Samson should be brought forth to show the people
 Proof of his mighty strength in feats and games;
 I sorrow'd at his captive state, but minded
 Not to be absent at that spectacle.
 The building was a spacious Theatre 1605
 Half round on two main Pillars vaulted high,
 With seats where all the Lords and each degree
 Of sort, might sit in order to behold,
 The other side was op'n, where the throng
 On banks and scaffolds under Sky might stand; 1610
 I among these aloof obscurely stood.
 The Feast and noon grew high, and Sacrifice
 Had fill'd thir hearts with mirth, high cheer, and wine,
 When to thir sports they turn'd. Immediately
 Was *Samson* as a public servant brought, 1615
 In thir state Livery clad; before him Pipes
 And Timbrels, on each side went armed guards,
 Both horse and foot before him and behind,
 Archers, and Slingers, Cataphracts and Spears.

1599. *little . . . dispatch't*; i.e., had dispatched little business.

1603. *minded*—resolved. Compare the noun in *P.L.* V, 452: "sudden mind arose, In *Adam*, not to let th'occasion pass."

1605-1610. In Judges xvi, 27, the building is described as a "house full of men and women; and all the lords of the Philistines were there; and there were upon the roof about three thousand men and women, that beheld while *Samson* made sport." There seems to be good ground for Mr. Verity's suggestion that by putting the common people outside his "theatre" and laying stress upon the destruction of
 "Lords, Ladies, Captains, Counsellors, or Priests"

(l. 1653.)

Milton intended the scene to adumbrate the ruin of the Royalist nobles, soldiers and clergy.

1607-1608. *degree . . . sort*—social rank of high quality. *N.E.D.* quotes *Measure for Measure*, IV, iv, 20: "Give notice to such men of sort and suite as are to meete him."

1610. *banks*—benches.

1616. *Livery*—uniform of public or private retainers of any kind.

1619. *Cataphracts*—mounted soldiers whose horses, like themselves, were heavily protected with armour. The word is a Greek military term.

Spears—spearmen.

At sight of him the people with a shout 1620
 Rifted the Air clamouring thir god with praise,
 Who had made thir dreadful enemy thir thrall.
 He patient but undaunted where they led him,
 Came to the place, and what was set before him
 Which without help of eye might be assay'd, 1625
 To heave, pull, draw, or break, he still perform'd
 All with incredible, stupendious force,
 None daring to appear Antagonist.
 At length for intermission sake they led him
 Between the pillars; he his guide requested 1630
 (For so from such as nearer stood we heard)
 As over-tir'd to let him lean a while
 With both his arms on those two massy Pillars
 That to the arched roof gave main support.
 He unsuspecting led him; which when *Samson* 1635
 Felt in his arms; with head a while inclin'd,
 And eyes fast fixt he stood, as one who pray'd,
 Or some great matter in his mind revolvd.

1621. *rifted*—rent, tore.

With *clamouring* N.E.D. compares Evelyn's use of the verb transitively: "Legions of women went down to clamour the House for his enlargement."

1626. *still*—constantly.

1627. *stupendious*, for "stupendous," is found in *P.L.* X, 351. It was the prevailing form of the word.

1630-1634. The account in Judges (xvi, 25-26) says that Samson was set between the pillars for his performance, and that he "said unto the lad that held him by the hand, Suffer me that I may feel the pillars whereupon the house standeth, that I may lean upon them."

1634. Milton may have been influenced by the account of the contemporary appearance of the ruins of Gāza in Sandys' *Travels* (p. 116): "On the North-East Corner and summity of the Hill are the ruines of huge Arches sunk low in the Earth, and other foundations of a stately Building. . . . The Jews do fable this place to have been the Theatre of Sampson pulled down on the heads of the Philistines." Sandys adds that in his opinion the ruins belonged to a Roman structure, and Milton may have known that the arch was a Roman invention, and have described the building as *arched* with no more definite an idea of it than Quarles had when he spoke of its "arched rooffe" as all "Builled with massie stone" and yet as being sustained by "mighty Rafters." (*The History of Samson*, Sec. 23.)

1637-1638. *eyes fast fixt* . . . *revolv'd*; the phrasing recalls Virgil's picture of Aeneas with eyes fast bent downward and sad countenance

At last with head erect thus cried aloud,
 Hitherto, Lords, what your commands impos'd 1640
 I have perform'd, as reason was, obeying,
 Not without wonder or delight beheld.
 Now of my own accord such other trial
 I mean to show you of my strength, yet greater;
 As with amaze shall strike all who behold. 1645
 This utter'd, straining all his nerves he bow'd;
 As with the force of winds and waters pent
 When Mountains tremble, those two massy Pillars
 With horrible convulsion to and fro
 He tugg'd, he shook, till down they came, and drew 1650
 The whole roof after them with burst of thunder
 Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,
 Lords, Ladies, Captains, Counsellors, or Priests,
 Thir choice nobility and flower, not only
 Of this but each *Philistian* City round 1655
 Met from all parts to solemnize this Feast.
Samson with these immixt, inevitably
 Pull'd down the same destruction on himself;
 The vulgar only scap'd who stood without.
Chorus. O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious! 1660
 Living or dying thou hast fulfill'd
 The work for which thou wast foretold
 To *Israel*, and now li'st victorious
 Among thy slain self-kill'd
 Not willingly, but tangl'd in the fold 1665

as he left the cave of the Sibyl, revolving sad events in his mind. (*Aen.* VI, 156-8.)

1642. The sense is, "and I have been beheld by you with wonder and delight."

1645. *amaze*—confusion. Compare *amaz'd* in l. 1286.

1647-1648. Two great similes in *P.L.* (I, 230-7, and VI, 195-8) arise from the belief that earthquakes are caused by "Winds under ground or waters forcing way Sidelong."

1659. *vulgar*—the throng of ordinary spectators. Compare ll. 1604-1610, note.

1664-1665. *self-kill'd Not willingly*: although, as Donne observed (*Biathanatos*, III, v, 4) *Samson's* "fact of self-killing is celebrated by the Church . . . as the act of a Martyr," it seemed perilously like suicide. "The very Text," said Donne, is against those who, like St. Augustine, "equally zealous of *Samson's* honour and his own con-

Of dire necessity, whose law in death conjoin'd
Thee with thy slaughter'd foes in number more
Than all thy life had slain before.

Semichorus. While thir hearts were jocund and sublime,
Drunk with Idolatry, drunk with Wine, 1670

And fat regorg'd of Bulls and Goats,
Chaunting thir Idol, and preferring
Before our living Dread who dwells
In *Silo* his bright Sanctuary:

Among them he a spirit of phrenzy sent, 1675
Who hurt thir minds,

And urg'd them on with mad desire
To call in haste for thir destroyer;

They only set on sport and play
Unweetingly importun'd 1680

Their own destruction to come speedy upon them.

So fond are mortal men

Fall'n into wrath divine,

As thir own ruin on themselves to invite,

Insensate left, or to sense reprobate, 1685

science," argue that he acted simply by divine prompting, "for *Samson* dyed with these words in his mouth, *Let mee lose my life with the Philistins.*"

1666. *dire necessity*: see the Introduction, §30.

1667-1668. From Judges xvi, 30; "the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life."

1669. *sublime* is used in the Latin sense of "uplifted." Compare Adam's "fair large Front and Eye sublime." (*P.L.* I, 502.)

1674. It was at *Silo* (in the Authorized Version, Shiloh) that "the whole congregation of the children of Israel . . . set up the tabernacle of the congregation there." (Josh. xviii, 1.) Milton thought of it as it is described in Exodus xl, 34: "the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle."

