

NOTES ON SOME MILTONIC USAGES, THEIR BACKGROUND AND LATER DEVELOPMENT

BY

ANTS ORAS

TARTU 1938

ON SOME MILTONIC WORDS AND PHRASES.

INTRODUCTORY.

The following sheaf of notes is a by-product of activities that, I hope, will result in a more systematic and comprehensive treatment of Milton's language, especially his vocabulary. The words and phrases dealt with in this paper were selected because they illustrated Milton's manner of dealing with earlier acceptations and developing them or showed the treatment by later writers of meanings, or shades of meaning, apparently introduced by him. Special attention has been paid to the nature of his influence on the subsequent career of these expressions. Sometimes this influence would appear to have led to results hardly in keeping with his intentions. Misinterpretation of their Miltonic sense seems to have played a not inconsiderable part in the history of some words ¹⁾. Far more often, however, it appears to be the idiosyncrasies of a writer or a whole generation to which later semantic departures have to be attributed, even though the expressions concerned may have been used with the more or less conscious intention of introducing a Miltonic note into diction.

In some cases, mostly found towards the end of this paper, the writer ventures to suggest explanations of Miltonic meanings not identical with those now fairly generally accepted. An examination of earlier usage as well as of the relevant cases in Milton's own work repeatedly seemed to make such re-interpretation necessary. It will be seen that the point of view here is mostly conservative, viz. it is often found unnecessary to assume a new

¹⁾ The N. E. D. deals with some cases of such misinterpretation. See its treatment of *instinct* (ppl. a., sense 2), *to scathe* (sense 2), *sheen* (sb. sense 1c), *succinct* (adj., sense 3).

development where an old sense seems to agree with the context, being at the same time consonant with Milton's practice on other occasions.

On the other hand, I have frequently felt obliged to take into account Milton's predilection for complexity of meaning where most commentators and lexicographers assume a simpler sense. Experimentation in language and a liking for double senses characterize many seventeenth century writers but Milton perhaps to an even greater extent than most of his predecessors and contemporaries¹). In the matter of coinages his poetry shows him to be less daring than his prose does but in the blending of different senses of the same word he displays a virtuosity not easily matched. Here and there he can be shown to have developed what apparently is a deliberate and complex technique of ambiguity. Later writers, in imitating some especially vivid and memorable usage of his, often seem to have simplified his sense, consciously or unconsciously suppressing characteristic connotations and thus turning a highly individual expression into currency ready for general circulation. Now and then the same process may apparently be observed in Milton's own works, an expression originally used by him in a spirit of experimentation being later repeated but already without its original concrete force or wealth of associations. In a case such as that dealt with in my note on *to inform*, such observations, apart from what psychological value they may possess, may be found to be of little interest from the point of view of philology since the process dealt with has hardly affected later usage. But in some other instances, e. g. in the case of the special use of the verb *to breathe* discussed here, some light may have been thrown on the origin of abstract usages still quite common in the English-speaking world.

Sometimes, however, the development appears to have been rather different. Milton was a scholar, very sensitive not only to the emotional but also to the notional aspect of words. If this is revealed by his frequent play with ambiguities it is often shown also by the concrete distinctness of his meanings. Later

¹) On this subject, which did not remain unnoticed by Milton's eighteenth century commentators, a number of valuable observations may be found in "Some Notes on Milton's Use of Words" by Miss E. Holmes ("Essays and Studies", vol. X, 1924, pp. 97—121).

authors, less scrupulous in such matters, seem not infrequently to have been impressed by the poetic force and suggestiveness of his language without attempting to plumb its exact import. Expressions employed by him with a definite signification in view appear to have been treated by admirers and imitators of his work as attractive poetical ornaments with little conceptual content. Sometimes, again, the "sensibility" or hankering after romantic effect of his successors would seem to have led to the emphasizing of aspects barely hinted at by himself. This can be seen in the history of such important words as, e. g., *social*, *taste*, *elegant*, *inelegant*, all of which appear to have received from him new shades of meaning that later on were developed in directions quite different from his restrained and intellectual manner.

However, this manner seems to be more pronounced in his later than in his earlier diction. It is in the latter that the beginnings of a number of emotional uses can be traced. Such words as *lonely*, *twilight*, *gloom* seem to owe most of their present colouring to him, even though the poets of the *Penseroso* school especially seem to have made their meaning less objective and more indefinite than it is in his poems. In the case of the adjective *religious*, however, such notional vagueness seems to have been introduced by Milton himself, not at the expense of the vividness and impressiveness of the term.

In one or two cases the semantic process may be described as a weakening of sense. As far as the verb *to fling* is concerned, Milton himself appears to have caused it by lessening the emphatic force of the word. In the cases of *drear* and *dreary* all that he did was apparently to bring about the semantic specialization of two words of many meanings while it was left to his less forcible imitators to lower the stylistic value and emotional suggestiveness of at least one of the two until gradually its meaning became pejorative.

I have pointed out some of what seem to me the least unimportant results of the following inquiry. Since it deals only with a minute fraction of Milton's vocabulary it cannot claim to give even an approximate idea of the scope and character of his influence on the English language. Nevertheless a number of points of some theoretical and historical interest will perhaps be found to have been illustrated in the following pages. Various processes connected with the genesis of meanings have been dealt

with at somewhat greater length than would have been possible in a book strictly confined to Milton's own language, though covering the whole range of his linguistic innovations. It is in the history of individual words that psychological and cultural factors can sometimes be shown in particularly vivid relief. Last not least, problems of literary relations and influences may now and then come to be elucidated in a concrete manner.

I owe some words of explanation as to the arrangement of the following notes. It was not easy to classify them, since in the career of a single word a variety of things can be reflected. A "monographic" treatment of each word or phrase (sometimes also a group of cognate words) seemed necessary, as otherwise too much cross-reference and repetition would have been required. It was therefore found best to discuss each expression separately but to arrange the notes in as logical an order as seemed possible. I start with some expressions illustrating with particular convincingness Milton's influence on later usage (*to swim, inclement*). These are followed by a series of notes exemplifying the concrete vividness and complexity of meaning in Milton as well as in a number of cases showing the transition towards more simple or abstract use (*responsive, to forestall, redundant, horror, horrid, horrent, to emblaze, to emblazon, emblazonry*). Then two cases of "weakening of sense" are dealt with (*to fling, drear ~ dreary*). These, being words of the Penserioso period and involving some discussion of its reflection in later literature, form connecting-links with the next group, which includes some words of emotional nature of the same period that later on have met with an even more emotional interpretation, often losing some of their precision in the process (*lonely, twilight, gloom, religious, prophetic, wizard*). The next category is words illustrating the intellectual character of Milton's later diction and mostly employed with less austerity by his successors (*taste, sapience, elegant, inelegant, social, presence*). Finally, a few expressions are discussed mainly to suggest interpretations of their Miltonic meanings that differ somewhat from the accepted views (*to pine, moan, bickering*). Some overlapping was unfortunately unavoidable.

Milton's own works, the notes of his various commentators, the N. E. D., a number of concordances, special dictionaries, grammatical works and literary treatises as well as a great deal of pre-

and post-Miltonic literature are my principal sources. It would hardly be practicable to enumerate the volumes gone through in connection with, if not exclusively for the purposes of, the present study. A debt of gratitude that I cannot help acknowledging is due to Professor G. S. Gordon for his highly stimulating pamphlet on "Shakespeare's English", an essay that shows how much scope there still is for students of the English poetical vocabulary. Professor R. D. Havens's book on "The Influence of Milton" has also been a constant and valuable help.

1. TO SWIM.

All on a sudden miserable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzie swumm
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
Threw forth.

(P. L. II 752—754.)

The sense of "swumm" here is plainly "felt giddy, were blurred and affected with dizziness". This instance is earlier than any example of *to swim* referring to the eyes or than any finite form of it in the sense of "feeling giddy" recorded in the N. E. D.

Before Milton only two forms of *to swim* seem to have been used in this sense: the verbal noun and the present participle. The earliest known instance of the former is dated 1530 and is found in Palsgrave: "Swyming in the hed, *bestournement*". The present participle appears considerably later, in Topsell's "Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes" (1607): "For the... curing of the swimming dizzines or giddines in the head". It has been assumed that this use of the verb is partly due to the influence of the Middle-English noun *swime* (from O. E. *swíma*), meaning "dizziness, or a fit of this; a swoon" (according to the definition in the N. E. D.). This is suggested, e. g., by the "Universal English Dictionary", and Professor E. Weekley ("Concise Etymological Dictionary", ed. 1924) also connects the two words. The data in the N. E. D. lend some support to this theory. The last instance of *swime* there given is from the Towneley Mystery Plays, c 1460:

"Ye stand as ye were fallen in swyme". 90 years later the form of *to swim* closest to the obsolete noun, the verbal noun *swimming* — at that time the only substantival form derived from the verb, for the noun *swim* is later — has already adopted a meaning identical with that of the dying word. But no other form of the verb appears in this sense until after an interval of 77 years the present participle, differing from the verbal noun only in its function, is found to be affected by this semantic change. The next stage to be expected in this process of coalescence is the extension of the new shade of meaning to the finite verb. This seems to take place for the first time in the Milton passage here dealt with, which is also the earliest instance of an application of the new sense to eyesight¹⁾. Milton may have been conscious of his innovation for the context is carefully explicit, so as to make misinterpretation difficult, and a connecting-link with the more usual sense has been provided ("*swumm In darkness*").

It is not impossible that in applying the verb to the eyes Milton may have been influenced by the Latin expressions *oculi natantes* (Ovid's *Metamorph.*, V. 71: „Iam moriens, oculis sub nocte natantibus atra“) and *lumina natantia* (e. g. Virgil's *Georgics*, IV. 496: „Fata vocant conditque natantia lumina somnus“), used with reference to the dimness and dizziness of sleep or death.

The next application of this sense to eyesight that I have found — also earlier than the first occurrence recorded in the N. E. D. — is in Dryden's dramatic adaptation of "Paradise Lost", the opera "The State of Innocence" (1676), act III, scene I:

A doubtful Trembling seiz'd me first all o'er;
Then, Wishes; and a Warmth, unknown before;
What follow'd, was all Ecstasy and Trance;
Immortal Pleasures round my swimming Eyes did dance.

It is more than likely that this is a borrowing from Milton, especially as an example of a similar, though not identical, use of the word is found two years later in Dryden's "All for Love",

¹⁾ It may be noted in this connection that the earliest figurative use of this sense is found in Milton's "Eikonoklastes", XXVIII. 240: "Upon a sudden qualm and swimming of thir conscience". This is not altogether unlike the passage in "Paradise Lost".

in a context more closely resembling the Milton passage in question ¹):

My Sight grows dim, and every Object dances,
And swims before me, in the Maze of Death.

(Act III, towards the end.)

Here it is the object of blurred eyesight and not the eyesight itself to which the verb refers. But this transition is easy enough, and the connection between the two passages from Dryden is clear from the use of the verb *to dance*.

This — the first example of *to swim* referring to eyesight in the N. E. D. — seems in its turn to have left its mark on Dryden's translation of Virgil's "Aeneid", X. 745—746:

A hovering mist came swimming o'er his sight,
And seal'd his eyes in everlasting night.

The original does not warrant the image of swimming mist:

Olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem.

On the other hand, the expression *swimming eyes*, used by Dryden eleven years earlier in imitation of Milton, stands him in good stead as an exact rendering of Virgil's *natantia lumina*

¹) The same passage seems to be echoed in "Oedipus", the tragedy Dryden wrote in collaboration with Nathaniel Lee:

Methinks my deafen'd Ears
Are burst; my Eyes, as if they had been knock'd
By some tempestuous Hand, shoot flashing Fire.

(Act II, scene I.)

In the same scene there is another, unmistakable echo of the Sin and Death episode in P. L. II where the novel use of *to swim* occurs:

But if he sleep and wake again, O all
Tormenting Dreams, wild Horrors of the Night,
And Hags of Fancy wing him through the Air:
From Precipices hurl him headlong down;
Charibdis roar, and Death be set before him.

This is like P. L. II. 659 et seq., where Scylla and the "Night-Hag, ... riding through the Air" are mentioned. In the same episode, ll. 771—773, Sin describes how the rebellious angels "fell Driv'n headlong from the Pitch of Heaven, down Into the Deep". Cf. also P. L. II. 374: "His darling Sons Hurl'd headlong to partake with us".

(Georg. IV. 496, Aen. V. 856), which, as has been pointed out, may also have been at the back of Milton's mind when writing P. L. II. 753:

An Iron Slumber shuts my swimming Eyes.
(Dryden's Virgil, Georg., IV. 717.)

The Pilot, vanquish'd by the power divine,
Soon clos'd his swimming Eyes, and lay supine.
(ibid., Aen., V. 1112—1113.)

These expressions were further popularized by Pope, who, with his unfailing instinct for effective phrases, made use of them in his Homer:

Lost in a dizzy mist the warrior lies;
A sudden cloud comes swimming o'er his eyes.
(“Iliad”, V. 381—382.)

Fix'd in his front the brazen weapon lies,
And seals in endless shades his swimming eyes.
(ibid. VI. 13—14.)

By fits he breathes, half views the fleeting skies,
And seals again, by fits, his swimming eyes.
(ibid. XIV. 513—514.)

His swimming eyes eternal shades surround.
(ibid. XVI. 413.)

However, even before Pope, whose translation of the “Iliad” began to appear in 1715, other writers desirous of describing dizziness had felt the attraction of at least one of Dryden's variants of Milton's phrase. In 1709 E. Smith writes in his “Phaedra and Hippolyta”: “Priests, Altars, Victims swam before my Sight”. In 1713 Edward Young repeats the expression in his “The Last Day”:

Proceed who dares! — I tremble as I write;
The whole creation swims before my sight.
(Book III, ll. 116—117.)

Only a year later he varies the sense of *swimming eyes* by using the phrase of eyes suffused with tears — fifteen years earlier than the earliest example quoted in the N. E. D.:

She rear'd her swimming eye, and saw the light ¹⁾.
 ("Force of Religion", book II, l. 5.)

The same expression is employed by Congreve in his "Tears of Amaryllis", l. 126:

Then from her swimming eyes began to pour
 Of softly-falling rain a silver shower.

This would appear to have been sufficient advertisement for these new turns of speech to spread into wider circles. As far as eyes and eyesight are concerned, *to swim* seems, however, to be restricted to verse until 1820. The Romanticists use these phrases. Shelley has the finite verb in the sense of "being blurred":

When the faint eyes swim
 Through tears of a wide mist boundless and dim.
 ("Revolt of Islam", VI. XXXVI.)

In "Rosalind and Helen", ll. 194—195, he writes:

Then all the scene was wont to swim
 Through the mist of a burning tear.

Keats has "swimming eyes", with the notion of dizziness:

With aching neck and swimming eyes,
 And dazed with saintly imag'ries.
 ("Eve of St. Mark", 55.)

He introduces the noun *swim*, "a dizzy sensation" — most probably derived from the verb, even though it is the only one of the forms hitherto discussed that the N. E. D. connects with M. E. *swime*:

And shaping visions all about my sight
 Of colours, wings, and bursts of spangly light;
 The which became more strange, and strange, and dim,
 And then were gulph'd in a tumultuous swim:
 And then I fell asleep.

("Endymion", I. 568—572.)

¹⁾ That this refers to tears is indicated by l. 10:

But sobs rush'd in, and every accent broke.

Cf. also book I, ll. 281—282.

Byron has at least some of these expressions (cf. "Childe Harold", IV. CXL; "Don Juan", II. CXII). But the first writer to introduce them into prose is apparently Washington Irving, whose "Rip Van Winkle" (1820) is quoted from in the N. E. D.: "At length his senses were overpowered, his eyes swam in his head" ("Sketch Book", ed. 1821, I. 63).

Apart from its application to eyesight, the use of the verb with regard to giddy sensation seems very soon after the publication of Dryden's Virgil to have passed in all its forms into prose. In 1702 Steele already writes in his "Funeral": "My Head swims, as it did when I fell into my Fit, at the thought of it" — the first example of the finite verb used in this sense that the N. E. D. gives.

It is of some interest to note that the parallel expression *to reel* in the sense of "to feel giddy", which, to judge from the N. E. D., would seem to have been used until the nineteenth century exclusively in Lowland Scots or by Scottish authors writing in English, in actual fact already occurs in Pope's Homer. The passage containing it is not unlike the Miltonic lines that formed the starting point of the present discussion:

For lo! the God, in dusky clouds enshrin'd
Approaching dealt a staggering blow behind.
The weighty shock his neck and shoulders feel;
His eyes flash sparkles, his stunn'd senses reel
In giddy darkness.

("Iliad", XVI. 954—958.)

It may be too much to see any Miltonic influence in this, although it might be suggested that Milton's use of *to swim*, which in Dryden's imitations had repeatedly, and in similar contexts, been associated with *to dance*, here evoked a word of cognate connotations.

2. INCLEMENT.

Before Milton this adjective seems to have been rare. The N. E. D. gives but one earlier example, and that in a pun, from J. Molle's translation of "Camerarius' Living Librarie" (1621): "Pope Clement the fift, was inclement and cruell." Milton has it twice, in both cases with reference to weather:

And ever-threatning storms
Of *Chaos* blustering round, inclement skie.
(P. L. III. 425—426.)

Th'inclement Seasons, Rain, Ice, Hail and Snow.
(P. L. X. 1063.)

Inclemency had from the first been used of the severity of weather or climate, e. g. in the first known occurrence of the word, in W. Cunningham's "The Cosmographical Glasse" (1559): "In travailing, thou shalt not be molested with the inclemencye of th'Aere." This usage was evidently modelled on the similar use of *inclementia* in Latin.

There is therefore nothing surprising in Milton's way of using the adjective. But whereas the noun seems to have been continually employed in prose, the adjective remains for some time a poetic term affected chiefly by writers on whose diction Milton had left his mark. In John Philips's "Spendid Shilling" it is evidently one of his many deliberate Miltonisms:

But when nocturnal shades
This world envelop, and th'inclement air
Persuades men to repel benumbing frosts
With pleasant wines, and crackling blaze of wood.
(p. 48 of ed. 1776.)

Pope likewise uses it of weather, even though the context in our example also suggests the cruelty of the gods:

Now by the fury of the tempest driven,
He seeks a shelter from th'inclement heaven.
(*"Thebais of Statius"*, ll. 559—560.)

Thomson has it repeatedly in his "Seasons" as an epithet expressive of the roughness of the elements:

Raiser of human kind! by Nature cast,
Naked, and helpless, out amid the woods
And wilds, to rude inclement elements.
(*"Autumn"*, l. 49.)

He makes his bed beneath the inclement drift.
(*"Winter"*, l. 831.)

Breathing united force with fixed thought
 Mov'd on in silence to soft Pipes that charm'd
 Thir painful steps o're the burnt soyle.

(P. L. I. 549—562.)

- C. And reck'n'st thou thy self with Spirits of Heav'n,
 Hell-doomd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn...

(P. L. II. 696—697.)

- D. His words here ended, but his meek aspect
 Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
 To mortal men.

(P. L. III. 266—268.)

- E. Nor with less dread the loud
 Ethereal Trumpet from on high gan blow:
 At which command the Powers Militant,
 That stood for Heav'n, in mighty Quadrate joyn'd
 Of Union irresistible, mov'd on
 In silence thir bright Legions, to the sound
 Of instrumental Harmonie that breath'd
 Heroic Ardor to advent'rous deeds
 Under thir God-like Leaders, in the Cause
 Of God and his *Messiah*.

(P. L. VI. 59—68.)

The N. E. D. cites P. L. I. 554 as the earliest known example of *to breathe* = "to express, manifest, evince, display", a shade of meaning also illustrated, e. g., by the following later instances: "A custom breathing their liberal and noble disposition" (James Harris, "Philological Inquiries", 1781, p. 481 of ed. 1841); "Passages which breathe the true spirit of poetry" (T. Wright, "Essays on Subjects connected with... the Middle Ages", 1846. I. II. 61); "The whole period breathes a primitive simplicity" (A. P. Stanley, "Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church", 1863—65, I. XIII. 251 of ed. 1877).

An examination of the Milton passage shows that it places the verb in a more concrete context than these quotations. As the punctuation indicates, "Deliberate valour breath'd" refers to "the Dorian mood Of Flutes and soft Recorders" ("mood" here = the musical term "mode"), i. e. it expresses the action of wind-

instruments. In this respect it is like *E*, which, being a deliberate parallel to *B* (the march of the faithful angels as contrasted with that of the rebels), uses the verb in the same sense. But in *P. L. I. 554* there seems also to be a hint of the notion of "breathing out with vehemence, uttering with vehemence and passion" (cf. "instead of *rage*") as in *C* ("breath'st defiance here and scorn"). Utterance in speech, a notion expressed by *to breathe* in *A* and probably suggested also in *D* ("*spake*, and breath'd"), though in both cases there is much of the literal sense¹⁾, does not appear to figure among the connotations of the word in the case under examination.

Six lines later, in *P. L. II. 560*, the same verb appears again, in a phrase that at first sight seems very similar: "Thus they Breathing united force with fixed thought Mov'd". But the similarity is mainly in the objects governed by the verb: "Deliberate valour" — "united force". The verb itself has taken on a different aspect. Its associations with violent, aggressive feeling (cf. "*rage*" in *P. L. I. 554*) or with wind-instruments have been dropped. The literal sense is still there, especially as it is "they", i. e. living, breathing beings, not a custom, passage or period as in the post-Miltonic examples quoted above, of whom the verb is used. But as the notion of breathing is not emphasized by any supplementary detail, the expression is already at a stage where its definition as "manifesting, evincing, displaying" does not seem forced. It is plain that the word occurs here as an echo of its use six lines earlier, but since most of the concrete associations of the latter have disappeared, an abstract sense which before could at best be very faintly overheard, emerges almost in its purity. If the first example of this sense is to be looked for in Milton, it is here and not in *P. L. I. 554* that it is found.

There is, however, some reason to doubt whether the same stage had not been reached by the word in earlier writers. As we are dealing with a very elusive shade of meaning, assertion can hardly be risked. Nevertheless it might be instructive to examine Spenser's treatment of *to breathe*, which in some cases is very similar to Milton's, though apparently it does not get quite as close to the abstract use and though its concrete

¹⁾ Cf. also Shakespeare's "*King John*", IV. II. 36: "To this effect... We breath'd our Councell".

associations appear to be different. In his verse *to breathe* is repeatedly used with objects indicating temper, feeling, or disposition, in such a way as to tempt one to the definition of its meaning as "to display, to manifest":

- (1) And far before a light-foote Page did flie,
That breathed strife and troublous enmitie.
(*"Faerie Queene"*, II. I. 24.)
- (2) Then gan the Pilgrim thus: 'I chaunst this day,
This fatall day that shall I ever rew,
To see two knights in travell on my way,
(A sory sight) arraung'd in batteill new,
Both breathing vengeance, both of wrauthfull hew'.
(*ibid.* I. VI. 38.)

Other Spenserian examples indicate, however, that the sense in these passages is probably "to breathe forth", with more than a hint of the actual process of the breath of hostility or violence being exhaled. This process is suggested with great vividness in a number of cases, of which a few may be quoted:

- (3) When from the Northerne coast a storme arose,
Which, breathing furie from his inward gall
On all which did against his course oppose,
Into a clowde of dust sperst in the aire
The weake foundations of this citie faire.
(*"Visions of Bellay"*, XIV.)
- (4) As salvage Bull, whom two fierce mastives bayt,
When rancour doth with rage him once engore,
Forgets with wary warde them to awayt,
But with his dreadfull hornes them drives afore,
Or flings aloft, or treads downe in the flore,
Breathing out wrath, and bellowing disdaine.
(*"Faerie Queene"*, II. VIII. 42.)
- (5) Lo! where a griesly foster forth did rush,
Breathing out beastly lust her to defyle.
(*ibid.* III. I. 17.)

Compare also *ibid.* II. I. 27; II. IV. 43; II. IV. 32.

century, the use of the word in *A* is echoed but without the ambiguity. The expression seems to be treated as an element of diction already completely assimilated, all traces of experimentation having worn off.

5. TO CLOTHE.

A. Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou cloath my fancy in fit sound.
(“Vacation Exercise”, 31—32.)

B. Thus *Belial* with words cloath’d in reason’s garb
Counsel’d ignoble ease.
(P. L. II. 226.)

C. Her brest though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais’d
Some troubl’d thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.
(P. R. II. 63—65.)

The N. E. D. has no examples earlier than *C* of the sense: “To put (thoughts or ideas) into words; to express *in* (or *with*)”. That the same image had already at an earlier date associated itself in Milton’s mind with the same word, is proved by *A*, where it is the English language that is being addressed. The difference between *A* and *C* is in the degree of metaphoric elaboration. As the context shows, the “native Language” in “At a Vacation Exercise” is personified and the process of clothing is pictured in very concrete fashion — even more so than our quotation suggests, for Milton seems to have been anxious to give an accurate idea of the way in which his “naked thoughts” were to be attired. *B* presents a similar image but not with precisely the same logical import. *C* drops all supplementary detail, providing a phrase ready-made for circulation. A vivid conception, originally accompanied by a whole retinue of cognate imagery, is stripped of its picturesque associations.

The very familiar notion of clothing had, of course, appeared before in a variety of figurative uses. Thus, *B* is prefigured in Shakespeare’s “Henry VI”, part II, I. 1. 33: “Her words yclad with wisdomes Majesty”. In “Henry V”, V. 1. 80, there is a

passage which on the face of it presents an image extremely like Milton's: "You thought, because he could not speak English in the native garb, he could not therefore handle an English cudgel". It seems fairly certain, however, that *garb* here means "style, manner, fashion". Its first recorded occurrence in the sense of "garment" is later (1622 according to the N. E. D.). In 1635, i. e. seven years later than "At a Vacation Exercise", *to apparel* is used in a manner analogous to Milton's use of *to clothe*: "She apparrell'd them [her thoughts] in a cleare, smoothe calme of language" (A. Stafford, "The Femall Glory"). The metaphor, though less circumstantial than in A, is here distinctly to be felt as such. One notices that the writer is still experimenting with the image.

Milton's use of the metaphor may be due to spontaneous association, the concept employed by him being one of those very familiar ideas apt to occur in all kinds of figurative contexts. Moreover, he seems to have had a personal liking for this notion, for of at least two other applications of it to novel metaphorical purposes the first illustrations in the N. E. D. are from his poems. Nobody before him seems to have used *robed* ¹⁾ or *garb* = "garment" ²⁾ in a figurative sense. But it is possible that he was guided to some extent by classical precedent: cf., e. g., Cicero, *De Clar. Orat.*: "Sententias reconditas exquisitiasque mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio".

In any case his treatment of the metaphor here discussed provides an excellent instance of the gradual obliteration of the concrete element in figurative usage.

6. RESPONSIVE.

How often from the steep
Of echoing Hill or Thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air,

¹⁾ Cf. "L'Allegro", 61: "Where the great Sun begins his State Rob'd in flames, and Amber light".

²⁾ For quotation cf. B. See also "Comus", 759: "Obtruding false rules pranckt in reasons garb".

Sole, or responsive each to others note
Singing thir great Creator.

(P. L. IV. 680—684.)

Before Milton *responsive* was used: (1) of letters or epistolary replies, meaning “answering”; (2) in the sense “corresponding, correspondent”, described by the N. E. D. as “rare” and illustrated by only three quotations; (3) in the very rare sense “responsible, answerable”, found only in Jeremy Taylor. In Milton’s use the first of these senses is transferred from its original limited sphere to that of music. In later usage it appears for some time to have been employed only or principally in poetry, and, it seems, chiefly in the work of authors known to have been keen borrowers from, and imitators of, Milton. Johnson quotes an example from Fenton:

Sing of love and gay desire,
Responsive to the warbling lyre.

In the first book of Pope’s “Odyssey”, translated by Fenton though revised by Pope, the adjective appears in a very similar context:

Phemius, whose voice divine could sweetest sing
High strains, responsive to the vocal string.

