

**MILTON'S EDITORS AND COMMENTATORS
FROM PATRICK HUME TO HENRY JOHN TODD
(1695—1801)**

A STUDY IN CRITICAL VIEWS AND METHODS

BY

ANTS ORAS

PART I

TARTU (DORPAT) 1929

K. Mattiesen's Buchdruckerei, Ant.-Ges., in Tartu (Dorpat).

PREFATORY EXPLANATION.

Although the present study confines itself to annotated editions and independent collections of annotations on Milton's poetry, eliminating the investigation of the text, except inasmuch as seemed desirable for an examination of literary views and methods of literary criticism, the length of the work exceeds my original intentions. This is due partly to the amount of material to be dealt with, and partly to the miscellaneous character of this material, which had to be discussed in a number of sometimes almost independent subsections.

As much of the best material deals with very special points, this manner of treatment seemed advisable. Some of the commentators were mediocre theoretical thinkers but did good work in some narrow department of their own. The need of deviating into a study of these various branches of criticism has lessened the unity of the book but may have caused the discovery of some interesting matter, which I have endeavoured to relate to the general development. In certain cases, especially in the chapters on Hume, Pearce, the Richardsons and Peck, the unfamiliar nature of the matter induced me to dwell upon it at greater length and to quote more than would have been desirable in the case of less neglected writers.

I beg to acknowledge my debts of gratitude to Professor George Stuart Gordon, now President of Magdalen, Oxford, to whose advice and guidance I owe more than can be conveniently expressed here, as well as to the members of the Board of English in Oxford who instructed me in the principles and technique of literary scholarship. To the University of Tartu I am obliged for having been given the opportunity of browsing among the riches of English libraries. Mr. H. F. Brett-Smith very kindly communicated to me some unsuspected new material not otherwise accessible.

The abbreviations of the titles of Milton's poems here adopted are as follows: N. O. = "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity"; Ps. CXIV = "A Paraphrase on Psalm 114"; Ps. CXXXVI = "Psalm 136"; Pass. = "The Passion"; Time = "On Time"; Circ. = "Upon the Circumcision"; Sol. Mus. = "At a Solemn Music"; March. Win. = "An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester"; M. M. = "Song on May Morning"; Shak. = "On Shakespeare"; U. C. = "On the University Carrier"; L'A. = "L'Allegro"; Il P. = "Il Penseroso"; Arc. = "Arcades"; Lyc. = "Lycidas"; Co. = "Comus"; D. F. I. = "On the Death of a Fair Infant"; Vac. Ex. = "At a Vacation Exercise"; Hor. V. = "The Fifth Ode of Horace. Lib. I."; Sonn. = "Sonnet"; El. = "Elegia"; Sylv. Lib. = "Sylvarum Liber"; In Prod. Bomb. = "In Proditionem Bombardicam"; Ob. Proc. = "In Obitum Procancellarii Medici"; V. Nov. = "In Quintum Novembris"; Praes. El. = "In Obitum Praesulis Eliensis"; Nat. n. p. sen. = "Naturam non Pati Senium"; Id. Plat. = "De Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles Intellexit"; Ad Pat. = "Ad Patrem"; Ad Sals. = "Ad Salsillum..."; Mans. = "Mansus"; Ep. Dam. = "Epitaphium Damonis"; Ad J. Rous. = "Ad Joannem Rousium..."; P. L. = "Paradise Lost"; P. R. = "Paradise Regained"; S. A. = "Samson Agonistes".

The "Dictionary of National Biography" is referred to as DNB., the "New English Dictionary" as NED.

1. INTRODUCTORY SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT.

Milton annotation is a considerable branch of English literary criticism. After the impressive start made by the first commentary on "Paradise Lost" in 1695, and Bentley's impetuous onslaught of 1732, the number of Milton commentators grew continuously throughout the eighteenth century. Even if the chance materials published in periodicals be left out of account (and in the present inquiry they are dealt with only where special reasons seem to make this desirable), the amount of printed annotation on Milton's poetry is remarkably large, and more or less faithfully reflects the general evolution of literary views and methods. Much of the best criticism on Milton is contained in these annotations, and the amount of valuable research to be found in them has made them the indispensable basis of the work of later Milton scholars. The student of Milton's literary models, of obsolete allusions, of obscure passages and archaic expressions in his works cannot afford to ignore the labours of Hume, Newton and his collaborators, Warton, Todd and various others. Indeed, the edition of the last-mentioned scholar, which includes most of the better remarks of his predecessors, is, if used with discrimination, one of the most useful tools in the hands of the Milton student.

The nineteenth century has been less fertile of elaborate independent annotation of Milton than the eighteenth, at any rate if Todd be regarded as an eighteenth century commentator. Much, or perhaps most, of his actual work was done before the close of the century, and his variorum edition appeared almost immediately after the new century had started, in 1801.

The rise of the idea of annotating English poets, in a manner which had become traditional with classical scholars (who applied it also to later Latin writers), and owing to the impulse of the Renaissance also in the treatment of vernacular poets on the Continent, seems to be mainly due to the endeavour to explain

obscurities of language, and especially archaic expressions. This appears from E. K's notes on Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender" ¹⁾. This commentary is primarily a glossary, as E. K's dedication to Gabriel Harvey emphasizes. Spenser's deliberately archaic style had to be explained. However, the commentator adds remarks on many other matters which he wishes to expound, sometimes stating his personal views on things without much reference to his author, though generally keeping his text in view. Mythological, historical, geographical and personal allusions, literary models both classical and modern, English and foreign, the leading ideas of the poems, points of style and even of character are all discussed. The annotator's prefatory words indicate that his commentary emulates the similar enterprises of "the learned of other nations", though he does not specify which.

Thomas Watson annotates his "*Εκατομπαθία*" in a similar learned fashion (1582). Thomas Speght's notes on Chaucer in the Folio edition of 1598 ²⁾ confine themselves more rigidly, though not exclusively, to the explanation of difficult words and phrases. The title-page announces that they also verify Chaucer's quotations and explain other difficulties, but this is not done very industriously. Mediaeval habits, references of various kinds, literary debts etc. are dealt with, but rather briefly and in a primitive manner. Francis Thynne, the son of the editor of Chaucer, William Thynne, whom Speght criticized, finds much opportunity of expatiating on the latter's mistakes in his MS. "Animaduersions" ³⁾. Fr. Thynne's knowledge of philology,

¹⁾ The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning twelue Æglogues proportionable to the twelve monethes. Entitled TO THE NOBLE AND VERTV-
 OUS Gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and cheualrie
 M. Philip Sidney. [device] AT LONDON. Printed by Hugh Singleton,
 dwelling in Creede Lane neere vnto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden
 Tunne, and are there to be solde. 1579. [4^o].

²⁾ The Workes of our Antient and Learned English Poet, GEFREY
 CHAVCER, newly Printed. In this Impression you shall find these Addi-
 tions. 1 His Portraiture and Progenie shewed. 2 His Life collected. 3 Argu-
 ments to euery Booke gathered. 4 Old and obscure words explained. 5 Au-
 thors by him cited, declared. 6 Difficulties opened. 7 Two Bookes of his,
 neuer before Printed. LONDON, Printed by Adam Islip, at the charges of
 Bonham Norton. Anno 1598. [Motto].

³⁾ The title according to the edition of the Chaucer Society in 1876:
 ANIMADUERSIONS vppon the Annotacions and Corrections of some

history and older poetry seems to surpass Speght's. He cites Italian and old English writers to show that Speght had unnecessarily latinized certain forms which Chaucer seems to have borrowed from later sources than the original classics⁴⁾ and explains some of the philological laws on which the Italian forms depend. Textual criticism, the possibilities of misprinting words⁵⁾, metrical questions⁶⁾ and various allusions are dealt with. Speght was sufficiently impressed by this criticism to renounce in his next edition (1602) all ambition of composing a complete commentary on Chaucer, or, as he puts it, "a Coment in our tongue, as the Italians haue *Petrarke* and others in their language"⁷⁾. This observation is valuable as indicating a possible source of the methods and aims of these first pioneers of English literary annotation. Speght's own glossary in this edition is more careful in philological matters than previously. Etymological information is given, and supposed dialectal and Anglo-Saxon forms are pointed out.

A different type of commentary is represented by Selden's elaborate annotations on Drayton's "Polyolbion"⁸⁾ (ed. 1613). The poem itself is an encyclopædia of traditions and geographical lore, and so is the commentary, though literary remarks are to be found incidentally. These notes fall outside the traditions of orthodox literary comment, owing to 'the non-literary objects of the work they deal with. The commentaries by E. K. and Francis Speght and Francis Thynne's "Animaduersions" represent a more normal line of development. Their main common feature is probably the importance given to the explanation of difficulties of vocabulary, but all three of them also deal with miscellaneous allusions and literary parallels, classical, French, Italian and old English poetry being taken into account. Speght and Thynne,

imperfections of impressiones of Chaucers workes (sett downe before tyme, and nowe) reprinted in the yere of oure lorde 1598 sett downe by Francis Thynne. Soortee pur bien ou ne sortee rien.

⁴⁾ E. g. "Campaneus" according to Boccaccio, Gower and Lydgate. instead of Speght's "Capaneus", cf. Chaucer Soc. ed. 1876, p. 43.

⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 44.

⁶⁾ Cf. p. 64.

⁷⁾ Preface "To the Readers".

⁸⁾ POLY-OLBION by Michaell Drayton Esqr: London printed for
 { M Lownes. I Browne. } Ingraue by W. Hole. [Folio].
 { I Helme. I Busbie. }

who, in contradistinction to E. K., treat of a poet of the past, show distinct indications of a historical point of view, studying the period of their author in order to explain him⁹).

The first commentary on Milton is far more ambitious than these attempts. Only Selden's voluminous notes may be said to resemble it in bulk. It is the collection of annotations written by "P. H. *φιλοποιητής*" (probably Patrick Hume) and published by Jacob Tonson in 1695. Its size shows that Milton was to be treated as a real classic, and the same intention appears from the motto on the title-page as well as from its contents¹⁰).

The aim of the commentary is, according to the title-page, to indicate Milton's scriptural and classical parallels, to give paraphrases of the obscurer passages and to explain difficult words, stating their etymology. The first and last objects agree with the aims of the commentators just discussed, whereas the second is apparently a concession made to the less educated part of the public. However, the annotator does much more than this. His notes on various references and allusions remind one of Selden's elaborate comments, though they hardly equal these in erudition. They are immeasurably inferior to them in information on national and modern subjects. Old English words and provincial forms are studied, but English poetry interests the commentator much less, and the author's time hardly at all. Milton's personal circumstances, the personal element in his work do not occupy the critic, but the traditional, academic aspects of his subject, its connections with classical antiquity and Scripture are minutely explored. This side of the matter is of such unusual importance, however, in Milton's case, as to make the commentary valuable in spite of its one-sided point of view.

Much of it is superfluous. It lacks discipline. But some of its critical judgements are stimulating and unconventional despite the annotator's moralistic and classicist bias. Notwithstanding its accumulation of unnecessary information, acute observation will sometimes be found combined with solid erudition. Later commentators are often greatly indebted to this work, particu-

⁹) As a further commentary on an English poet, Sir Francis Kinson's notes on Chaucer's "Troilus" should be mentioned (1639), though they have not been published.

¹⁰) Cf. chap. 2.

larly to its collection of literary and biblical parallels. It must be added that these debts are generally insufficiently acknowledged.

Addison's Milton articles in the "Spectator" have been reprinted by many editors, sometimes (e. g. in Newton's edition) partly in the form of foot-notes to the passages to which they refer. They contain much material on individual passages and occasionally resemble a conglomeration of separate notes, but on the whole they constitute a coherent treatise, and cannot be separately discussed in the present dissertation. Their influence on Milton annotators might, however, be made the subject of a special study, and has indeed been touched upon in various parts of the present work. They seem to have encouraged the persistence of classicism in the treatment of Milton. Fenton's edition¹¹⁾ contains a few notes which add little except the suggestion that the authenticity of Milton's texts is not always beyond doubt, — an idea which seems to have influenced Bentley.

The second regular commentary on Milton, that contained in Bentley's edition of "Paradise Lost"¹²⁾, published 37 years after the first collection of Milton notes, is quite different from the undisciplined, rambling, characteristically seventeenth century performance of Hume. It is very straightforward, matter-of-fact and narrow-minded, consistently keeping one definite object in view. Its aim is textual. A certain definite theory is pursued, and the explanatory matter is introduced almost exclusively for the purpose of proving the editor's freakish hypothesis that great parts of the poem are spurious or altered. The trained hand of the classical scholar is, however, almost everywhere to be felt, in spite of many crude faults of taste and pedantry.

Bentley's bold assumptions as to the spuriousness or authenticity of the various parts of Milton's text depend mainly on his literary views. He ascribes his own ideals to Milton and describes everything or nearly everything disagreeing with them

¹¹⁾ PARADISE LOST. A POEM, IN TWELVE BOOKS. THE AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. The TWELFTH EDITION. To which is prefix'd *An ACCOUNT of his LIFE.* [*motto*] LONDON. Printed for JACOB TONSON in the *Strand*. MDCCXXV. (12^o: pp. XXVIII + [8] + 350 + [45]: with a portrait of Milton).

¹²⁾ Cf. chap. 3.

as interpolated, or altered from the original text. To justify this, he is forced to formulate his views on many aspects of Milton's poetry, thus affording definite starting-points of discussion as well as opportunities to his opponents. Bentley's vigorous though one-sided logic and his methodical consistency stimulated Milton research, even though his classicism was pedantic and his sensitiveness to poetry severely limited. Knowing little of older English language and literature, he lacked the necessary perspective and judged Milton according to contemporary standards. By his energetic defence of the classicist standpoint he inaugurated the debate on the classicist features in Milton and those elements in him which partake of the freedom of the Elizabethan spirit and prefigure the Romantic Revival. Bentley's philological training caused him to devote particular attention to Milton's style, of course from his own peculiar point of view.

Of the indignant or facetious replies to this edition the best, because the most serious and restrained, was Pearce's "Review of the Text of the Twelve Books of *Paradise Lost*" (1732). It uses Bentley's methods of textual criticism against himself, showing that what he regarded as spurious must be genuine. Pearce's solid training in scholarship, his cautious, balanced manner, his greater familiarity with the style of older English poetry and evidently also of Milton's own works, his obvious recognition of the fact that an author has to be judged according to what he really is and that imposing one's own standards is a dangerous practice in textual criticism, enable him to refute most of Bentley's attacks and to achieve considerable positive results of his own. He is very conscientious in going through Milton's grammar, his vocabulary and phraseology, in looking for parallels to phenomena denounced by Bentley as non-Miltonic, and in investigating the poet's sources where his main object requires it. Owing to his understanding of the poetic mind and his awareness that Milton's time was rather different from the 18th century, he is able to do justice to many unnoticed features of the poet's art. His book establishes a fairly safe scholarly method of investigating the characteristics of Milton's poetry. Purely æsthetic judgements occur relatively seldom, but Pearce shows how honest, straightforward research may attain to very valuable results in removing the obstacles to a full understanding

of Milton's text. Without his work, Bentley's prejudices might have taken a firmer hold of Milton criticism and research.

The two Richardsons, father and son, who are the next to appear upon the field, preferred a freer kind of procedure. Theirs is the point of view of the enthusiastic common reader, not that of the erudite scholar, though the younger Richardson supplies a number of classical parallels and references to classical subjects, and though they discuss questions of style, and try to elucidate obscure passages, allusions, etc. Their information is by no means always reliable. Yet a certain shrewdness and insight appear in many of their notes, and their thought, though undisciplined, is at times vigorous. Their main contribution to Milton annotation is their consciousness that things of the spirit have to be discerned spiritually. The elder Richardson's introductory matter deals at some length with Milton's personality and with the peculiarities of his literary manner, urging the reader to try to attain to the poet's level instead of cavilling at him because he does not descend to the standards of his public. The extravagant, unusual, ecstatic style of the father is in keeping with his appreciation of originality. "Irregularities" are often not merely acknowledged but even highly valued, so long as they add to the impressiveness of the work. The classicist narrowness which sometimes seemed to beset even Pearce disappears. The training as painters of both father and son enables them to study the visual qualities of Milton's descriptions, and a considerable sensitiveness to acoustic impressions helps the elder of the two to discern the phonetic character of some of Milton's spellings and to perceive the charm of the intricate texture of his blank verse. Many subtle features are noticed, though in terms sometimes rather vague and unguarded. The Richardsons are the impressionists among the commentators on Milton.

Bentley altered what he did not understand. The Richardsons, on the other hand, were more particularly attracted by what appeared to be out-of-the-way and quaint, thinking it a critic's duty to delve into the hidden quarries of his author's mind. Their main fault is their lack of method, which compels one to study their speculations and guesswork with considerable reserve.

Peck's "New Memoirs... of Milton" (1740) is likewise a work showing more enthusiasm, zeal and occasional insight

than method. It is a medley which defies all definition, but it contains some valuable material and affords some new starting-points. Only a part of the volume is occupied by Peck's commentary on Miltonic passages; the rest is largely a collection of miscellaneous material on Milton, Shakespeare and others.

The origin of the work partly explains its character. It is essentially a selection of what Peck happened to collect while trying to prove Milton's authorship of an English version of George Buchanan's Latin play "Baptistes". To defend his case, he studied Milton and other authors, making notes on the principal works of the poet. This is apparently the reason why his comments deal also with "Paradise Regained", "Samson Agonistes", and some of the minor poems, instead of being confined to "Paradise Lost" as was then the fashion.

These notes lack solid method, but show a keen interest in many things, especially in the mediæval and modern background of Milton's poetry, and most of all in its national setting. Ballads, folklore, obsolete English writers, rabbinical lore, Spanish and Italian novels and pamphlets, popular customs, court life, all have their attractions for Peck, and are referred to repeatedly in order to illustrate Milton. His spirit is more democratic than that of any of his predecessors except the Richardsons. He studies the intimate life and views of the common people as well as of the gentlefolk of his own country, and likes to quote poetic sources, especially Shakespeare, in order to describe life in the times previous to, or coeval with, Milton. In this respect he is a precursor of those eager antiquaries who performed the task of studying in detail the setting of Milton's and Shakespeare's poetry. Thomas Warton's inquiries into the aspects of life and letters which influenced Milton in many ways follow the same method, though in a far more finished style.

There is a strong experimental vein in Peck. He ventures on various critical enterprises. Having seen the Cambridge MS. of Milton's early poems, he tries to analyse the corrections in his text. The schemes of tragedies in this MS. cause him to recast parts of "Paradise Lost" into the dramatic shape which he regards as their original form. The poetic parts in Milton's prose-works lead him to conclusions as to the poet's method of composition, conclusions which seem to be wrong, but which show some insight into the possibilities and processes of literary

workmanship. The evidence of Milton's interest in music induces him to study the rhyming scheme of "Lycidas" from a purely musical point of view, and to explain its seeming anarchy on the analogy of musical composition with its distribution of bars and its admixture of discords.

Peck does a good deal of bibliographical and purely antiquarian work which does not concern us here. More important from our point of view is his chapter on Milton's style — an attempt, however imperfect, to systematize Milton's peculiarities of language. It is marred by his lack of grip in welding together the chance materials collected mainly from other critics. Nevertheless, the free character of Milton's style is recognized, and efforts are made to trace his phonetic devices. Peck, with all his weaknesses, at least gives some idea of the variety of problems to be dealt with.

His blunders of ignorance and the deficiencies of his taste led several critics, Newton among them, to treat him with contempt. But though he lacks the scholarly neatness of many of his contemporaries, his natural inquisitiveness and unconventionality enable him to notice new fields of research ignored by the more academic students of that period.

Philological pedantry is one of the principal characteristics of James Paterson's commentary (1744), a work explaining the simplest metaphors and at the same time indulging in elaborate and unpractical etymological inquiries. Paterson collects much superfluous miscellaneous material, his æsthetic remarks are trite and general, yet his study of the words which he believes Milton to have introduced seems to be based on careful observation, as a comparison with the "New English Dictionary" appears to show.

Another popularizing work which appeared a little later, the prose paraphrase of "Paradise Lost", "The State of Innocence" — which according to its title-page contains notes by the French academician Dupré de St. Maur, or "Raymond de St. Maur", — is apparently a work by the same pen. Most of the historical, geographical and other explanatory notes, except those of a pre-eminently philological kind, are retained. The typically English-looking matter of many of these remarks makes it doubtful whether there is much French influence in them, though this point wants some study in French libraries. These two commen-

taries contain more mediæval and national matter than the majority of their predecessors, with the signal exception of Peck's volume, though their notes rarely refer to literary problems. Both works suggest that the less educated public began to feel a serious need for help towards a better understanding of Milton. The comparatively numerous editions of the prose-adaptation indicate that it met a genuine demand.

The few notes in Hawkey's edition of "Paradise Lost" (1747) deal mainly with textual problems, but touch also on artistic questions. The poet's right to be original is recognized, and some care is shown in tracing his peculiarities of language where the textual problems make this necessary.

Bishop Newton's large variorum edition was the first attempt to collect all the valuable work done in Milton annotation for more than fifty years, and it remained the most conspicuous event in Milton scholarship for a long time. This was not because of any unusual originality or profoundness in the editor, but because he had collected a vast amount of solid material in a relatively neat and accessible form. It is a remarkable attempt to organize scholarship, as the numerous contributions to this edition by other critics prove.

Newton confesses in his preface his indebtedness to Pearce, whose conscientious scholarship seems to have influenced the character of the work. The commentary contains the majority of the better remarks of Newton's predecessors, either in full with their names, or in an abridged and adapted form in Newton's own notes. Extracts from various critical works, and a number of MS. contributions add to the bulk and often also to the value of the edition. Addison's essays are reprinted. A life of Milton is the main original performance of Newton included in the edition beside his notes. "Paradise Regained", "Samson Agonistes" and the minor poems are edited with less care and thoroughness, mainly, no doubt, because Newton's predecessors had chiefly confined themselves to „Paradise Lost", so that less preliminary work had been done on the rest of Milton's productions. But probably, also, the lyrical pieces corresponded less with Newton's taste and the character of his erudition, which were both of the traditional classicist stamp.

The work is mainly of a retrospective character. Newton hardly introduces any very new methods or does much pioneer-

work, but is chiefly occupied in sifting what had been done before him. The preface to the edition of "Paradise Lost" states his main intentions: to ascertain the genuine text (the emphasis laid on this point seems to indicate Newton's honest endeavour to find out the truth about his subject), to explain Milton's meaning and artistic import, to study his language and verse, and to point out his imitations and allusions. None of these ideas are new, and in his handling of them, also, Newton remains more or less in the old track. This prefatory description does not, however, include all that Newton did. He tried to trace the personal elements in Milton's poetry, to identify his references to contemporary and ancient events and names, etc. Yet often he uses the material of other critics without making any acknowledgement, and in certain departments, in that of metrics, for example, his seemingly new views (e. g. his insistence on the importance of the varying distribution of Milton's pauses) are clearly borrowed, often without much skill. Newton's inability to distinguish between the principles of accentuated and quantitative verse seems to have been radical, and is responsible for worse blunders than any committed by Bentley¹³).

Newton's comparisons of passages from the different works of Milton are relatively numerous, and show an assiduous study of the poet. His knowledge of the "Gothic libraries", on the other hand, is not very considerable, as Warton emphasizes in the preface to his edition of the Minor Poems. Newton's treatment of Milton's language shows some diligence, but does not do justice to the archaic elements of his style, more particularly to those of national origin. Milton's art is interpreted in a one-sided manner, theological and classical prejudices preventing Newton from reaching a full appreciation. Even the "romantic" vocabulary of Milton is attacked. The inveteracy of Newton's preconceptions is illustrated by the fact that even the derivation of forms of words from the Italian and French is condemned. He substitutes Latin forms, because these have the right of seniority, whereas the later forms are "copies"¹⁴).

Purely formal matters are dealt with more successfully than those which require emotional sympathy. A notable exception

¹³) Cf. chap. 9, sec. J.

¹⁴) Cf. P. L. V. 399, "perfect" for "perfet".

is his treatment of "Samson Agonistes", where the echo of the author's personal experience impresses the editor so deeply that he for once abandons his formalistic attitude and even asks for a directer expression of feeling. As a rule, poetry with Newton is a means merely of pleasure and instruction.

Among Newton's contributors, Thyer and Warburton deserve particular attention. Warburton's study of Shakespeare and his time seems to have deepened his understanding of the imagination. Thyer's theoretical statements still remind one, sometimes, of the moralism and didacticism of the classicist school, but his knowledge of the Elizabethans and Italians appears to have sharpened his sensitiveness. He analyses subtle moods, and apparently holds that not adherence to the rules but the impression produced on the reader's mind is important. The garrulity of the Italians is condemned by him as deadening the imagination, yet for the very same reason extreme formalism and rigidity are also objected to. The irregularities of Milton's lyrical poetry find due appreciation from Thyer where they enhance the effect. His criticism of "Paradise Regained" shows the delight he takes in impulsive, spontaneous outpourings of beautiful imagery.

Newton's edition imitates the thorough manner of the variorum editions of *classical* authors, as his preface states at the very start. Its scope and careful execution seem to have silenced competition for a very considerable time, until Warton's edition of the Minor Poems appeared. Most of the commentaries published in the interim are of a popularizing character, and testify to the interest which the larger public took in the poet's works. Only Callander's edition of the first book of "Paradise Lost" (the only part published) is more ambitious. But despite the learning and culture displayed there, and the editor's knowledge of ancient and mediæval mythological lore, the work fails to be of much service because relatively little of all that erudition is applied to the elucidation of Milton's text. Callander's plagiarisms from Hume, which cannot be denied, are hardly worse than Newton's borrowings from other annotators and critics.

The popularizing edition of Marchant (1751) mainly reprints older notes, though some few items are added. Massey's and Dodd's commentaries are designed for an unpretentious public. The latter particularly is very primitive. Massey's knowledge

of the older language is very defective, and his literary principles tend to the theories of classicism: but his instinctive judgements clash with his theoretical views, as he himself confesses. Spenser is his favourite poet, and the splendours of the imagination are his delight in literature. Of Buchanan's and Wesley's editions little need be said. Buchanan's paraphrases and expositions of linguistic difficulties are frankly pedagogic and meant for young readers. Wesley's simplified and abridged edition of "Paradise Lost"¹⁵) contains only some very rudimentary notes, and keeps the least fastidious literary public in view. The period from 1749 to 1785, which includes these commentaries, added few scholarly annotations, and little of original value in criticism.

A great impulse was given to the scholarly study of Milton by Thomas Warton, when he published in 1785 his edition of Milton's Minor Poems. Both as a critical performance and as a collection of material it stands supreme among the Milton commentaries of the century. Even Newton with all his collaborators, and Todd in his edition of "Comus", together, added much less that is really new. Warton also had some contributors, but his commentary is no collection of *notæ variorum*. His erudition and critical insight, combined with his literary skill, enable him to open new prospects and to interest the reader.

Warton accomplishes, in fact, what Peck vaguely designed. Milton's poetry is explored from many points of view. Warton's historical sense helps him to understand the subtle influences of Milton's time on his writings; his inquiries in this department are of a very extensive and deliberate kind. His preface describes how he felt it to be his duty to exploit the black-letter libraries which Newton avoided, and to indulge in "the idler tracks of reading". He knows that Milton is "an old English poet" in his earlier pieces, and accordingly treats him in connection with the literature of his age. Obscure poets are carefully studied, obsolete documents examined, superstitions and popular tales collected, romances and fabulous narrations diligently perused. Milton's personal circumstances and the contemporary allusions in his poems are traced with an unprecedented minuteness. His peculiarities of language, imagery and thought (the last-mentioned, however, least of the three) are studied throughout his poetry

¹⁵) Cf. chap. 10.

and prose, with abundant supplementary illustrations from other writers.

The literatures of the Latin countries and of the classical nations are familiar to Warton, as his notes on Milton's Latin and Italian poems prove. The life of the upper and the lower classes, the traditions, habits and linguistic peculiarities of town and country seem to be equally well known to him. His information is far wider and more many-sided than Peck's, who nevertheless is the only one among Warton's predecessors who in any considerable degree shares this variety of interests.

Yet Warton's designs are not merely those of a scholar. He is also a literary propagandist and a herald of definite poetical ideals. "To illustrate or vindicate his [= Milton's] beauties" (preface, p. XIX) is one of his main aims, and the very first page of his preface shows his antagonism to the artificial poetical atmosphere of his period. His remarkable sensitiveness to poetical impressions helps him to discern the fundamental mood of the poet as revealed in irregularities and abnormalities of style and structure, and induces him to look first of all for the mental basis of a work of art before judging of the right or wrong of the artistic devices found in it. He knows that artistic objects are valuable only so far as they impress the mind, thus explaining some important poetic effects, and proclaims the justification of the poetry of vague but effective suggestion. Moralism, theological preconceptions, and the dogma of the rules have almost entirely disappeared from his critical code.

Warton's edition realized in a remarkable degree for Milton what Shakespeare scholarship had already accomplished, and in some respects with more instinctive insight and literary skill. The minute inquiries into Elizabethan literature and lore found, for example, in Steevens's contributions to the *First Variorum* do not convey the same feeling of atmosphere, and deal less with distinctly artistic qualities than Warton's remarks. How much he impressed some of his contemporaries, is shown by the *Critical Review* of May 1785 (pp. 321—328) where a eulogy of Warton's edition is published. He is found to have "raised a durable monument, on which his name will appear, though in a different department, with a splendor little inferior to Milton's."

Of the subsequent commentaries on Milton, those by Dunster and Todd bear witness to Warton's influence. The slight attempt

by Gillies and the notes by David Steele¹⁶⁾ are one-sided and insignificant, and fall outside the scope of Warton's work. Capel Lofft's unfinished, or rather hardly begun, edition of "Paradise Lost" has its own quite special aims (1792). Lofft specializes in the phonetic aspect of poetry, partly under the influence of his uncle, the Shakespeare scholar Edward Capel, of various theorists like J. Walker, the author of the "Rhetorical Grammar" (1785), and probably also of the elder Richardson. Milton's spellings are analysed for their phonetic value; his rhythm and intonation are studied. But the editor seems to put too much of his own personal interpretation into the elaborate system of punctuation adopted by him to convey the refinements of Milton's verse.

Dunster's edition of "Paradise Regained" (1795), the first really careful edition of this poem, was designed to vindicate its beauties¹⁷⁾, and succeeds in giving a far more adequate explanation of Milton's references to classical and biblical lore than is to be found in Newton. It contains numerous literary parallels, not infrequently from modern poets, but more often from the ancients, explains Milton's language, though not so copiously as Warton, traces parallel passages in his own works, expounds his artistic effects and sometimes also the relationship between his personal life and his poetry, and generally combines wide learning with a keen poetical sensibility. Dunster is a less eager student of romantic literature than Warton, but his classical and theological tendencies agree with the character of the poem edited by him.

His combinative logical faculty helps him to give some good analyses of structural features. Though his poetical theory still contains some traces of moralism and a somewhat one-sided intellectualism, this hardly affects his critical practice. Warton's influence seems to be observable in the numerous literary parallels, in the diligent study of the background of the poem, and possibly also in the distinct literary quality of the notes; but Dunster is somewhat less skilled in tracing Milton's personal moods. Dunster's preface intimates that he was conscious of performing a task which it would have been the duty of Warton to undertake, had he not died.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. chap. 12 sec. A.

¹⁷⁾ Cf. chap. 12 sec. C.

Most of the valuable work in Milton annotation done in the course of the century is included in Todd's edition of Milton's Poetical Works (I. ed. 1801). As a preliminary instalment, "Comus" was published in 1798. The preface to this first attempt emphasizes the importance of the scholarly care of Newton and particularly of Warton, and the attention which the latter especially gave to the study of seeming eccentricities of language and style in Milton. Todd finds these peculiarities venerable and significant, and devotes some space to the discussion of the spellings of Milton, in which, like Lofft, whom he names, he sees the author's peculiar phonetic intentions. He deals in the same preface with the influence of considerations of rhyme on Milton's orthography. It is evident that a scholar with a very considerable knowledge of older literature is taking up the work of Warton. The edition of "Comus" already aims at embodying the remarks of earlier annotators in the manner of Newton's edition, but it is mainly based on Warton's notes, which are fairly fully reprinted. The personal allusions, the history of the performance of the play, the personalities of its actors, its sources etc., are examined with a minuteness which often greatly exceeds that of Warton, though Warton's critical acuteness is looked for in vain. Detailed, careful research, supported by much erudition, is the principal feature of Todd's observations. His textual and bibliographical labours are painstaking.

All these qualities distinguish, also, his great edition of the Poetical Works. A large life, for long the standard work on its subject, contributions to the commentary by a number of collaborators (among whom Dunster is conspicuous), extracts from most of the more important critical works dealing with Milton, reprints of articles by Addison and others, textual and bibliographical appendices etc. make this edition a veritable Milton encyclopædia. Todd's own contributions towards the elucidation of allusions, literary, personal, historical, mythological, of Milton's language, his numerous Miltonic parallels, his illustrative quotations from miscellaneous publications of the author's time, show a zeal equal to that of Warton, and a care superior to his, but Warton's keen spirit is missing. Todd prefers quoting other critics to advancing views of his own. His possibly too numerous parallels and illustrations from classical, older English, rabbinical, Italian, French and other sources are relatively seldom

accompanied by explanatory remarks. The work impresses one as pre-eminently a collection of rather carefully verified material. By the application of the old methods of research and by the preservation and systematic arrangement of the work of his predecessors Todd supplied the new century with a treasury of information, which the forthcoming generations might use according to their own methods. What his edition proves to have been the most fruitful object of his own labours as well as of the efforts of most of the leading commentators of the 18th century, is the establishment of a conscientious historical method of investigation.

2. PATRICK HUME'S COMMENTARY ON "PARADISE LOST".

Hume's commentary was published in 1695 in folio together with Jacob Tonson's folio edition of that year. The title-page is as follows:

ANNOTATIONS ON MILTON's Paradise Lost. WHEREIN
The Texts of Sacred Writ relating to the POEM, are Quoted;
The Parallel Places and Imitations of the most Excellent *Homer*
and *Virgil*, Cited and Compared; All the Obscure Parts
render'd in Phrases more Familiar; The Old and Obsolete Words,
with their Originals, Explain'd and made Easie to the *English*
Reader. By P. H. φιλοποιήτης. *Uni, cedit MILTONUS, Ho-*
mero Propter Mille annos. Juv. VII. 38. LONDON, Printed
for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges Head near the Inner-Temple-
Gate in Fleet-street, MDCXCV.

The commentary contains a title-page and 321 pages of text.

The title-page, as was pointed out in the introductory survey, shows the main objects of Hume's¹⁸⁾ notes: 1) the study of Milton's biblical allusions; 2) the examination of his reminiscences of the classics; 3) the simpler rendering of difficult passages, and 4) an inquiry into the obsolete expressions in Milton.

The first object has been carried out with remarkable thoroughness and very considerable success. The later commentators had only to fill in, in this respect, the relatively slight gaps he left. Even such a systematic worker as Newton seems to have added here less than he has borrowed from Hume, in spite of his scanty and grudging acknowledgements¹⁹⁾: Hume's knowledge

¹⁸⁾ Though the DNB. and its sources ascribe the commentary to Patrick Hume, no definite evidence is given, nor is it made clear who he was.

¹⁹⁾ A study of Hume's and Newton's notes to the first 500 lines of book I of P. L. would show that more than half the biblical references of Newton are already found in Hume's comments.

of Hebrew helps him to discover the reason of some of Milton's deviations from the established text of the Scriptures. He also adds a number of interesting illustrations from biblical lore and Scripture exegesis.

The treatment of Milton's relation to the classics shows wide reading and great industry. Although the additions which later commentators have made are perhaps a little more considerable in this department, Hume's commentary even in this field has been a valuable and usually unacknowledged treasury from which subsequent generations have borrowed freely. His title-page mentions only Homer and Virgil, but his notes are concerned with a great number of other classical authors, and, what is even more remarkable, with Tasso and Spenser. He analyses his parallels very briefly if at all, so that his work in this department is mainly to be valued as a collection of material.

This applies, indeed, to his whole study of allusions, which is not confined to the Bible and to literature proper, but extends over history, geography, astronomy, chemistry, alchemy etc. etc. Details are usually heaped on details without any close connection with the context in Milton. Hume seems to be pouring out the superabundance of his knowledge on the reader, and to be giving him a course in general education.

Hume's renderings of Milton's text are obviously meant for readers of very inconsiderable learning. Few lines escape paraphrase; it would at times be possible to get a continuous text merely by cancelling the intermediate paraphrastic comment. Hume no doubt was partly carried away by his enthusiasm, and could not resist the temptation to reshape Milton after his own fashion.

The last object named in the title-page, the explanation of obsolete words, bulks disproportionately, and becomes almost the main feature of the work. Many useful observations are made, but too often Hume becomes a copyist of lexicons or a linguistic theorist, and fails to remember that his original aim was to help the public towards a better understanding of Milton. The simplest words are etymologically dissected, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. Elucidations of Milton's ways of coining words or of contrasting them with the ordinary speech of the time are comparatively rare. Hume's knowledge of Greek and Latin, however, instinctively helps him to discover the mean-

ing of many of Milton's more difficult Græcisms and Latinisms. Here and there he even notices some Hebraisms, etc.

In all these respects Hume became a quarry for future annotators of Milton. His accumulation of material was too vast to be neglected. What is too often absent in Hume is a direct interest in the poet himself. He gives no biographical information about Milton, but confines himself to a study of the work considered quite apart from the writer's personality. Milton is already a classic, and "Paradise Lost" an engine of edification and instruction. Hume especially dwells on the moral importance of Milton's epic, very much as a commentator on the Bible tries to bring home the rules of conduct deducible from the stories of Scripture.

From the mass of Hume's commentary a number of remarks may be extracted which illustrate his views on some of the most important problems of Milton criticism. The following is largely an attempt to summarize them, perhaps at greater length than would have been advisable if Hume had not been the first commentator of Milton, and the first person also who tried to deal with a great English poet in the thorough manner of classical philology.

A. GENERAL NOTES, RANGE OF GENERAL ERUDITION.

Hume's reading in the field of biblical exegesis seems to have been considerable. The fathers of the church, especially St. Augustine, are alluded to very frequently as in I. 46 *n.*, but Hume has also studied the Cabbala²⁰⁾ or some exposition of it. He explains the word "Manna" according to the Talmud²¹⁾. Moses Barcephas is his authority on the question why Satan entered into the serpent²²⁾. Joh. Malala supplies him with the explanation of the origin of the name of Jehovah²³⁾, etc. etc. An enumeration of the books or even of the authors he seems to have consulted on biblical questions would lead too far. It may suffice to point out that I. 17 *n.*, dealing with the meaning of Gen. I. 12: "the spirit of God moved upon the waters", refers to the

²⁰⁾ Cf. I. 386 *n.*

²¹⁾ II. 113 *n.*

²²⁾ I. 34 *n.*

²³⁾ I. 386 *n.*

teachings of St. Jerome, St. Basil, Theodoret, Athanasius, Tertullian, St. Chrysostom, Hermogenes, Cajetan, Zoroaster, Heraclitus, Orpheus, the Platonists and Pythagoreans, and Virgil. Theorizing seems to be indulged in for its own sake. Sometimes its application to Milton's text is more tangible. Hume notes ²⁴) Milton's deviation from the ordinary, literal interpretation of Gen. 10. 9 "A mighty hunter", and points out that in Milton it probably means a hunter of men as well as of animals, hunting of animals being understood only as a preparation for man-slaughter. The next note (on XII. 34) continues the idea and explains Milton's conception of the words "before the Lord" (from the same passage of Genesis) in accordance with the opinion of those Bible commentators who regard the expression as a hint at Nimrod's objectionable ambition and haughtiness. Newton's notes on the same passage, which go a step further and study the possible political allusions implied in these lines, are entirely based on Hume's preliminary inferences, although Newton, as usual, makes no acknowledgement of his debt. This is a typical example of Hume's contributions to the study of hidden references in Milton, and of later indebtedness to his work.

Sometimes Hume's scientific and philosophic notes seem to anticipate even the achievements of recent research. Long before Dr. Liljegren ²⁵) and other scholars of to-day Hume saw the connection between Milton and Stoicism, relating Satan's belief in "the fixt Laws of Heaven" to "the Opinion of the Stoicks, well express'd by *Lucan*:

Sive Parens rerum —

Fixit in æternum causas, qua cuncta coercet

Se quoque lege tenens, & sæcula jussa ferentem,

Fatorum immoto divisit limite Mundum. Phar. 2."

(P. L. II. 18 n.)

His industry in exploring out-of-the-way corners of knowledge is remarkable. A selection of names from the notes on the first books of *Paradise Lost* may show his versatility: Celsus and

²⁴) XII. 30 n.

²⁵) STUDIES IN MILTON BY S. B. LILJEGREN LUND C. W. K. GLEERUP [1918, 8°: pp. XI/II + 160]. — Der andere Milton von Heinrich Mutschmann, M. A., Dr. phil. Kurt Schroeder, Verlag, Bonn und Leipzig 1920 [8°: pp. XII + 112]. Hume's anticipations are vague but interesting.

Paracelsus are referred to on questions of chemistry ²⁶), Farnaby on the architectural term "cornice" ²⁷), "Cook's Proemium to the 4 Justitiæ" on legal terminology ²⁸), Gassendi ²⁹), Galileo ³⁰) and others on astronomy, Suidas ³¹), Eustathius ³²), Spelman ³³), Vossius ³⁴) on linguistic problems, Selden ³⁵), Helladius ³⁶), Sandys' Travels ³⁷), Pliny ³⁸), Aulus Gellius ³⁹) and others on mythology.

That Hume did not take this agglomeration of his too seriously, is shown by himself in note I. 438. He there quotes some opinions on Astoreth, and adds: "Who desires to heat his Head with more Quotations and to fill it with more Uncertainties, may consult the Learned *Selden*". His scepticism is justified by his not infrequent mistakes. In his note on IV. 986, for example, the base of the peak of Teneriffe is described as being "about 48 *Spanish* Leagues in compass, and its Summit about 15 miles high, to be seen about 120 English miles at Sea." Hume's weaknesses, however, were the weaknesses of his time, which was not yet sufficiently used to accuracy and careful, critical study.

B. HUME'S RENDERINGS OF MILTON'S TEXT.

Hume's paraphrases are one of the main features of his commentary. It is of some interest to see how far they succeed in reproducing Milton's tone and style. There can be no doubt of Hume's endeavour to give more in them than a mere sober account of the contents of Milton's text. Hume's enthusiasm is obvious, and often leads him beyond the limits of scholarly exactitude to over-emphasis and bombast.

²⁶) Cf. I. 674 *n.*

²⁷) I. 716 *n.*

²⁸) II. 318 *n.*

²⁹) II. 1052 *n.* & *c.*

³⁰) I. 290 *n.*

³¹) I. 353 *n.*

³²) II. 284 *n.* & *c.*

³³) II. 90 *n.*

³⁴) I. 375 *n.*

³⁵) I. 438 *n.*

³⁶) I. 462 *n.*

³⁷) I. 479 *n.*

³⁸) I. 576 *n.* & *c.*

³⁹) II. 945 *n.*

Where Hume feels particularly elated and inspired, his renderings sometimes aim at keeping the blank-verse form. Lines I. 230—237, for example, are made to read as follows:

"And such for Colour shewed, as when the Strength
Of Wind pent under Ground, removes a Hill
Rent from *Pelorus*, or the ragged side
Of Roaring *Etna*, whose wide Womb well stor'd
With Matter fit to burn, thence catching Fire,
Heighten'd with Flaming Sulphur, Wing the Winds,
And leave a Boyling Bottom, Clouded o'er
With stinking Fumes."

Hume's first intention probably was to substitute simpler expressions than Milton's, as the first two lines seem to show: *Colour* for *hue*, *Wind pent under Ground* for *subterranean wind*, *removes* for *transports*. The same is partly true of the rest of the passage. But the third and fourth lines play independently with alliteration ("rent", "ragged", "roaring"), and "whose wide Womb well stor'd / With Matter fit to burn" is a somewhat pompous simplification of "whose combustible / And fewel'd entrals". Another paraphrase, that of I. 424—431, is even more pretentious and heavy:

... "these Heavenly Beings,
Not linkt to Limbs, or bound with Sinews up,
Or weakly underpropt with brittle Bones,
Like heavy Clods of Clay"...

(See also on VI. 1 & c., VI. 58 etc.).

Even Hume's prose-style reads at times like disguised blank-verse, and alliterations and epithets abound in many notes. See e. g. III. 539 *n.*: "... the enraged Ocean's proud swelling Waves, whose Briny Billows rising much higher than the shelving Shore, cannot be imagined to be stopt by the yielding Sand." The notes on bk. III. ll. 329—342 are an instance of the accumulation of this kind of language. I am referring to expressions like "those many Mutations of Matter" (335), "their long and lazy Lethargy" (329), or somewhat further below, in III. 459 *n.*: "the Moon, the Mother of Moisture and Mutation."

A passage like the following in note IV. 700 shows how far Hume could go in this luxury of language: "Within each lovely

Flower, fair to the sight or fragrant to the smell, all-colour'd *Iris*, and the blushing Rose, and snowy Jessemin advanc'd their flowry Heads, mix'd and inwoven, chequer'd the beauteous Bowers with the most charming variety of view."

Sometimes the commentary is facetious and grotesque on some of the finest and most serious passages. Thus the giants, the sons of Vesta, in note I. 198 "Rendezvousing in *Thessaly*, piled the Mountains one upon another, till they gave *Jupiter* a terrible Scalado at Heaven-Gates." The style is like that of Milton's prose or some of the suppressed readings of "Comus". The next note describes how the gods, attacked by Typhon, "finding such hot Work on't, ran shamefully away into *Egypt*, disguising themselves there, in the shapes of divers Beasts..." Galileo's telescope becomes "his Spectacles" in note V. 268. Even the passage on Sin and Death does not subdue Hume's spirits; he comments on it in the following manner ⁴⁰): "Sin, that is hatch'd in the Imagination, is said to be brought forth out of Satan's Brain-pan, as *Pallas* armed Cap-a-pied, (by which the Poets meant Wisdom, & c.) was fabled to have been the Offspring of *Jove's* Noddle." It does not seem likely that Hume had any intention of ridiculing the text, but he evidently had little tact and little feeling for style. He is very reverent towards the Bible, but he talks in the same breath of "Gods flaming Chariot loaden with Almighty Vengeance" shaking "Heaven's everlasting Basis" and of "*Juno* giving her self but a jogg on her Throne" ⁴¹).