1675. *phrenzy* was a spelling frequently used to indicate the supposed Greek etymology of the word. "Some writers show a tendency to prefer it when the reference is to . . . demoniacal possession." *N.E.D.*

1676. Homer often describes a god as hurting or distracting men's minds, as Ate, the goddess of wrath, does in *Iliad*, IX, 503.

1680. *Unweetingly*—unwittingly, unknowingly.

1683. *wrath divine*—wrath divinely inspired. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

1685. So St. Paul says of perverted men that "God gave them over

And with blindness internal struck.

Semichorus. But he though blind of sight,
Despis'd and thought extinguish't quite,
With inward eyes illuminated

His fiery virtue rous'd 1690

From under ashes into sudden flame,

And as an ev'ning Dragon came,

Assailant on the perched roosts,

And nests in order rang'd

Of tame villatic Fowl; but as an Eagle 1695

His cloudless thunder bolted on thir heads.

So virtue giv'n for lost,

Deprest, and overthrown, as seem'd,

Like that self-begott'n bird

In the *Arabian* woods embost, 1700

to a reprobate mind" (Rom. i, 28), and "the object which reprobation has in view," Milton wrote in *C.D.* I, iv, "is the destruction of unbelievers."

1692. *Dragon*—serpent.

1695. *villatic Fowl*—barndoor fowls. To Milton's mind the word *villa* kept its Italian meaning of "a farmhouse."

1696. Perhaps Milton thought of Horace's professed conversion by the portent of a thunderclap from a clear sky (*Odes*, I, xxxiv, 6) to a belief that the gods concern themselves in the affairs of men.

1697. *giv'n for lost*—given up as lost.

1699. *that self-begott'n bird*—the Phoenix, which Ovid describes (*Met.* XV, 391-402) as completing five secles (whence *secular* in l. 1707) or centuries of life and then building a nest of spices in the top of a nodding palm tree to be its own funeral pyre. "But from the father's body, it is said, a little phoenix will arise, destined to live an equal number of years." In Tasso's poem, *The Phoenix*, Milton could find a Christianized version of the myth drawn from sources as various as Herodotus (II, 73), Pliny (X, ii) and the *Song of the Phoenix* attributed to Lactantius. His rhythm here is strikingly like Shakespeare's in *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, and he may also have felt the influence of symbolism like Vaughan's in *Resurrection and Immortality*, where the intrinsic virtue in all created things,

"Phenix-like renew'th

Both life and youth;

For a preserving spirit doth still passe

Untainted through this Masse,

Which doth resolve, produce, and ripen all."

Compare *Damon's Epitaph*, 181, note.

1700. *embost*—hidden, sheltered.

That no second knows nor third,
 And lay erewhile a Holocaust,
 From out her ashy womb now teem'd,
 Revives, reflourishes, then vigorous most
 When most unactive deem'd, 1705
 And though her body die, her fame survives,
 A secular bird ages of lives.

Manoa. Come, come, no time for lamentation now,
 Nor much more cause: *Samson* hath quit himself
 Like *Samson*, and heroicly hath finish'd 1710

A life Heroic, on his Enemies
 Fully reveng'd hath left them years of mourning,
 And lamentation to the Sons of *Caphtor*
 Through all *Philistian* bounds. To *Israel*
 Honour hath left, and freedom, let but them 1715

Find courage to lay hold on this occasion;
 To himself and Father's house eternal fame;
 And which is best and happiest yet, all this
 With God not parted from him, as was fear'd,
 But favouring and assisting to the end. 1720

Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
 Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
 Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair,
 And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

Let us go find the body where it lies 1725
 Soak't in his enemies' blood, and from the stream
 With lavers pure and cleansing herbs wash off
 The clotted gore. I with what speed the while

1701. *That no second knows*; because only one phoenix is alive at a time.

1702. *Holocaust*—a sacrifice completely consumed by the fire.

1703. *her* must refer to *virtue* in l. 1697, and at this point the simile ends, although the comparison with the phoenix emerges in the metaphor which makes virtue a *secular bird*.

teem'd—delivered, brought forth.

1709. *quit*—acquitted.

1713. *Sons of Caphtor*—the Philistines. Compare the Argument, l. 10, note.

1728. *with what speed*; i.e., with what speed I can.

(*Gaza* is not in plight to say us nay)
 Will send for all my kindred, all my friends 1730
 To fetch him hence and solemnly attend
 With silent obsequy and funeral train
 Home to his Father's house: there will I build him
 A Monument, and plant it round with shade
 Of Laurel ever green, and branching Palm, 1735
 With all his Trophies hung, and Acts enroll'd
 In copious Legend, or sweet Lyric Song.
 Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,
 And from his memory inflame thir breasts
 To matchless valour, and adventures high: 1740
 The Virgins also shall on feastful days
 Visit his Tomb with flowers, only bewailing
 His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,
 From whence captivity and loss of eyes.
Chorus. All is best, though we oft doubt, 1745
 What th' unsearchable dispose
 Of highest wisdom brings about,
 And ever best found in the close.
 Oft he seems to hide his face,

1729. *plight*—state or condition. Compare "sweetest, saddest plight" in *Il Penseroso*, 57.

1730-1733. "Then his brethren and all the house of his father came down, and . . . brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol, in the burying-place of Manoah his father." (Judg. xvi, 31.)

1736. *Trophies*—spoils of his enemies.

1737. *Legend*—either an inscription over the tomb or a literary record like the lives of the saints in the Golden Legend.

Lyric Song—a paean like the Song of Deborah in Judges v.

1745-1748. Compare the closing choruses—identical in every case—with which Euripides ended the *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Bacchae* and *Helen*:

"In many forms the gods appear,
 And many things unhop'd they do;
 Forecasts of men they bring not to pass;
 What is unforecast they bestow.
 So happens this marvel now."

1746. *dispose*—dispensation. *N.E.D.* compares "Such is the dispose of the sole disposer of empires, that they have their risings, their fuls, and their fals." (Speed, *History of Great Britain*, VII, xxxi, 2.)

1749. *hide his face*; *i.e.*, in anger. Compare the prayer, "Hide not

But unexpectedly returns 1750
 And to his faithful Champion hath in place
 Bore witness gloriously; whence *Gaza* mourns
 And all that band them to resist
 His uncontrollable intent;
 His servants he with new acquist 1755
 Of true experience from this great event
 With peace and consolation hath dismiss,
 And calm of mind, all passion spent.

THE END

thy face far from me; put not thy servant away in anger." (Psalm xxvii, 9.)

1751. *in place*—"on the spot, then and there." *N.E.D.*

1755. *acquist*—increase, acquisition. *N.E.D.* quotes Isaac Barrow; "In the gifts of fortune, or in the acquists of industry."

1758. *passion* is used in the strong sense that it is in the quotation from Minturno in the note to ll. 8-11 of the Preface.