(ll. 199—200.)

Collins has it in a passage recalling the above quotation from “Paradise Lost”:

Still would her touch the strain prolong,
And from the rocks, the woods, the vale,
She call’d on Echo still through all the song;
And where her sweetest theme she chose,
A soft responsive voice was heard at every close.

(“The Passions”, 33—37.)

It is not until 1762, in Falconer’s “Shipwreck”, that the word acquires the sense of “responding readily to some influence”: “Thus, and so quick, the helm responsive flew” (II. 45). This use is still concrete. It was probably not uninfluenced by the new sense of *to respond* = “to answer by some responsive act”,

which seems to have been introduced by W. Broome, the collaborator of Pope and Fenton in their translation of the "Odyssey", and author of versions of parts of Homer in the style of "Paradise Lost". It is significant that the verb is applied by him to poetry and song, as *responsive* is used by his friend Fenton:

To every Theme responds thy various Lay:
Here rowls a Torrent, there Meanders play.
(*"To Pope"*.)

Probably this use was also directly or indirectly inspired by Milton, who seems by lifting the adjective out of its narrow sphere to have originated a semantic development that has resulted in the modern senses of *to respond* and *responsive*.

The transference of the adjective in its new sense to the domain of feeling appears to have occurred some decades after the publication of "The Shipwreck". It is almost simultaneously that A. Young in his "Travels" (1792) and J. Beattie in the second part of his "Minstrel" (1793) begin to write about "responsive emotions" and a "heart responsive to warm attachment" respectively ¹⁾. About the same time, in 1791, Mrs Radcliffe conceives the idea of applying the corresponding verb to mental response ²⁾. Two of these authors are the first prose-writers known to have availed themselves of the development of these words that Milton had inaugurated — a steady progress from an almost technical concrete sense towards abstract use.

7. TO RALLY, TO RALLY ONE'S POWERS.

- A. Or once more
With rallied Arms to try what may be yet
Regained in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell?
(P. L. I. 268—270.)
- B. This saw his hapless Foes, but stood obdur'd,
And to rebellious fight rallied thir Powers
Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.
(P. L. VI. 785—787.)

¹⁾ Cf. quotations in the N. E. D.

²⁾ Cf. *ibid.*, quotation from "The Romance of the Forest".

In *A* the sense of the verb is plainly "reassembled". *B* appears in the N. E. D. as the earliest instance of the sense "to concentrate or revive (a faculty, etc.) by a strong effort of the will". But the passage might equally well be understood in its literal sense. It would be in complete accord with the situation to assume that here the somewhat shaken and disordered army of the rebellious angels is described as bringing together its forces for a decisive battle. Milton's use of *powers* in this passage agrees with both explanations. The sense "band, army, host" occurs in S. A. 251: "The Philistines with gather'd powers". On the other hand, Milton also uses the word in the sense "faculties of the mind": "And the mind through all her powers Irradiate" (P. L. III. 53). Compare also P. L. IV. 986: "Satan . . . Collecting all his might dilated stood", where a similar phrase is used in a psychological sense. The problem whether the literal or the figurative interpretation is right must apparently remain unsolved.

Whether Milton's use of the phrase "to rally one's powers" had any influence on the subsequent spread of its metaphorical application is an open question. "To rally one's memory" appears in 1702. In 1716 Robert South, who may be supposed to have known Milton, uses "to rally up his best attention, his severest and exactest thoughts". Bishop Atterbury, a fervent admirer of Milton, has a passage closely parallel to *B*: "Luther deters men from solitariness; but he does not mean from a sober solitude, that rallies our scattered strengths, and prepares us against any new encounters from without . . ." (quoted from Johnson's Dictionary).

What is clear from *B* is, however, that if Milton meant the phrase to be metaphorical, it shows how close such metaphors often are to the literal sense when they first appear.

8. REDUNDANT.

- A. So spake the Enemie of Mankind, enclos'd
 In Serpent, Inmate bad, and toward Eve
 Address'd his way, not with indented wave,
 Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare,
 Circular base of rising foulds, that tour'd
 Fould above fould a surging Maze, his Head

idea of slow winding movement is developed through three different words; for 'serpent' (L. *serpere*) is really a present participle, meaning 'crawling'. At the same time *serpent* also seems to have its ordinary meaning, thus lending suggestiveness and variety to the phrase.

The practice of ambiguity for the sake of special effects, which, as was suggested, is exemplified by the above use of *redundant*, appears to have been carried by Milton to the point of extreme virtuosity. We have just examined a case where a double meaning was probably meant to intensify and enrich the conclusion of a passage. The note on Milton's use of the verb *to inform* dealt with another interesting example of a double sense. Another type, lending itself to precise mathematical formulation, seems to be found in P. L. II. 652 and P. L. II. 589. In these two cases the ambiguity serves as a connecting-link between two words, the signification relation between these expressions being $a + ab + b$, i. e., the ambiguous word developing the meaning of one and adumbrating the sense of another expression. I quote these passages:

- (1) In many a scaly fould
Voluminous and vast.
(P. L. II. 651—652.)
- (2) Fierce Phlegeton,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
(P. L. II. 588—589.)

In (1) *voluminous* seems to be developing the sense of *fould*, for one of its meanings is, and was at Milton's time, "full of turnings and windings, consisting of many convolutions". At the same time it anticipates the sense of the next word, for it may also mean "extensive, immense, vast". In (2) *torrent*¹) seems to combine the notions of "waves" and "fire", for in Latin *torrens*

¹) In later poetry this adjective, apparently a Miltonic coinage, is used occasionally, but only in the sense of "rushing". Cf. Gray's translation of Tasso's "Gerus. Lib." Cant. XIV. St. 32 et seq.: "The torrent stream his ancient bounds disdains", and several cases in Tennyson, e. g. "a torrent mountain-brook" ("Geraint and Enid", 171 — the only post-Miltonic example in the N.E.D.), "the torrent brooks of hallow'd Israel" ("Dream of Fair Women", 187), etc.

may signify both "rushing (like a torrent)" and "burning". If we add that *Phlegethon* also means "burning", we get some idea of the complexity of the interplay of meanings in this passage.

This should not be forgotten in interpreting the sense of *redundant* in *B*. Most probably Verity and Sir E. K. Chambers are right in maintaining that the word is here to be understood in the radical sense of "flowing", although the idea of abundance seems also to be suggested in anticipation of "robustious". It may be pointed out in this connection that the cognate participle *redounding* in *P. L.* II. 889 ("Like a Furnace mouth Cast forth redounding smoak and ruddy flame"), defined by Lockwood as "abounding, abundant", actually seems to have the literal sense, at least as a connotation — cf. "the surging smoak" in line 928 of the same book, and *P. L.* I. 670—671: "There stood a Hill not far whose griesly top Belch'd fire, and rowling smoak". *To redound* = "to swell or surge up" is used by various earlier writers, e. g. by Milton's favourite Spenser in his "Hymn of Heavenly Love", l. 165: "Their streames yet never staunch, But stil do flow, and freshly stil redound".

In later poetry Milton's usage is occasionally imitated with some reproduction of its ambiguity. Pope's "Odyssey", book XVIII, ll. 341—342, emphasizes the notion of wave-like movement in a description of a garment apparently modelled upon *A*:

Down from the swelling loins, the vest unbound
Floats in bright waves redundant o'er the ground.

This is the only later example of the sense "in swelling waves, wave-like" that the *N. E. D.* adduces. It is not impossible, however, that the notion of copiousness is also meant to be conveyed. Such, at any rate, must have been Erasmus Darwin's impression if he imitated this passage in his "Botanic Garden", II. I. 201, as he, in many respects a faithful disciple of Pope, appears to have done ¹⁾:

¹⁾ This assumption is supported by the nature of the context in each case. In Pope's "Odyssey", the lines here quoted appear in a description of the suitors' gifts to Penelope; in "The Botanic Garden" the attire of "imperial Drosera" is depicted. Note also the following parallel from these descriptions:

A bracelet rich with gold, with amber gay,
That shot effulgence like the solar ray,

Redundant folds of glossy silk surround
 Her slender waist, and trail upon the ground.
 The sense here is most probably "copious", though the
 waviness of silk is an association that also suggests itself to the
 reader.

9. HORROR, HORRID, HORRENT.

- A. But their way
 Lies through the perplex't paths of this drear Wood,
 The nodding horror of whose shady brows
 Threats the forlorn and wandering Passinger.
 ("Comus", 36—39.)
- B. Yea there, where very desolation dwels
 By grots, and caverns shag'd with horrid shades,
 She may pass on with unblench't majesty.
 ("Comus", 428—430.)
- C. A horrid Front
 Of dreadful length and dazzling Arms.
 (P. L. I. 563—564.)
- D. Him round
 A Globe of fierie Seraphim inclos'd
 With bright imblazonrie, and horrent Arms.
 (P. L. II. 511—513.)

Horrid in *C* and *horrent* in *D* are usually taken to mean "bristling", which is the earliest English sense of *horrid*, a word apparently introduced by Spenser (cf. "Faerie Queene", I. VII. 31: "His haughtie Helmet, horrid all with gold"). *Horrent* is probably a Miltonic innovation, imitated from such Latin phrases

Eurymachus presents: and ear-rings bright,
 With triple stars, that cast a trembling light.
 (Pope's "Odyssey", XVIII. 343—346.)

As with sweet grace her snowy neck she bows,
 A zone of diamonds trembles round her brows;
 Bright shines the silver halo, as she turns;
 And, as she steps, the living lustre burns.
 ("The Botanic Garden", II. I. 207—210.)

as Virgil's "horrentia Martis arma" (Aen. I) and "horrentibus hastis" (ibid. X). The same image as in *C* and *D* is found in P. L. VI. 82—83:

A fierie Region . . .
Bristl'd with upright beams innumerable
Of rigid Spears, and Helmets throng'd.

The same sense is probably also intended in *B*, as "shag'd" suggests. Compare also "Comus", ll. 264—265:

Hail forren wonder
Whom certain these rough shades did never breed.

In the light of the above it seems probable that *horror* in *A* is used in the corresponding sense of "ruggedness, roughness", warranted both by Latin and earlier English usage, though apparently not current at Milton's time. The N. E. D. quotes as an example of this sense Wyclif's "literalism of translation", Deut. XXXII. 10: "The Lord . . . foond hym in a deseert loond, in place of orroure [ed. 1388 ethir hidousnesse], and of waast wildernes". Interpreted in a similar way, "The nodding horror of . . . shady brows" would mean: "the nodding ruggedness, shagginess of the shady eye-brows" of the wood — the knit brows threatening the traveller ¹).

At the same time the other, more usual sense of *horror* does not seem to be far away. It is probably also understood, the result being an ambiguity full of suggestiveness (cf. "this drear Wood"). Similarly, *horrid* in *B* and *C* (cf. "where very *desolation* dwels" and "of *dreadful* length") and *horrent* in *D* appear to be doing double duty, meaning also "terrible".

Milton's use of *horrid* in *B* seems to have been interpreted by Pope as "bristling", as his imitation of this passage in "Eloisa to Abelard" suggests:

Ye grots and caverns shagg'd with horrid thorn!

It is probable that for this interpretation he found encouragement in Dryden:

¹) Professor Oliver Elton suggests the same explanation in his edition of "Comus", l. 38 *n*. He does not, however, mention the possibility of an ambiguous use.

Horrid with fern, and intricate with thorn,
 Few paths of human feet or tracks of beasts were worn.
 (Quoted from Johnson's Dictionary.)

Here also an ambiguity may have been intended.

The double sense of *horror* seems to have been kept by Dryden in one of those passages of his "Aeneid" where he freely enlarges on the original ¹):

A Wood,
 Which thick with Shades, and a brown Horror, stood.
 (Book VII. 29—30.)

It is not improbable that here he is imitating Milton's usage, for these lines appear to contain another Miltonism ²).

Pope's use of the word in some passages closely resembling A, and most probably echoing it, appears to be similar, at any rate in the second of the following quotations:

Shaking the horrors of his sable brows.
 ("Dunciad", II. 327.)

The wood,
 Whose shady horrors on a rising brow
 Wav'd high, and frown'd.
 ("Odyssey", V. 613—15.)

¹) Virgil is brief and avoids descriptive detail:

Atque hic Aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum
 Prospicit.

(Aen. VII. 29—30.)

²) *Brown* = "dark", though found in the language from the tenth century onwards, seems to have fallen into disuse in the sixteenth century — the N.E.D. has no pre-Milonic examples later than 1449 — and to have been revived by Milton, who uses it four times, three of these cases referring to shade and two appearing in close connection with forest scenery, as in Dryden. Compare, e. g., P. L. IX. 1686—1088:

Where highest Woods impenetrable
 To Starr or Sun-light, spread thir umbrage broad,
 And brown as Evening.

Cf. also his coinage "embrowned" in P. L. IX. 166. — See the notes on *to swim*, *lonely*, and *gloom* for further detail regarding Dryden's borrowings from Milton.

In the N. E. D. all these instances are quoted, with the following definitions: *A. to emblaze* = "to light up, illuminate, cause to glow"; *B. to emblaze* = "To adorn with heraldic devices. Hence (and influenced by EMBLAZE v¹.) to adorn magnificently, make resplendent" (EMBLAZE v¹ = *to emblaze* as defined under *A*); *C. to emblaze* = "to inscribe or portray conspicuously"; *D. emblazoned* = "decorated with armorial devices or bearings; gorgeously adorned"; *E. emblazonry* = "*a.* The art of depicting or describing heraldic devices. *b.* concr. Heraldic devices collectively; symbolic ornament".

The first known instance of *to emblaze* in any sense — the only pre-Miltonic one in the N. E. D. — occurs in Skelton's "Why Come Ye Not to Court":

They shoot all at one mark, —
At the Cardinal's hat,
They shoot all at that.
Out of their strong towns
They shoot at him with crowns:
With crowns of gold emblazed
They make him so amazed
And his eyes so dazed
That he ne see can
To know God nor man! ¹⁾

The N. E. D. quotes this as an instance of *to emblaze* = "to adorn with heraldic devices". But an examination of the data which that monument of learning provides regarding *to blaze*, *to blazon*, *blazonry*, *blazure*, *to emblazon*, *emblazonry*, *emblazure*, and other cognate forms ²⁾, shows that the only ones known to have been used before 1522 — the date of "Why Come Ye Not to Court" — with reference to heraldry are *blazon*, "a shield in heraldry" (from c 1325) and *to blaze*, "to describe heraldically" (from c 1440). One

¹⁾ Quoted from Skelton, Complete Poems, ed. Philip Henderson.

²⁾ The close association of these forms is partly due to their phonetic similarity. Originally they fall into several distinct groups: (1) *blaze*, "a bright glowing flame or fire", *to blaze*, "to burn with a bright flame", and their derivatives; (2) *to blaze*, "to blow", and forms derived from it; (3) *blazon*, "a shield in heraldry" (fr. French *blason*, which is prob. of Germanic origin), *blazon*, "to describe fitly" (related also to *blaze*, "to blow"). The prefix *em-* came later.

year after the composition of Skelton's poem, in 1523, Lord Berners uses the noun *blazure* = "representation of armorial bearings": "The blasure of his arms was goules, two fesses sable, a border sable" (Froissart I. CCL XXXI. 421). This last use seems to be the only evidence in favour of the N. E. D. definition of Skelton's usage. Though later than the latter's poem, it is sufficiently close to it in time to suggest the possibility that Skelton may have known the verb *to blaze* in the sense attributed by the N. E. D. to *emblaze* as used in his satire. Nevertheless the context does not appear to demand the heraldic sense. *Emblazed* in the passage quoted by us seems to refer to dazzling brilliance (cf. "And his eyes so *dazed*") and may have been derived from the doubtless much more familiar sense of *blaze*: "a bright glowing flame".

Later in the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century *to emblaze* comes to mean "to inscribe or portray conspicuously". *Emblazure* is coined to denote "armorial decoration". *Blazon* (noun and verb) develops several heraldic senses: (noun) (1) coat of arms; (2) description of armorial bearings; (verb) (3) to depict or paint armorial bearings; (4) to describe in proper heraldic language. *To blaze* acquires the meanings "to describe pictorially" and "to adorn with armorial bearings". *Blazonry* is formed and signifies "the description or depicting of armorial devices", *emblazon* (as a noun) is introduced in the same sense, and *to emblazon* appears, meaning "to inscribe or portray conspicuously as on a heraldic shield". At the same time the distinction between *blaze* and *blazon*, *emblaze* and *emblazon* is occasionally obscured, as is shown by the use of *emblazon* and *blazon* in the sense "to blaze abroad", formerly confined to the verb *to blaze*.

All these new shades of meaning as well as some others that do not seem to affect our argument had come into being before Milton wrote his "Comus". The two groups of words had gathered about them a number of associations that it may sometimes have been hard to keep apart. It seems therefore difficult to assert that *emblaze* in "Comus", l. 733, means *only* "to light up, illuminate, cause to glow", as the first case of which sense it is instanced in the N. E. D. That it has this meaning seems clear but particularly if one takes into account Milton's numerous "double-

barrelled" expressions one is tempted to assume that he also thought of the sense "to adorn magnificently (with a splendour like that of armorial bearings)" — a meaning which may have been suggested by some of the new senses of *blaze*, *blazon* and *emblazon*. This suggestion is supported by the imagery in the only Milton passage other than our "Comus" quotation that contains the word *forehead*:

And *tricks* his beams, and with new spangled Ore,
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.

("Lycidas", 170—171.)

It is not impossible that Milton's use of *emblaze* in "Comus" was suggested by the Skelton passage where he may have felt an ambiguity much like his own.

The same verb in *B* shows unmistakably the presence of the heraldic sense "to adorn with armorial devices" but the simultaneous emphasis on brilliance and splendour is so manifest that we probably have to assume an interplay with the non-heraldic meaning that predominated in *A*. Both heraldry and glow appear similarly to be alluded to in *C*, and probably also in *E*, where the first known use of *emblazonry* is found. In *D*, which is sarcastic and depreciatory, it is hard to see anything but the technical sense. On the whole, Milton's use of these words shows an iridescence of meanings and associations that appears to make precise definition difficult.

Of later writers it is Pope who seems to have been particularly impressed by their magnificent effect in Milton. It is, however, chiefly or even exclusively their associations of lustre and glowing radiance that appeal to him. He cultivates them, effacing the heraldic aspect, e. g. in his "Iliad":

All dreadful glar'd the iron face of war,
Bristled with upright spears, that flash'd afar:
Dire was the gleam of breast-plates, helmets, and shields,
And polish'd arms emblaz'd the flaming fields.

(Book XIII, 430—433.)

Here it is the notion of *flaming* splendour that is emphasized as in "Comus". The same is true of the following passage:

He cas'd his limbs in brass;
 then to his breast applies
 The flamy cuirass, of a thousand dyes;
 Emblaz'd with studs of gold his falchion shone
 In the rich belt, as in a starry zone.

(*ibid.*, book XVI, 162—167.)

In the latter quotation the resemblance to *A* is especially pronounced. "Emblaz'd with studs of gold" and "as in a starry zone" recall "And so bestudd with Stars". In the former the battle scene suggests *B* and the violence of effect, *A*.

How well Pope appears to have remembered these Milton passages is indicated by his repeated use of the image of blazing jewels (cf. 'And th' unsought *diamonds* Would so emblaze the forehead of the Deep" and "With *Gemms* and Golden lustre rich imblaz'd"). The effect of flaming brilliance is in some of these cases exploited to the full, more fully even than the following quotations are able to show, for Pope's long descriptions can hardly be quoted *in extenso*:

Full in the midst proud Fame's imperial seat
 With jewels blaz'd magnificently great;
 The vivid emeralds there revive the eye,
 The flaming rubies shew their sanguine dye.
 ("The Temple of Fame", 248—251.)

Nor gems on bowls emboss'd were seen to shine,
 Blaze on the brims, and sparkle in the wine.
 ("The Thebais of Statius", book I, 208—209.)

Pope's one-sided though in its own way brilliant utilization of an aspect of a vivid Miltonic word is in keeping with his general predilection for flashing effects. The expression is employed by him almost as a staple of high poetic diction. But that he was also quite capable of seeing the comic potentialities of the word is shown by his even more concrete use of this epic term in "The Dunciad", where *to emblaze* means literally "to kindle, to set in a blaze", appearing in a context of "low" associations:

Nor sail with Ward, to Ape-and-monkey climes,
 Where vile Mundungus trucks for viler rhymes:

Not, sulphur-tipt, emblaze an Ale-house fire;
 Nor wrap up Oranges, to pelt your sire!
 (Book I, 233—236.)

In all the above cases Pope's conception of the verb is probably mainly influenced by *A* with its particular insistence on the notion of flaming brightness. But he also uses the word in a somewhat different sense:

No weeping orphan saw his father's stores
 Our shrines irradiate, or emblaze the floors.
 ("Eloisa to Abelard", 135—136.)

This looks like a development of the sense of *emblazed* as found in *B*, with the heraldic sense obliterated. *B*, of which we have traced other probable echoes in Pope, may easily have suggested the interpretation of *to emblaze* as = "splendidly adorned", which sense is found in this passage of a poem crowded with Miltonic reminiscences.

This is another example of Pope's practice of obscuring the heraldic sense still more than Milton and other writers had already done by overloading that whole group of words to which *to emblaze* belongs with a variety of associations. The same tendency as in Pope may sometimes also be observed in later writers, e. g. in the following extracts from Collins and Henry Hart Milman, both cited in the N. E. D.:

Whate'er heaven's purer mold contains,
 When nearer suns emblaze its veins.
 (Collins, "Ode to Liberty", Second Epode.)

An enwoven tapestry of flame . . . emblaz'd
 Like hall of old barbaric Potentate.
 (Milman, "Samor", 289.)

Collins uses the word in the sense of "to kindle", as Pope does in his "Dunciad", but in a more poetic context. Milman blends the notions of "adorning" and "lighting up, setting in a blaze".

Naturally the technical senses of this word were freely used, as the evidence in the N. E. D. convincingly shows. What we have examined is a special poetic development that seems largely

due to Milton's, and later on also to Pope's, influence. Something similar may be observed in the cases of *to emblazon* and *emblazonry*. The Romanticists used them in a similar vague manner to indicate gorgeousness and brilliant adornment:

And now, ye Powers! whose gorgeous wings
And splendid aspect yon emblazonings
But faintly picture.

(Wordworth, "In the Cathedral at Cologne".)

And many a bright emblazon'd rhyme
By Persian scribes redeem'd from time.

(Byron, "The Bride of Abydos", II. V.)

And half the sky
Was roof'd with clouds of rich emblazonry.

(Shelley, "Julian and Maddalo", 71.)

In such cases as these it is the general impression of grandeur and brightness rather than any more precise sense that these words are intended to convey.

11. TO FLING.

All pre-Miltonic senses of this word recorded in the N. E. D. imply the notion of vigorous, hurried or violent movement. From 1375 onwards the verb is used of violent throwing or hurling. This is also its meaning in P. L. I. 610:

Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc't
Of Heav'n, and from Eternal Splendors flung
For his revolt.

Cf. also P. L. VI. 654. In "L'Allegro", l. 113, it means "to move with a rush, or go hastily":

And Crop-full out of dores he flings,
Ere the first Cock his Mattin rings.

Some Miltonic instances of the word are cited in the N. E. D. as the first occurrences of a new sense: "To emit, send forth, give out, diffuse (light, a sound, odour, etc.); to throw or cause

to fall (light or shade) on or *over* an object". The passages quoted are "Il Penseroso", l. 131, and "Comus", l. 989:

- A. 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 Oake.

("Il Penseroso", 131—135.)

- B. . . . There eternal Summer dwels,
And West winds, with musky wing
About the cedar'n alleys fling
Nard, and Cassia's balmy smels.

("Comus", 988—991.)

To these should be added P. L. VIII. 515—517:

- C. Fresh Gales and gentle Aires
Whisper'd it to the Woods, and from thir wings
Flung Rose, flung Odours from the spicie Shrub.

The exact import of the expression does not appear to be the same in all these instances. In *A*, to *fling* apparently has some of its usual emphatic force, for it expresses the action of the sun (later in the poem referred to as "Day's garish eye"), from the trying intensity of whose light the solitary man escapes into the cool twilight of groves. The "flaring beams" here seem to be conceived as missiles that the hostile sun throws. The emphasis is increased by the alliteration "*fling* — *flaring*", and probably also by the sense of "flaring", although to me the latter does not seem clearly definable ¹).

¹) The N. E. D. quotes *flaring* in "Il Penseroso" as its earliest instance of *to flare* = "to burn with a spreading, unsteady flame, as when blown by the wind". The earlier senses indicate restlessness and conspicuous gaudiness (cf. in this connection Milton's reference to "Day's garish eye"). Milton, as Warton suggests, may have had the expression from Marlowe's "Hero and Leander", II. 332 — an early instance apparently overlooked by the N. E. D. In Marlowe the verb seems to express intensity, and possibly also unsteadiness, of radiance. At the same time the notion of light is combined with that of aggressiveness, as apparently also in Milton's similar passage in "Il Penseroso":

In *B* the general character of the passage as well as the fact that it is the proverbially mild west winds that "fling . . . balmy smels" suggests gentle movement. This is even more plainly suggested in *C*, where "gentle Aires" are described as whispering.

In these last two cases Milton's usage may possibly have been influenced by Latin, where *iacere*, the verb generally used of the hurling of weapons, etc., also appears in various weakened senses, e. g. with reference to the diffusion of light, colour, odour, etc. Cf. Lucretius, "De rerum natura", II. 846: "nec iaciunt [corpora prima] ullum proprium de corpore odorem".

Uses similar to Milton's are quoted in the N. E. D. from authors whose close familiarity with, and frequent borrowings from him are generally known. The following passage from Pope's "Rape of the Lock" bears distinct traces of Milton's influence:

Thin glittering textures of the filmy dew,
Dipp'd in the richest tinctures of the skies,
Where light disports in ever-mingling dyes,
While every beam new transient colours flings,
Colours that change whene'er they wave their wings.

(Canto II, ll. 64—68.)

"Dipp'd in the richest tinctures of the skies" is quoted by Professor Havens as a probable imitation of P. L. V. 283—285:

Skirted his loines and thighes with downie Gold
And colours dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
Shadowd from either heele with featherd maile
Skie-tinctur'd grain ¹⁾).

Which watchfull *Hesperus* no sooner heard,
And he the day bright-bearing Car prepar'd
And ran before, as Harbenger of light,
And with his flaring beames mockt ougly night,
Till she o'recome with anguish, shame, and rage,
Dang'd down to hell her loathsome carriage.

¹⁾ *To dip* = "to dye" seems to be another Miltonic contribution to the language of poetry. The N. E. D. has an earlier instance of the verbal noun but not of the verb itself: "That which is dyed in many dippings is in grain. and can very hardly be washed out" (Jer. Taylor, "Unum Necess.", V. § 4). This is quite different from the poetic flavour of Milton's use.

That the Miltonic sense of *to fling* appears in a context so charged with reminiscences from "Paradise Lost", makes its direct derivation from Milton all the more probable.

Backed by Pope's and Milton's joint authority, the usage was likely to spread. In 1755 Edward Young, who had been under the spell of both, has it in his prose: "This flings light on a part of Scripture, which has a cloud on it in some eyes" ("The Centaur Not Fabulous", V). In H. K. White we read how "No gale around its coolness flings" ("Poems", ed. 1837, p. 141), where the combination with "gale" is as in *C*. Perhaps we are not unjustified in assuming that it was Milton whose direct or indirect influence led to the popularization of such uses of the verb.

12. DREAR, DREARY.

The earliest instance of the adjective *drear* quoted in the N. E. D. is from Milton. Actually the word occurs twice in "The Faerie Queene". Spenser uses it as a variant of *dreary*, from which he seems to have derived it. *Dreary* is one of Spenser's favourites, belonging to a whole group of cognate expressions, some of which were probably coined by himself. Thus, it seems to have stimulated him to the creation of *dreariment*. The noun *drearing*, never found outside Spenser and suggesting an unrecorded and presumably non-existent verb *to drear*, appears to have been inspired by the noun *drear*, and perhaps also by *dreary*. As we see, *drear*, the adjective, is one of a whole family of lexical novelties formed in the characteristic Spenserian manner.