He has better qualities, however. His analysis of rarer literary effects is as a rule not good, but he appreciates fine descriptive passages and is capable of rendering them. He loves colours, and translates the language of "Paradise Lost" into a style very near to that of Milton's early poetry. On P. L. IV. 702, for example, relating how "The blue Violet, and yellow Crocus, with the purple Hyacinth, inlay'd the fragrant Floor with soft and sweet Embroidery"; or describing the fish in VII. 406: "*Their wav'd Coats*; Their Scales like little Waves, wrought over one another, glistening in the Sun like Gold." He elaborates Milton's brief reference to the nightingale in VIII. 518 into a long passage, full of legendary atmosphere and emotion: "*The*

⁴⁰) II. 757 n.

⁴¹) III. 394 n.

Amorous Bird of Night; Till the Nightingale began to tune the Bridal Song: She is called the *Amorous Bird of Night*, from her solitary mournful Song, seeming to bemoan her Misfortune that befell her by the wicked Amours of the Lascivious *Tereus*, related at large by *Ovid*, Met. 6. *Et virginem & unam vi superat, & c.* She is indeed well styl'd, *The Bird of Night*, from chearing Darkness with her Passionate Song, that seems to imitate the solitary Complaints of Languishing Lovers."

Sometimes he gives a glimpse of the dreamy and half-conscious: "In Sleep... Fancy, free from those many Avocations that draw us away when waking, exerts its utmost force, and represents its dark Masquerades and dumb Shews, with strange Advantage" ⁴²⁾.

Thus Hume's style, though not subtle, ranges from a very crude kind of humour to a comparatively sensitive rendering of some of the less obvious sides of the mind, flagging, however, where it has to interpret any very many-sided and complicated *intellectual* experiences.

C. HUME'S LITERARY VIEWS.

Hume's two main authorities are the classics and the Bible; among the former mainly Homer and Virgil, but very frequently also most of the other prominent literary personalities of classical antiquity. Hume's scope is wide enough to include *e. g.* Callimachus, the hymns of Orpheus, Seneca, Euripides, Lucian, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Josephus, not to mention obscurer names, many of which are of a less distinctly literary character. Later poets hardly exist for him, except Tasso and Spenser, who are quoted quite frequently, and Milton himself, though of the works of Milton he concerns himself only with "Paradise Lost". References to mediæval and modern scholars and biblical commentators are found every now and then, as has already been remarked. He refers also to Sir Walter Raleigh's "History of the World" ⁴³⁾.

Hume's respect for classical literature is that of the usual man of letters of his time. Virgil is "the sublime Virgil", by

⁴²⁾ V. 53 n.

⁴³⁾ Cf. *e. g.* I. 307 n.

whom the belief "that God was all in all, in all things" is "admirably exprest" in Geor. 4:

"Deum namque ire per omnes
Terras tractusque Maris, Coelumque profundum" ⁴⁴).

He seems to take it for granted that in a general way nearly everything in the classics was excellent. This is the belief that induces Hume to justify questionable points in Milton by merely referring to similar cases in Greek or Latin literature, as if these parallels were sufficient evidence. The comparison of a "bearded grove of ears" ⁴⁵) with "a vast number of armed Men ranged close together" is satisfactory because of "its familiar use and occurrence among the best Poets. *Homer* by it expresseth the power *Agamemnon's* Oration to the *Grecian* Army had on the affected Multitude... *Virgil* brings it nearer, calling a great number of Darts, *Telorum segetem ferream*" & c. The parallel between a lightning-scathed tree on a heath and the fallen angels ⁴⁶) is defended because *Virgil* had used one resembling it: "And if this Simile was not too superlative for the *Cyclops* [referred to by *Virgil*], this cannot be so for the *Seraphim*."

Yet the Bible comes first. It is not only the great basis of Christianity; it is also the ancestor of a considerable part of classical mythology. Hume has hardly any doubt as to the truth of the opinion of the rabbis that Elysium, "This happy Seat, and State, free from all Disturbance, had not its Foundation only from Fancy, but was borrowed from the Sacred Writings, and was Copied from Moses's Paradise; and accordingly the Rabbins tell us, that Elysium sounds in the holy Language אל אֵשֶׁר *the Grove of God*" ⁴⁷). "Satan by his malicious cunning designing as much as in him lay, to undermine and invalidate the Credit of the Holy Text, promoted among the Heathen Poets many strange Fictions, that seem borrowed or imitated from the Sacred Writers, as their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*, *Nepenthe* and the wonderful Herb *Moly*, by *Hesiod*, *Homer*, etc." ⁴⁸). The note on I. 17 derives Zoroaster's, Heraclitus' and Orpheus' doctrines from the

⁴⁴) I. 17 n.

⁴⁵) IV. 982 n.

⁴⁶) I. 614 n. & seq.

⁴⁷) III. 359 n.

⁴⁸) IV. 218 n.

Bible. In this matter Hume followed the model of Milton himself, who represents the deities of the ancient world as fallen angels, notably in the long infernal procession in book I of "Paradise Lost".

That whatever is based on the Bible, is true and that the rest is inferior fiction; is one of the doctrines repeatedly emphasized by Hume. Milton's description of the vegetation of Paradise in V. 297 & seq. "if compared with *Virgil's Inter Odoratam Lauri nemus*, Æn. 6. the best Grove in his *Elysian Fields*, in which his happy Souls and the famous *Musæus* sat and sang, will as far out-do it, as *Paradise* did all the *Poetic Fictions* imaginable." The Bible has the right of seniority, the classics are "neoterics". "Old Euphrates" ⁴⁹⁾ is rightly called "old", "since remembered so long ago in the History of the Creation by *Moses*, Gen. 2. 14. compared with whom, these are *Neotericks* that speak of him, as *Virg.*

*Cæsar dum Magnus ad altum
Fulminat Euphratem Bello. Geor. 4. And Ovid,
Arsit & Euphrates Babylonicus. Met. 2."*

As the poet of the Bible and Christianity Milton, therefore, surpasses the ancients. His subject is greater than the wars and heroic deeds of the Greek and Roman writers. Hume emphasizes this in one of his first notes ⁵⁰⁾: "*Things unattempted yet, so Hora. Non usitata nec tenui ferar penna*; but not on so sublime a Subject as this, not undertaken as yet by any Poet: As in the beginning of the Ninth Book, he [*Milton*] says of himself, he was not sedulous by Nature to indite Wars, hitherto the only Argument, Heroic deem'd — *trita vatibus orbita*. So *Virg.* on a Subject much inferiour makes his Brags,

*Sed me Parnassi deserta per ardua, dulcis
Raptat amor: Juvat ire jugis, qua nulla priorum
Castaliam molli divertitur orbita clivo. Geor. 3."*

A natural inference from all this is the superiority of Milton's "spiritual" heroes to those of Homer and Virgil ⁵¹⁾: "That *Lucifer*, the Chief Leader and Champion of the laps'd Angelick

⁴⁹⁾ I. 420 n.

⁵⁰⁾ I. 16 n.

⁵¹⁾ IV. 986 n.

Host, should, swoln with rage, be compared to Mountains of such vast Immensity, will seem modest enough, when parallel'd with the liking of *Æneas* by *Virgil* to some others, not so much inferior to these, as his *Heroe* must be allowed to have been below any one of those *Spiritual Beings*" . . . Satan's address to the spirits of Hell ⁵²) is better than Sarpedon's speech to Glaucus, *IA. M.* "Which will be found as much exalted in the Imitation, as a Seraphim is superiour to a Man even of Homeric make." Even the somewhat long and incoherent description of the future of mankind in book XI, which is scarcely as successful as the best parts of the previous books, is valued extraordinarily highly, partly because of its chronicle form, (which in fact is a defect), but also because it is "taken out of Sacred Story" ⁵³): "Most admirable and excellent are those *Episodes*, which here begin, and adorn our Author's *Poem* to the end, surpassing all those tedious Stories, and the vainglorious Boastings of the *Homeric Heroes*, and *Virgil's* artful Enumeration of the *Roman Conquerors*, down to *Augustus Cæsar* and the bemoan'd *Marcellus*, *Æn. 6.* as much as a Relation of what was to come to pass, from the beginning of the World, to *Adam* and all Mankind, to the end of it, and in order to a better, (taken out of Sacred Story,) must excel any particular or *Humane History* whatever."

Hume goes even further in this conventional direction, accusing Homer and to a certain extent Virgil also of not observing the rules of religious decorum, of τὸ πρέπον. He commits the anachronism of wishing Homer to write like a Stoic philosopher. Many of the Elizabethans were fundamentally anachronistic in their views of classical antiquity, but Hume, though a man of a later period, differs very little from them in this respect. "*Homer*", he says, "instead of Treating the Deities of his Days, with any tolerable Decency, makes them Quarrelsome, Vulnerable, and of a Behaviour below that of a Stoic Philosopher, as is frequent through all his *Iliads*: His *Venus* stands with a Fly-flap in her hand, to keep the corrupting Insects from infecting the Corps of her Son's dead Favourite, *IA. T. & c.* *Virgil*, thō less blameable, gives the same Goddess the weakness of Weeping:

Lacrymis oculos suffusa nitentes. Æn. 1.

⁵²) II. 451 n.

⁵³) XI. 433 n.

And the Character of his *Juno* is very angry and spiteful:

*Nec dum enim causæ irarum, sævique dolores
Exciderant animo, manet alta mente repostum
Judicium Paridis, spretæque injuria formæ.*

Æn. I.

And he styles her frequently *Sæva Jovis conjux*; and there is so bitter an Altercation between her and *Venus*, Æn. 10, that enraged *Jupiter* is forced to end it, by swearing he will take neither of their Parts. The Parallel therefore as to the τὸ Πρέπον of these Poems and our Authors, is infinitely to his advantage⁵⁴). "Τὸ πρέπον is also one of the main virtues of Adam and Eve, cf. note XII. 625: "Our Poet observes, the ἰ Πρέπον, the *Decorum* to the last degree, making our first Parents such perfect Patterns of Modesty, as to forbear their Endearments, though but in Words, at the Angels approach." He weighs the relative difficulties which the Ancients and Milton had in observing this principle. Milton's success in this respect becomes one of Hume's main reasons for praising him, and a word of enthusiastic approval of his "towering fancy" seems to slip in almost inadvertently⁵⁵): "But when we reflect how shamefully the one [*i. e.* Homer] exposes all his Deities, though the other [*i. e.* Virgil] in that respect much better observes the τὸ πρέπον, it must be acknowledged a much harder Task to form a right *Idea* of that Eternal Being, which made the Universe; and to observe with all due Veneration, and Awful Respect, the great *Decorum* requisite in speaking of the True God; and to offend in nothing against the Revelations he has been pleased to make of himself; and yet to manage all this under the Heats and Heights of Towering Fancy; than either *Homer* and *Virgil* undertook, a Task, by none, but himself, attempted, (as he may justly boast) and impossible to be, by any Undertaker, better performed."

This τὸ πρέπον, as may be judged from the note on Adam and Eve's conduct, is no profound quality of the mind but rather the refraining from indecorous acts or words. It seems of some interest that the last-quoted remark on this characteristic seems to be echoed in the "Spectator" papers on "Paradise Lost" by

⁵⁴) III. 342 n.

⁵⁵) I. 25 n.

Addison, which, on the whole, do not appear to bear many traces of Hume's influence. The fact that "decorum" was a commonplace of criticism at that time induces one to avoid insisting on Addison's dependence upon Hume, but the coincidences are rather close, and the circumstance that both critics compare the same features in the same authors makes it an interesting task to compare their respective attitudes. The passage in question in the "Spectator" of Jan. 5. 1712 reads as follows: "It is possible that the Traditions on which the *Iliad* and *Æneid* were built, had more Circumstances in them than the History of *the Fall of Man*, as it is related in Scripture. Besides it was easier for *Homer* and *Virgil* to dash the Truth with Fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the Religion of their Country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few Circumstances upon which to raise his Poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest Caution in every thing that he added out of his own Invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the Restraint he was under, he has filled his Story in Analogy with what is delivered in Holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate Reader, without giving Offence to the most scrupulous." It is in the main the same idea, and Addison had most probably seen at least the first pages of Hume's commentary, which was without competitors at that time. The note in question is one of the very first by Hume that contains any coherent discussion of a leading principle, and it was therefore likely to attract any reader's attention. However, the difference between Hume and Addison is not insignificant, for the latter is not only more scholarly, precise and cultured but even more moderate and cautious than Hume. At least one expression, that about "the Heats and Heights of Towing Fancy", shows very clearly how much nearer Hume was to the time of Milton even if he may not have experienced all the poetic enthusiasm of the Jacobean period which influenced Milton's early work.

Hume's grounds for preferring Milton to the ancients are not merely moral and religious. Sometimes he applies artistic criteria, for example in his repeated dwelling on Milton's greater conciseness and expressiveness. After quoting Homer's description of the Garden of Alcinous and Virgil's passage on Calypso's grotto he observes that one "may without affectation affirm, that in half the Number of Verses, that they consist of, our Author

has outdone 'em" ⁵⁶). He compares Milton's lines on the nightingale in III. 40 etc. with bk. I. 518 & seq. of the *Odyssey* and with the verses "Qualis populea merens Philomela" etc. in Virgil's fourth Georgic and finds that Milton's passage, "thô very short, (consisting only of two Verses) is as expressive of the Melodious Moan of this Night-Singer, as all those before recited." Here he only forestalls the judgement of nearly all his successors. Sometimes he is carried away by Milton's intense, restrained passion and heaps parallel on parallel from the classics only to prove Milton's superiority. Virgil, Lucan, Claudian, Silius Italicus, and in addition to them Tasso, are quoted to show that Milton's treatment of terror in II. 711 surpasses theirs: "I give the judicious Reader his Option, out of the six Quotations to find any one so expressive of the common Sentiments of Mankind, and the fearful Effects they apprehend from the Appearance of Comets, as is our Author's, *And from his horrid Hair shakes Pestilence and War.*" Hume seems to feel the power of Milton's address to light at the beginning of the third book of "Paradise Lost" quite as keenly as any modern reader: "*Light*, and the Blessings of it, were never drawn in more lively Colours, and finer Stroaks, than by these [verses]; nor was the sad loss of it and them ever so passionately and so patiently lamented. They that will read the most excellent *Homer*, bemoaning the same Misfortune, will find him far short of this" ⁵⁷). Here he shows a real appreciation of Milton's greatest manner. Occasionally his analysis does not reach far enough, emphasizing merely the external, mathematical superiority of Milton's range of vision, but Hume's way of expression seems to betray some traces of a deeper admiration. In his note on I. 74 he quotes some classical similes describing the distance between hell and earth and finds them inferior to Milton's: "Our Author says, God, in his Justice, had appointed the dark Infernal Dungeon for those Disobedient Spirits, thrice as far from Heavens chearful Light, and his own blest Abode, as is Earth's Center from the utmost Pole: Which of 'em has measured the Distance most Mathematically, is hard to determine; but *Milton's* Description of this Infernal Region, far exceeds both the *Τάραρον ἡρόεστα*, of the one, and the

⁵⁶) IV. 151 n.

⁵⁷) P. L. III. 54 n.

Pallentes umbræ Erebi, Noctemque profundam, of the other; neither of 'em having ventured on so large a Survey of that sad Seat. *Tasso's* Description is curt and inconsiderable:

*Itene maladetti al vostro Regno,
Regno di pene, é di perpetua morte.*

Cant. 9. St. 64."

Hume clearly had some feeling for the impressiveness of Milton's vast cosmic background.

He is more speculative in his parallels from the classics than elsewhere, probably because he had his fixed opinions about them and felt more secure in comparing them with Milton than in independent criticism. Yet some of his views on other literary questions are clear enough, esp. those on romance. Though capable himself of a very bizarre, irregular style, in which he does not hesitate to compare the sun to a head covered by a wig⁵⁸), he dislikes the superfluities of romance. His main objection to it seems to be that romance is necessarily fictitious. Even the classics seemed inferior because of the element of fiction in them, and there was nothing like the weight of classical authority to support the feebler claims of romance. l. 580 & 586 *nn.* show his matter-of-factness in these things: "*Uther* and *Arthur* and all their Descendants, though they gave Noble Subjects for the Histories of the Ages they lived in, yet by the gross Ignorance that over-spread those times, there is nothing transmitted to us but what is foolishly fabulous and fantastick." "*Milon*, Count of *Angiers* his [*i. e.* Charlemain's] Brother-in-Law, *Rowland* his Nephew, *Renaud* of *Montauban*, *Roger* the Dane, *Arnold* of *Belland* & c. famous Warriours, Subjects of the *French* fabulous Romances, who in that Illiterate Age, confounded their Story, and cover'd it with much Confusion and Obscurity." In these examples his refusal of romance almost equals Bentley's in severity.

His own style was not free from some touches of romance and Elizabethan richness, as was shown above. He likes to describe old legendary events and mythological stories at greater length than Milton's text requires, as very many of his notes on Milton's fabulous allusions prove. Moreover, he has some feeling for the "strange" and "curious", but only half-consciously, and

⁵⁸) l. 596 n.

in practice, not in theory. He notices some subtler shades of expression that allude to the less conscious experiences of the mind and interprets them in a way which seems to show some pondering over this kind of experience. "As my Dream had in the Images of my Imagination represented it express and plain" is his manner of rendering the simple words of P. L. VIII. 311: "as the dream / Had lively shadow'd", and he dwells on the last expression: "*Shadow'd*, is an admirable word, setting forth the dark Resemblances of Dreams, those imperfect Nightpieces, dimly presented to our drowsie Senses." Both words, "night-piece" and "shadowy", come again into their rights in note V. 43: "*Shadowy sets off*; Our Poet has shaded his Night-piece excellently, *Silence* and *Shade* do make great Additions to the *Midnight Majesty* of the *Full-Orb'd Moon*."

There is in these notes some sense of the combination of strangeness and beauty defined as romanticism by Pater, but it is undeveloped. Hume seems to appreciate balance and natural ease, but "Nature's charming Melody", as he calls it, is evidently not of the freer Elizabethan type⁵⁹). His attitude towards the artificial style of cavalier love poetry is very contemptuous; he defines a serenade as "An evening Song, performed under the Window of some Lovely or beloved Mistress; . . . a lamentable Ditty sung at some disdainful door, best rewarded with Disdain. . . From being exposed to the accidental injuries of the Weather, the sneaking humble Lover is stiled *starved*"⁶⁰). Milton's text is not nearly as emphatic as this. Hume obviously disliked Italianate convention of this extreme type. His note on V. 151, on Adam and Eve's "unmeditated" morning prayers, "more tuneable than needed Lute or Harp", expresses his point of view quite distinctly: "*More tuneable, so melodious and musical, as not to stand in need either of Lute or Harp, to add more charming sweetness*: All Instruments of Musick, being but Imitations of Human Voice, made use of to assist, but incapable of exceeding it; invented to please those, who by some indisposition of their Organs or their Ears, deprived of Nature's charming Melody, are forc'd to divert themselves with artificial sounds, rack'd from strain'd Strings and Wyres, and hollow Wood, &c. as much inferior to the former, as Art is to Nature."

⁵⁹) V. 151 n.

⁶⁰) IV. 769 n.

D. MILTON'S LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

Hume's main interest in this department is in the etymological analysis of Milton's vocabulary. Many of the commonest words of the language are studied from that point of view, whereas subtler grammatical questions are usually ignored. Almost the only advantage Hume gets from his philological attitude of mind is his susceptibility to the finer shades of meaning and the considerable skill he shows in dealing with the influence on their actual meaning of the origin of the words. However, he does not practise this skill very often. Difficult syntactic problems are mostly avoided; his terminology is monotonous, and only a small percentage of Hume's remarks are of any very particular interest.

His keen interest in etymological matters is probably partly to be explained by the great emphasis the earlier commentators of English poetry laid on the study of unfamiliar words. His title-page indicates that an inquiry into linguistic questions is intended to be one of the main characteristics of the commentary. This is especially understandable in the case of a poet like Milton who could not fail to stir the curiosity of his commentators by his elaborate, original vocabulary. Sometimes Hume really contributes to a better understanding of Milton in points of language, or at least leads the way to future students and teaches them new manners of approach. Fr. Thynne's Manuscript "Animaduersions" or E. K.'s glossary to "The Shepherd's Calendar" may have shown him the importance of *archaic* expressions. Notes III. 533, II. 704, VI. 86, & c. are instances of his treatment of these. Spenser, *even Chaucer* ⁶¹), are his sources here. Certain forms are explained as *dialectal* (I. 334 n.: "rouse" = "a more Northern pronunciation of Rise, like the Dorick Dialect"; V. 35 n.: "irksome" = perhaps "the Lincolnshire *Werk* or *Wark*, Grief, *Irkson*, tedious, troublesome"). In certain cases where he deals with words felt by later critics as peculiar and obsolete, but does not mention the archaic shade in them, the explanation is that those expressions were not yet out of use at his time, e. g. V. 94 n.: "*Answer'd sad, concern'd*; *Sad* here, is no more than serious, considerative; for sinless *Adam* was incapable of *sadness*, sorrow." In IV. 50 n. Hume points out an Italianism

⁶¹) II. 704 n.

("sdein'd", Ital. "sdegnare") but usually he tends to trace Milton's words back to the French where the Italian and French forms happen to be similar, *e. g.* IV. 245 *n.*: "*Imbround*, made the Bow'rs that were convenient at Noon, look dark and brown. *Embrunir*, Fr. to darken, to make obscure." He could hardly have noticed that Milton had used the Italian form of the word in one of his sonnets, for he shows no traces of an acquaintance with Milton's early work: "*Qual in colle aspro, al imbrunir di sera.*"

On a few occasions Hume registers some expressions as coined by Milton, (cf. I. 756 *Pandæmonium*, VI. 169 *servility*, IV. 506 *imparadized*, IV. 264 *attune*, IX. 165 *imbrute*, IX. 289 *misthought*, even VI. 553 *Enginry*). Milton's language must have appeared individual and peculiar to him, as these observations show.

Blunders are not infrequent among Hume's linguistic remarks but they may be largely due to the times, *e. g.* fantastic etymologies like "*Climbs... of Κλίμαξ*, Gr. a Ladder" ⁶²), or "*Blossom*, of which *Bloom* seems a Diminutive, of the Ger. *Blühen*" ⁶³). On the other hand, he has some knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, or at least has studied the authorities in Anglo-Saxon with some care, as is evident throughout the commentary.

The imitation of sounds heard in nature, the expressiveness of the phonetic side of words is often alluded to, though generally in a vague manner, without much explanation. Some sensitiveness is shown in his remark on the sombre sound of II. 287 *n.*: "*With hoarse Cadence lull*; Words not easie to be altered into others half so expressive, the Winds with their decreasing hoarseness hush and lay asleep the o'rewatch'd Seaman." In II. 951 *n.* he finds "the word *Hubbub... coined of the confused Noise made by many low Voices at a distance*", as it is "expounded in the following Verse, of *Stunning Sounds and Voices all confused*".

Several remarks deal with pleonasms, *e. g.* II. 58 *n.*: "*Opprobrious Den of Shame*; A Pleonasme, this dark disgraceful Den of Shame." I. 797 *n.*: "*Frequent and full*; Compleat and full, a Pleonasm." So on I. 495: "*In Courts and Palaces*; a Redundancy frequent with the Poets, *Palatium* Lat. for a Prince's Court."

⁶²) IV. 191 *n.*

⁶³) III. 43 *n.*

Hume seems in fact to have liked this figure, if we may judge by his own style, where it occurs so frequently.

On the other hand, he decidedly disliked what was to be condemned by most of the later commentators, — Milton's habit of "punning", of playing on words similar in sound but hardly or not at all connected in meaning. He calls it "jingling", taking notice of it comparatively frequently, and (in note l. 642) gives a definition of his dislike: "*Which tempted our Attempt;... Words, thò well chosen, and significative enough, yet of Gingling and Unpleasant Sound, and, like Marriages between Persons too near of Kin, to be avoided.*" This is well said. Hume did not see the better side of the habit, its occasional stimulating effect on the mind, later on pointed out by Richardson ⁶⁴), nor its roots in Milton's temperament traced by the late Sir Walter Raleigh in recent times. His analytic power does not reach as far as that.

He pays some attention to the formation of compound adjectives in Milton, attributing the habit wholly to classical influence and either not knowing of, or forgetting the frequent occurrence of such formations in Elizabethan literature, cf. note II. 425: "Here our Author, in imitation of the Greeks, who delighted in the significancy of Compound Words, useth *Heaven-Warring Champions* for Heavenly Warriours, Champions that waged War in Heaven." In one instance ⁶⁵) he even becomes too bold and assumes a compound where Milton probably meant to use two separate words, for the first edition has no hyphen between them, and even Hume writes them without one: "*Blasting voly'd*, a word seemed to be compounded in imitation of the significancy of those of that sort used by the *Grecians*, like *Τετρακέραυρος* and *Ἑξακέραυρος*, Jove's Epithetes, *ΟΔ. ξ* and *ΙΑ. δ.*" Hume does not seem to have any objections to this violent way of forming compounds. He is not a follower of the smooth, neat ideals of style to be held later by most of the 18th century commentators.

Hume's observations on syntax are slight. He notices a way of using the present tense which is hardly typical of Milton ⁶⁶) :

⁶⁴) Rich. on the paranomasia (IX. 11 n.): "it has oftentimes Good Effects, it Awakens the Attention, and gives a Like Pleasure to the Ear as Rhyme."

⁶⁵) IV. 928 n.

⁶⁶) IV. 965 n.

"I drag thee; The present Tense used for the future, to signify the immediate execution of the menace." Another observation on Milton's use of adjectives for nouns is more illuminating, but the parallels given are exclusively classical, and older or contemporary English usage seems to be totally neglected, as in note II. 278, on "the sensible of pain", or II. 407: "*Obscure* for *Obscurity*, an Adjective for a Substantive, as *Magnum per inane & per inane profundum*: Lucret. lib. I." Hume's study of syntax is confined to such stray remarks as these.

One aspect of Milton's style, the importance of learned associations in his vocabulary, the part the history of a word plays in its Miltonic meaning, has been analysed at some length and with considerable acuteness by Hume. Thus, he sees the possible double meaning of "edge" in VI. 108 — on the one hand the usual English meaning, on the other its interplay with another well-known Latin signification of the word: "*On the rough Edge of Battel*; On the bold brink of Battel. *Edge* is a word not to be exprest by any other in our Language; and in the Sense here meant it has a strange Relation to the Lat. *Acies*, that signifies both the sharp Edge of any Weapon; and also an Army in Battel Array ready for the Charge, in which it is expressive of this *rough edge of Battel*.

*Haud aliter Trojanæ Acies, Aciesque Latinæ
Concurrunt. — — — Æn. 10."*

He is capable of explaining unusual cases such as the epithet "marble" in "the pure Marble Air", P. L. III. 564: "*Marble Marmoreus*... of *Maquaiçw*, to shine, to glisten, is often used to express clearness or whiteness, without any reflection on its hardness. So *Virg.*

Marmorea Caput à cervice revulsum. Geo. 4."

He has a feeling for the ennobling influence of literary or biblical associations on common words, as in IX. 714: "The Phrase of *Putting on*, is not only familiar in Scripture, to denote the highest and most exalted Changes that can happen to Humanity, in Immortality, and glorious Eternity, as *This mortal must put on immortality*, & c. 1 Cor. 15. v. 53. where the Original word is *Ἐνδύσασθαι*, signif. *Induere*, Lat. to put on. But *Virgil* uses it in his *Circean Metamorphoses*:

Quos hominum ex facie Dea sæva..." etc.

In one case his analysis becomes rather minute. In note III. 364 he seems puzzled by the irregular use of the colour epithet "purple" in ancient poetry: "The Poets are much in love with this Colour:

Manibus date lilia plenis
Purpureos spargam Flores. Æn. 6."

"The Light it self must be tinged with it:

Et lumine vestit Purpureo. Æn. 6.
Lumenque juventæ Purpureum. Æn. 1.

But all this is outdone by a Neoteric, *Brachra* [sic] *Purpureâ candidiora nive*; daring to a Contradiction."

He seems to regard the last instance as a paradox and a mannerism. However, in note IV. 301 he reflects on the application of the adjective to human hair and concludes that its meaning must have been different in ancient literature. It is true that he does not seem to be quite at ease about the correctness of his inferences but his final conclusion shows some freedom from pedantry and, on the whole, is corroborated by poetic practice: "It is very observable, that such Epithets as this are not to be taken in too strict a sense; for Gold being the most excellent among Metals, Purple among Colours, the Rose, and anciently the Hyacinth, among Flowers; hence *Venus Aurea*, Æn. 10. *Rosea Cervix* & *lumenque juventæ Purpureum*, Æn. 1. and this *Hyacinthin* Hair." A further note (IV. 764, on Love's "purple wings") defines the word a little differently, giving what Hume thinks to be its exact meaning here as well as in ancient poetry: "*Purple* here signifies, as among other Poets, no more than shining, gawdy, glittering; as *Virgil*:

— *Lumenque juventæ Purpureum. And.*
In mare Purpureum violentior influit amnis. Geo. 4.

Horace gives the Swans (whose Whiteness is pass'd into a Proverb) the same epithete:

Purpureis Ales coloribus. Carm. lib. 4. Od. 1."

Hume's way of reconsidering his statements, of arriving at valuable general conclusions and of still weighing the problem over again until he has found the exact meaning of the word, shows his method in the making and proves the sensitiveness of

his linguistic instinct. It is regrettable that he did not concentrate on interesting cases like this, instead of wasting his shrewdness on barren etymological investigation.

Some isolated observations deal with imitations of classical peculiarities of style. Hume points out what probably is a real "Homericism" as he calls it, in note V. 371: "*The Angelick Virtue: The Angelick Power; The Angel; An Homericism: who used Πριάμου βίην, the Strength of Priam, for Priam himself, ΙΑ. Γ. & Ἑκτορος μένος, for Hector, ΙΑ. Ε.*

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὸ γ' ἄκουσ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο.

After the sacred Strength of Alcinous heard that."

One of the few examples of Hume's adverse criticism of Milton deals with the latter's habit of repeating whole lines. In III. 405 & c. he finds fault with the repetition of the words "but much more to pitie encline[d]". But his taste is at fault, for Milton here is not lacking in invention, but evidently wishes to emphasize the words as sounding the keynote of the passage. Hume's view reminds one here of Bentley's blind hatred of repetition: "A Repetition affected after the Homeric manner, who often uses the same Verses and Words, in which Commands were given, or Messages sent, as supposing it not possible to change them for better."

In note I. 50 he studies the question of putting a certain for an uncertain number but gives only some of the possible historical causes in particular instances without trying to draw any general inference ⁶⁷).

Hume's simple way of seeing things helps him to reach the plain truth in certain places where more sophisticated annotators stumble. Richardson's commentary contains a whole theory about the apparently paradoxical expression "darkness visible" in I. 63; Bentley regards it as nonsense. Hume solves the problem in a straightforward way: "*Darkness visible*, seems nearer a Contradiction, than that *Egyptian* Darkness sent on *Pharaoh*, which was such as to be felt, Exod. 10. 21. But a Mist is often the cause of Darkness that may be palpable, though that in the text was preternatural: But our Poets meaning by this *Darkness visible*, is only, that from Hell's flaming Dungeon here issued no Light,

⁶⁷) Cf. also I. 609 n.

but such a Darkness, as through it might be discovered those dismal Scenes and Seats of Everlasting Wo."

There is hardly much else of any considerable value to be found among Hume's notes on questions of style. A note on III. 364 where a number of classical parallels are quoted to justify Milton's treatment of nature as animate does not succeed in showing more than that nature smiles in ancient poetry as it does in Milton. Hume does not exercise his analytic gift in the field of style very industriously except in the directions already indicated.

E. MILTON'S CHARACTERS.

Hume's remarks on the characters of "Paradise Lost" are very few and casual, but they show his general attitude. His starting-point is mainly moral, although now and then there is a shade of artistic appreciation in his descriptions.

Satan is the character that impresses Hume more than any other, in spite of his usual preference for the decorous and lawful. Much of what he says is conventional, and his general condemnation of Satan as the spirit of Evil is that of the ordinary religious person of his time. Thus Satan's powerful speech at the beginning of the poem ⁶⁸) is dismissed very curtly as "A vain boast of the Father of Lyes, whom the Lord of Host had in derision." Hume is far from admiring Satan's pride, cf. note I. 111: "Another of *Satan's* blasphemous Boastings, and suiting well his cursed Character, which our Poet holds up to the height of *Luciferian* Pride" (he is alluding here to Satan's refusal "To bow and sue for grace", & c.). Even the lines "The mind is its own place" & c. ⁶⁹) only impress him as "Another vain-glorious Boast of the Father of Lyes". II. 34 *n.* represents Satan as the sly spirit of Hell who by magnifying the danger of his position tries to conceal his selfish and ambitious motives. This is probably more than Milton intended to say. Milton does not lose sight of the grandeur of Satan's character, even where, as at the beginning of this book, he is slightly ironical in describing him as "insatiate to pursue Vain Warr with Heav'n" and as displaying

⁶⁸) Cf. I. 97 *n.*

⁶⁹) I. 254 & seq.

"His proud imagination", "by success untaught." Hume certainly adds a somewhat crude popular touch to this irony and exaggerates it in I. 667 *n.*, while commenting on the defiant rage of the fallen angels: "And bold with Armed Hand, [they] bray'd on their Sounding Shields War's dreadful Din, daring outrageous Heaven's Almighty Arm: A Graphick Description of the Foolish Defiance given by these Damned Spirits, in their impotent Rage against the Almighty, sitting in Heaven, and having them in Derision."

The preconceived theological ideas shown in such passages as the last sometimes give way to a sympathetic understanding of Satan's sufferings. Hume even becomes, occasionally, quite eloquent in his compassion ⁷⁰): "O foul dismal Descent and Downfal! A fierce Reflexion, and as furious and tormenting as hottest Hell it self! A Degradation to *ambitious Lucifer*, doubtless most grievous!" There are moments when he is able to feel the whole greatness of the rebellion against Heaven. His attitude is contrary to accepted opinion when he defends the application of the expression "godlike" to the hellish spirits ⁷¹): "If *Homer* gave his *Hero* the title of *θεοεικελος*, and *Virg. Æneas* be, *Os humerosque Deo similis*, these Mighty Spirits that durst Rebel against th' Almighty, may be well allowed the same Epithet." He protests very resolutely against the picture of Satan prefixed by his publishers to the edition of 1695 ⁷²), and incidentally he defines his own conception of Satan. But for the religious tinge in it, this conception would probably satisfy the more radical Miltonians of to-day who regard Satan as the main feature of the poem: "From Verse 591, to 594. and from thence to this, the Designer of *Lucifer's Picture*, prefix'd to this first Book, should have taken the Noble Lineaments of his Obscured and yet Glorious, Haughty Looks: He should have express'd his Furrow'd Face and Faded Cheek under those Lofty Brows of stedfast Courage and of wary Pride, vowing and waiting for Revenge: If he had hit these Lucky Stroaks, he might have spared his Horns and Asses Ears, so unsuitable to the Description of the Arch-Angel, that *Milton* has afforded him no hint of 'em, as not

⁷⁰) IX. 165 *n.*

⁷¹) I. 358 *n.*

⁷²) I. 603 *n.*

having, amongst his Idol-Deities, enrolled *Corniger Ammon*." His enthusiasm here apparently inspired the commentator Richardson to a high-flown, but obviously sincere continuation of this characterisation, which, however, does not go much further than Hume in any essential points, in spite of Richardson's general tendency to exaggeration ⁷³).

There is little of interest in Hume's observations on the other characters. I have already quoted his note on the modest, decorous behaviour of Adam and Eve in my account of Hume's views on τὸ πρότερον. The note is typical. God, the Messiah, the angels, even Sin and Death fail to stimulate him to interesting remarks. Here and there, but very rarely he succeeds in illuminating some stray features of the parents of mankind, generally in a sober, neat manner, without venturing far beyond everyday commonsense. His explanation of Adam's extreme pessimism after the Fall seems plausible ⁷⁴): "That *Adam*... might reflect on himself as most sinful... is not hard to be conceived: But that he surpass'd all past Examples, which could be only the *fallen Angels*, must be understood as an aggravation of his Guilt, and the excessive Sense of, and Sorrow for it, by which he was overwhelmed." There is some insight into human character in his comparison of Eve looking at her reflection in the water with Ovid's Narcissus ⁷⁵): "*Milton* has improved the Fable of *Ovid*, by representing *Eve* like a *She Narcissus* admiring her self; and has made it much more probable, that a Person who had never seen any thing like her self, should be in love with her own faint reflected Resemblance, than that a Man acquainted with the World and himself, should be undone by so dull a Dotage." He may be doing some injustice to Ovid whose narrative seems to aim rather at decorative effect than at psychological truth but his interpretation of Milton's point of view is attractive.

Hume's religious feelings help him often to the truth. Whatever Milton's abstract convictions were, his instinctive religious attitude was certainly not destitute of the decorum and the reverent piety of his contemporaries. Hume understands

⁷³) Cf. chap. 5 sec. F.

⁷⁴) X. 840 n.

⁷⁵) IV. 461 n.

Milton in this respect; he must have breathed much of the same mental atmosphere, and wrote not so very long after the publication of Milton's epic. He tells the story of the tower of Babel, and of its being intended as a means of revenge for the flood, and adds: "For which, there being no Foundation in the Historical Relation of *Moses*, Gen. 11 our Author thought it fitter to come out of *Adam's*, than the *enlighten'd Angel's* mouth" ⁷⁶). He does not fail to notice the inconsistency in Milton's assumption that Abdiel in VI. 20 could think God ignorant of his experience among the fallen Angels: "*Had thought to have reported*; This is said *Ἀνθρῳπίνως*, after the manner of Men, for it is unconceivable that an Angel (a Spirit of more pure and enlighten'd Perfection than Mankind is) should be a stranger to the *Omniscience of GOD Almighty*." This is another one of the few instances where Hume seems to express any criticism of Milton.

F. HUME ON MILTON'S TEXT.

Hume makes only a very few remarks on Milton's text. It is clear that he could have no hand in the text of the Folio of 1695, for on one occasion he points out, with no suggestion of personal responsibility, a mistake that is not corrected there. The 1695 text spells "under bane", not "under banne" as in the first edition (bk. IX. l. 923). Hume notices the correct reading, which he explains as meaning "Unter Command and Injunction, or under a Curse, not to touch it," adding "in the Fol. Edition, it is misprinted, *Bane*." His quotation gives the correct form of the word. There are some further differences from the readings of 1695 in his notes, *e. g.* VIII. 529—30: "Transported I behold transported Touch" where the comma after "behold" is omitted although both the 1695 text and the first edition have it. This is not merely a misprint, for Hume tries to explain the reading, proposing several ingenious and rather curious interpretations: "Pleas'd to excess, I find my Feeling pleasant to excess: Raised above my self, I perceive my Feeling raised as far above it self: Or carried beyond myself I perceive my sense of Touching carried too beyond what's usual."

⁷⁶) XII. 74 n.

In VII. 451 Hume anticipates one of the better observations of Bentley which has been accepted by later editors, but without mention of its first author. He shows the illogical character of "fowl living", pointing out that the "fowl" had already been referred to, and also that the reading is inconsistent with Scripture. In note X. 989 he discovers a wrong division of lines. This note is especially interesting as proving Hume's ability to appreciate the suggestive effect of metrical irregularities: "*Childless thou art, Childless remain*; A mistake of the Printer has made our Author seem ambitious to have imitated *Virgil* in some of *incomplete Verses*; or that he had a mind to shew *Eve's* vehement desire to stop and prevent the miserable Being of Mankind, by breaking of his Verse abruptly; but the next Verse being too long by what this falls short, plainly shews, that [*So Death*] is to be added to this. *Childless thou art, Childless remain: So Death.*"

Hume makes an attempt to emend bk. III. l. 48, but not at all successfully. His arguments are Bentleian; he does not understand Milton's emotional, slightly hyperbolical manner of speaking and requires pedantic accuracy. His note on this matter might serve as an argument against those who accuse Bentley of dishonesty, for it shows how similar results were attained in a case where there was no bold hypothesis like that of Bentley to influence the judgement of the critic:

"Presented with a Universal Blanc; I cannot persuade myself but it should have been a *Universal Blot*, and that it is a mistake of the Printer. *Blanc*, is Fr. for White, and the Phrase, *Donner la carte Blanche à*, to send one a Blanc, is to submit absolutely to what Conditions the Conquerour shall set down: Now Blindness (as well described by Clouds and continual Darkness) does so fully import an entire Ignorance and Privation of Colour, that a Person born blind has doubtless no notion of any such thing; but for a Man that had for many years enjoyed his Eyes, to say, his Blindness had cut him off from the chearful ways of Men, and, instead of Nature's fair Book of Knowledge, had presented him with a Universal Blanc, like a piece of white Paper, unspotted and unstained with any Impression, his Memory retaining still the Idea's of all Things formerly seen, thô now as to his Eye-sight blotted out, seems absurd. The next Verse, *Of Natures Works to me expung'd and ras'd*, confirms, that it

ought to be an *Universal Blot*; for *Expung'd*, is of *Expungere*, Lat. to blot out a written Word, by covering it with little Pricks or Blots, and *Ras'd* is of *Radere*, Lat. to shave; the Romans, (who writ on Waxed Tablets with Iron Styles) when they struck out a Word, did *Tabulam radere*, rase it out."

Even Bentley's application of logic and philology was hardly more regardless of the style of poetry.

3. BENTLEY'S EDITION OF "PARADISE LOST."

MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. A NEW EDITION, BY RICHARD BENTLEY, D. D. LONDON: Printed for JACOB TONSON; and for JOHN POULSON; and for J. DARBY, A. BETTESWORTH, and F. CLAY, in Trust for RICHARD, JAMES, and BETHEL WELLINGTON. MDCCXXXII.

4^o: pp. [20] + 399 + [16]. Contents: p. [1] half-title; p. [3] title; pp. [5—11] preface; p. [12] "The Verse"; pp. [13—20] the argument; pp. 1—399 text and notes; pp. [1—16] index. With two portraits.

The first commentary on Milton after Hume's huge, undisciplined, encyclopædic work is thoroughly different in aim and execution. It is Bentley's famous commentary, as strictly textual in design as Hume's was explanatory, and as rigidly governed by one main principle as Hume's was diffuse and miscellaneous. Its preliminary history has been told many times, *e. g.* briefly and competently in Professor J. W. Mackail's recent Warton lecture on the subject ⁷⁷), so that it is unnecessary to go into details here. The evidence we possess seems to show that the work was not the result of long and patient preparation or premeditation. Fenton's suggestion in his edition of 1725 about the possibility of Milton's amanuenses or the printer having committed some textual blunders which remained uncorrected, may have caused Bentley to direct his attention to Milton's text. This, as well as the alleged advice of Queen Caroline to him to undertake the work, possibly alluded to by Bentley in his last note, "Non injussa cecini", seems to indicate that the decision to edit Milton came late

⁷⁷) THE BRITISH ACADEMY WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY XV. Bentley's Milton By J. W. Mackail Fellow of the Academy [*From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XI*] London Published for the British Academy By Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E. C. Price One Shilling and Sixpence net [8^o: pp. 21].

in life and perhaps not quite of Bentley's own accord. Professor Mackail's study of Bentley's MS. notes in especial seems to prove that the task was really carried out in a hurry and that much of the work in its final form may have been dictated ⁷⁸). This corroborates the statement made by Bentley in the preface that the notes were written extempore and sent to the press at once. Professor Mackail, though aware of all this, is somewhat oddly surprised by the contradictory statements and inaccuracies which he finds in the book ⁷⁹).

Bentley's quarrel with Trinity college, and his desire to win the favour of the public and the authorities before the opening of the next session of Parliament seem to have been the main causes of his haste. He hoped to reverse the judgement against himself of the previous year. The scarcity of notes on the two last books of the epic might be taken as additional evidence of hurry, although his own statement that this was due to the faultlessness of the text has some arguments in its favour. In these last books the romantic, erratic features of Milton's poetry almost completely disappear, and the narrative becomes mainly a summary of accepted scriptural and historical tradition.

Bentley's preface expounds the theory on which the edition is based. Milton's amanuenses, a phantom editor and the printer have all contributed mistakes, and the editor has had the audacity to alter and make additions, wherever the text did not please him. Milton in his persecuted condition, "poor, friendless, and what is worst of all, blind with a GUTTA SERENA", was unable to control him. The faults which result are monstrous, and such "as are beyond Example in any other printed Book." This is said regarding the supposed misprints only. The worst faults of all are the spurious insertions contributed by the poet's deceitful friend. "This Trick has been too frequently plaid; but especially in Works publish'd after an Author's Death. And poor *Milton* in that Condition, with Three-score Years Weight upon his Shoulders, might be reckoned more than half Dead."

Milton's pitiful state has caused other troubles as well, through the manifold inconsistencies it brought about in the work;

⁷⁸) Mackail, p. 7.

⁷⁹) Mackail, p. 16.

and Bentley makes a number of suggestions for amendment. The most notorious of these is his alteration of the last two lines of the poem.

Some of the absurdities involved in this theory are so crude and striking that many critics have denied Bentley's *bona fides*. He maintains that "the Proof-sheets of the First Edition were never read to *Milton*: who, unless he was as deaf as blind, could not possibly let pass such gross and palpable Faults. Nay, the Edition, when publish'd was never read to him in seven Years time. The First came out in 1667, and a Second in 1674; in which all the Faults of the Former are continued, with the Addition of some New ones." "But now if the Editor durst insert his Forgeries, even in the second Edition, when the Poem and its Author had slowly grown to a vast Reputation; what durst he not do in the First, under the Poet's Poverty, Infamy, and an universal Odium from the Royal and triumphant Party? Add to this a farther Confirmation: That when *Milton* afterwards publish'd his *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes*; that Edition is without Faults; because He was then in high Credit, and had chang'd his old Printer and Supervisor."

The preface to Pearce's reply, which appeared in the same year ⁸⁰⁾, points out that Milton had many friends who were likely to have studied the work before its publication, and how improbable it was that nobody should have read it to the poet afterwards. Another even grosser blunder in Bentley's statement is pointed out by Pearce, namely, that "*Paradise Regained*" appeared before the second edition of "*Paradise Lost*", and that there was no reason why Milton should not have committed the correction of the latter poem to the preferable editor.

These mistakes can only be attributed either to great carelessness or to an intention to mislead the reader into accepting his theory. The fact that the preface seems to have been written very hastily, like the rest of the work, perhaps even more hastily, since the session of Parliament was drawing nearer and nearer, renders it not improbable that the former was the case. The last words of the preface, describing how the notes had been "put

⁸⁰⁾ Cf. chap. 4 sec. B.

to the Press as soon as made", appear to indicate that these were also the last words Bentley wrote before the appearance of the edition.