INDEX OF FIRST LINES

	PAGE
A Book was writ of late call'd <i>Tetrachordon</i>	360
Adhuc madentes rore squalebant genae	44
Ah, <i>Constantine</i> , of how much ill was Cause	338
A little onward lend thy guiding hand	542
Altera Torquatum cepit Leonora Poetam	300
Ἄμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα	344
Among the holy Mountains <i>high</i>	372
And to be short, at last his guide him brings	338
Angelus unicuique suus—sic credite, gentes	298
Answer me when I call	384
Avenge O Lord thy slaughter'd Saints, whose bones	392
Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord	349
Before the starry threshold of <i>Jove's</i> Court	219
Be not thou silent <i>now at length</i>	366
Bless'd is the man who hath not walk'd astray	382
Blest pair of <i>Sirens</i> , pledges of Heav'n's joy	207
Captain or Colonel, or Knight in Arms	340
Credula quid liquidam Sirena, Neapoli, iactas	302
Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud	378
Cum simul in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos	72
Curre per immensum subito, mea littera, pontum	82
Cyriack, this three years' day these eyes, though clear	397
Cyriack, whose Grandsire on the Royal Bench	396
Daughter to that good Earl, once President	343
Dicite, sacrorum praesides nemorum deae	118
Diodati, e te 'l dirò con maraviglia	144
Donna leggiadra il cui bel nome onora	138
Ere-while of Music, and Ethereal mirth	174
Fairfax, whose name in arms through Europe rings	375
Fly envious <i>Time</i> , till thou run out thy race	203
Founded in chaste and humble Poverty	338
Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori	390
Gaudete, scombri, et quicquid est piscium salo	390
Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber	352
Giovane piano, e semplicitto amante	148
God in the great assembly stands	365

	PAGE
Goddess of Shades, and Huntress, who at will	399
Haec quoque, Manse, tuae meditantur carmina laudi	308
Hail native Language, that by sinews weak	112
Harry, whose tuneful and well measur'd Song	346
Hence loathed Melancholy	186
Hence vain deluding joys	194
Here lies old <i>Hobson</i> , Death hath broke his girt	179
Here lieth one who did most truly prove	180
Heu quam perpetuis erroribus acta fatiscit	104
Himerides Nymphae—nam vos et Daphnin et Hylan	318
How lovely are thy dwellings fair!	367
How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth	185
I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs	347
I who erewhile the happy Garden sung	445
Iam pius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto	54
Iapetionidem laudavit caeca vetustas	80
Ignavus satrapam dedecet inclytum	20
In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro	124
'Ισραήλ ὅτε παῖδες, ὅτ' ἀγλαὰ φῦλ' 'Ιακώβου	272
Jehovah, to my words give ear	385
—Jesting decides great Things	339
Lady that in the prime of earliest youth	341
—laughing to teach the Truth	339
Lawrence of virtuous Father virtuous Son	394
Let us with a gladsome mind	15
Look Nymphs, and Shepherds look	209
Lord God that dost me save and keep	373
Lord how many are my foes!	383
Lord in thine anger do not reprehend me	386
Lord my God to thee I fly	387
Methought I saw my late espoused Saint	398
Mitto tibi sanam non pleno ventre salutem	166
Moestus eram, et tacitus nullo comitante, sedebam	38
Nondum blanda tuas leges, Amathusia, noram	94
Now the bright morning Star, Day's harbinger	136
Nunc mea Pierios cupiam per pectora fontes	274
O fairest flower no sooner blown but blasted	22
'Ω ἀνα εἰ ὀλέσης με τὸν ἔννομον, οὐδέ τιν' ἀνδρῶν	344
O Jehovah our Lord how wondrous great	389
O Musa gressum quae volens trahis claudum	304
O Nightingale, that on yon bloomy Spray	137
Parere fati discite legibus	50
Per certo i bei vostr' occhi, Donna mia	146
Purgatorem animae derisit Iacobus ignem	76

	PAGE
Qual in colle aspro, al inbrunir di sera	140
Quem modo Roma suis devoverat impia diris	78
Quis expeditiv Salmasio suam <i>hundredam</i>	376
Ridonsi donne e giovani amorosi	142
Rusticus ex Malo sapidissima poma quotannis	400
Siccine tentasti caelo donasse Iäcobum	74
Surge, age, surge! Leves, iam convenit, excute somnos!	18
Tandem, care, tuae mihi pervenere tabellae	26
Te, qui conspicuus baculo fulgente solebas	34
Then past he to a flow'ry Mountain green	338
There can be slain	376
This is the Month, and this the happy morn	150
This is true Liberty, when freeborn Men	342
This rich Marble doth inter	182
Thou Shepherd that dost Israel <i>keep</i>	361
Thy gracious ear, O Lord, incline	370
Thy Land to favour graciously	369
'Tis you that say it, not I: you do the Deeds	339
To God our strength sing loud, <i>and clear</i>	363
Vaüe, young in years, but in sage counsel old	380
What needs my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones	177
What slender Youth bedew'd with liquid odours	122
When Faith and Love which parted from thee never	351
When I consider how my light is spent	379
When I die, let the Earth be roll'd in Flames	339
When the blest seed of <i>Terah's</i> faithful son	14
Whom do we count a good man, whom but he	342
Why do the Gentiles tumult, and the Nations	382
Ye flaming Powers, and winged Warriors bright	205
Yet once more, O ye Laurels, and once more	284

INDEX OF BOOKS AND HISTORICAL PERSONS

References are to the introductions and footnotes to the poems. References to Milton's works in the footnotes and to works from which verbal parallels are cited are not included.

- Aaron, 489.
 Abbott, E. A., 474, 484.
 Abraham, 14, 451, 505.
 Acts, 23, 90, 469, 496, 555, 564.
 Adrichomius, 454.
 Aeschylus, 167, 285, 289, 541.
 Agamemnon, 130, 235, 306, 526.
 Prometheus Bound, 437, 438, 441, 537, 551, 571.
 Seven against Thebes, 199.
 Agrippa, Cornelius Heinrich, 472.
 Ahab, 90.
 Ahaz, 46, 463.
 Alcaeus, 306.
 Alciati, Andrea, 97, 495.
 Alcibiades, 84.
 Alexander the Great, 84, 116, 340, 476, 490, 492, 500, 503.
 Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara, 300.
 Ambrose, Saint, 240, 336.
 Amianus Marcellinus, 501.
 Anacreonta, 94, 168.
 Andreev, Leonid, 430.
 Andrew, Saint, 467.
 Andrewes, Lancelot, 39, 44.
 Andronicus of Rhodes, 571.
 Anna, 456.
 Anne, Queen, xxxix.
 Antigonus, 504.
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 495.
 Antipater, 486.
 Antony, Marcus Antonius, 509.
 Apelles, 132.
 Apocalypse, xlvi, 43, 49, 60, 74, 152, 159, 160, 207, 220, 276, 295, 296, 336, 351, 398, 457, 493, 509, 516, 534, 538, 556.
 Apocrypha, see the names of individual books.
 Apollodorus of Athens, 51, 85, 164.
 Apollonius of Rhodes, 278, 355, 483.
 Appius Claudius Crassus, 348, 510.
 Apuleius, Lucius, 269.
 Archilochus, 44-5.
 Ariosto, Ludovico, xix, xlii, 223, 235, 530, 531.
 Aristophanes
 Acharneans, 519.
 Birds, 427, 519.
 Frogs, 285.
 Aristotle, 84, 119, 180, 205, 412, 413, 435, 440, 518, 520, 538, 540, 571.
 De coelo, 180.
 Metaphysics, xxxii, 119.
 Nicomachean Ethics, 473, 601.
 Poetics, 539, 542, 550.
 Arsaces, 501.
 Artaxerxes, 519.
 Arthur of Britain, King, xix.
 Arvirage, 331.
 Ascham, Roger, 61, 251, 360.
 Augustine, Saint, xxxv, 410, 418, 462, 464, 465, 522, 524, 612.
 Augustus, Octavius Caesar, 27, 309, 465, 502, 509, 539.
 Bacon, Francis, 412.
 Advancement of Learning—xxviii, xxix, 198, 231, 242-3, 439, 528.
 Decey on the Queene's Day, xxvii.