Drear and *dreary* are so closely connected that they have to be dealt with together. In order to understand their Miltonic development, we must examine Spenser's use of them, for the fact that one of them was seized upon by Milton at a time when no one else seems to have noticed it suggests his close study of the earlier poet's use.

Dreary, which is an old Germanic heritage, was used before Spenser in the following senses: (1) gory, bloody — the oldest recorded meaning; (2) cruel, dire, horrid, grievous; (3) full of sadness and melancholy, sad, doleful.

All these senses seem to be represented in Spenser: (1) "Dreary wounds and bloody gore" ("Faerie Queene", I. VI. 45);

(2) "As cold and dreary as a snake" (ibid. II. XI. 22); (3) "There-with an hollow, dreary, murmuring voyce These pitteous plaintes and dolours did resound" (ibid. I. VIII. 38). Sometimes the meaning seems to verge on "dismal, gloomy", e. g. in "The Faerie Queene", I. IX. 33: "His dwelling . . . Darke, dolefull, dreary, like a greedy grave", or ibid. III. X. 58: "To build his balefull mansion In dreary darkeness". The expression is frequently emphatic and suggestive of strong, often violent, emotion: "The ghastly owle, with dreary shriekes" ("Faerie Queene", I. V. 30); "Pyne, plagues, and dreary death" ("Shep. Calendar", July, 24); "Shrieks and cries and dreary yells" ("Tears of the Muses", 538); "dreary horror" ("Daphnaida", 328), etc.

The two examples of the adjective *drear* found in Spenser's verse occur in the following passages:

A. The first troupe was a monstrous rablement
Of fowle misshapen wightes, of which some were
Headed like Owles, with beκες uncomely bent;
Others like dogs; others like Gryphons dreare;
And some had wings, and some had clawes to teare.
(*"Faerie Queene"*, II. XI. 8.)

B. And now sad shadowes gan the world to hyde
From mortall vew, and wrap in darkenes dreare.
(ibid. III. XI. 55.)

In *A* the sense is obviously "dire, horrid"; in *B* it seems to be "sad" or "dismal".

In his early poems, which bear many traces of Spenser's influence, Milton avoids the longer form, cultivating the unusual and more exclusively Spenserian *drear*, which appears three times. In "Paradise Lost" there is one more example of it while *dreary* is used twice.

How closely *drear* was associated in Milton's mind with Spenser is shown by its appearance in that very passage of "Il Penseroso" where Spenser's poetry is described:

And if ought else, great *Bards* beside,
In sage and solemn tunes have sung,

Of Turneys and of Trophies hung;
 Of Forests, and enchantments drear,
 Where more is meant than meets the ear.

(ll. 116—120.)

The postposition of the adjective in "enchantments drear" is a further indication of Spenserian atmosphere, as a comparison with the two instances in Spenser suggests.

Before the composition of this passage Milton had used the word once, in his "Nativity Ode", stanza XXI:

In consecrated Earth,
 And on the holy Hearth,
 The *Lars* and *Lemures* moan with midnight plaint,
 In Urns, and Altars round,
 A drear, and dying sound
 Affrights the *Flamins* at their service quaint.

Later on we find it in "Comus" and in book X of "Paradise Lost":

But their way
 Lies through the perplex't paths of this drear Wood,
 The nodding horror of whose shady brows
 Threats the forlorn and wandring passinger.
 ("Comus", 36—39.)

The Hall, thick swarming now
 With complicated monsters, head and taile,
 Scorpion and Asp, and *Amphisbæna* dire,
Cerastes hornd, *Hydrus*, and *Ellops* drear.
 (P. L. X. 522—525.)

What perhaps appears more clearly in the examples from "Il Penseroso" and "Comus" than in any Spenserian instances of either *drear* or *dreary*, is the association with monotonous, dismal wildernesses: "*Forests*, and enchantments drear" and "the *perplex't* paths of this drear *Wood*". The notion of horror is plainly present in the "Comus" passage — though the word "*horror*" itself appears to have a double meaning there, as is shown on p. 29 — and may have been intended in "Il Penseroso" as well. But the setting is "sage and solemn", as Milton puts it, full of subdued gloom, and, at least in "Comus", of the poetry of deso-

lation. The quotation from the "Nativity Ode" may mean "melancholy" (cf. "with midnight *plaint*"). It is rather like 'The Faerie Queene', I. VIII. 38, where the same kind of low, dying sound ("an hollow, dreary, murmuring voyce") is described by means of the longer variant, similarly associated there with the noun "plaint" ("These pitteous plaintes and dolours").

In our last Miltonic example the context suggests that *drear* means "dire, horrid", as in Spenser's "Gryphons dreare".

The present analysis has led to results which are not identical with the definition of the early meaning of the word given in the N. E. D. There it is defined as "dismal, gloomy; repulsively dull or uninteresting". I have been unable to find any suggestion of dullness in its Spenserian or its Miltonic meaning. "Inchantments drear", for instance, are certainly not "dull enchantments", despite the hint at the monotony of large forests. The "drear wood" with its terror in "Comus" may be wearying and depressing but its menacing gloom is not conceived as dull.

The same definition is applied to Milton's use of *dreary* in P. L. I. 180, which is cited as the earliest occurrence of the word in this sense:

Seest thou yon dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde,
The seat of desolation, voyd of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Casts pale and dreadful?

The monotony here is on a much larger scale than in any of the passages analysed above, and is presented in a more emphatic way. In the other passage of "Paradise Lost" containing the word the scenery creates a similar impression:

Thus roving on

In confus'd march forlorn, th'adventrous Bands
With shuddring horror pale, and eyes agast
View'd first thir lamentable lot, and found
No rest: through many a dark and drearie Vaile
They pass'd, and many a Region dolorous,
O're many a Frozen, many a Fierie Alpe,
Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of
A Universe of death, which God by curse [death,
Created evil.

(P. L. II. 614—623.)

In both instances *dreary* seems to have something of its old meaning of "dire, horrid", perhaps with a suggestion of "sad". But the background with its overpowering sameness of gloom, the use of such expressions as "forlorn" (in both passages, as also in our quotation from "Comus") and "desolation" surround the word with an atmosphere rather different from the clamorous terror of Spenser's "shrieks and cries and dreary yells" and the like.

Monotonousness and sombre desolation have been shown to be the predominant elements in the setting of *drear* and *dreary* in Milton. This makes it permissible to risk the assumption that the poet associated these qualities with the words themselves. Some of the passages in which they occur are so intensely emotional that it seems difficult to see any "weakening of sense" there as the N. E. D. does. There seems to be no such thing, as far as Milton is concerned. Nevertheless it appears that in the character of the emotion accompanying these expressions a change or at least a specialization has taken place: it is usually the depressing, hopeless feeling suggested by their association with the word *forlorn*.

In the early post-Miltonic career of *dreary* these notions and this atmosphere cling to the word but often with a subtle difference. Both the expression itself and its context seem to be affected by the general decline of concentrated emotional force that characterizes the verse of the early eighteenth century. The similarity with Milton is striking enough in such an example as the following from Prior's "Solomon":

If on the backward world his views are cast,
'Tis death diffus'd, and universal waste.
Present (sad prospect!) can he aught descry,
But (what affects his melancholy eye)
The beauties of the ancient fabric lost,
In chains of craggy hill, or lengths of dreary coast?

(Book III, ll. 396—401.)

This is the same dismal monotony (cf. "*lengths of dreary coast*"), with the same vision of death, as in our second example from "Paradise Lost", but Milton's monumental grandeur of gloom is absent. The nature of this change can perhaps be best

illustrated by an examination of James Thomson's usage, who had a special liking for the word. I quote some typical examples from his "Seasons":

A. The First up-tracing, from the dreary void,
The chain of causes and effects to HIM.
(*"Summer"*, 1744—1745.)

B. No more the Mountain, horrid, vast, sublime,
Who pours a sweep of rivers from his sides,
And high between contending kingdoms rears
The rocky long division, fills the view
With great variety; but in a night
Of gathering vapour, from the baffled sense
Sinks dark and dreary.
(*"Autumn"*, 709—715.)

C. But should a quicker Breeze amid the boughs
Sob, o'er the sky the leafy deluge streams;
Till choked, and matted with the dreary shower,
The forest walks, at every rising gale,
Roll wide the wither'd waste, and whistle bleak.
(*"Autumn"*, 991—995.)

D. A bleak expanse,
Shagg'd o'er with wavy rocks, cheerless, and void
Of every life, that from the dreary months
Flies conscious southwards.
(*"Winter"*, 917—920.)

What all these examples have in common, is the impression of the gloomy want of change they are intended to convey. The „dreary void” of infinite space; the “dark and dreary” effect of a mountain in autumn as contrasted with the “great variety” of its sight in summer; the ceaseless autumnal rains choking and matting the forests; the “dreary months” of lifeless, bleak winter: what we are shown throughout is depressing sameness. However, only A and B, especially the latter, show any attempt at Miltonic sublimity. Characteristically enough both are clothed in unmistakable Miltonic diction. *Void* (as a noun!) is an expression typical of the author of “Paradise Lost”, having probably been coined by him. B contains other memorable elements of Milton's

poetic speech: *horrid*, *vast*, and *sublime*. Our third and fourth quotations indicate no hankering after such heights. They are much better characterized by the adjectives *bleak* and *cheerless*, which we actually find in them. The effect they produce, though not unlike Milton's in kind, is totally different in intensity. *Dreary* has become an epithet for comparatively trivial things, and its emotional force has declined correspondingly. Professor Havens has pointed out that one of Thomson's great achievements is to have shown "how blank verse could be successfully devoted to the treatment of everyday subjects" ¹⁾. This is true: the problem is merely whether this, at least in the case of Thomson, has not led to some debasement of Milton's splendid magniloquence. A similar lowering of subject-matter and setting has doubtless brought about a partial loss of dignity and force as far as the expression here examined is concerned.

However, this is not quite the final stage in the progress of the word towards its present pejorative sense. This stage seems to have been reached in Shenstone's "Schoolmistress", where *dreary* is coupled with *dull*:

Lost in the dreary shades of dull obscurity.

(Stanza I.)

It should be noted that in the above analysis only those aspects of the history of *dreary* have been considered that seem to be connected with Milton's usage. The old meanings did not die out all at once, as the evidence collected in the N. E. D. shows. The present writer's material also contains examples rather different from those discussed. Thus, though the following passage from Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" contains detail that may have been inspired by Milton's descriptions of Hell, the treatment of *dreary* does not seem to conform to the tradition originated by the author of those descriptions:

But when through all th'infernal bounds,
Which flaming Phlegeton surrounds,
Love, strong as Death, the Poets led
To the pale nations of the dead,

¹⁾ "The Influence of Milton", p. 124.

What sounds were heard,
 What scenes appear'd,
 O'er all the dreary coasts!
 Dreadful gleams,
 Dismal screams,
 Fires that glow,
 Shrieks of woe...

This, and what follows, is not monotony but a pandemonium of horror reminding one of those Spenserian "shrieks and cries and dreary yells" that we have found to disagree with Milton's conception of "dreariness".

The subsequent history of *drear* is somewhat different. It remains a rarer and more distinguished word than *dreary*, retaining most of its poetic dignity. Like the latter expression, it generally describes monotony, often with a suggestion of depressing gloom, but its status is higher, which is not infrequently indicated by its being placed after its noun. Thomson uses it, e. g., to describe a "lazar-house" with "unnumber'd wretches" tossing in squalid misery ("The Castle of Indolence", II, st. 67):

Soon as of sacred light the unwonted smile
 Pour'd on these living catacombs its ray,
 Through the drear caverns stretching many a mile.

This is horror and sameness combined but the impression is not one of triviality. Warton provides us with a very similar instance:

Or the lame wretch in desert drear confin'd.
 ("A Fragment of a Satire".)

Southey describes a moor,

Barren, and wide, and drear, and desolate.
 ("Vis. Maid of Orleans", I. 12.)

Wordsworth has "marshes drear" ("Ecc. Sonn.", 2. 13. 7) and "desert drear" ("Descr. Sketches", ed. 1793, l. 199), keeping within the same distinctly poetic tradition. *Drear* is never juxtaposed by him with *dull*, as *dreary* is more than once ("Peter Bell", 875: "That dull and dreary sound"; "Written in Germany, on one of the coldest days of the century", l. 5: "This dreary dull plate of black metal").

Like the longer variant, *drear* continues to appear in non-Miltonic senses. Thus, it may mean "sad" (of persons, their actions, emotions, etc.), e. g. in Parnell's "Fairy Tale": "His heart was drear, his hope was cross'd". Shelley also uses it in this sense: "Leave me not wild and drear and comfortless" ("Adonais", XXV. 6). But on the whole the meaning that seems to predominate is that introduced by Milton.

13. LONELY.

This adjective, derived from the earlier *lone*, is implied in the noun *loneliness*, first found in Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia", I. 496 (ed. 1590): "That huge and sportfull assemblie grewe to him a tedious lonelinesse, esteeming no body found, since Dai-phantus was lost." Here *loneliness* seems to mean "want of company, solitude", possibly with some reference to the frame of mind caused by such a state.

Shakespeare adopts the word, using it twice, apparently in the unemotional sense of "keeping apart, keeping away from company". Polonius uses it to describe Ophelia's remaining alone in a room, and the Countess in "All's Well that Ends Well" to define Hero's avoidance of society:

Read on this book;
That show of such an exercise may colour
Your loneliness.
("Hamlet", III. 1. 46.)

What, pale again?
My fear hath catcht your fondness; now I see
The mystery of your loneliness, and find
Your salt tears' head.
("All's Well", I. 3. 177.)

In "Coriolanus" we already find the adjective — its first occurrence in literature:

Like to a lonely dragon, that his fen
Makes fear'd and talk'd of.
(Act IV, 1. 30.)

Editors seem to be more or less agreed as to the reading "lonely" in the following passage, where the First Folio has "Louely":

As she lived peerless,
So her dead likeness, I do well believe,
Excels whatever yet you looked upon,
Or hand of man hath done; therefore I keep it
Lonely, apart.

("The Winter's Tale", V. 3. 18.)

If we accept this reading, the sense can only be "standing apart, kept aside". "Keeping apart" appears also to be the meaning in "Coriolanus", where the general emotional appeal of the passage is mainly due to the subsequent description of the setting.

Milton took up the word and developed it, especially in his *Minor Poems*¹⁾, where it occurs three times with an effective background. It is used of aspects of melancholy or solemn scenery:

The lonely mountains o're,
And the resounding shore,
A voice of weeping heard, and loud lament.
("Nativity Ode", 181—183.)

Or let my Lamp at Midnight hour,
Be seen in som high lonely Towr.
("Il Penseroso", 85—86.)

It also serves to characterize the solitude of belated travellers who have lost their way in a forest:

Els O theevish Night
Why shouldst thou, but for som fellonious 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 Travailer?
("Comus", 195—200.)

¹⁾ Cf. Professor G. S. Gordon, "Shakespeare's English", S. P. E. Tract No. XXIX, p. 266 n.; and A. Oras, "Milton's Editors and Commentators", pp. 191—192.

The setting is nocturnal and grave in each case. Desolation or pensive sadness is suggested by the context. The same holds good of Milton's only early use of *loneliness*, in "Comus", l. 404:

And let a single helpless maiden pass
Uninjur'd in this wilde surrounding wast.
Of night, or lonelines it recks me not.

In his later verse Milton prefers the older synonym *solitary*, which is used only once in his early work. But on two occasions *lonely* appears in "Paradise Lost", in one case at least with a sombre, highly impressive background, though not itself applied to scenery:

From them I go
This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
My self expose, with lonely steps to tread
Th'unfounded deep.

(P. L. II. 826—829.)

In most of the above examples *lonely* indicates more than a mere keeping apart from or being deprived of Company. It suggests a more complete isolation, the solitude of wide or even vast tracts of uninhabited land or space. This use may have been inspired by the "Coriolanus" passage, where the reference to the dragon's fen leads to similar associations. But in Milton it is constantly embedded in passages of such individual and gloomy beauty that the adjective, not yet having been definitely naturalized by any previous writer, may be supposed to have received much of its specific colouring from these instances.

The last example of the word in Milton's poetry, though beautiful, appears in a context of less memorable force and originality:

Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes
Thy Husband, him to follow thou art bound.

(P. L. XI. 290—291.)

Here the intense emotional atmosphere of the other Miltonic instances is not clearly perceptible. *Lonely* may possibly refer to the feeling of loneliness in Eve but this need not be the case. Most probably it is predominantly an objective reference to the state of being alone.

Dryden, who, as we have seen, was not quite uninfluenced by Miltonic usage, is the next author registered by the N. E. D. as having used the word. The earliest example that I have noticed is in "Aureng-Zebe"¹), published in 1676, the year of the appearance of "The State of Innocence", where the first post-Miltonic instances of *gloom* and *to swim* with reference to eyesight are found (cf. above, p. 8, and below, p. 63):

These thoughts are but your Melancholy's Food,
Rais'd from a lonely Life, and dark Abode.
(Act III, scene I.)

The word is here as closely associated with darkness and melancholy as in Milton. A very similar case occurs in Dryden's "Aeneid", book VII, l. 619:

But time has made you dote, and vainly tell
Of arms imagin'd, in your lonely cell.

This is Dryden's own embroidery on the much simpler fabric of the original. He seems to like it, for he repeats the same words a little later, in line 635, again entirely on his own initiative:

Behold whom time has made to dote, and tell
Of arms, imagin'd in her lonely cell.

What we do not find here is Milton's scenery. But it appears three years later, in Dryden's "Fables". In his version of "The Wife of Bath's Tale" there is a passage, created by his own free fancy, that reminds us of "Comus":

Lonely the vale, and full of horror stood,
Brown with the shade of a religious wood.
(ll. 211—212.)

¹) In his "Account of the English Dramatick Poets" (1691, p. 157), Langbaine points out the resemblance of the following lines to "Samson Agonistes", 960—962:

Unmoved she stood, and deaf to all my prayers,
As seas and winds to sinking mariners.
But seas grow calm, and winds are reconciled.
(Aureng-Zebe, Act I.)

The parallel is close. I owe this reference to Professor R. D. Havens, "The Influence of Milton", p. 118n.

In this case the adjective is used exactly in Milton's manner (cf. "The lonely mountains o're"). This passage, apart from the general impression it creates, abounds in expressions that, used in a similar way, are characteristic of Milton's early verse. The "horror" of the wood reminds one of "the nodding horror" of the forest's "shady brows" in "Comus" (cf. above, p. 29). The "brown shade" occurs in "Il Penseroso" (cf. *ibid.*). The impressive use of the epithet "religious" is not unlike that in "Il Penseroso": "A dimm religious light" (cf. below, p. 66). None of these details, taken by themselves, may be regarded as sufficient proof of Milton's influence. As cumulative evidence, however, they may be of some value. It is probable that Dryden's reading of Milton's *Minor Poems* left its mark on these two lines, particularly if we take into account that a very characteristic passage of "Il Penseroso" is imitated in "Oedipus", where it may easily have been Dryden who introduced the Miltonic echo (cf. below, p. 63).

Another typical instance of the same epithet is found in "Theodore and Honoria", also included in Dryden's "Fables". The hero of the tale goes out for an early walk in the spring woods:

Before his usual hour he left his bed,
To walk within a lonely lawn, that stood
On every side surrounded by the wood:
Alone he walked, to please his pensive mind,
And sought the deepest solitude to find;
'Twas in a grove of spreading pines he strayed;
The winds within the quivering branches played,
And dancing trees a mournful music made.
The place itself was suiting to his care.

(ll. 73—80.)

Here it is again an aspect of the landscape that is qualified by the adjective. The deep solitude, pleasing to the "pensive mind", the melancholy implications of the scene are in what one feels tempted to call the purest *Penseroso* tradition. The associations evoked by the epithet, the entire context differ in no essentials from what we have seen in Milton.

The same features characterize the early eighteenth century use of the word. It is very frequently — from my own obser-

vation I should say, mostly — associated with scenery of the Nativity Ode - Il Penseroso - Comus type. Pensive or melancholy solitude, lonely woods, shores, deserts, wilds, towers are the rule. Some examples from authors with well-known Miltonic leanings may be quoted to illustrate this statement:

Addison: Through pathless fields and lonely shores to range,
And woods, made thicker by the sister's change.

(Transl. of Ovid's "Transformation of Cygnus".)

Though in a bare and rugged way,
Through devious lonely wilds I stray.

("Paraphrase on Psalm XXIII".)

Then let the wanton flocks unguarded stray;
Or, while the lonely shepherd sings,
Amidst the mighty ruins play,
And frisk upon the tomb of kings.

("Translation of Horace", III. 3.)

Pope: Then frantic rise, and like some Fury rove
Through lonely plains, and through the silent
As if the silent grove, and lonely plains, [grove;
That knew my pleasures, could relieve my pains.

("Sappho to Phaon", 159—162.)

And left him sorrowing on the lonely coast.

("Iliad", I. 564.)

Where grazing heifers range the lonely wood.
(*ibid.* V. 207.)

Young: Pure gurgling rills the lonely desert trace ¹⁾.

("Love of Fame", V. 231.)

In James Thomson the word is found in similar combinations, such as the "lonely floods" of "wide Siberia" ("Autumn", 793),

¹⁾ 24 lines later in this early poem Young addresses solitude in the genuine Penseroso manner:

O sacred solitude! divine retreat!
Choice of the Prudent! envy of the Great!
By thy pure stream, or in thy waving shade,
We court fair Wisdom, that celestial maid.

("Love of Fame", V. 231.)

"the lonely dale" ("Spring", 224), the "lonely listening plain" ("The Lover's Fate", 3—4), "the lonely Tower" ("Summer", 1678). This is still the Miltonic epithet of landscape. But Thomson's passion for solitude, more exuberant than Milton's, at least in poetry, leads him to introduce the word into phrases more obviously emotional even than those we have found in the *Minor Poems*. The author of the "Seasons" outdoes Milton in the latter's own domain. This applies, e. g., to the following description of the lover who, having spent the day "in soft anguish",

Associates with the midnight shadows drear;
And, sighing to the lonely taper, pours
His idly-tortur'd heart into the page
Meant for the moving messenger of love.

("Spring", 1039—1042.)

This is most probably an imitation of "Il Penseroso", ll. 85—86:

Or let my Lamp at Midnight hour
Be seen in som high lonely Tower.

The whole context in which the above description occurs, sprinkled with easily recognizable Miltonic reminiscences, makes this fairly certain ¹⁾. But Thomson's much more rapturous style (the very word *rapture* is used twice in the line immediately following our quotation) is reflected in his changed treatment of *lonely*. This expression is applied to the taper, scarcely in order

¹⁾ See ll. 1031—1033:

Till the moon
Peeps through the chambers of the fleecy east,
Enlighten'd by degrees.

Compare this with "Il Penseroso", ll. 71—72 (a reference to the moon):

And oft, as if her head she bow'd,
Stooping through a fleecy cloud.

See also "Comus", l. 101 (of the sun):

Pacing toward the other gole
Of his Chamber in the East.

The "pensive dusk" through which the lover strays ("Spring", l. 1024), the brook on whose banks he lies and meditates, are features recalling "Il Penseroso".

to emphasize that it is burning in isolation, with no other tapers to keep it company, but to characterize the atmosphere that it creates. *Lonely* here apparently means "imparting a feeling of loneliness" — a sense not recorded by the N. E. D. until the nineteenth century.

Thomson's emotionalism also shows itself in his associating this epithet with the heart, perhaps for the first time, at any rate 83 years earlier than the first example in the N. E. D.:

Like silent-working Heaven, surprizing oft
The lonely heart with unexpected good.
(*"Spring"*, 882—883.)

Here the sense is probably "feeling lonely". The emphasis has been shifted from the cause of feeling to the feeling subject. These examples show how the emotional aspect of the word is beginning to obscure its element of objective statement.

The same is sometimes true of Gray's usage. He writes of "lonely anguish" that "melts no heart but mine" (*"Sonnet on the Death of Mr. Richard West"*), applying the epithet to the feeling itself. The "lonely Contemplation" in his *"Elegy"*, l. 73, is different, chiefly because the personification of the abstract noun is so clearly marked and because its meaning precludes any but grave and subdued emotional associations¹).

All these new shades of meaning remain characteristic of the word as employed by the Romanticists. We can see the various strands combined in Wordsworth. *Lonely* apparently remains for him a Miltonic expression. He certainly associates it with Milton's *Penseroso* mood and imagery:

Near that Cell — yon sequestered Retreat high in air —
Where our Milton was wont lonely vigils to keep
For converse with God, sought through study and prayer.
(*"At Vallombrosa"*, 6—8.)

¹) How distinctively Miltonic the word was felt to be even as late as 1744 appears from the fact that it is defined as "Miltonian", i. e. as coined by Milton, in a work published in that year, viz. James Paterson's "Complete Commentary, with Etymological, Explanatory, Critical and Classical Notes on Milton's *Paradise Lost*". Cf. II. 828n.

With him it also remains essentially an epithet of scenery. Milton's "lonely Tower", alluded to in the preceding lines, is copied by him more than once, e. g. in "Brougham Castle", l. 49: "A lonely tower"; in "the White Doe of Rylstone", l. 1200: "the lonely watch-tower". "Grasmere's lonely island" ("Evening Walk", 5), "lonely hills" ("Brougham Castle", 164), "lonely mountains" ("Mark the Concentrated Hazels that Enclose", 9), "lonely streams" ("Tintern Abbey", 69), "lonely woods" and "lonely wood" ("To Enterprise", 92; "Peter Bell", 827) are only a few out of a multitude of cases where the word serves to describe details of landscape. But the specific usage of Thomson is also echoed: "lonely tapers" ("Eccl. Sonnets", 3. 5. 11), "a lonely lamp" ("The Russian Fugitive", 100), "her lonely lamp" ("The Prelude", XIV. 274). The sense "causing a feeling of loneliness and melancholy" is brought out clearly in these lines:

But not a living creature could be seen
Through its wide circuit, that, in deep repose,
And, even to sadness, lonely and serene,
Lay hushed.

("Ode. 1814", 16—19.)

Feeling and thought are repeatedly qualified as *lonely*: "a lonely pleasure" ("Pleasures newly found", 25—26); "Haunting the spots with lonely cheer Which her dear mistress once held dear" ("The White Doe of Rylstone", 1879—1880); "this lonely thought" (ibid., 1291); "in lonely thought" ("The Prelude", III. 440), etc. Sounds receive the same epithet: "The widow's lonely shriek" ("George and Sarah Green", 9—12). Compare also "Ode. 1814", ll. 82—86:

No sooner ceased that peal, than on the verge
Of exultation being a dirge
Breathed from a soft and lonely instrument,
That kindled recollections
Of agonized affections.

Later writers add little to this. The emotional character of the word has been definitely established — as we have seen, with the recollection of Milton's usage constantly present.

14. TWILIGHT.

In earlier use this word always denotes "the dubious or faint light before sunrise, and after sunset", to use Dr. Samuel Johnson's definition. It is sometimes used figuratively, as in Shakespeare's Sonnet LXXIII (its only occurrence in Shakespeare):

In me thou seest the twi-light of such day,
As after Sun-set fadeth in the West.

Compare also Donne:

A glimmering light,
A faint weake love of vertue, and of good,
Reflects from her, on them which understood
Her worth; and though she have shut in all day,
The twilight of her memory doth stay.
(*"The first Anniversary"*, 70—74.)

This is the literal sense, though used symbolically.

Milton's contribution to the development of the word may be summed up as his exploitation of its descriptive aspect. In some cases the expression as used by him seems hardly even figuratively to allude to early morning or early night but merely to a certain kind of illumination. Moreover, he employs it from the first as an attribute, which usage is not recorded in earlier sources. The nouns which it qualifies are invariably concrete (*shade, groves, meadows, ranks*), so that impressive, compact visual images are formed. In the Minor Poems this is Milton's only method of using the word whereas in his later verse it always appears as an independent noun.