Bentley emphasizes the argument that the four alterations in the second edition, which according to him are the "sole Changes made" there (I. 505, V. 638, XI. 485, 551), are all for the worse. An inspection of Bentley's notes on these passages would seem to show that such a view was not impossible from his adopted stand-point. Prof. Mackail observes, however, that there are thirty-three such changes, and that Bentley only "seems to have got it into his head" that there were none beside these. Beeching's edition, which registers approximately this number of changes, leaving out of account such minor points as *e. g.* the alterations of *their* > *thir* in the first books, shows that most of these deviations from the original text affect one or two letters only. *None*, except the changes caused by the division into twelve books instead of ten (set apart as a special category by Bentley himself in note XI. 485), are at all comparable to the four alterations enumerated by Bentley, by which whole lines are changed and added. It is not surprising that Bentley did not take into account the slighter details as hardly worth special mention in the preface. What he calls the "sole Changes", is those that are really conspicuous. He may, for example, have regarded most of the rest as mere blunders of the printer. Prof. Mackail seems to ascribe too much importance to their omission. Bentley had lower standards of accuracy than present-day scholarship, but his attitude in this detail at any rate was more correct and probably also more sincere than Professor Mackail's statement might induce one to think. The "tampering with the evidence" Mackail mentions ⁸¹⁾ does not apply here. "All the Conjectures", says Bentley, "that attempt a Restoration of the Genuine *Milton*" are "cast into the Margin, and explan'd in the Notes. So that every Reader has his free Choice, whether he will accept or reject what is here offer'd him; and this without the least Disgust or Discontent in the Offerer" (Preface, sg. a₁v). Here, at the very outset, the commentator's attitude is frankly declared. Bentley's hot-headed, impatient temper, his seventy years, and the critical

⁸¹⁾ p. 16.

habits acquired in a very different field of scholarship, sufficiently explain, perhaps, both his method and his theories.

Bentley's method is clearly stated in another passage of the preface. The emender of Horace, Terence, Plautus, the leader in the new movement of conjectural criticism, only follows the track pursued by him all his life-time when he asserts that "the Printer's Faults are corrigible by retrieving the Poet's own Words, not from a Manuscript (for none exists), but by Sagacity, and happy Conjecture", and that "the Editor's Interpolations are detected by their own Silliness and Unfitness; and easily cured by printing them in the *Italic* Letter, and inclosing them between two Hooks." The successful experience of a long life, his "real genius and perhaps unequalled power of divination in the field of conjectural criticism"⁸²⁾ had been tested in classical scholarship only, and Bentley failed in a department of inquiry new to him, evidently without suspecting that failure was possible in a literature apparently less difficult and more accessible than the classics.

A full elaboration and estimation of Bentley's hypotheses would require a considerable chapter to itself. Some notes on them may be found in the sections in this chapter on his cancellations and on his use of literary parallels. The one important result of his experiment was that it led him to scrutinize the whole of Milton's poem from one definite point of view, and that his violent, clear-cut, classicist standards were applied with great rigidity to nearly every detail of the poet's work. His opponents, therefore, found a solid basis to work upon, and, by merely trying to refute his statements and to prove the genuineness of the passages attacked by him, were compelled to meet reason with reason and sometimes to delve into the very heart of the literary problems of that period. Bentley's sagacity furnished him with so many reasons in support of his views that a neat rebuttal required serious work and careful comparison. All this became fruitful in the hands of less prejudiced, if less brilliant students. The germ of his method was transferred into the field of English literary research, and bore fruit there.

⁸²⁾ J. Mähly, Richard Bentley, 1868. p. 1: "seine vielleicht einzig dastehende, wahrhaft geniale Divinationsgabe auf dem Gebiete der Conjecturalkritik."

A. BENTLEY'S LITERARY VIEWS AS EXHIBITED IN HIS TREATMENT OF MILTON'S STYLE.

Bentley's ideal of style coincides with that of the literary majority of his age. It is formulated incidentally in his note on P. L. VI. 219 where, while emending a passage which seemed tautological to him, he expresses a desire "To reconcile High Language with Philosophy and true Sense."

"True sense", as Bentley understands it, is a narrow concept, excluding almost any deviation from the simplest way of expression. It implies, amongst other things, an acute paralysis of the capacity for understanding metaphorical language and hidden associations, especially of an emotional character. It is in this direction that Bentley commits his grossest and most palpable mistakes. He lacks the imagination needed for reconstructing the experiences of a poet who creates his own imagery.

Even such a simple and common kind of metaphor as the representation of inanimate objects as animate is sufficient to raise Bentley's protest. Hume registered it among the few primitive types of metaphorical language included in his classification. It is no unusually bold specimen of this figure when Abdiel menaces Satan in P. L. VI. 188 with the words: "This greeting on thy impious Crest receive." Bentley's commonsense, however, is offended: "to call the *Crest*, an inanimate Metal, *Impious*, is something irregular." He alters it to the less daring expression "thy impious Head", although even here he does not wholly get rid of the metaphor. Examples of this kind abound in his notes. Book VI of *Paradise Lost*, where the greatness of the subject seems to inspire Milton's style to even higher flights than usual, troubles Bentley at almost every step. "Fierce ensigns" in VI. 356 offends him, because he knows that ensigns are "the tamest thing in the whole Battel." The war of the engines tearing the entrails of the air is considered an impossible image. Milton describes how

"... 'Twixt Host and Host but narrow space was left,
A dreadful interval..." (P. L. VI. 105.)

Bentley notes: "How could the *Interval*, the empty Space betwixt Host and Host be call'd *dreadful*? Surely the Hosts themselves, and the blazing Edge of Battle must be much *more dreadful*." This is an example of incompetence to handle im-

ponderabilia almost as striking as Bishop Newton's surprise that Milton should be so fond of that *little* bird, the nightingale ⁸³). 1

One of the reasons of his dislike for language of this stamp is stated in note VI. 528: "*Dawning Morn, Dawning Light* are standing Words in Poetry; but *Dawning Hills* are great Rarities." The expression is accordingly changed into something less opposed to Bentley's standards.

In all these cases Bentley struggles to get rid of the complex, intricate manner of thought and imagery in Milton. Yet his fondness for ratiocination and explanation sometimes induces him to put a less obvious expression instead of a simple and evident one. This is why "Still as Night Or Summer's Noon-tide air" in II. 309 becomes "Summer's noon-tide Hour", for "it was not the *Air*, that made the Silence and Stilness, but the *Hour*; when in hot Countries, the Sun shining fierce, both Men and Animals retire to Shade and Rest." The reason is preferred to the image.

Bentley's tendency to simplification and regularity destroys many of Milton's subtler distinctions of syntax. Bentley pleads for uniformity where Milton's expression varies according to the subdued vibrations and unexpected turns of feeling and thought which he is trying to render. These subtler shades disappear in Bentley's readings, even if the main logical outlines remain untouched.

Milton's treatment of the *verb* passes Bentley's understanding. He adduces two reasons for changing the subjunctive mode of III. 150 ["For should Man finally be lost? should Man"] into the indicative "shall". One of them is that the latter is found in l. 156 "Or shall the Adversary", the other, that the scriptural passage which seems to be imitated here has the indicative (Genes. XVIII. 25). The former argument is his starting-point and seems to be his main motive for the alteration. But in aiming at consistency he overlooks contextual differences. For the subjunctive occurs at the beginning of the Messiah's speech to the Father where he asks him half-hesitatingly about the destiny of Man:

"For should Man finally be lost, should Man
...Fall circumvented thus by fraud...?"

⁸³) Newton's edition of P. L., VII. 435 n.

He denies the possibility, beseeching the Father to refrain from the destruction of mankind, and his next question is more urgent and definite:

"Or shall the Adversarie thus obtain
His end, and frustrate thine, shall he fulfill
His malice..."

This gradation from hesitation to certainty disappears in Bentley's emendation.

Something very similar occurs on a much larger scale in books XI and XII, where the vision of the future history of mankind is unfolded. The tenses used are intermittently the present and the past, partly because Milton imitated the classical usage of varying the past tense with the *præsens historicum*, but sometimes because he wished to indicate the shifting angle of the narrative. Bentley applies the same standard in both cases, and rigidly regularizes the verbal forms. The former conception seems to occur in XI. 644:

"Part wield thir Arms, part coub the foaming Steed,
Single or in Array of Battel rang'd
Both Horse and Foot, nor idely mustring stood."

"The context shews, that he gave it STAND: as *Wield, Curb*", is the conclusion at which Bentley arrives. Here he may have been right. The case, however, appears to be different in various other places, for example in XI. 688, where "such *were* these Giants" is altered into "such *are*...", because, as Bentley says, Michael is "speaking present in Vision, and not the Poet afterwards", and because the present tense was used a little while before in l. 683. But at the beginning of his speech Michael is referring to a vision which has hardly vanished and still seems to be present to him. A few intervening lines of a more generalizing kind cause the freshness of the impression to ebb away, and his general inference from the scene is expressed in a more aloof manner in the past tense. Immediately afterwards, the angel, while still speaking of the same event, already uses the future form of the verb, no longer alluding to the imaginary vision but thinking of the things that are actually to come. The same is almost exactly true of the substitution of the present tense for the past in XII. 81. Here the vision dealt with was

described some 15 lines earlier, and Adam has discussed it as if it were a matter immediately before him, whereupon Michael draws the final conclusion in the past tense. He passes on from the contemplation of the scene to more abstract considerations.

Pearce, who has a better sense of these shades of meaning, points out Bentley's failure to see the relative character of these grammatical forms in his remark on XII. 117, a passage where Bentley rejects the past tense because the narrative is dealing with the future. As Pearce rightly observes, the events told there belong to the past with regard to the general trend of the archangel's story.

Bentley fails to understand a side of Milton's syntax which should have been intelligible to him because of its connection with the poet's classical education. It is the involved structure of Milton's sentence, especially the elliptic expressions and parentheses⁸⁴), the "ablativus absolutus" as Bentley and others still called it, etc. Part of this failure might be ascribed to Bentley's hurry. Pearce points out several places where Bentley misunderstands classical constructions. Thus "Nor sometimes forget" in III. 32 is identified by Bentley with "I always remember". Pearce observes "that *nec* and *neque* in *Latin* are the same as & *non*" (*i. e.* the construction would mean "I sometimes remember"). Much of the eccentricity of Bentley's commentary was due to his predilection for a matter-of-fact, terse and brief style, which seems to dim his understanding. His notes show his own way of writing. His opinions are indicated by his alteration of VI. 905 "Which *would be* all his *solace and revenge*. Rather thus:

THIS *would be* HIS GREAT *Solace and Revenge*.

This refers to the following Clause, as it should do: *Which* looks back to the preceding."

He splits the flow here. It appears as if Bentley had not been able to detach his understanding of classical peculiarities of language from the classics themselves. To him English was a spoken language, and his feeling for its literary qualities lagged behind. He could not grasp the spirit of Latinity as shown in Milton.

⁸⁴) Cf. esp. III. 344 & seq. — a much-discussed example. Viz. also VIII. 500—7 where both text and punctuation are changed, XI. 807, & c.

His strong liking for a rigid, clear-cut order dictates one of his commonest idiosyncrasies, his steady battle with repetitions and tautologies. He goes, in this respect, to the very extreme, and is incapable of seeing the enhancing effect of most of Milton's repetitions of important words and phrases. Sometimes he may be right in his disapprobation of Milton's text, though not in his alteration of it. In VI. 580, to which he objects, the threefold repetition of "stood" in the same sentence "is", as Prof. Mackail confesses, "almost intolerable" ⁸⁵). But this is an exception. The great majority of Bentley's objections to this figure are caused by his failure to see their significance. He does not understand the difference between "land" and "region" in V. 261. Pearce sees it more clearly: "I believe that M. meant by *Regions* larger Tracts than he meant by *Lands*, or whatever do not look like *Lands*." It seems to be a gradation, a rise from the narrower concept to the more comprehensive one.

The number of places where Bentley persecutes repetition is very great. P. L. II. 36, 67, 107, 264, 442 are a few chance instances. A normal example is that in II. 36 where "Firm Faith, and firm accord" is altered into "Firm faith and *fast* accord", although Milton most probably wished to emphasize the adjective. The emphatic character of the repetition is probably even more obvious in II. 107:

"his fatal Throne:

Which if not Victory is yet Revenge.

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd

Desperate revenge, and Battel dangerous

To less then Gods. On th' other side up rose

Belial, in act more graceful and humane..."

Milton is repeating and developing his idea here: "Not victory but revenge... revenge and dangerous battle", opposing it to the figure of Belial, "in act more *graceful* and *humane*". Bentley takes no notice of the intensifying effect of the repetition, by which the contrast also is deepened; he simply suppresses it: "...since he had *Revenge* the very Sentence before, he could not, without forgetting himself, use it so soon again. I suspect he gave it,

Desperate RAGE and battel."

⁸⁵) Cf. p. 18.

Even the handling of such an effective word as "dark" is misunderstood by him ⁸⁶): "*Darkness* and *dark* comes Three times within Four Lines. Better therefore here,

Thick Clouds and BLACK."

This hostile attitude to anything that might be regarded as superfluous is repeated in his observations on the general structure of Milton's epic. He disapproves of the reappearance of the description of Leviathan in book VII ⁸⁷), after it had been given in book I, forgetting the variations in the two passages and their impressive effect in both cases. In a similar manner, he thinks it "wrong Conduct" to foreshadow subsequent parts of the narrative because it decreases the feeling of surprise in the reader. The mention of the bridge through the abyss in II. 1023 is "want of Oeconomy", for "In Book the Xth, from Verse 285 for a Hundred [*i. e.* verses] and more, he [*i. e.* the poet] describes Poetically and pompously this same *Bridge* and *Intercourse*". The rise of expectation, the suggestive effect achieved by such hints escapes his notice.

Bentley's principles, generally speaking, admit of only one deviation from his ordinary doctrine that "The simplest and nearest Word is the best" ⁸⁸). One artistic consideration occurs again and again — the ideal of "high language" mentioned at the beginning of this section. It is often an ideal of formalism and stilted expression, but not infrequently inclines to the better ideal of grandeur and intenseness combined with clarity. "Simplicity and grandeur" is Bentley's own formulation of it ⁸⁹). It is strongly opposed to the spirit of Italianate love-poetry and in so far coincides with the main tendencies of the style of "Paradise Lost". The traces of idyllic and effeminate romance which Bentley still finds in the work are condemned by him. He shows his views very violently while ascribing one of the supposed manifestations of this propensity to the editor ⁹⁰): "your Woman *Flour* is but fit for a Madrigal; and the rest has a meanness of

⁸⁶) II. 264 *n.*

⁸⁷) I. 204 *n.*

⁸⁸) V. 741 *n.*

⁸⁹) X. 1092 *n.*

⁹⁰) IV. 268 *n.*

Stile contemptible." Elsewhere, in censuring a descriptive passage of a similar kind, he at least admits the possibility that Milton sometimes indulged in this less heroic variety of style: "Our Author, through his whole Poem, had certainly that in his View, to make the Female Sex favour it. But here he seems to incline needlessly too much to *Eve's* outside, even with straining of his Verse" ⁹¹).

He prefers the opposite tendency, sometimes crudely enough. The reading "SWALLOW'd in th' abortive Gulph" ⁹²) is substituted by him for the original text "plung'd in that abortive Gulph" because it is "More strong and formidable". This "heroic" inclination is even more manifest in some other places, *e. g.* in XI. 299 where the verb "to wound" in "Which might else in telling wound" is altered into "in telling stound".

Often he aims at mere academic oratory, as in XI. 278 *et seq.* where Adam's more resigned, less declaiming tone, indicated by the words "which I bred up with tender hand" and continued in the question:

"Who now shall reare ye to the Sun, or rank
Your Tribes, and water from th' ambrosial Fount?"

assumes a style with "more Pathos in it" through the repetition of the interrogative adverb:

"Who now shall rear you to the Sun? who rank."

Yet occasionally his emendations in this direction have some artistic value, though they may not improve on Milton's reading. In II. 33, where he changes the punctuation, he really seems to achieve some abrupt "'Passion and Force" in the rhythm, although the continuous power of Milton's flow is broken. Milton's text reads:

"for none sure will claim in hell
Precedence, none whose portion is so small
Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
Will covet more."

⁹¹) IV. 634 *n.*

⁹²) II. 441.

Bentley emends:

"For none sure will claim in Hell
Precedence; None. Whose Portion is so small
Of present Pain that with ambitious Mind
He'll covet more?"

This is the "broken style", as he calls it in VI. 241, 243 *nn.*, which is emphasized in his attribution of asyndeta to a passionate manner of expression ⁹³).

In this sphere of intense, white-hot energy, indeed, Bentley almost forgets, sometimes, his narrowest prejudices, and even feels induced to acknowledge the right of imagination to transgress the rules. In his remark on one of these outbursts ⁹⁴) acknowledgement is made of the "Magniloquence of Stile, and Sublimity of Thought" exercised here "to admiration"; but though Bentley admits that "Poetic Fury is commonly both thought and allow'd to be regardless of Syntax", he is unable even here to refrain from the complaint that Milton is "deserting Propriety, while he's hunting after Sound and Tumor." It seems clear, however, that the austere, strong passion in Milton is the quality which most completely agrees with the tendency of Bentley's own energetic character. A curious emendation shows this very distinctly ⁹⁵). It is the passage where Bentley substitutes "Eternal Woe" for "Infernal world" out of his intense admiration for the strength which Milton had been able to put into Satan's character. He wishes to have it fully expressed in the style here: "But *Satan's* Character is the better kept up by his saluting and congratulating *Eternal Woe*. He knew well, that was his unchangeable Doom; and he was not scared with the mere Word. This paints him to the Life, his *obdurate Mind*, his *unconquerable Will*, His *Courage never to submit or yield*. So that to salute and welcome His own Punishment shows a Temper and Disposition truly *Satanical*." Here, as happened to Hume, the grandeur of the sternest aspect of Milton's poetry, and of its fullest embodiment, the Character of Satan, conquers the conventional narrowness of the critic. Bentley's preface had showed what he admired in the poet — it was the mind which even at times of misfortune

⁹³) I. 107 *n.*

⁹⁴) VI. 212 *n.*

⁹⁵) I. 251 *n.*

* "could spatiate at large through the Compass of the whole Universe, and through all Heaven beyond it; could survey all Periods of Time from before the Creation to the Consummation of all Things."

In addition to these inherent qualities of Bentley's mind, there were a number of other causes of his imperfect understanding and appreciation of Milton. They have been pointed out by nearly all his critics. Bentley knew little of earlier English poetry, and was therefore a very incompetent critic of Milton's metre and language. This defect he shared with his age. The preliminary work for an adequate study of the older English authors had yet to be done.

Chaucer's "Troilus and Creseide" and "The Legend of Good Women", Spenser's "Faery Queene" and his minor poems ("Mother Hubbard's Tale", "Muiopotmos", the Hymns to Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, the "Epithalamion"), Fairfax's Tasso, Sidney's "Arcadia" are mentioned by Bentley; but never Shakespeare and hardly ever any of the other Elizabethans. The names of Beaumont and Tom Coryat are used in jest only ⁹⁶).

"The Faery Queene" is named most frequently; Sidney's "Arcadia" and Fairfax are referred to several times. One important advance has indeed been made on Hume: Milton's earlier poems are cited (*e. g.* "Comus" in note I. 16, the "Nativity Ode" in note I. 252). His "History of Britain" also is taken notice of in a casual remark ⁹⁷). Yet Bentley did not gain much from this knowledge. The romance of the earlier works is never alluded to. "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes" are, naturally enough, much more frequently noticed.

Italian literature is almost entirely outside Bentley's scope. Ariosto is mentioned once in a remark which seems to be a literary commonplace ⁹⁸), and Boccaccio is referred to in connection with the name Demogorgon.

His ignorance of the older language is evident, and handicaps him heavily. His misunderstanding of *his* for an indication of personification, where it stands for 'its' ⁹⁹), is shared by such

⁹⁶) IV. 714 *n.*

⁹⁷) I. 252 *n.*

⁹⁸) I. 16 *n.*

⁹⁹) *e. g.* XI. 518.

careful critics as Pearce. But his ignorance, or carelessness, is striking when he misunderstands expressions such as "mortal" = "deadly" ¹⁰⁰). He has similar difficulties with "in behalf of" = "on account of" ¹⁰¹), "a cry" [of hell-hounds] ¹⁰²), "speakable" = "able to speak" ¹⁰³), & c. The frequent Elizabethan use of "which" = "who" is not taken notice of in IV. 30 *n*. Similarly, the early use of "of" in the sense of "from" seems to be unfamiliar to Bentley ¹⁰⁴). These and similar deficiencies, naturally enough, prevented him from understanding the actual meaning of Milton.

Though Bentley, then, was not sufficiently equipped for the task of tracing Milton's native literary lineage, there are still signs that he had now and then devoted some interested attention to the little he knew of Milton's English predecessors. He quotes Spenser less frequently than Hume does, but his observations on him are acuter than Hume's, as his reading in English poetry seems to have been wider. Hume had studied Milton's cosmology, astronomy, & c. but only in their possible relations with professional science or with the speculations of mediæval divines and classical philosophers. Bentley in at least one note ¹⁰⁵) draws a parallel between Spenser's and Milton's conception of the universe, which shows a fair knowledge of Spenser's minor poems. Most of the poems of Spenser already mentioned occur in the compass of this note, in which Bentley tries to show that Milton's expression "the vault of heaven" is here wrong. He argues that neither Milton nor Spenser ever represents the habitation of God and the angels, which is evidently meant here, as vaulted, although the expression may be used with regard to the visible heaven, the sky. It is of some interest that Bentley should already have thought of a possible connection between the astronomy of Spenser's Hymns and that of Milton: a point emphasized quite recently by modern scholars like Mr. Edwin Greenlaw, welcomed as promising by such critics as M. Denis Saurat ¹⁰⁶).

¹⁰⁰) XI. 366 *n*.

¹⁰¹) XI. 102 *n*.

¹⁰²) II. 654 *n*.

¹⁰³) IX. 563 *n*.

¹⁰⁴) VI. 24 *n*.

¹⁰⁵) I. 669 *n*.

¹⁰⁶) Cf. *Studies in Philology*, July 1920, vol. XVII. pp. 320 & seq.: Edwin Greenlaw, *Spenser's Influence on Paradise Lost*. Cf. also Denis Saurat, *Milton: Man and Thinker*, Bibliography.

In spite of his very defective knowledge of archaisms Bentley is quite aware of Milton's tendency to use old words, and even undertakes to restore some supposed archaic expressions. His alteration of "disturb" into "disturn" in I. 167 is based on Chaucer's "*Troilus and Creseide*" of which he professes to have studied several copies, as well as on the Italian form "*distornare*". He observes: "And who knows not *Milton's* Inclination to revive old Words, or even coin new ones, especially with the *Italian Stamp*?" Hume mentioned Chaucer in a much more casual way, and derived Milton's Italianisms mainly from the French (cf. the chapter on Hume).

Bentley is able to correct the statement found in Hume that "imparadized" is a word coined by Milton. He shows that, besides occurring in Italian, it is used in Sir Ph. Sidney's "*Arcadia*". Several other misstatements on supposed Miltonic coinages, made by persons whom he does not mention, are equally refuted ("to obey to", *e. g.* I. 337, he finds in Chaucer and Spenser, and "miscreated" II. 683 in Spenser). A certain respect both for Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney is indicated by his frequent quotations from them and his admitted attempt to reproduce their diction (II. 517, 580, 855, VII. 373, 406 & *c.*). Some interest in Old English studies is betrayed by a spelling such as "swerð" (XI. 433), in spite of its grotesqueness and pedantry. Further examples of these tendencies might be found, but all of them remain on the surface, and Bentley's literary physiognomy is left unchanged.

B. BENTLEY ON MILTON'S VERSE.

In the department of metre as elsewhere the problem of correctness and regularity plays a predominant part in Bentley's edition. His attitude is that of his time; his leaning towards faultless, regular workmanship overmasters his appreciation of a freer type of verse. His sympathy with intense, energetic expression slightly lessens, it is true, the pedantry into which he is apt to fall. He acknowledges that Milton "generally rather aims at strong Expression, than smooth and flowing Numbers", but in the very note in which this acknowledgment is made ¹⁰⁷⁾

¹⁰⁷⁾ III. 145 n.

he corrects a verse because it "is so rough, and walks so hobbling, that it begs to be reliev'd."

Homer and Virgil had taught him that the subject makes it sometimes advisable to make the verse rough, and he praises Milton's "great Art and Judgment" in imitating this ¹⁰⁸). Yet note VI. 866 is more characteristic of his usual way of thinking: "*Burnt after them to the bottomless Pit*]. This is very strange Measure; unless he affected to make his Verse *bottomless* too, to express the Idea. But that Whim pursued, would produce strange Monsters in Verse." His sympathies are on the side of smooth measure as opposed to "absonous" verse ¹⁰⁹) and "harsh Measure, and Accent unnatural" ¹¹⁰). He tries to regularize the metre as far as he can, and is consistent, for example, in altering the rhythm 00-- into the ordinary Iambic metre in such cases as, "Encamp their Legions, or with obscure wing" ¹¹¹). Here he adopts the inversion of the adjective: "wing obscure". The only instance of this rhythm noticed by Dr. Bridges, who has traced it systematically, and not changed by Bentley, is III. 564: "Through the pure marble Air his oblique way." This seems to be due to an oversight.

Rhymes, whether they are supposed internal rhymes, as in VIII. 244; which Bentley reads: "Tormént and loud lamént, and furious rage", or final, as in II. 220—221, are disagreeable to Bentley.

A problem which greatly occupies him, is the connection between emphasis and accent. He repeatedly censures lines of which the emphatic word stands in a place which according to his theory should remain unstressed. His observation on III. 228 shows this clearly: the second line of the passage:

"Father, thy word is past, man shall find grace;

And shall grace not find means, that finds her way"

is changed to:

"And shall not Grace find Means? that finds her way",

because Bentley finds it wrong that "Grace, the Emphatical Word lies mute without Tone." The unusual rhythmic weight acquired

¹⁰⁸) IV. 345 n.

¹⁰⁹) VI. 34 n.

¹¹⁰) II. 226 n.

¹¹¹) II. 132 n.

by the word through being placed in the stressed part of an inverted foot escapes Bentley's notice, because he scans the verse according to the accepted scheme. His way of marking the stress at the beginning of VI. 691 is a distinct proof of this: "Save whát Sin hath impair'd." Here again he complains that "*Sin* here, the most emphatical Word lies mute without Tone or Accent." Even the two successive "inverted feet" of this verse are not enough to warn Bentley that Milton hardly thought of the conventional metre while writing the line, and that "sin" in the poet's conception of the verse is more strongly emphasized than if it stood in the corresponding stressed place of a "regular" blank-verse line.

The only metrical liberty in Milton which is formally acknowledged and approved by Bentley, even to the point of his consistently using a mark to denote it, is what is usually called elision. It does not interfere with his standard of a perfectly regular iambic pentameter, for he does not suppose the elided vowels to be pronounced at all, so that the number of syllables is not increased by them. He regards Milton's practice as an exact imitation of classical versification ¹¹²): "our Author took a peculiar Liberty, from the *Greeks* and *Latins*, of throwing out the final Vowels, when the sequent Word began with another Vowel; which gave him an Easiness and Freedom in his Blank Verse, equal, if not superior, to Prose it self" ¹¹³). This conception of elision induces him to spell XI. 236: "whom not t'offend." It compels him to emend IV. 839 where he does not know how to deal with the long vowel of "thee" in "Departed from thee and thou", for "he [= the author] would not strike the Vowels of *Thee* out here, to injure the very Thought without the least necessity." His own metrical practice does not seem to agree with his theory. Verse VII. 66 as emended by him ends as follows: "As one who', his drought / Yet scarce allay'd", & c. It is questionable how he expected "who', his" to be pronounced.

How rigidly Bentley's theory rejects the idea of super-numerary syllables, is shown by a considerable number of notes, e. g. VII. 385 where "With their bright luminaries that set and rose" is found impossible because "This Verse has a Syllable too

¹¹²) The matter is also clearly stated in Bentley's preface.

¹¹³) IV. 839 n.

much; unless you'll contract *Luminaries* into Three Syllables. But *Milton* could not give it so." The same is repeated in XI. 373 and VIII. 591 where Bentley sees only the alternatives of the words "evil" and "reason" being "shrunk into one syllable", or the verse remaining irregular because it has one syllable too much.

This objection to supernumerary syllables combined with Bentley's conventional scansion of the verse and his theory of elision cause his peculiar reading of verse IV. 345: "Gambol'd before them, th' unwieldy' elephant", where he accentuates the first syllable of "unwieldy", although, as he especially remarks, "The Author knew the common Pronunciation to be in the Second; as VII. 411. *Wallowing unwieldy*." This is the line in which Milton, according to Bentley, "made the Verse it self *unwieldy*; that the Reader might feel it, as well as understand it." This seems to be true, but Milton apparently effected this by combining the vocal glide of an elision with an additional syllable in "th' unwieldy", thus doubly loading the metre in the place where the sense required it. Bentley does not seem to be capable of imagining an unelided additional syllable; he therefore assumes this unusual change of the word-accent and a new elision at the end of the word, which has to make the final vowel of "unwieldy" mute.

In this as well as in the previous cases, the precipitate application of theoretical standards not tested in practice leads Bentley to impossible conclusions, although he does not seem to have been conscious of the contradictions thus caused.

C. BENTLEY'S USE OF LITERARY PARALLELS FOR TEXTUAL PURPOSES.

Bentley's long and brilliant practice in reconstructing passages of classical poetry had supplied him with a bold and ingenious technique in the use of literary parallels for purposes of textual evidence. This kind of evidence is especially useful in Latin and Greek, where the linguistic instinct of the modern reader is otherwise often likely to fail. It was highly valuable there to be able to produce a quotation in favour of one's own reading.

This must serve to explain the primitive kind of evidence

often used by Bentley to prove his Miltonic emendations. He is fairly consistent in his substitution of Miltonic words and phrases only, but the analogy is sometimes so slight and the word so common, that the question remains how Bentley could so persistently repeat this kind of slipshod parallel. It becomes less surprising if one remembers that he had to correct the works of the ancients almost like a schoolmaster correcting inaccurate transcripts (cf. *e. g.* IX. 258 *n.* where "wish" is changed into "wish'd" and an instance of the latter form is quoted from IX. 421; in both cases Satan's wish to seduce Eve is expressed, but any closer analogy is absent).

Yet the deftness of his technique is often notable. He is so keenly interested in technical points and remote literary analogies occupy his mind so entirely that he seems to have little attention left for a quiet, balanced examination of the *contents* of Milton's poetry. He appears to forget the context and to follow the call of almost every new and curious though possibly very superficial and uncritical idea, being fully convinced that he is right in doing so.

Professor Mackail finds two valuable emendations which have been approved by most editors, and have made their way into the standard text, those of VII. 321 and 451 — "the swelling gourd" for "the smelling gourd" in VII. 321 and "soul" for "fowle" in VII. 451. It has been shown that some of the reasons for the second emendation were supplied by Hume, although he failed to do the constructive part of the work. Both corrections are based on a careful study of the probable literary models, and in both the alteration needed is so small that the original readings might be regarded as errors of the printer or amanuensis. Yet there are corrections which hardly any editor could accept, and which exhibit, nevertheless, the intenseness and inventiveness of Bentley's mind. He does not understand the expression "the ridges of grim war" in VI. 236 and proposes "the bridges" instead, deviating from his objection to metaphorical usage in favour of another deeply-rooted principle of his, that of the acceptance of classical traditions. He regards the expression as a translation of Homer's "*Πολέμοιο γεφύρας*", on the following grounds: "*Γέφυραι* are in common acceptance *Bridges*: in *Homer* they are the open Intervals between Rank and File. *To open and close such Bridges* is a Phrase intelligible." Only one

letter has been added, the military analogy has some appearance of probability, the whole idea is so strikingly new that Bentley's more inventive than critical mind was satisfied.

An even less convincing correction where the classical parallel, however, is equally close, is found in II. 671. Bentley, who values Milton's learning, finds the passage unscholarly because ten furies are mentioned instead of three, and because death is described as "terrible as Hell" although the scene actually is in hell. His apparent conviction that poetic licence is a sign of absence of scholarship has to be kept in mind here. It seems to be supported by the closeness of the classical parallel once the obnoxious part has been omitted: "But the more to evince this Line to be spurious; the Two pieces of Verses,

*Black it stood as Night,
And shook a dreadful Dart;*

are one continued Sentence, translated literally from one in *Homer*:

Ὅ δ' ἐρεμνῇ νεκτὶ εἰσιζὼς
Γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων, καὶ ἐπὶ νευρῇσιν ὀιστὸν."

Bentley's failure to see that literary imitation is not merely copying, misleads him here as in I. 621 and elsewhere.

D. BENTLEY'S CANCELLATIONS.

Bentley's most important alteration of Milton's text is the suppression of about seventy passages, ranging in length from one line to fifty-five (the description of the Paradise of Fools in book III). Nearly all of them he supposed to be the work of the editor who interfered with Milton's original. The observation in his preface, that the changes proposed should be taken only as suggestions, ought to be remembered, although the foot-notes in which they are recommended usually show no traces of this prefatory modesty.

Here, more than anywhere else the question obtrudes itself, whether Bentley acted in good faith or no. It seems possible that he partly belived in his theory, and partly experimented, and was convinced by the numerous arguments discovered on afterthought. Success had made him self-confident, and he was hardly likely

to entertain any doubts as to his competence in deciding textual problems. What he saw before him was simply another text like those of Horace or Terence or any of the other classical authors to whose works he had restored a shape, in spite of all the difficulties of corrupt tradition. Knowing much less about English literature than about the classics, and exposing himself much more to criticism because his author was so generally accessible, Bentley, nevertheless, was unable to give up the attitude of victorious superiority to which he had become accustomed. He conjectured as freely as in his edition of Horace, exercising the gift by which he had made his name.

All his prejudices become obvious in his cancellations. As Professor Mackail describes it: "His editor became 'an injudicious smatterer in Astronomy, Geography, Poetical Story, and Old Romances'. Bentley will have none of these. The desperate hook slashes right and left, and as he plies it, 'brightness falls from the air'. Out go, one after one, Milton's most splendid and most inimitable beauties" ¹¹⁴). Nothing can be detracted from these words, nor can Bentley's artistic sense be rehabilitated. He suppresses Milton's long sonorous enumerations of mythological and historical names, missing in them the commonsense he likes, and unable to feel either their atmosphere or their phonetic beauty (cf. the notes on I. 306, I. 579, II. 635, II. 659, X. 524, & c.). What is not exactly logical, is eliminated; what does not accurately correspond with accepted history and science, is rejected as unscholarly (cf. I. 574, I. 717 — an anachronism, III. 35, III. 597 — objection to bad science). Pagan mythology is found unfit to be associated with sacred themes (IV. 705); romance and exotic descriptions are suppressed (II. 635, XI. 387, & c.); rationalistic considerations outweigh poetry (I. 351—355). All this has been dealt with so often that to repeat it would not be profitable. Yet certain frequently reappearing features in Bentley's editorial conduct here seem worth noticing and emphasizing.

One of his notes, in which he advances artistic objections, has recently been highly praised. "His note", says Prof. Grierson ¹¹⁵), "on Milton's account of the dinner prepared for Raphael

¹¹⁴) Cf. p. 11.

¹¹⁵) Preface to Grierson's edition of P. L. 1925, p. XLVI.

and the latter's unhappy disquisition on angelic digestion" is "as vigorous as, and more daring than a note by Dr. Johnson on Shakespeare." This is the note on V. 395. Some of Bentley's other objections to cancelled passages are sound in their way, although they usually miss the essence of the poet. A note like the following contains some reasonable argumentation, which might almost seem convincing, if the style of the passage attacked in it could be forgotten (on X. 731): "'Tis *Milton's* particular Excellence, that he always keeps up τὸ Πρέπον, the just Character of every Person that's introduc'd speaking. *Adam* here, *tost in a troubled sea of Passions*, has a long Soliloquy with himself; the Sentiments of which, if handled with a due Decorum, would raise in his Readers an equal Concern with his own.

...*Si vis me flere, dolendum est
Primum ipsi tibi; tum tua me infortunia tangent.*

Now if we find *Adam* here, in that heavy Seriousness and Anxiety, leaving his true Topics, and catching at Trifles, Quirks, Jingles, and other such Prettinesses; we may boldly venture to say, Those Lines are the Editor's, and not the Poet's." Bentley's sympathy with pathos and intense expression, and his impatience with everything that lessens the simplicity of outline, are not in themselves preferences to be despised.

But these instances are isolated, and it is more from the technical side that Bentley draws his reasons for cancellation. One consideration must be emphasized — Bentley's insistence that nothing unscholarly could have been written by Milton. This was a dangerous criterion. The standards of scholarship, as well as of science, had changed very considerably during the 58 years since Milton died. Men of Bentley's own college, like Sir Isaac Newton, as well as Bentley himself, had acted a decisive part in these changes, yet Bentley seems to have failed to recognize the difference of the times. Bentley, moreover, was untrained in the historical consideration of an age not far enough to be regarded as ancient. His outlook seems to have become historical only when the period was sufficiently remote, like the times of classical antiquity. Hume's notes show how unhistorically an erudite scholar could handle things of the generation before his own. Bentley in this respect has improved on Hume, but traces of the same attitude may be found.

The main technical circumstance which seemed to support Bentley was the fact that the excisions required by his principles often produced a text which grammatically and metrically seemed less open to criticism. An instance of this kind may be found in VII. 463—474. Bentley suppresses the passage, finding the situation described there childish and impossible, but in addition to this lays special stress on criteria of metre and style. "I shall first join together the Lines that are genuine; and their Connexion will appear so inseparable, that the Lines intermediate must be voted spurious; though they were as elegant, as they 'll be found silly. He had spoke of the Generation of Beasts, both Wild and Tame:

*Those rare and solitary, These in flocks
Pasturing, at once and in broad herds, up sprung:
At once came forth whatever creeps the ground
Insect or Worm.*

Let any one, either gifted with Poetry, or conversant in good Poets, determine; if this Repetition, *At once, At once*, did not follow thus close under *Milton's* forming Stile, nothing intervening."

Bentley's use of the purely metrical test is of interest in this connection. The greater part of his cancellations — about 40 — involve only complete lines; the rest — about 30 — cause breaks in one or two verses; yet in nearly one half of these the fragments join without gap or excrescence. Bentley, it may be imagined, writing in great haste and applying his dogmas, must have been pleasantly surprised at the ease with which he attained to apparently acceptable results.

One reason for this manipulative success is Milton's habit of beginning and ending a brief, and sometimes a long, digression — usually constituting a syntactical unit of some kind — at the same place in the verse. An example of this may be found in I. 306—311 where the simile about Busiris and the Memphian chivalry begins and ends after the third accentuated syllable of the line. The same pause occurs two verses earlier in I. 304, and again in 301 and 299. Exactly the same rhythm is used in another cancellation in the same book, I. 717—722. A different pause, but equally favourable, is found in IV. 983—985. Something similar happens in VII. 481—484 where the coincidence is

interesting, for the pause is not in a very usual place here, occurring before the last foot. Yet the most remarkable case of all is probably XI. 387—411 where the suppression of the long enumeration of kingdoms and cities leaves not the slightest metrical trace, though not a syllable outside the condemned catalogue has been cancelled.

A detailed study of these passages would transgress the scope of this survey. The impression produced by it would probably be (and is, so far as the present writer is concerned), that chance contributed to Bentley's infatuation, and confirmed him in the conviction of his infallibility.

4. THE RECEPTION OF BENTLEY'S EDITION.

A. THE BRIEFER RETORTS.

The reception of Bentley's edition was hostile. Details about some of the derisive poems and parodies published on the event may be read in Dr. Good's "Studies in the Milton Tradition" ¹¹⁶), a book which, however, does not say very much concerning the larger and weightier retorts. The articles in the periodicals of that time, especially in the "Grub-street Journal", are emphatic in rejecting and condemning Bentley's theories and emendations. The first larger review in the "Grub-street Journal" (No. 108) ridicules Bentley's logical blunders, *e. g.* his supposition that Milton's poverty and friendless condition compelled him to ask the help of an editor; for this "would rather induce a Man to write his own Copy." The supposed sudden revival of prosperity which enabled Milton to find a better editor for "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes" is considered "strange to vulgar Apprehensions." The same writer, whose signature is J. T., shows in No. 113 that the second edition of "Paradise Lost" came later than "Paradise Regained", which implies that the improved assistance found for the latter poem, on Bentley's theory, should have been available for "Paradise Lost" also. No. 125 of the same periodical contains a letter attacking Bentley's assertion that his notes were written extempore and immediately sent to the printer. A certain Dr. Ashenurst from Bristol is reported to have seen him preparing his commentary many years before, though it is not made clear whether actual work at the notes is meant. It is hinted, in this connection, that Bentley may have invented the apparition of an editor in order to avoid an open attack upon Milton. Extracts from Pearce's "Review" are given from July onward ¹¹⁷), beside other criticisms in prose and verse.

¹¹⁶) Studies in the Milton tradition by John Walter Good... Published by the University of Illinois Urbana 1925 [8° pp. 310]. See pp. 177—179.

¹¹⁷) The Grub-street Journal No. 131, 134, 146.

Two special publications besides Pearce's larger work deserve separate examination here as having some claims to the name of commentary ¹¹⁸). One of them, an octavo pamphlet, uses Dean Swift's name, though only for part of the contents. The title-page reads as follows:

MILTON RESTOR'D AND BENTLEY DEPOS'D. CONTAINING, I. Some Observations on Dr. *Bentley's* Preface. II. His various Readings and notes on PARADISE LOST, and *Milton's* Text, set in opposite Columns, with Remarks thereon. III. PARADISE LOST, Attempted in Rime, Book I. Addressed to Dr. *Bentley*, From Dean SWIFT. *Sing, Heav'nly Muse, from Pedantry be free.* NUMB. I. LONDON: Printed for E. CURLL in the Strand. 1732. [Price 6 d.] 8^o. pp. 30. On the last page the continuation of the work is promised.

An introductory remark on the rhymed paraphrase in which, according to the foot-note on p. 27. "the judicious *Rimer* has adher'd so closely to his Author, as to extend 25 of *Milton's* Verses to no more than 30 of his own", is really "From Dean Swift", namely from his "Letter of Advice to a Young Poet" ¹¹⁹), where an attempt at "bestowing rhyme upon *Milton's* *Paradise Lost*" is mentioned.

The motto and the rhymed parody, & c. make it quite evident that the publication is mainly satirical. The pamphlet contains, as the title-page announces, a number of special notes on *Bentley's* commentary. They are not based on serious research, and abound in metaphors and exclamations. *Bentley's* ruthless method with its unproved statements is compared to "a Croud of Witnesses with cloudy Caps on..., but not *one Evidence* to prove a single Fact"... ¹²⁰). His presumption is ridiculed: "What a prodigious Man is Dr. *Bentley*: He corrects the Numbers of *Horace*! and raises the Sense of *Milton*!" ¹²¹). *Bentley's* classical illustrations find praise ¹²²) but the flatness of his modern style

¹¹⁸) In this connection, see also: "OF VERBAL CRITICISM: AN EPISTLE TO MR. POPE OCCASIONED BY *Theobald's Shakespear*, and *Bentley's Milton*... LONDON... 1733..." (fol.: pp. [2] + 14).

¹¹⁹) Ed. Temple Scott, vol XI. p. 101.

¹²⁰) I. 6 n.

¹²¹) I. 35 n.

¹²²) I. 33 n.

is contrasted with Milton's archaic expressions which "preserve the Majesty of his Verse" ¹²³).

The writer appears to be an eager Royalist. He evidently dislikes Milton's party, contesting in his preface Bentley's description of the poet as lonely and "Obnoxious to the Government". The generosity of the royal Act of Oblivion and also of the censor who permitted the publication of the poem, are emphasized. Even the bookseller's point of view is presented with greater sympathy than that of the poet. Bentley's complaint of the scanty reward received by Milton is regarded as groundless: ten pounds is not "so poor a Price for a Book of this Bulk, which in seven Years had but one Impression" ¹²⁴).

The best part of the pamphlet is probably the passage of the preface demanding the study of the authentic texts and condemning the devastating practice of adding new guesswork in each edition until the original readings are badly corrupted: "...the whole of *Milton's*, or any other Poem, extinguished by degrees, and a new one set forth by Editors, challenge the Title not of Notes, but of a Text *variorum*. To regulate the Work of a deceased Author from various Readings in Manuscripts or printed Copies is a laborious, but useful Undertaking: But this way of restoring, *i. e.* interpolating by Guess, is so sacralegious [*sic*] an Intrusion, that, as it had its Rise, so it is to be hoped it will have its Fall with you."

The title-page of the second pamphlet, like that of "Milton Restor'd", carries a derisive motto:

A Friendly LETTER to Dr. BENTLEY. Occasion'd by his New Edition of PARADISE LOST. By a Gentleman of Christ-Church College, *Oxon.* Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui Lumen ademptum. VIRGIL. LONDON: Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane.* MDCCXXXII. 8^o. pp. 64.

A second edition appeared in the same year. The author, on the last page, signs himself "Semicolon". This pamphlet, which now and then assumes a mock-friendly tone, is full of personal attacks of an unpleasant kind, and its tone and style are crude. Bentley's legal affairs are hinted at in the following

¹²³) I. 46 n.

¹²⁴) *ibid.*

manner: "Dear *Dicke*, give me thy Hand: I heartily congratulate thee on having had so little to do with Law... Every Reader will... be heartily sorry that you had not had an opportunity of looking into an *Indictment*, or standing a little in a *Court of Justice* befoe [*sic*] this was written" ¹²⁵). Bentley's unrestrained manner is commented upon in a style no more chastened than his own: "S'lfe, Sir, are you mad? Did ever such a Piece of prophane Drollery come from a *Doctor of Divinity*?" ¹²⁶).

The author's main attacks are directed against Bentley's pedantry and presumption. He is supposed to have "pilfer'd from a Rule in the Art of *Grubean Criticism*, which takes as the Foundation of all verbal Criticism these two Suppositions: First, That an Author *can never miss* making use of the *best Word* on every Occasion; the Second, *That a Critick cannot chuse but know which that is*" ¹²⁷). His mistakes in biblical and even in classical lore are ridiculed: "Criticks... may villainously and maliciously Assert, that Dr. *Bentley*... understands his *Classicks* no better, than... he does his *Bible*" ¹²⁸). Milton's words in P. L. III. 215: "just th' unjust to save", are traced back "to the Apostle, who makes use of the very Expression, *the Just for the Unjust*", and Bentley's inability to see this leads to the remark that he is "a mere *Novice* in his *own Employment*; nay, not so much as acquainted with *Chapter* and *Verse*; and a *Professor of Divinity* too: that's a Shame!" (III. 215 n.).