- Essays*, 84, 192, 248, 292, 322, 477.
Sylva Sylvarum, 472.
Wisdom of the Ancients, 336, 532.
- Baillie, Robert, 350.
 Bale, John, Bishop, 74, 419.
 Barberini, Francesco, Cardinal, 298.
 Barckley, Richard, 488.
 Barnes, Barnabe, 143.
 Baroni, Adriana, 301.
 Baroni, Leonora, 298, 301.
 Bartas, Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, xxxv, 14, 16, 188.
 Baum, Paull, 441.
 Beaumont, Francis, xl, 221.
 à Becket, Thomas, Archbishop, 440.
 Beerbohm, Max, 434, 435, 438.
 Belinus, 331.
 Bellarmine, Roberto, Cardinal, 76.
 Belloc, Hilaire, xxxiv, li.
 Bembo, Pietro, Cardinal, xix, 137.
 Ben Hadad, 91.
 Benjamin, 184.
 Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 88.
 Bernard, Saint, 336.
 Bible, see the individual books.
 Bible, the Vulgate, 1, 45, 467, 598.
 Bion, 296, 320.
 Blake, Robert, 380.
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, xxiv, 118, 172, 525, 584.
 Bocchus, 511.
 Bodin, Jean, 405.
 Boiardo, Matteo, xlii, 503.
 Borzelli, Angelo, 315.
 Botticelli, Alessandro Botticelli Filipepi, xxx, 132, 136.
 Bradshaw, John, 573.
 Brennus, 331.
 Breton, Nicholas, xxv, xxvi.
 Brewer, Wilmon, 437.
 Bridges, Robert, 423-5.
 Briskett, Ludowick, 294.
 Browne, R. C., 113.
 Browne, Thomas
 Christian Morals, 462.
- Religio Medici*, 213-4, 351, 523.
Vulgar Errors, xxxvi, 154.
- Browne, William
 Britannia's Pastorals, 177, 226, 247, 266.
 Inner Temple Masque, 223, 225, 232, 233.
- Bruno, Giordano, 299.
 Buchanan, George, xix, 14, 15, 60, 288.
 Bullokar, William, 400.
 Buonmattai, Benedetto, 328.
 Burton, Robert, xxv, xxxvi, 45, 191, 192, 198, 208, 241, 252, 298, 447, 463, 472, 538, 566, 569.
 Butler, Samuel, 349, 427.
- Caesar, Caius Julius, xlvii, 56, 296, 312, 330, 409, 490, 504.
 Caius Mucius Scaevola, 496.
 Calamato, Alessandro, 416.
 Callimachus
 Hymn for the Bath of Pallas, 120.
 Hymn to Artemis, 132.
 Hymn to Delos, 312.
- Calvin, John, 524.
 Camden, William, 326, 331, 332.
 Campion, Thomas, 149.
 Caracci, Annibal, 477.
 Cardan, Jerome, 524.
 Carew, Thomas, 178.
 Carleton, George, Bishop, 524.
 Carneades, 517, 520.
 Cartwright, Christopher, 116.
 Cartwright, William, 346.
 Casa, Giovanni, della, 137.
 Cassivellaunus, 330.
 Castelvetro, Ludovico, 540.
 Castiglione, Baldassarre, xxii, 285, 294, 328.
 Catullus, Caius Valerius, 132, 359.
 Cebes, 341.
 Cenci, Giacomo, 137.
 Cesarini, Cardinal, 305.
 Chapman, George, 172, 178.
 Chappell, William, 26.
 Charlemagne, 503.
 Charles I, King, 343, 346, 354, 375, 427, 453, 508, 573.

- Charles II, King, xvi, 377, 378, 426, 555, 572, 595.
- Charles X, King of Sweden, 396.
- Charles, First Duke of Bolton, 183.
- Charles Martel, 488.
- Chartier, Alain, 577.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, 137, 159, 260, 327.
House of Fame, xxiii, 47, 584.
Knight's Tale, 324.
Miller's Tale, 198.
Nun's Priest's Tale, 222.
Second Nun's Tale, 336.
Squire's Tale, 199.
- Cheke, John, 360.
- Childe Roland, xlii, 265.
- Christ, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxviii, 23, 90, 150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 160, 174-5, 205, 206, 219, 291, 295, 341, 350, 378, 394, 405-22, 445, 446, 451, 454-8, 460, 462, 471, 486-7, 493-5, 496-8, 513-17, 524, 531, 534, 535.
- Christian IV, King of Denmark, 86.
- Christian, Duke of Brunswick, 38.
- I Chronicles, 506.
- Chrysippus, 464.
- Chrysostom, John, 427.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 539, 571.
De amicitia, 578.
De divinatione, 464.
De finibus, 520.
De natura deorum, 171, 307, 521.
De officiis, 378, 458, 489, 490.
De re publica, 47, 207.
Disputationes Tusculanae, 412, 551.
In Catilinam oratio II, 508.
In Verrem, 514.
- Cincinnatus, Lucius Quintius, 409, 487.
- Clanvowe, Thomas, 137.
- Claudian, Claudius Claudianus
De consulatu Stilochonis, 42, 49, 118, 511.
De raptu Proserpinae, 49, 59, 108.
In Rufinum, 42.
- Claudius, Appius Claudius Caecus, 348.
- Claudius, Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero, 331.
- Clement of Alexandria, 475.
- Cleopatra, 434.
- Coke, Edward, 396.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, xxvi.
- Colkitto, 360.
- Constantine the Great 332, 509.
- Conti, Natale, 68, 88, 118-20, 166, 186, 210, 242, 275, 310, 355, 483, 564.
- Cook, Albert S., 152, 161.
- I Corinthians, 203, 360, 452, 481.
- II Corinthians, 516.
- Corneille, Pierre, 430.
- Cowley, Abraham
Of Liberty, 482.
Of Solitude, 458.
Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy, 81.
The Mistress, 96, 153.
- Crashaw, Richard, 176, 205.
- Crassus, Marcus Lucinius, 96.
- Cromwell, Oliver, 349, 375, 378, 392, 573, 597.
- Cudworth, Ralph, 406.
- Cumberland, Richard, 423.
- Curry, Walter C., 440-1.
- Cyprian, Saint, xxx.
- Cyrus the Great, 500.
- Daniel, Book of, 479, 514.
- Daniel, Samuel, 147.
- Dante Alighieri
Inferno, 100.
Paradiso, 47, 203, 379-80, 453.
Purgatorio, 346.
- Darcy, Thomas, first Earl of Rivers, 182.
- Darius III or Codomannus, 476.
- Dati, Carlo, 329.
- Davenant, William, 394.
- David, 486, 495, 505, 506, 523, 551, 596.
- Davis, Miss, 341.
- De Filippis, M., 333.
- Demosthenes, 519.
- Dentatus, Marius Curius, 409, 487.