Twice the expression describes the deep shade of foliage:

With flowre-inwov'n tresses torn
The Nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.
(*"Nativity Ode"*, 188.)

And when the Sun begins to fling
His flaring beams, me Goddes bring
To arched walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown that *Sylvan* loves.
(*"Il Penseroso"*, 131—134.)

In the other two instances found in his early verse the original sense is intended but the context is such as to bring out with particular vividness an effect of illumination in a landscape setting:

On old *Lycæus* or *Cyllene* hoar,
Trip no more in twilight ranks.

(“Arcades”, 98—99.)

Still she retains
Her maid’n gentleness, and oft at Eeve
Visits the herds along the twilight meadows.

(“Comus”, 842—844.)

In his later work, where the noun is generally used in its original sense, though at times with much insistence on the visual effect of faint light (cf. P. L. V. 645; IV. 598), there is also an impressive instance of its indicating a gloomy light recalling the illumination after sunset:

As when the Sun . . .
. from behind the Moon
In dim Eclips disastrous twilight sheds
On half the Nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes Monarchs.

(P. L. I. 594—599.)

This and the two cases quoted above from the “Nativity Ode” and from “Il Penseroso” are the earliest known examples denoting a light merely resembling twilight.

Milton’s imitators from Pope onwards made much use of the expression as developed by him. They added nuances but the Miltonic starting-point is often unmistakable. In “Eloisa to Abelard”, ll. 163—165, Pope copies the combination used by Milton in “Il Penseroso”, in a passage distinctly reminiscent of the latter poem:

But on the twilight groves and dusky caves,
Long-sounding aisles, and intermittent graves,
Black Melancholy sits.

But he also applies the word with skill and acuteness to an abstract concept, at the same time suggesting a visual impression of dimness:

Thy choicer mists on this assembly shed,
 But pour them thickest on the noble head.
 So shall each youth, assisted by our eyes,
 See other Cæsars, other Homers rise;
 Through twilight ages hunt th' Athenian fowl,
 Which Chalcis Gods, and mortals call an Owl.
 ("Dunciad", IV. 357—362.)

Twilight here suggests the vagueness of mist and haze, atmospheric as well as intellectual, but perhaps also the obscurity of *the darker Ages* (introduced in 1687; *the dark Ages* appears in 1730) and the dusk befitting the image of the owl. Milton's distinctive usage has left its impress on Pope's phrase but the new ambiguity imposed upon the latter bears the mark of the author's delight in intellectual play.

The attributive use of the word originated by Milton is further found, e. g., in Thomson, Collins, Gray, Thomas Warton, all ardent Miltonians. Sometimes the reference is to actual twilight and sometimes only to shade and dim light, but what characterizes most of the instances that the present writer has noticed is the distinctly pictorial function of the term. Not infrequently Milton is accurately copied. Some typical instances may be quoted:

O! bear me then to vast embowering shades,
 To twilight groves and visionary vales.
 (Thomson's "Autumn", 1030—1031.)

At that still hour, when awful midnight reigns,
 And none, but wretches, haunt the twilight plains ¹).
 (Collins, "Eclogues", IV.)

As oft he rises 'midst the twilight path,
 Against the pilgrim borne in heedless hum.
 (Collins, "Ode to Evening".)

Where swains contented own the quiet scene,
 And twilight fairies tread the circled green ²).
 (Collins, "Ep. to Sir Thomas Hanmer".)

¹) Cf. "the twilight meadows", "Comus", 844.

²) Cf. "Trip no more in twilight ranks", "Arcades", 99.

In climes beyond the solar road,
Where shaggy forms o'er ice-built mountains roam,
The Muse has broke the twilight gloom
To cheer the shivering native's dull abode.

(Gray, "The Progress of Poesy", II. 2.)

To ruin'd seats, to twilight cells and bowers,
Where thoughtful Melancholy loves to muse.

(T. Warton, "Pleasures of Melancholy", 19—20.)

Let me therefore ever dwell
In this twilight, solemn Cell ¹⁾,
For musing Melancholy made,
Whose entrance venerable Oaks o'ershade.

(T. Warton, "An Ode Written in a Grotto near
Farnham in Surry", V.)

With the two so-called Romantic Generations the expression remains a favourite. As an attribute it is fairly frequent, often clearly showing its Miltonic origin. Wordsworth has fifteen instances of the attributive use, Shelley likewise fifteen, Keats three. Milton's "twilight shade" is used by Wordsworth four times ²⁾, the "twilight meadows" of "Comus" are changed by him to "twilight fields" ³⁾. Other aspects of rural scenery defined by the word in Wordsworth's poetry are: glens, water ⁴⁾. Shelley has "twilight grove" (twice), "dim twilight lawns", "twilight trees", "the twilight sea", "the twilight deep", "every twilight wave", "dim twilight mountains" ⁵⁾. In Keats we find "a twilight bower" ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Here the attribute is plainly adjectival.

²⁾ Cf. "Evening Walk", ed. 1793, l. 80; "Descriptive Sketches", ed. 1793, l. 689; "To S. H.", l. 6; "To the Sons of Burns", l. 7. The later disappearance of the expression from Wordsworth's two juvenile poems may possibly indicate a desire to avoid Miltonic clichés. Cf. next page, n. 1.

³⁾ Cf. "The River Duddon", XI. 14.

⁴⁾ Cf. "Evening Walk", l. 11; "Descriptive Sketches", l. 116.

⁵⁾ Cf. "Queen Mab", VII. 270; "Queen of my heart", I. 2; "Prometheus Unbound", II. 3. 26; "To Coleridge", 4; "The Revolt of Islam", V. 19. 9; *ibid.* VII. 40. 8; "Ode to Naples", 167; "The Revolt of Islam", XII. 21. 5.

⁶⁾ "Endymion", III. 418.

As this evidence indicates, the Miltonic tradition in the use of the expression persists. But there are also some innovations. Wordsworth's early descriptive verse has the phrases "twilight ditty" and "twilight lute" — a characteristically vague but effective blending of visual and acoustic data ¹⁾. In Shelley dim reveries are called "twilight Phantasies" ²⁾ — probably in allusion to the time when they are most likely to occur but also to the indefiniteness of such mental processes. Here *twilight* is almost synonymous with *dim* or *vague*. Impressions not easily definable in logical terms seem to have been crowded into Keats's "twilight eyes" ³⁾, viz. the eyes of Cynthia. The reference appears to be partly to the dimness of the moon but doubtless also to the elusiveness of the imaginary vision of a goddess. In comparison with such uses Milton's seems simple and definite.

15. GLOOM.

- A. And though the shady gloom
 Had given day her room,
 The Sun himself with-held his wonted speed.
 ("Nativity Ode", 77.)
- B. Where glowing Embers through the room
 Teach light to counterfeit a gloom.
 ("Il Penseroso", 79—80.)
- C. But when the Dragon woom
 Of Stygian darknes spets her thickest gloom,
 And makes one blot of all the ayr.
 ("Comus", 131—133.)
- D. Is this the Region, . . . this the seat
 That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
 For that celestial light?
 (P. L. I. 242—245.)

¹⁾ "Evening Walk", ed. 1793, l. 225; "Descriptive Sketches", ed. 1793, l. 749. Not found in the later texts of these poems.

²⁾ "Adonais", XIII. 4.

³⁾ "Endymion", II. 193.

passages containing the word, example *B*, is probably an echo of a Spenserian passage where the verb occurs ¹⁾:

His glistening armor made
A little glooming light, much like a shade.
(“Faerie Queene”, I. I. 14.)

The meaning of the noun in Milton seems always to be “darkness, obscurity”, varying, however, from the “thickest gloom” of Stygian night in *C* to the twilight illumination in *B*. Sometimes, though not always, the context suggests melancholy, depressing darkness, as, e. g., in *C*, *D* (“this *mournful* gloom”), *G*, *I* (“damps and *dreadful* gloom”).

The N. E. D. states that apart from the nine Miltonic instances “our material contains no other examples earlier than the 18th c.”. The present writer has come across three earlier instances, one in Dryden’s “State of Innocence” (1676), one in “Oedipus” (1679), the tragedy written by him in joint authorship with Nathaniel Lee, and one in his translation of the “Aeneid” (1697):

- (1) Lives there who would not seek to force his Way
From Pain to Ease, from Darkness to the Day?
Should I, who found the Means to 'scape, not dare
To change my sulph'rous Smoak for upper Air?
..... Should I not seek
The Clemency of some more temp'rate Clime,
To purge my Gloom; and by the Sun refin'd,
Bask in his Beams, and bleach me in the Wind?
(“The State of Innocence”, act III, scene 1.)

- (2) What means this melancholy Light, that seems
The Gloom of glowing Embers?
(“Oedipus”, act II, scene 1.)

- (3) The Trojan fix'd his view,
And scarcely through the gloom the sullen shadow knew.
(“Aeneid”, book VI, ll. 465—466.)

¹⁾ This parallelism was pointed out by Thomas Warton in his edition of Milton’s Minor poems, II P. 80n.

Example (1) is obviously based on P. L. II. 390 et seq., which it represents in Dryden's adaptation of the epic. Quotation (2) is perhaps even more manifestly imitated from *B*. For (3) no direct model can be found but it is plain that *gloom* there is from Milton. Dryden seems to have chanced upon the word while "tagging" Milton's points for the stage. Whether (2) is by him or by Lee must remain undecided, for the latter occasionally also borrowed from Milton¹). Nevertheless the occurrence in it of an expression that apart from Milton apparently only Dryden had used before makes one feel tempted to attribute these lines to him. Moreover, we have already noted some probable echoes of "Il Penseroso" in his work²). Here it is the same poem that is imitated, perhaps for the first time.

In (1) and (2) the melancholy associations that the expression evokes are deliberately emphasized. (1) differs from *F*, which it echoes, in that *gloom* in the former might easily be interpreted in its modern psychological sense but for the fact that it is obviously contrasted with "the Sun" in the same line, exactly as a few lines earlier "Darkness" and "the Day" are opposed. On the whole, the evidence in all three cases points distinctly towards the sense of "darkness, obscurity".

In the early eighteenth century the word seems to have been regarded as a characteristically Miltonic element of poetic diction. John Philips uses it in his "Blenheim"³):

When first the sun with new-born light removes
The long-incumbent gloom.

This is deliberate imitation, like the following instance from Addison's "Milton's Style Imitated in a Story out of the Third Æneid" (1704):

For all the night
A murky storm deep louring o'er our heads
Hung imminent, that with impervious gloom
Oppos'd itself to Cynthia's silver ray,
And shaded all beneath.

¹) Cf. Havens, "The Influence of Milton", p. 14 n.

²) Cf. our treatment of *lonely*.

³) In 1705. Cf. "Poems attempted in the Style of Milton", ed. 1776, p. 56.

The expression occurs also in his Ovid ("The Transformation of Cygnus into a Swan"), with its emotional aspect more definitely stressed:

Whilst here, within the dismal gloom, alone,
The melancholy monarch made his moan.

In his "Rosamond" (I. II.) it means "a deeply shaded or darkened place" — a sense also favoured by Thomson and Collins:

Your Highness . . .
Has chose the most convenient Gloom;
There's not a Place in all the Park
Has Trees so thick, and Shades so dark.
(Quoted from the N. E. D.)

In all these examples the reference is to illumination, not to a state of mind, except in Dryden's metaphor, where, however, the concrete sense clearly predominates. This appears also to hold good of Pope's usage, even though the emotional associations of the word are effectively exploited by him, e. g. in "Eloisa to Abelard", ll. 37—38:

Now warm in love, now with'ring in my bloom,
Lost in a convent's solitary gloom!

Compare also the "Dunciad", IV. 532, and the translation of the "Iliad", VI. 172, XIII. 536, XV. 369, XVII. 34.

The N. E. D. finds no case of *gloom* in the psychological sense until 1744. This is a curious fact, for the sombre imagery and melancholy state of mind with which it was constantly associated, e. g. in Thomson's "Seasons" ¹⁾, as well as the existence of the adjective *gloomy*, would have led one to expect an earlier development of this meaning. However, the following example from Young's "Love of Fame" (1725—1728), which the N. E. D. may have overlooked, seems already to treat the word as a psychological term:

¹⁾ Professor H. Mutschmann quotes several extracts from the "Seasons" where *gloom* is used almost in its later figurative sense. However, in those passages, as well as elsewhere in Thomson, the noun, as far as I can see, is also quite distinctly meant to convey a visual image. Cf. "The Secret of John Milton", Tartu, 1925, p. 89.

By thwarting passions toss'd, by cares oppress,
 He found the tempest pictur'd in his breast:
 But, *now*, what joys that gloom of heart dispel,
 No power of language — but his own, can tell.

(VII. 229—232.)

This is still a metaphor in which the concrete, Miltonic, sense is present, but it is extremely close to being an abstract term. It is an interesting coincidence that the first example of the psychological sense in the N. E. D. contains almost exactly the same phrase: "The Face of Nature, said he, will perhaps dispel these Glooms" (James Harries, "Three Treatises", 1744). This looks like an echo of Young's passage, which any careful reader of his may easily have remembered, for it occurs at the very end of his poem.

Young probably had the word from Milton, whose use of it he sometimes directly imitates¹). In taking the step that transferred it from the concrete sphere into the abstract he merely did what was suggested by the atmosphere in which Milton had already wrapped the expression.

16. RELIGIOUS, PROPHETIC.

In "Il Penseroso", l. 160, the adjective *religious* is used in a way suggesting the sense "inspiring with a religious feeling" — a meaning of which I have been unable to find any earlier instances:

And storied Windows richly dight,
 Casting a dimm religious light.

The N. E. D., it is true, cites a passage from May's *Lucan* (1627) where the atmosphere and general impression are rather similar. But in May the adjective is applied to the feeling itself, not to its cause:

¹) Cf. "Deep in the dreadful gloom" ("The Force of Religion", I. 123) and P. L. X. 848: "With damps and dreadful gloom". See also "Il Penseroso", 79—80 and "The Force of Religion". II. 70 (of a lamp):

It sheds a quivering melancholy gloom,
 Which only shows the darkness of the room.

A sad religious awe
The quiet trees vnstirr'd by winde doe draw.

Milton's use is echoed in Collins's "Ode to Evening", a poem rich in Miltonic associations:

To find some ruin 'midst its dreary dells,
Whose walls more awful nod
By thy religious gleams.

Even the application of the epithet to a noun descriptive of twilight illumination is reproduced by Collins.

In the 1793 text of Wordsworth's "Descriptive Sketches" there is a similar use of the adjective, apparently inspired by Milton but perhaps for that very reason cancelled in later editions:

The cots, those dim religious groves embow'r.
(l. 124.)

Traces of this usage may probably be found in James Thomson's treatment of another epithet of cognate sense in "The Winter", l. 1030:

Oh, bear me then to vast embowering shades,
To twilight groves and visionary vales;
To weeping grottoes, and prophetic glooms;
Where angel forms athwart the solemn dusk
Tremendous sweep, or seem to sweep along;
And voices more than human, through the void
Deep-sounding, seize th' enthusiastic ear!

It is "prophetic glooms" that interests us. "Glooms" suggests twilight, no matter whether it is intended to mean "gloomy places", "shady spots", or the corresponding illumination ¹⁾. *Pro-*

¹⁾ Cf. above, note on *gloom*. Thomson has both meanings with the plural:

As through the falling glooms
Pensive I stray or with the rising dawn
On Fancy's eagle-wing excursive soar.
(*"Summer"*, 196—198.)

But most in woodland solitude delight,
In unfrequented glooms, or shaggy banks.
(*"Spring"*, 641—642.)

phetic in conjunction with it is descriptive of an indefinite atmosphere of biblical prophecy caused by vague light ¹⁾. The "Il Penseroso" character of the passage is unmistakable. The "twilight groves" have been borrowed bodily from Milton's poem, which also uses *prophetic* in a similar though not an identical way, for the literal sense is still suggested:

Till old experience do attain
To something like Prophetic strain.

Though Milton here probably speaks of the prophetic gifts acquired through the study and "right spelling" of "every Star that Heav'n doth shew, And every Herb that sips the dew" (ibid. ll. 171—172), his indefinite wording ("*something like* Prophetic strain") wraps the adjective in a cloud of suggestiveness, like *religious* fourteen lines earlier. Both words are characteristic in a similar way of the final part of "Il Penseroso", and in Thomson's mind one may have called up the other, endowing it with its stylistic properties.

In the poetry of the Romanticists this impressionist use of *prophetic* is sometimes found. In the invocation to the Muse, the "first-born on the mountains" (cf. "L'Allegro", 36: "The Mountain-Nymph, sweet Liberty") at the beginning of book IV of "Endymion", Keats says to her:

Long didst thou sit amid our regions wild
Rapt in a deep prophetic solitude.

This looks like the Milton tradition. This impression is strengthened by other details in the neighbourhood of these lines: "the northern grot" in which the Muse of England has been sitting alone, the reference to the Druid ²⁾ in l. 9. Professor de Selincourt has shown this poem to contain a not inconsiderable number of borrowings from Milton, especially from his earlier verse. That the Miltonic "deep solitude" is characterized here by means of the equally Miltonic epithet *prophetic* and that this epithet is used in a manner suggestive of what was the most popular of Milton's Minor Poems are therefore facts of some interest.

¹⁾ "Visionary vales" is a similar case.

²⁾ Cf. "Lycidas", l. 53.

17. WIZARD (adj.).

The noun *wizard* is used by Milton in the senses "a wise man, one of the Magi" ("Nativity Ode", 22), and "a sorcerer, a sooth-sayer" ("Comus", 571, 872). These are the chief early acceptations. Of the adjective — or noun used attributively — the N. E. D. gives one pre-Miltonic example, probably meaning "having the power of a wizard, able to bewitch": "O wylie wincking wyzard Woolues" (1579, Hake's "Newes out of Powles", ed. 1872, F 111 j b).

As an attribute the word is used by Milton once, in "Lycidas", l. 55:

For neither were ye playing on the steep,
Where your old *Bards*, the famous *Druids* ly,
Nor on the shaggy top of *Mona* high,
Nor yet where *Deva* spreads her wisard stream.

The N. E. D. quotes this as the first occurrence of the sense: "Of, pertaining to, or associated with wizards or wizardry; hence *gen. magic, enchanted, bewitched*". It is probable, however, that Milton understood the word in a less indefinite sense. Warton, who in his note on this passage goes into the matter, points out that in the tenth song of Drayton's "Poly-olbion" the river Dee is said by changing its course to have foretold good or ill events to the countries of which it formed the boundary; viz. England and Wales. In his eleventh song Drayton calls the Weever, a river in Cheshire, "the wisard river", adding immediately that in "prophetick skill" it vies with the Dee. This evidence makes it more than likely that Milton imitated Drayton (who is not quoted in the N. E. D.) and that the sense of the word in "Lycidas" is the same as in "Poly-olbion", i. e. "prophetic".

A glance at the material collected in the N. E. D. shows that before Milton *wizard* was generally used as a term of contempt. This is also the case in "Comus", l. 571: "that damn'd wisard". But in examining Milton's use of the expression in the "Nativity Ode" ("The Star-led Wisards haste with odours sweet"), in the song to Sabrina in "Comus" ("And the *Carpathian* wisards hook", l. 872), and especially in the "Lycidas" passage, we find that the note of depreciation has disappeared. The context has ennobled the word.

However, there seems to be no evidence of Milton's having had any following until Collins. In the latter's odes the word is likewise used attributively, and the romantic charm in which it is steeped is not unlike what we have found in Milton:

Beyond the measure vast of thought,
 The works, the wizard Time has wrought!
 The Gaul, 'tis held of antique story,
 Saw Britain link'd to his now adverse strand,
 No sea between, no cliff sublime and hoary,
 He pass'd with unwet feet through all our land.
 ("Ode to Liberty".)

If e'er I round such fairy field,
 Some power impart the spear and shield,
 At which the wizard passions fly,
 By which the giant follies die!
 ("The Manners".)

Collins's general indebtedness to Milton's early poetry makes it highly probable that he was imitating him in these passages. There are no traces of innovation in the logical sense he attaches to *wizard* but the expression is obviously treated as a word of poetic dignity and romantic associations. The scenery described in our first quotation, the allusions to "antique story" and Celtic lore of the past all remind one of the sublime background in "Lycidas".

Towards the end of the century the meaning of the term seems sometimes to be growing vague. This may have been due to the desire for words of indefinite but suggestive import harmonizing with the general predilection for strange, weird effects. It seems possible to study this transformation of *wizard* in an example directly inspired by Milton but apparently written without a realization of the exact force of the expression. The instance alluded to is earlier than anything similar in the N. E. D. It is found in the 1793 text of Wordsworth's "Evening Walk" ¹):

¹) Characteristically enough, it is not to be found in the later editions. Like several other Miltonic echoes in the volume of 1793, e. g. the "twilight shade" in "The Evening Walk", l. 80. and "Descriptive Sketches", l. 689, as well as some other instances of the same epithet, it does not seem to have satisfied Wordsworth's desire for original diction. Cf. above, p. 60, n. 2, and p. 61, n. 1.

His wizard course where hoary Derwent takes
 Thro' craggs, and forest glooms, and opening lakes.
 (ll. 3—4.)

The first line of our quotation is only slightly varied from "Lycidas", l. 55. The picture is exactly the same, and so is the construction except for the word-order. But unless Wordsworth associated with the Derwent legends similar to those connected with the river Dee, he would seem to have understood the epithet *wizard* as a term but vaguely suggestive of magic and enchantment, unlike its model in Milton's poem.

A similar example of the word is found in the description of an eery valley in Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh". The passage in question deals with the glen of Gheber said to be inhabited by evil spirits:

On the land side, those towers sublime,
 That seem'd above the grasp of Time,
 Were sever'd from the haunts of men
 By a wide, deep and wizard glen,
 So fathomless, so full of gloom,
 No eye could pierce the void between;
 It seem'd a place where Gholes might come.
 ("The Fire Worshippers", part II, ll. 219 et seq.)

Here the adjective can hardly have been meant to express anything but the feeling of haunting mystery created by the scenery. A similar vagueness characterizes Tennyson's use of the term in "In Memoriam":

Till all at once beyond the will
 I heard a wizard music roll,
 And thro' a lattice on the soul
 Looks thy fair face and makes it still.
 ("In Memoriam", LXX.)

Cf. also "The wizard lightnings", *ibid.* CXXII.

The development of this word may be compared with *Druid* in the poetry of Yeats — a comparison that is not entirely inapposite here, since these expressions appear almost side by side

in "Lycidas". Yeats, who converts *Druid* into an adjective, seems to like it for the atmosphere it suggests without associating any definite meaning with it:

Ah, faeries dancing under the moon,
A Druid land, a Druid tune!
(*"To Ireland in the Coming Times"*.)

It seemed they raised their little silver heads,
And sang how day a Druid twilight sheds.
(*"The Man who Dreamed of Faeryland"*.)

The transition from clearly definable sense to indefinite suggestiveness is the same in both cases.

18. TASTE (noun).

In addition to those numerous examples where this noun in Milton manifestly denotes: (1) the act of tasting, sometimes fig. in the sense of "experience" (cf. P. L. IV. 369; XI. 541); (2) flavour; (3) the faculty of perceiving flavour, there are some instances in his poetry that deserve closer examination:

A. *Eve*, now I see thou art exact of taste
And elegant, of Sapience no small part,
Since to each meaning savour we apply
And Palate call judicious.
(P. L. IX. 1016—1020.)

B. *Sion's* songs, to all true tasts excelling
Where God is prais'd aright. (P. R. IV. 347—348.)

The reference in A is evidently to Eve's tasting of the forbidden fruit but the context shows that Milton is punning and that *taste* has the meaning of discrimination, intellectual discernment of quality (an old acceptation dating from the fourteenth century), in addition to the obvious sense: "faculty of perceiving flavour". B, though dealing with poetry and song and apparently containing the notion of aesthetic appreciation — the first example of *taste* in this sense found in the N. E. D. —, does not emphasize the latter. It seems to lay stress on the

discrimination of what is right and proper rather than of beauty (cf. "Where God is prais'd *aright*"). As in the cases of *elegant* and *inelegant*¹⁾, Milton, while anticipating a semantic development and introducing a new shade of meaning, places the emphasis on the intellectual aspect of the word. The eighteenth century with its slighter regard for austerity and its more Epicurean cultivation of sensibility develops the element that is only faintly suggested by Milton. The insistence on correctness remains but the idea of enjoyment becomes more and more noticeable. Johnson's Dictionary quotes a typical passage from Addison, explanatory of the early eighteenth century attitude to the word: "This metaphor would not have been so general, had there not been a conformity between the mental taste and that sensitive taste which gives us a relish of every flavour".

It may be noted that in our first Milton quotation, which contains a pun commenting on the image that underlies the abstract use, the speaker, Adam, is expressing approval of a taste that led to the Fall of Man. He is clearly not meant to be shown in a favourable light. His whole speech is marked by "carnal desire" and lasciviousness (cf. ll. 1013 and 1014) and is calculated to move Eve to "dalliance". That coupling of the ideas of mental discernment and physical gustation which in the extract from Addison appears to be regarded as a matter of course, seems in *A* to be intended as an indirect characterization of the moral taint that is beginning to show in Adam. In writing the passage Milton seems to have been in no mood for justifying that relish to which Addison alludes.

Despite such associations, the word retained some of the dignity that it has in "Paradise Regained", especially in purely abstract and academic usage, e. g. in J. Barry's "Lectures on Painting" (1784): "The word Taste, as applied to objects of vision, ... means ... that quick discerning faculty or power of the mind by which we accurately distinguish the good, bad, or indifferent" (quoted from the N. E. D.). Here it has the gravity of a technical term. That in colloquial use it was also applied to less dignified matters and that this did not meet with the approval of some of the legislators of intellectual life, is shown by an N. E. D. citation from Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Discourses" (1776):

¹⁾ Cf. pp. 74—77.

"I have mentioned taste in dress, which is certainly one of the lowest subjects to which this term is applied".

19. SAPIENCE.

The only occurrence of this word in Milton is in quotation A in the note on *taste*. The N. E. D. cites it as its first instance of *sapience* = "correct taste and judgement". The earlier senses of this term that might be supposed to have left some traces in Milton's use are "wisdom, understanding" and "spiritual wisdom". They seem, however, to have been replaced by a new double sense derived from the Latin meanings of *sapere*, "to have a taste or savour, to be sensible". In the Milton passage, the senses "correct (or perhaps sensible) judgement, judiciousness" and "perception of flavour" seem to have blended. This appears from the pun affecting both this word and the noun *taste* and discussed in the present treatise in connection with the latter. That Milton in using the expression did not think of "wisdom" in any elevated sense but that his idea was more matter-of-fact, is indicated by the adjective *judicious* at the end of the punning passage.

The expression has been used seriously by later writers, as the data of the N. E. D. show, but there is nothing to prove that this was due to Milton and not to direct Latin influence. It even seems more than doubtful whether Milton was thinking of it as a serious word rather than a term of depreciation, unconsciously used by Adam (cf. note on *taste*). As an ironic term, the word had probably been introduced by Chaucer and revived by Milton himself in his "Apology for Smectymnuus": "This is a piece of sapience not worth the brain of a fruit-trencher" (Works, ed. 1851, III. 287). In this pejorative sense it has survived the graver uses, except in the sense of "wisdom" in prose of a somewhat stilted kind.

20. ELEGANT.

This adjective is found in Milton's verse but once, in P. L. IX. 1018:

Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
And elegant, of Sapience no small part.

The word had been introduced into English at least as early as c 1485. Its pre-Miltonic senses were: *A.* With reference to persons: (1) tastefully ornate in attire (sometimes: dainty, foppish, in accordance with early Latin usage); (2) tall. *B.* With reference to things: (1) of compositions, literary style, etc.: characterized by grace and refinement; (2) characterized by refined grace of form; tastefully ornamental (cf. "In large and elegant characters", quot. 1658 in the N. E. D.).