Broader and cruder remarks of this kind alternate with much that is intelligent and to the point; there are signs of thought and erudition. What strikes one more than anything is the resemblance of the more valuable and illuminating arguments to Pearce's "Review" of the same year. Todd, in the bibliography at the end of his edition, ascribes the pamphlet to Pearce, though not with certainty. Pearce was a Cambridge man, from Bentley's own college; but the Christ-Church of the title-page was not impossibly a disguise. His "Review" was published anonymously, though statements by people who knew him well, *e. g.* by Bishop Newton ¹²⁹), make it certain that he was the author. Anonymity

¹²⁵) Cf. pp. 9—10.

¹²⁶) V. 414 n.

¹²⁷) I. 6 n.

¹²⁸) I. 16 n.

¹²⁹) Cf. the preface to Newton's edition of "Paradise Lost", ed. 1749,

there was his only disguise. But he may have had some grudge against Bentley. His election to a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, seems to have been first opposed by Bentley ¹³⁰), and he supported Dr. Colbatch and the fellows of Trinity in their struggle against the Master ¹³¹). Monk doubts the Christ-Church of the title-page and suspects the pamphlet "to have come from a College with which Bentley was better acquainted" ¹³²).

The similarities between the more serious portions of Semicolon's and Pearce's notes are not isolated and rare but occur throughout the pamphlet; if allowances be made for the radical differences of style, they are much more numerous than the disparities. The main argument of the first note in both, on the epithet "secret" in "the secret top Of *Oreb*, or of *Sinai*" ¹³³), is the same. Both publications defend the adjective, finding that it alludes to the clouds and darkness when Moses spoke with Jehovah. Milton's "rhyme" in I. 16 is explained by Semicolon as used "in the same Sense that the Ancients did their *Ῥέθμος* and Rhythmus, viz. for Numbers, Metre and Verse in general." So Pearce observes that "we should here understand by *Rhime* not the *jingling sound of like Endings*, but Verse in general; the word being deriv'd from rythmus [*sic*], *ῥέθμος*." Not only the idea but even the expression here are similar. "Semicolon" explains "puts on swift wings" as "moving forward swiftly with his wings". So Pearce: "he makes his wings move forward swiftly" ¹³⁴). The classical myth of Thamyris meets with the same interpretation from both commentators. "Semicolon" thinks that his "Lust for the muses" (which was Bentley's charge against him) meant "his extraordinary Love of Poetry"; Pearce explains it as "the Court which he made to them, or his violent Affection for Poetry" ¹³⁵). In both sets of notes the grouping together of prophets and poets in this passage is attributed to the

vol. I. sg. 23r. Newton there acknowledges the ample assistance and advice given to him by Pearce, and speaks in the same breath of the latter as of the author of the "Review".

¹³⁰) Cf. Monk's *Life of Bentley*, vol. I. 411.

¹³¹) Cf. Monk II, p. 79.

¹³²) Cf. p. 322 of vol. II.

¹³³) I. 6.

¹³⁴) II. 631 n.

¹³⁵) III. 35 n.

influence of the classical tradition which identified their professions. Both of them prove the authenticity of the "Paradise of Fools" episode by pointing to the mention of it in the argument to book III ¹³⁶). A rather curious coincidence is found in the explanation of the "Ministers of vengeance and pursuit" ¹³⁷). According to Pearce this should mean the good angels pursuing the rebels in spite of Christ's command, in VI. 802, to rest from battle this day. That command, it is assumed, refers exclusively to the battle, and not to the pursuit. The same interpretation is found in "Semicolon's" note on the passage. The question whether the special mention of *rest* for the day ("this day from Battel rest") agrees with such an explanation, is not discussed by either. Semicolon, it is true, sees another possibility, namely, that the lightning, thunder and hail referred to immediately after "Ministers" may have been personified by Milton. Pearce seems to have been induced to accept the first of these explanations because the passage, "Eternal wrauth Burnt after them to the bottomless pit" ¹³⁸), is regarded by him as a hint at the pursuing victors.

This is a mere selection from a much larger number of coincidences. The differences are mainly in the manner of expression and in the degree of thoroughness, which is much greater in Pearce's elaborate work. An example of their way of expressing the same general idea may be found in I. 206 *n.* where both expose the tautology of Bentley's emendation, "skinny rind" for "skaly rind". They agree in giving picturesque parallels which prove the absurdity of the expression though Pearce does it cautiously and politely. In Semicolon's opinion, the emendation is a good example of "one of the great Rules of the *Bathos*, which requires that all Epithets should wholly coincide with the nature of their Substantives; thus *liquid Water*, *windy Air*, *dirty Earth*, and *burning Fire*." He proposes the emendation "skinny Skin". Pearce finds "*skinny* . . . a strange unpoetical Epithet to be join'd to the metaphorical word rind: as if we should call the *Shell* of a Nut, the *shelly rind*."

The relation between the two publications is very similar

¹³⁶) III. 444 *n.*

¹³⁷) I. 169 *n.*

¹³⁸) VI. 865 *n.*

to that between a brief, easy-going and hurried sketch and a serious and scholarly elaboration of it. The opposite assumption, of the superficial repetition in the lighter performance of the arguments of a more thorough work, seems less plausible. Pearce's book was studied and quoted immediately ¹³⁹⁾ so that borrowings from it were not likely to pass as new.

B. PEARCE'S "REVIEW OF THE TEXT OF MILTON'S PARADISE LOST."

The publication of this book, which is the main and conclusive refutation of Bentley's emendations, was an important event in Milton criticism. Without discarding what was valuable in Bentley's attempt, it led the study of "Paradise Lost" back into the channels of orthodox research. It must have been written at great speed, as the early mention in the "Grub-street Journal" shows.

It appeared in three parts. The title-page of the first part is as follows ¹⁴⁰⁾:

A REVIEW OF THE TEXT OF MILTON's *Paradise Lost*: In which the CHIEF of Dr. BENTLEY's EMENDATIONS Are Consider'd; And several other EMENDATIONS and OBSERVATIONS are offer'd to the Public. PART I. *Containing* REMARKS *upon the first* FOUR Books. LONDON: Printed for JOHN SHUCKBURGH; at the Sun, near the *Inner-Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-street*. M.DCC.XXXII.

The title-pages of the other two parts differ from the first only in the indication of their special contents:

PART II. *Containing* REMARKS *on the* V, VI, VII, *and* VIIIth Books.

And part III:

PART III. *Containing* REMARKS *on the* IX, X, XI, *and* XIIth Books. To which is added An APPENDIX to the Whole.

The third part has a note on the verso of the title-page indicating that the preface has been altered and "stitch'd up with

¹³⁹⁾ Cf. Grub-street Journal, 2 March 1732 (No. 113).

¹⁴⁰⁾ All three parts in octavo, part I containing pp. VIII+152, part II, pp. II + pp. [153—287] and part III, pp. II + pp. [289—400].

this Third Part, that Those who have bought the former Parts, may cancel the others, and place These in the room of them." A new general title-page is also added with the new preface ¹⁴¹):

A REVIEW OF THE TEXT OF THE TWELVE BOOKS OF MILTON's *Paradise Lost*: In which the CHIEF of Dr. BENTLEY's EMENDATIONS Are Consider'd; And several other EMENDATIONS and OBSERVATIONS are offer'd to the Public. LONDON: Printed by JOHN SHUCKBURGH, at the *Sun*, near the *Inner-Temple-Gate* in *Fleetstreet*. M.DCC.XXXIII.

This is the final title. The main reason for the rewriting of part of the preface was evidently the need to correct a blunder regarding the first edition of "Paradise Lost" which was asserted to have been published "in 1669, (not in 1667, as Dr. B. says in his *Preface*)". Pearce had noticed in the meantime that there were variously dated title-pages of that edition, so that Bentley could not be said to be wrong. He gives an account of them in the rewritten preface.

Bentley is treated in it very respectfully. His great merits in scholarship are acknowledged. The author hopes that he "will not, he is sure *ought* not, to give Dr. B. any Offence." Pearce's care and caution are shown in the principles of Milton emendation professed by him: the alteration of words of a similar sound between which the blind poet probably could not distinguish, and of the punctuation where faults were more likely to occur. The improbability of the conjecture that no reliable person should have been found to help Milton, when Toland's *Life* mentions so many learned friends, is emphasized, and the idea of an editor who made alterations at his pleasure is therefore rejected. It is pointed out, as in the "Grub-street Journal" in No. 113, that "Paradise Regained" was prior to the second edition of "Paradise Lost", and the suggestion is made that the improved editorial conditions which benefited "*Paradise Regained*" may have been beneficial also to the second edition of the earlier work. An interesting feature is the reference to the dramatic schemes of "Paradise Lost" in the Cambridge MSS., and the connection of these schemes with Toland's mention of Milton's plan to write

¹⁴¹) The contents of the volume in its final form are: pp. VIII + 400. P. 1: the title-page; p. III—VII: the preface; p. VIII: errata; pp. 1—389: commentary; pp. 390—400: appendix (= additional notes).

a tragedy on that subject. Even Milton's possible models for the scheme are considered; it is thought probable that "M. took the first hint from an *Italian Tragedy* called *Il Paradiso perso*" of which Pearce had heard as having been written "many years before M. enter'd upon his Design."

Pearce's main qualifications for undertaking a revision of Bentley's edition were his critical, scholarly mind and his genuine appreciation of poetry. He seems to have been influenced by Addison's criticisms, for his note on P. L. II. 635, one of the best expressions of his attitude, largely repeats a remark from one of the "Spectator" articles¹⁴²). The topic is Milton's Homeric and Virgilian practice of using digressive similes, the habit of first showing the points of resemblance between the objects compared and then, as Pearce puts it, "wandering into some un-resembling Circumstances; which have no other relation to the Comparison, than that it gave him the Hint, and (as it were), set fire to the train of his Imagination." The allusion to the "fire of Imagination" indicates the essential difference from Bentley's attitude.

It is natural that the critic who writes this should be convinced of the legitimacy of metaphorical language: "in Poetry... a Metaphorical and more Remote word is often preferable to the Simplest and Nearest, because it throws the Diction still more out of Prose..."¹⁴³). He approves the bold language in VI. 212. ("...the dismal hiss Of fiery Darts... flew") for here surely there is a place "where the Sublimity of the Thought will allow the Accuracy of Expression to give way to the Strength of it... There is a peculiar Force sometimes in ascribing that to a Circumstance of a Thing, which more properly belongs to the Thing itself; to the *Hiss*, which belongs to the Darts." The logically incorrect expression "darkness visible" is approvingly described as "Strong and Bold". This sympathy with the irrational and imaginative, the feeling for suggestions and remote hints makes Pearce a much better interpreter of the element of romance in Milton than Bentley. He sees its ennobling effect on the poem, and is horrified by the "vulgar Cast" which, *e. g.*, Bentley's proposed substitution of "places in our own Channel" for Bengala,

¹⁴²) No. 303. Febr. 16. 1712.

¹⁴³) V. 741.

Ternate and Tidore would give to Milton's simile ¹⁴⁴). Nobleness is a positive quality (Bentley, as was shown, though he talked of grandeur, seldom saw it); the fleet in II. 635 & *seq.* could not be exchanged for "a First-rate Man of War", as Bentley wished, because "a *Fleet* gives a nobler Image than a single Ship."

Pearce draws distinct bounds between poetry and fact. There is no harm in Milton's basing his narrative on insufficient historical evidence, as in the passage on Busiris, I. 306 & *c.*, cancelled by Bentley as fabulous invention: "As to *M.*'s making *Pharaoh* to be *Busiris*... there is Authority enough for to justify a Poet in doing so, tho' not an Historian: It has been suppos'd by some, and therefore *M.* might follow that Opinion."

Imagination and a poetic mind are more important than correctness. Pearce agrees with the substance of a note by Bentley censuring a "vicious construction" ¹⁴⁵), yet he adds immediately that "such small Faults are not only to be pardon'd but overlook'd in great Genius's." Even the classics are quoted to prove this: "Fabius VIII. 3. says of Cicero, *In vitium saepe incidit securus tam parvae observationis*: and in X. 1. *Neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia, quae magni auctores dixerint, esse perfecta, nam & labuntur interim & oneri cedunt.*"

"Semicolon" ridiculed Bentley for his insistence on Milton's faultlessness. The idea that passages which are only partly successful or even essentially failures should be spurious receives no countenance from Pearce. His dislike of certain parts of the poem does not prevent him from *emphasizing* their authenticity, as in his notes on IX. 10 and VII. 15. "Surely he [Milton] did not pretend to be without Fault, tho' we can never allow that this Poem has all those blemishes which the Doctor charges on those Books," is his retort to Bentley's comment on the latter of these passages.

This enlightenment, and what is new, the adoption of a rational historical method, helps Pearce to understand Milton's limitations and to appreciate them rightly. Bentley, who would

¹⁴⁴) II. 635 *n.* Pearce is not troubled by the fantastic, composite character of Milton's Leviathan (I. 200) but calmly recognizes it — the monster being "as much a *Beast* as a Fish". His confidence, it is true, is backed here by the book of Job (ch. 14).

¹⁴⁵) II. 47 *n.*

have the poet correct even in questions of astronomy and zoology, without regard to Milton's period, was grieved by the lapse in P. L. VIII. 145 where the spots of the moon seem to be regarded as changeable, cloud-like substances, and found it very wrong that Milton's conception of the life of bees did not coincide with his own notions of natural history ¹⁴⁶). Pearce does not attempt to defend the correctness of Milton's views, but gives, instead, documentary evidence that such were the opinions of the poet's contemporaries. An article by a certain Mr. Auzout in the "Philosophical Transactions" for the year 1666 is considered by him a possible source of Milton's astronomical misconceptions, and Charles Butler's "curious Treatise upon Bees, entitled the *Feminine Monarchie*, printed in 1634" is found to contain the same views on bees as the disputed Miltonic passage. Pearce reasonably enough concludes regarding the first of these discoveries that "M. who wrote this Poem about that time [= 1666], might approve of *Auzout's* observation, tho' the Doctor and I do not."

Pearce not only recognizes the validity of imagination and the place in poetry of irrationality. He is able to follow Milton's imagery in a considerable number of difficult places and has the intuition to distinguish Milton's peculiar point of view in many passages where Bentley most deplorably failed. He does not shirk much patient and tiresome research to make sure of his case, as in his study of Milton's topography in P. L. VIII. 652 & seq. — a passage of which Bentley questions the authenticity:

"So parted they, the Angel up to Heav'n
From the thick shade, and Adam to his Bowre".

Bentley wonders why the thick shade is mentioned, if Adam has left his bower, and Pearce undertakes a close inquiry into books IV and V, tending to prove that it was not the shade of the bower but that of a forest walk in front of its entrance. With all this care and conscientiousness Pearce is capable of much keen and rapid insight. How completely a poet's intention can be misunderstood, is shown by Bentley's attack on the description of the creation of animals in book VII ¹⁴⁷). He derides the

¹⁴⁶) VII. 490 n.

¹⁴⁷) VII. 463 n.

"editor" for representing them as if they were devoid of life and movement, "so that even the stag "For all his Swiftness... seems to have lain fast" in the earth whence he ought to have risen. Bentley's critic regards this as the representation of one single moment, referring to Addison's appreciation of the passage¹⁴⁸⁾ and stating his own opinion: "Mr. Addison thought that there was an *exquisite Spirit of Poetry* in the Description of the *Lion's* rising, and I will venture to say that in the account of the rest *M.'s* Genius plainly appears. The Doctor should have observ'd that *M.* is here describing only what happen'd to those several Animals, or what posture they were in at one single point of Time." This seems a very happy solution. Milton actually appears to be trying to visualize the details of one moment as clearly and graphically as possible, hinting at the same time by some little touches at the character of the movement, which, though not explicitly described, can be perceived as we perceive it, for example, in the posture of a statue. The German Lessing afterwards elaborated the same idea in his "Laocoon".

Pearce is conscious of the need to realize the visual appearance of things. This was valuable as a reaction against Bentley's tendency to intellectualization and general statement. The difference may be seen in Pearce's reply to Bentley's observation on I. 290 where the mention of concrete details after a vague general concept which logically covers them, is found inadmissible. Pearce vindicates the right to describe the particulars after the more inclusive term, as they raise the sense, being definitely represented as "Objects of the Artist's View".

Not only the external, visual side of the world, but also the vaguer qualities of the mind are studied by Pearce. Doubt and hesitation are acknowledged to be legitimate elements and subjects of poetry, like most other kinds of experience. Bentley may object to the uncertainty expressed by the verb in P. L. I. 228:

"till on dry Land
He lights, if it were Land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire..."

because "This Verb *were* instead of a Propriety about the Name, makes a Doubt about the Thing," for his poetic code demands

¹⁴⁸⁾ See Spectator No. 339, 29 March 1712.

bare, naked statement. His opponent, on the other hand, is prepared to put up with such dubiety: "surely it was a Doubt about the Thing, which *M.* intended". If the imagery is vivid and well-drawn, he is content: "...it raises the Thought more to Describe Things right, than to Name them properly".

Pearce passes from the mere admission into poetry of hesitation and uncertainty to the actual technique of handling them. He solves, for example, Bentley's puzzle concerning the contradiction in Belial's manner of first putting a question and then denying it ¹⁴⁹). It is an easy case of rhetorical question, but the method of Pearce's solution is valuable, because he is conscious of the mental operations which caused the apparent contradiction: "it is no Contradiction, first to speak of a thing as Doubtfull, and afterwards (as upon second thoughts, as upon better consideration) to pronounce it absolutely Certain. There is a peculiar force and strength, when the Sentence thus rises; and the Argument is the Stronger, for not having been push'd with all its weight at first." Bentley, who very rarely hesitated himself, was not likely to undertake such a study of hesitation.

Beside having a genuine if not always very vivid imagination, Pearce has a strong sense of form, of proportion, of the interdependence of the various parts of a structure, and he is fond of tracing these relations. This faculty, which is at once keenly analytic and strongly synthetic, enables him to study Milton's scholarly style much more successfully than Bentley, whose rash and narrow method of thinking generally concentrated on one point without allowance for the elaborate interplay of Milton's thought. A note like the following shows Pearce's scrupulous care: "Excellence is a general word; ... he [= Milton] branches the *Excellence* of Angels into two particulars, their *radiant Forms* and their *high Power*" ¹⁵⁰). He delights in these ramifications: "it is often a Beauty in Poetry to branch out the general thought into its particulars" ¹⁵¹).

It is evident that this cast of mind is well adapted to understand the value of one of the main devices of Milton's style. This is the device of gradation, an artifice perhaps more frequent in Milton than in most poets, and highly typical of his manner.

¹⁴⁹) II. 151 n.

¹⁵⁰) V. 457 n.

¹⁵¹) IV. 323 n. See also I. 290 n.

Pearce recognizes it in its simplest form, that of slightly varied repetition, as well as in its more difficult and hidden manifestations. Bentley's great hatred of repetition made him blind to its technique in Milton. Pearce sees clearly enough how the poet in using it avoids monotony by introducing *intensification* and *variation* instead of bare repetition, although he does not overlook the intensifying effect of many simple, unaltered repetitions¹⁵²). It is not merely "issuing forth" in X. 537 as in X. 532, but "In Triumph issuing forth", "where the Addition of *In Triumph* heightens the Thought and improves it, and makes the *issuing forth* not the same thing as here."

Order and sense and development of thought are discovered by Pearce where Bentley saw only crude tautologies. Bentley found needless repetition in the expression "Illimitable without bound"¹⁵³). Pearce suggests a pause after "a dark Illimitable Ocean", and thus shows that "without bound" belongs to another section of the period, where it forms the base of a well-built scale of ideas:

"a dark

Illimitable Ocean, without bound,

Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth", & c.

The representative, figurative meaning of words in a similar gradation is perceived in V. 326 ("each bough and brake, each plant and juiciest gourd") where Bentley wished to substitute a synonym of "bough" for "brake" ("each bough and branch"). The reply suggests that "bough" might be equivalent to "tree" (*pars pro toto*) and that the whole constitutes a decreasing sequence of concepts, the lowest step being reached in "gourd", which symbolizes "all kinds [of plants] that lie on the earth." There is even more discrimination in the analysis of VIII. 395 & c. where various pairs of animals are enumerated according to the increasing degree of difference between them, until the gradation reaches its climax in the greatest contrast of all, that between man and beast, between the rational and the irrational creature.

One of the best examples of this method has just been discussed in another connection. It is the study of the gradation of certainty in II. 151 n. But Pearce passes from the study of

¹⁵²) See IX. 181 n. & c.

¹⁵³) II. 892.

isolated passages to the examination of the poet's architectural designs in the building up of whole books of his epic, discovering the same peculiarities there. Bentley condemned the double description of the creation of whales in a note on VII. 391, even going so far as to desire the poet to deviate from Scripture to avoid this repetition — a solitary infraction of his principle of adherence to the Bible. He adds: "Could *Milton* say, *God created the great Whales, & c.* and himself afterwards create them again?" In reply to this Pearce points out very carefully and in detail how the book is built: "...*M.* in his account of the fourth, fifth and sixth day's Creation, takes a different method from what he does in his account of the divine work on the other days." Pearce's favourite figure occurs again in the description of this method of first giving "a short and general account of what was then created," and then "branching that account out into its several Particulars." His preoccupation with this method seems unmistakable.

Either Pearce knew more about older English literature than his references indicate, or he read the few books mentioned in his notes with close attention. His insight into many questions of style suggests an intimate study of older literary works. His two favourite sources for quotation and allusion are Spenser's "Faerie Queen" and Fairfax's Tasso, that is to say, works very well known to Bentley.

He does not refer very frequently to historical or encyclopædic works of a non-classical character. Sandys' Travels — a book quoted repeatedly by Hume — is mentioned in II. 1019 *n.* In the same note a "Historia Orbis Terræ" and "Hoffman. Lexicon" are employed to illustrate questions of geography and mythology. The two last titles are not given in full, which makes it hard to trace them. A few articles and books on astronomy and natural history have been referred to already. Cherefeddin Ali's "History of Timur Bec" in Petis de la Croix' French translation is used to explain oriental habits ¹⁵⁴). These and some others only indicate his method of illustration, not the scope of his reading, for Pearce seems to refrain from demonstrating his erudition, showing his knowledge of out-of-the-way subjects only where the matter requires it.

¹⁵⁴) II. 3 *n.*

Milton's other works are not mentioned very often. It is more the intensity of Pearce's reading of Milton than its range that is impressive. His references to Milton's earlier pieces do not go beyond the limits found in Bentley's notes, but the remarks on them are sounder. "Comus" is the favourite. A new trait is the interest in the sonnets: the curious resemblance between P. L. VIII. 478 & *seq.* and the poet's sonnet to his deceased wife is noticed. The prose works are quoted repeatedly, e. g. IX. 44 *n.*, VI. 552 *n.* — the "Reason of Church Government", IX. 163 *n.* — the "Treatise upon Education". But the sound, solid way in which most things in the book are treated, and even the reading shown in it, are remarkable if one remembers how shortly after Bentley's edition it was published.

Pearce's classical erudition was an indispensable weapon in the battle against Bentley. He is a typical classical scholar, sometimes even excessively so. What was said about his freedom from prejudice and his soundness of perspective needs qualification sometimes where the classics are concerned. The existence of a classical parallel seems to him sufficient in itself to support an emphatic change of the grammatical person in Milton¹⁵⁵) and even Ovid's astronomy is apparently regarded as authoritative. "Dr. B. reads IN *Taurus rides*, and says, Does *Taurus* ride too, a Constellation fix'd? Yes, or else Ovid is wrong throughout his whole *Fasti*, where he describes the rising and setting of the Signs of the Zodiac"¹⁵⁶). If his reverence for the classics interferes with the impartiality of some of his judgements, he is able, on the other hand, to make a number of competent remarks on Milton's treatment of classical lore. Bentley's objection to the mention of the gardens of Adonis in P. L. IX. 439 as unjustified by classical authority is met by a reference to Pliny's "Natural History" where the myth of the Hesperian gardens ruled by Adonis and Alcinous is dealt with (Nat. Hist. XIX. 4). Pliny supplies him with another retort, in the matter of the ellops, the hydrus, and other monsters in P. L. X. 525 & *seq.* Bentley attacks this passage as contrary to truth; his reviewer, quoting Pliny's *Natural History* and other works, proves that Milton only imitated a classical belief. Athanasius Kircher's treatise on

¹⁵⁵) IV. 482 *n.*

¹⁵⁶) I. 769 *n.*

Scylla and Charybdis ¹⁵⁷) is used to defend the opinion that Scylla was a whirlpool ¹⁵⁸). Martianus Capella and Prudentius serve to illustrate the existence, in the ancient world, of the pronunciation "Serapis" ¹⁵⁹). More than ordinary observation is shown in the comparison of the alternation of the plural and singular of the personal pronoun in Adam and Eve's prayer with the same manner of speech in the classical chorus ¹⁶⁰). The observation is corroborated by the occurrence of this feature in the chorus of SA., and even such a late commentator as Verity, who supports the view that Adam and Eve speak both for themselves, is not able to deny the possibility that Pearce's explanation may be right.

Some Latinisms are discovered in Milton's vocabulary. The equivalence of "memory" IV. 24 to "*recordatio*, or the thinking and reflecting upon any thing, as well present and future as past" evidently answers to the general meaning of the passage. The use of "conscience" in the sense of "consciousness", Lat. *conscientia*, ("the *conscience* of her worth" VIII. 502) is backed by a quotation from the English Bible (Hebrews X. 2). But Hume had already done a great deal more in this department, and Pearce's real innovations are to be found in the study of the influence exercised on Milton's style by the literature of later times.

That he was well aware of the commentator's duty to study the exact value of his author's words in the author's own time, is proved by VI. 189 *n.* where it is flatly described as "frivolous" to call a poet's expressions low and hackneyed unless it is clear that they were so at the time when he wrote. Spenser's letter to Lord Buckhurst in the introductory part of the "Faerie Queen" is used by him to prove the legitimacy of Milton's interpretation of "rhyme" as "verse" ¹⁶¹); the pronunciation of "Michael" as a trisyllabic word in Milton is paralleled by the same phenomenon in the argument to the IXth book of Fairfax's Tasso ¹⁶²); and

¹⁵⁷) Pearce gives no reference in which of A. Kircher's numerous works the treatise is found.

¹⁵⁸) II. 1019 *n.*

¹⁵⁹) I. 720 *n.*

¹⁶⁰) V. 202 *n.*

¹⁶¹) I. 16 *n.*

¹⁶²) II. 294 *n.*

the "scandalous fault" (as Bentley calls it) of pronouncing *Ægean* for *Ægéan* is shown by quotations from the same source to be in keeping with Elizabethan habits of speech ¹⁶³). Several further notes are based on Elizabethan literature, but far more often than not Pearce prefers to use purely logical arguments or to quote Miltonic parallels. It is plain that he understands the spirit of the older poetry, though he resorts to no elaborate apparatus of references.

"Semicolon" had already observed that Bentley did not seem to know the English Bible as intimately as was to be expected from a professor of Divinity. Pearce's knowledge of it, and possibly also of its original, seems to surpass Bentley's. He is sufficiently well-versed in Biblical phraseology to refute Bentley's explanations of a number of passages, *e. g.* of III. 335 and VIII. 264, where he carefully distinguishes between the meaning of isolated words and that of the same words if used in some traditional scriptural combination with other expressions ("Heaven and Earth" and "Heaven", "to live and move" and "to move"). An interesting example of his study of biblical language is his interpretation of "giant angels" in VII. 605. Here his comparison of the expression with the corresponding passage of the Hebrew Bible seems to lead him to a better understanding of the emotional back-ground of Milton's text. He observes that the Hebrew word ("gibbor") means the disposition and mind of the angels, "a Proud, Fierce and Aspiring temper", not their size. That Pearce appears to be right — even though Milton in his habitual way of doubling the meaning of words may also allude to the classical giants, as some commentators suppose — is asserted by Todd ¹⁶⁴), who discovers that a very similar idea occurs almost immediately afterwards in "the proud attempt Of Spirits apostat" ¹⁶⁵), which in turn resembles the marginal reading of the corresponding place in the Latin Version ¹⁶⁶). The later Latin of ecclesiastical ritual, which seems to escape Bentley's attention, is not neglected. Bentley condemns the description of Adam as following the angel Raphael

¹⁶³) I. 745 *n.*

¹⁶⁴) See Todd P. L. VII. 605 *n.*

¹⁶⁵) Cf. II. 609—610.

¹⁶⁶) Gen. VI. 4.

"with benediction" ¹⁶⁷) because the word does not apply to the address of a superior to an inferior, as he maintains. Pearce's reply is that its meaning may be not "blessing" but merely "giving them good Words, or wishing them well", as in Ps. 109. 17, and he compares the signification of the corresponding verb in "*Benedicere Domino, to bless God...*, a common Phrase in Religious Offices".

He does not quite succeed in avoiding the attraction of linguistic professionalism. Bishop Kennet's "Glossary to Parochial Antiquities" ¹⁶⁸) is mentioned IX. 437, and there are cases where the use made by Pearce of philological theory resembles Bentley's whim of adopting Anglo-Saxon spellings. No more valid reason is given for defending Milton's "wile" in IX. 85 against Bentley's proposal to substitute the form "guile" than that both "are the same Words originally, only the first [*i. e.* "guile"] is written and pronounc'd after the French manner, the latter after the English; as are *Guarrant, Warrant, Guerre, War*, and a great many others": as if the distant origin of a word and not its actual meaning would determine whether it was fit to be used or not.

This, however, is exceptional. Pearce usually analyzes the actual meaning very keenly. He is not handicapped by the Bentleian narrowness of vision which generally perceives only the standard signification of expressions and finds it impossible that anything else should be conveyed by them. His broadmindedness admits unusual meanings, as it admits a much larger vocabulary than Bentley did. The latter seems to have liked and sometimes invented curious and "absonous" words of his own, mainly of a classical stamp ¹⁶⁹), but excluded "low" expressions, among

¹⁶⁷) VIII. 644 *n.*

¹⁶⁸) Pearce also refers to other linguistic sources. Thus Furetière's French dictionary is mentioned VI. 517 *n.*, the dictionary of the Academia della Crusca VI. 868 *n.*

¹⁶⁹) See "infuscation" for "insurrection" II. 136, "Solemnious" for "Mysterious" IV. 743, "terraqueous" for "self-ballanc't" VII. 242, & *c.* "Carities" = "all Relations of Consanguinity and Affinity", for Milton's "Charities", IV. 756, is apparently of Bentley's own coinage. The NED. does not mention it in this sense. Bentley expressly derives it from the Latin.

them nautical terms such as "larboard" ¹⁷⁰). Pearce disagrees, pointing to Dryden's, Virgil's and Milton's practice (see "veers" IX. 513, "moors... under the Lee" I. 207). He makes no apology at all for examining the influence of "vulgar Phrases" such as "I have him safe" or "He is safe asleep" on Milton's "Our great Forbidder, safe with all his Spies About him" ¹⁷¹). This liberality extends to the acknowledgement of a much freer variation of the *meaning* of words. Hume had the same feeling for their shifting value, but he generally studied the interplay between their classical and their ordinary sense. Pearce usually starts from a close study of the general situation, examining his subject from a *more exclusively English* point of view and being mainly guided by the context. He tries to see all the tendencies of meaning that may be working in an expression and then to relate it to the situation, but as a rule without indulging in etymological calculations. To him "coast" in I. 306 need not necessarily mean the land only, as it does in Bentley's opinion, but may be used in a wider signification including "that part of the *Red-Sea* which was nearest to the Coast; and where it is probable that the Sedge in a storm lay the thickest on the Water", in accordance with Milton's description of "scatter'd sedge Afloat, when with fierce Winds Orion arm'd Hath vex'd the Red-Sea Coast whose waves orethrew Busiris".

Sometimes he is influenced in favour of the form considered by him more particularly Miltonic, as in his emendation of IV. 147—8. Milton reads:

"Of goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit,
Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue."

Bentley's passion for regularity induces him to adopt the plural "fruits" in both verses, evidently because the word means a plurality of fruits. Pearce substitutes the singular for the plural, and shows by a number of parallels, one of them from "Comus", that Milton by the singular means fruits while still growing, and by the plural, when already gathered. He forgets that Milton need not necessarily have been *quite* consistent and

¹⁷⁰) II. 1019. Perhaps with an eye on Addison's remark about technical terms, where "larboard" is also mentioned.

¹⁷¹) IX. 815.

that the parallelism of "blossoms and Fruits" may have suggested the plural ending in the second line. A very enthusiastic statement of this preference for individualism in style occurs in a pronouncement on Milton's right to coin new words. The note amounts almost to hero-worship, and implies the condemnation of conventional styles of writing. "Surely so great a Poet as he was, may be allow'd to coin words, or else who may? If he had coin'd none, his Poem must have fail'd of much of the Grandeur in Diction which it now has" ¹⁷²).

The freer spirit of seventeenth century language is recognized in Pearce's syntactical observations. Sometimes he goes very far, as when he considers it possible ¹⁷³) that the adverb "up" in X. 503 might be understood as a verb ["But up and enter now into full bliss"]. But he does see the general instability of the older grammar, and successfully illustrates it. The notes on II. 917, V. 368 and III. 54 examine irregularities in the connection between the verb and its object, as in II. 917—918: "Into this wild Abyss the warie fiend Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while." The verbs of this passage require different constructions, but the noun follows the last verb. Bentley finds this impossible; Pearce shows that all the cases referred to follow the same rule, and that this must consequently be regarded as an authentic peculiarity of Milton's style. It is to be understood as only a device for expressing what could generally be stated by using the present participle of the first verb, *e. g.* II. 918: "stood and look'd" = standing looked, V. 368: "sit and taste" = sitting taste.

He is conversant with Milton's elliptic manner: his habit, *e. g.*, of dropping the auxiliary "to be" (IV. 509), or of omitting the preposition occasionally, if it is used in connection with a verb, as in I. 282: "fall'n such a . . . heighth" (where Bentley prefers "fall'n from such highth") or in I. 723: "Stood fixt her stately highth" ¹⁷⁴). Milton's vigorous enthusiasm is considered sufficient excuse for brevity of this kind, which might otherwise have seemed objectionable. In VI. 311 the reader "had better . . . allow the Poet the Liberty of dropping the Copulative . . . on

¹⁷²) VI. 93 *n.*

¹⁷³) IX. 169 *n.*

¹⁷⁴) See Pearce's note on I. 282.

account of that Fire of Imagination which was kindled, and the height of that Noble Fury with which he was possess'd." The intricacy of Milton's parenthetical constructions and his "ablative absolute" does not puzzle him as it did Bentley. He solves the problem of the parenthesis "The multitude of Angels... uttering Joy, Heav'n rung" ¹⁷⁵) and sees that "Hesperian Fables true, If true, here only" ¹⁷⁶) is an independent insertion. However, he does not escape the fate of misinterpreting some of the more difficult elliptic expressions, e. g. III. 469 & seq.:

"Others came single...

Empedocles...

Cleombrotus, and many more too long,

Embryos and Idiots, Eremites and Friers

White, Black and Grey, with all thir trumperie."

The phrase "and many more too long" disconcerts him, as well as the absence of a second verb relating to the nouns in the two following lines. He assumes the omission of a line immediately after these words, which supplied the verb and made up for the deficiency of the expression. But a similar ellipsis of a verb already used in connection with an earlier noun occurs in III. 534:

"On high behests his Angels to and fro

Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard

From *Paneas* the fount of *Jordans* flood

To *Bēersaba*..."

The verb "pass'd" apparently relates to "his Angels" as well as to "his eye", as "came" seems to be the predicate of "Others" as well as of "Embryos and Idiots", & c. And the expression "many more too long" is found in "Paradise Regained" ¹⁷⁷), in a passage pointed out by Newton, which shows that the phrase must be authentic.

Pearce's persistent analysis and close study make him sometimes a too dogmatic believer in these instruments of literary method. He becomes sophisticated and tends on occasion to lose the fresh, intuitive perception of the general reader. The

¹⁷⁵) III. 345—347.

¹⁷⁶) IV. 250—251.

¹⁷⁷) II. 188.

discovery of certain grammatical habits of Milton causes him to assume them where a simpler explanation would serve at least as well. Arriving at the conclusion that the possessive personal pronoun before a noun may be equivalent to the corresponding prepositional genitive used after the substantive (his = of him, our = of us), he applies the rule where it seems to be out of place. He interprets "how forgoe Thy sweet Converse and Love so dearly joyn'd" in IX. 909 as another way of putting the phrase: "the sweet Converse and Love of *Thee* so dearly joyn'd to Me", though "Love so dearly joyn'd" seems to be used here as the personification of an abstract noun; the grammatical relations suggested by Pearce would only fritter away the unity of impression. The same type of construction is assumed in II. 304, X. 368, IV. 129, VIII. 423, nearly all of which seem more easily explainable in the ordinary way.

The effect on the importance of words of their position in the sentence is seen in VII. 216 *n*. In this line "and thou Deep, peace" had been altered by Bentley into "and Peace, thou Deep". Pearce's opinion is that "the most significant and commanding word *Peace* should stand last in the sentence." The proportions of a period are measured in II. 857 *n*. where Bentley's proposal to cut out part of the text in order to bring two parallel cases of the word "here" more closely together is refuted by the observation that they already stand at the beginning of two short sentences. These considerations are primarily artistic: attention is not confined to the purely logical *meaning* of an expression. Sometimes, though rarely, the relations between character and expression are traced. Abrupt, irregular mental impulses are suspected, for example, in IV. 112 *n*. Pearce puts a dash instead of Milton's comma after "By Thee", reading: "By Thee — and more than half perhaps will reign." The explanation is that "Thus Satan will make an *Aposiopesis* (as the Grammarians call it), that is, will stop abruptly and leave out something, which he was going to say; in the room of which he adds boastingly, *and more than half perhaps will reign.*"

Many of Pearce's good qualities appear in his study of Milton's punctuation, of which an example has just been given. Bentley's edition had worked much havoc among Milton's stops. The notes on VII. 24, 27, 168, 413, VIII. 369, IX. 417, 436, 457 show Pearce's endeavour to put this right. In VIII. 369, Bent-

ley inadvertently omitted a comma and decided that the sentence was "loose and gaping", which is refuted by Pearce. Some very drastic alterations in Bentley's text of VII. 168 & seq.: a colon after "*infinitude*" in l. 169 (for a comma) and the change of a comma into a full stop after "to act or not" in l. 172, distort the passage beyond recognition. This is emended by Pearce, who also rejects the neat and regular, but unconvincing reading of Bentley in P. L. VII. 412 & seq. The shifting of a comma and the alteration of a few words had changed the passage very considerably ["...there Leviathan Hugest of living Creatures, on the Deep Stretcht like a Promontorie sleeps or swimmes, And seems a moving Land">... "Seems a fix'd Promontory when he sleeps; When swims, a Moving Land"]. Pearce justifies the original reading which is based on an acuter observation of nature: "in both cases, whether he [= Leviathan] was sleeping or swimming, whether he mov'd by his own force or the force of the Waves, he seem'd to be a *moving Land*."

Sometimes, though rarely, metrical questions are discussed, but no very important principles are advanced. The facts are followed with some care, and attempts are made to state their laws if not their reasons. Milton's intentional neglect of smoothness and flow is recognized by Pearce, and it is shown that certain irregularities occur repeatedly: *e. g.* the "artificial negligence of Measure" at the beginning of lines 178). On the other hand, Pearce seems to agree with Bentley's view that dissyllabic words like "ruin", "riot", "reason" may be "shrunk into one syllable" 179). The problem of elision remains unsolved, though Bentley's reading "Eternity, whose Extent" 180), with the elision before a consonant, is condemned.

Taken as a whole, Pearce's commentary is of importance as combining some of the qualities that were most conspicuously absent in Bentley. His mind has artistic grasp. He is at the same time in sympathy with the freer spirit of seventeenth century poetry, and aware of the relativity of linguistic phenomena, of the complexity of their agents, of the variations of the meaning of words and phrases according to the changes of mood.

178) See III. 584 n., V. 750 n.

179) I. 90, 248 nm., VIII. 590 n.

180) XII. 556.

tradition and situation. To this sensitiveness are added the solid virtues of the painstaking, assiduous, analyzing scholar. The laudable qualities of Bentley, his scientific force, his acuteness and consistency, are, by Pearce, intelligently controlled. Without meaning to be exhaustive, Pearce established a reliable method of commenting.

5. THE COMMENTARY OF THE RICHARDSONS.

EXPLANATORY NOTES and REMARKS on MILTON's *Paradise Lost*. BY J. RICHARDSON, Father and Son. With the LIFE of the AUTHOR, and a Discourse on the POEM. By J. R. Sen. LONDON: Printed for JAMES, JOHN, and PAUL KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in *Ludgate-street*, near the West-End of *St. Paul's*. MDCCXXXIV.

8^o, pp. [1] + CLXXXII + 546. *Contents*: p. [1], title; pp. I—CLXIII, life of the poet and discourse on P. L.; pp. CLXIV—CLXXXII, remarks on the commentary; pp. 1—536, notes; pp. 537—541, misprints, alterations, additions, errata; pp. 542—546, tables of subjects and descriptions and a short abstract of the poem.

Note: With a portrait of Milton.

A. THE RICHARDSONS: THEIR GENERAL QUALIFICATION AND THE MAIN OBJECTS OF THEIR COMMENTARY.

The bulky volume of the Richardsons marks a new stage in Milton annotation, perhaps even in Milton criticism. Only the purely critical part of the book is discussed in the present chapter; the numerous biographical facts as well as the description of Milton's ways of composition and the history of "*Paradise Lost*" found in the earlier part of the volume, are omitted here. This work is much more the expression of a personal creed than any of the earlier commentaries, far more so than Pearce's scholarly production, and is based on a much broader and profounder conception of Milton's poetry than Bentley's edition can show. Both Bentley and the Richardsons put distinctive personal force into their work, but in principle they are radically opposed, and the latter do not treat Bentley favourably in their introduction. Bentley is not mentioned there, but his method is described in an unmistakable way in p. CXXXVIII. Though the work does honestly aim at giving a more or less full and impartial explan-

ation of the difficulties which the general reader might find in "Paradise Lost"¹⁸¹) the main impression produced by it is that it records the personal experiences of the authors in reading the poem.

The title-page defines the book as the outcome of the collaboration of two persons. It is divided into two main parts — a Life of Milton (with a long critical section), and a commentary. The former was written by the father, who in the last pages of the prefatory matter explains the character of the joint work. Father and son seem to have collaborated very closely on the commentary: in remarking on the borrowings from other critics, the elder Richardson describes how thoroughly every detail was considered by both of them — "in the Same manner as if it had been Suggested from Within; or by Me to My Son, or by my Son to Me and... Altered, or Not as our Own Joynt Reason Dictated, from Arguments our Own Conceptions furnish'd Us with"¹⁸²).

The father knew no Latin or Greek, or very little, as he confesses¹⁸³). His previous keen literary activity, however, which was devoted mainly to the analysis and description of art¹⁸⁴), and his reading in modern literature, had developed his critical faculties and helped him to appreciate some features of Milton which were not always intelligible to professional classical scholars. Though he thinks that Milton did not study Italian painting and sculpture very attentively¹⁸⁵), and though there consequently could be no direct gain for his Milton research from his studies of art, the mere fact of his having analyzed artistic phenomena was likely to prove fruitful and stimulating, when he came to annotate poetry. His practice as a painter had

¹⁸¹) See p. CLXIX.

¹⁸²) Cf. p. CLXIX.

¹⁸³) Cf. p. CXLI.

¹⁸⁴) See DNB. article on Jonathan Richardson. He had published several works on the theory of painting (1715, 1719) and, in collaboration with his son, one on works of art in Italy (1722). Winkelmann is said to have found the latter the best book on the subject. The ambitious scope of Richardson's writings appears from the title of a work published in 1719: "The Connoisseur. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting". The son whose Christian name was the same as his father's, took up the same profession of portrait-painting, though not with equal success.

¹⁸⁵) Cf. p. XV.

given him some insight into the processes of artistic creation, and his friendship with eminent men ¹⁸⁶) of letters helped him also. His Milton studies seem to have profited from these literary connections, for the preface to the notes which follows immediately upon the Life mentions the aid of "Friends, the Best Qualify'd to Assist, Especially in those Sciences our Selves are the least acquainted with... Had we Leave to Name those Friends it would do Us Honour and our Work" ¹⁸⁷). The son had received a better education, and evidently supplied the classical learning: "My Son is my Learning... We make One Man... When therefore I, in my Own Person talk of Things which in my Separate Capacity I am known to be a Stranger to, let Me be Understood as the Complicated *Richardson*" ¹⁸⁸). "In what depends on the Knowledge of the Learned Languages my Son is my Telescope... 'tis by the help of This I have seen That in *Milton* which to Me Otherwise had been Invisible; though before I had my Instrument I saw a Sky of shining Stars, How much more Throng'd and Bright soever That Sky Now appears" ¹⁸⁹). It may be too bold to conclude from these sentences that the father contributed most of the general speculations. A perusal of the notes, however, seems to confirm that impression, for most of the reasoning and criticism is in the unbridled, exuberant, enthusiastic style of which these quoted passages are modest examples.

The work is inspired by a deep and lasting admiration for "Paradise Lost". Both father and son had been students of the poem for a very long time. Their book was undertaken only "after a Constant Love, and Continu'd Application to the Reading of *Paradise Lost* Almost ever Since we could read Any thing" ¹⁹⁰). The father, who had been exceedingly fond of Shakespeare, Cowley, Dryden and others, especially of the two first, "as I always was of the Muses", had not heard of Milton until, in his youth, he happened to find a copy of the poem in his

¹⁸⁶) See DNB. on Richardson. Pope, Prior, Gay "and other conspicuous members of the literary world" are mentioned there as his friends.

¹⁸⁷) Cf. p. CLXIX.

¹⁸⁸) Cf. p. CXLI.

¹⁸⁹) Ibid.

¹⁹⁰) Cf. p. CLXIX.

master's, the painter Riley's studio ¹⁹¹). He was dazzled with it, "so that from that Hour all the rest (*Shakespeare* excepted) Faded in my Estimation, or Vanish'd. I immediately began to Store up in my Mind Passages to Regale and Nourish my Mind with at All times" ¹⁹²).

But their Milton worship leads them much further than this. They know much about the other works of the poet, and state their valuation of them in very definite terms. Milton "Excell'd in Lyrick, Pastoral, Dramatick, Epic, and a Kind Purely Original, Such is his *Masque*. Comedy indeed he never attempted that we know of, nor Dogrel. Much Less any thing in the Least Profane, or Indecent" ¹⁹³). "*Lycidas*" is highly praised; "*L'Allegro*" and "*Il Penseroso*" receive special mention; the seriousness of his Latin verse and his love poems is pointed out with particular approval. After writing on "*Comus*", Richardson the elder observes: "As great an Encomium have I heard of *Lycidas* as a Pastoral, and That when *Theocritus* was not forgot; *Theocritus*, of whom *Virgil* was but an Imitator in his Pastorals, as he was of *Homer* in his *Æneis*. The *Allegro* and *Penseroso* are Exquisite Pictures. his Latin Poems have the Same Gravity and Dignity, and Most of them remarkably Excellent, though All Written while he was a Young Man, or Almost Before. even his Few Love Poems have a sort of Dignity and Gravity in them" ¹⁹⁴).