- De Quincey, Thomas, 416.
 Deuteronomy, 360, 460, 468, 481,
 515, 531, 541, 557, 589.
 Devereux Robert, Third Earl of
 Essex, 340, 396.
 Dictys Cretensis, 195.
 Digges, Leonard, 524.
 Dio Chrysostom, 257.
 Diodati, Carolo, xlviii.
 Diodati, Charles, xvi, xxi, xxxii,
 xxxvii, xlvi, xlvii, 26, 169,
 319, 322, 330.
 Diodorus Siculus, 61, 290.
 Diogenes, 255.
 Dionysius of Syracuse, 538-9.
 Dionysius the Arcopagite, 572.
 Donne, John, 113, 178.
Biathanatos, 429, 612.
Sermons, xxix, xxx, xxxiv.
 Douglas, James, First Duke of
 Hamilton, 375.
 Dowden, Edward, 420.
 Drayton, Michael
Ideas Mirrour, 98, 144.
Nymphidia, 191.
Polyolbion, 116, 260, 264, 287.
 Droeshout, Martin, 177.
 Drury, William, xlii.
 Dunster, Charles, 477.
 Ecclesiastes, 225, 496, 521, 523.
 Ecclesiasticus, 575.
 Edward VI, 360.
 Edwards, Thomas, 349.
 Egerton, Alice, xxxix.
 Egerton, John, Earl of Bridgewater,
 xxxix, 221, 267.
 Egerton, Thomas, xxxviii.
 Elijah, 47, 73, 90, 460, 467, 468,
 479, 481, 543.
 Eliot, John, 167.
 Eliot, T. S., 440.
 Elizabeth, Queen, xxxviii, 62.
 Ellis, Havelock, xxxii.
 Enoch, Book of, 472.
 Ephesians, 417, 447, 523.
 Epictetus, 148, 411.
 Epicurus, 395, 520.
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 361.
 Ernest, Count of Mansfield, 38.
 Essex, *see* Devereux, Robert, Third
 Earl of.
 D'Este, Leonora, 300.
 Ethbaal, 506.
 Euripides, 435, 437, 538, 541.
Alcestis, xli, 314, 398, 439, 440,
 587, 616.
Andromache, 199, 439, 440, 616.
Bacchae, xli, 301, 439, 440, 616.
Electra, 340.
Hecuba, 199, 583.
Helen, 439, 440, 616.
Hippolytus, 569, 587, 606-7.
Ion, 356-7, 436.
Iphigenia in Tauris, 234.
Medea, 83.
Orestes, 547, 564.
Phoenissae, 225, 542, 607.
The Trojan Dames, 199.
Troades, 29.
 Exodus, 160, 460, 481, 549, 592,
 599, 601, 613.
 Ezekiel, 175, 196, 207, 458, 566,
 574.
 Fabricius, Caius Luscinus, 409,
 487.
 Fairfax, Edward, 186, 230.
 Fairfax, Thomas, Third Lord, 355,
 375, 555, 597.
 Fawkes, Guy, 72, 468.
 Feltham, Owen, 395.
 Ficino, Marsilio, xxxvi, 198.
 Fletcher, Giles, xxxv, xxxviii, 408,
 413, 419.
 Fletcher, John
*Masque of the Inner Temple and
 Gray's Inn*, 221.
The Faithful Shepherdess, xlii,
 215, 228, 230, 265, 270.
The Nice Valour, 194.
 Fletcher, Phineas
Apolyonists, xxii, 64-5, 393, 433-
Locustae, xxii, 66.
The Purple Island, 150, 241.
 Florio, John, 501.
 Florus, Julius, 63.
 Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier,
 Sieur de, 464-5.
 Francini, Antonio, 306, 329.

- Francis of Assisi, Saint, 60, 392.
 Fraunce, Abraham, 479.
 Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 88.
 Fuller, Thomas, 461, 468.
- Galatians, 457.
 Galen, 45.
 Galle, Philip, 153.
 Gallus, Caius Cornelius, 308.
 Gardiner, Stephen, Bishop, 361.
 Garrod, H. W., 178, 196.
 Gelli, Giambattista, 224.
 Genesis, 50, 119, 150, 184, 226, 360, 447, 475, 480, 505, 546, 574, 580, 589.
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 54, 260, 483.
 Gideon, 486, 555.
 Gilbert, Allan H., lii, 330, 332, 454.
 Gill, Alexander, xxvii, 104.
 Gillespie, George, 360.
 Godolphin, F. R. V., 290.
 Goode, James, 28, 133.
 Goodwin, Thomas, 349-50.
 Gosson, Stephen, 539.
 Gostlin, John, 52.
 Gregory Nazianzen, 539.
 Grierson, H. J. C., l, li.
 Guarini, Giampattista, 325.
- Hakewell, George, xxix.
 Hall, Joseph, Bishop, 82.
 Hamilton, Duke of, *see* Douglas, James.
 Hanford, James H., xlvi, l, 14, 33, 438.
 Hannibal, 380, 492.
 Harington, John, 235, 338, 531.
 Harrison, T. P., xxii.
 Healey, John, 148, 410.
 Hebrews, 14, 175, 481, 571.
 Helvidius Priscus, 288.
 Herbert, Edward, First Baron of Cherbury, xlvii.
 Herbert, George, 202.
Christmas, xxxiv, 154.
Death, 23.
- Employment*, 208.
Man, 202.
Miserie, 155.
The Church Militant, 413.
 Herod the Great, 470, 504, 531.
 Herodotus, 121, 163, 279, 311, 312, 329, 500, 556, 614.
 Herrick, Robert, xxxix.
The Cheat of Cupid, 94.
The Country Life, 229.
To Mr. Henry Lawes, 224.
- Hesiod
Bucbler, 324.
Theogony, xxii, xxiv, lii, 24, 40, 46, 47, 50, 58, 64, 80, 83, 85, 104-6, 109, 118, 120, 177, 262, 281-2, 285, 306, 308, 334, 525.
Works and Days, 158, 219, 451.
- Hobbes, Thomas, 86, 464.
 Hobson, John, 343.
 Hobson, Thomas, 179.
 Holbein, Hans, 341.
 Holland, Philemon, 511.
 Homer, xxx, lii, 28, 107, 172, 305, 446, 467, 519, 569.
Hymn to Aphrodite, 128.
Hymn to Apollo, 268, 313.
Hymn to Bacchus, 222.
Hymn to Gaia, 121.
Hymn to Hermes, 35, 267.
Iliad, 35, 46, 50, 51, 88, 91, 100, 103, 105, 113, 211, 220, 234, 242, 245-6, 254, 262, 263, 277, 304, 306, 311, 314, 450, 476-7, 502, 507-8, 519, 573-4, 582, 591, 613.
Odyssey, xlii, 41, 42, 46, 64, 67, 68, 82, 87, 88, 106, 114, 172, 173, 186, 195, 220, 222, 223, 233, 251-3, 261, 263, 269, 276, 326, 406, 448, 450.
- Horace, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, xx, li, 169, 391, 540.
Epistles, 285, 485, 486, 571.
Epodes, 227, 322.
Odes, 36, 38, 61, 84, 113, 149, 169, 193, 220, 225, 258, 282-4, 305, 307, 309, 323,