In his "Animadversions" Milton applies the expression to authors (whereas formerly it had been used only of their works): "They did no more than the elegantest Authors among the Greeks" (ed. 1851, p. 189). The sense here is probably "graceful and refined". This use, however, has a predecessor in Golding's application of the adverb "elegantly" to an author's stylistic procedure: "Hee elegantly putteth the doubtfull speeche in a diverse mening" (N. E. D. quotation from "The Psalms of David and others, with J. Calvin's commentaries", translated by Arthur Golding, 1571).

The noun *elegance*, which otherwise, like *elegancy*, expressed the same notions as the adjective, appears in 1660 in the sense "correctness of taste", its etymological sense of "careful or skilful choice" being deliberately emphasized: "Ælian argued the Elegance of the Person, in choosing such things as were fair" (Thomas Stanley's "History of Philosophy", ed. 1701, p. 116).

In Milton's use in "Paradise Lost", the sense of the adjective is extended in similar fashion so as to refer in a more general way to a person's intellectual perception of quality instead of being restricted to taste in literary matters or attire. The etymological notion of careful and correct choice¹⁾ has apparently not been overlooked (cf. "*exact* of taste and elegant"). This usage is sometimes found in the eighteenth century, e. g. in the verse of that scholarly Milton commentator Thomas Warton:

Far more Sincere, more Pious to refuse,
More Prudent *You*, more Elegant to chuse!
("Poems on Several Occasions", 1748, p. 35.)

¹⁾ Cf. Miss E. Holmes, op. cit., p. 12. According to her, the etymological sense (= "capable of choosing") predominates.

Warton has it also in his prose, as the N. E. D. shows. According to the latter, the only survival of this use is in the phrase "the elegant scholar".

It can hardly ever be ascertained how far Steele remembered Milton's usage when similarly applying the term to taste in a wider sense but with a characteristic change. He employs the word to describe taste in manners and feelings: "An utter Stranger to the Decencies¹), Honours and Delicacies that attend the Passion towards them [viz. women] in elegant Minds" ("Spectator", No. 491 — the first example of such a use in the N. E. D.). Thomson, using the noun, speaks of "A pure ingenious Elegance of Soul, A delicate refinement" perplexing the breast of Damon and urging him to retire when suddenly confronted with the vision of the bathing Musidora²). The "sensibility" displayed in such cases contrasts vividly with the sobriety in Milton.

21. INELEGANT.

What choice to chuse for delicacie best,
 What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
 Tastes, not well joynd, inelegant, but bring
 Taste after taste upheld with kindest change.
 (P. L. V. 333—336.)

This term appears to have been somewhat unusual in English previous to Milton. The only earlier case in the N. E. D. not quoted from a dictionary is from Barclay's "Shyp of Follys", I. 7, and refers to literary style: "A maner of wrytinge not inelegant". Levins's "Manipulus vocabulorum" (1570) gives no adequate idea of the sense in which the adjective was used, for all it does is to adduce *inelegans* as its Latin equivalent. Cockeram (in 1623) defines it as "not decked, rough", i. e. apparently as the opposite

¹) *Decencies* appears here in a sense probably introduced by Milton and later on adopted by Dryden, e. g. in the Dedication to his "Marriage à la Mode": "the decencies of behaviour".

²) Cf. "Summer", 1294—1295. This example is much earlier than any similar instance of the noun in the N. E. D., where the only example of it referring to manners (but not to feelings, which usage is not illustrated at all) is from Jane Austen.

of *elegant* in the sense of "tastefully ornate" as applied to attire or style, since no other early seventeenth century uses of the latter word would appear to fit into this context.

As in the case of *elegant*, Milton extends the notional range of the expression by using it of aesthetic taste in general. Verity is probably right in interpreting "not well joynd, inelegant" as meaning "inelegant if not well joined". This refers to order and yields a sense well in keeping with our own interpretation of Milton's use of *elegant*. If inelegance is regarded as due to indiscriminate arrangement, elegance would seem to imply correct and delicate order, i. e. to be conceived as a matter of discrimination rather than of vague instinct. The context shows how much stress Milton lays on the element of deliberate choice.

In eighteenth century usage this aspect of the adjective apparently ceases to predominate. Like *elegant*, the term at times loses its definiteness of outline, indicating lack of refinement and sensitiveness in manners or feeling or taste, e. g. in "The Connoisseur", 1756, No. 130: "I am... the unfortunate wife of that inelegant (I had almost said insensible) husband". This is like the treatment of *elegant* and *elegance* in our quotations from Steele and Thomson (cf. above, on *elegant*). On the other hand, in some cases the etymological sense appears to be remembered. Compare, e. g., Steele in "The Spectator", No. 521: "Several very perplexed and inelegant Heats and Animosities". Here one would hardly be entirely unjustified in substituting "indiscriminate" for "inelegant", though this would bring out one aspect only of the sense apparently intended by the author (cf. "perplexed").

22. SOCIAL.

No need that thou
Shouldst propagat, already infinite;
And through all numbers absolute, though One;
But Man by Number is to manifest
His single imperfection, and beget
Like of his like, his Image multipli'd,
In unitie defective, which requires
Collateral love, and dearest amitie.

Thou in thy secresie although alone,
 Best with thy self accompanied, seek'st not
 Social communication, yet so pleas'd,
 Canst raise thy Creature to what highth thou wilt
 Of Union or Communion, deifi'd;
 I by conversing cannot these erect
 From prone, nor in thir wayes complacence find.

(P. L. VIII. 419—433.)

The above passage contains the first instance of the adjective *social* in which the N. E. D. detects any reference to intercourse or converse with fellow beings. There is an earlier example of *socially*, meaning "in company", but its source is an early sixteenth century document in the Scots vernacular (The Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1505), and this use is labelled as unique. In its pre-Miltonic career the adjective seems generally to have been a somewhat technical and abstract expression used in theoretical treatises in a sense opposed to "absolute", "distant", "separable", e. g. in T. Granger's "Syntagma logicum" (1620): "The former is called the Sole, solitary, . . . absolute Cause: the latter sociall Causes". Two years before the publication of "Paradise Lost" it begins to be used of war in the Latin sense of "taking place between confederates" (1665, Manley's Grotius).

The meaning of the word in the Milton passage is not quite clear. The sense that the latter is meant to illustrate in the N. E. D. is: "Marked or characterized by mutual intercourse, friendliness, or geniality; enjoyed, taken, spent, etc., in company with others, esp. with those of a similar class or kindred interests". Johnson's Dictionary quotes it as an example of the sense: "Consisting in union or converse with another". The context seems, on the whole, to bear out these interpretations. Horace's use of *socialiter* in "De arte poetica", l. 258, is similar: "Non ut de sede secunda Cederat, aut quarta socialiter". In Italian *sociale* = "che ama la compagnia" occurs as early as 1486, in "Morali di S. Gregorio": "Colui che schifa di conservar la pazienza . . . , tosto rompe la vita sociale per impazienza" (quoted from Tommaseo). In French *social* = "fait pour la société" is instanced by Godefroy from Peletier de Mans's "Savoye" (1572): "Mais le bonheur de l'homme, et special A sa nature, est d'estre social". *Socialement* = "amicalement" is quoted by the same lexicographer from

Rabelais: "embrassé socialement" ("Gargantua", ch. L, ed. 1552). All three languages were known to Milton and may have influenced his use of the word. But in the lines from "Paradise Lost" quoted above, Adam, who is addressing an angel, is contrasting not merely the human need of company with the self-sufficiency of celestial beings but also the connubial state of men with the celibate beatitude of the angelic orders. Since in Latin *socialis* also happens to have the sense of "conjugal", e. g. in Ovid's "socialis amor" and "socialis torus", there is at least a possibility that Milton may have been thinking of it.

Nevertheless the immediate context points towards the sense suggested by the N. E. D. The tone seems grave and deferential, which is natural, since Adam is talking to the representative of the Deity¹). The phrase "social communication" appears to be intended as a less emotional and more formal substitute for "Collateral love, and dearest amitie", the words used by the Father of Mankind of the needs of man as opposed to those of superior beings.

The adjective was taken up by the early eighteenth century. Pope and James Thomson seem to have been among the first who cultivated it. In Pope's "Iliad" it is still very close to Milton's use, apparently meaning "united by fellowship":

The social shades the same dark journey go,
And join each other in the realms below.
(Book XI, ll. 339—340.)

Preserve his arms, preserve his social train,
And safe return him to these eyes again.
(Book XVI, ll. 304—305.)

Wounded at once, Patroclus yields to fear;
Retires for succour to his social train.
(Book XVI, ll. 984—985.)

¹) In Milton's Heaven and Paradise breaches of etiquette are rare. Even the rebellious spirits of Hell are sticklers for ceremony and Satan is well-versed in the rules of courtesy. After a meeting with Uriel he takes leave,

bowing low,
As to superior Spirits is wont in Heav'n,
Where honour due and reverence none neglects.
(P. L. III. 736—737.)

In book XVI of Pope's "Odyssey" (1726), a part presumably translated by Broome, although Pope's revising hand may have been busy here too, the word is already charged with emotion, expressing sympathy and warm human affection:

The prince with transport flew,
Hung round his neck, while tears his cheek bedew:
Nor less his father pour'd a social flood!
(ll. 234—236.)

In the still later "Elegy on General Withers" (1729) the adjective is given a twist in a somewhat different direction, being made to denote companionable gaiety and easy friendliness:

Withers, adieu! yet not with thee remove
Thy Martial spirit, or thy Social love.

These are sentiments that cannot be suspected of lurking behind the formality of Milton's use.

In 1722 Wollaston had translated Seneca's "homo sociale animal" as "Man is a Social animal", explaining the phrase: "that is a single man, or family, cannot subsist, or not well, alone out of all Society" ("The Religion of Nature", VII. 145). Here there is already that reference to the community which has since come to play so great a part in the history of the word. This new shade of meaning is often felt to have influenced James Thomson's manner of using the expression ¹⁾. He is fond of it, introducing it frequently into highly emotional passages.

¹⁾ In Pope's "Essay on Man" (1732—1734) this sense plays an important part but without being sentimentalized. Cf. Ep. III. l. 148 et seq.:

The State of Nature was the reign of God:
Self-love and Social at her birth began,
Union the bond of all things, and of Man.

See also *ibid.*, ll. 179—184:

Here too all forms of social union find,
And hence let Reason, late, instruct Mankind:
Here subterranean works and cities see;
There towns aërial on the waving tree.
Learn each small People's genius, policies,
The Ant's republic, and the realm of Bees.

Here the word is already a term of "sociology".

Sometimes, however, he is comparatively reserved, reminding one of Milton:

United, thus,
The exhaling Sun, the vapour-burden'd air,
The gelid mountains...
A social commerce hold, and firm support
The full-adjusted harmony of things.
(“Autumn”, 826—833.)

Here there is no expansive comment on the word. Thomson's “social commerce” is much like Milton's “social communication”, except for the allusion to the “harmony of things”, i. e. to a wider circle than one's nearest, which recalls Wollaston's reference to the community.

The idea of the community often stirs Thomson's sentiments, causing him to employ the epithet in a manner quite as emotional as Broome's or Pope's “social flood”:

The conscious heart of Charity would warm,
And her wide wish Benevolence dilate;
The social tear would rise, the social sigh;
And into clear perfection, gradual bliss,
Refining still, the social passions work.
(“Winter”, 354—358.)

There is more than a touch of humanitarianism in this. *Social* here refers to society as a whole but also to the submerged part of it as well as to the feeling of sympathy for these unfortunates. I quote some other passages of a similar character:

White *Peace*, and social Love;
The tender-looking Charity, intent
On gentle deeds, and shedding tears through smiles.
(“Summer”, 1604—1606.)

By legal outrage and establish'd guile,
The social sense extinct.
(“Autumn”, 1286—1287.)

In the last quotation, *social* might perhaps be defined as “characteristic of one with a true sense of his obligations towards society”.

But it is not always larger issues that are implied in the word as used by Thomson. Often it indicates genial warmth of feeling towards a much more limited circle, as in the following lines alluding to an evening spent with a few chosen friends:

To raise the sacred hour, to bid it smile
And with the social spirit warm the heart.
(“Winter”, 551—552.)

This refers to the same spirit of good fellowship as the “social love” in Pope’s elegy on Wither. Gaiety is plainly associated with the adjective in two passages from “Summer”:

The gay social sense,
By decency chastised.
(ll. 25—26.)
Happy Labour, Love, and social Glee.
(l. 370.)

The note of joviality is even more pronounced, being exaggerated to the point of caricature, in the following passage from a description of a night of carousal, referring to revellers overpowered by an excess of “social spirit”:

And wide, below,
Is heap’d the social slaughter¹⁾: where astride
The lubber Power in filthy triumph sits,
Slumbrous, inclining still from side to side,
And steeps them drench’d in potent sleep till morn.
(“Autumn”, 560—564.)

Here the epithet has moved very far from its sober use in Milton. “Sensibility”, humanitarianism and the gaiety of a less austere generation of poets are all seen to contribute new connotations to a sense introduced by him. The spirit of the new age is distinctly reflected in these changes.

¹⁾ *Slaughter* here = “those slaughtered”. This is a somewhat earlier instance of a sense first exemplified in the N. E. D. from W. Wilkie’s “Epigoniad” (1757). It is probably a humorous imitation of Milton’s *carnage* in P. L. X. 268, meaning “a heap of dead bodies slain in battle”.

23. PRESENCE.

A. Here had new begun
My wandering, had not hee who was my Guide
Up hither, from among the Trees appeer'd,
Presence Divine.

(P. L. VIII. 311—314.)

B. To whom the sovran Presence thus repli'd.
(P. L. X. 144.)

C. (Of an angel)
As in a fiery column charioting
His Godlike presence.

(S. A. 27—28.)

These three instances of *presence* are defined by Lockwood as "person; used of God". The N. E. D. quotes *B* as the first occurrence of the sense: "Something present, a present being . . . ; a divine, spiritual, or incorporeal being or influence felt or conceived as present". *C* is quoted as an instance of the sense: "With possessive, denoting the actual person (or thing) that is present (*his presence* = his present self, himself being present); hence sometimes nearly = embodied self, objective personality. Chiefly *poet.*".

Presence is originally abstract: "The fact or condition of being present . . . , being there" (N. E. D.; first occurrence 1340). But sometimes, even in very early usage, it seems to convey "a vague sense of the place or space in front of a person, or which immediately surrounds him" (N. E. D.), e. g. in Gower's "Confessio Amantis", III. 288: "He . . . gott to approche The kinges Court and his presence". Then it becomes even more concrete, suggesting not merely the place but also, or sometimes, as it seems, exclusively, the persons present (from about 1400), e. g.: "Here is like to be a good presence of Worthies" (Shakespeare, "Love's Labour's Lost", V. 2. 536). About the same time it begins to be used (with the possessive pronoun) of single individuals present, at first in contexts where the abstract sense is still distinctly felt, e. g. by Lydgate: "Where that ever [she] shewithe her presence, Sche bryngithe gladnes to citees and tounes" (Minor Poems, Percy Soc. ed., 7). But in Shakespeare there are already

examples in the plural which suggest a much more concrete notion of *presence* as actually meaning "the person present". The N. E. D. cites "King John", I. 1. 377: "Your Royall presences be rul'd by mee". An analogous example is "The Winter's Tale", I. 2. 38: "Of your royal presence I'll adventure The borrow of a week". Shakespeare has some instances that provide excellent illustrations of the kind of context that may have formed the starting-point for such developments, e. g.: "Come I appellat to this princely presence" (Rich. II., I. 1. 34). Here "presence" seems still to refer to the fact of the princely personage's being present; it also suggests the place where that personage is but at the same time it may be taken to denote the person itself. The transition from this to the exclusion of all meanings except the last is easy enough as soon as this type of context becomes frequent.

Presence came to be used in certain phrases connected with royalty and persons of high rank, such as "in presence". Cf. e. g. 1390 Gower, "Confessio", III. 154: "When the court was plein, When Julius was in presence". Originally this phrase could also be used in the sense "company, (polite)society", as the N. E. D. points out, but already by the middle of the sixteenth century its association with persons of superior rank seems to have become so general that *presence* may also indicate "a place prepared for ceremonial presence or attendance; a presence-chamber".

According to Schmidt's "Shakespeare-Lexicon", Shakespeare has 22 cases where *presence* refers to persons of rank. Not infrequently it is qualified by such epithets as "royal", "princely", "majestical". This is in keeping with that further semantic development which leads to the rise of the sense "demeanour, carriage, or aspect of a person, esp. when stately or impressive; nobleness, majesty, or handsomeness of bearing or appearance" (N. E. D.). It is first recorded in Puttenham's "Partheniades": "Stately præsence, such as becometh one Whoe seemes to rule realms by her lookes alone". This is perhaps also the meaning in "Love's Labour's Lost", V. 2. 102: "And ever and anon they made a doubt Presence majestical would put him out", though here the princess herself, to whom this refers, or the fact of her being present may have been meant.

A sense that is also of importance in the present context is the mystical one of "the real presence", which phrase, first re-

corded in the Book of Common Prayer in 1552, refers to the manner in which Christ was held to be present in the Eucharist. Here the word is steeped in a sublime religious atmosphere.

In quotation *B* the phrase "the sovran Presence" is apparently of the same type as "your Royall presences" in "King John" (cf. above), indicating the actual person present. I see no difference except that in Milton the being referred to is superhuman, and that the definite article is used instead of the possessive pronoun. The latter fact seems to indicate the arrival at a further stage in the process towards a completely concrete meaning. "Your royal presence" in "The Winter's Tale", I. 2. 38 (cf. above), though evidently of concrete import, is grammatically still very close to "your presence" = "the fact that you are present". The possessive pronoun serves as a connecting-link between these usages. In the Milton passage it has disappeared. The same stage of grammatical emancipation had already been reached by the word before in the case of the very similar sense "those that are present, a body of people assembled". In Milton the same takes place in a reference to a single person.

That in *B* *presence* has no special mystical implications but is simply the old ceremonial expression (+ the slight grammatical change mentioned) is a view agreeing with Dr. Johnson's definition: "The person of a superiour". He quotes the passage in question to illustrate this sense. The epithet "Sovran", so similar to "royal", "princely", "majestic", also supports this suggestion.

"His Godlike presence" in *C* seems to belong to the same category *minus* the grammatical change but with the use of an epithet underlining the celestial character of the dignitary alluded to. In *A*, where neither pronoun nor article is used, the sense may be "nobleness, majesty of appearance" (note the verb "appeerd"), perhaps with a suggestion of "the person present" (cf. above Shakespeare's "Presence majesticall would put him out").

As the above analysis indicates, there seems to be no need for the assumption of a new meaning in Milton. However, the sublime context as well as the fact that the passages concerned all refer to divine or heavenly beings brings about a change of atmosphere that may well have influenced later usage, especially with the support of the mystical sense in "real presence".

It seems possible to detect actual indications of such an influence's having encouraged certain subsequent changes in the meaning of the word. In Matthew Prior's "Solomon", one of those poems of his where his usual "familiar" style is replaced by frequent attempts at grandeur as well as sometimes at cosmic vastness, the following lines occur:

How can good angels be in heaven confin'd,
Or view that presence, which no space can bind?
Is God above, beneath, or yon', or here?
He who made all, is he not every where?

(Part I, 588—591.)

Here the use of *presence* already corresponds with the definition given by the N. E. D.: "A divine, spiritual, or incorporeal being on influence felt or conceived as present". The associations with regal rank that still suggest themselves in Milton, whose God is so often conceived as literally the Monarch of Heaven, have been entirely or almost entirely obscured. But the context is in a number of ways indicative of Miltonic inspiration. The presence of the latter might be suspected from the very fact that Prior here moves in a sphere of thought and feeling not habitually his, one of which Milton was at that time regarded as by far the greatest poetical representative¹). But what makes this suspicion even stronger in the present case is that only a few lines earlier than the passage quoted Prior deals with those battles in Heaven and that fall of the rebellious angels that Milton had described:

For rebel Lucifer with Michael fought
(I offer only what tradition taught);
Embattled cherub against cherub rose,
Did shield to shield, and power to power oppose;
Heaven rung with triumph, hell was fill'd with woes.

(ll. 567—571.)

¹) Cf. Prior's own Introduction, where he says among other things in justification of chronological licence in poetry: "Our countryman Milton goes yet further [than Virgil]. He takes up many of his material images some thousands of years after the fall of man: nor could he otherwise have written, or we read, one of the sublimest pieces of invention that was ever yet produced". Moreover, Prior is known to have imitated deliberately the style of "Paradise Lost" elsewhere, in his translations of Callimachus.

Milton's cherubs also stand and move "embattled" in P. L. VI (ll. 16 and 550) where the story of these fierce angelic encounters is told. What follows in "Solomon" — the account of the rebels' "durance" (cf. P. L. IV. 899), the sulphureous lakes of their place of torment, etc. — is exactly what Milton treats of, even though it be not of his own invention.

A similar use of *presence*, though accompanied by somewhat different associations, appears later, in a number of the more mystically tuned passages of Wordsworth. That Wordsworth's poetry, from his early descriptive pieces in heroic couplets to his latest poems, bears in many ways a distinct Miltonic colouring, is a generally acknowledged fact ¹⁾. More specifically, "Tintern Abbey", where our first example is found, re-introduces several details of Miltonic diction, e. g. the phrase "genial spirits" (l. 113) and "to inform" in the sense of "to form within" (l. 125). It is here that the following famous lines occur:

And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thought; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused...
(ll. 93—96.)

If in Prior it is still a divine *being*, a personal God to whom the expression refers, the context in Wordsworth indicates the vaguer and perhaps more emotional conception of a spiritual influence. The adjective *spiritual* is, in fact, sometimes prefixed to the word in passages of similar import:

They felt,
And did acknowledge, wheresoe'er they moved,
A spiritual presence, oft-times misconceived,
But still a high dependence, a divine
Bounty and government, that filled their hearts
With joy, and gratitude, and fear, and love.
("The Excursion", IV. 925—930.)

Wordsworth's pantheistic leanings have stamped their impress on the word ²⁾. Whilst Milton is still very close to its earlier

¹⁾ Cf., e. g., Havens, "The Influence of Milton", pp. 178 et seq. and 607 et seq. See also pp. 47, 55, 56, 60, 61, 70 of the present study.

²⁾ Cf. also esp. "The Prelude", I. 764 and V. 34.

use in ceremonial language, the leader of the Romantic Revival has entirely spiritualized its meaning, associating it intimately with his philosophy of an impersonal but all-pervading cosmic Spirit. Although later his views became more orthodox, the pantheistic touch remains, and with it the character of the expression, as is shown by our last quotation.

The considerable popularity to which the word seems to have attained in nineteenth-century religious literature — the N. E. D. quotes several examples from theological writers — may easily have been due in part to Wordsworth's influence, who as the author of the "Ecclesiastical Sonnets" and similar poems came to rank as one of the foremost poetical exponents of the religious spirit.

24. SUPERIOR (adj.).

Milton seems to have introduced two subtle shades of meaning of this adjective, both descriptive of states of mind and both equally characteristic of his mentality. Before him *superior* could mean "higher in rank or dignity; more exalted in social or official status". This sense appears already in Caxton's "Lyf of Charles the Grete", 203: "God hath . . . made the superyor in wordly puissaunce aboue all other kynges". Milton himself has it in P. R. IV. 167: "And worship me as thy superior Lord". Another, very similar sense was "higher in ideal or abstract rank". Its first occurrence is in Sir Thomas More's "Answere to the Fyrst Parte of the Poysened Booke", I. XI. 40b: "As we say a man is obedyent vnto his owne reason, and yet is not his owne reason another power superior aboue hym selfe". This meaning seems to become popular in the seventeenth century, Milton being probably the first to re-launch it: "I feel that I do fear Her words set off by som superior power" ("Comus", l. 801). These senses form the obvious starting-point for a new use first recorded in P. L. IV. 499, where the adjective describes a mental state:

He in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive Charms
Smil'd with superior Love.

Here the notion conveyed is that of a frame of mind not infrequently dealt with by Milton: the somewhat condescending benevolence of a superior being ¹).

A further, equally characteristic change would appear to derive from the sense "too great or strong to be affected by", which first occurs in Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion", I. § 88: "Jealousy of his Master's honour (to whom his Fidelity was Superior to any temptation)" (1647). This is a quiet statement of fact. Milton makes the word expressive of a mental attitude, using it in a sense defined by Johnson as "free from emotion or concern; unconquered; unaffected":

Hostile scorn, which he susteind
Superior, nor of violence fear'd aught.
(P. L. IV. 499.)

Here passion first I felt,
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superiour and unmov'd, here onely weak
Against the charm of Beauties powerful glance.
(P. L. VIII. 530—532.)

Both shades of meaning seem to be closely connected with the poet's consciousness of his own dignity, one betraying a touch of patronizing self-importance while the other expresses that heroic stoicism that formed so signal an element of his moral nature.

It is the former of these senses that came to be taken up and developed by Pope, at first as one of those epic ornaments that he thought he needed to convey the majesty of Homer's style. In P. L. IV. 499 Adam smiles "with superior Love", "as Jupiter on Juno smiles". In Pope's "Iliad" we find Jove smiling at least three times in a similar way on Venus, Minerva and Juno respectively:

The Sire of Gods and men superior smil'd,
And, calling Venus, thus addrest his child.
(*"Iliad"*, V. 517—518.)

¹) Cf. P. L. VIII 64: And Raphael now to Adam's doubt propos'd Benevolent and facil thus repli'd. See also *ibid.*, l. 217.

The cloud-compelling God her suit approv'd,
And smil'd superiour on his best-belov'd.

(ibid. VIII. 47—48.)

She ceas'd; and, smiling with superior love,
Thus answer'd mild the cloud-compelling Jove.

(ibid. XIV. 397—398.)

In two of these cases the original represents Zeus as smiling (*μείδῃσεν*, Il. V. 426; *ἐπιμειδήσας*, ibid. VIII. 38) but not necessarily in a superior manner. In our third quotation, which is closest to P. L. IV. 499, not even the smile is Homeric: "*τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς*" (XIV. 312). It is plain that *superior* is one of those words "after the manner of Milton" that Pope used "in order to dignify and solemnize" the "plainer parts" of his version, as he himself admits in his postscript to the "Odyssey". It introduces a psychological shade more characteristic of his English than of his Greek model.

As in some other cases¹⁾, Pope did not confine himself to a mere imitation of Milton's sublimity but utilized the word for the purposes of his mock-heroic diction. The note of self-importance, barely perceptible in the Miltonic passage, is in the "Dunciad" carried to the point of caricature. In book IV of that satire, *superior* becomes nearly synonymous with *supercilious*. It denotes an air of superiority, not superiority itself:

There mov'd Montalto with superior air;
His stretch'd-out arm display'd a Volume fair;
Courtiers and Patriots in two ranks divide,
Thro' both he pass'd and bow'd from side to side:
But as in graceful act, with awful eye
Compos'd he stood, bold Benson thrust him by.

(ll. 105—110.)

¹⁾ Cf. the notes on *twilight* and *emblaze*. A similar case is to *embrown*. This solemn Miltonic coinage is parodied in the "Dunciad", III. 199:

While proud Philosophy repines to show,
Dishonest sigh! his breeches rent below;
Imbrown'd with native bronze, lo! Henley stands,
Tuning his voice, and balancing his hands.

Milton's sense (= "to darken") has been changed to the more obvious meaning "to make brown".

This is the comic collapse of sham dignity. The irony in this passage — which the N. E. D. does not appear to have recognized — prefigures a much later use of the same word, possibly introduced by Disraeli, from whose speech of July 8th, 1864, the Oxford Dictionary takes its earliest instance of the modern depreciatory sense: "In private life there is always . . . some person, . . . who is regarded as a superior person. They decide on everything, they lecture everybody . . . The right hon. member for Stroud is the 'superior person' of the House of Commons". The affectation described by Disraeli is much the same as that in Pope, though it is impossible to say how far the Victorian was indebted to the Augustan for the sting of his wit.