The references to the Latin poems are unexpectedly frequent, considering their former neglect ¹⁹⁵). They probably ought to be put to the son's credit. The poem on Shakespeare is quoted in IX. 461 n.; the prose is mentioned and quoted constantly, especially in the Life and the later parts of the commentary. The preface to the notes emphasizes the study of the whole body of Milton's literary work: "We have seen what he has said in Other Parts of his Work, or in Other Works of His, and brought him to be his own Expositor. We have Consider'd his Opinions

¹⁹¹) This contradicts the previous quotation, which is obviously one of Richardson's usual hyperbolical effusions.

¹⁹²) Cf. pp. CXVIII—IX.

¹⁹³) Cf. p. XIV.

¹⁹⁴) Cf. p. XV—XVI.

¹⁹⁵) *E. g.* El. III—IV. 158 n., "*Ad Salsillum*" and "*Mansus*" — V. 161 n., "*Ad Patrem*" — VII. 35 n.

and Turn of Mind, as particularly in *Our Explanation of the Four Last Books*"¹⁹⁶). This general familiarity with Milton's whole literary output goes beyond what any previous critics had shown.

Milton was a learned writer, and "Paradise Lost" combines the fruit of his reading (p. CLII). The necessity to study his sources is therefore evident, and his sources are understood in their widest literary extent. Chaucer¹⁹⁷), Spenser¹⁹⁸), Shakespeare's "Othello"¹⁹⁹), "Macbeth"²⁰⁰), the second part of "Henry IV"²⁰¹), "Venus and Adonis"²⁰²), the Sonnets²⁰³) are among the works of older English poetry referred to by the Richardsons. It is especially interesting to note that he quotes a Shakespearian sonnet²⁰⁴) expressing one of the more contemplative and profound moods of the poet, to illustrate a "very Dreamy and Natural" passage in Milton, and that the place from "Macbeth" quoted in both the notes mentioned above is one of the weirdest in the play²⁰⁵). Iago's highly imaginative speech on "poppy and mandragora"²⁰⁶) has also impressed the commentators. In spite of all this, romance is condemned; the "Gothism found in the most Celebrated Modern Poets, *Chaucer, Spenser, Ariosto, Tasso, etc*"²⁰⁷) is not regarded with approval.

Italian poetry, the poetry of the country known to most painters of those Days, but only very cautiously explored by the earlier Milton commentators, is familiar to the Richardsons. Even the peculiarities of spelling in "the Old Italian Books by *Giolito, or the Guinti and Some Others*" are mentioned²⁰⁸). The references to Romance poetry go beyond Italian literature, for

¹⁹⁶) Cf. p. CLXXII.

¹⁹⁷) IX. 28 n., IV. 821 n.

¹⁹⁸) Cf. Shep. Cal. V. 333 n., Translation of Virgil's "Culex", IV. 30 n., "Visions of the World's Vanity" V. 100 n., F. Q. VII. 364 n.

¹⁹⁹) IX. 1046 n.

²⁰⁰) I. 62 n., V. 356 n.

²⁰¹) IX. 330 n.

²⁰²) II. 846, VII. 364, 365 nn.

²⁰³) VIII. 478 n.

²⁰⁴) Sonnet 27, see VIII. 478 n.

²⁰⁵) On Banquo's sightless eyes, Macbeth III. IV.

²⁰⁶) III. 3.

²⁰⁷) IX. 28 n.

²⁰⁸) Cf. p. CLXXV.

Camoens is alluded to in VII. 364 *n.*, but this is exceptional. *Tasso* and *Ariosto* ²⁰⁹) are no new discoveries but the name of Tasso's commentator *Scipio Gentili* seems to indicate some interest in Italian literary scholarship. Vida and Sannazaro are mentioned in V. 269 *n.* However, the best notes on Italian subjects deal with Dante. The sombre, infernal aspect of his poetry is taken notice of in I. 62 *n.* ["Eyes of Brass as *Dante* has given to Caron"] but most of the mentions are concerned with his descriptions of heaven and the angels ²¹⁰). The nature of the angels as described by Milton is supposed to be an imitation of Dante's notions ²¹¹). Vivid, typically bold and graphic expressions of Dante ²¹²) are regarded as the probable source of Miltonic phrases ²¹³).

All this constitutes a considerable stock of new and valuable material for comparison. But the main asset of the Richardson's is not their erudition. Their love of poetry, their artistic temperament, combined with what the elder Richardson calls "Good Sense" ²¹⁴), are, or would appear to be, more essential. This certainly seems true of the father, whose copious statements in the *Life* and in the preface to the notes enable one to see his personality more clearly. He describes his interests ²¹⁵): "I have from my Infancy Lov'd and Practic'd Painting and Poetry; One I Possess'd as a Wife, the Other I kept Privately, and shall Continue to do So whilst I Live". They want to restore Milton's meaning in the interests of poetry and religion: "We found This Book, as a Picture of the greatest Master, Obscur'd for want of a Proper Light; We hold it Up to Them in Such a One; but we Abhor to do what is Too Often done by the Best Pictures,

²⁰⁹) IX. 28, V. 580, 269 *nn.*

²¹⁰) Cf. I. 45, I. 610, V. 733 *nn.*

²¹¹) I. 45 *n.*

²¹²) "Light'ning Divine, ineffable, serene" V. 731 is said to be probably derived from Dante's "*Lampeggiò un Riso*" (Rich. gives no reference) = "Flash'd, or Lighten'd a Smile"; "a Smile from Angelic or Divine Beings is suppos'd to give a Sudden Light and Lustre, to Flash Brightness. So Milton VIII. 367 ... On the contrary Evil Beings *Frown Darkness*. II. 719". Observations of this kind point out interesting similarities, even if the sources indicated may not always be right.

²¹³) V. 733 *n.*

²¹⁴) Cf. p. CLXV.

²¹⁵) Cf. p. CLXXVIII.

We dare not Scour, much Less Retouch it" ²¹⁶). Yet to be able to do this a congenial mind is more needed than learning: "if a Poem is to be Read They will best Understand it, whether in the Original, or Translated or Explain'd and Remark'd upon, who have Most of the Poetical Genius by which it was Wrote, and which Those may be possess'd of who have not, or are not Known to have Attempted to *build the Lofty Rhyme*" ²¹⁷). Learning may even become a hindrance: "... 'tis too Apt to Occasion a Self-Sufficiency and Arrogance upon Account of What is Quite Beside the Purpose in Hand; and where Another Kind of Reading, or perhaps Only Good Sense is Requisite; as This Last is Always without Comparison Preferable to All the Learning of the World, how Pertinent Soever" ²¹⁸). Richardson may easily have thought of his own respectable position in the intellectual world of his time, which had not been won by scholastic learning. An example of the "arrogant" scholar was near at hand in Bentley.

The Richardsons have made use of earlier works on the subject. This is admitted in the preface, but everything is professed to have been thought out very thoroughly so that "Our Thought is nevertheless our Own, Honestly Earn'd by the Sweat of our Brows" ²¹⁹). Here at least Hume's merits are acknowledged, for his commentary is mentioned as their chief source. The initials P. H. are explained to mean "Philip Humes" ²²⁰).

B. THE INTRODUCTORY EXPOSITION OF THE LITERARY VIEWS OF THE ELDER RICHARDSON.

The latter part of the *Life* ²²¹) contains a survey of the character of Milton's poetry followed by a general theoretical discussion on poetry. Both show the critic's attitude in a clear light. It is advisable to follow Richardson's own arrangement and to deal with the particulars before going on to the general

²¹⁶) Cf. p. CLXXVII.

²¹⁷) Cf. p. CLXV.

²¹⁸) Ibid.

²¹⁹) Cf. p. CLXX.

²²⁰) Cf. p. CXVII, referred to on p. CLXXI.

²²¹) Cf. pp. CXXXIX—CLXIII.

conclusions, for the writer's logical power seems inferior to his power of critical intuition. It is safer to explain the general statement by the genuine impressions received from first-hand literary experience than to deduce the details from main definitions which contradict each other, and may have been derived from other writers on literary theory. Most of these passages appear to be a passionate rehabilitation of the prerogatives of poetry impugned by Bentley.

Richardson's knowledge of Shakespeare and of Italian poetry supplies him with good examples of the radical difference between the styles of poetry and prose: "Poetry pretends to a Language of its Own. That of the Italian Poetry is so remarkably peculiar that a Man may Well understand a Prose Writer, and not a Poet" ²²²). The vocabulary, the phraseology, the arrangement of words — "Words, Tours of Expression, the Order of Them, All has something not Prosaic. This is Observable particularly in Shakespear" ²²³). But Richardson's preference for Milton is quite as evident here as elsewhere. Shakespeare's free and easy way in the selection of his subjects appears to him to be out of harmony with his verbal artistry. Something of the ideal of "high language" and high subjects, of the uniform sublimity of neo-classicism seems to be still discoverable in his views, and Milton's more academic ways attract him more strongly and find fuller acknowledgement: "Milton has Apply'd it [= the peculiar language of poetry] to that sublimity of Subject in which he perpetually Engages his Readers, above What *Shakespeare* ever Aim'd at and where This is Peculiarly Necessary" ²²⁴).

The numerous classical elements in this poetically moulded style are clearly seen: "*Milton's* Language is English, but 'tis *Milton's* English; 'tis Latin, 'tis Greek English; not only the Words, the Phraseology, the Transpositions, but the Ancient Idiom is seen in All he Writes, So that a Learned Foreigner will think *Milton* the Easiest to be Understood of All the English Writers" ²²⁵). But only learned people could find him easy. The ordinary reader will want special comment, as he wants it

²²²) Cf. p. CXLIII.

²²³) Ibid.

²²⁴) Cf. p. CXLIII.

²²⁵) Cf. p. CXLII.

for understanding the language of the Gospels, according to Milton's own statement in the Tetrachordon ²²⁶). However, this obscurity is "not that Vicious Obscurity which proceeds from a Muddled Inaccurate Head", it does not come "from Want of Words and Method and Skill to Convey them to Another", there is nothing in it of that "Sort of a Moon-Light Prospect over a Landscape at Best not Beautiful" ²²⁷). On the contrary, „if a Good Writer is not Understood 'tis because his Reader is Unacquainted with or Incapable of the Subject, or will not Submit to do the Duty of a Reader, which is to Attend Carefully to what he Reads" ²²⁸). This is especially hard in Milton's case where the reader "must be Always upon Duty" for "he is Surrounded with Sense, it rises in every Line, every Word is to the Purpose; there are no Lazy Intervals" ²²⁹). There is nothing in Milton of the general fault of even the best Writers, in whose works "you Sometimes find Words and Sentences which hang on so Loosely you may Blow 'em off; *Milton's* are all Substance and Weight; Fewer would not have Serv'd the Turn, and More would have been Superfluous" ²³⁰). Everything is deliberate, at once rich and economical, the conciseness admired by the first commentator on Milton is still the feature of his style pre-eminently emphasized by this critic of 39 years later.

The truth already fully recognised by Pearce, that each writer has his own particular style with its own laws, is confirmed by Richardson, and he does more than this — he tries to define the individual qualities of Milton's temperament on which his style rests: "There is Something in Every Man's [*sic*]... whereby he is Known, as by his Voice, Face, Gait, & c." In Milton it is "a certain Vigour, whether *Versing* or *Prosing*, which will Awaken Attention be She never so Drowsy, and then Persuade her to be Thankful though She was Disturb'd" ²³¹). It is a real fire burning in everything he wrote, glowing in his early work, found in his war-like pamphlets, flaming more intensely than ever in "Paradise Lost" where its heat is felt throughout

²²⁶) *Ibid.* reference to Toland's Ed. p. 365.

²²⁷) Cf. p. CXLV.

²²⁸) Cf. p. CXLIV.

²²⁹) *Ibid.*

²³⁰) *Ibid.*

²³¹) Cf. p. CXLIV.

a wide range of moods and tendencies: "As his Mind was Rich in Ideas, and in Words of Various Languages to Cloathe them with and as he had a Vast Fire, Vigour and Zeal of Imagination, his Style must Necessarily Distinguish it Self; it Did so; and even in his Younger days, his Juvenile Poems, English, Latin, and Italian, have a Brilliant [*sic*] not Easily found Elsewhere; Nor is it not seen in his Controversial Prose Works; *Paradise Lost* wants it not, in which there are Specimens of All his Kinds of Styles, the Tender, the Fierce, the Narrative, the Reasoning, the Lofty, & c. So Early as when he Wrote for Divorce, though he Conceal'd his Name his Hand was known" ²³²). Milton's own statement from his pamphlet on divorce is quoted here. It is evident how it is the mark of the poet's strong personality which particularly appeals to the critic.

Richardson has very thoroughly learned the lesson which Pearce taught, that *stimulating suggestion* is one of the main requirements of poetic diction. Plain outspokenness or minute volubility are by no means sufficient. Milton's sparing use of words seems to be connected with this law: "whoever will Possess His Ideas must Dig for them, and Oftentimes pretty far below the Surface" ²³³). This presupposes much mental activity, much reading between the lines on the reader's part, for not only the poet's words but even his silence may be important. Homer, Longinus and Macrobius have made Richardson aware of this rule: "His Silence has the Same Effect, not only that he leaves Work for the Imagination when he has Entertain'd it, and Furnish'd it with Noble Materials..." ²³⁴). For it also has a distinctly positive effect: Homer's works are distinguished both by "Readiness of Speech and Silent Majesty" ²³⁵); "...by *Silent Majesty*, he [= Macrobius, who uses the word] seems to Mean with Longinus: 'His Leaving more to the Imagination than is Express'd'." This seems a good definition of the ways of the poet who in referring to the allusive manner of Spenser and others wrote of the "sage and solemn tunes... Of Forests, and

²³²) Cf. p. CXLIII.

²³³) Cf. p. CXLIV.

²³⁴) Cf. p. CXLIV.

²³⁵) Cf. p. CXLV.

enchantments drear, Where more is meant then meets the ear" ²³⁶).

Originality and imagination are the principal concepts explicitly or implicitly referred to in these statements. They cause in the critic a very sceptical, even in many respects a positively revolutionary attitude to fixed rules and classifications in literature. If originality is one of the main conditions of poetry, the need for timid measures of precaution disappears. "Paradise Lost" may be different from anything in the poetry of the past: "... 'tis of no great Importance whether this be call'd an Heroic or a Divine Poem, or only, as the Author himself has call'd it in his Title-page, a Poem. What if it were a Composition Intirely New, and not reducible under any Known Denomination?" ²³⁷). The greatness of the poem as well as its unique subject make it independent of the rules based solely upon the experiments of the past, even if those experiments were made by Homer and Virgil and the conclusions were drawn by Aristotle ²³⁸): "if the Sublimity and Peculiarity of the Matter of this Poem, if its Superiority in that Respect has rais'd it above Some of the Rules given by *Aristotle*, or Whatever Other Criticks, and Gather'd From, or Founded on the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, or *Æneid*, it has Distinguish'd it to its greater Glory; 'tis not only on Heroic Poem, but the Most So that Ever was Wrote" ²³⁹). It is notable that the sacred character of the subject still plays almost as great a part in Richardson's valuation of the work as it did in Hume's estimation. However, the emphasis laid on Milton's genius seems quite as great: "*Milton* did not despise Rules, Such as were Built upon Reason, So far as those Establish'd Reach'd; but as his Free and Exalted Genius Aspir'd Beyond what had Yet been Attempted in the Choice of his Subject, Himself was his Own Rule when in Heights where None had gone before, and Higher than Which None Can Ever Go" ²⁴⁰).

But Richardson's radicalism is not at all that of a fanatic who does not see the advantages of the opposite point of view. His observation that Milton did not disregard the laws of reason

²³⁶) II P. 117—120.

²³⁷) Cf. p. CXLV.

²³⁸) Cf. p. CXLVII.

²³⁹) Cf. p. CXLVII.

²⁴⁰) *Ibid.*

shows this. Originality is by no means only being different from the rest. Tradition has its value, and what is useful in it, has to be assimilated, especially the heritage of classical literature. "Grace, Majesty and Simplicity" are among the qualities to be acquired from that source ²⁴¹). Milton has these features "to a Degree beyond what We have ever found in Any Modern Painter or Sculptor, not Excepting *Rafaëlle* Himself" ²⁴²). "...All his Images are Pure Antique. So that We read *Homer* and *Virgil* in reading Him" ²⁴³). He is "an Ancient, but born two Thousand Years after his Time" ²⁴⁴). Richardson is so far from under-estimating classical tradition that Greek and Latin still in his opinion are the preferable languages for poetry. Milton's English ranks next, partly because of its classical stamp. It is "the Best, next to Greek and Latin, to Convey those Images Himself Conceiv'd" ²⁴⁵). Its classical character causes a strange, rare flavour: Milton's "Greek'd and Latiniz'd" language is made "as Uncommon and expressive as our Tongue could be, and yet Intelligible to us for whom he Wrote" ²⁴⁶). The combination of all that is good in the past with the great new tradition of Christianity makes Milton's work incomparable. For poetry should improve mankind to make it happy. This is done by the aid of religion: "We have then in *Paradise Lost* a Collection, the Quintessence of All that is Excellent in Writing; Frequently Improv'd and Explain'd Better than by the Best of their Profess'd Commentators, but Never Debas'd; and a Sublimity which All other Human Writings put together have not. to Compleat All, He has made Use of All These, so as to be subservient to the Great End of Poetry, which is to Please and Inrich the Imagination, and to Mend the Heart, and make the Man Happy" ²⁴⁷). Milton's best passages are "Such as None but the Noblest Genius could attain to, and That Assisted by a Religion Reveal'd by God Himself" ²⁴⁸).

²⁴¹) Cf. p. CXLVIII.

²⁴²) *Ibid.*

²⁴³) *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴) Cf. p. CXLVII.

²⁴⁵) *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶) Cf. p. CXLVIII.

²⁴⁷) Cf. p. CLII.

²⁴⁸) *Ibid.*

The notion that Milton improved in imitating was expressed by Hume and others. Richardson adds a description of his method of assimilating the valuable parts of the productions of other poets. The transplanted passages are "as Gay and Fragrant as whence they were taken", "Genius and Judgment" make up for the neglect of invention ²⁴⁹). "What is Inserted Fits as well as in the Original Work; or if That is not Equal to *Milton's* Own, He makes it So by Raising its Native Character" ²⁵⁰). He prepares every borrowed effect so carefully as to make it absolutely his own, avoiding the badly calculated, imperfect adaptations so frequent in other poets. Many a bold allusion may be fine yet it "Offends the Imagination when it strikes upon it yet Un-prepar'd; as in *Spencer*, B. II. Can. II. St. 22, where a Bear and Tyger are introduc'd as Fighting on the *Lybick* Ocean. *Milton's* Boldest Borrow'd Figures, as his Own, when they Awaken the Mind do it not with a Sudden Crash, but as with Musick; if they Surprise, they don't Startle Us. You will not find a Single Instance of Such Improproprieties in Him" ²⁵¹). Thus "all He touches becomes as if 'twas the Pure Gold of the Best Antiquity" ²⁵²). Milton has found the best way of doing what inevitably has to be done wherever perfection is to be achieved, for the departure from antiquity would mean the substitution of the inferior for the superior, of later deterioration for the thoughts and imagery of the youth of mankind when all that was excellent was once for all discovered and made use of in poetry ²⁵³).

The moderns, "Gothic" literature, Romance, belong to inferior categories: „Those who are unaccustom'd to this [= classic-al] Train of Thinking, may only please to Dip into *Chaucer*, *Spencer*, *Ariosto*, even *Tasso* or any of the Moderns, and observe what *Gothick* Figures and Things present Themselves to their Imagination, or what are Comparatively Mean" ²⁵⁴).

These were some of Richardson's main ideas on literature but expressed in a not too generalized form. He bases his conclusions on facts and observations and is so far reasonable and

²⁴⁹) Cf. p. CL.

²⁵⁰) *Ibid.*

²⁵¹) Cf. p. CLI.

²⁵²) *Ibid.*

²⁵³) *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴) Cf. p. CXLVIII.

even convincing. But he also wishes to give a general definition of poetry, which, as he remarks, is not given in Milton's own statements about his works. The opinion he expresses is somewhat surprising: "Were I call'd upon to Define Poetry in General... I would do it by saying 'tis ORNAMENT" ²⁵⁵). This means pleasure of a rather superficial kind, and this principle is his only means of justifying the admission of fiction into poetry: "This Implies Fiction, for Dress, Lace, Gold, Jewels, etc. is not the Body. Poetry therefore is not Truth, but Somthing More Agreeable, at least than Meer Truth" ²⁵⁶). These opinions seem to contradict his earlier insistence on the religious element in poetry. However, a (probably unconscious) twist of logic enables him to make even religion and morals subservient to the aims of pleasure: "the Great End of Poetry... is to Please and Inrich the Imagination, and to Mend the Heart, and make the Man Happy" ²⁵⁷). He does not distinguish sharply enough between the happiness derived from "Dress, Lace, Gold" and the intense gratification of purifying moral experience.

This is obvious from the inferences he draws from his definition that poetry is ornament or "Somthing More Agreeable... than Meer Truth". He immediately shifts the emphasis to the deeper aspects of poetry, illogically concluding that the business of poetry "is, Consequently, to Awaken, to Please, to Allure; 'tis Address'd to the Imagination, to the Passions, and this Supposes Energy as well as Beauty" ²⁵⁸). According to this sentence, poetry no longer could be mere ornament. Energy appears to be the quality mainly emphasized here: "to Awaken, to Please, to Allure" are treated as synonyms, but "to Awaken" comes first. A passage extolling the pleasures of reading ²⁵⁹) shows the comprehensiveness of Richardson's literary interests, and the ever-present demand of stimulation. Reading fills the mind, feeds it, rouses "the Intellectual Fire", puts "our Passions into a more Vigorous Motion", instructs, amuses, gives what we lack ourselves, inspires us with thought, feeding "the *Intellectual Being*" which "has the Universe, and Beyond what is Real, even

²⁵⁵) Cf. p. CLV.

²⁵⁶) *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷) Cf. p. CLII.

²⁵⁸) Cf. p. CLV.

²⁵⁹) Cf. p. CLVIII—IX.

the Immense Regions of Fancy to range and *Wander* in, and as it cannot be Limited by Time, it *Expatiates Eternity*." It gives us all kinds of experiences, those that are wholesome and noble as well as that kind which "pollutes the Mind with Black Exhalations, and Scorches, or Torments us" ²⁶⁰). In spite of the stress he lays on the moral purpose of poetry, he acknowledges that, whatever objects it may aim at, good or evil, "'tis no Less, or More Poetry Still" ²⁶¹). Thus his radicalism tends to go very far. But the *best* kind of poetry is that which improves mankind ²⁶²). Morals and religion come first but the rest cannot be excluded. Energy, passion appear to be the very essence of poetry.

If Richardson in spite of these much more adequate views was capable of identifying poetry with external embellishment, the cause may partly lie in his artistic temperament. He values the purely formal, sensuous elements of style. The discords, harmonies and patterns, "the Sound of the Words, their Harshness, Smoothness, or Other Properties, and the Ranging, and Mixing them, all help to Express aswell [*sic*] as their Signification" ²⁶³). Imagination is the most important feature, and there may be a "Poetick Prose" as well as a "Prosaick Verse" but the form, the rhythm should never be ignored: "tho' the Verse Alone is not Poetry, 'tis, strictly speaking, Essential to it." An orator with "the Gaudiness and Splendour which Poetry demands", but "without the Musick of *Numerous Verse* would not be a Poet" ²⁶⁴). Painting and Music seem to have deepened his appreciation of form as such: "Poetry Pleases by a Peculiarity and Majesty of Stile and Language; its Numbers, its Rime (if us'd, and Skilfully) Pleases as Musick does, and as Painting" ²⁶⁵).

²⁶⁰) *Ibid.*

²⁶¹) Cf. p. CLVI.

²⁶²) *Ibid.*

²⁶³) Cf. p. CXLIII.

²⁶⁴) Cf. p. CLV.

²⁶⁵) Cf. p. CLVI.

C. GENERAL LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE COMMENTARY.

The notes on individual passages are in general accordance with these prefatory statements. The established rules are regarded as somewhat irrelevant, individual liberty in poetry is welcomed and justified. Freer views on life, even on religion, appear natural and necessary; for the author is "Writing a Poem, not a System of Divinity or Philosophy... his Muse is Divine, but she is Also a Muse. He is Constant in his System, but 'tis a Poetical One" ²⁶⁶). This is directed against the people who find it possible to make "Silly Objections when they Imagine Themselves Triumphant over their Author" ²⁶⁷) — apparently an allusion to Bentley.

The very irregular style of the notes, and their habit of freely following every impulse of thought, is clearly reflected in the treatment of Milton's *digressions*. Excrescences are not condemned as superfluous if they are good in themselves. The general plan does not seem to admit of some of the particulars in the description of Satan's interplanetary journey ²⁶⁸), yet even what is here "Over and Above the Principal Scope of it, comes in very Properly, Poetically, and beautifully". It would be undesirable for certain "irregular" passages to become more regular and neat and more in accord with the scheme which ordinary logic would expect. There are moods and frames of mind which can be adequately expressed by an imitation of their eccentricities. Hints at such views do occur in the commentary. The poet's digression on his blindness in P. L. III. 26—40 "is an Excursion of Thought, and not without its Poetical Beauty, as expressing the working of his Afflicted Mind better than if it had gone on more Regularly."

The tendency to study the concealed meaning of things, a vividness of imagination which understands the associations of words and is indispensable for appreciating Milton's allusive style enable the commentators to do justice to the Miltonic *catalogues*. They are not barren and bald to them, no mere

²⁶⁶) VII. 40 n.

²⁶⁷) *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸) II. 648 n.

enumerations, no schoolmasterly whims, not even the longest and barest of them, the list of the great kingdoms and capitals of the world in book XI, the only one which is almost totally devoid of picturesque epithets and brief descriptive sentences aiding the imagination. Addison valued the catalogue of evil spirits in book I for "the very agreeable turn of Poetry, which rises in a great measure from its describing the places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of rivers, so frequent among the ancient Poets." The list in book XI, on the contrary, stands and falls with the phonetic beauty of the names and the historical and geographical background suggested by them; but these are sufficient to kindle the commentator's mind ²⁶⁹): "What a Picture does This Offer to the Imagination! ... This Landscape takes In all the Side of the Globe on which they Stood, the Various Climates, and Countries, the Future Seats of many vast Empires and Mighty Kingdoms and States..." The impression which the enumeration of the fallen angels in the first book produces on the Richardsons is deeper than merely that of a "very agreeable turn of Poetry." They seem to read more attentively between the lines. It is not only "an Artful and Entertaining History" to them; it is "of the Ancient Idolatry but Beautifully Pathetical" ²⁷⁰). The admiring attitude to the legends of the ancients hinted at here is evident also in the other catalogues; the mythological names in IV. 268 & *seq.* are considered capable of making even the beauty of paradise more deeply felt.

Some of these lists of names are rich in mediæval romantic associations; for example the list of the kingdoms seen by Adam which was just discussed. They seem to be included in the annotators' praise. Their dislike of this type of poetry does not go nearly as far as Bentley's. The depreciation of "Gothic" poetry in the prefatory treatise does not prevent the critics from seeing the attraction of fine individual passages in that style where they happen to encounter them. The very "Gothic" matter of the Teutonic invasions described in I. 351 & 809 is praised for the "New and Great Images" presented there, though there is really very little classicism in the account of "the Northern Nations and Barbarous, Over stock'd with People" who send forth "Multitu-

²⁶⁹) XI. 378 n.

²⁷⁰) I. 392 n.

des, who (as *Shakespear* says) *cry'd Havock, and let Slip the Dogs of War*" ²⁷¹).

However, the impression strikes one very often that not this kind of romance but a greater, more peaceful and playful type of romantic poetry really appeals to them. Milton's Minor Poems may have helped to develop their taste for these matters. "Il Penseroso" is quoted in the note on the only place in "Paradise Lost" where fairy-folklore is dealt with at some length ²⁷²) and the paraphrase in this note is certainly more in the slightly popular, easy-going style of the fairy-passages of "L'Allegro" than in the strictly measured, sonorous and somewhat solemn tone of the part of the epic under consideration there: the picture becomes "exceeding Pretty and Delightful", the fairies are "a Neat, Merry People", the moon "seems to stoop down the better to observe them, and to partake of the Pleasure".

The existence of such cases does not imply that the dignity of Milton's manner is not emphasized in the notes, but the Richardsons seem to have a genuine feeling for realism, even for humour. The grand style is superior in principle. Milton still only "does sometimes Stoop to what is Beneath his Ordinary Majesty" ²⁷³). Certain kinds of realistic poetry are condemned, even the naturalism in the Homeric descriptions of warfare is treated with the same contempt as that with which Milton in the exordium to book IX of "Paradise Lost" "Glanc'd at *Homer's* perpetual Affectation of This Sort of Knowledge, which Certainly Debases his Poetry" ²⁷⁴). Milton's poems, on the contrary, are "Crowded Close with Variety of what is Important and full of Dignity" ²⁷⁵).

Wars are too closely associated with the degenerate wickedness of man. The Richardsons — perhaps only the elder Richardson — sympathize with a tendency in the literature of their time which prepared the way for the following generations and favoured the return to nature from the artificiality and ruthlessness of civilized life. The desire for idyllic, primitive plainness, the

²⁷¹) I. 351 n.

²⁷²) I. 785 n.

²⁷³) V. 746 n.

²⁷⁴) IX. 29 n.

²⁷⁵) *Ibid.*

idealization of animals, are typical features of this tendency, and both occur in the notes of the Richardsons. Milton's suggestion of the existence of speech among animals is welcomed ²⁷⁶): "but that They also have a Language, Certain Sounds Expressing the Various Passions of Love, Joy, Fear, Anger, & c. and are well understood by One Another, and by Us, is Indisputable." They have their share of intelligence: "They Thus Converse, and make known their Wants to all Their Useful Intents and Purposes, as well Altogether as Our Selves in what Concerns Us" ²⁷⁷). Mankind is degenerate though we "perhaps might have been no Less Happy had our Language been Empty of a deal of the Jargon of Unprofitable Science, and the Uncertainty, Ambiguity, and Confusion, which has Occasion'd Infinite Perplexity, Folly, Wranglings, Wars, & c." ²⁷⁸).

Here again the dislike of war appears. Simple, homely ideas attract the Richardsons much more. They like the metaphor of the earth "that spinning sleeps on her soft axle" ²⁷⁹). "An Exceeding Apt Illustration, tho' taken from a Common, Mean Circumstance", and the manner of 18th century country realism of the type of the family scenes in Gray's "Elegy" bears some similarity to the primitive, but genuine idyl of Adam and Eve listening to the angel ²⁸⁰): "...the Angel with Dignity has related a most Amazing piece of History, and our First Parents with Attention and Admiration express'd in their Beautyfull Countenances... [sic]."

Fun and humour are seen, and studied with some care. Satan's curious behaviour towards the end of his journey is explained in a humorous spirit, and the critic is anxious to corroborate his interpretation by referring to further comic features from various parts of the poem: "He [= Satan] throws Himself Directly Down and turns (as they say) Heel over Head all the Way, for This is the motion described, which Exactly is like the Spoke of a wheel. This Ridiculous motion is Beautifully apply'd to the Devil on This Occasion. So IV. 568. the Angel

²⁷⁶) VIII. 373 n.

²⁷⁷) *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸) *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹) P. L. VIII. 164.

²⁸⁰) VII. 50 n.

describes him *Bent all on Speed with an Aery Gate* and 129. *to have had a Mad Demeanor*, he seems to have been in a Sort of *Gamesome Mood* (as VI. 620) Glad that he is just at the end of his Journey" ²⁸¹).

The note expresses some pleasure at these grotesque traits. Hence the radical step of recognising the value of comic relief in sublime poetry, to which the recognition of the intensifying effect of comic contrast is added. This is remotely hinted at in the note on Milton's puns ²⁸²) which in turn refers to an observation on VI. 206 where the whole matter is clearly stated: "There is Besides flung In a Repose, a Ludicrous Scene; but upon an Incident truly Great, and brought, not only to Refresh the Reader, it serves to Vary the Action, and by representing Those that were to be Ruin'd, with *Ruin upon Ruin, Rout on Rout, Confusion Worse Confounded* (I. 995) by shewing Them in *Gamesom Mood* (v. 622). This makes the Destruction appear, even That More Horrible." The value of the whole round of experience is thus understood more completely by the Richardsons than by the earlier commentators, with the exception of Hume, who in a simple-minded manner employed most things without being conscious of how they were to be used in literature.

The profession of the Richardsons has left some unmistakable traces in their manner of approach to Milton. The visual side of Milton's poetry is very strongly emphasized, often even over-emphasized. A list of Milton's "pictures", i. e. the main scenes of "Paradise Lost", regarded from a painter's point of view, is added to the commentary. The luxury of Milton's descriptions attracted Hume strongly, but to the Richardsons the poet became pre-eminently an interpreter of the visual world who only through it passes on to the heart and mind: "in All he Writes, he is a Painter, he Directs his Discourse to the Eye, next to the Heart, he Sets the Picture of Things Before us with all the Strength and Beauty that Words can Image" ²⁸³).

The excellence of Milton's combinations of colours is sometimes very well observed, yet certain expressions show how purely technical considerations peculiar only to the painter could be

²⁸¹) III. 741 n.

²⁸²) VI. 557 n.

²⁸³) VII. 321 n.

ascribed to Milton by these critics. The angel descending to Adam and Eve in book VI with "his *Lucid Arms*, a Flowing Purple Drapery", as the note puts it in a very ornamental manner, is supposed to be represented on a richly coloured background in which "the Azure of the Sky, mix'd with the Glory of the Angel makes a Greenish Tinct, a *Jasper* Brightness," and "This with the *Radiant* [*sic*] *White Cloud* gives an Idea of Colours most Delightful" ²⁸⁴). The glory of the angel here appears to be reduced to a yellow colour spot which in combination with blue yields green — a way of mixing colours on the pallet not suggested in Milton's description. It is true, some of the poet's expressions, such as "a Skie of Jasper" or: "draws Ore the blew Firmament a radiant white," remind one a little of the technicalities of painting.

Hume was interested in Milton's colour epithets and gave much attention to some of them, e. g. to "purple", as was shown. The Richardsons probably make the first attempt at a systematic comparative study of them in trying to define the colours Milton attributes to the morning sky ²⁸⁵). It is of some interest to note that the precision shown in this comparison is greater than is usually found in their inquiries: "Grey belongs to the Earliest Dawn whilst the Beams of the Sun are yet too Distant to Warm th' *Uncolour'd Skie*. So V. 189. VII. 373. IX. 192. and *Lycidas* v. 25. 187". Then comes "the *Rosie Morning*... VI. 3. VII. 29. VIII. 511. XI. 175. when the Sun rises the Morning puts on her Saffron Robe, and This is the time Noted V. 139. IV. 642. Now is the *Rosie Morning*, Her Way lyes where spreads a General Rosyness, and shee as it were treads upon Roses". The evidence is collected so carefully that Milton's conception of this aspect of natural scenery is made vividly present to the reader's mind. Even "Lycidas" is studied here in order to illustrate one of the most attractive features in Milton's treatment of nature.

To the keener eye of the painter colours are likely to become more than mere ornament. They acquire a life of their own, sometimes perhaps of greater significance than the poet would allow. Colour symbolism easily becomes a problem of some actuality to those who deal with colours all their lives. To the

²⁸⁴) XI. 209 n.

²⁸⁵) V. 1 n.

Richardsons, the black mist accompanying Satan in paradise appears to be even more charged with meaning than Milton's text will warrant, although the direction of their hint seems to be right²⁸⁶): "Something Infernal broke through his Disguise. Grey and Blue Mists were Usual in This Garden, not Black Ones." Some other observations are even more suggestive. Hume had already explained that

"Should intermitted vengeance Arme again

His red right hand to plague us"²⁸⁷)

probably referred to the thunder in God's hand; Bentley added the Horatian parallel "rubente dextra" (Od. 1, 2. 2, 3), thinking, however, that the image related to "Vengeance" and that therefore it should be "her" hand, not "his". Richardson sides with Hume, without mentioning him, but he adds a description of the associations evoked in himself by the colour adjective. A parallel from Virgil is quoted to describe the kind of image Milton probably intended to picture: "Virgil has also much the same, the Hand Glimmer'd with the Fire it Darted"²⁸⁸). However, more is meant by this than only the visual impression: "It may be Understood that the Hand of God was Red as a Sign of Wrath."

Portrait-painting has sharpened the eye of the commentators for the study of Milton's treatment of the human countenance. They see Satan "look with Horrór Round him, Reflecting on the Place he has in Exchange for Heaven"²⁸⁹) and affirm with great certainty that Milton's description of "ire, envy and despair" as pale is right, emphasizing that "That is the most Diabolical Anger which is accompany'd with a Pale, Livid Countenance"²⁹⁰). The movements and gestures of the body are well discerned. Newton repeats as his own, and Todd reprints with Newton's signature, a note on Satan's flight through space²⁹¹) explaining Satan's motions, first his dropping perpendicularly, in great haste, into the passage to the new creation, and then how he "being In, and not knowing where was the Seat of Man (for though 'tis said v. 530. Paradise was directly against the Gate of Heaven 'tis

²⁸⁶) IX. 180 n.

²⁸⁷) II. 173.

²⁸⁸) II. 173 n.

²⁸⁹) I. 242 n.

²⁹⁰) IV. 115 n.

²⁹¹) III. 562 n. \

plain *Satan* did not see it) . . . Winds, Turns This way and That Obliquely, as being upon the Search". The presentation of these visual details is more vivid, their interpretation more intent on bringing home the accompanying mental processes than nearly everything in earlier Milton criticism, including Addison's articles, who usually confines himself to more obvious and conventional features.

D. MILTON'S FORM: HIS LANGUAGE, SPELLING, AND VERSE.

The best part of the work done by the Richardsons consists in critical remarks of a more general, intuitive order, such as those discussed in the previous chapters. Minute research on problems of language and metre is not their forte, although their metrical views are interesting.

Their study of Milton's vocabulary is not very independent. Hume and Pearce, and also Bentley, are frequently used by them as sources. The additions are not very numerous. The exactness of their adherence to their models might be illustrated by a note on the expression "ardor" ²⁹²). Hume interprets it as "*Ardor*, Lat. Brightness, Fervency, Exceeding Love, & c. to which the Angelick Excellency may well be assimilated, in respect of their Purity, Activity and Zeal". The Richardsons explain that "*Ardor* in Latin implies Fervency, Exceeding Love, Eager Desire, Fiery Nature, all included in the Idea of an Angel". The adjective in the expression "Serried Shields" l. 548 means according to Hume: "Lock'd one within another, link'd and clasp'd together", and according to the Richardsons: "their Sides Clasp'd, Lock'd together". Bentley's interpretation of "emblem" is adopted IV. 703 n.

The view that Milton uses classical words in their original sense, seems to have become a commonplace by now. The Richardsons — probably the son, who contributed the remarks on the classics — praise Milton's "Pure Latinity" as contrasted with the commoner significations assumed by words in later and "Baser Ages" ²⁹³), which is in full agreement with the high

²⁹²) V. 249 n.

²⁹³) IV. 878 n.

estimation of classical antiquity expressed in the Life (quoted p. 193). The "true Antique Sense" and "great Propriety"²⁹⁴) are combined in the use of "dispensed" (= Lat. *dispensare*, from "penso", to weigh, meaning in Milton "to Distribute... Tasks to every One", as the commentary explains). This interpretation has been adopted by Verity and is new, as is also the explanation of "counsels" I. 636 *n.* as "private Views" = "consilium" in Latin. These and other remarks show that the younger Richardson at least knew something about classical scholarship, but the acuteness of many of Hume's etymological remarks is absent. Some details are added, but no perceptible methodical progress is made.

The same applies to the examination of Milton's use of older language. Pearce's care is absent here, and no interesting new sources are discovered. Anglo-Saxon etymologies are given, but they do not add anything important, and sometimes seem to be borrowed from Hume²⁹⁵). Mediæval lore, the language of romance and Elizabethan speech are hardly touched on²⁹⁶) though there are indications that the terminology of chivalry was not unknown to them ("cover'd field" I. 763 compared with Fr. "champ clos"). The impression produced by their notes on Milton's vocabulary is that they took no real interest in them. Besides, there was no special object which compelled them to go into these problems more thoroughly — nothing like Pearce's aim of refuting Bentley, which implied a sound study of the character of the expressions altered in Bentley's edition.

One important field of linguistic research, however, is cultivated by them more industriously than by their predecessors: they make some interesting suggestions on Milton's borrowings from the Italian. Thus they derive "made alt" (XI. 210) from the Italian "far Alto", instead of spelling it "made halt": "See the *Vocab. Crusc.* where *far Alto* is explain'd by *fermarsì* (Ital.) *Consistere* (Lat.)." The derivation of "Ammiral" I. 294 from the Italian is pointed out, though the form quoted is not "ammi-

²⁹⁴) XI. 766 *n.*

²⁹⁵) See I. 304 *n.* sedge < sæg, III. 1. Hail < Hæl.

²⁹⁶) See, however, *e. g.* VIII. 36 "a sumless journey" + Shakespeare, *Hen. V.* Act 1: "Sumless Treasure", & *c.* and Spenser III. 10, 12.

raglia" but "Ammiraglio", meaning the commander of a fleet, not the ship of an admiral, which latter is meant by Milton (cf. NED). The mistake is at any rate less crude than that made by Hume who derives the word from "Gm. *Amiral*, *Amirael*, the Chief Commander at Sea". Other notes *e. g.* on IV. 709, VIII. 3 show the same knowledge of Italian. These attempts were useful by calling attention to one of the real sources of Milton's style.

The remarks on syntax often bear the same flashlight character as the typical parts of the rest of the book. Pearce had sufficiently proved that Milton was fond of elliptic phrases, although he was puzzled by some of them. The study of Milton's language in the elder Richardson's critical introduction emphasized this feature. In the notes certain cases are explained which remained a riddle to Pearce. The conciseness of III. 474 ["Many more too long" — see above, p. 96] is seen by the Richardsons: "'tis his Concise manner; Let the Reader do Something for Himself." But the broadmindedness which is carried far enough here, becomes bizarre in the emotionalism of III. 344 *n.* The elaborate parenthetical construction of the period ["the multitude of Angels... uttering joy"] is destroyed for the sake of a more violent effect. L. 347 is pointed: "as from Blest Voices uttring Joy — Heav'n rung" < "As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung." Here "uttering joy" is understood as the attribute of "blest voices", not as the verb of "the multitude of Angels", so that the latter expression remains without a verb. The explanation is as follows: "the Poet breaks off from speaking of the Angels, and in a Transport crys out Heaven rung, & *c.* Then more Calmly resumes the Thread of his Relation; *Lowly Reverent*, & *c.*". The commentator's enthusiasm overpowers his logic.

On the other hand, the writers are capable of interpreting the artistic meaning of certain unusual features of syntax. In II. 910 Milton starts a period: "Into this wilde Abyss", then describes Chaos and in II. 917 again resumes: "Into this wild Abyss", adding the verbs which finish the sentence. The commentator tries to follow the author's manner of thinking: "'tis Observable the Poet Himself seems to be Doing what he Describes, for the Period begins at 910. Then he goes not On Directly, but Lingers; giving an Idea of *Chaos* before he Enters into it. 'tis

very Artfull; if his Stile is Somewhat Abrupt after Such Pondering it Better Paints the Image he Intended to give" ²⁹⁷).

Certain classical peculiarities of syntax in Milton are well observed, which may be due to the better training in matters of scholarship which the younger Richardson had received. The probability of an imitation of the Greek use of a participle after verbs of knowledge and perception in IX. 792 ("And knew not eating Death") is noticed, and a quotation from Oppian's *Haliout*. II. 106. given ("οὐδ' ἐνόησαν σπεύδοντες ὀλεθρον"). Similar observations are those on the use of the positive for the superlative IX. 795 *n.* ²⁹⁸), on the hendiadys "joy And tidings" for "joyful tidings" X. 345 ²⁹⁹), of "as" in a Latin sense X. 978 *n.* ("As in our evils" — cf. Cic. Ep. Fam. IV. 9. "Nam adhuc, & factum tuum probatur, & ut in tali re, etiam Fortuna Laudatur"), & *c.* The work done in this field shows some observation and knowledge, and may have interested the younger Richardson more than etymological research and inquiries into Milton's vocabulary, where there appears to be somewhat less scope for subtler speculation. Care, some reading in learned works on the classics, and an attentive study of the situation, which here is one likely to attract the portrait painter, appear in XI. 248 *n.*:

"by his side

As in a glistering *Zodiac* hung the Sword,

Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the Spear."

Richardson explains the construction as being: "by his Side hung the Sword, and the Spear in his Hand." He interprets this as meaning either that the sword was hanging loosely in the belt and the spear was carried negligently in the advancing angel's hand, or that there was no verb to define the attitude of the spear. He refers to Markland, on Statius' *Sylv.* I. I. 79, for evidence that in ancient literature the verb was not applicable to all the members of a period. The style of these notes usually appears more moderate and careful than that of the father, as seen in the prefatory matter and approximately recognizable in many of the notes.

²⁹⁷) II. 917 *n.*

²⁹⁸) "Precious of all Trees" — *Æn.* IV. 576: Sequimur te Sancte Deorum, & *c.*

²⁹⁹) IV. 667 *n.*: parallel from the *Æneid* I. 640: "Munera Laetitiamque Dei" = "Munera Laeta" acc. to Rich.

The elder Richardson's interest in the qualities of verbal sound is indicated, among other evidence, by his eccentric use of capital letters. A more fruitful result of this interest is his understanding of the phonetic value of Milton's spellings and metric generally, in which he surpasses earlier critics. He follows his feeling for rhythm and his logical sense of the importance of words in using "Great Letters, wherever any particular Weight is to be laid on the Word" ³⁰⁰). Even at the beginning of a paragraph small letters are used where there is no stress on the word. The writer feels the significance of rhythm for the perception of the meaning, for "Sometimes Impressions are taken at First reading which are not Easily, if Ever Eradicated, though what the Writer was an Utter Stranger to" ³⁰¹). A man capable of thus concentrating on the form of language was likely to understand that Milton's spellings were not always accidental or arbitrary but that *e. g.* "*He, we, me, ye*, are with a Double or a Single *e*, as the Emphasis lies upon them, or does not" ³⁰²). He sees Milton's scrupulousness in these matters. "Nay, a Neglect of This Kind is put into the Errata of the First Edition, the Fault is in II. 414" ³⁰³). However, he does not notice that Milton's form "thir" might be used for the unstressed variety of the word ³⁰⁴). Some of Milton's spellings are valued for the sake of authenticity and because the poet used them more or less consistently, but no inquiries are made into the reasons. "Sent, Thir, Perfet, Then (when a Comparative), Soule, Eeven, Minde, Don, Burden, & c." are enumerated in p. CXXXI, among which "sent" is explained as due to the etymology of the word ("Sentir Fr. It. sentire") ³⁰⁵).