- 326, 394, 396, 411, 438, 474,
502, 544, 614.
Satires, 45.
- Hooker, Richard, 379, 517.
Hopkins, John, 1.
Horned Seyfried, 222.
Hosea, 45, 516.
Hutchinson, Anne, 380.
Hyginus, Caius Julius, 195.
Hyrcanus, 504.
- Ireton, Henry, 573.
Isaiah, 104, 151, 153, 186, 450,
456, 458, 507, 574.
Isocrates, 343.
- Jacob, 14, 184, 486.
James I, xxii, xl, 28, 72, 75, 76, 78.
James II, 426, 427.
Jebb, Richard, 436, 440.
Jehoiachin, 500.
Jephthah, 486, 555.
Jeremiah, 176, 505, 541, 584.
Jeroboam, 506.
Jerome, Saint, 225.
Jerram, C. D., 325.
Jezebel, 90.
Job, xxxiii, 157, 415, 416, 434, 446,
452, 485, 491, 492, 516, 523,
527, 534, 552, 557, 571.
John, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 88.
John, Saint, xlvi, 516.
John, Gospel of, xxxiv, 155, 219,
291, 453, 454, 462, 465, 467-9,
478, 493, 495, 504, 506, 533.
I John, 298, 448.
John George I, Elector of Saxony,
88.
John the Baptist, 414, 446, 448,
451, 453, 456, 467, 468.
Johnson, Samuel, xx, xxv, xl, xlvii,
xlviii, li, 423.
Jonah, 499.
Jones, Inigo, xli.
Jones, Rufus, 406.
Jonson, Ben, xxvii, 192.
Elegy on the Lady Jane Pawlet,
182, 204.
*Entertainments at the Corona-
tion of James I*, 153.
- Love Freed from Folly*, xliii.
Masque of Blacknesse, xli.
Masque of Hymen, 192.
Masque of Queens, xliii, 232,
584.
Neptune's Triumph, xl, 221.
Pan's Anniversary, 267.
The Penates, xli.
Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue,
xl, xlii, 270.
Sejanus, 512.
The Satyr, xxxix, 211.
Timber, 177, 522.
Vision of Delight, 201.
- Jortin, John, 455.
Joseph, 470.
Joseph of Arimathea, 176.
Josephus, Flavius, 486, 504, 511,
543, 568, 574, 594.
Joshua, 550, 613.
Josiah, 162.
Jude, 460.
Judges, 428, 486, 543, 544, 547-50,
552-6, 560, 562, 566, 568,
577, 584-5, 593-4, 600, 604,
610-11, 613, 615.
- Jugurtha, 511.
Justinus Frontinus, 518.
Juvenal, Decimus Junius Juvenalis,
47, 227, 482, 512, 513.
- Keats, John, xxvi.
Keightley, Thomas, 42, 133, 299.
King, Edward, xlvii, xlviii, 284,
285, 296.
I Kings, 90, 460, 461, 467, 475,
479, 505-7.
II Kings, 73, 91, 162, 468, 500,
505, 601.
Kreipe, Christian, 427.
- Laban, 184.
Lactantius: Lucius Coelius Firmia-
nus
De ave Phoenici, 333, 334, 614.
Divine Institutes, xxxv, 243, 289,
464, 514.
Lambert, John, 555, 573.
Lamentations, 380.
Landor, Walter Savage, xlix, 359.

- Lang, Andrew, 286.
 Laud, William, Archbishop, 292.
 Lawes, Henry, xxxix, xl, xlv, 224, 245, 346.
 Lawrence, Edward, 394.
 Lawrence, Henry, 394.
 Layamon, 316.
 Leslie, David, 378.
 Leviticus, 398, 481, 489.
 Ley, Margaret, 343.
 Ley, James, 1st Earl of Marlborough, 343.
 Linocre, Geoffrey, 118.
 Livy, Titus Livius, 316, 328, 333, 348, 380, 476.
 Louis XIII, King, 391.
 Lovelace, Richard, xxiv.
 Lucan: Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, 56, 331.
 Lucretius: Titus Lucretius Carus, 32, 33, 136, 152, 220.
 Luke, St. Luke's Gospel, 291, 341, 414, 415, 445, 448, 451, 454, 455, 456, 460, 470, 471, 486, 495, 498, 512, 532, 534, 557.
 Lydgate, John, 195.
 Lyly, John, 153.
 Lysander, 340.
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 437.
 Maccabaeus, Judas, 495.
 I Maccabees, 495.
 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 224.
 MacKellar, Walter, 45, 76, 103, 106, 283, 306, 400.
 Maecenas, 309.
 Malachi, 155, 468, 534.
 Malory, Thomas, 316, 332, 414.
 Manso, Giovanni Baptista, xx, xxi, 9, 10, 301, 333.
 Mantuano, Baptista, xxxv, 152, 161, 400.
 Marcus Aurelius: Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 411.
 Marini, Giambattista, 309, 310.
 Marius: Caius Marius, 63, 490.
 Mark, Gospel of, 415, 456, 458.
 Marlowe, Christopher, 462.
 Marot, Clement, xlviij.
- Martial: Marcus Valerius Martial, 312, 323, 360, 391, 539.
 Marvell, Andrew, xlix, 164, 396.
 Mary, Queen (Bloody Mary), 63.
 Mary, of Bethany, 341.
 Mary, The Virgin, 451, 470, 471, 486.
 Masson, David, xxix, 103, 245, 298, 304, 400, 426, 431.
 Matthew, Gospel of, 90, 151, 160, 165, 291, 295, 341, 350, 360, 378, 379, 394, 415, 446, 456, 460, 468, 470, 498, 517, 534.
 Mazarin, Cardinal Giulio, 392, 396.
 Mazzoni, Giacomo, 540.
 Menander, 538.
 Micon, 519.
 Milton, Anne, 22.
 Milton, Christopher, xvi.
 Milton, John
Ad Ioannem Rousium, xix.
Ad Patrum, xx.
Ad Salsillum, xvi.
An Apology for Smectymnuus, xx, xlvi.
Arcades, xxxii, xxxviii-xlvii.
At a Vacation Exercise, xxiv.
At a Solemn Music, xxxiii, xxxviii, xlvi.
Colasterion, xvi.
Commonplace Book, xxv, xxvii.
Comus, xxiii, xxxi, xxxviii-xlvii, li.
De Doctrina Christiana, xx, 405, 420.
Of Education, xviii, xxviii, 406.
Elegy V, xvi, xix, xxx, xxxi.
Elegy VI, xxxvii.
Epitaphium Damonis, xvi, xix-xxi, xxxi, xlvi, xlvii, xlix.
Il Penseroso, xxiii, xxviii, xxxviii.
In Quintum Novembris, xvi-xix, xxii, xxiii.
L'Allegro, xxii-xxvii, xxxviii, l.
Lycidas, xvi, xxiii, xliii, xlvii-l.
Manso, xvi, xix, 26, 28, 34, 73, 85.
Naturam non Pati Senium, xxix.
On His Being Arrived to the Age of Twenty-Three, xvii.

- On the Death of a Fair Infant*, xviii.
- On the Death of the Vice Chancellor*, li.
- On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, xix, xxvii, xxviii, xxxi, xxxv, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxvii.
- On Time*, xxxviii.
- Paradise Lost*, xxii, xxix, xxx, xxxii, 407, 411, 413, 418-20, 425, 431.
- Paradise Regained*, xxxiv, xxxvii, 1, 405-22, 429, 439.
- Passion, The*, xxxviii.
- Prolusions:
 First Prolusion, xxiv, xxv.
 Second Prolusion, xxxiii.
 Third Prolusion, xxviii.
- Reason of Church Government*, xvii, xix, xx, 415, 435.
- Samson Agonistes*, 415, 422-41.
- Tetrachordon*, xvi.
- To Mr. Lawrence*, xx.
- Milton, John, Sr., xvi, xvii, xl, 278.
- Milton, Richard, xvi.
- Minturno, Antonio Sebastiano, 538, 617.
- Mirandola, Pico della, 524.
- Mithridates, 421, 490.
- Monk, General George, 555.
- Montaigne, Michel de, xviii, 501.
- Montrose, James Graham, Marquis of, 360.
- More, Henry, 244, 286.
An Account of Virtue, 571.
Platonicall Song of the Soul, 244.
- Morland, Sir Samuel, 392.
- Moschus, 285, 286, 296, 318, 320.
- Moses, 160, 460, 523.
- Mutschmann, H., 405.
- Nearchus, 500.
- Nebuchadnezzar, 479, 500, 514.
- Nehemiah, 31, 151.
- Nero: Lucius Domitius Nero, 510.
- Newton, Bishop Thomas, 378, 477, 524.
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 521.
- Newton, Thomas, 539.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 437.
- Numbers, 162, 458, 466, 489, 544, 549.
- Oldenburg, Henry, 394.
- Olympias, 84.
- Origen, 418.
- Orphic Hymns, 137, 156.
- Ortelius, Abraham van, 294.
- Osgood, Charles G., 475.
- Overbury, Thomas, 587.
- Ovid: Publius Ovidius Naso, xx, xxiii, 27, 28, 31, 168, 200, 467.
Amores, 29, 43, 124, 336.
Art of Love, 28, 32, 477.
Epistles from Pontus, 168, 547.
Fasti, 40, 41, 483.
Heroïdes, 30, 120, 281.
Ibis, 44.
Metamorphoses, xxii, 18, 22, 30, 32, 34, 35, 40, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 51, 56, 58, 65, 66-68, 82, 83, 85, 89, 95, 96, 98, 100, 105, 109, 120, 130, 131, 139, 170, 182, 186, 193, 200, 209, 211, 222, 227, 232, 233, 236, 253, 259, 263, 276, 277, 281, 288, 290, 307, 314, 315, 325, 346, 347, 475, 564, 606, 614.
Tristia, 82, 83, 166, 168, 551.
- Owl, and the Nightingale, The*, 137.
- Palatine Anthology*, 102, 232, 519.
- Paracelsus: Phillipus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 528.
- Paracus, David, 538.
- Parker, Bishop Samuel, xlix.
- Parker, W. R., xvii, xxvii, li.
- Pattison, Mark, 413.
- Paul, St., 90, 206, 243, 417, 445, 481, 516, 538, 572, 587, 588, 613.
- Paul V, Pope, xxii.
- Paulet, Charles, Duke of Bolton, 183.
- Paulet, Jane, Marchioness of Winchester, 398.
- Paulet, John, Marquis of Winchester, 182.