25. TO PINE.

In the N. E. D. the earliest illustration of the sense "to repine at, lament, mourn" is from Milton. The example given is from the following passage:

Abasht the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Vertue in her shape how lovely, saw, and pin'd
His loss; but chiefly to find here observ'd
His lustre visibly impar'd; yet seem'd
Undaunted.

(P. L. IV. 846—849.)

Lockwood interprets the verb here as "to grieve for".

In none of the earlier significations of *to pine* is there any hint at lamentation or repining. The same is true of the earlier senses of the cognate noun *pine*. The other senses of the verb in Milton are as follows:

- (1) To starve (trans.), e. g.:

Thin Aire
Above the Clouds will pine his entrails gross,
And famish him of Breath, if not of Bread.

(P. L. XII. 76—78.)

- (2) To be afflicted or tortured, or to starve (intr.), e. g.:

To starve in Ice
Thir soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immovable, infixt, and frozen round,
Periods of time.

(P. L. II. 600—603.)

- (3) To be consumed, e. g.:

But fierce desire,
Among our other torments not the least,
Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.

(P. L. IV. 509—511.)

- (4) To waste away the body:

And Moon struck madness, pining Atrophie.

(P. L. XI. 486.)

The context in our first quotation need not suggest to us the idea of lamentation unless we are under the influence of the modern meaning of *to pine* as found, e. g., in the phrase “to grieve and pine”. It is not improbable that “pin’d His loss” means “was tormented by his loss”, “suffered from his loss” (cf. P. L. II. 601). Grammatically this is no impossibility, for though the N. E. D. cites no other early examples of the verb in the sense of passive torment with an accusative, Milton’s transitive construction (or omission of the preposition) has many parallels in sixteenth and seventeenth century English. I enumerate some examples of verbs denoting feeling that are used in a similar way: “Which I in sufferance heartily will rejoyce” (Shakespeare, “Henry VIII”, II. 2. 159); “Ne’er mother rejoiced deliverance more” (Shakespeare, “Cymbeline”, V. 5. 370); “I joy it, and I think itself does so” (R. Stapylton’s Juvenal, XV. 86); “Most miserable men, I grieve their fortunes” (Fletcher, “Sea Voyage”, I. 1); “Their time was come, which mortality might sorrow, but... not prevent” (Lithgow, “The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures”, etc., VII. 304). All these instances are pre-Miltonic.

Patrick Hume quotes a parallel from Persius, Sat. III. 38, which is sufficiently close to make one suspect that Milton had it in his mind: “Virtutem videant, intabescantque relictæ”. Here the meaning of *intabescere* is “to be consumed with, to be wasted

away by", a sense which *to pine* sometimes has in Milton (cf. above, sense (3)). This acceptation is well in keeping with the context and can hardly be dismissed offhand. It may be regarded as a possible alternative.

Twenty years after the publication of "Paradise Lost" the verb begins to be used intransitively as a synonym of *to repine*, perhaps under the influence of the latter, but I can find no connecting-link between this use and the Miltonic passage, except the fact that Milton's phrase has generally been viewed in the light of the later usage. Milton's own expression is exactly reproduced by Swinburne in "Under the Microscope", p. 8: "We ... see, and pine our loss" (quoted from the N. E. D.).

26. MOAN (sb.).

In the N. E. D. Milton's use of this noun in "On the late Massacher in Piemont", l. 8, appears as the earliest instance of the meaning: "a prolonged low inarticulate murmur indicative of physical and mental suffering". The word is stated to be used "with onomatopoeic suggestion". The passage in question is as follows:

In thy book record their groanes
Who were thy Sheep and in their antient Fold
Slayn 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.

The earlier senses of this noun recorded in the N. E. D. are: (1) Complaint, lamentation; an instance of this, a complaint, lament. Chiefly in phr. *To make (one's) moan*. (2) A state of grief or lamentation. The pre-Miltonic acceptations of the verb *to moan* are in keeping with those of the noun: (1) To complain of, lament (something); to lament for (a dead person); to bemoan, bewail. (2) *Refl.*: To lament or bewail one's lot, to 'make one's moan'. (3) To condole with (a person); to pity. (4) To make complaint or lamentation. (5) To cause to lament, to grieve (a person). The sense "to make a low mournful sound indicative of physical or mental suffering" is not recorded until 1724.

Lockwood (who, however, had not seen Part II of Volume VI of the N. E. D., where *moan* is dealt with, for her Lexicon appeared earlier) takes the noun in the above passage to mean "lamentation". I see no reason for a different interpretation, especially as the other two instances of *moan* (verb and noun) in Milton's verse seem to convey nothing but the notion of lamentation or grief:

Here be tears of perfect moan

Weept for thee in Helicon.

("Epitaph on the March. of Winchester", 55—56.)

In consecrated Earth,

And on the holy Hearth,

The *Lars*, and *Lemures* moan with midnight plaint.

("Nativity Ode", 189—191.)

It is possible, however, that the passage in Milton's sonnet exercised an indirect influence on the semantic development of the word. The next example of the onomatopoeic sense cited in the N. E. D. is from Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day". I quote it in its context:

Dreadful gleams,

Dismal screams,

Fires that glow,

Shrieks of woe,

Sullen moans,

Hollow groans,

And cries of tortur'd ghosts!

Here the expression is probably meant to be onomatopoeic; at any rate it is embedded in a context where it was apt to be taken for an onomatopoeia, even though it should not have been intended as such. The epithet prefixed to it, "sullen", particularly in such close connection with "hollow groans", may have confirmed the impression of a low inarticulate sound — the kind of sound that the noun denotes in modern usage. That this is a Miltonic echo is suggested: (1) by the use of the same rhyme: moans ~ groans ¹⁾;

¹⁾ In itself this fact is of little weight, for this was by no means a rare rhyme. It is only in conjunction with other evidence that it deserves mention.

(2) by the fact that the poem seems to contain other reminiscences from Milton, e. g. "Amaranthine bowers" (cf. P. L. XI. 77: "Blissful bowers of amaranthine shade"), and (3) by the circumstance that those very lines of Milton's sonnet in which the word occurs appear to have been imitated by Pope elsewhere, viz. in his "Odyssey", book X, l. 60: "Our groans the rocks remurmur'd to the main".

The phonetic effectiveness of Pope's lines seems to have impressed his use of *moan* on the memory of later writers. This appears to apply, e. g., to Allan Ramsay, who is apparently the first to use the corresponding verb in a similar way: "Thy graneing, and maneing, Have laitlie reich'd myne eir" (1724, "The Vision"). The short lines, the juxtaposition of the Scots equivalents of "groaning" and "moaning", and the sense make it probable that this was inspired by Pope¹).

The likelihood is that Milton was indirectly responsible for the development of the new shade of meaning.

27. BICKERING (ppl. adj.).

A. At his right hand Victorie
 Sate Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow
 And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder stor'd,
 And from about him fierce Effusion rowld
 Of smoak, and bickering flames, and sparkles dire.
 (P. L. VI. 762—766.)

B. If they discover not withal the true reason why he departed, only to turn his slashing at the court-gate to slaughtering in the field; his disorderly bickering into an orderly invading.
 ("Eikonoklastes", IV.)

¹) Ramsay is known to have admired Pope. Cf. e. g. J. W. Mackail's article on "Allan Ramsay and the Romantic Revival" in "Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association", vol. X, pp. 134—144. Dr. Mackail there quotes Ramsay's confession that

Swift, Sandy, Young and Gay
 Are still my heart's delight.

"Sandy" is Alexander Pope.

C. Though their Merchants bicker in the East Indies.
(“Church Discipline”, II.)

D. Then was the war shivered... into small frays and bickerings.

(“History of England”, II.)

Bickering in *A*, defined by the N. E. D. as “coruscating, flashing, quivering”, is the earliest recorded instance of this sense, the only seventeenth century one. Otherwise the verb *to bicker*, the nouns *bicker*, *bickermment*, and other kindred forms known to have been used between 1297 and 1748, all convey some notion of fighting, skirmishing, wrangling, altercation. Nowhere is there any indication of the sense that the N. E. D. attributes to the participial adjective in *A*. This acceptance does not re-appear until 1786, in the translation of Beckford’s “Vathek”: “Their bickering sabres” (ed. 1868, p. 112). It also occurs in Shelley’s “Queen Mab” and “Daemon of the World”, and becomes fairly frequent in later poetic usage.

Lockwood defines *bickering* in *A* as “being in constant and rapid motion, *of flame*”. Verity’s definition (P. L. VI. 766 *n.*) is “quivering, flashing”. This seems to be the accepted modern interpretation.

Earlier commentators thought differently. Patrick Hume’s late seventeenth century commentary (1695) has the following note on the passage¹): “A furious tempest pouring forth smoke and *fighting* flame round about him. *Bickering*, fighting and thence destroying, of the Welsh *bicre*, a combat. See *Psalm* XVIII. 8. ‘There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured’. And *Psalm* 1. 3. ‘A fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him’.” Todd refers to Tryphiodorus’s *μαρνάμενον πῦρ* and quotes *B* as Milton’s own explanation of the word.

Whatever one may think of Hume’s etymology, it is interesting that he, who was not far removed in time from Milton, seems to have known nothing of the sense now attributed to the expression. What is more, the data provided by the N. E. D. and our own quotations from Milton’s prose do not contradict his interpretation but appear to support it. Moreover, it is note-

¹) Quoted from Todd, 4th ed. of Milton’s Poetical Works, 1842.

worthy that the image of fighting or struggling fire occurs repeatedly in book VI of "Paradise Lost", e. g. in l. 58:

So spake the Sovran voice, and Clouds began
To darken all the Hill, and smoak to rowl
In duskie wreathes, reluctant flames, the signe
Of wrauth awak't.

Reluctant here means "struggling". Compare also ll. 244—245:

All Air seemd then
Conflicting Fire.

In Milton's prose *to bicker* is used in a sense that has none of the magnificent associations generally evoked by *A*. But apart from the possibility that he may have relied on the ennobling effect of the context, it should be taken into account that he was by no means unacquainted with mediaeval English literature, where the word seems to have had a more stately air. In "Piers Plowman" it appears to mean simply "to fight": "Ther to abyde and bykere a3eyns beliales children" (C. XXIII. 78). In the "Destruction of Troy" (c 1400) it has the epic ring: "Paris... with his bowmen full bold bykrit with the grekes", and again: "pan he braid out a brand, bikrid hym hard" (cf. the N. E. D.). If we take the word to mean "skirmishing, fighting like archers and slingers before battle is joined" (in accordance with the definition of our last but one instance by the N. E. D.), it loses little of its impressiveness, becoming particularly suited to the warlike vision described.

About the middle of the eighteenth century *to bicker* begins to be understood as "to quiver; to play backward and forward". Such is Dr. Johnson's interpretation of its meaning in *A* as well as in James Thomson's "Castle of Indolence" (1748), canto I, st. III:

Meantime, unnumber'd glittering streamlets play'd,
And hurl'd every-where their waters sheen;
That, as they bicker'd through the sunny glade,
Though restless still themselves, a lulling murmur made.

But Johnson's explanation of Milton's use of the term may well have been influenced by Thomson, who gave a new shade of

meaning to the word. Thomson, on his part, may have acted on a vague impression received from Milton, unless he developed the sense independently or imported a Scottish usage. This last possibility is suggested by the way Burns handles the word, e. g. in "One night as I did wander": "Auld Aire ran by before me, And bicker'd to the seas"; or in "Donald Brodie met a lass":

Aff she started in a fright,
And through the braes what she could bicker.

That the late eighteenth century began to use the verb in a way suggesting the sense of "to quiver, to flash", may be due to such precedents, and perhaps also to sound-association with *to flicker*. This expression, having from the eleventh century onwards denoted fluttering, vibratory movement, was at that time beginning to be used of fitfully burning flames¹). Some semantic interaction between it and *to bicker* seems to have taken place a little earlier, for in 1776 J. Adams uses it in the sense of "to wrangle": "The newspapers . . . will inform you of public affairs, and the particular flickerings of parties in this colony" (quoted by the N. E. D. from "Familiar Letters", ed. 1876, 175).

All this must have had its effect on Shelley's interpretation of the word. He has it in "Queen Mab", IX. 154, where he evidently echoes Milton²):

For birth and life and death and that strange state
Before the naked soul has found its home,
All tend to perfect happiness, and urge
The restless wheels of being on their way,
Whose flashing spokes, instinct with infinite life,
Bicker and burn to gain their destined goal.

¹) This usage seems already to have made a passing appearance in the First Quarto of "King Lear", II. 2. 114:

Like the wreath of radiant fire
In flitkering Phoebus front.

This is changed to "flicking" in the First Folio.

²) A little before the passage in P. L. VI. containing *bickering*, Milton describes "The Chariot of Paternal Deitie" in almost the same words as Shelley his "restless wheels of life":

Flashing thick flames, Wheele within Wheele undrawn,
It self instinct with Spirit.

(P. L. VI. 751—752.)

If *bicker* here may conceivably bear a suggestion of the notion of struggle, this is most improbable in "The Daemon of the World", l. 170, where the expression is applied to the flashing flight of heavenly bodies :

Others dashed
Athwart the night with trains of bickering fire,
Like sphered worlds to death and ruin driven.

These precedents seem to have been sufficient to establish the word in its alleged Miltonic sense, at least in poetic diction.

SOME NOTES ON THE USE OF ADJECTIVES IN -ic AND -ical IN MILTON AND EARLIER WRITERS.

While going through Laura E. Lockwood's "Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton" in order to form some idea of the poet's use of certain suffixes, the present writer was struck by the scarcity of the adjectival suffix *-ical*, although the parallel *-ic* seemed to be greatly favoured. What he found was two adjectives in *-ical*¹⁾ and sixty in *-ic*, the former being used in all on three occasions whereas some of the latter occurred as frequently as eighteen and twenty times. The precise data are found in the following lists:

-ical: *angelical* (2 cases; cf. the frequency of *angelic*!); *mystical* (1 c.).

-ic: *Afric* (2 c.); *allegoric* (1 c.); *angelic* (20 c.); *archangelic* (1 c.); *arch-chemic* (1 c.); *Arctic* (1 c.); *Armoric* (1 c.); *asphaltic*, *Asphaltic* (2 c.); *Atlantic* (4 c.); *Attic* (3 c.); *authentic* (2 c.); *barbaric* (1 c.); *Celtic* (2 c.); *centric* (1 c.); *cherubic* (6 c.); *classic* (1 c.); *colic* (1 c.); *cubic* (1 c.); *Cynic* (1 c.); *Delphic* (1 c.); *despotic* (1 c.); *diabolic* (1 c.); *domestic* (5 c.); *Doric* (3 c.); *eccentric* (1 c.); *ecstatic* (1 c.); *empiric* (1 c.); *Euboic*

¹⁾ I am not counting *musical*, where the suffix, at least from an English point of view, is *-al*. For similar reasons, such words as *radical*, *vertical* (not found in Milton's verse) will be excluded from the following discussion. On the other hand, such a case as *physical* will have to be dealt with because the parallel form *physic* (as adj.) was not unknown but, on the contrary, was fairly frequent at some periods. *Frolic* must always have been felt to be the purely Germanic word that it is, and is therefore omitted from my statistics. I also omit Shakespeare's *mastic*, which, as Dr. Onions has shown, is not the foreign word that it seems to be. An omission to which objections are more likely to be made is *antique*. It was not always felt so distinctly as now to belong to a different type. Milton once spells it with *-ick* ("Il Penseroso", l. 158). However, even had it been included, the argument would not have been affected to an appreciable degree.

(1 c.); *fanatic* (1 c.); *fantastic* (2 c.); *gigantic* (2 c.); *gymnic* (1 c.); *harmonic* (1 c.); *heroic* (18 c.); *Libye* (1 c.); *lyric* (2 c.); *magic* (4 c.); *magnetic* (1 c.); *majestic* (7 c.); *metallic* (1 c.); *mimic* (1 c.); *mystic* (2 c.); *Nilotic* (1 c.); *optic* (3 c.); *organic* (1 c.); *philosophic* (1 c.); *politic* (1 c.); *Pontic* (1 c.); *prophetic* (5 c.); *public* (18 c.); *Punic* (2 c.); *rustic* (4 c.); *Satanic* (2 c.); *seraphic* (2 c.); *Stoic* (2 c.); *Tauric* (1 c.); *tragic* (1 c.); *tropic* (1 c.); *tyrannic* (2 c.); *villatic* (1 c.).

In Milton's prose both types are fairly common. In the "Areopagitica" we find, e. g., *atheistical*, *canonical*, *economical*, *grammatical*, *heretical*, *historical*, *mystical*, *papistical*, *political*, *practical*, *prelatical*, *theological*, as well as *academic*, *Atlantic*, *Attic*, *barbaric*, *catholic*, *Cynic*, *fantastic*, *laconic*, *laic*, *magic*, *pedantic*, *philosophic*, *politic*, *topic*, etc. The "Apology for Smectymnuus" has *apologetical*, *fantastical*, *finical*, *liturgical*, *metaphorical*, *metaphysical*, *pathetical*, *phthisical*, *prelatical*, *rabbinical*, *sophistical*, *theatrical*, and *antic*, *diabolic*, *evangelic*, *heroic*, *pedantic*, *phlegmatic*, *public*, *rheumatic*, *scholastic*, *stoic*, etc. These cases are typical.

It seems difficult to discover any leading principle in Milton's use of these two categories. In his prose treatises they often appear to be interchangeable. Thus, in "Prelatical Episcopacy" Polycarpus and Anicetus are called "those apostolic men" (ed. 1848, vol. II, p. 429). A few sentences later we read: "And yet thus far Irenæus makes against them, as in that very place to call Polycarpus an apostolical presbyter" (ibid.). In the same work (p. 434) the author describes how "episcopal men would cast a mist before us, to deduce their exalted episcopacy from apostolic times". Summing up his views on such claims he repeats the same expression but already uses the longer form: "And thus much may suffice to shew, that the pretended episcopacy cannot be deduced from the apostolical times" (ibid., p. 437). In the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce", "politic law" and "political law" appear close together in an identical sense (op. cit., vol. III, pp. 244 and 246). In "sophistic subtilties" ("Of True Religion", op. cit., vol. II, p. 512) and "sophistical arguing" ("Animadv. on the Rem. Def.", op. cit., vol. III, p. 63) the form differs but the sense is the same. See also *pharisaic* and *pharisaical* ("The Like-liest Means", op. cit., vol. III, p. 38; "Animadv. Rem. Def.", ibid.,

p. 59; "Doct. & Disc. of Div.", *ibid.*, p. 229), *fantastic* and *fantastical* ("Animadv. Rem. Def.", *op. cit.*, vol. III., p. 59; "Apol. for Smect.", *ibid.*, p. 160), *angelic* and *angelical* ("Animadv. Rem. Def.", *ibid.*, p. 76; "Reas. of Ch. Gov.", *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 485), *evangelic* and *evangelical* ("Reas. of Ch. Gov.", *ibid.*, p. 452; "Animadv. Rem. Def.", *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 79), etc.

In Milton's verse the case is very similar: where two parallel variants occur, their meaning seems to be uninfluenced by their difference of form.

Angelical. (a) Others more mild,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
With notes Angelical to many a harp.
(P. L. II. 548.)

(b) Those argent Fields more likely habitants,
Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
Betwixt th' Angelical and Human kinde.
(P. L. III. 462.)

Angelic. (a¹) The sound
Symphonious of ten thousand Harpes that tun'd
Angelic harmonies.
(P. L. VII. 560.)

(b¹) As thou rul'st
The Angelic orders and inferiour creatures mute.
("Samson Agonistes", 672.)

Mystical. (a) In song and dance about the sacred Hill,
Mystical dance, which yonder starrie Spheare
Of Planets and of fixt in all her Wheelles
Resembles nearest.
(P. L. V. 620.)

Mystic. (β) And yee five other wandring Fires that move
In mystic Dance not without Song.
(P. L. V. 178.)

In *a* and *a*¹, *α* and *β* the identity of meaning is so manifest that it needs no comment. Only the form and (in *a* and *a*¹) the word order are different. In the cases of *b* and *b*¹, where the resemblance is not quite so striking, the sense, nevertheless, is identical:

"angelic orders" = the orders of angels, "th' Angelical kind" = the race of angels.

We have to infer that Milton for some reason or other, which, however, had little or nothing to do with shades of logical meaning, definitely preferred the shorter form for poetical purposes. How marked this preference was is further shown by an investigation of his use of the two adjectival types in the light of the N. E. D. In many cases he had a choice, and very often the longer form seems to have predominated in contemporary literature. In some cases the shorter variants do not appear to have been known until he introduced them. The following lists illustrate this in detail:

A. *Both variants seem to have been more or less generally used in the sense (or senses) attached by Milton to the shorter form:* (1) *Allegoric, allegorical.* (2) *Angelic, angelical.* (3) *Authentic, authentical.* In the sense "of acknowledged authority", which is that of P. L. III. 656 ("his great authentic will"), both forms appear to have been current at Milton's time. On the other hand, if "Jove's authentic fire" (P. L. IV. 719) means "Jove's own fire", as Lockwood suggests, and not "Jove's original fire", as the N. E. D. interprets it, then only the shorter form is pre-Miltonic in the sense found in that passage. (4) *Chemic* (cf. P. L. III. 609 in "arch-chimic"), *chemical.* (5) *Colic, colical.* (6) *Cubic, cubical.* (7) *Eccentric, eccentrical.* (8) *Empiric, empirical.* (9) *Fanatic, fanatical.* (10) *Fantastic*¹, *fantastical.* (11) *Gigantic, gigantical.* (12) *Heroic, heroical.* However, in one case (P. L. I. 577) "heroic" has the meaning "of the heroes of antiquity", which in earlier use occurs only with *-ical* (from 1553). (13) *Lyric, lyrical.* (14) *Magic, magical.* (15) *Magnetic*², *magnetical.* (16) *Majestic, majestic.* (17) *Metallic, metallical.* (18) *Mimic, mimical.* (19) *Mystic, mystical.* (20) *Politic, political* = "pertaining to the science or art of politics". (21) *Rustic,*

¹) The N. E. D. records *fantastic* in "On the light fantastic toe" (L'All. 33) as an example of a new sense, "making 'fantastic' movements". But since this meaning is only very slightly varied from the older sense "behaving 'fantastically'", it is not listed here among Milton's innovations.

²) "Magnetic beam" in P. L. III 583 does not refer to magnetism as it is understood at present, therefore the N. E. D. quotes it as its only instance of a special Miltonic sense. But this is looking at the matter from a more modern point of view than Milton's was. He saw no difference.

rustical. In some cases Milton uses "rustic" in the sense of "unsophisticated, having the charm of the country", e. g. in "Comus", 849: "For which the Shepherds at their festivals Carrol her goodnes lowd in rustick layes, And throw sweet garland wreaths into her stream Of pancies, pinks, and gaudy Daffodils". This was a recent and apparently not yet very widely known poetical sense, probably introduced by Shakespeare in "As You Like It", V. 4. 183: "Meantime, forget this new-fall'n dignity, And fall into our rustic revelry". (22) *Seraphic, seraphical*. "Seraphical", which according to Bullokar (1616) meant "inflamed with diuine loue like a Seraphin", soon developed a derogatory sense, which does not seem to have been associated with the shorter variant: "In the 17th c. often *ironical*, applied to fanatical religionists or to impassioned orators" (N. E. D.). This pejorative touch may have influenced Milton's attitude towards the word. (23) *Stoic, stoical*. (24) *Tragic, tragical*. (25) *Tropic, tropical*.

B. *Both forms were current but Milton used the variant in -ic in a new sense which was previously attached to neither form:* (1) *Cynic* = "belonging to or characteristic of the sect of philosophers called Cynics". Cf. "Comus", 708: "the Cynic tub".

C. *The longer variant predominated in contemporary literature but Milton used the shorter form (without changing the sense):* (1) *Despotic, despotical*. "Despotic" seems to have been first used by Hobbes in 1650; Milton's use comes next in the N. E. D. Of "despotical" there are two earlier examples in the N. E. D., one being from Milton's prose. (2) *Diabolic, diabolical*. The former is the earlier word, being in use from 1399 to 1555, when there follows a gap until 1642 and 1667. The N. E. D. citations for these last two dates are both from Milton, who would appear to have revived an obsolete form. "Diabolical", which is first found in 1503, is represented by 4 pre-Miltonic seventeenth century quotations. (3) *Ecstatic, ecstatical*. The N. E. D. cites no earlier examples of "ecstatic" but it is found in Spenser's "Faerie Queene", III. III. 50. 5: "Which suddein fitt, and halfe extatick stoure, When the two fearefull women saw, they grew Greatly confused in behaveoure". Milton seems to have echoed this passage, though in a loftier tone: "There doth my soule in holy vision sit In pensive trance, and anguish and ecstatick fitt" ("Passion", 41—42). (4) *Organic, organical* = "instrumental".

"Organic" appears in this sense in the earlier part of the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century quotations in the N. E. D. are from Milton. "Organical" in the same sense is recorded under the dates 1605 and 1649. (5) *Prophetic, prophetic*. The former recorded only from Shakespeare before Milton's use of it in "Il Penseroso". Of "prophetic" 4 earlier instances are cited in the N. E. D. (1456, 1577, 1605, and 1613). (6) *Tyrannic, tyrannical*. "Tyrannic" appears already in 1491, in Caxton, but the only later pre-Miltonic quotation in the N. E. D. is from Denham (1636). "Tyrannical", on the other hand, is quoted 8 times from seventeenth century writers before Milton's use of it.

D. Only the forms in -ical seem to have been used before Milton but he introduces the following shorter variants: (1) *Archangelic*. (2) *Cherubic*. (3) *Philosophic* (first cited from Milton's "Areopagitica": "I have sat among their learned men, . . . and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of Philosophic freedom as they suppos'd England was"). (4) *Satanic*.

E. Milton uses the shorter form in a sense formerly attached only to the variant in -ical: (1) *Barbaric*. "Barbaric pearl and gold" (P. L. II. 1.) is the first instance meaning "pertaining or proper to barbarians or their art". The logical sense (but not the setting and atmosphere) is perhaps the same in a quotation from Crowley's "A Setting Open of the Subtyle Sophistrie of T. Watson" (1569): "This barbarical violence". (2) *Classic* = "of or pertaining to a classis in a Presbyterian church". This is a rare use recorded only from Milton's "Sonnet on the New Forcers of Conscience" ("And ride us with a classick hierarchy") and from his "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates": "While the hope to bee made Classic and Provinciall Lords led them on". "Classical" occurs in this sense in 1586. (3) *Harmonic* = "sounding together with pleasing effect; harmonious, in harmony, concordant". The first example of this is in P. L. IV. 687. Before Milton the word was used in various technical senses: "relating to music, musical; relating to melody as distinguished from rhythm; relating to harmony as distinct from melody and rhythm". "Harmonical", on the other hand, appears in a number of sixteenth and seventeenth century examples in the sense of "concordant, harmonious". (4) *Heroic* = "of or pertaining to the heroes of antiquity".

"Th'Heroic Race" (P. L. I. 577) is the first example on record. "Heroical" has this meaning as early as 1553.

F. Two forms in *-ic* are possibly entirely new Miltonic coinages; no earlier variants in *-ical* are known: (1) *Armoric* = "of Armorica, i. e. Brittany". Cf. P. L. I. 581: "Begirt with British and *Armoric* Knights". Earlier adjectives of the same type are: *Americ* = "American" ("Faerie Queene", V. X. 72. 6); *Corsic* = "Corsican" (Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy", III. 13. 72, Marlowe's transl. of Ovid's *Elegies*, bk. I, el. 12, l. 10); *Afric* = "African" (Marlowe's "Tamburlaine", part I, l. 3314; Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida", I. 3. 370, etc.). (2) *Villatic* = "of or pertaining to a farm, rural". Cf. S. A. 1695: "And nests in order rang'd Of tame villatic Fowl". From Lat. *villaticus*, used in the same sense.