Richardson is quite conscientious in his examination of these problems. To him they are a proof that Milton supervised the first edition, and the correction of occasional mistakes in the errata to this edition as well as the correction of these errata in the text of the second edition are further arguments used by him to corroborate his very decided notion that Milton's own editions

³⁰⁰) Cf. p. CLXXIV.

³⁰¹) *Ibid.*

³⁰²) Cf. p. CXXXI.

³⁰³) Cf. p. CXXXII.

³⁰⁴) Cf. p. CXXX.

³⁰⁵) Cf. p. CXXX.

are to be regarded as authentic ³⁰⁶) and that the second, thoroughly revised edition should be used as the standard one ³⁰⁷).

The sound of words sometimes finds full justice in the notes, in accord with a statement already quoted from Richardson's general appreciation in the Life. The "Description of Drowsiness" in IV. 614 seems so suggestive to the writer that "Did not the Beauty of the Poetry keep the Mind Awake, the Words would Lull the Reader Insensibly". He believes to hear the sound of the thunder in I. 177. He admits that Milton may have chosen the less usual name *Hermione* for *Harmonia* because it was more sonorous ³⁰⁸). The peculiarities of Milton's word-order seem to him to echo the meaning ³⁰⁹): "*Homer and Virgil*, and after them the Best Poets have endeavour'd, besides the Words, to Express what they Conceiv'd, by the Order of them: This is done Here to a Degree perhaps beyond what is to be found Elsewhere; 'tis a Maze indeed! a *Wandring Maze!*" Even the rapidity or slowness of speech in Milton's text is measured by him, perhaps not correctly ³¹⁰), yet with an attempt to relate it to the characters: "the Speech of *Satan* appears to have been pronounc'd Slow at the Beginning, and so it ought to be Read; 'tis Answer'd Soon. *Satan* might Boast of What he had Done, or Dar'd to Do; 'Tother is not in That Humour, nor can One Moment Conceal the Dispair which Rack'd Him Equally with his Associate who endeavour'd to Conceal His." Richardson's appreciation of sensuous beauty and vividness thus ranges from his own art to the most typical features of another, and is, in its own department, a very considerable advance on earlier criticism.

As these remarks might suggest, the elder Richardson's examination of Milton's verse given in the life ³¹¹), shows much discernment and is distinctly superior to that of his predecessors. He relies on his ear instead of applying classical theories. The analogy constantly occurring to him is that of music. Animals express their minds by sound, even a foreign language may seem less strange because its sound itself is full of significance. Verse

³⁰⁶) Cf. p. CLXXIV.

³⁰⁷) *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸) IX. 505 n.

³⁰⁹) II. 558 n.

³¹⁰) I. 127 n.

³¹¹) Cf. p. CXXXIX.

and prose have their music which varies according to the subject. Each kind of verse has its peculiar sound-value ³¹²): "Blank Verse comes nearest to Prose, and as the Prose of Some Writers Approaches Verse, *Milton's* Blank Verse, That of *Paradise Lost*, has the Beauty of Both." He has read Milton's preface "On the Verse" with much attention and understands the importance of the free use of the pause and of run-on lines — features not recognised by Bentley, and not even by Pearce, and afterwards partly to be condemned so rigidly by Johnson: "it [i. e. blank-verse] has the Sweetness of Measure without Stopping the Voice at the end of the Line, or Any where else but as the Sense requires; One Verse runs into Another, and the Period concludes in any part of a Line Indifferently, and as if 'twas his Choice 'tis very often Not at the End of One or of a Couplet, as is too Frequent with Those who write in Rime" ³¹³).

His explanation of the Miltonic elisions and contractions is based entirely on the perceptions of the ear, with some theoretical help from the laws of ancient prosody. This is new in Miltonic annotation. The omission of the "contracted" or "elided" sounds is not always complete; they are generally only pronounced so shortly as not to upset the quantity of the verse. The result is somewhat peculiar but fine: "He has frequently Eleven Syllables in a Verse, but 'tis rarely So unless Those are no more in Quantity than the Ten of Another.

*Fall'n Cherube, to be Weak is Miserable
Doing or Suffering: but of This be Sure,*

the *e* in the Middle of the Word *Suff'ring* must be Melted in the Pronunciation, as if written Without it as here; and the two Syllables made by that Vowel, and the *a* that follows in *Miserable* are so Short as to be Equal to but One in any other part of the Line. So

Assur'd me and still Assure though what thou tell'st
here *Me* and *and* are both so Short, as to be more in Quantity than if they were but One Syllable. to read right requires Some Judgment, and some Experience in *Milton's* Manner who Abounds More with These Instances than most English Poets; but, well Read, the Musick of His Verse is Exceeding Delicate and Noble,

³¹²) Cf. p. CXXXIX.

³¹³) *Ibid.*

though Somewhat Peculiar to Himself; for He, (as in his Language) has Profited Himself of the Greeks and Latins; His *Ictus*, or *Cadence*, or Musick bears towards Them, as he has form'd himself Upon Their Examples into Somthing of his Own by his Own Ear, and which was a very Musical, Experienc'd and Judicious One" ³¹⁴).

The quoted passage is remarkable, for it shows an understanding of Milton's verse far superior to that of many later critics. One feels inclined to mention Newton who does not distinguish between classical and English metre, creating even more confusion than Bentley (see first note on P. L. I). The quantitative principle in the treatment of supernumerary syllables is recognized by Richardson but is not extended beyond them, as was to be done by Newton.

E. CERTAIN METHODICAL ABERRATIONS.

The preface to the commentary deals at some length with its method of interpretation: "we have had but One Single Point in View, That Important One, to give Our Author's Sense, as we Conceiv'd He would have Explain'd Himself had he risen from his Urn and Dictated to Us" ³¹⁵). The point is insisted upon, as note XII. 583 proves: "whether Milton's Interpretation... is Right or No, 'tis His, and we Think Applicable to the Passage we are upon; Further is not Our Concern, who are, not giving Our Own Meaning, but our Author's as far as we are Able." Yet Milton was a poet, "if ever Human Nature could Boast it had produc'd One". He knew "All That Poetry had Adorn'd The World with" ³¹⁶). Hence the necessity to interpret him as a poet, to understand him not indiscriminatingly, in the first chance sense that occurs to the commentator, but in "a Poetic Sense, either as what was found in Other Great Poets whence it Seem'd Himself had receiv'd it; and innumerable Instances there might be given of This Kind" — a method which was quite generally applied by Hume, and often by Bentley — "Or where the Thoughts seem'd to be his Own, we have Understood him in the

³¹⁴) *Ibid.*

³¹⁵) Cf. p. CLXXII.

³¹⁶) Cf. p. CLXXIII.

Noblest Sense we could Attain to as believing That to be most Probably His" ³¹⁷). Here the principle is definitely stated which endangers the impartiality of the critic's judgment though it may have been wholesome as an antidote against Bentley, and even against certain notes in Pearce, "for a Poem, Such a One as This Especially, is not to be Read, and Construed as an Act of Parliament, or a Mathematical Dissertation; *the things of the Spirit are Spiritually Discern'd*" ³¹⁸).

It is clear that the reaction which had found a competent justification through Pearce has achieved its climax here. Poetry is to be understood as poetry, by intuition. Yet this may involve the neglect of the more pedestrian but indispensable qualities of patient research. The extreme idealization of the poet and the substitution of the critic's individual inspiration, or of what he thinks inspired, for the poet's real or apparent failures, is what has to be avoided now. The principle may lead to quite as great arbitrariness as Bentley's adherence to the rules though it seems capable of doing more justice to the scope of Milton's imagination.

The commentators are generally strongly tempted by the more picturesque and interesting interpretation, where they have a choice, sometimes even where there should be no choice at all because the facts too evidently support the less unusual explanation. Quaint exuberance or whimsicality of imagination appear to be their most dangerous ideals. Sometimes they succeed in overcoming the temptation, sometimes not. Hume's note on II. 511 showed that "globe" ["a Globe of fierie Seraphim"] was probably a Latin military term. The note in the Richardsons' commentary eventually adopts the same opinion but not before proposing another explanation which complies more with the annotator's taste. He would like to understand "globe" in the ordinary sense, for as the angels were spirits, and "Aloft in the Air, or on Firm Ground was alike to them", they "may be conceiv'd Above, Below, on Each Side, Around their *Mighty Paramount*". Milton's habit of using Latinisms should make the other meaning more acceptable, which is recognized by the Richardsons in the end.

As they devoted some attention to the possibility of the influence of Dante on Milton, it does not seem quite unlikely that

³¹⁷) *Ibid.*

³¹⁸) *Ibid.*

Dante's imagery in the "Paradiso" with its heavenly roses and strange luminous geometrical figures formed by the choirs of the blessed is reflected in the note. How unwillingly the soberer explanation is admitted, appears from another remark on a very similar case³¹⁹). A passage from the "Reason of Church Government" [p. 205 ed. Toland] is quoted there according to which "cube" should be a military expression like "globe" ["one great Cube, the Main Phalanx" — quoted acc. to Rich.]. In spite of this evidence, the meaning preferred is that of a cube which "consists of Angels on All the Four Sides, and Above", intended to hide the infernal engines. That the less fantastic interpretation is at least quite as probable here as in the former case, does not seem to trouble the writer. He prefers what, he thinks, is more imaginative, according to his principle stated before, believing that "the Sense we have chose is more Poetical as giving a Greater, and more Uncommon Idea".

At times the artistic principle which induces him to neglect such philological details is right in a general way. Hume and Pearce had shown that "Alchymie" (II. 517) was used as the name of a metal (Hume was not certain of its character), and even Bentley referred to this meaning, however, rejecting the word for another expression of his own. These details are passed over in the note of the Richardsons. They propose another "Vastly Poetical" signification, this probably being "the Name of the Art which is the Sublimer part of Chymistry, the Transmutation of Metals". Milton here, according to them, "names no particular Metal but leaves the Imagination at Large, Any Metal possible to be produc'd by that Mysterious Art; 'tis a Metanomy [*sic*], the Efficient for the Effect"... The argument is attractive and in keeping with Milton's predilection for grand, vague effects, but the existence of the other meaning makes the issue highly questionable.

Even Verity's edition interprets "His Ministers of vengeance and pursuit" (I. 170) as meaning "the good angels" though "essentially the expulsion of the rebels was due to the Messiah", "solę victor" (VI. 880), possibly basing the interpretation on Pearce's opinion that the Messiah had ordered his army to abstain from battle but not from pursuit. Verity seems to over-

³¹⁹) VI. 552 n.

look the opinion first brought forward by the "Gentleman from Christ-Church", "Semicolon", that this might simply be a personification of the forces of nature, hail and lightning, which are mentioned immediately after. The Richardsons appear to be quite right in rejecting Pearce's explanation and may have been ignorant of "Semicolon's" pamphlet. They propose a new way of interpreting the passage, which is striking because of the attention it pays to the subconscious, irregular impulses of the mind. It is in its own small way a study in hallucination and shows a tendency which now and then occurs in the notes of the Richardsons, though not very often in such a distinct form. Satan and Moloch are represented as *imagining* that they were pursued by the angels: they were "Too much Terrified to look Behind them, and Too much Confounded to Judge of what was doing Above them" ³²⁰). Even Chaos partakes of the terror. "All three of them, or if there were a Million of Such, should not induce Us to Believe Thus was the Fact; They only say what their Terrify'd Imaginations Suggested to them" ³²¹). Such notes as this open new ways of inquiry although they may be wrong in themselves. The Richardsons are beginning to deal with aberrations of the mind, with the concealed, curious and abnormal.

These eccentric, but interesting inclinations are perhaps even more distinctly shown in the analysis of the expression "darkness visible" ³²²). Hume explained it simply enough as the expression of an ordinary visual perception, and Pearce appreciated the boldness of the wording without seeing anything peculiar in the meaning. The Richardsons indulge in elaborate theories which rest on some interesting observations, but even more on certain misconceptions.

The substance of this note is that Milton deliberately pictured a kind of fire which emanates darkness ("...from those flames No light, but rather darkness visible Serv'd only to discover sights of woe..."), and that this darkness is only a horrid background to show the terror of the place to the damned angels: "this Fire was created on Purpose, to Torment the Rebel Angels." The figures on this background are distinctly visible because

³²⁰) I. 169 n.

³²¹) *Ibid.*

³²²) I. 62 n.

"their Tincts are Inherent, and not owing to what is Foreign to them as Light is to us. Why may we not suppose there may exist Beings of a Luminous Nature, and therefore Visible but which may Not have a Necessary Power to disperse Light? or that such Power may be Suspended in Hell?" 323).

This opinion is based on the XVIIth chapter, v. 5, of the *Book of Wisdom* from which some quotations are given: "no Power of Fire might give them Light: Neither could the bright Flames of the Stars endure to lighten that horrible Night. Only there appeared unto them a Fire kindled of it self, very dreadful." The writer also mentions v. 14 of the same chapter which "speaks of Night intollerable, and which came out of the Bottoms of inevitable Hell".

The analogy is close in many respects, and Milton may have had these passages in view. But that he did not do it in the deliberate, consistent manner assumed by the annotators, seems to be proved by another passage which is especially commented upon by them. It is l. 182 where "the seat of desolation" is "voyd of light, Save what the glimmering of these livid flames Casts pale and dreadful". The writers see very clearly that this appears to contradict their former suppositions. They save themselves out of the trouble by assuming that the power of light denied to the flames in the other passage could very well be allowed them in the description of another part of Hell. The not impossible explanation that Milton, if he was at all thinking of the Scriptural scenery, might have used its imagery only to strengthen the suggestive power of a metaphorical expression, without any further implications, does not occur to them.

The ascription to the poet of these curious arbitrary ways, the readiness to indulge in conjecture and, without sufficient ground, to attribute to him elaborate scientific theories which elsewhere seem to be contradicted by his own text, appear, in the present case, to have been largely caused by the strong impression produced on the Richardsons by the depreciated "Gothic" writers. The note describes the "Faint, Ghostlike, Frightful Apparitions, with Stone Eyes as *Spencer*, or Eyes of Brass as *Dante* has given to *Caron*, or as *Banquo's* Ghost in *Shakespear*, Eyes that have no Speculation but are staring and

fix'd" ³²⁴). The imagination of the critics is stronger than their faithfulness to their principles and their adherence to logic. If their method does not clarify the reader's understanding, they at least seem to belong to those who prepared the way for the "Revival of Imagination".

F. MILTON'S CHARACTERS.

The Richardsons are the first commentators to deal in detail with Milton's characters. Many of their longest notes treat of them. Much in these observations is commonplace, much again new and of a quaint flavour peculiar to these critics. Exclamations and exaggerations abound here as almost everywhere else in the most typical parts of the book.

Satan and the other fallen angels are sometimes handled in the somewhat rough manner of the more characteristical remarks of Hume. Milton's reference to the contrast between heavenly and infernal spirits in IV. 118, in the annotator's opinion, "admirably heightens the Accursed Character of *Satan*". IV. 383 *n.* notes "a Boast of *Satan* Magnifying his Own Grandeur". But the great genuine vigour of his character is very distinctly felt ³²⁵): "He took Fire at the Mention of Submission" and is "full of Pride and Scorn". Like that of the other leading characters, Satan's appearance, or rather the commentator's conception of his appearance, is dwelt upon in detail, in a way showing distinct traces of Hume's note on the same passage, which was provoked by the vulgarizing illustrations in the 17th century editions of "Paradise Lost" ³²⁶). This note (quoted at the end of the section on Milton's characters in the chapter on Hume) which proposed a loftier conception of Satan than the usual representation of him as a common devil, is reflected in the similar protest of the Richardsons against the "Horns, Sawcer Eyes, Ugly Faces, Tayls, Cloven Feet, & c." and in their desire to have him designed in a more appropriate way. His portrait should represent "Virgin Beauty with Masculine Strength and Vigour, all in the Utmost Conceivable Degree, the Strength and Vigour little Impair'd, but

³²⁴) I. 62 *n.*

³²⁵) I. 110 *n.*

³²⁶) I. 600 *n.*

the Beauty Wither'd, Ruin'd by Age, Disease and Scarrs; and by Guile, Envy, Malice, Rage, Lust, Grief, Despair, & c." Guido and Raphael were unable to do this. "*Michael Angelo* was more Fit for it, and he has done Vastly beyond any Other, and without falling Deep into the Common Follies" but even his work is "not what *Milton* has directed us to Imagine" ³²⁷). The poets of the past equally failed. "Tasso has gone into the Horns, Tayls, & c. No Man has Ever Thought in This (as in Other Respects) like *Milton*. O that he had Painted!" However, the writer does not fall in this description into the very extreme of vague abstractions and hyperbolic language. His pictorial imagination suggests to him the possibly even too realistic idea of drawing Satan and the reprobate angels in tattered, torn clothes — a remainder of the very style attacked by him.

The fallen spirits have many laudable qualities. Note II. 496 relates "An Instance of . . . [a] Vertue Really Practic'd in Hell; we hear of no Dissension among Themselves". They "had still a Sense that there was a Beauty in Hazarding Themselves for the Common Good though Really they Acted upon a Selfish Principle" ³²⁸). And the melancholy tone which seems so distinct in the description of the abstruse debates of the fallen angels, even though the representation of their teachings as "Vain wisdom all, and false Philosophie" ³²⁹) may indicate a satirical intention on the part of the poet, is fully understood and echoed by the commentator. He tries to picture their discussions ³³⁰): "Though the Text does not Say it, the Reader will from the Words naturally be led to imagine Some were Retir'd, in Thought, as well as from the Company, and Reason'd and Debated, Discours'd within Themselves, on these Perplexing, but Important Suttleties: this gives a very Proper Image here, a very Melancholly and Touching One."

The description of the good angels revels in superlatives. Their picture should show "a Propriety, Elegance and Gayety beyond anything to be seen in the Works of the Greatest Masters, beyond what Colours, even those of Silks, Flowers, or precious

³²⁷) *Ibid.*

³²⁸) II. 482 n.

³²⁹) II. 565.

³³⁰) II. 558 n.

Stones, can shew" ³³¹). Their beauty should be inexpressible: "When the Imagination is Rais'd as much as Possible, let it still Know More is Unconceiv'd; Let the Lark Sing after he is Lost in Air" ³³²). The ecstasy of these notes goes far beyond the temperate manner of the age, even beyond the manner of Milton, whose strict, definite outlines keep most of the pictures of his angels very distinct and clear, though he had mastered the art of evocative vagueness where necessary, as the Richardsons were well aware (see II. 517 n., quoted before).

They are, in theory, equally aware of his usual concrete manner, as seems to be proved by the remark on IX. 102 which ascribes to everything in Milton's poetry some degree of materiality ³³³). Only the description of God Father is excepted and the exception is justified by the quotations given in another note ³³⁴): "*a shape Divine, Presence Divine, a Bright Vision as* VIII. 295, 314, 367". The commentator here acts on the prefatory principle quoted elsewhere ³³⁵) that spiritual things should be spiritually discerned: "the Utmost Conceivable Majesty and Beauty of Age without the least Decay", "an Idea of Immateriality Seeming to be in Such a Form, and Surrounded with and Penetrated by Glory" should be represented instead of the usual frail old man of the painters. The same indifference to tradition in painting, the same demand of spiritual qualities appear in the portrait of Christ who should bear the Father's likeness but only in an inward way: "the Paternal Majesty, shining in the Filial Divinity..." — a dignity and beauty "Less Youthful and More Majestic" than the angels. Here the analysis becomes more trustworthy, it is no mere uncritical ebullition as in the description of the angels, the impressions seem to be formulated in accord with the critic's actual observations, although the documentation is not thorough.

The greatest arbitrariness is openly admitted in the treatment of Adam and Eve, in spite of an earlier remark in the same

³³¹) *Ibid.*

³³²) *Ibid.*

³³³) The importance of little concrete details is well realized III. 438 n.: "*Heylin in his Cosmogr. gave Milton These Waggons driv'n with as Ships; to make the thing more probable the Poet has added that they were of Cane.*"

³³⁴) III. 51 n.

³³⁵) Cf. p. 225.

note demanding as great accuracy as possible in the interpretation of the poet's meaning ³³⁶). After a long extolling passage the proposal is made to draw Adam with the indispensable symbol "of a Man in his Perfection", of "the Force and Maturity of Manhood" — a beard. It is admitted that this could not be the poet's intention yet it appears as if the professed tendency to understand everything in the most poetical sense possible had caused this idea, and after all, "We are at Liberty to do for Our selves as we think fit" ³³⁷).

It is of some interest to find that the Richardsons already seem to regard Adam as a partial representation of Milton himself, at least in certain details. The note just quoted mentions the resemblance between Adam's long hanging hair and that of Milton, and calls attention to Milton's pride in his appearance. Newton elaborated the remark, adding some interesting details ³³⁸).

The development of some of the characters is traced neatly enough. The signs of the approaching Fall are noticed long before the event takes place. The commentator sees how carefully it is prepared ³³⁹), how the events develop "Exceeding Plausible", step by step ³⁴⁰). The harmony between Adam and Eve is disturbed gradually, before anything really fatal has yet happened. A slight dissension, a "Little-suspected Cause" ³⁴¹), "by Insensible Steps... produc'd a Melancholy Effect, which produc'd a Much worse". Similar discrimination is shown in ³⁴²) "Observing how Artful and Judicious *Milton* is in bringing On the Great Change wrought in Both their Hearts by the Divine Spirit; their Minds are Humbled, Soften'd, Prepar'd by Degrees; according to III. 188." Sometimes it seems to be assumed that Milton consistently observed the laws of psychological probability in describing his characters, *e. g.* VIII. 19 *n.* that Adam "must be Always understood as speaking as things Appear'd to Him, and to the Knowledge he had". However, the point is not pressed

³³⁶) IV. 321 *n.*

³³⁷) *Ibid.*

³³⁸) IV. 305 *n.*

³³⁹) IX. 271, 372 *nn.*

³⁴⁰) IX. 372 *n.*

³⁴¹) *Ibid.*

³⁴²) X. 947 *n.*

too far. Adam's considerable learning in bk. VIII is not censured as exaggerated; on the contrary, it even seems to be underestimated. The improbability of the supposition that the first man on earth could acquire all the knowledge mentioned there does not even enter the commentator's mind. It is found natural that Adam at the beginning of his life in Paradise is not well up in learned matters, "not being Yet Better Instructed, and *Eve* is as Naturally Fully Satisfy'd with her Husband's Superior Understanding", but "'twas another Sort of Conversation when *Adam* Enquir'd of the Angel concerning these Heavenly Bodies, VIII. 15. but Neither Then was he Taught much more philosophy of This Kind, but far Better" ³⁴³).

This note shows, among other things, how deftly the Richardsons occasionally observe little touches of character. They appear to know how the skilful addition of realism here and there makes the whole picture much more convincing. *Eve*, elsewhere eulogized as being beyond the reach of any painter's imagination ³⁴⁴), is, at the soberer moments of the annotators, found to have her human limitations; *e. g.* ³⁴⁵) her "Housewifely Vanity". While receiving her angel guest, she is eager to show "How she can Entertain rather than How Grateful she is to Heaven. *Milton* has made her Thoughts Turn All That way, as it immediately follows". But an excuse is found for this: "it was in Obedience to her Husband". These light, observant remarks make up for the heaviness sometimes so perceptible in the exalted moods of the critics, though even that exaltation is stimulating in its own way and leads out of stagnation because it is genuine.

³⁴³) IV. 667 *n.*

³⁴⁴) IV. 321 *n.*

³⁴⁵) V. 328 *n.*

6. FRANCIS PECK'S "NEW MEMOIRS".

NEW MEMOIRS OF THE Life and Poetical Works OF Mr. JOHN MILTON: WITH I. An Examination of *Milton's* Stile: And, II. Explanatory & Critical Notes on divers Passages of *Milton & Shakespeare*: By the Editor. III. *Baptistes*: A Sacred Dramatic Poem, in *Defence of Liberty*; as, written in *Latin*, by Mr. *George Buchanan*; Translated into *English*, by Mr. *John Milton*; & first published in 1641. BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. IV. The Parallel, or Archbishop *Laud* & Cardinal *Wolsey* compared: a Vision, by *Milton*. V. The Legend of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, Kt. Chief Butler of *England*, who died of poison, Anno 1570. an Historical Poem: By (his nephew) Sir *Thomas Throckmorton*, Kt. VI. *Herod the Great*: a Poem: By the Editor. VII. The Resurrection, a Poem in Imitation of *Milton*: by a Friend. And, VIII. A Discourse on the Harmony of the Spheres: by *Milton*. The Whole illustrated with proper Prefaces & Notes, By FRANCIS PECK, M. A. Adorned with the Head of *Milton* (from a Painting in the Hands of the Editor) & the Print of a medal struck in honor of him by Mr. Auditor *Benson*. LONDON: Printed MDCCXL.

4^o: pp. [2] + VI + [4] + 437 (the last numeration includes "Baptistes" and the "Parallel"; the rest of the volume different in different copies, in spite of the indications in the title-page). "NEW MEMOIRS OF THE Life and Poetical Works of Mr. JOHN MILTON" occupies pp. I—VI and 1—264 of the first part and contains: p. I, half-title; pp. III—IV, dedctn to Speaker Onslow; pp. V—VI, Preface; and 27 chapters (pp. 1—264). The "Explanatory and critical notes" on Milton cf. pp. 132—208. Eight poems are dealt with individually as follows: p. 11, the Nativity Ode; pp. 11—22, "Comus"; pp. 22—26, "L'Allegro"; pp. 26—31, "Il Penseroso"; pp. 31—36, "Lycidas"; pp. 37—70, "Paradise Lost"; pp. 70—85, "Paradise Regained"; pp. 85—86, "Samson Agonistes". Pp. 105—132 contain "An Examination of Milton's stile [*sic*]".

The story of the origin of Peck's commentary is quite different from that of the earlier collections of Milton notes. The previous annotators dealt with the acknowledged works of Milton, or rather almost exclusively with "Paradise Lost", whereas Peck's starting-

point is quite unexpected. The supposed discovery of a new work of the poet induces him to go through nearly the whole Milton *corpus* to make sure of the authenticity of his find. Even the authors of the remote past are studied by him in this connection. With the relish of the real antiquary, Peck grows absorbed in his studies, accumulating a great amount of material. He composes a commentary on the chief poetical works of Milton, and even devotes a long chapter to Shakespeare's plays, in the search for literary parallels. The specimens of Shakespearean notes which he prints are only a selection from a larger number.

Peck's intentions are explained in a preface, which is dedicated to Speaker Onslow. He had found a translation of George Buchanan's Latin play "Baptistes", which he attributed to Milton for reasons stated in his preface to the version. It was a useful result of his quest for evidence about the play that he recognized the need of a thorough-going knowledge of all the works of an author in order to pronounce on any one. This is evidently what induced him to undertake the new task of examining in detail Milton's minor poems. He defines his attitude as follows: "...to understand both that poem [= the "Baptistes"] & HIM the better, I read over the rest of His *poetical*, & most of His *prose* Works. Besides which I dipped, & often pretty deep, into a great variety of other books, where I thought I might find any thing for my purpose" ³⁴⁶). The underlining of "him" apparently indicates that Peck felt the need of making a solid study of the poet's personality before judging his works.

The objects of his observations are tentatively summed up in the preface where he states that they were written: "1. Some to ascertain MILTON'S orthography. 2. Some to distinguish his *pastoral* words. 3. Some to shew how he corrects himself. 4. Some to observe how he follows & improves upon SPENSER & SHAKESPEARE. 5. Some by way of glossary. 6. Some to explain the poetical history & fables alluded to. 7. Some to point out some particular passages of the classics there imitated. 8. Some to mark some extraordinary beauties of his own. And, 9. Some to justify some few emendations & shew what they are." This description is not quite accurate, for some of the points mentioned first are by no means of the first prominence in the book. The

³⁴⁶) Cf. preface, p. V.

remarks on Milton's spellings and on his corrections of his own works are not nearly so conspicuous as the preface would represent them to be. The latter subject, particularly, is only slightly touched upon in a few scattered observations, though these deal with the Trinity MS., and are so far of much interest. Milton's imitations of Spenser and Shakespeare and of various other modern and mediæval authors are studied, together with a number of other matters not mentioned in the summary.

Most of the problems enumerated are old, though there may be found some glimpses of a new method in Peck's way of treating them. Neither Milton's orthography nor his mythological and literary allusions nor his archaisms were left unnoticed by Peck's predecessors. His "pastoral" words are most of them simply archaic expressions, though here and there with a possible reference to pastoral peculiarities, as the notes on them show ³⁴⁷). The study of "some extraordinary beauties" of Milton appears to indicate the desire to arrive at an individual artistic appreciation of the poet, and in some of the notes this aim is achieved. Peck's emendations are neither numerous nor remarkable, but it is to his credit that he makes occasional use of the Trinity College MS. The study of Milton's "corrections of himself", though he does not go far with it, is perhaps the most interesting feature of the whole work. Here again the Cambridge MS. is used. Bentley dealt with the main differences between the two first editions of *P. L.*, but his point of view was extremely one-sided, and he had no MSS. to rely upon. Unfortunately, Peck makes comparatively little use of his opportunities.

Nevertheless, in the few remarks falling under this head, the rudiments of a documented study of Milton's method of composition are to be found. A bold attempt in the same direction is the experiment made by Peck to show the possibility of reconstructing the original play which he believes to have been the basis of "*Paradise Lost*". In this endeavour he totally fails because of his inability to proceed critically and cautiously. He proves, however, his capacity for occasional quick combination and divination in such cases as the study of the rhymes of "*Lycidas*".

The book is a medley of notes, rather than a regular commentary. Its somewhat casual and unsystematic manner of composition

³⁴⁷) Cf. below sect. B. of this chapter.

makes even the special chapters on the individual poetic works of Milton for the most part mere agglomerations of scattered remarks on miscellaneous problems. It is difficult to separate them from the "Explanatory and Critical Notes" proper which are found in a chapter of their own. The whole must be studied in order to define Peck's views and method.

The present chapter deals only with the literary part of the work. The biographical part demands separate treatment, and the various miscellaneous works included in the volume are left out of account. The bibliographical and textual observations, which abound, are examined here only in so far as they touch on points of literary criticism.

Peck's treatment of the apocryphal works of Milton as well as the translation of his "Discourse on the Harmony of the Spheres" are omitted in the present dissertation. They scarcely belong to the domain of serious scholarship. But it has to be allowed that the critic's many-sided interests which are revealed everywhere, undoubtedly left their mark on the amateurish, groping, but sometimes very curious and ingenious method of the book.

A. PECK'S VIEWS ON MILTON'S POETICAL CHARACTER AND ON HIS PRINCIPAL WORKS.

The first chapter of Peck's work contains some paragraphs which aim at a summary definition of the character of Milton's poetry. After drawing, in his elaborate fashion, a comparison between the characteristics of a fine poem, a fine picture and a fine house ³⁴⁸) he sums up the substance of Milton's writings, describing it as "the true in poetry" ³⁴⁹). His definition distinguishes between: (1) the simple, (2) the ideal, and (3) the compound true. The first of these is found in the appearance of reality; the second in the combination of the perfections of various models, mainly "from the antique"; and the third in "the highest excellency of the art" united with "the perfect imitation of the Fine Nature". In this last kind all is probable, because true; all is surprising "because all is curious & extraordinary"; all is

³⁴⁸) Cf. p. 2.

³⁴⁹) Cf. p. 3.

impressive (but not forced) because "the wonderful & the perfect" and "the natural" are combined. Milton's poetry is classed with this type.

The general theory of poetry described here is by no means new. Very close parallels may be found, for example, in Dryden³⁵⁰), who in his "Parallel of Poetry and Painting" 1695 tends to identify poetry with selective imitation. Dryden starts from a comparison between pictorial and poetic technique, just as Peck compares the relative merits of fine paintings and fine poems. Both seem to be influenced by the idea of a picture, forgetting that the painter is necessarily more a copyist of nature than the poet, who deals with words and ideas instead of the visible appearance of things. Dryden puts his point very definitely: "To imitate Nature well in whatsoever subject, is the perfection of both arts; and that picture, and that poem, which comes nearest to the resemblance of Nature, is the best"³⁵¹). The idea of "fine nature" is distinctly formulated in the following passage: "[Poetry and Painting] are not only true imitations of Nature, but of the best Nature, of that which is wrought up to a nobler pitch. They present us with images more perfect than the life in any individual; and we have the pleasure to see all the scattered beauties of Nature united by a happy chemistry, without its deformities or faults"³⁵²). Peck's main addition to this is the somewhat academic notion that the so-called "ideal true" is mainly derived "from the antique".

The chief defect of this theory reveals at the same time one of the principal differences between Richardson's and Peck's descriptions of Milton's poetic character. The idea of imitation is made so prominent on this theory that the personality of the poet with its original flashes of intuition creating a new kind of reality — Richardson's "intellectual fire"³⁵³) — is in danger of being forgotten. Even the highest manifestation of poetic truth, Peck's "compound true", seems to be based on a combination of two kinds of imitation, and the value of poetry to depend on the

³⁵⁰) That Peck had studied Dryden's critical writings, appears from various references and quotations, *e. g.* p. 32, where the "Preface to Juvenal" is mentioned, and *id.* p. 61—62.

³⁵¹) *Ibid.* p. 137.

³⁵²) Prof. W. P. Ker's edition of Dryden's *Essays*, 1926, vol. II, p. 136.

³⁵³) Cf. above, p. 113.

closeness with which its models are reproduced. It is possible, however, that a more independent treatment of nature and of literary models was intended to be conveyed by the adjectives "curious and extraordinary", which are used by Peck to characterise the impression of the best type of "the True in poetry".

Richardson emphasised the importance of imagination and inspiration in Milton's works, but did not pay enough attention to the value of deliberate artistic calculation in the composition of a poem of the range and size of "Paradise Lost". The tendency to lay too much stress on the deliberate aspects of composition and to leave too little room to subconscious, spontaneous creation, is plain enough in these utterances of Peck, and is carried almost to extremity in certain other parts of his first chapter. A special paragraph is written to prove that "Milton affected to be thought all nature, yet was indeed almost all art" (argument to chap. I). Peck's slightly modified quotation from Pope's preface to his translation of the Iliad (Peck, p. 4) seems to express his own views in likening "SHAKESPEARE (who was indeed all *nature*) to a flash of lightning; & MILTON (who was almost all *art*) to a furnace, kept up, by an uncommon ardor, to a continual glow". Instead of discussing the problem whether Milton did not belong to that class of authors who spend much time on polishing and perfecting what had been quickly composed, he appears to think of him as taking endless pains, and as doing so without any strong, spontaneous initial inspiration. In this spirit, he calls attention to the Trinity College MS., "corrected in an infinite number of places, sometimes three or four times over". Milton's own statements that he had the gift of easy, fluent composition are met by him with disbelief ³⁵⁴): In order to justify his attitude, Peck undertakes an original examination of Milton's prose style. The circumstance that many authors undoubtedly have to use special devices for creating the illusion of spontaneity, makes his attempt intelligible:

"To make this [*i. e.* his way of composition] appear yet more natural, he very artfully slides into his prose works a great

³⁵⁴) Cf. P. L. III. 37: „thoughts, that voluntarie move Harmonious numbers"; IX. 24: "my unpremeditated Verse", and the passage in Ap. Smect. where the author, according to Peck's quotation, describes how the words came "tripping about him at command".

number of verses, seemingly as if they fell from him whether he would or no. . . . He thus addresses the *Remonstrant*,

Go on, dissembling *Joab*, as still your use is;
Call brother, & smite; call brother, & smite;
Till it be said of you as was of *Herod*,
A man had better be your hog than brother!

Many other such passages might be produced: his prose works are full of them" ³⁵⁵).

We might equally well or better regard this passage as a spontaneous outburst of indignation and anger, if we consider the violent character of Milton's controversial prose. The crudities in the above-quoted verses might impress one as the result of unrestrained emotion. Pope's suggestion, as well as the general character of the poetry of his time with its regular and punctilious technique, seem to have blinded Peck to the nature of bold off-hand composition.

In his treatment of Milton's individual poems Peck generally refrains from stating any definite view on the works taken as wholes. He analyses various stray features, and accumulates miscellaneous notes. In most of his chapters on the principal poetical productions of Milton, the main literary estimate is given at the start, in a stereotyped phrase. He names, as "Mr. Milton's nine most celebrated English Poems", the Nativity Ode, "Comus", "L'Allegro", "Il Penseroso", "Lycidas", the "Baptistes", "Paradise Lost", "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes". Each of these works is dealt with in a special chapter, except the "Baptistes", which has special treatment. On these works, as a rule, he prefers to quote the opinions of others — though there are remarkable exceptions, *e. g.*, his treatment of the rhymes of "Lycidas" ³⁵⁶). Addison's, Dryden's, Atterbury's, Pope's, Voltaire's, Richardson's and Warburton's pronouncements on "Paradise Lost" are duly given (pp. 61—64), some of them at considerable length. The views of Richardson are thus favoured, and so are those of Pope, with expressions of admiration for "that wonderful creature, that ever delightful and inimitable genius" — an utterance which seems further to support the view that Peck's notions of Milton's art have been considerably influenced by Pope.

³⁵⁵) "Animadv. on the Remonstrant's Defence", I. p. 150, evid. from Toland's edition, which is usually quoted by Peck.

³⁵⁶) Cf. pp. 32—33.

Now and again Peck speaks for himself, as in the very decided protest against the depreciation of "Paradise Regained" — a protest which he accompanies with an interesting analysis of the probable reason for the neglect of the work ³⁵⁷).

Toland is quoted as declaring in his *Life of Milton*, that "Paradise Regained" was "generally esteemed much inferior to PARADISE LOST: which he [Milton] could not endure, being quite of another mind. Yet this occasioned somebody to say, wittily enough, That *MILTON* might be *seen* in PARADISE LOST, but not in PARADISE REGAIN'D". Fenton's *Life* already contains a more emphatic observation on the matter: "*But, Oh! what a falling off was there.* — Of which I will say no more, than that there is scarcely a more remarkable instance of the frailty of human reason, than our author gave in *preferring* this poem to PARADISE LOST; nor a more instructive caution to the best writers, to be very diffident in deciding the merit of their own productions." Peck subjoins a third quotation, from Richardson, which states the case even more explicitly: „His time was now [*i. e.* after the restoration] employed in writing and publishing, particularly PARADISE LOST, & after that, PARADISE REGAIN'D & SAMSON AGONISTES. The *last* of these is worthy of him. The *other* of any one else. If it be true that he *preferred* this to the *first* of the three, what shall we say?"

Peck's own opinion on the matter is that "Mr. Toland first printed an unlucky jest, which much hurt the reputation of the PARADISE REGAIN'D among those who had rather sit down contented with other people's judgments, than be at the pains to make a judgment for themselves, tho' very able to do it." He thinks that Toland influenced Fenton, and Fenton Richardson, who was swayed by the previous opinions, "& therefore did not weigh the beauties of it [= the poem] so attentively, as he should have done. And indeed, when a good thing is once decried (as this divine poem was by nothing at all at first, I verily believe, but a mere witticism) we are all but too ready to joyn with the pack, & right or wrong, to hunt it down" ³⁵⁸).

This burst of independence is unusual, and it appears that

³⁵⁷) Cf. pp. 81 *et seq.*

³⁵⁸) Cf. p. 83.

Peck's main reason for valuing "Paradise Regained" is merely the skill shown by the author in evolving an epic poem out of so limited a subject. He emphasises "what a spacious field the poet hath in the PARADISE LOST; what a narrow one, in the PARADISE REGAIN'D" ³⁵⁹), admiring "how the author could spin it out into four such beautiful books as he did, which, next to the PARADISE LOST, make it absolutely the best poem yet extant in our language" ³⁶⁰). The references to Bentley made here and there in the course of the work ³⁶¹) lead one to think that he may have been influenced here by Bentley's brief remark on "Paradise Regained" ³⁶²), where the same idea is expressed more concisely. The subject of the poem is called there "a dry, barren, and narrow ground, to build an epic poem on", though the handling is praised: "In that work he [= Milton] has amplified his scanty materials to a surprising dignity; but yet, being cramp'd down by a wrong choice, without the expected applause."

Peck is interested in the question whether the poem should be considered complete or not but instead of offering an answer himself, he writes a letter to "William Cowper Esq. Clerk of the Parliaments", asking him for a decision. The reply is suggestive and compares the plan of "Paradise Regained" with those of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*. Both of them break off as soon as the turning-point is reached: "It is these breaks, & leaving things to be imagined, & c. that, with the use of some other figures, make a poem differ from a dry history" ³⁶³). In the first, it is enough to show the promised land to the reader, in the latter he has to be put in possession. This sensible explanation, which, instead of judging by standards, takes into account the effect upon the reader, is quoted by Peck without comment.

Some independence is shown by Peck in the discussion of the poetic category to which "Paradise Lost" belongs. Here Peck keeps in mind Milton's own liberality of view, and adopts an attitude not dissimilar to that of Richardson. Richardson did not approve of the extreme importance attributed to such classi-

³⁵⁹) Cf. p. 82.

³⁶⁰) *Ibid.*

³⁶¹) *E. g.* the quotation of Bentley's note on repetitions of longer passages in Milton in § XXXI of Peck's chapter on the poet's style.

³⁶²) X. 182 n.

³⁶³) Cf. p. 80—81.

fications, but acknowledged the poet's right to create his own literary species ³⁶⁴). Peck, like Richardson, let Milton speak on this point for himself, quoting from the "Reason of Church Government" ³⁶⁵) his statement of the two epic varieties: the traditional epic based on Homer, Virgil, Tasso and the book of Job, and a freer kind which does not follow the rules of Aristotle, but of nature, "which, in them that know art & use judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching of art..." ³⁶⁶). Milton's plans of heroical epics on Arthur and Alfred are supposed to belong to the former group, "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained" to the latter.

Peck makes an interesting attempt to trace, by means of the Trinity College MS., Milton's poetic development. The conclusions he draws are sometimes too bold, but now and then he seems to hit some truth. The epic schemes just touched upon are examined in this speculative way, and the Trinity MS. is used to throw light on their character. According to Peck, the "two large heroic poems" would have been written in imitation of Homer — the poem on Arthur alluded to in "Manso" and in the "Epitaphium Damonis" on the model of the Iliad, and the epic upon Alfred on that of the Odyssey. The circumstance that the note on the latter scheme found in the Cambridge MS. compares Alfred's exploits to those of Ulysses, makes a further comparison with Homer very natural, and the war-like ring of the references to the Arthurian epic in the Latin poems renders probable the association with the Iliad. Peck goes further, trying to calculate the degree in which these schemes were suited to Milton's genius, and preferring the subject of Alfred in accordance with Milton's own later confession, in Bk. IX of P. L. ³⁶⁷), of his dislike of noisy heroic subjects: "Had he wrote these two poems, he would undoubtedly have introduced abundance of fine machinery into the former, by the assistance of MERLIN; & yet perhaps have shone more in the latter, as the story would have been more peaceful, & consequently more roomy for adventures of another sort than that of the first. For battles & races & tiltings & feastings are things

³⁶⁴) Cf. above, p. 110.

³⁶⁵) Toland's ed. p. 222.

³⁶⁶) Cf. p. 6.

³⁶⁷) Cf. p. 87.

which, as our author himself very freely tells us, he had no manner of fancy to treat of." Both conjectures receive a fractional support from Milton's own statements, for Merlin is mentioned in the passage in the "Epitaphium Damonis". But, of course, the whole inquiry is extremely questionable.

The dramatic sketches in the Trinity MS. receive more attention than any other part of it, perhaps because of the scope they afford to conjecture. They are the only section of the MS. of which a full transcript is made by Peck ³⁶⁸). He makes a close study of them, concentrating mainly on the drafts of "Paradise Lost". The fact that the subject of the epic appears in four schemes, *i. e.* more often than any other subject, and that three of these drafts open the long list of sacred themes, induces Peck to assume, somewhat precipitately, "that, besides the bare plans, he [= Milton] also wrote a good deal of the Drama itself (perhaps all) & then took it to pieces, & threw the main of it into this work" ³⁶⁹).

This conjecture does not contradict E. Phillips's statement that Milton had actually written some verses of such a drama, which were inserted at the beginning of book IV of the epic; but Peck unfortunately does not base his assertions on reliable data. One of his main arguments is the existence of a portrait, which, as he supposes, represents Milton in his youth with a book entitled "Paradise Lost". This in his opinion "amounts almost to a demonstration that he had begun and made some progress in a dramatic poem of *that name*, when he was even so very young" ³⁷⁰). Instead of asking if the painting really represented the poet, and if so, whether it was authentic, he even decides that the book on this portrait must necessarily have been that highly hypothetical drama, regarding this as a "wonderful instance of his forward parts & most early ripeness of judgment" ³⁷¹).

Trusting to such evidence, he begins to reconstruct the play, finding that "with the help of the plans which he hath left us, it were easie to throw the PARADISE LOST back again into

³⁶⁸) Cf. pp. 88—96.

³⁶⁹) Cf. p. 37.

³⁷⁰) Cf. p. 40.

³⁷¹) *Ibid.*

a dramatic poem" ³⁷²). He thinks he "could give the whole so; or very near it", but for the moment he offers " only

ADAM UNPARADIS'D.

Act IV. Scene II."

The imaginary division into acts and scenes seems to be based on the fourth draft, which is similarly entitled "Adam unparadiz'd" and was originally left undivided, but could be divided with some plausibility on the analogy of the three earlier sketches. Peck seems to have so divided it. In reprinting the scheme he provides it with a division which recalls Milton's division of the earlier plans. The fourth act deals with Adam and Eve's quarrel after the fall, and this is the subject of the reconstructed scene. It incorporates the latter part of bk. X of the epic, which consists mainly of dialogues and soliloquies, and has relatively few epic intervals. It was this, no doubt, which led Peck to select this particular part of the poem for the demonstration of his method. He starts with verse 720 of the book and goes on nearly to the end. The narrative passages are replaced by stage-directions. The result is a more or less acceptable dramatic scene, but the stage-directions are out of keeping. Some are excessively theatrical, and the gestures proposed in them are radically different from the intense, genuine and noble character of Milton's conception of the scene. In the very beginning, *e. g.*: "*Enter Adam, with his arms across, and Eve following him at a distance; he casts up his eyes to heaven —*" The worst example is the stage-direction substituted for ll. 865—7, where Milton's Eve tries to comfort Adam but is rejected by him "with stern regard".

"Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd.
But her with stern regard he thus repell'd.
Out of my sight, thou Serpent..."

Peck naturally enough substitutes gestures and movements for Milton's sentiments, but listen to his grotesque interpretation: "*Eve rises and approaches to pacify him. He kicks at her.*"

The twelfth chapter of Peck's book, where Milton's plans are reprinted, contains also some conjectures on his dramatic intentions in general, and on the probable direction which his development as a playwright would have taken, had it not been checked

³⁷²) Cf. p. 41.

by "the mean, narrow-spirited temper of the times" and Milton's own "stepping into business & . . . into years" ³⁷³). According to Peck, Milton desired "to have rivalled, nay to have outdone *Shakespeare & Jonson*" (*i. e.* Ben Jonson). He does not draw any comparison between Shakespeare's and Milton's characters as dramatists, but only points to a draft in the Cambridge MS. proving Milton's "design of writing the Tragedy of *Macbeth* anew, after it had been so admirably well done by SHAKESPEARE" ³⁷⁴). The preface to "Sejanus" is quoted where Jonson emphasises the need of "truth of argument, dignity of persons, gravity & hight of elocution, fulnesse & frequencie of sentence", and Peck concludes that "what he only promised, MILTON (as we may see by his SAMSON) in part performed". He regrets that the spirit of the age and the circumstances of his own personal life prevented Milton from doing what he might have accomplished "with a beauty & a grandeur above all the moderns" ³⁷⁵).

Peck made other experiments. He divides "Samson Agonistes" and "Comus" into acts, and even subdivides "Samson" into 18 scenes ³⁷⁶). This procedure disagrees with Milton's own statement in the preface to "Samson": "Division into Act and Scene referring chiefly to the Stage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted". On the other hand, Milton's remark that "It suffices if the whole Drama be found not produc't beyond the fift Act" ³⁷⁷) shows that he was not quite forgetful of the traditional scheme of classical tragedy in composing the work, and that Peck did not act entirely without authorization.

There are other traces here and there of his interest in Milton's stage effects. He collects information about the actors at the first performance of "Comus" ³⁷⁸) and tries to get some idea of its scenic arrangement. The stage-direction following on l. 957 of the poem states that there enter "Countrey-Dancers, after them the attendant Spirit, with the two Brothers and the Lady". Hence, the contrast between the "duck or nod" mentioned in l. 960 and

³⁷³) Cf. p. 96.

³⁷⁴) Cf. p. 96.

³⁷⁵) *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶) "Paradise Regained" and "Comus" are provided also with detailed arguments after the fashion of "Paradise Lost".

³⁷⁷) *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸) Cf. pp. 12, 153.

the "other trippings... of lighter toes" is interpreted as follows: "By *ducks & nods* our author sneers at the country people's awkward way of dancing. And, the *two brothers & the lady* being now to dance, describes their elegant way of moving by — *trippings — lighter toes — court guise, & c.*" ³⁷⁹). The interest which Peck took in the fate of *Comus* as a stage work is shown also by the quotation from the "Universal Spectator" (N. 454) giving an account of its production by Dalton in 1738 ³⁸⁰).

B. PECK ON MILTON'S STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

The chapter on Milton's style aims at a much stricter logical arrangement and at fuller illustration than any previous handling of the subject. The views on Milton's ways of expression scattered here and there among Peck's miscellaneous notes are condensed and to a certain extent systematized in this chapter. A great deal of it is mere compilation, and the earlier analyses of Milton's style, particularly Addison's article in the "Spectator" (N. 285) and the notices dealing with Milton's language in Anthony Blackwall's "Introduction to the Classics" ³⁸¹) are freely drawn upon. But Peck has at least the merit of wishing to be thorough. The argument to the chapter reads as follows ³⁸²):

"An Examination of *Milton's* style: viz. 1. *He sometimes, tho' rarely* lengthens a word. 2. *He very often* shortens a word. 3. *He often* softens a word. 4. *He often* makes use of old words. 5. *When he wants a proper word to express his sense, he coins* a new one. 6. *He very often* drops a word. 7. *He sometimes* repeats a word. 8. *He naturalizes many* Greek words; 9. *& almost innumerable* Latin words. 10. *He often* introduces technical words. 11. *Of his elisions, melting of syllables, & using something*

³⁷⁹) Cf. p. 153.

³⁸⁰) Cf. p. 21.

³⁸¹) The title of the third edition — the only edition that could be found in Oxford — is as follows: *An Introduction to the Classics; containing a short discourse on their excellencies; and directions how to Study Them to Advantage. With An Essay, on the nature and use Of those Emphatical and Beautiful figures which give Strength and Ornament to writing.* By Anthony Blackwall; M. A.... London, M.DCC.XXV. [12^o].

³⁸²) Cf. p. 105.

like an English dactyl foot. 12. He often makes the substantive an adjective, 13. or verb, 14. or participle, 15. or adverb; 16. or places it between two adjectives. 17. He often makes the adjective a substantive, 18. or verb, 19. or adverb; 20. or puts it after the substantive, 21. or before the infinitive mood. 22. He often makes the verb a substantive, 23. or adjective, 24. or participle; 25. or puts it between two accusatives. 26. He sometimes makes the participle an adjective, 27. or adverb. 28. He very often uses the complex epithet; 29. & as often the continuative epithet, substantive, or verb. 30. Of his transpositions. 31. return of the same, or very near the same, words & lines. 32. The justness of his metaphors; 33. fineness of his simile's [sic]; 34. liveliness of his descriptions; 35. inimitable beautiffulness of his poetic preventions; 36. boldness of his other figures as (I.) the metonymie, 37. (II.) irony, 38. (III.) catachresis, 39. (IV.) exclamation, 40. (V.) correction, 41. (VI.) apostrophe, 42. (VII.) suspension, 43. (VIII.) prosopopoeia, 44. (IX.) transition, 45. (X.) sentence, 46. (XI.) epiphonema. 47. His admirable mixtures of opposite passions; 48. delightful imitations of the ancients, 49. & of Scripture. 50. Conclusion."

The gradual transition from the study of simpler to more complex phenomena is evident. §§ 1—3 deal with phonetic alterations of single words; §§ 4, 5, 8, 9, 10 with the character of Milton's vocabulary. The formulation of the contents of §§ 6—7 in the argument seems to indicate that these were meant to deal with some of the simplest cases of the syntactic treatment of single words: their omission or repetition. However, in the former paragraph the problem is wider and includes the question of Milton's elliptic style, though this is not dwelt upon very attentively. § 11, which treats of prosody, seems somewhat out of place in the midst of a discussion of the character of single words, which is continued in §§ 12—27. Though most of these paragraphs deal with the use of one part of speech in the meaning of another, a few notes on the ways of combining different parts of speech are interspersed. §§ 28—29 continue the treatment of Milton's combinations of words. In § 30 a syntactic phenomenon of a more complicated kind, *viz.* the alteration of the habitual word-order, is illustrated. The next paragraph examines repetitions, yet not of single words as § 7 did, but of whole phrases or verses or groups of versès. In the rest of the chapter, except at the very end, more

involved features of style are studied, and the concluding paragraphs fall quite beyond the scope of the chapter.

The matter of the chapter is much less satisfactory than its plan. The definitions are often mere quotations from other critics, made without independent comment. Though the general idea of a systematic chapter on Milton's style, with abundant illustrations, is new (Addison's attempt is hap-hazard and under-illustrated) Peck shows little power or originality.

The two first paragraphs, on the lengthening and shortening of words, are apparently an elaboration of Addison's observations in No. 285 of "The Spectator". The examples given by Addison are all found in Peck. Moreover, quotations from the same number of the "Spectator" appear in other parts of the chapter, *e. g.* in the section on the coining of new words by Milton. Though Addison's remark starts from the metrical consideration of the length of words, this criterion is soon supplemented by another which has nothing whatever to do with the number of syllables in a word, *viz.* the question of the commonness or uncommonness of the expressions used by the poet. Thus, for example, the use of "eremit" for "heremit", which is referred to by Addison as well as Peck, may be caused by the desire for a less common word or by metrical considerations or by both. The adoption of "Hesebon" P. L. I. 408 for "Heshbon" ³⁸³) might be explained in the same way, or possibly by phonetic considerations, *e. g.* the tendency to avoid the sound sh, which is pointed out by Masson ³⁸⁴) who mentions the use of "Basan" for "Bashan" ³⁸⁵), "Sittim" for "Shittim" ³⁸⁶) & *c. & c.* In any case, the length of these words is by no means their only remarkable feature, as Addison expressly emphasizes, and Peck is wrong in putting them under this heading as if it were all but certain that this was the quality which induced Milton to use them. It seems probable that Peck carelessly took the category and part of the examples from Addison, without troubling to study their treatment by the critic. His own illustrations are dealt with in the same mechanical manner. Such words as "supernal", "ingrate", "insatiate" are regarded as mere

³⁸³) E. g. Numb. XXI. 26.

³⁸⁴) Cf. p. 171 of Masson's ed. of Milton's Poetical Works, vol. III, Macmillan, 1893.

³⁸⁵) P. L. I. 398.

³⁸⁶) P. L. I. 413.

shortened varieties of "supernatural", "ungrateful" and "unsatiated", without any notice being taken of the differences of origin and atmosphere.

The examples of the "softening" of words illustrate the very feature which was overlooked by Peck in the paragraphs just discussed, *i. e.* the avoiding of harsh sounds and combinations of sounds, and are sometimes aptly chosen, *e. g.* "ammiral" for "admiral"³⁸⁷), and apparently, also, "far-fet" for "fat-fetch'd"³⁸⁸). On the other hand, the identification of "cressets" P. L. I. 728 with "crescents" only shows Peck's ignorance of the meaning of the word. A few further surprises of this type are found in his next paragraph on Milton's use of old words, *e. g.* the identification of "lore" with "lure"³⁸⁹). The majority of Peck's examples are, however, well chosen, being words of a distinctly archaic or possibly provincial stamp, such as "to tine", "bosky", "welkin", "purfled", "pranckt" & *c.* The explanations generally come close to the truth, and show, on the whole, some knowledge of the older language.

Addison's defence of Milton's coinages of new words (Spect. No. 285) which is quoted by Peck, seems to have stimulated him to study the question, though his illustrations are not borrowed from Addison. The expressions "honied" II P. 142, "canie" P. L. III. 439, "roseat" P. L. V. 643, "hosting" (sb.) P. L. VI. 93, "infuriate" (adj. pple.) P. L. VI. 486, "Atheous" P. R. I. 487, "arrowie" P. R. III. 324, "endorst" P. R. III. 329, are cited as instances. Of these, "canie" [= cany], "infuriate" and "arrowie" in the Miltonic sense [= "consisting of arrows" as distinguished from "resembling an arrow"] are not registered by the NED. before Milton. The rest do occur before their appearance in Milton's works, some of them even very early, but of "atheous" there is

³⁸⁷) P. L. I. 294.

³⁸⁸) P. R. II. 401.

³⁸⁹) A few similar lapses occur elsewhere, in the notes on the individual poems. A typical case is the explanation of "dingle" in *Comus* (Co. 312 *n.*). Being unacquainted with the fact that the word is used as a noun, Peck decides that "it is an adjective and agrees with *dell*" [in: "I know each lane, and every alley green, Dingle, or bushy dell of this wilde Wood"]. "Both together signifie a low deep place, where briars hang thick & long, & if I may so speak, *dingle-dangle* over one's head, & which, consequently, if not well known & carefully avoided, would, in the night, go near to tear one's eye out."

only one instance previous to Milton, and "to endorse" does not appear to have been used seriously in the literal sense of the word before Milton adopted it. The results of Peck's investigation are creditable, when one considers the absence of satisfactory lexicographical works at his time ³⁹⁰).

His lists of Græcisms and Latinisms can hardly have been meant to show exclusively Miltonic innovations, for the very first Greek expression quoted by him, "cynosure", is expressly exemplified elsewhere in his book by an instance taken from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" ³⁹¹). Peck must have been conscious that some of them at least were known before Milton. The illustrations which he gives of elliptic constructions are not particularly striking after Pearce, and the opinion that the removal of all superfluities of language "is indeed one of the greatest arts in composition" is stated far less categorically than in Richardson's handling of the same problem ³⁹²). The examples of the repetition of single words contribute nothing of interest. In the paragraph on Milton's use of technical terms no new ideas are added to Peck's quotations from Addison ³⁹³) and Spence ³⁹⁴), save in the remarks on Milton's knowledge of the technicalities of music.

The paragraph on prosody is examined in another place, together with the above observations. The treatment of Milton's use of one part of speech for another contains some mistakes, but is notable as making allowances for freer habits of style. Though the inquiry was not new, and even Hume mentions the use of adjectives as nouns, Peck's systematic grouping is meritorious. He has tried to include every possible case, and in certain respects has done rather too much than too little. He tries to demonstrate the possibility of changing almost every part of speech into nearly

³⁹⁰) In this connection, mention should be made of the chance notes on Milton's spelling found here and there. Some of them are accurate enough, *e. g.* the remark that the noun "even" and its cognates (evening, etc.) are generally spelt with a double *e*, whereas the adverb (true only of the emphatic adverb) has one *e* (p. 137); *id.* that "Ore" (= "ore of a metal") is generally spelt with a capital (p. 144). Peck sees in the spelling "oughly" a symbolic representation of the meaning (p. 150).

³⁹¹) Cf. p. 141.

³⁹²) See above, p. 108.

³⁹³) Spect. No. 297.

³⁹⁴) On the Odyssey, p. 170 acc. to Peck.

every other. This is valuable as a recognition of the great liberties found especially in Elizabethan English. Attention is called to such peculiarities as the following: "the roses bushing round" P. L. IX. 426; "tempest the Ocean" P. L. VII. 412; "without disturb" *ibid.* VI. 549; "Thy sweet Converse and Love" *ibid.* IX. 909; "At Feed or Fountain" *ibid.* IX. 597. Several of the forms cited by Peck are misinterpreted. Thus, "divine" in "divine of something ill" ³⁹⁵) is defined as a verb used as a participle, without any notice being taken of the Latin adjective "divinus", *e. g.* in Horace's "Ars Poetica" 218, 219 "divina futuri... sententia" ³⁹⁶). "Adorn" in P. L. VIII. 576 ("Made so adorn for thy delight the more") is classed as the adjective use of a verb though it may be an imitation of the Italian adjective "adorno" ³⁹⁷), or else an example of an abbreviated participle of the type of "infuriate" ³⁹⁸) which is found so frequently in Milton. Peck apparently does not understand this form, for "forfeit" in "this now fenceless world Forfeit to Death" ³⁹⁹) where all symptoms of the type are found is described as the substitution of a verb for a participle, which is quite a different thing from the abbreviation of a participle on the analogy of the corresponding forms borrowed from the Latin.

In spite of these and other blunders, there are some good observations: "bushing" *e. g.*, in the passage quoted above, he connects with "bush", instead of adopting the corrupt and conventional reading "blushing" ["the roses blushing round"] as in Bentley's edition.

The notes on Milton's ways of combining different parts of speech contain some good illustrations of certain important characteristics of the poet's word-order. The habit of placing the adjective after the noun ⁴⁰⁰) is the least typically Miltonic feature among these. On the other hand, the position of a noun

³⁹⁵) P. L. IX. 845.

³⁹⁶) Cf. Verity's ed. of. P. L., IX. 845 *n.*; see also Newton, P. L. IX. 845 *n.*

³⁹⁷) Cf. Newton, P. L. VIII. 576 *n.*

³⁹⁸) Cf. above p. 155.

³⁹⁹) P. L. X. 304.

⁴⁰⁰) *E. g.* "Inmate bad" IX. 494.

between two adjectives ⁴⁰¹) or of a verb between two accusatives ⁴⁰²) are notable points and are well exemplified.

These and some further syntactic remarks seem to have been suggested by an observation in Addison's article on Milton's language ⁴⁰³) where the following devices for raising the style are enumerated: "Under this head may be reckoned the placing the adjective after the substantive, the transposition of words, the turning the adjective into a substantive, with several other foreign modes of speech which this poet has naturalized, to give his verse the greater sound, and throw it out of prose" ⁴⁰⁴). These stray suggestions of Addison seem to be industriously enlarged upon and illustrated by Peck.

A long list of Milton's compound epithets is followed by a number of Shakespearean examples showing that this device was common among the Elizabethans, and no mere echo of the style of classical antiquity, as might be judged from Hume's treatment of the matter ⁴⁰⁵). Another connecting link between Milton and Shakespeare is found in the "continuative epithet, substantive or verb", *i. e.* the consecutive use of co-ordinate verbs, nouns or epithets. Special notice is taken of Milton's manner of composing lines consisting only of three such words ⁴⁰⁶). His inversions of the usual word-order receive more attention here than in the earlier commentaries. Some extreme cases of this tendency, *e. g.* P. L. XII. 412: "to death condemnd A shameful and accurst", partly explain Peck's eagerness to see such transposition even where some other explanation is more satisfactory. P. L. IX. 202: "The hands dispatch of two Gardning so wide" is explained as: "the dispatch of two hands" & *c.* though there is hardly much reason to connect "two" with "hands", instead of interpreting it as signifying "Adam and Eve". Peck likes these inversions all the better for their boldness. His most enthusiastic remark refers

⁴⁰¹) *E. g.* "sad occasion dear" Lyc. 6.

⁴⁰²) *E. g.* VI. 713: "my Almighty Arms Gird on and Sword upon thy puissant Thigh."

⁴⁰³) Spect. No. 285.

⁴⁰⁴) Ed. 1822 of the "Spectator".

⁴⁰⁵) See above, p. 40.

⁴⁰⁶) *E. g.* P. L. II. 185: "Unrespited, unpitied, unrepreevd".

to P. R. I. 171: "But this surpasses all the rest, & is greatly beautiful.

— the hand

Sung with the voice, & this the argument. P. R. I. 171.
For, — *the voice sung with the hand, & c.*"

In both cases the verb applies to "the hand" as well as to "the voice", so that Peck's interpretation does not solve the difficulty. The illustrations given in Todd's edition make it probable that "to sing" is used in the Latin sense of "cano" which also means "to perform on any instrument". If so, no unusual transposition need be assumed.

The repetitions of whole groups of words and longer passages were already observed by others, *e. g.* by Bentley ⁴⁰⁷). However, the "turn of words" in S. A. 961 ("then winds and seas, yet winds to seas") which is quoted in this connection, is a good instance of modified repetition and supplements Pearce's observations on cases of a somewhat similar type.

In addition to these notes on the more strictly formal elements of Milton's language, a considerable number of remarks deal with his figures of style. This is apparently the least independent part of the chapter, for nearly all definitions and illustrations are taken from Anthony Blackwall's work, as is partly acknowledged in the foot-notes. This book, though quoting Milton more frequently than any other English writer, is essentially a manual of literary theory pursuing its own line of argument, which is that of giving a systematic synopsis of the main literary categories, not a detailed study of Milton's peculiarities of style. Its Miltonic illustrations, although sometimes interesting enough, are casual. Peck seems to be unconscious of the need of altering Blackwall's scheme or adding more suitable illustrations. Blackwall's explanatory and illustrative matter is transcribed by him almost exactly in the original order, except for the omission of remarks with non-Miltonic examples, so that the original system is mutilated without the substitution of an equivalent.

Blackwall's list of tropes includes: the metaphor, the allegory, the metonymy, the synecdoche, the hyperbole, the irony and the catachresis. Of these, only the metaphor, the metonymy, the irony and the catachresis, which are illustrated from Milton, are

⁴⁰⁷) Cf. X. 1092 *n.*

represented in Peck's chapter. The paragraph on the first of these is borrowed from Vossius, the definitions and illustrations of the rest being from Blackwall. A typical instance of Peck's neglect of the inner connection between Blackwall's categories is shown in the treatment of a special group of figures expressing various stages of hesitation: "doubt", "correction", "suppression", "omission" ⁴⁰⁸). Here again Peck's reason for dealing with only one of these, *viz.* "correction", is evidently that only this figure is exemplified from Milton in Blackwall's book.

The paragraph describing the chief kinds of sentences, the "direct and plain" and the "indirect and disguised" varieties, is also from Blackwall, but at least the former type finds a new illustration: "be lowlie wise" ⁴⁰⁹). The example of the more difficult variety is borrowed. This appears to characterize the average intentness of Peck's endeavour to do independent work in this part of his book.

Beside these notes relating to style, various observations are found which touch on style only indirectly, as for example the remark on the vividness of Milton's descriptions ⁴¹⁰). While the notes on Scriptural and classical borrowings in Milton contain nothing new, those on "mixtures of opposite passions" are of some interest, as they refer to a typical feature, *e. g.* in the observation on the phrase: "Grinn'd horrible a gastly smile" ⁴¹¹). Peck admires the passage despite his narrow ideal of beauty and „Fine Nature”.

C. PECK'S STUDY OF MILTON'S MS. CORRECTIONS. HIS EMENDATIONS.

Peck's emendations and the few remarks made by him on Milton's "corrections of himself" (cf. his preface) show certain aspects of his conception of style and also of his critical method. He used the Trinity MS. to prove his view of the artificiality of Milton's manner ⁴¹²). In another place he tries to trace Milton's

⁴⁰⁸) Cf. pp. 191—197 ed. 1725 of Blackwall.

⁴⁰⁹) P. L. VIII. 173.

⁴¹⁰) Cf. p. 125.

⁴¹¹) P. L. II. 845 *et seq.*

⁴¹²) Cf. above p. 144.

ways of thought from the corrections in that MS.: "There is hardly a more agreeable research than to observe how any great author (such as MILTON) corrects himself" ⁴¹³). However, the note we quote from shows that his knowledge of the language of older literature, and apparently even of the Bible, was insufficient for drawing any reliable conclusions. He examines the alteration of Co. 608 & c.

"Or drag him by the curls & cleave his scalpe
downe to the hips"

into its present form:

"Or drag him by the curls, to a foul death,
Curs'd as his life."

"But here our author afterwards found he had committed an egregious mistake. He had threatned to drag *Comus* by his *curled hair*, & then to *cleave his scalpe*, i. e. his *bald pate*. Now *curls* upon a *bald pate* is a good joke. He therefore altered the two last lines (as we see by Edit. 1673) to what we read above" ⁴¹⁴). He forgets, or does not know, that the Bible uses the expression "the hairy scalp" ⁴¹⁵), of which there are several examples in the NED. The question whether Milton's alteration may not have been caused by the desire to adopt a less crudely realistic style, as many other changes in the same poem would indicate, is not discussed.

The Trinity College MS. is used for the solution of textual problems, which, of course, involve problems of literary psychology and style. In his emendation of "Comus" l. 553 ⁴¹⁶) Peck runs counter to the authority of the original editions, accepting the Cambridge reading "drowsie-flighted steeds" (the hyphen is added by Peck; the original reading = "drousie flighted steeds") instead of the usual "drowsie frighted steeds". His argument is that "They must be clever animals which can be *drowsie* and *frighted* at the same time! The great MILTON could not be guilty of such a gross absurdity. It was the printer's fault & none of his." It seems that Peck did not make allowances for Milton's bold combinations of ideas. Newton accepts the reading of the Cambridge MS. whereas Warton and Todd keep to the printed

⁴¹³) Cf. p. 148.

⁴¹⁴) *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵) *E. g.* Ps. 68. 21.

⁴¹⁶) Co. 561 n.

authorities, the former explaining the printed reading as meaning not simultaneous qualities but two successive stages of consciousness ⁴¹⁷). Todd points to the improbability that Milton should have failed to alter the reading if it was a misprint ⁴¹⁸). While the later commentators are critical and cautious in their judgments, Peck's preference of the MS. reading is shared by a recent critic such as A. W. Verity (ed. of *Comus*, l. 553 n.), so that his boldness is not so unique here as in some of the cases already discussed. Verity finds that "*drowsy-flighted* gives a more picturesque conception... and it appears most improbable that Milton should have changed the line so manifestly for the worse."

Peck's views are here shared by careful critics, which is intelligible, as he has MS. sources to support his conjecture. In certain other cases he seems to lack critical judgment. In *Il P.* 151 n. "Above, about, or underneath" is altered into: "...and underneath" because of "*Cassio's* pious salutation to *Desdemona*, whereof these fine lines are almost a direct copy.

*Hail to thee, lady! & the grace of heav'n,
Before, behind thee, and on ev'ry hand,
Enwheel thee round. —*"

This is the well-known method of basing an emendation on a supposed model of the poet, but Peck neglects that not a single word in Shakespeare's verse is identical with any in Milton's, and that the similarity of meaning and context is too slight to justify definite alterations. He also fails to prove the faultiness of the earlier reading. His lack of tact and taste is seen in the idea of altering *Lyc.* 75 according to the standards of "elegant" poetry. The association of the furies, instead of the traditional fates, with the "abhorred shears" strikes him as impossible. Without considering Milton's motives, *e. g.* his apparent intention to produce an effect of grim ugliness, Peck decides that the beings described by the poet "may be elegantly called *fairies*" ⁴¹⁹).

D. PECK ON MILTON'S VERSE.

Though Peck, as was shown above, finds Milton's poetic method artificial and laborious, the chapter where these views are expressed, contains some passages on the inspiring influence

⁴¹⁷) Cf. p. 200, ed. 1785.

⁴¹⁸) Co. 553 n.

⁴¹⁹) Cf. p. 168.

exerted on the poet by his passion for music: "it may be premised, that he fetches more flights & beautiful images from that science than any other *English* poet whatsoever" ⁴²⁰). Peck tries to trace this influence in the imagery of Milton's works as well as in the technique of his verse, especially in his analysis of the rhymes of "Lycidas", starting with the assumption that Milton was a trained musician.

He is convinced that the poet not only loved music as a soothing or stimulating influence, as indicated by such passages as Co. 555 *et seq.*, that "wonderful description of a fine song by a fine voice at a distance... one of the most sublime passages in all *Milton*" ⁴²¹) or by P. L. I. 549 *et seq.* where the author shows "the great power of music to encourage armies to engage & fight deliberately, like the antient heroes" ⁴²²), but also that he had a competent knowledge of the technicalities of music. In L'All. 135 & c. ("Ever, against eating cares" *et seq.*) he sees the description of a fugue, and the poet's way of depicting an organ in P. L. I. 709 & c. convinces him of Milton's ability to take this instrument "to pieces, & clean it, & put it together again, without any other person to help him" ⁴²³). This view, which agrees with the accounts of Milton's skill in music given by the early biographers, *e. g.* by Aubrey, is the cause of Peck's bold application of musical analogies in the pages devoted to the study of "Lycidas" and the "rhime and mystery concealed in it" ⁴²⁴). In this analysis, Peck goes beyond Richardson's comparison of Milton's poetical technique to that of music ⁴²⁵).

Dryden's depreciation of Milton's rhymes in his preface to Juvenal, which is referred to by Peck, apparently caused the younger critic to adopt the opposite view with such determination. Here for once Peck is methodical and consistent and intelligently tries to vindicate Milton's deliberate workmanship, studying the facts more carefully and in some respects more acutely than *e. g.* Dr. Johnson did in his dogmatic condemnation of the supposed irregularity and harshness of the verse of "Lycidas". He attempts

⁴²⁰) Cf. p. 8.

⁴²¹) Co. 566 *n.*

⁴²²) Cf. p. 8.

⁴²³) Cf. p. 111.

⁴²⁴) Cf. pp. 32—33.

⁴²⁵) See above, chap. 5, sec. D.

to show that this irregular scheme was not adopted "because Mr. *Milton* could not help it" but "because Mr. *Milton* designed it" ⁴²⁶).

In his view the lack of regularity is only apparent and the arrangement of the rhymes has its definite laws. Though their places are not fixed so that they are "thrown oft from each other, by the intervention of other lines & Rhimes, to a great distance", most of the verse endings have "their return or answer at the end of some verse in the some [*sic*] paragraph", without being connected with any line in any other paragraph. This, in Peck's opinion, is an attempt "to give, tho' secretly, a poetical image or draught of the mathematical Canon of Music". The paragraphs are likened to musical bars, the rhymes to chords, the unrhymed lines to discords in the same bar. Milton's skill on the organ is mentioned in order to show that "the odd dispersion of the rhimes... may not improperly be compared to that beautiful way of sprinkling the keys, for which some masters of it are so justly famous" ⁴²⁷). It may be difficult to decide whether these musical analogies really influenced Milton's technique. Nevertheless, the regularity of the rhyming scheme and the part played by the unrhymed lines are plausibly explained by Peck. His valuation of poetic originality, or perhaps ingenuity, is seen in the inference that the author appears to have been "resolved to let the world see, how that he was both a perfect master of rhyme, & could also express something by it, which no body else ever thought of."

Milton's liberal treatment of metre, *e. g.* the rhythmical variety of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso", is appreciated by Peck. He ascribes the poet's deviations from the ordinary monotonous beat of equal numbers of stresses and syllables to the influence of the matter of the twin poems. The metre there is "not always the same, but varied as the subject & words suggested; every hint of all which that great master was always ready to catch at" ⁴²⁸). The elisions in Milton are described according to the actual impressions of Peck's ear. A final *y* before an initial vowel "seems not to be cut off, but rather to remain" ⁴²⁹). Milton thereby "gives a particular softness to the foot, & makes it read

⁴²⁶) Cf. p. 32.

⁴²⁷) Cf. p. 32.

⁴²⁸) Cf. p. 30.

⁴²⁹) Cf. p. 112.

like an *English* dactyl" ⁴³⁰). However, sometimes Peck shows his usual absence of consideration and caution, as in the note on Co. 807 ⁴³¹). In this remark, the last word of the verse, "direct" ("This is meer moral babble, and direct Against the canon laws of our foundation") is regarded as an elided form of "directly" before a vowel in the beginning of the next line, as if the consonant *l* could be swallowed by the elision. Peck apparently forgets what he has himself observed in a different connection, that adjective forms are often used by Milton in an adverbial sense ⁴³²).

E. PECK'S REMARKS ON THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL AND LITERARY SETTING OF MILTON'S WORKS.

Peck's antiquarian bent is closely connected with his interest in obsolete and quaint expressions. One of his main merits is the comparison of Milton's poetry with the older literature of England and with its folklore and romantic traditions. His inquiries in this department remind one of Hume's amateurish, rambling antiquarianism, though he pays more attention to English matters, however, without neglecting the study of the Fathers of the Church, the classics and later foreign authors.

Peck seems to know very intimately the country-side with the customs and traditions of its past and present, as well as the ways of the continental peoples. Sometimes he uses his knowledge of foreign lore for explaining the origin of English traditions, as in tracing back the word "rebeck" to the name of an Italian or French instrument of dancing music ⁴³³). In explaining the adjective "blithe" ⁴³⁴), he refers to Danish popular amusements and customs: "the Danes call the month of *February blide manet*, the merry month; from the *Carnival*, or modern *Bacchanalia*, which always falls some time in that month". He studies the history of the morris-dance ⁴³⁵), trying to ascertain the date of its introduction into England and to define what is in it of native and what of foreign origin. The name is derived by him from "moorish",

⁴³⁰) *Ibid.*

⁴³¹) Cf. p. 151.

⁴³²) Cf. chapter on style, § 19.

⁴³³) L'A. 94 *n.*

⁴³⁴) L'A. 24 *n.*

⁴³⁵) Co. 115 *n.*

more or less in accordance with the evidence now found in the NED, whereas the dance itself is supposed to have been introduced at the time of Edward III, when John of Gaunt returned from Spain, the figure of "Maid Marian" being regarded as a national contribution to the borrowed custom. Vivid illustrations are adduced from Shakespeare⁴³⁶) but Peck's method of copious historical and literary documentation is marred here, as in many other cases, by his antiquarian enthusiasm, which causes him to introduce irrelevant detail, *e. g.* the description of a horse ballet at the court of the emperor Maximilian.

Peck makes use of recent authorities to verify the meaning of mediæval terms, such as "palmer" and "pilgrim". Thus, Shakespeare's and Milton's use of these expressions is compared with Sir Isaac Newton's interpretation of them in his "Observations on the Apocalypse"⁴³⁷). Several quotations are also given to show that neither of these poets noticed the special technical meaning of these words. In dealing with the curfew, Peck mentions the legend of its introduction at the time of William the Conqueror⁴³⁸).

These and similar inquiries into the social and historical setting of Milton's poetry prepare the way for later scholars, such as Thomas Warton. This applies also to the notes on folklore and popular superstitions. Peck, who seems to have been fond of everything quaint and fantastic, evidently felt attracted by romances and fairy-tales. His treatment of the "Legend of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton" in the same volume is a fair instance of this tendency, but it appears also in his Miltonic notes. In connection with the above remark on the curfew he quotes Shakespeare's passage on Flibbertigibbet in "King Lear"⁴³⁹) as well as an allusion to the appearance of fairies at curfew-time in "The Tempest"⁴⁴⁰). Shakespeare's treatment of old traditions of this stamp in "Hamlet" is appreciated⁴⁴¹): "Shakespeare touches this old imaginary circumstance, of spirits & ghosts ceasing to walk at the *first cock crow*, very beautifully." The stories

⁴³⁶) Mids. N. D., II Hen. VI, Twelfth Night, & c.

⁴³⁷) Cf. p. 269 of the work, according to Peck.

⁴³⁸) Co. 438 n.

⁴³⁹) Co. 438 n.

⁴⁴⁰) *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹) L'A. 115 n.

of the Rosicrucians on the "swart faeries of the mine" are drawn upon to illustrate "Comus" ⁴⁴²). Reginald Scot's "Discovery of Witchcraft" is studied for the sake of the information it gives about the legend of Robin Goodfellow ⁴⁴³), concerning which a ballad from the Pepys collection at Cambridge is reprinted in full in Peck's chapter on "L'Allegro". His interest in these matters does not seem to be purely literary, for he speaks of Robin Goodfellow as still actually seen in Scotland, where he says his name to have been changed to that of "Brownie" ⁴⁴⁴). The more adventurous aspects of romance have been studied by Peck in several languages, and he quotes out-of-the-way foreign synonyms of a typical word such as "bandit", showing his interest in picturesque popular idioms of this type ⁴⁴⁵).

Elaborate historical, geographical and mythological works supply him with material on local legends and traditions. Selden's commentary on Drayton's "Polyolbion", Henry Rowland's "Mona antiqua restaurata" (Dublin 1723, acc. to Peck), Spenser's catalogue of rivers in the "Faerie Queen" are used to explain the allusions in "Lycidas" ⁴⁴⁶), "Holingshed, Stow, & our author's *Hist. of England*" in order to elucidate the legend of Locrine in "Comus" ⁴⁴⁷). But various far less solemn matters are also dealt with, e. g. the details of the meal set before Christ by the Tempter ⁴⁴⁸). The main part of this note was contributed to Peck by a "curious lady", as he calls her, who seems to have made a special study of ancient cookery at the festivities of Cardinal Wolsey and Elizabethan society. She writes with professional accuracy how "Grey ambre is the ambre our author here speaks of, & melts like butter". This serves as an example of Peck's endeavour to collect independently or through his informants literally everything likely to explain the background of Milton's works. Pearce saw

⁴⁴²) Co. 438 n.

⁴⁴³) L'A. 100 n.

⁴⁴⁴) L'A. 100 n.

⁴⁴⁵) „*Bandite*, or *bandito*, from *bando*, Ital. *edictum publicum*; & *bandire*, *edicto publico proscribere*; originally, from the Anglo-Saxon, *abannan*; to proclaim or publish: an outlaw or fugitive: called in the *Low-Countries*, Free-booters; in *Germany*, nightingales; in *Spain*, *Bandilero's* [*sic*]; in the north of *England*, Moss-Troopers; in *Ireland*, Tories." (Co. 426 n.)

⁴⁴⁶) Lyc. 50 n.

⁴⁴⁷) Co. 841 n.

⁴⁴⁸) P. R. II. 335 n.

the necessity of accurate historical research but had little time for it, being engaged in problems of a more exclusively philological and textual character. Peck tries to make up for this neglect.

Many of these inquiries are diversified by references to, and quotations from Milton's poetic predecessors. The number of names is not very considerable but some of them are new. Balladry ⁴⁴⁹), Drayton's ⁴⁵⁰), Ben Jonson's ⁴⁵¹), Chaucer's ⁴⁵²), and Spenser's ⁴⁵³) names are alluded to. Peck's knowledge of the two last-mentioned enables him to identify the references to them in "Il Penseroso" ⁴⁵⁴). The now generally accepted interpretation of "Where more is meant than meets the ear" ⁴⁵⁵) as referring to the style of allegory is already given here.

Old popular books such as Purchas's "Pilgrimage" ⁴⁵⁶) and the "Anatomy of Melancholy" by "ROBERT BURTON (better known by the name of DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR) S. T. B. Student of *Christ's Church*, & Rector of *Segrave in Leicestershire*", as Peck minutely describes him ⁴⁵⁷), find mention. The latter, which appears to agree with Peck's inconsistent, miscellaneous method, is alluded to repeatedly. The resemblance between the poem on melancholy prefixed to the first edition of Burton's work, and Milton's "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso", which was mentioned later on by Warton without any reference to Peck's book, is already pointed out by the latter ⁴⁵⁸). One of the more lyrical passages of Burton is quoted to illustrate Milton's use of the word "cynosure" ⁴⁵⁹): "'Tis the general humor of all lovers; she is his stern, his pole-star, his guide; his *cynosure*, his *Hesperus* & *Vesperus*," & c.

But the aptest and most numerous quotations are from Shakespeare. Peck's preface showed how greatly he was interested in the poet. The fact that a special chapter is given exclusively

⁴⁴⁹) Cf. p. 23.

⁴⁵⁰) Lyc. 50 n.

⁴⁵¹) Cf. p. 96.

⁴⁵²) Il P. 109 n.

⁴⁵³) Lyc. 50 n. & c. & c.

⁴⁵⁴) Cf. Il P. 109, 116 nn.

⁴⁵⁵) Il P. 120.

⁴⁵⁶) Cf. p. 200.

⁴⁵⁷) Cf. p. 27.

⁴⁵⁸) Cf. pp. 27 *et seq.*

⁴⁵⁹) Co. 343 n.

to Shakespeare is good proof, particularly as Peck describes the chapter as only part of a much larger collection of observations⁴⁶⁰). His references to Shakespeare are, accordingly, more varied than those of the earlier commentators. Besides the great tragedies, the comedies and less popular tragical plays are often mentioned⁴⁶¹). Some of his Shakespearean references have been alluded to above. The quaint and easy style of the comedies seems to have attracted him. Mrs. Page's expression "tricking"⁴⁶²) is taken due notice of, and Shakespeare's vocabulary of dances and merriments is traced with great interest⁴⁶³). The typically Elizabethan wit of Shakespeare's dialogue, the grace and movement of his fairy-scenes find much attention, as in the comparison of the vivid description of the dance in Co. 960—962: "Here be... Other trippings to be trod Of lighter toes" with the very similar expressions in Ariel's and Oberon's speeches⁴⁶⁴). That these parallels deal with a very typical feature of the period, which may, perhaps, be associated with the Elizabethan passion for festivities, seems evident from the great number of cognate expressions adduced by Warton in his notes on the same passage of "Comus", in addition to the instances quoted by Peck, whom Warton does not mention⁴⁶⁵). Peck's personal interest in amusements of this kind, as indicated by his numerous remarks on them (some of these were quoted above), seems to qualify him for the study of the cheerful aspects of Elizabethan poetry.

There is little critical analysis in most of these notes. Even some of the most conspicuous contrasts in Peck's parallel passages are passed over without mention, as *e. g.* the difference between the description of Harapha's clumsy approach in S. A. 1067 and of Diomedes' "aspiration" that "lifts him from the earth" in "Troilus and Cressida"...⁴⁶⁶). But the intimate knowledge of

⁴⁶⁰) Cf. above p. 140.

⁴⁶¹) For instance "Much Ado about Nothing", Co. 438 *n.*, "The Comedy of Errors", *ibid.*, "Measure for Measure", Co. 408 *n.*, "As you Like it", Co. 143 *n.*

⁴⁶²) "Go get us properties and tricking for our fairies", cf. II P. 121 *n.*

⁴⁶³) Cf. Co. 143 *n.*, on "measure", and Co. 115 *n.*, on the morris-dance, as described above.

⁴⁶⁴) "Each one, tripping on his toe" & c. Tp. and: "And this ditty after me Sing and dance it trippingly", Mids. N. Dr.

⁴⁶⁵) Ed. of Poems upon Several Occasions, 1785, pp. 253—4.

⁴⁶⁶) S. A. 1067 *n.*

Shakespeare shown by many of Peck's remarks supplied some of the later annotators with valuable material, which was relatively rarely acknowledged. Comparisons between the description of the pain of alternate heat and cold in P. L. II. 595 & c. and a similar passage in "Measure for Measure" ⁴⁶⁷), as well as between Adam's reflections on death and the soliloquies in "Hamlet" ⁴⁶⁸) are drawn both by Peck and Newton.

Peck's study of Milton's classical models is less important, mainly because more work had already been done in this department, except in regard to the minor poems. In his illustration of these, Peck had to make a new start. Some of the Virgilian passages mentioned in his notes on "Lycidas" form part and parcel of nearly every modern Milton commentary, e. g. Virg. Ecl. X. 3: "neget quis carmina Gallo", which is supposed to be the model of Lyc. 10, and Virg. Ecl. III. 26: "non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?" compared by Peck with Lyc. 123 & c. Other parallels have found less general favour, e. g. those between "L'Allegro" and various parts of the "Calendae" of Statius ⁴⁶⁹).

The ancients are not overestimated, as a rule. Deviations from classical models are accepted as legitimate, if they are justified by the result, e. g. in Milton's treatment of the legend of Alpheus: "our author here makes *Alpheus* to sink into the earth at the stern voice and speech of *S. Peter*. Which thought is very beautiful, and a much better reason for his disappearing than his supposed pursuit of *Arethusa*" ⁴⁷⁰).

A considerable number of notes deal with the Fathers of the Church, in accordance with the special mention made of them in Peck's preface. He mainly attempts to trace the sources of Milton's religious views. The origin of sin ⁴⁷¹), the problem of Satan's punishment ⁴⁷²), the doctrines of Origenes ⁴⁷³) are dealt with side by side with extracts apparently selected merely for their

⁴⁶⁷) "Ay, but to die, and go we know not where" & c. Peck P. L. II. 586 n., Newton P. L. II. 603 n.

⁴⁶⁸) Peck P. L. X. 782 n., Newton P. L. X. 813 n.

⁴⁶⁹) L'A. 1 n., 118 n., 131 n.

⁴⁷⁰) Lyc. 132 n.

⁴⁷¹) P. L. VII. 548 n.

⁴⁷²) P. L. XII. 545 n.

⁴⁷³) P. L. V. 414 n.

value as anecdotes, *e. g.* the story from Rivinus, "De Serpente seductore" ⁴⁷⁴), assigned to Rabbi Acha by the author of the book. It relates how all creatures and even the creator himself received their names from man. The connection with Milton's line: "And thou thir Nature know'st, and gav'st them Names" ⁴⁷⁵) is not convincing, for Milton's source is probably found in Genesis II. 19, 20.

Certain notes treat of parallels to Milton in the Romance literatures. "Lycidas" and Dante are compared ⁴⁷⁶) but even such relatively little-known authors as Ferrante Pallavicino find mention. The satire on the corruption of Christianity in "Il Divorzio Celeste", a work attributed to Pallavicino, is referred to as a parallel to the attacks on the clergy in "Lycidas" ⁴⁷⁷). However, it is questionable whether Peck knew the original, for, as his foot-note indicates, he had used Boyle's "Critical Dictionary". A very long quotation from Mateo Aleman's "Guzman Alfarache", (pp. 52—57), also from a translation, contains some close similarities to certain passages of "Paradise Lost", which have been passed over by Newton and Todd. The place quoted by Peck describes in an allegorical form the origin of discontent on earth. Jupiter gives the God Content to mankind, who soon forget their former deity and worship only their new idol. The gods meet to decide how to punish the trespassers, and Momus proposes merciless destruction. Only Apollo's opposition saves the guilty, but their idol is taken away and Discontent put in its place. To deceive mankind, the latter is shaped exactly like Content. The desperate crowd "tug hard" for their old god but forget their fury on perceiving his likeness among them. Such is the story related in the quotation. The resemblance to Milton appears in Apollo's speech in defence of mankind which very strongly reminds one of P. L. III. 144—166 ⁴⁷⁸). The coincidences might be

⁴⁷⁴) Lipsiae 1686 4^o. p. 49 according to Peck.

⁴⁷⁵) P. L. VII. 493.

⁴⁷⁶) Lyc. 123 *n*.

⁴⁷⁷) Lyc. 108 *n*.

⁴⁷⁸) "If thou destroy the world, in vaine then are those things which thou hast therein created. And it were imperfection in thee to unmake that which thou hast already made, only for to amend that which thou now findest amisse; much lesse would I have thee to repent thy selfe that thou hast made man. For that will be but to discredit thy selfe, and thine owne worke. Besides, how can it stand with the power and goodnesse of a *Creator*, to take

partly due to the similarity of the situations, *e. g.* the idea of the inappropriateness of the creator's cruelty to his own creatures. But the further argument that destroying the beings created by oneself is a sign of imperfection, and the discussion of the question of free-will immediately after in Aleman add interesting new points of resemblance to the passage in "Paradise Lost", which is preceded by the speech of the Father on the problems of free-will and predestination. The general situation — the description of a council in heaven in both cases —, and the parallel between Apollo, the son of Jupiter, and the son of God both pleading for the offending party, increase the similarity. The tone is epic and solemn in both, with the exception of the description of the last quarrel and a few other passages in Aleman.

The deficiencies of Peck's method appear in his inferences. Milton might possibly have remembered the happy life of mankind with their deity Content in his description of Adam and Eve in paradise, but he did not imitate it, as Peck appears to suggest. A far greater lapse, however, is his view that the grotesque "struggle which mankind made to retain their God *Content* among them" may be regarded as "a lively intimation of the great reluctance wherewith our first parents left the happy garden" — a judgment which disregards the enormous differences of style and sentiment and makes far too much of the very natural fact that the departure from paradise did not take place without reluctance and hesitation.

too strict a course against his *creature*, & to exceede, by extraordinarie means, in his chastisements"

(See p. 58 of Aleman's *Guzman Alfarache*, transl. by John Davies of Kidwell, 1630, at Oxford, acc. to Peck).

Almost immediately after, the question of free-will is touched. "If thou give them it, they must necessarily then be such manner of men as their forefathers were. And if thou do not give it them, they shall not be men."