- Pausanias, 269, 518.
 Peele, George, xlii.
 Pentateuch, The, 517.
 Pepys, Samuel, 595.
 Percival, H. M., 566.
 Pericles, 519.
 Persius: Aulus Persius Flaccus, 45,
 325, 391, 472.
 Peter, Saint, 23, 58, 291, 467.
 I Peter, 294.
 II Peter, 110, 493.
 Peter of Bruys, 392.
 Petrarch, Francesco, xlviii, 143,
 145, 148, 393.
 Philip of Macedon, 343, 519.
 Philippians, 206.
 Phillips, Edward, 22, 124, 343, 398.
 Philostratus, xlv.
 Pianezza, Marquis of, 392.
 Pilate: Pontius Pilatus, 454, 494,
 495.
 Pindar, 113, 169, 223, 232, 313,
 340, 519, 531, 544, 564.
 Pirandello, Luigi, 421.
 Plato, 24, 103, 119, 121, 193, 198,
 411, 413, 427, 520, 539, 556.
Alcibiades, 84.
Apology, 410.
Charmides, 251.
Laches, 571.
Laws, 439, 496.
Phaedo, 46, 243.
Phaedrus, 159, 195, 336, 407.
Republic, xlv, 118, 121, 213,
 219.
Symposium, 258, 334, 407.
Timaeus, xxxii, 114, 518, 528.
 Plautus: Titus Maccius Plautus
Amphitruo, 522.
Comedy of Asses, 496.
 Pliny: Caius Plinius Secundus, 323,
 340, 511, 513, 546, 614.
 Plotinus, 298.
 Plutarch, 167.
Life of Cæsar, 490.
Life of Alexander, 476.
Life of Lysander, 340.
On the Cessation of Oracles,
 xxxvi, 160.
*On the Delay of the Divine Jus-
 tice*, 556.
Symposium, 167.
*Whether the Beasts Enjoy the
 Use of Wisdom*, 224.
Poimander, 119.
 Polygnotus, 519.
 Pompey: Cneius Pompeius Mag-
 nus, 31, 421, 490, 495.
 Pontano, Gioviano, xix, xxx, 128,
 524.
 Pope, Alexander, 582.
 Porphyry, xlv, 255.
 Porsena: Lars Porsena, 496.
 Powell, Mary, 343, 585.
 Prodicus, 477.
 Propertius: Sextus Aurelius Prop-
 ertius, 28, 290, 309.
 Proverbs, 411, 523, 587.
 Prudentius: Aurelius Prudentius
 Clemens, xxxvi, 161, 418.
 Prynne, William, 350.
 Psalms, I, 14, 15, 23, 66, 90, 158,
 205, 243, 454, 457, 484, 486,
 495, 522, 523, 534, 551: 556,
 571, 574, 582, 598, 617.
 Psellus, Michael, 472, 482.
 Ptolemy III, 492.
 Purchas, Samuel, 502.
 Puteanus, Erycius, xlv.
 Pyrrho, 520.
 Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, 380, 487.
 Pythagoras, xxxii, xxxiii, 119, 158,
 170-1, 207, 208.
 Quarles, Francis
Emblems, 284.
The Historie of Samson, 430,
 611.
 Quintilian: Marcus Fabius Quin-
 tilianus, 360.
 Quintius, *see* Cincinnatus.
 Quintius Hirpinus, 396.
 Quintus Smyrnaeus, 51.
 Rabelais, François, xxxvii, 80.
 Rachel, 184.
 Racine, Jean, 430.
 Raleigh, Walter, 396.
History of the World, The, 408.

- Raleigh, Walter A., xlii, xliv
Milton's Last Poems, 426.
- Rand, Edward K., xvi, xxxvii, 43,
124, 332.
- Randolph, Thomas
Amyntas, 127, 324.
Aristippus, 187.
The Muses' Looking Glass, xliii.
- Ransom, John C., xv.
- Reck, Josef, 413.
- Record, Robert, 524.
- Regulus: Marcus Atillius Regulus,
409, 487.
- Reni, Guido, 137.
- Revelation, *see* Apocalypse.
- Ridding, Richard, 34.
- Rivers, George, 116.
- Rivers, Nizell, 116.
- Rivers, Sir John, 116.
- Romans, 158, 445, 516, 614.
- Romulus, 280, 492.
- Ronsard, Pierre de, 430.
- Rouse, John, 352, 357.
- Rufinus, 102.
- Ruggle, George, 28.
- Ruth, Book of, 341.
- Sackville, Thomas, 260.
- Salmasius, Claudius (Claude de
Saumaise), 126, 376, 391, 427,
508.
- Salzilli, Giovanni, 304, 305, 311.
- Sampson, Alden, 1.
- I Samuel, 162, 498, 543, 591, 604.
- II Samuel, 596.
- Sandys, George, 162, 541, 549, 611.
- Sannazaro, Jacopo
Arcadia, 209.
De Partu Virginis, xix.
Elegies, 28, 132-3.
Piscatory Eclogues, 296.
- Sappho, 519.
- Sargon, 504.
- Saul, King of Israel, 498.
- Saumaise, Claude de, *see* Salma-
sius.
- Saurat, Denis, xxx, 405.
- Savage, Jane, 182.
- Saviolo, Vincentio, 595.
- Savoy, Emanuel, Duke of, 302.
- Scipio Africanus Major, 476, 490,
492.
- Scot, Reginald, 474.
- Sejanus: Lucius Aelius Sejanus,
512.
- Selden, John
Notes upon Drayton's Polyolbin,
312.
*Of the Law of Nature and of
Nations*, 580.
- Seleucus Nicator, 500.
- Seneca: Lucius Annaeus Seneca,
462, 539.
- Sennacherib, 91.
- Servetus, Michael, 405.
- Servius: Maurus Honoratus Servius,
186-7, 211.
- Shakespeare, William, xli, 177, 421.
Antony and Cleopatra, 432-4.
As You Like It, xxvi, 87, 595.
Coriolanus, 554.
Cymbeline, 183, 227, 243.
Hamlet, xxxiv, 191, 212, 484,
507.
Henry IV, 179.
Henry V, 136, 489.
King Lear, 251, 257.
Love's Labour's Lost, 203, 609.
Macbeth, 227, 230.
Merchant of Venice, 158.
Midsummer Night's Dream, 100,
164, 188, 191, 193, 227, 256.
Othello, 115.
Passionate Pilgrim, 22.
Phoenix and the Turtle, 614.
Rape of Lucrece, xxiv.
Richard II, 221, 576, 597.
Romco and Juliet, 190.
Sonnets, 253.
Tempest, xlvi, 193, 233, 264,
268, 422, 485.
Winter's Tale, xlvi, 203.
- Shalmaneser IV, 499, 504.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, xxvi.
- Shirley, James, xli.
- Shorey, Paul, xlv, 225.
- Sidney, Sir Philip, 294.
An Apologie for Poetrie, 121,
523.
Arcadia, 209.