In a relatively small number of cases the shorter forms either were the only ones known or were more generally used than the longer equivalents. In such cases Milton acts in conformity with tradition.

G. Only *-ic* used before Milton: (1) *Arctic*. (2) *Asphaltic*. (3) *Atlantic*. (4) *Celtic*. (5) *Euboic* (no earlier ex. in the N. E. D. but Spenser, "Virgil's Gnat", l. 587, has "th' Euboick Cliffs"). (6) *Libyc*. (7) *Nilotic*. (8) *Optic* = "of optical instruments". (9) *Pontic*.

H. *-ic* the usual ending at Milton's time, *-ical* being rare: (1) *Attic* (*Attical* recorded in the N. E. D. once, under the date 1660). (2) *Centric* (*central* once before Milton, in 1659). (3) *Delphic* (the only example of *Delphical* in the N. E. D. is dated 1603). (4) *Domestic* — apparently the usual seventeenth century form. Of one Miltonic sense ("attached to the home", cf. P. L. IX. 318) all earlier instances in the N. E. D. have the ending *-ic*. (5) *Doric* (the only earlier example of *Dorical* is dated 1592). (6) *Gymnic* (2 earlier instances, 1601 and 1656; one pre-Miltonic example of *gymnical*, dated 1576). (7) *Public* (*publical* but once, in 1440). (8) *Punic* (*Punical* 1430—1606; *Punic* the only contemporary form).

On *Tauric* the N. E. D. offers no information.

As the above data clearly show, there is a fair amount of innovation in Milton's use of these two adjectival types and this innovation is invariably in favour of the shorter ending.

We may regard it as amply proved that Milton deliberately avoided the longer form when composing verse. Where contemporary usage agreed with this tendency, he followed it; where it ran counter to his leaning, he defied it. A closer inspection of the material provided by the N. E. D. suggests that other poets may have shared his taste, for a surprising number of the adjectives in *-ic* used by him are much more copiously illustrated from earlier verse than from prose, some of them apparently having been introduced by poets. The most signal cases — against which no similar instances of the other category are to be set — are the following:

(1) *Authentic*. Many earlier quotations from poets, e. g. Chaucer, Occleve, Henryson, Chapman, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Suckling. Of *authentical* there is only one earlier example in verse (1531).

(2) *Centric*. All pre-Miltonic examples are in verse.

(3) *Chemic*. Earlier instances from the verse of Heywood, Habington, Quarles. The number of later verse quotations is remarkable: Dryden, Pope, Prior, Erasmus Darwin, Wordsworth, Byron and Tennyson are represented. *Chemical* appears but once in a verse passage (1605).

(4) *Fantastic*. Earlier verse quotations from Shakespeare, R. C. ("Time's Whistle", 1616), Wither (2 examples), J. Fletcher; later instances from the verse of Gray, Young, Smollett, Warton, J. Wilson, B. Taylor. *Fantastical* is quoted once from the "Digby Mysteries" (1485), twice from poetry of the sixteenth century ("Political, Religious, and Love Poems", 1531, and Warner, 1589) and twice from seventeenth century verse composed *later* than those poems of Milton where the word occurs (H. More, 1647; Butler, 1680). The gap between 1589 and 1647 is remarkable, especially considering the numerous quotations of *fantastic* from verse of the same period.

(5) *Majestic*. Of the 19 citations of this word in the N. E. D., 8 are from poetry. It was probably introduced by Shakespeare in "Julius Cæsar"; further pre-Miltonic examples are from the verse of "The Tempest" and from G. Fletcher's "Christ's Victory". *Majestical* is not cited from earlier verse.

(6) *Mimic*. Probably introduced by Spenser, who has it in his "Tears of the Muses", l. 207 (not recorded in the N. E. D.).

The earliest citations in the N. E. D. are from Marston's verse (2 examples), and a later pre-Miltonic quotation in verse is from Howell (1645). After Milton it becomes a poetic mannerism: examples from Rowe, Swift, Pope, Smollett, Cowper, Scott, Bryant. *Mimical* cited only from prose texts.

(7) *Mystic*. 6 pre-Miltonic quotations, all of the seventeenth century, are from poetry: 1615 G. Sandys, 1625 J. Fletcher, 1627 Drayton, 1631 Donne, 1648 J. Beaumont, 1656 Cowley. *Mystical* quoted once from fifteenth, twice from sixteenth, and twice from seventeenth century verse previous to Milton's use of the word.

(8) *Optic*. Earlier verse quotations from Ben Jonson, Heywood, Davenant. *Optical* cited only from prose.

(9) *Prophetic*. The first three quotations from Shakespeare's verse; next Milton's "Il Penseroso". *Prophetical* not quoted from verse.

(10) *Rustic*. Earlier citations in verse from "Palladius on Husbandrie" (1440—the first instance of the word), from Spenser, Shakespeare (2 instances). Later instances from Dryden, Johnson, Gray, Cowper (several examples), Scott's verse romances, Shelley. Only one instance of *rustical* is from poetry (Chr. Rossetti, 1864).

The above evidence, though remarkable, is not quite conclusive since we do not know what has been omitted by the N. E. D. But it seems to justify some further investigation of the matter. I have examined a number of texts in verse and prose earlier than or contemporary with Milton in order to form a more definite impression. Where concordances were available, these have been made use of. I have not gone further back than Lyly's "Euphues" (1579) and Spenser.

In late fifteenth century prose *-ical* seems, on the whole, by far the more frequent of the two suffixes, although sometimes *-ic* is well represented. In "Euphues" both appear to be comparatively rare. Nevertheless, the first 150 pages of Arber's reprint contain *fantastical*, *heroical*, *majestical*, *mystical*, *tragical*, but only three adjectives in *-ic*: *frantic*, *politic*, *public*. In Sidney's "Apologie for Poetrie" (1586) *-ic* is represented by 12 and *-ical* by 14 adjectives but the latter occur far more frequently. The words in question are: *Atlantic*, *choleric*, *comic*, *ethic*, *Iambic*, *lyric*, *Platonic*, *politic*, *public*, *rustic*, *satiric*, *tragic*, and: *astro-*

nomical, comical, domestical, heroical, historical, lyrical, majestic, methodical, philosophical, poetical, rustical, tragical, tragicomical, tyrannical. In Spenser's prose, where neither type is favoured, *-ical*, nevertheless, predominates. His prose writings in the Globe Edition have *politic, public, Punic, and allegorical, ecclesiastical, heroical, historical, satirical.* In Gabriel Harvey's "Fovre Letters and certeine sonnets" (1592) the longer suffix is definitely preferred. I have noted ¹⁾: *Arctic (Artique), Attic, frantic, Olympic, politic, public, and academical, astrological, authentical, comical, diabolical, energetical, fantastical, heroical, hyperbolical, hypocritical, Lucianical, mechanical, Olympical, pathological, satirical, thrasonical, unsatirical.* One of the sonnets has *heroic.* Nashe's "Unfortunate Traveller" (1594) uses both types more lavishly, but here again *-ical* is far more frequent ²⁾: *comic, cynic, fantastic, frantic, magic, mechanic, phlegmatic, rheumatic, tragic, and anabaptistical, angelical, authentical, cynical, delphinical, dunstical, ecclesiastical, fantastical, finigraphical, heretical, heroical, intrinsical, ironical, majestic, mathematical, mechanical, prophetic, scholastical, stratagemical, tragical.* The first hundred pages of Hooker's "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" (1594—1600) in the Everyman's Library edition have only two forms in *-ic*: *politic* and *public.* The longer ending is much less scarce: *angelical, apostolical, authentical, domestical, ecclesiastical, historical, hyperbolical, mechanical, mystical, prophetic.*

In the seventeenth century the picture is not very different, although *-ic* seems gradually to be gaining ground. However, *-ical* is very frequent in the texts that I have gone through, and more often than not it predominates. Donne's "Ignatius his Conclave" ³⁾, written in 1610, contains *catholic, ecclesiastic, lunatic, politic, public, stigmatic, and aristocratical, chimerical, ecclesiastical, eremitical, Jesuitical, methodical, monarchical, mystical, paradoxical, prophetic.* In pp. 5—104 (the first hundred pages of the text) of vol. II of Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" (1621) in Bohn's edition, I have found: *Antarctic, Arabic, Arctic, Atlantic, Baltic, choleric, concentric, eccentric, exotic, optic, phlegmatic, politic, practic, public, theoric, topic,* as well as: *astronomical,*

¹⁾ Bodle Head edition.

²⁾ In the reprint in "Shorter Novels", vol. I, Everyman's Library.

³⁾ Nonesuch edition.

cabalistical, chemical, chorographical, Copernical, cosmographical, diabolical, dialogical, domestical, geographical, geometrical, gigantical, heretical, iatromathematical, magical, magnetical, mathematical, pathetic, periodical, phantastical, philosophical, physical, spherical, topographical. George Herbert's "A Priest to the Temple" ¹⁾ (1633) has few examples of the two categories, with a slight predominance of *-ic*: *Catholic, phlegmatic, physie, public, and canonical, ecclesiastical, practical.* In pp. 1—100 of L. P. Smith's selection from Jeremy Taylor, "The Golden Grove", the balance is again slightly in favour of the longer suffix: *Adriatic, domestic, ecclesiastic, epileptic, fantastic, magnetic, public, and: apostolical, canonical, ecclesiastical, evangelical, fantastical, metaphysical, periodical, prophetic, tyrannical.* The texts date from 1638 to 1662. In the first hundred pages of Walton's "Lives" in A. W. Pollard's edition (Macmillan's Library of English Classics), including the Life of Donne (1640) and most of that of Wotton (1651), both categories appear in almost equal numbers: *Catholic, domestic, heroic, optic, politic, public, and apostolical, canonical, critical, ecclesiastical, philosophical.* I am not taking into account Walton's verse, where *classical* occurs once, or his numerous and extensive quotations from other English writers.

Two writers of originality, Sir Thomas Browne and the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, both among the most prolific creators and borrowers of learned words and fond of long and sonorous expressions, differ from the other seventeenth century authors here dealt with in their exceptional predilection for the more weighty and sinuous ending. The former's "Religio Medici" (1643) has *asphaltic, authentic, cryptic, domestic, ecstatic, ethnic, fantastic, heroic, majestic, Platonic, politic, public, and allegorical, cynical, epidemical, geometrical, graphical, harmonical, heretical, hermetical, heroical, hieroglyphical, inorganical, metaphorical, metaphysical, mystical, numerical, paradoxical, poetical, rabbinical, rhetorical, scenical, sophisticated, Stoical, tropical* — 12 adjectives in *-ic* and 23 in *-ical*. In pp. 3—102 of the "Philosophical Writings of Henry More" (N. Y., Oxford Un. Press, 1925), including "An Antidote against Atheism" (1662) and 12 chapters of "The Immortality of the Soul" (1662), there are 7 adjectives in *-ic* and 18 in *-ical*: *antic, elastic, gigantic, melancholic, pedantic,*

¹⁾ The edition here used is that of Edward Thomas in Everyman's Library.

scholastic, spermatic, and anatomical, angelical, astronomical, atheistical, enigmatical, extrinsical, geometrical, heroical, intrinsic, logical, magical, mathematical, mechanical, peripatetical, physical, Platonical, Ptolemaical, symbolical.

It would be dangerous to draw any sweeping conclusions from material covering only a small, though not unrepresentative fraction of the prose literature between 1579 and 1662. Nevertheless it seems fairly safe to say that *-ical* as an adjectival suffix must have played a far more important part in the prose of that period than in Milton's verse. As for the character of the adjectives in each group, the impression that our material gives is that the longer ending is perhaps found more often than the shorter in typical learned expressions, such as *astronomical, chorographical, cosmographical, topographical, extrinsical, intrinsic, hermetical, hieroglyphical, inorganic, iatromathematical, geometrical, metaphysical, paradoxical, peripatetical*, etc. The two words on our list that were found to be of most frequent occurrence, *public* and *politic* in the sense of "sagacious, shrewd" — they appear in most texts of reasonable length that I have studied, usually a good many times in the same work — have the shorter suffix. There is no air of esoteric learning about them or about *choleric, lunatic, phlegmatic, rheumatic*, — all of them words that were probably not uncommon in the colloquial language of the period. These facts suggest that *-ic* was the less exotic of the two suffixes, and perhaps for this very reason less suitable for the style of such lovers of verbal curiosities as Sir Thomas Browne and Henry More. On the other hand, the conspicuousness and effective roll of the longer ending as well as its suggestion of learned pedantry seem to have made it especially fit for deliberately grotesque use. Some of the most mouth-filling pejorative epithets of Nashe and Harvey have it: *thrasonical, finigraphical, dunstical, delphinical* ("A diamond Delphinicall drie lechour it was" — "The Unfortunate Traveller", op. cit., p. 342), *Lucianical*. In his "Pierce Penilesse" Nashe invents *dorbellical* ¹⁾ and uses *Gnathon-*

¹⁾ Closely parallel with *dunstical* and *duncical*, both derived from the name of Duns Scotus; *dorbellical*, which seems to be synonymous with these words, is formed from the name of a supporter of Duns, Nicholas de Orbellis († 1455). *Dorbel* meant "a pedant, a dolt". Nashe's manner of using the adjective appears clearly from the context: "so vgly, dorbellical and lumpish" (p. 65 of Bodley Head ed.).

ical (= "parasitical, toad-eating"), both figuring among his most memorable adjectives of abuse.

In the poetry of the same period the distribution of the two adjectival categories is different. The shorter ending seems to be much more favoured there than it is in the prose, judging from the usage in the verse of ten representative poets examined for the purposes of the present study. The texts (in some cases the concordances) that have been used are the following:

(1) C. G. Osgood's "Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser" (Washington, 1915).

(2) The Works of Christopher Marlowe, ed. by C. F. Tucker-Brooke (Oxford, 1910).

(3) J. Bartlett's "A New and Complete Concordance... to the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare with a Supplementary Concordance to the Poems" (London, 1894) and Alexander Schmidt's "Shakespeare-Lexicon" (Berlin, 1902).

(4) The Poems of John Donne, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson (Oxford, 1933).

(5) G. Fletcher's poems, in Giles and Phineas Fletcher's Poetical Works, ed. by F. S. Boas (Cambridge, 1909).

(6) The Poems, English, Latin, and Greek, of Richard Crashaw, ed. by L. C. Martin (Oxford, 1927).

(7) The Temple by George Herbert (Everyman's Library).

(8) W. Habington's "Castara" (Arber's reprint).

(9) The Poems of Robert Herrick (The World's Classics, London, 1903).

(10) Philosophical Poems of Henry More, ed. by G. Bullough (Manchester University Press, 1931).

The results may be tabulated as follows ¹⁾:

S p e n s e r.

-ic: *Afric, Americ, angelic, Argolic, Attic, Belgic, Celtic, Colchic, comic, critic, Doric, ecstatic, Euboic, fantastic, frantic, Gothic, heroic, Ionic, Libye, magic, melancholic, mimic, Olympic, Pontic, practic, rustic, tragic.*

-ical: *angelical, authentic, magical, tragical.*

¹⁾ These lists apply exclusively to the verse of these writers. Their prose — even in headings of poems, dedications, marginal notes, etc. — is not taken into account.

M a r l o w e.

-ic: *Adriatic, Afric, Antarctic, antic, Arctic, Attic, Caic, Catholic, centric, Corsic, domestic, Doric, fantastic, frantic, heroic, lunatic, magic, necromantic, public, Punic, rustic, tragic, tropic.*

-ical: *critical, magical, majestic, metaphysical, pathological, rustical, tragical, tyrannical.*

S h a k e s p e a r e.

-ic: *Adriatic, Afric, antic, authentic, choleric, comic, critic, domestic, epileptic, fantastic, frantic, heroic, lunatic, magic, majestic, mechanic, politic, Pontic, practic, prophetic, public, rheumatic, rustic, Salic, tragic.*

-ical: *angelical, critical, enigmatical, fantastical, heroical, hyperbolic, magical, majestic, mechanical, metaphysical, pathological, pedantical, physical, stigmatical, tragical, tyrannical.*

D o n n e.

-ic: *Afric, angelic, antic, aromatic, Atlantic, Catholic, centric, chemic (chymic), choleric, concentric, Delphic, eccentric, extrinsic, fantastic, hectic, hydroptic, hymnic, intrinsic, lethargic, lunatic, lyric, magic, magnetic, mechanic, mimic, monastic, mystic, organic, panegyric, pedantic, physic, poetic, politic, public, rhythmic, satiric, spermatic, tropic.*

-ical: *canonical, fantastical, heroical, mystical, pharisaical, spherical.*

G i l e s F l e t c h e r.

-ic: *angelic, heroic, majestic, Olympic, optic.*

-ical: *angelical.*

C r a s h a w.

-ic: *Afric, domestic, enthusiastic, fantastic, heroic, lubric, magic, mystic, Olympic, prophetic, public, rustic, seraphic, tragic.*

-ical: *mystical, rhetorical, seraphical.*

G e o r g e H e r b e r t.

-ic: *academic, ecliptic, majestic, public.*

-ical: *mystical.*

H a b i n g t o n.

-ic: *Antarctic, Arctic, Atheistic, Baltic, chemic (chymic), fantastic, frantic, magnetic, mystic, phlegmatic, politic, prophetic, public, seraphic, tragic.*

-ical: *spherical.*

H e r r i c k.

-ic: *Adriatic, aromatic, civic, comic, Delphic, fantastic, frantic, lunatic, lyric, magic, mosaic, mystic, Platonic, poetic, prophetic, public, rustic, tragic.*

-ical: *canonical, hypostatical, incanonical, papistical.*

H e n r y M o r e.

-ic: *Afric, angelic, Arabic, Arctic, centric, conic, frantic, magic, magnetic, majestic, melancholic, Panic, plastic, Platonic, politic, satiric, seraphic, tyrannic.*

-ical: *Catholical, magical, mimical.*

The impression created by these lists is that there is a fundamental difference between the usage in prose and in poetry. Although none of the poets examined show quite as remarkable a predominance of the shorter ending as Milton, the general tendency is plainly the same. Even Henry More, in whose prose the longer suffix seemed to be especially favoured, appears to have little use for it in his verse. The largest proportion of adjectives ending in *-ical* is found in Shakespeare. But we need only examine his usage in prose to find that his tendency is in the same direction as that of the others. In the prose passages of his plays the two types are represented as follows:

-ic: *antic, authentic, choleric, empiricuteic, frantic, lunatic, monastic, phlegmatic, politic, public, rheumatic.*

-ical: *alphabetical, astronomical, comical (in compounds), fanatical, fantastical, finical, heroical, historical (in compounds), hyperbolic, majestical, mechanical, pathological, philosophical, poetical, satirical, spherical, thrasonical, tragical.*

This list shows 11 forms in *-ic* and 18 in *-ical*. In Shakespeare's verse the former category numbered 25 and the latter 15 different expressions. If we count from Bartlett's Concordance the total number of cases in which words belonging to each group are used, the figures are: 129 instances of *-ic* in verse, 28 in prose; 31 cases

of *-ical* in verse, 39 in prose. As this shows, Shakespeare was no exception to the rule but appears to have shared the attitude of other writers towards these suffixes.

In some cases Shakespeare has two parallel forms, one ending in *-ic* and one in *-ical*. Such pairs are: *comic* ~ *comical*, *critic* ~ *critical*, *fantastic* ~ *fantastical*, *heroic* ~ *heroical*, *magic* ~ *magical*, *majestic* ~ *majestical*, *mechanic* ~ *mechanical*, *tragic* ~ *tragical*. It is noteworthy that the shorter variants appear exclusively in his verse.

A point of some interest is that in Shakespeare's earlier verse, up to "Hamlet", which lies approximately midway if we also consider the quantity of work produced before and after it, adjectives in *-ical* are considerably more frequent than in "Hamlet" and later works. Before "Hamlet" they occur altogether 20 times in verse: "Henry VI" — 2 cases; "Richard III" — 2 c.; "The Comedy of Errors" — 1 c.; "Love's Labour's Lost" — 3 c.; "Romeo and Juliet" — 1 c.; "A Midsummer Night's Dream" — 3 c.; "Henry IV" — 1 c.; "Henry V" — 3 c.; "Much Ado About Nothing" — 1 c.; "Julius Cæsar" — 2 c.; "Twelfth Night" — 1 c. In the poems they do not appear at all. In the verse of "Hamlet" and later plays there are 11 instances of them: "Hamlet" — 1; "Troilus and Cressida" — 1; "Othello" — 1; "Macbeth" — 3; "Antony and Cleopatra" — 1; "Coriolanus" — 4.

The other poet in whose usage the longer suffix occupies a prominent part is Marlowe, i. e. a writer who exercised some influence on Shakespeare's early work. We shall have to return to the connection between the two playwrights.

A more accurate estimate of the extent to which the poets here dealt with favoured each type may be arrived at by taking into consideration their contributions to the language in these departments. As for their introduction of new senses, only fairly definite innovations can be considered.

Spenser. Of the adjectives in *-ic* found in his verse, *Attic*, *Belgic*, *Celtic*, *ecstatic*, *Euboic*, *Gothic*, *mimic* are earlier than the earliest examples in the N. E. D.; *Olympic* (also post-dated in the N. E. D., where it is first cited from Tourneur's post-Spenserian "Transformed Metamorphosis") seems before Spenser to have existed only in the form of *Olympical*; of *Doric*, the first example in the N. E. D. is from Spenser's "Vision of Du Bellay".

At least three adjectives in *-ic* are used by Spenser in new senses: *practic* = "experienced, skilled" (F. Q. IV. III. 7); *critic* = "judging severely": "Doest note with critique pen The sharpe dislikes of each condition" (in the sonnet to Harvey, written in 1586; the earliest illustration of this sense in the N. E. D. is from Florio, 1598); *heroic* = "magniloquent, grand" ("Tears of the Muses", l. 431). Judging from the above, Spenser's activity in favour of the shorter adjectival type would seem to have been considerable, for of the 27 forms that he uses, 9 appear to be new and 3 show distinct semantic innovation.

Marlowe. The earlier *critic* is replaced by *critical* (here in the sense of "involving a crisis"): "The Sessions day is criticall to theeues" ("Jew of Malta", l. 869—earlier than the first example of *critical* in the N. E. D., which is from Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream"). *Metaphysical* comes to mean "supernatural" ("Tamburlaine", pt. II, l. 628), a sense previously associated only with the shorter equivalent (N. E. D., quot. 1569 from J. Sanford: "transnaturall or Metaphysicke"). *Tragical* means "excited with tragic feeling" ("Massacre at Paris", l. 901), which seems to be a new connotation that neither *tragic* nor *tragical* had had before. All these innovations are connected with the longer suffix. On the other hand, *centric* (of which there was no longer form) is first found in "Dr. Faustus" (l. 648), and *antic* in the sense of "grotesque, bizarre" appears for the first time outside the domains of architecture and decorative art. On the whole, Marlowe's creative powers seem to have been applied in fairly equal proportion to both categories.

Shakespeare. In his verse, *majestic*, *prophetic*, *domestic* (= "of or belonging to the home, house, or household"), *tragic* (= "resembling tragedy in respect of its matter") seem according to the N. E. D. to be used for the first time for earlier *majestical*, *prophetical*, *domestical*, *tragical*. One form, *epileptic*, seems to be entirely new. *Rustic* develops a new sense, "unsophisticated, having the charm of the country"; *lunatic* begins to be applied to things (having previously been used of persons only) in "King Lear", II. 3. 18; *heroic* acquires the novel meaning "of the nature of a hero" ("Henry VI", pt. I, II. 5. 78). But later on, in "Henry V", the same sense is associated for the first time with the longer equivalent as well (II. 4. 59); *critical* = "judging

severely" (the sense in which Spenser began to use *critic*) enters the language in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" (V. 1. 54); *magical* acquires the sense of "resembling magic in action or effect" ("Antony and Cleopatra", III. 1. 31); *pathetical* is made pejorative (cf. below, p. 119); *pedantical*, which the N. E. D. attributes to Shakespeare, really belongs to G. Harvey (cf. below, *ibid.*). A few less clearly definable peculiarities in the use of some words are dealt with on pp. 120—123. The final impression is that although semantic novelties are not infrequently found with *-ical*, the suffix *-ic* was preferred by Shakespeare for the creation of new forms, as far as the language of his verse was concerned.

Donne. *Magnetic* (in "The Anatomy of the World", i. e. earlier than the first example in the N. E. D., which is in the title of Ben Jonson's "Magnetic Lady"), *pedantic* (in the "Sunne Rising"), *panegyric* = "of the nature of a eulogy" (in the "Litanie", XXIII), *rhythmic* with reference to verse (*ibid.* VIII), are used for earlier *magnetical*, *pedantical*, *panegyric*, *rhythmical*. *Mystic* in the sense of "mysterious, enigmatical", previously associated with *mystical*, *lethargic* in the new transferred sense of "sluggish, apathetic", *organic*, meaning "resembling an organ" (the musical instrument), are first found in Donne's verse, to judge from the N. E. D. *Hydroptic* (a variant of the earlier *hydropic*, *hydropical*), first quoted in the N. E. D. from a letter of Donne's written in 1631, occurs repeatedly in verse of his composed much earlier, e. g. in Elegy IV, l. 6: "thy Hydroptique father". In all these cases, innovation is associated with the ending *-ic*.

Of the later poets here investigated, only Habington appears to introduce some definitely new features: *atheistic* for earlier *atheistical* (*op. cit.* p. 78) and *magnetic* in its present literal sense ¹⁾ for earlier *magnetical* (*ibid.*, p. 23).

It seems that although words in *-ical* occur in new senses in some of the verse dealt with, actual new forms tend to take the shorter ending. The number of these latter is not inconsiderable, which serves as a further illustration of the tendency to avoid *-ical* in verse. The problem that arises is: what caused this tendency?

¹⁾ Donne and Ben Jonson use *magnetic* figuratively.

Two possibilities suggest themselves: (1) that it may have been due to some difference in the stylistic value of the two suffixes; (2) that the reasons were prosodical.

While examining our lists from prose writers we already seemed to notice a more learned and exotic air about *-ical*, which, although such a fine stylist as Sir Thomas Browne appears to have been fond of it, sometimes also lent itself very readily to parody. As it happens, Marlowe seems to like the robust but sometimes rather naive effects for which that ending seems so suitable:

Not *Hermes* Prolocutor to the Gods,
 Could vse perswasions more patheticall.
 ("Tamburlaine", pt. I, 406.)

An action bloody and tirannical.
 ("Massacre at Paris", 212.)

Those inferior writers, W. Bird and S. Rowley, who recast his "Faustus" about 1602, also liked the ending for its impressive, dignified sound, even though they failed to use it with equal *verve*:

And by authority Apostolicall
 Depose him from his Regall Gouernment.
 (p. 205 of Tucker Brooke's ed. of Marlowe.)

We would behold that famous Conquerour,
 Great *Alexander*, and his Paramour,
 In their true shapes, and state Maiesticall.
 (ibid. p. 211.)

A study of Shakespeare's usage shows him to have been aware both of the comic and the rhetorical potentialities of the longer ending, however, with a definite leaning towards exploiting the former. "Love's Labour's Lost", "that playground of the new language"¹), as Professor George Gordon aptly calls it, affords some characteristic instances of the association of the suffix *-ical* with

Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise,
 Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
 Figures pedantical.

(V. 2. 406—408.)

¹) "Shakespeare's English", p. 263.

The word *pedantical* itself — a neologism introduced by G. Harvey in "An Advertisement for Papp-hatchet" (1589), as W. S. Mackie has shown ("Modern Language Review", Jan. 1936, p. 2) — is a case in point. Both Armado and Holofernes, the one the representative of courtly affectation, the other of academic pedantry, show a liking for the long, learned ending, and there is a double irony in the latter's description of the pompous knight: "*Novi hominem tanquam te*: his humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestic, and his general behaviour vain, ridiculous and thrasonical" (L. L. L., V. 1. 12—14). "Majestic", "thrasonical" — the humorous ring in these adjectives is unmistakable. The same applies to the "fanatical phantasies" that the schoolmaster censures in his next speech.

The new adjective *pathetical*, first recorded in the N. E. D. from Gabriel Harvey's "Letter-box" (1573—80), where it is used in a somewhat vague sense, perhaps meaning "stirring, exciting" ("Certain loud pathetical exclamations, and broad hyperboles"), and later on employed by Marlowe with considerable rhetorical effect in a passage that has just been quoted, is dealt with in very critical fashion in "Love's Labour's Lost". It seems significant that Armado is the first to use it. The docility of the "well-educated infant", Moth, moves him: "Sweet invocation of a child; most pretty and pathetical" (I. 2. 103). Here the irony is not the speaker's but the author's. It changes to downright derogation in the blunt Costard's pronouncement on the same subject (IV. 1. 150):

And his page o't'other side, that handful of wit!
Ah, heavens, it is a most pathetical nit!

The same epithet is used once more in "As You Like It" — in the same slighting tone. Rosalind warns her lover that if he "break one jot of his promise", she will think him "the most pathetical break-promise, and the most hollow lover" (IV. 1. 196). The degradation of the word is manifest.

The dignified and at that date already time-honoured epithet *philosophical* is likewise treated with doubtful respect. It appears only once, in Lafeu's comment on shallow but pretentious learning: "They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar things supernatural and

causeless" ("All's Well that Ends Well", II. 3. 1 et seq.). "Modern" here means "trite, commonplace". *Poetical* fares hardly better than *philosophical*. We seem to overhear the author's as well as the amorous but sceptical Touchstone's irony in that dialogue ("As You Like It", III. 3) where the latter sighs to Audrey: "Truly, I would the Gods had made thee poetical." Thereupon Audrey expresses her doubts: "I do not know what 'poetical' is: is it honest in deed and word? is it a true thing?" Touchstone's verdict is severe: "No, truly; for the truest poetry is the most feigning; and lovers are given to poetry; and what they swear in poetry may be said as lovers they do feign." Audrey is justified in asking, apparently in some bewilderment: "Do you wish, then, that the gods had made me poetical?" A similar irony is found in "Twelfth Night" (I. V. 207 et seq.). Viola complains of her message to Olivia: "Alas, I took great pains to study it, and 'tis poetical", to which Olivia retorts: "It is the more likely to be feign'd: I pray you, keep it in." These are the only cases where Shakespeare uses the expression, and they suggest no elevated associations.

It might be objected that he makes fun of the idea and not of the suffix. But there may be some correspondence between sense and form. At any rate in those cases where he uses both forms, the shorter ending tends to be reserved for more dignified use. Such, for instance, is the case with *tragic* and *tragical*. The former is always used as a grave word, from "Henry VI" (part III, IV. 1. 4.) to the concluding speech in "Othello": "Look on the tragic loading of this bed." It is different with *tragical*. On two occasions, both very early, it has the ring of high tragedy: when the Earl of Warwick, addressing the Duke of Gloster, asks: "Why do you look so stern and tragical?" (1 Hen. VI, III. 1. 125), and when Queen Margaret, fiercely bent on the destruction of her enemies, hopes for consequences "bitter, black, and tragical" (Rich. III, IV. 4. 7). But these are the only instances where Shakespeare takes the word seriously. When he uses it again in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" (V. 1. 57 et seq.), he does it in a spirit of comedy¹). Duke Theseus, reading the list of enter-

¹) Cf. also, e. g., Dekker's "Wonderfull Yeare 1603", Bodley Head ed., p. 34: "The worst players Boy stood vpon his good parts, swearing tragically and busking oathes . . ."

tainments submitted by Philostrate, chances upon the title of the artisans' play:

"A tedious brief scene of young Pyramus
And his love Thisbe; very tragical mirth."

This causes his amused comment: "Merry and tragical! tedious and brief!..." Philostrate's explanations are in a similar vein:

And tragical, my noble lord, it is;
For Pyramus therein does kill himself.
Which, when I saw rehearsed, I must confess,
Made mine eyes water.

There can be little doubt that the title of the tragicomedy parodies the hackneyed style found in the titles of most plays of that period, including Shakespeare's own.

The language of pedantic learning is parodied in the only later Shakespearean passage where the expression occurs, Polonius's series of long-winded compounds: "Tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited" ("Hamlet", I. 2. 417 et seq.).

Some traces of a similar distinction may be noticed in Shakespeare's treatment of *majestic* and *majestical*.

Majestic, apparently coined by him and first recorded in "Julius Cæsar", serves none but grave purposes ("Julius Cæsar", I. 2. 130; "Cymbeline", V. 5. 457; "The Tempest", IV. 1. 118). The same gravity usually characterizes *majestical* as well, but there are some exceptions. Holofernes's mention of Armado's "majestical gait" has already been quoted. For another somewhat easy-going use of the same epithet see "Love's Labour's Lost", V, sc. II, where Boyet describes how the king and his companions, having instructed the "pretty knavish page" in accent and behaviour, express playful doubts as to whether the "presence majestical" of the princess whom he is to meet might not "put him out". With another pair of adjectives, *fantastic* and *fantastical*, the case is similar. The latter sometimes expresses an emphatic derogation nowhere perceptible in the shorter form ¹⁾: "The schoolmaster is

¹⁾ One of Nash's favourite and most emphatic derogatory combinations is "fantastical fool" (cf. e. g. "Pierce Penilesse", Bodley Head ed., pp. 43, 56).

exceeding fantastical; too too vain" (L. L. L. V. 2. 532); "Fantastical, apish, shallow, inconstant" ("As You Like It", III. 2. 431); "Ne'er a fantastical knave of them all shall flout me out of my calling" (ibid. III. 3. 108). *Mechanic* and *mechanical* are both used as terms of opprobrium but it is only the latter that appears in a definitely farcical context: "Mechanical salt-butter rogue" ("Merry Wives", II. 2. 290). *Heroical*, of which there are four cases in Shakespeare, two of these perfectly dignified, serves on two occasions as a distinctly comic term: once in Armado's ridiculous love-letter (L. L. L. IV. 1. 64: "More fairer than fair, beautiful than beauteous, truer than truth itself, have commiseration on thy heroical vassal!"), where it appears in the close neighbourhood of such flowers of pedantry as *indubitate* and *amothanize*, and once in one of Thersites's taunting references to Ajax: "He must fight singly to-morrow with Hector; and is so prophetically proud of an heroical cudgelling that he raves in saying nothing" ("Troilus and Cressida", III. 3. 192). The only Shakespearean example of *heroic* (Hen. VI, pt. I, II. 5. 78) is, on the contrary, a stately poetic expression: "Being but fourth of that heroic line".

In addition to the above, some further instances that seem in keeping with the foregoing observations deserve to be mentioned. *Hyperbolical*, which Shakespeare uses twice, in the sense of "extravagant" or "using high-flown language", has a strong pejorative colouring, both when the clown in "Twelfth Night" shouts at Malvolio: "Out, hyperbolical fiend!" (IV. 2. 29) and when Coriolanus scoffs at the hollow magniloquence of the people: "You shout me forth In acclamations hyperbolical!" (I. 9. 51). There is some irony in the learned term used by Edgar in his question to Edmund: "How long have you been a sectary astronomical?" ("King Lear", I. 2. 164). Edmund has just been enlarging on the effects of eclipses, which strikes his half-brother as odd, and possibly also as insincere. Pedantry and turgidity are, as it seems, meant to be suggested when Malvolio, that "hyperbolical fiend", discovering the letters M, O, A, I in a mystifying poem, senses a flattery to himself: "What should this alphabetical

Though he also uses *fantastic*, I have not found it employed with such vigour. In Harvey's "Fovre Letters", both *fantastical* and the still longer noun *fantasticity* are standing terms of invective (cf. e. g. ed. cit. pp. 11, 20, 39, 40, 72).

position portend? if I could make that resemble something in me —" ("Twelfth Night", II. 5. 130). Grotesque exaggeration is the chief characteristic of Adriana's description of Luciana's lover as

deformed, crooked, old, and sere,
Ill-faced, worse-bodied, shapeless everywhere;
Vicious, ungente, foolish, blunt, unkind;
Stigmatical in making, worse in mind.
(*"Comedy of Errors"*, IV. 2. 19—22.)

This (the only) instance of *stigmatical* serves to enhance the general effect of parodying excess.

The above enumeration of comic or derogatory uses of adjectives in *-ical*, though far from complete, may suffice to show at least the probability that Shakespeare may have felt these forms to be especially suitable for purposes of comedy. On the other hand, he did not always avoid that rhetorical declamation that our examples from Marlowe and the "revisers" of "Dr. Faustus" illustrated. We sometimes find it in his earlier work. Oratory has (perhaps purposely) become rant in "Romeo and Juliet", III. 2. 75:

Beautiful tyrant! fiend angelical!
Dove-feather'd raven! wolfish-ravens lamb!

A more purified brand of the same style is found in "Richard III":

The supreme seat, the throne majestic,
The scepter'd office of your ancestors.
(III. 7. 118.)

In the plays of his maturity Shakespeare can occasionally take the identical type of adjective (sometimes the same adjective) that Marlowe employed for cruder purposes, and turn it to brilliant use:

My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,
Shakes so my single state of man.
(*"Macbeth"*, I. 3. 139.)

The golden round,
Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
To have thee crown'd withal.
(*ibid.* I. 5. 30.)

However, he does this seldom, exactly as he seldom uses this ending for loud and crude effects. He seems to prefer taking it in a critical spirit, but even this criticism becomes rare during his more introspective period, when language figures no longer among his chief interests ¹⁾).

Turning to the shorter suffix, we find it to be much more frequently and perhaps, on the whole, more successfully used in high and serious style than the longer. This does not mean that it *always* occurs in serious use. *Lunatic*, *rheumatic*, *choleric*, the nonce-formation *empiricistic* and the Shakespearean coinage *epileptic* ("King Lear", II. 2. 87: "A plague upon your epileptic visage!") appear in humorous or derogatory use. *Mechanic* is depreciatory, though not farcical like *mechanical* (cf. above). Of the 22 cases of *public*, two are plainly pejorative, meaning "vulgar" ("Othello", IV. 2. 73: "O thou public commoner!" Sonn. 111, 4: "Public means which public manners breed"). *Authentic* and *politic* are sometimes ironical ("All's Well", II. 3. 14; *ibid.* I. 1. 137; "Merry Wives", III. 1. 103; "Hamlet", IV. 3. 21). *Rustic* is once used as a term of slight, but apparently without losing its air of elegance ("Cymbeline", IV. 2. 100: "Yield, rustic mountaineer"). *Frantic* may in one or two cases be of comic intent (L. L. L. V. 1. 29: "*Anne intelligis, domine?* To make frantic, lunatic") but is far more often a vehicle of sonorous rhetoric (cf. Rich. III, I. 3. 247; II. 4. 64; Rich. II, III. 3. 185; T. Andr. V. 3. 64, etc.).

The above instances are of relatively little weight if compared with the much greater frequency of the serious uses of many of the words enumerated. If we further mention such expressions as *prophetic*, *monastic* (probably shortened by Shakespeare from *prophetical*, *monastical*), *magic*, *domestic* (cf. e. g. "Macbeth", III. 2. 25: "Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing"), which, like *majestic*, *tragic*, *fantastic*, are characteristic of Shakespeare's higher and highest levels of style, we get some idea of the difference in the use of the two endings: *-ic* seems to be the normal ending in dignified diction whereas *-ical* tends towards comedy or exaggerated pomp.

¹⁾ On this change of attitude as well as on Shakespeare's ironical uses of fashionable words and phrases see "Shakespeare as Critic of Language" by Miss G. D. Willcock, London, The Shakespeare Association, 1934. The author does not deal with our particular problem.

Unfortunately it is not nearly as easy to define the usage of the other writers examined. Donne, for instance, often connects derogation with *-ic*. Shakespeare seems to have availed himself with great perspicacity of a stylistic tendency that was still quite undeveloped, but he appears to have had very little following. We may perhaps only risk a guess that the heaviness and conspicuousness of many of the longer forms and the touch of pedantry to be felt in them possibly had something to do with their scarcity in verse.

We are probably on safer ground in approaching the matter from the point of view of prosody. The shorter forms seem to go more smoothly into Iambic verse, the standard metre in English. In most of the adjectives belonging here the stress fell on the syllable preceding the ending (*heroic, heroical, tragic, tragical, angelic, angelical*). In the case of the shorter suffix it was the penultimate that came to be stressed. The normal position of an adjective being before its noun, it was easy to satisfy the requirements of the metre by choosing a noun beginning with a stressed syllable or a monosyllabic one (critic pen, heroic style, tragic sights, tragic stage, rustic quill, etc.). The longer ending, on the contrary, demanded a noun beginning with an unstressed syllable, which generally meant one of foreign origin, all the familiar native monosyllables being excluded: "tragicall effect" (Spenser's "Muiopotmos", l. 9), "The churches mysticall repast" (George Herbert, "Superliminare"). One could, of course, insert between the adjective and the noun some other, monosyllabic adjective or an adjective beginning with an unstressed syllable (F. Q. II. XII. 71: "Th' Angelicall soft trembling voyces"), or some other short word (2 Hen. IV, V. 5. 38: "By most mechanical and dirty hand"), but these devices may frequently have been found to be inconvenient and artificial. Another possibility was to avoid the attributive use and employ the adjective predicatively: "*Venus* without me should be rusticall" (Marlowe's transl. of Ovid's *Elegies*, bk. III, El. 1, 43). Or if one wished to keep the attribute, one could invert the word-order, placing the adjective after its noun: "Tempered by science metaphisicall" ("Tamburlaine", pt. II, l. 628). These considerations applied, of course, only to verse of regular structure. Where regularity was not so highly prized, a hypermetrical syllable could be risked: "In this point charge him

home, — that he affects Tyrannical power: if he evade us there” (“*Coriolanus*”, III. 3. 1—2).

A further difficulty, which may often have been felt, was the length of many adjectives in *-ical*. They could be used for special purposes but were apt to impede the normal speed of a line.

The need to place the adjective after its noun would generally cause it to be shifted towards the end of a verse line. A further consideration making for its position at the very end of a line were the rhyming facilities thus obtained. The termination *-al* had by that time lost much of its original full vowel effect but it continued to provide poets with very convenient rhymes, e. g. “tall ~ majesticall” (Marlowe’s “*Hero and Leander*”, I. 225—226), “all ~ fantastical” (Donne, “*To the Countesse of Salisbury*”, ll. 29—30).

My material shows that the final position is the usual one for adjectives in *-ical* and that often they are found to be transposed, although some poets avoid the transposition. The following figures show the frequency of these phenomena (with adjectives in *-ic* they are very rare):

Spenser: 6 cases of adjectives in *-ical*; 3 at end of line, 2 of these with transposition of the attribute.

Marlowe: 9 cases of adjectives in *-ical*; 7 at end of line, 4 of these with transposition.

Shakespeare: 31 cases of *-ical*; 17 at end of line, 6 of these with transposition (+ 2 cases of transposition inside a line).

Donne: 6 cases of *-ical*; all at end of line; no transposition.

Giles Fletcher: 1 case of *-ical*, at end of line, with transposition.

Crashaw: 3 cases of *-ical*, 2 at end of line; transposition once inside line.

G. Herbert: 1 case of *-ical*, inside line, no transposition.

Habington: 1 case of *-ical*, at end of line; no transposition.

Herrick: 5 cases of *-ical*, all at end of line; 2 cases with transposition.

Henry More: 3 cases of *-ical*, 2 at end of line, 1 case with transposition.

Milton: 3 cases of *-ical*, none at end of line, 1 case of transposition.

In a number of cases there is so little material that no definite conclusions can be reached. But the tendency of the longer type to appear at the end of a line emerges with sufficient distinctness. The exceptions from this rule — Herbert, Milton — afford such scanty evidence that no explanation can be risked. With regard to the number of transposed adjectives, Marlowe's is the most conspicuous case but Spenser and Shakespeare are also interesting. Since the material is not very voluminous and the device is of some interest, all the cases found may be quoted. Spenser and Shakespeare are cited from the Globe Edition, the others from the editions already mentioned.

Spenser.

And ye, that read these ruines tragicall.
("Visions of the Worlds Vanitie", XII. 9.)

He graunted it: and streight his warrant made
Under the Sea-gods seale autenticall.
("Faerie Queene", IV. XII. 32.)

Marlowe.

Not Hermes Prolocutor to the Gods,
Could vse perswasions more patheticall.
("Tamburlaine", I. 406.)

The essentiall fourme of Marble stone,
Tempered by science metaphisicall.
(*ibid.*, II. 628.)

Come shewe me some demonstrations magicall.
("Faustus", 179.)

An action bloody and tirannicall.
("Massacre at Paris", 212.)

Shakespeare.

The supreme seat, the throne majesticall,
The scepter'd office of your ancestors.
("Richard III", III. 7. 118.)

That is some satire, keen and critical,
Not sorting with a nuptial ceremony.
("A Midsummer Night's Dream", V. 1. 54.)

Beautiful tyrant! fiend angelical!
 Dove-feather'd raven! wolvish-ravening lamb!
 ("Romeo and Juliet", III. 2. 75.)

No, not all these, thrice-gorgeous ceremony,
 Not all these, laid in bed majestical,
 Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave.
 ("Henry V", IV. 1. 284.)

You shout me forth
 In acclamations hyperbolical.
 ("Coriolanus", I. 9. 51.)

We charge you that you have contrived to take
 From Rome all season'd office and to wind
 Yourself into a power tyrannical;
 For which you are a traitor to the people.
 (ibid., III. 3. 65.)

And ever and anon they made a doubt
 Presence majestical would put him out.
 ("Love's Labour's Lost", V. 2. 102.)

Three-piled hyperboles, spruce affectation,
 Figures pedantical; these summer-flies . . .
 (ibid., V. 2. 408.)

Giles Fletcher.

The birds sweet notes, to sonnet out their joyes,
 Attemper'd to the layes Angelicall.
 ("Christ's Victorie on Earth", 62.)

Crashaw.

Thov art love's victime; & must dy
 A death more mysticall & high.
 ("A Hymn to Sainte Teresa", 75—76.)

Herrick.

And those Bookes (with all
 Their large Narrations, Incanonicall).
 ("To his Brother Nicolas Herrick".)

God's present ev'ry where; but most of all
Present by Union Hypostaticall.

(“God's Presence”).

Henry More.

Have I not sworn thee King? true King Catholicall!
(“Psychozoia”, st. 37.)

Milton.

Others more mild,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
With notes Angelical to many a harp.
(P. L. II. 548.)

The (direct or indirect) Latin origin of the transposition of the adjective seems to have influenced the nature of its use. Ceremonial language, learned phraseology — ecclesiastical, juridical, etc. — favoured it in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Latin was still the model of scholarly usage. Thus it is frequent in Puttenham's “Arte of English Poesie”, in Hooker's “Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity” or in the writings of Jeremy Taylor, but not in Nashe's popular romances or pamphlets. But even in learned language the native word-order is the normal one, so that the postposed adjective often gives one the impression of emphasis or deliberate formality. It may be due to pedantry but may also be intended to create an effect of ceremonial splendour and dignity.

Ben Jonson's “Cynthia's Revel's” (1600) supplies us with a good example of the difference between the normal and the inverted order of noun and adjective. In act II, scene I of that comedy, Amorphous, assuming the manner of the official lecturer, describes the three types of “courtiers”, “elementary, practick, and theoric”: “Your courtier theoric, is he that has arrived to his farthest, and doth know the court rather by speculation than practice . . . Your courtier practick, is he that is yet in his path, his course, his way, and hath not touched the punctilio or point of his hopes . . . Your courtier elementary, is one but newly entered, as it were, in the alphabet, or *ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la* of courtship” (Mermaid ed., vol. II, p. 198). Almost immediately after this

lecture, dropping into an easier tone, he changes the word-order: "But for the present you shall only apply yourself to this face of elementary courtier, a light, revelling, and protesting face, now blushing, now smiling, which you help much with a wanton wagging of the head thus, (a feather will teach you)" (ibid., p. 199). Here the inversion seems to be parodied because it is stilted.

When applied to adjectives in *-ical*, which often were themselves liable to impress one as artificial, the inversion tended to double the artificiality. The resulting solemnity was frequently somewhat lacking in subtlety though remarkable effects could sometimes be achieved. Our examples from Spenser, but even more clearly those from Marlowe, show the emphatic, solemn character of this device: "these ruines tragicall", "perswasions more pathetical", "An action bloody and tirannicall". "Tempered by science metaphisicall" occurs in a passage where an impression of grandeur is meant to be created by a display of the language of occult learning, and the inversion of the word-order supports this endeavour.

The comparative crudity of such effects explains perhaps why Shakespeare has them exclusively in his earlier plays. "Fiend angelical", "the throne majestical", "bed majestical" (mentioned as an illustration of the setting of "thrice gorgeous ceremony") belong to the domain of magniloquence. However, Shakespeare's subtlety of mind led him very early to employ this device in ironical fashion. Our two instances from "Love's Labour's Lost", the facetiousness of which has been shown above in another context, are doubly effective because of the mock-dignity of the word-order. The only two examples from the period of Shakespeare's full maturity, both from "Coriolanus", show a grimmer irony. "You shout me forth In acclamations hyperbolicall" echoes the hollowness of popular rhetoric in a tone of fierce contempt. When Sicinius Velutus, accusing Coriolanus of treason, mentions his alleged intention "to wind Yourself into a power tyrannical", he seems to be clothing his own doubtful purpose in the robes of cheap, stilted diction. In the same scene but on a more matter-of-fact occasion, where ceremony does not appear to be required, his accomplice, Junius Brutus, uses the same expression but with the more usual word-order: "In this point charge him home, — that he affects Tyrannical power" (III. 3. 1–2).

These two uses would seem to illustrate the difference between businesslike statement and insincere pomposity¹).

Delight in artificial archaisms, which was one of Spenser's peculiarities, also characterizes the manner of his disciples Giles Fletcher and Henry More and seems to be reflected in their use of the transposed adjective²). Herrick, a subtler writer with a keener sense of the relativity of stylistic values, knows how to adapt his method to the occasion: in his pious "Noble Numbers" he uses the inversion seriously, applying it to a solemn ecclesiastical phrase ("Union Hypostatical"), whereas the example from the "Hesperides", with its comma apparently repudiating the interpretation of the epithet as a mere postposed adjective and claiming recognition for it as an elliptic relative clause, is a negation of solemn ecclesiasticism. In "Their large Narrations, Incanonically" there seems to be a gently ironical touch that perhaps also indicates criticism of a pedantic literary device.

Donne's total avoidance of this device may well be due to his dislike of the elaborate stylistic conventions of his predecessors, against which he revolted. The same desire for a more natural syntax may also explain the rarity or lack of transposed adjectives in the other poets on our list. In the case of Milton, however, such an explanation seems doubtful for we know that he was generally very fond of this word-order. But for lack of sufficient evidence we must refrain from drawing inferences.

The conclusion that suggests itself is that the increasing rarity of the device was connected with the replacement of that exuberant and somewhat primitive type of rhetoric of which Marlowe is the typical representative, by a more differentiated and refined, though not necessarily always more inspired technique. The case of Shakespeare distinctly points that way.

The foregoing inquiry is not based on sufficiently extensive material to be in any way definitive, but as far as it goes, its results may be summed up briefly as follows:

¹) A different, much less formal type of inversion is found in our quotation from "A Midsummer Night's Dream". In "This is a satire, keen and critical, Not sorting with a nuptial ceremony", all that follows the first noun is apparently added as an afterthought: "some satire, *which is* keen and critical", etc.

²) Cf. the unusual archaic form *Catholical* for *Catholic* found in our quotation from More.

(1) The scarcity of the adjectival suffix *-ical* in a number of representative poets of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggests the existence of a definite tradition which may originally have been due to prosodical considerations favourable to the use of the suffix *-ic*. Prosodical reasons seem also to have caused the tendency of adjectives in *-ical* to occur at the end of an Iambic line as well as to appear after their nouns when used attributively.

(2) In a number of cases, notably in the usage of Shakespeare, there are indications that the longer forms were frequently felt to suggest ostentatious pedantry, magniloquence, or pretentiousness, and were therefore found to be unsuitable for poetry of a subtler type. This may have had its effect on the establishment of a tradition favouring the shorter suffix.

A more extensive study of the subject might show whether the above-mentioned tendencies were as wide-spread as it seems. If they were, the problem arises whether this did not influence the stylistic value of at least some of the shorter forms, turning them into typical elements of poetic rather than prose diction, and whether traces of this may not be found in their modern use. In order to ascertain this, a careful investigation of later usage would be required. The fact that E. Abbott's "Concordance to the Works of Alexander Pope" (which, however, excludes most of his translations and some of his imitations) contains no adjectives in *-ical* except *physical* (used only once), although Pope's prose shows many examples of them, seems to indicate that the poetical preference for the shorter ending had survived into the eighteenth century. F. S. Ellis's Shelley Concordance has 13 adjectives in *-ical* and 48 in *-ic*, and where there are two parallel forms, the shorter one is usually much more amply represented (19 cases of *magic*, 1 case of *magical*, 10 of *majestic*, 3 of *majestical*). The Keats Concordance compiled by D. L. Baldwin and others shows an even greater predominance of *-ic*, for it occurs in 35 adjectives whereas only three have *-ical*. This would seem to suggest that even among the more extreme Romanticists the same tradition as in Pope may be found to have been alive. Did that tradition affect the average attitude towards the forms concerned? In some cases this seems probable. Thus, *theatric*, if used nowadays, would presumably be felt to be unusual, perhaps poetic (as the "Universal English Dictionary" suggests).

Tyrannic is less of a prose form than *tyrannical*; *chemic*, according to the "Universal English Dictionary", "is now obs., except in poetry". *Historic* in the sense of "conveying or dealing with history; recording past events", is, on the whole, a rhetoric or poetic word. According to the N. E. D., *historical* is "the usual prose equivalent". It might be worth while to consider whether *historical* in the sense of "celebrated or important in history" may not have been ousted by *historic* because the traditional poetical ending seemed more appropriate for this particularly dignified meaning.

Another problem of some interest is what adjectives in *-ic* were introduced through poetry. Even in the course of the present inquiry we have come across a not inconsiderable number that the language seems to owe to the initiative of poets. But as what we have dealt with is only a minute fraction of the total poetical output during the period concerned, our evidence regarding innovations in this department may be supposed to be equally fractional. It is more than likely that many of the forms in *-ic* now current and perhaps substituted for earlier equivalents with the longer suffix were originally poetical.

CONTENTS.

On Some Miltonic Words and Phrases	1
Introductory	1
1. <i>To Swim</i>	7
2. <i>Inclement</i>	12
3. <i>To Breathe</i>	14
4. <i>To Inform</i>	18
5. <i>To Clothe</i>	20
6. <i>Responsive</i>	21
7. <i>To Rally, to Rally One's Powers</i>	23
8. <i>Redundant</i>	24
9. <i>Horror, Horrid, Horrent</i>	28
10. <i>To Emblaze, to Emblazon, Emblazonry</i>	34
11. <i>To Fling</i>	37
12. <i>Drear, Dreary</i>	40
13. <i>Lonely</i>	48
14. <i>Twilight</i>	57
15. <i>Gloom</i>	61
16. <i>Religious, Prophetic</i>	66
17. <i>Wizard</i> (adj.)	69
18. <i>Taste</i> (sb.)	72
19. <i>Sapience</i>	74
20. <i>Elegant</i>	74
21. <i>Inelegant</i>	76
22. <i>Social</i>	77
23. <i>Presence</i>	83
24. <i>Superior</i> (adj.)	88
25. <i>To Pine</i>	91
26. <i>Moan</i> (sb.)	93
27. <i>Bickering</i> (ppl. adj.)	95
Some Notes on the Use of Adjectives in <i>-ic</i> and <i>-ical</i> in Milton and Earlier Writers	100