- Simcon, 456, 471.
 Sixtus V, Pope, xxxvi.
 Skelton, John, 291.
 Skinner, Cyriak, 396.
 Skinner, William, 396.
 Smart, John S., xviii, xliii, 138,
 341, 351, 378, 381, 394, 396.
 Smith, G. C. Moore, 187.
 Socinus: Faustus, 405.
 Socinus: Laelius Socinus, 405.
 Socrates, 46, 84, 243, 251, 258,
 298, 409-12, 492, 518, 523.
 Solomon, 505, 523, 531.
 Sophocles, 437, 484, 541.
Ajax, 484, 585.
Electra, 435, 608.
Oedipus at Colonus, 234, 435,
 542.
Oedipus the King, 104, 199, 441.
 Southampton, Henry Wriothesley,
 3rd Earl of, 396.
 Southwell, Robert, xxxiv.
 Spencer, Alice, Countess Dowager
 of Derby, xxxviii, 209, 210.
 Spencer, Sir Robert, xxxix.
 Spenser, Edmund, xli, xliv, xlvii,
 74, 346, 408.
Amoretti, 139.
Astrophel, 284.
Colin Clout's Come Home Again,
 xxxviii, 108.
Daphnida, 182.
Epithalamion, 143.
Faerie Queene, xxix, xxx, xxxi,
 xli, xlv, 18, 24, 33, 34, 35,
 54, 59, 62, 83, 89, 98, 116,
 117, 128, 151, 152, 166, 183,
 194, 195, 200, 209, 210, 221,
 225, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240,
 242, 246, 252, 260, 261, 263,
 268, 271, 280, 295, 307, 324,
 326, 331, 407, 419, 430, 433,
 434, 445, 473, 477, 478, 486,
 492, 495, 508, 520, 526, 533,
 607.
Hymne in Honour of Love, An,
 335.
Mother Hubberds Tale, xlvi.
Muiopotmos, 18.
Prothalamion, 143.
Ruines of Time, The, 282.
Shepherd's Calendar, The,
 xlvi, 32, 156, 159, 160, 186,
 229, 237, 282, 291, 292, 312,
 334, 469.
Visions of Bellay, The, 106.
Virgil's Gnat, 225, 282, 476.
 Stanley, Ferdinando, Lord Strange,
 Earl of Derby, xxxviii.
 Statius: Publius Papinius Statius,
 100.
 Stengers, Jeanne, 438.
 Sternhold, Thomas, 1.
 Stewart, Adam, 349.
 Stoll, Elmer E., xxvi.
 Strabo, 263, 502.
 Strange, Lord, *see* Stanley, Ferdi-
 nando, xxxviii.
 Suetonius: Caius Tranquillus Sue-
 tonius, 539.
Lives of the Caesars, 512.
Vita Horatii, 391.
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 422.
 Sylvester, Joshua, 14, 16, 188.
Tragedie of Henry the Great,
 194.
Divine Weekes, 14, 16.
 Tacitus: Caius Cornelius Tacitus,
 260, 288.
 Tarquinius: Lucius Tarquinius
 Priscus, 328.
 Tasso, Torquato, xxi, xxxvi, 300,
 305, 308, 310, 482.
Jerusalem Delivered, xlii, 186,
 230, 256, 259, 308, 407, 430,
 447, 482, 508, 574, 585.
On the Heroic Poem, 480.
Phoenix, The, 614.
*Seven Days of the World's Crea-
 tion, The*, 566.
Torrismondo, 540.
 Taylor, Jeremy, 412.
 Terpander, xxxix.
 Terence, Publius Terentius Afer,
 469, 586.
 Tertullian: Quintus Septimius
 Florens Tertullianus, 464.
 Theocritus, xlvi, 190, 209, 215,
 245, 285, 286, 287, 289, 290.

- 295, 296, 318, 320, 322, 324,
328, 333.
- Theophrastus, 275.
- Thomas Aquinas, St., 289.
- Thomason, George, 351.
- Thyer, Robert, 566.
- Tiberius: Tiberius Claudius Nero,
494, 512.
- Tibullus: Albius Tibullus, 453.
- Tilly, Johann Tzerklas von, 86.
- Tillyard, E. M. W., xxiii, 431, 436.
Milton, xxxi, 1, 379.
*Milton: L'Allegro and Il Pensero-
oso*, xxiii, xxvi.
- I Timothy, 258, 516.
- Titus: Titus Flavius Vespasianus,
509.
- Tobit, 474.
- Todd, H. J., 66, 108, 234, 240,
248, 592, 595, 608.
- Tomkins, Thomas, 196.
- Tottel, Richard, xxv.
- Tovey, 26.
- Trajan: Marcus Ulpius Nerva Tra-
janus, 509.
- Trissino, Giovanni Giorgio, 422.
- Tusser, Thomas, 286.
- Valdo, Peter, 392.
- Van Tromp, Vice Admiral, 380.
- Vane, Sir Henry, 380, 381, 573,
597.
- Varro: Marcus Terentius Varro,
108.
- Vaughan, Henry
Corruption, xxx.
Christ's Nativity, xxxiv.
Resurrection and Immortality,
614.
- Verity, A. W., 188, 438, 610.
- Vida, Marco Girolamo, xix, 175,
447.
- Virgil: Publius Vergilius Maro, xx,
xxii, xxx, xlvii, lii, 21, 28, 32,
84, 305, 306, 446.
- Aeneid*, xxi, 32, 42, 48, 54, 59,
60, 61, 66-7, 68, 69, 91, 96,
120, 156, 186, 187, 199, 200,
210, 221, 234, 263, 275, 276,
290, 299, 304, 307, 320, 324,
329, 333, 355, 406, 445, 448,
450-452, 455, 467, 482, 485,
499, 502, 503, 526, 527, 574,
584, 591, 611.
- Culex*, xvi.
- Eclogues*, xxi, xxxvii, 128, 145,
190, 209, 233, 234, 260, 283-
9, 292, 296, 297, 308, 313,
314-5, 320, 321, 330, 333.
- Georgics*, xxi, 82, 145, 152, 156,
161, 211, 215, 262, 263, 278,
327, 445, 502.
- Visiak, E. H., 431.
- Vondel, Joost van den, 429, 430.
- Vulgate, *see* Bible.
- Wace, 316.
- Warton, Thomas, xxii, 28, 29, 60,
84, 120, 232, 233, 264, 287,
312, 322, 391.
- Wells, H. G., xv.
- Welsford, Enid, xli.
- William, Duke, 88.
- Winchester, Marchioness of, *see*
Paulet, Jane.
- Wisdom of Solomon, 220.
- Wither, George, 210, 293.
- Woodcock, Katherine, 398.
- Wotton, Sir Henry, xl, xlix.
- Xavier, Saint Francis, 60.
- Xenophon, 455.
- Xerxes, 31.
- York, James, Duke of, *see* James II.
- Young, Thomas, xviii, 82, 85.
- Zachariah, 451.
- Zeno, 518.