7. JAMES PATERSON AND "RAYMOND DE ST. MAUR".

A COMPLETE COMMENTARY, WITH *Etymological, Explanatory, Critical and Classical* NOTES ON MILTON'S *Paradise Lost*: explaining 1. All the *Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Syriac, Phoenician, Egyptian, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Russian, Tatarian, Saxon, Teutonic* (or *German*) *Dutch, Norman* (or *Old French*) *Old English* (or *Scottish*) *Indian, American* and *Miltonian Words*, i. e. Those of the Author's own Coining, thro' the whole *Poem*. 2. All the difficult Terms of *Divinity, Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, Astrology, History, Geography, Architecture, Navigation, Anatomy, Surgery, Chemistry, Alchemy, Hunting, Hawking, Gardening*, and other *Human Arts and Sciencos* [sic]. 3. All the fine *Epithets*, the *Mythology* (or *Fables*) of the *Antients* [sic] all the *Figures of Grammar and Rhetoric, Comparisons, Similies, Digressions*, different *Persons*; and setting all the *Transposed Sentences* in a plain *English Prose Order*, with many new *Theological, Critical, Historical and Political Observations*, never published before. For without such a *Work* the *Poem* is useless to most Readers of it. *In Magnis voluisse sat est. Tibull.* By JAMES PATERSON, M. A. And PHILOLOGIST. LONDON: Printed by the Proprietor, R. WALKER, in *Fleet-Lane*. MDCCXLIV.

12^o: pp. [4] + 512. *Contents*: p. [1], title; p. [3], the King's declaration of Paterson's copyright; p. [4], abbreviations; pp. 1—8, preface; pp. 9—512, commentary.

THE STATE of INNOCENCE; AND FALL of MAN. Described in MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. Render'd into PROSE. With Historical, Philosophical and Explanatory NOTES. From the *French* of the Learned RAYMOND DE ST. MAUR. By a GENTLEMAN of OXFORD. LONDON: Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*, and J. HILDYARD, at York. MDCCXLV.

8^o: pp. IV + 436 + [31]. *Contents*: p. I, title; pp. III—IV, preface; pp. 1—436, text with notes; pp. [1—19], index; pp. [20—23], list of similes; pp. [25—31], index to notes.

The second edition in 1755: MILTON'S PARADISE LOST, OR, THE FALL OF MAN: WITH Historical, Philosophical, Critical, and Explanatory NOTES. From the Learned RAYMOND DE ST. MAUR. WHEREIN the Technical Terms in the Arts and Sciences are explained; the original Signification of the Names of Men, Cities, Animals, &c. and from what Language derived, rendered easy and intelligible. ALSO THE Mythological Fables of the Heathens, wherever referr'd to, historically related; difficult Passages cleared of their Obscurity; and the Whole reduced to the Standard of the *English* Idiom. In TWELVE BOOKS. Embellished with a great Number of Copper-Plates. LONDON: Printed for H. OWEN, White-Fryars, Fleet-street; and C. SYMPSON, at the *Bible-warehouse, Chancery-lane*. MDCCLV. < 8^o: pp. 430 + [18]; the preface here somewhat abridged >.

In the edition of 1767, which seems to be identical with the previous one, except for the illustrations and some possible slight differences in the text, the title-page differs in its latter part: IN TWELVE BOOKS. Embellished with Fourteen Copper Plates. LONDON: Printed and Sold by J. BEDFORD, at the *Crown*, in *St. Paul's Church Yard*, and C. SYMPSON, in *Stone-Cutter-street, Fleet-Market*. MDCCLXVII < 8^o: pp. 430 + [18] >.

The Scottish edition of 1770, which gives the full preface of 1745, has the following title-page: THE STATE OF INNOCENCE, AND FALL OF MAN, DESCRIBED IN MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. Rendered into PROSE. With Historical, Philosophical, and Explanatory NOTES. From the FRENCH of the Learned RAYMOND DE ST. MAUR. By a GENTLEMAN of OXFORD. ABERDEEN: Printed and sold by JOHN BOYLE. MDCCLXX. [12^o: pp. VIII + 428].

These are the only editions containing both paraphrase and notes. Selections of "St. Maur's" notes have been reprinted various times together with notes by other commentators.

The French translation by "Raymond de St. Maur" appeared first in 1729 with the following title: Le PARADIS PERDU DE MILTON. POEME HEROIQUE. TRADUIT DE L'AN-GLOIS. Avec les Remarques de Mr. ADDISSON. TOME I. A PARIS,

chez (CAILLEAU, Quay des Augustins, à Saint André.

(BRUNET Fils, Grand-Salle du Palais, au cinquième
(pilier, au S. Esprit.

(BORDELET, rue S. Jacques, vis-à-vis le College des
(Jesuites, à S. Ignace.

(HENRY, rue Saint Jacques, vis-à-vis S. Yves.

MDCCLXXIX. Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roy. [3 vols. 12^o].

Paterson's notes and "The State of Innocence" have to be dealt with together, for the commentary contained in the latter publication is almost entirely identical with part of the former, except for some slight alterations or casual differences. The difficulty is that the title-page of the "State of Innocence" calls the notes to this work a translation "From the *French* of the Learned RAYMOND DE ST. MAUR", *i. e.* Nicolas François Dupré de St. Maur, member of the French Academy and author of a translation of "Paradise Lost" published in 1729. One feels inclined to assume that Paterson had in some way or other plagiarized from St. Maur's work, though it is impossible to suppose that the authors of both publications used the French original independently, for then the translations would have differed. On the other hand, Paterson hardly could have made use of a work by another writer which was published a year later, unless the date of the "State of Innocence" is fictitious or he was able to examine the translator's MS. before it appeared, which is improbable. The other assumption, that the translation from the French is a plagiarism from Paterson's original work, seems also to present difficulties, but there can be no doubt as to the identity of most of the notes, which extends to very minute details, including technicalities.

The material found in the Bodleian and in the British Museum does not seem sufficient for a definite solution of the problem how far Paterson and the "gentleman of Oxford" depend on Dupré de St. Maur. The French translation of Milton by the latter is found in the British Museum, but only in a few editions, none of which alter the impression that the French notes cannot be regarded as identical with the commentary professing to be their English version.

The annotations to the French translation are not so numerous as those of the "State of Innocence", not to mention Paterson's larger work, and are generally much briefer and less elaborate. A number of biblical and classical references and allusions to rather obvious facts are found both in the French and English commentaries, but most of them are too commonplace to justify the assumption of any interdependence between these works. The literary criticism, the parallels from the literatures of the Latin nations, the references to French historical works & *c.* in St. Maur's notes are not found in the English "version", and

it appears questionable whether the English commentator ever had studied the French book with any attention.

"The State of Innocence", and consequently also Paterson's commentary, contain some typically English matter which could scarcely have been translated from the French, so that if there were any French sources, these were probably adapted very freely. This is suggested by the allusions to English translations of foreign books, *e. g.* p. 390 to a work by "M. *Christ. d'Acugna*, translated into English, 1699", to reference books used by English scholars, *e. g.* p. 34⁴⁷⁹), to "Potter's *Antiq. of Greece*, vol. 1. p. 328" or to travel books & *c.* by English authors, which were hardly popular enough in France to be used for purposes of illustration by a French commentator⁴⁸⁰). Sir Walter Raleigh, who is mentioned p. 385, was more likely to be quoted by a French student of English literature, but the comparison of foreign places and conditions to English, in a manner which seems to assume the reader's familiarity with English life, indicates the hand of an Englishman, as in the note on "Ispahan"⁴⁸¹): "...the river *Zenderu*, which is as broad and deep as the River *Thames* is at London"; or in another note on p. 101: "*Bosphorus*... *Lat.* from the *Gr. i. e. The Passage of an Ox*, as we say *Oxford*." The reference to an English provincial paper as well as the whole point of view in the note on "Columbus" p. 314 are even less French than these: "But it [= America] was first discovered about 300 years before, A. D. 1170, by *Madoc* a valiant Prince and Son of *Owen Guinneth* King of Wales; as is related by *Lynwric Ap Grano*, *Galyn Owen*, *Peter Martyr*, *Humphrey Lloyd*, *David Powell*, Sir *John Price*, *Richard Hackluyt*, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, & *c.* which was farther confirmed by the Reverend Mr. *Morgan Jones*, Chaplain of *South-Carolina*, who lived four Months with the *Doeg Indians*, and conversed with them in the Old *British* Language. Lastly, that Prince *Madoc* was buried in *Mexico*, appears by the Epitaph on his Monument lately found there. See the *Gloucester Journal* and *Daily Post*, &c. March 6, 1740."

It does not appear impossible that St. Maur's name was used for advertising the "State of Innocence". This may have con-

⁴⁷⁹) Note on Adonis.

⁴⁸⁰) Cf. *e. g.* "Cockburn's Journeys", p. 58.

⁴⁸¹) Cf. p. 381.

tributed to the success of the enterprise, which found more favour with the public than Paterson's work, to judge from the number of its editions, although this result may have been at least partly due to the prose-paraphrase of "Paradise Lost" in the "State of Innocence", and to the absence of most of the learned notes, especially the philological observations found in Paterson's book, which were cumbersome enough to deter the common reader.

If the notes should not be a translation from the French, as seems at least probable after the above, there remain the possibilities that one of the two English commentaries was plagiarized from the other, or that both are by the same author, or that the two writers used some third unknown source. As there are no direct reasons to assume the last, and as a plagiarism of the first type would probably have been too bold to pass unnoticed, the second conjecture should be examined first, particularly as the prefaces and even the title-pages of the two works provide some interesting evidence in support of this idea.

The technical execution of the notes peculiar to Paterson's work resembles that of the rest. The identity of the abbreviations and of the method of enumerating the languages regarded as the sources of Milton's words without quoting any examples from these languages, & c., confirm the impression that the author was the same. But these are not the only coincidences. The preface to the "State of Innocence" shows great similarity to the preface, and especially to the text of the title-page, of Paterson, both as regards matter and expression. Paterson enumerates in his title-page a list of the languages dealt with in his etymological notes, the first six of the series being "the *Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Syriac, Phoenician, Egyptian*". The "Gentleman of Oxford" similarly demands from the competent reader of Milton a knowledge of "the *Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, Syriac, Phoenician and Egyptian*, and all the dead Languages, with the *living and modern* ones, in all their different Dialects." The selection and order are identical, and Paterson shares with the "Gentleman" the tendency towards philological completeness, for his list includes "*Tatarian, . . . Indian*" and "*American . . . Words*", and his preface apologizes for the incomplete information given as to remote or ancient languages, emphasizing the need of thorough etymological inquiries for the "Improvement in Learning to future Ages". The "Gentleman of Oxford's" list of the other subjects

of his notes, the "difficult Terms in the *Mathematicks, History, Astronomy, Astrology, Geography, Architecture, Navigation, Anatomy, Alchymy, Divinity*, and all other human Arts and Sciences", is almost literally identical with the second part of the enumeration on Paterson's title-page. The "fine Epithets", the "*Figures of Grammar and Rhetoric*", the "*Transposed Sentences*" set "in a plain *English Prose Order*" mentioned in the third section of his list are found also in the preface to the „*State of Innocence*", where "*Paradise Lost*" is described as "wrote in the highest Stile of heroic Poetry", and its "Thoughts, many of them express'd by Figures of *Grammar and Rhetoric*", as "full of *Digressions and Sentences transposed*". Both works profess to take into consideration the needs of foreigners who know little English. "The *State of Innocence*" is said to have been written "that all *English Readers* may have the like Pleasure... and to help *Foreigners*, whose small Acquaintance with our Language might otherwise prevent their Intelligence of the finest Poem that ever was wrote" (preface). Paterson aims at "the *Satisfaction* of the *Unlearned*, that know not the *Use of Dictionaries*; and of *Foreigners*, who are Strangers to the *Original Language of Milton*" ⁴⁸²).

These similarities are too considerable to be accidental. Especially the verbal coincidences suggest that the author was the same in both cases. There are also other connecting links. Paterson speaks in his preface of having originally intended to publish an annotated edition of "*Paradise Lost*": "At first I proposed to publish this Commentary along with the Original Poem, with Alphabetical, Numerical Notes, and other References on the Margin of the Book; like the Scholastical Notes upon the Classics. But being opposed in the Design, I modell'd it into this Form." "The *State of Innocence*" is to a very considerable extent the realization of this plan, though, it is true, with some technical deviations, as the use of foot-notes instead of marginal notes, perhaps owing to practical considerations, and with the cardinal difference that it is not an edition of the original text of the poem but a simplified paraphrase. This involves the absence of elaborate discussions of style and language, as most verbal and syntactic difficulties have disappeared.

⁴⁸²) Cf. p. V.

Even the idea of a prose paraphrase is intimated in Paterson's preface. He maintains that he has "placed all the transposed Sentences into a *natural or plain* English Prose-Order, *but generally by Way of a short Paraphrase, not in the same Words of the Poem, for a certain Reason known to myself*". It seems difficult to trace this mysterious reason, but if Paterson had carried out his intention, a large part of the poem would apparently have been paraphrased in the free manner typical of "The State of Innocence", tending rather towards popular simplicity than close adherence to Milton's text. As Paterson has, in his paraphrastic way, reconstructed the natural order of only a few selected passages, there is little material for a comparison with the later work. In the preface to the latter, such a partial paraphrase is considered unsatisfactory, but it is described in terms which might well apply to what Paterson did. "It was not thought sufficient to pick out Lines here and there, and explain them only, for it is impossible to know which Part may be difficult to each Reader." Hence, another method is chosen by the author, "for which Reason, the whole is render'd into plain and intelligible Prose, the Sense preserv'd, and nothing omitted that may make it clear to all Readers." The mere "picking out of lines" practised by Paterson is replaced by a more thorough method.

Though Paterson's paraphrastic attempts are neither numerous nor long, and should be expected to differ from the corresponding parts of the complete paraphrase, where the context influences the wording, there are many remarkable resemblances not suggested by the original. The nearly complete identity of some of these deviations from Milton, which often seem too unfelicitous and unimportant to have been deliberately borrowed, could hardly have been caused by unconscious imitation. A few examples (all from books I and II) are given in the following:

1) P. L. I. 44—47 — one of the first paraphrased passages in Paterson:

"Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie
With hideous ruine and combustion down
To bottomless perdition."

Paterson renders it: "The Almighty Power of God hurled or threw Satan and his Accomplices headlong from the highest

Heavens, with most dreadful Ruin and Burning, down to the bottomless Pit and everlasting Destruction..."⁴⁸³).

„The State of Innocence" uses some of the typical expressions of this rendering: "...for the Power of the ALMIGHTY cast him down from the Heavens, with most dreadful Ruin, and Burning, down to the bottomless Pit, and everlasting Destruction..."⁴⁸⁴).

„Dreadful ruin and burning" for "hideous ruin and combustion" is no surprising coincidence, considering the closeness of the paraphrase to the original. On the other hand, the curious method of dividing the bold expression "bottomless perdition" into its component parts and supplementing either of these with a more conventional specimen of the wanting syntactic element, evidently in order to make the sense more intelligible, could hardly have independently occurred to both paraphrasts.

2) The rendering of P. L. I. 305—6:

"When with fierce Winds *Orion* arm'd
Hath vext the Red-Sea Coast..."

is identical in both works, except in the punctuation. Paterson's paraphrase reads: "*When Orion attended with boisterous Winds, hath vexed the Coast of the Red Sea.*" The substitution of "boisterous" for "fierce" and "attended" for "arm'd" is not suggested by Milton.

3) I. 659—660: "But these thoughts Full Counsel must mature".

Both Paterson and the "Gentleman of Oxford" enlarge "full Counsel" into "full Counsel [= Council] and good Deliberation", obviously for the sake of greater plainness. Both substitute "must bring to perfection" for "must mature". Neither of these renderings seems inevitable from the point of view of the original text.

4) II. 11: "Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heav'n". Both renderings have: "...ye Powers and other Inhabitants of Heaven". The latter part of this apostrophe differs entirely from Milton's text and has no special merits which might have caused one of the two paraphrasts to borrow it deliberately from the other.

⁴⁸³) I. 46 n.

⁴⁸⁴) Cf. p. 5.

5) II. 513: "A Globe of fierie Seraphim" is rendered in both works: "A Company of fiery Seraphim".

Thus not only the notes but also the prefaces, title-pages and paraphrases of the two works contain close similarities. The derivation from the French appears to be fictitious, and the *nom de plume* "A Gentleman of Oxford" may have been adopted by anyone. There is hardly anything to controvert the assumption that the same author wrote these books, especially as even the plans stated but left unexecuted in the earlier seem to have been carried out in the later work.

Paterson may be supposed to have decided to popularize his enterprise by omitting the more learned notes and adding a simplified paraphrase to attract the more indolent or less educated class of readers. The possibly not very satisfactory reception by the public of the earlier volume, which was not printed again, may have caused his later anonymity. This conjecture only suggests one possible way of explaining the curious publication in the course of two years of two partly identical works, apparently by the same author.

Various suggestions have been made regarding the „State of Innocence". Thus, its paraphrase has been regarded as a re-translation from the French into English; George Steevens apparently alludes to it in an observation on the crude blunders of the French scholars and students of Shakespeare⁴⁸⁵): "The late Mr. Thomas Osborne, Counsellor, (whose exploits are celebrated by the author of the *Dunciad*) being ignorant in what form or language our *Paradise Lost* was written, employed one of his gazetteers to render it from a French translation into English prose." Osborne is the publisher of the "State of Innocence", and its numerous editions may have made it an object of some notoriety. D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature"⁴⁸⁶) repeats this story but without mentioning names or referring to Steevens: "There is a *prose version* of his "Paradise Lost", which was innocently *translated* from the French version of his epic!" In Todd's Milton bibliography⁴⁸⁷) Steevens's remark is mentioned in connection with the "State of Innocence", but no effort is made to controvert the notion.

⁴⁸⁵) Shak. ed. 1793 vol. I. p. 72—73.

⁴⁸⁶) Cf. ed. 1849 vol. I. p. 340.

⁴⁸⁷) Poetical Works of Milton, vol. IV. ed. 1842, p. 540.

Paterson's notes are undoubtedly based on the original text, as is clearly shown by his observations on Milton's vocabulary, which will be dealt with below. If his commentary and the "State of Innocence" were written by the same person, the conjecture that the paraphrase could have been ignorantly made from a foreign language loses all probability. But the paraphrase itself shows its origin clearly enough. Milton writes in P. L. II. 629 *et seq.*:

"Mean while the Adversary of God and Man,
Satan with thoughts inflam'd of highest design,
 Puts on swift wings, and toward the Gates of Hell
 Explores his solitary flight..."

The prose is as follows ⁴⁸⁸): "Satan, the Adversary of God and Man, with Thoughts enflam'd with highest Designs puts on swift Wings, and takes his solitary Flight towards the Gates of Hell." Very few words are altered, nearly all the typical expressions and partly even the rhythm of the original being preserved.

The notion that the work was done without a knowledge of the "form or language" in which "Paradise Lost" was composed, is contradicted by the preface where the very first sentences describe it as a poem, leaving no doubt that it was written in English verse. Thus, it is emphatically asserted that "this Work [*i. e.* the paraphrase] is not done to insinuate, that it is superior or any Way equal to the Poetry of PARADISE LOST". One of its objects, as was shown, is to help foreigners with little knowledge of Milton's language. The mistake made by Todd and, as it seems, also by the others is probably due to a vague association of the book with some French original, without any inquiries into the nature of this connection.

The DNB has a misleading remark on the authorship of the book. It is ascribed to George Smith Green ⁴⁸⁹), "an eccentric eighteenth-century watchmaker of Oxford, with a turn for literary study". The authorities referred to by the biographer of the DNB (J. B—y, *i. e.* James Burnley) are: "Notes and Queries", 3rd series, X. 47; Baker's "Biographia Dramatica"; and Disraeli's "Curiosities of Literature".

⁴⁸⁸) St. of Inn., p. 86.

⁴⁸⁹) In the article on G. S. Green.

The anonymous contributor to "Notes and Queries" who unfortunately forgets to make a due statement of his authorities, rightly corrects the name of "Raymond de St. Maur" into "Nicholas Francis Dupré de St. Maur", yet writes as follows of the "State of Innocence": "This new version of the *Paradise Lost*, which was conceived to 'bring that amazing work somewhat nearer the summit of perfection', was the production of George Smith Green, an eccentric watchmaker at Oxford..." This does not differ from the information given by the DNB.

Disraeli's "Curiosities of Literature" (*ubi supra*) refers to Green, but in a different connection: „One Green published a specimen of a *new version* of the "Paradise Lost" into blank verse! For this purpose he has utterly ruined the harmony of Milton's cadences, by what he conceived to be 'bringing that amazing work somewhat *nearer the summit of perfection*'." The same information is given in Baker's "Biographia Dramatica"⁴⁹⁰), which is in part almost literally identical with the above.

These remarks evidently relate to a work entitled: "A NEW VERSION OF THE PARADISE LOST: or, MILTON PARAPHRASED. IN WHICH THE MEASURE and VERSIFICATION are *corrected* and *harmonized*; the OBSCURITIES *elucidated*; and the FAULTS of which the Author stands accused by *Addison*, and other [*sic*] of the Criticks, are removed. By a GENTLEMAN of OXFORD. OXFORD: Printed by W. JACKSON. 1756" (80). Todd assigns the pamphlet to Green⁴⁹¹), referring to Farmer's "Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare", 3rd ed. p. 27. The fact that both Baker and Disraeli have the quotation given by the contributor to the *N & Q.* leads one to the conjecture that this latter may have taken it from them but failed to notice that it related to the metrical version, which in Disraeli's book is mentioned almost in the same breath with the prose paraphrase. The rest of the correspondent's data on Green's character and works agree with those in Baker's book, which was likely to be consulted by anyone. The oversight, though crude, is not improbable, since the DNB repeats the association of Green with the prose rendering, forgetting to mention the metrical work at all.

⁴⁹⁰) Ed. 1812, article on G. S. Green.

⁴⁹¹) IV. ed. of Milton's Works, 1842, vol. IV, p. 540.

It seems convenient to study the notes included in the "State of Innocence" separately from those peculiar to the earlier work, if solely for the purpose of giving an idea of the contents of the book. Everything said of the commentary of the "State of Innocence" naturally applies also to the corresponding parts of the other work. The "State of Innocence" contains most of the historical, geographical and miscellaneous information given in Paterson's notes, omitting, as was said, nearly all the philological remarks. As in the case of Hume, the commentator does not confine himself to the interpretation and elucidation of the text but accumulates irrelevant information, though with a neater method and greater accuracy than Hume. A favourable example is the following picturesque geographical note, which may have helped the readers towards a fuller appreciation of the imaginative effect of Milton's allusion, besides being far more accurate than the corresponding notes of the earlier commentators ⁴⁹²): "The Pike of *Teneriffe* is one of the highest Mountains upon our Globe; a Mass of Rocks heaped confusedly together, like a rough *Pyramid*; computed to be between three or at most four Miles perpendicularly above the Sea; and about fifteen Miles to them that ascend it. It may be seen 120 *English Miles* offat [*sic*] Sea, in clear Weather." Hume described the mountain as 15 miles, Richardson as 45 miles in height ⁴⁹³). Newton, who may be supposed to have read this note, has the same computation as the "State of Innocence", assuming the height to be "15 miles from the very first ascent of the hill till you come thro' the various turnings and windings to the top of all" ⁴⁹⁴). His punctiliousness exceeds even that of the annotator of "The State of Innocence", for, as he asserts, he has consulted "a gentleman who measur'd it", who assured him "that the perpendicular highth of it is no more than one mile and three quarters."

That apparent endeavour to be accurate does not save the anonymous commentator from committing bad mistakes. The above-mentioned remark on the clergyman who conversed with the aborigines of America "in the Old *British Language*" shows great credulity. Some statements are very bold, *e. g.* a remark on the

⁴⁹²) Cf. p. 171, on P. L. IV. 987.

⁴⁹³) Cf. their notes on the passage.

⁴⁹⁴) IV. 987 *n.*

Chinese language ⁴⁹⁵): "The *Chinese* have about 60,000 Letters, yet not above 300 Words". The exaggeration in the following description of whales ⁴⁹⁶) is scarcely intentional: "The Whales live in these cold Northern Seas, and also in the cold Coast of *Pataegonia*, near the Straits of *Magellan*, in great Abundance; but rarely in the warm, because of their excessive Fatness; for they would melt and be parboiled in hot Waters."

The view of Hume and others that the thought of classical antiquity was derived from the Bible is found repeatedly. Homer is admitted to have been "the wittiest Man that ever liv'd, who had none to imitate", however, with the exception of "*Moses*, from whom he took his best Thoughts"... Solomon is the source from which "*Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Trismegistus & c.* borrow'd their Principles of Philosophy". A certain prudish narrowmindedness spoils the critic's enjoyment of the Olympian games, which are praised for their humane character, "abating the Immodesty of the Players, who were all naked" ⁴⁹⁷).

Some advance appears in the treatment of mediæval matters, which is more careful than in Hume's, Richardson's or Pearce's notes, not to mention those of Bentley. Only mediæval religion was treated more fully by Hume. Peck's many-sided interest in questions of folklore, chivalry and mediæval life in general, is absent, but events of the remote past are related with some competence. A fair example is the note on the introduction of jousting in England and Germany ⁴⁹⁸). Old poetry is scarcely alluded to.

Milton's deviations from the facts of history meet with less pedantry than the annotator's attitude to classical morals would lead one to expect. As in Hume ⁴⁹⁹), it is pointed out ⁵⁰⁰) that the "Expedition and Fall of *Charles* the Great, with his Nobles at *Fontarabia*, related by *M. John Turpin*, is entirely false and fabulous." Yet as in Pearce, poetic inaccuracy is excused, though the present commentator shows more anxiety to seek support from the ancients: "But Poets do not regard Exactness of History

⁴⁹⁵) Cf. p. 122.

⁴⁹⁶) Cf. p. 13.

⁴⁹⁷) Cf. p. 80 n.

⁴⁹⁸) Cf. p. 46 n., on P. L. I. 583.

⁴⁹⁹) P. L. I.

⁵⁰⁰) Cf. p. 48.

nor Chronology, provided a Fiction may help them out, and please their Readers. For *Æneas* was 300 Years after Queen *Dido*, tho' *Virgil* makes them contemporary, as St. *Austin* proves in his Book, Of the City of God, and G. *Hornius* in his *Arca Noae*. P. 358."

The critical remarks seldom go beyond commonplace generalizations and comparisons of Milton with the poets of classical antiquity. It is found that Milton "hath exceeded *Homer* himself, and *Virgil* also in *Epic* Poem, both in the Grandeur of his Subject, in his Learning, Characters, and every Thing else" ⁵⁰¹). Here it is still the subject, not the execution, which is mentioned first, and Milton's erudition comes next, which is perhaps significant, for the same attitude appears in another note where Milton's description of the Pandæmonium is compared with an Ovidian passage ⁵⁰²): "*Milton's* pregnant Imagination, Wit, Elocution, and Learning, in the Composition and Description of this Court, have far outdone *Ovid's* in his Description of the Sun, and of all other ancient Poets; so that nothing extant among them comes up to this." And once more, in the final remark on book I ⁵⁰³), "all human Learning" is said to have been surpassed by this Miltonic description.

Philology is one of the main characteristics of Paterson's book. The fact that the title puts the etymological notes before the "Explanatory, Critical and Classical" remarks, shows the importance ascribed to this section. This may be due to the influence on Paterson of classical editorship, a feature of which notice has already been taken. The whole work is intended to rival the commentaries on ancient literature. Since "*The Iliads and Odysseys [sic] of Homer, and the Works of Virgil have had the Honour of a thousand Commentators*", Paterson thinks it "necessary to add such a Commentary to this [= P. L.] as the great Work required" ⁵⁰⁴).

The above philological tendency appears throughout the preface. The æsthetic speculations of the "judicious Mr. Addison" and the textual criticism of the "learned Dr. Bentley" and that other "learned Author" who wrote a confutation of Bentley, *i. e.* appar-

⁵⁰¹) Cf. p. 108.

⁵⁰²) Cf. p. 57.

⁵⁰³) Cf. p. 59.

⁵⁰⁴) Cf. preface, the beginning.

ently Pearce, are all described as "*of a quite different Nature from my Design.*" Only two annotators, "*a very learned and judicious Gentleman of North Britain, signed P. H. for Peter Home*", whose commentary appeared "*about 50 Years ago*", i. e. evidently "P. H. φιλοποιητης" (1695—1744), and Richardson, are acknowledged to "*have attempted something of this Kind*"⁵⁰⁵), and stress is laid on the philological part of their work. Hume's notes are regarded as not practical enough, "*useless to the Unlearned*", because in Paterson's opinion they cite too many foreign words and indulge too much in "*long and tedious Quotations out of the Greek, Latin, and Italian Authors*" — but also as of no avail to the learned, who already possess the original works. Paterson's ideal of completeness is extravagant, for even Hume is censured by him as passing by "*many Original Words in the Poem untranslated (tho' he has done others of them well and with great Learning).*" But even less favourable is the comment on the volume of the Richardsons, in which words are found to be set down "*over and over, without any Explication*", and others enlarged upon "*with long Paraphrases, Quotations and Breaks, where there is no need... Parturiuntur [sic] Montes!*" The biographical part of their book is criticized even more severely than this: "*Alas! How mean is this, in Comparison of Cowley's Life, by the Rev. Dr. Sprat, late Bishop of Rochester: 'Tis a Pity that he had not written Milton's Life also.*"

Paterson evidently tries to be more practical, but though he, instead of quoting foreign words, only mentions the languages from which he believes the words used by Milton to be derived, he certainly does not confine himself to the explanation of difficult cases. According to his preface, he has "*translated almost every Foreign Word into proper English, express'd them all in the same Number, Time, Mood, and Person, as they stand in the Poem itself; with two, three or four Words of the same Signification, but better known to the Unlearned.*" Everything has to be explained so thoroughly as to make the work "*more serviceable to the meanest Capacities and Strangers*". He seems to be thinking of a real encyclopædia: „*And to render this Work more complete, I have explained also many other Foreign Words, as they occurred*

⁵⁰⁵) It is of some interest to observe the lack of variety in Paterson's above epithets: "judicious", "learned", "very learned and judicious".

in my Notes; but are not in MILTON'S Poem." The unintelligent reader's needs are provided for by the special mention "*of every New Person or Subject of each new Paragraph, where it was not very obvious and plain; that the Reader may the more readily understand what he reads, and may retain the Threads of the History in his Memory, as he goes on.*" This anxious pursuit of simplicity leads the commentator to curious extremes. Thus, the expression "the brow of some high-climbing Hill" ⁵⁰⁶) is explained as follows: "*Brow; Sax. Dut. O. E. That Part of the Face of a Man about the Eyes; the Top or Height of any thing. Here, the Side of an Hill; by a Fig. of Rhet.*" Even the word "bird" is explained: according to Paterson, it denotes "Any Fowl large or small" ⁵⁰⁷).

One section of Paterson's philological notes is of greater interest. In his title-page he refers to "*Miltonian Words, i. e. Those of the Author's own Coining*". The idea of examining these is not new, as the cases of Hume and Peck prove, but Paterson does this with greater consistency, and the abbreviation "*Milt.*", meaning "Miltonian", is found in many notes. Very often he succeeds in bringing to light expressions created by Milton, revived by him after a considerable interval of oblivion, or used only very seldom before him, to judge from the data of the NED. It is true that more often than not the words described by him as new coinages are found at least once or twice before Milton, but it has to be considered that the lexicographical apparatus of those times was not comparable to that of to-day. Often there seem to have been weighty reasons to ascribe the origin of such words to Milton, at least from the point of view of the average 18th century scholar, since many of these expressions had assumed a peculiar Miltonic flavour, possibly owing to the influence of the imitations of Milton's poetry. The observation that the contemporary poetical style followed Milton in the use of these peculiarities, was likely to induce the less careful critic to put them down as created by Milton. Instances of these and other types of supposed or real Miltonisms are traced in the following attempt at a rough characterization of Paterson's work in this department.

⁵⁰⁶) III. 546 n.

⁵⁰⁷) III. 38 n.

The following cases of apparently genuine Miltonic coinages recognized as such by Paterson should be enumerated here: "horrent" 508), "hymning" 509), "ill-mated" 510), "imbrute" 511), "inabstinence" 512), "obtrusive" 513), "pontifical" in the sence of "bridge-making" 514), "self-depraved" 515), "self-begot" 516), "serpent-error" 517), "unbenighted" as the negation of "benighted" 518), "unbesought" 519), "undazzled" 520), "unfumed" 521), "unimmortal" 522), "unimplored" 523), "unlibidinous" 524), "unoriginal" — "having no Creation, Beginning" & c. 525), "unreprieved" 526).

The number of compounds and negative adjectives or participles is conspicuous. This is understandable, for it was comparatively easy to recognize the individual character of compounds, which are less difficult to form, and therefore more likely to be invented under the influence of a passing mood, than other words. The negative adjectives and participles are a special feature of Milton's style, and his peculiar coinages of this type (*e. g.* "unimmortal" which is found in the NED only once after Milton, in 1876) were easily recognizable. They appear to be characteristic of the long, grand flow of many passages in "Paradise Lost".

The data of the NED suggest to what an extent some of the above words seemed to bear the stamp of Milton's style. "To imbrute" is quoted twice from Milton: once from "Comus" l. 468,

508) II. 514 *n.*

509) III. 417 *n.*

510) XI. 683. *n.*

511) IX. 165 *n.*

512) XI. 476 *n.*

513) VIII. 504 *n.*

514) X. 313 *n.*

515) III. 130 *n.*

516) V. 860 *n.*

517) VII. 302 *n.*

518) X. 682 *n.*

519) X. 1058 *n.*

520) III. 614 *n.*

521) V. 349 *n.*

522) X. 611 *n.*

523) III. 231 *n.*

524) V. 449 *n.*

525) X. 477 *n.*

526) II. 185 *n.*

which is the first case registered, after which follow two cases of "to embrutish" (in one case spelt with an *i*) and one of "to imbrute", all from non-Miltonic sources; the next, Miltonic, case is from P. L. IX. 166. The only later instance previous to 1744 is from Young's "Night Thoughts": "Embruted ev'ry faculty divine", where both the nature of the example (cf. P. L. IX. 166: "This essence to incarnate and imbrute, That to the height of Deitie aspir'd") and the general connection of Young's blank-verse poetry with Milton lead to the conjecture that the word might be a Miltonism.

Two Miltonic examples are given of the form "hymning". Neither the verb ⁵²⁷) nor the verbal noun ⁵²⁸) is found previous to Milton. The next instance is from Dryden's dramatization of P. L., "The State of Innocence", IV. 1: "None of all his hymning guards are nigh", which is followed by three quotations from Pope. The general character of Dryden's work suggests that the expression may have been imitated from Milton, which appears also to be true of at least one (Essay on Man III. 156: "In the same temple... All vocal beings hymn'd their equal God") and probably also of another quotation from Pope (Iliad XXIV. 83: "Where this minstrel-god... amid the quire Stood proud to hymn, and tune his youthful lyre"), whose indebtedness to Milton is generally acknowledged. The two last-quoted examples treat of the exalted hymning of deities, like the passages in "Paradise Lost". Paterson surely knew Pope's works and may have felt the probability of a derivation from Milton.

Some of the expressions of the present group occur only once in the NED which makes it intelligible that they struck Paterson as unique, *e. g.* "ill-mated", "self-depraved", "serpent-error", "un-libidinous", "unoriginal" (in the sense specified above), "un-benighted" (*id.*). The same applies to the cases where further examples are found only after Paterson, *e. g.* "inabstinence" (only later instance 1863), "obtrusive" (next case 1798), "pontifical" = "bridge-making" (next and only further example by Ruskin 1887), "unfumed" (the only case beside P. L. V. 349: "the shrub unfum'd" is from a work on photography 1891: "to print... on unfumed paper"), "unimmortal" (see above).

⁵²⁷) P. L. VI. 96.

⁵²⁸) P. L. III. 417.

Paterson appears to come close to the truth in those cases where only one instance previous to Milton is found, as *e. g.* of "lonely" 529), "rubied" 530), "self-raised" 531), "viewless" = "invisible" 532), "unadored" 533), "unmeditated" 534), "uninvented" 535), "unshed" 536) = "not shed or poured out" (the only earlier example in 1450!). Examples of words, of which there are two or three cases prior to Milton, are: "illimitable" 537), "prevenient" 538), "uncreated" 539), "unprevented" 540), "un-exemplified" 541), "undying" 542), "unbuild" 543). In such cases, Milton's use of the words had presumably given them the peculiar flavour most easily distinguishable to the 18th century reader. The word "lonely", for example, which in the NED is quoted from Shakespeare's "Coriolanus" ("a lonely Dragon"), and whereof the abstract noun is found in Sidney's "Arcadia" ("a tedious loneliness"), seems to have been definitely naturalized owing to Milton, from whom the next examples of either form are taken. Nearly all cases of "lonely" found in Milton's poetry are quoted in the dictionary to illustrate his various ways of employing it, and the instances given are undoubtedly more characteristic than those from Sidney and Shakespeare. Milton connects it with the scenery typical of the 18th century descriptions of solitude: "the lonely mountains" 544), "som high lonely Towr, Where I may oft out-watch the *Bear*" 545), "the misled and lonely Traveller" 546). The "Night and

529) II. 828 *n.*

530) V. 633 *n.*

531) I. 634 *n.*

532) III. 518 *n.*

533) I. 738 *n.*

534) V. 149 *n.*

535) VI. 470 *n.*

536) XII. 176 *n.*

537) II. 892.

538) XI. 3. *n.*

539) II. 150 *n.*

540) III. 231 *n.*

541) III. 410 *n.*

542) VI. 739 *n.*

543) XII. 526 *n.*

544) No. 181.

545) II P. 86.

546) Co. 200.

lonely Contemplation" in Gray's "Elegy", l. 73, where the whole scenery with its ivied towers and dignified rural attributes reminds one of "Il Penseroso" and "L'Allegro", is a typical example of the contemplative, grave use of the word apparently introduced by Milton. "Illimitable", which in Milton may be imitated from Spenser's "Hymn of Heavenly Love" where it is registered first ("The heavens illimitable height"), seems, in turn, to have influenced the example immediately following (Pope's *Odyssey* XX. 75: "Tost thro' the void illimitable space") where the Miltonic device of putting a short adjective before this polysyllabic word is repeated (see Milton's only case of it: "a dark Illimitable Ocean without bound", P. L. II. 892). Pope appears also to have revived Milton's use of "barbaric" (P. L. II. 4: "Barbaric Pearl and Gold", Pope *Temp. Fame* 94: "With diamond flaming, and Barbaric gold"), a word likewise classed by Paterson as "Miltonian"⁵⁴⁷). Similar cases where the 18th century examples of the NED seem to confirm that Milton's manner of using formerly known expressions had been adopted by leading authors, are numerous and make it intelligible that Paterson considered them the poet's intellectual property. Sometimes it even seems that through the misinterpretation of Miltonic passages new shades of meaning were created, which Paterson regarded as the authentic acceptations. "Limitary"⁵⁴⁸) ("Then when I am thy captive talk of chaines, Proud limitarie Cherube" — a hapax legomenon) is defined by him as meaning: "Bounded within Limits... A Word of Disdain". None of the examples previous to Milton contain any notion of contempt. His own example is classed by the NED as signifying "Of or pertaining to a limit or boundary", which suits the context, though it is admitted that the word may mean "subject to limits; limited in action, range, etc...", i. e. exactly what Paterson believes to be its sense. The two following cases — both of them classed with the second group — seem to indicate depreciation. One of these, from Dryden's "State of Innocence" („Let me with him contend, On whom your limitary powers depend") seems to allude to the above-quoted Miltonic passage,

⁵⁴⁷) II. 4 n.

⁵⁴⁸) P. L. IV. 971.

the other, from C. Pitt ⁵⁴⁹), is unmistakably contemptuous and might also be derived from Milton, considering its hymnic style. Paterson appears to be right in attributing to Milton a shade of meaning which, even if not his own, is apparently due to his unintentional influence.

A considerable percentage of Paterson's "Miltonian" words seem to have been rare in the 17th century before the publication of P. L. though they may have been frequent at earlier periods. To this group belong "battailous" ⁵⁵⁰), "to illumine" ⁵⁵¹), "interrupt" = "broken off" ⁵⁵²), "miscreated" ⁵⁵³), "ponent" ⁵⁵⁴), & c. The general conclusion would probably be that this department of Paterson's investigations contains much thoughtful observation, surpassing the rest of his work, and even now leading the careful student to interesting discoveries both as to Milton's peculiarities of language and 18th century idiosyncrasies of style. Sometimes one feels inclined to describe him as ignorant of important features of Elizabethan language, as in his attribution to Milton of the introduction of "gan" for "began" ⁵⁵⁵), a form found in Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar", Shakespeare's "Cymbeline", "Macbeth", & c., or of such a typical Spenserian word as "impurpled" III. 364 *n*. Milton's use of it in this passage is strongly reminiscent of Spenser (cf. the latter's F. Q. III. VII. 17: "wildings... Whose sides empurpled were with smyling red" and Milton: "the bright Pavement... Impurple'd with Celestial Roses smil'd"). The same is true of the classification as a Miltonic novelty of a common Elizabethan expression found even much earlier, in "Cursor Mundi" and Chaucer, such as "emprise" ⁵⁵⁶), or a word used in a famous Shakespearean passage, such as "oblivious" = "causing forgetfulness" ⁵⁵⁷). But the limitations of the learned apparatus available at that time should not be forgotten.

⁵⁴⁹) Callimachus' Hymn to Jupiter 119: "What no inferior Liminary King Could in a length of Years to Ripeness bring."

⁵⁵⁰) VI. 81 *n*.

⁵⁵¹) I. 23 *n*.

⁵⁵²) III. 84 *n*.

⁵⁵³) II. 683 *n*.

⁵⁵⁴) X. 703.

⁵⁵⁵) VI. 60 *n*.

⁵⁵⁶) XI. 642 *n*.

⁵⁵⁷) Cf. Macb. V. III. 43: "Some sweet Oblivious Antidote".

At the end of his preface Paterson expresses the desire "*That this Work will display fully the Benefit and the Ornaments of this incomparable Poem, to the Satisfaction, I hope, of every curious Admirer of Paradise Lost*". This seems to promise a critical interpretation of the poem, but his few literary remarks do not go far. His statement in the preface that he has "*shewed all the Similes or Comparisons, pointed out all Figures of Grammar and Rhetoric, with the Digressions*" can only refer to his registration of them, for it is not easy to find in his book even the rudiments of an analytical treatment. The monotonous formula "*by a Fig. of Rhet.*" only means that the expression is used in another than its ordinary sense. As a rule, no comments are given.

The few observations on style show some toleration of poetic liberty, but no signs whatever of the radicalism of Pearce, Richardson or Peck. The inverted adjective (P. L. I. 61 n., on "*a Dungeon horrible... flam'd*") is praised as an ornament of poetry: "*Here, Milton places the Adjective after the Substantive, for an horrible Dungeon flam'd; which is seldom done in English Prose, yet it raiseth the Stile very much, and is a Beauty to the Language of a Poet.*" Paterson acknowledges the cumulative effect of Milton's digressive similes, which were already appreciated by Addison, despite their lack of strict logical consistency (I. 283 n., on the long sequence of similes): "*Here is a Cluster of Comparisons; all brought by our Poet, to embellish and aggrandize Satan; that he might both please and delight the Reader.*" Here as elsewhere Paterson appreciates the abundance of Milton's imagery but without much discrimination, as, e. g., in speaking of an "elegant" description of Hell⁵⁵⁸), which reminds one of Peck's substitution of "fairies" for "furies" as more elegant⁵⁵⁹).

Milton's authority appears to reconcile Paterson to some of his repetitions, e. g. in II. 986 n. where "ancient" is found to be "*four Times repeated in this Page, which would be a Blemish in any Poet but Milton.*" Nevertheless, he evidently does not realize the emphatic effect produced by such repetitions, for he definitely states his disapproval of an impressive case of this

⁵⁵⁸) II. 522 n.

⁵⁵⁹) See above p. 162.

kind ⁵⁶⁰): "*Revisit*... The *Word* is very proper; but *Milton* repeats it four Times within these two Pages, which is a Fault in *Poetry*, and in *Prose* also." This pronouncement, reminiscent of Bentley's hatred of repetition, ignores that the structure of the period depends on the parallel effect of the repeated words ("Thee I revisit" is found in III. 13 and 21 — a whole group of words being here repeated, probably in order to make the parallelism more conspicuous) and that the last, negative repetition ("...but thou Revisit'st not these eyes" III. 23) emphasizes the contrast to the affirmation expressed by the previous cases of the verb.

The notes to each book are followed by a final observation where the commentator's impressions are summed up. Their monotony and poverty of ideas is unusual, but they evidently show what Paterson valued in the poet, for the same features are dwelt upon over and over again. Milton's learning is the main object of Paterson's admiration. The summary of the notes to book I shows this very definitely. The book is said to contain "more of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Phoenician*, and other *Oriental Languages*; more *Antiquity*, *History* (both *Divine* and *Human*), *Mythology* or *Fables* of the *Poets*; more antient *Geography*, & c. than any of the following *Books*; Altho' the whole *Poem* is filled with more Learning of every Sort, than is contained in any *Volume* extant; in the most *sublime*, elegant, well connected and short *Compass*." Similar estimates of Milton's erudition are subjoined to the notes of most books. The literary criticism is somewhat vague and full of sonorous superlatives. Thus, the character and speeches of the fallen angels in book I are called "wonderful and astonishing, most proper and masterly", whereas the whole Book is "a most finished Piece of surprising *Poetry*, *Wit* and *Imagination*... most pleasant, useful and entertaining".

The educational value of "Paradise Lost" is one of the main qualities praised by the commentator. The expressions "most pleasant, useful and entertaining" show this. The *résumé* of book XI mentions its "useful Instructions in Morality and Natural Philosophy", although Paterson here refers to Addison's censure of the excessive allusiveness and the exaggerated display

⁵⁶⁰) III. 13 n.

of learning which are found to obscure the poem to the average reader. The religious influence of the work is valued. It is regarded as "a most excellent *Instruction* to all *Sinners*, that have a sincere Mind to *repent* and be saved, from the just Wrath of God hanging over their *Heads*, on the Account of their *Iniquities*."

Nevertheless, Paterson sides with those who prefer Milton's description of the infernal characters to that of God and the inhabitants of Heaven. The reason referred to is the same as that mentioned by Addison ⁵⁶¹), *i. e.* the indescribable grandeur of the divine beings, which exceeds the poet's powers. "The *Poet* sets off the *Devils* every where more excellently, than he doth *God*; And no Wonder; for he is *infinite*, *incomprehensible*, and *ineffable* in every Respect. Job 11. 7. As it is said of *Polycletus* the *Sculptor*, that he represented *Men* better than they are; but he did not come up to the Majesty of the Gods" ⁵⁶²). Satan is described in exactly the same spirit as by Hume, *i. e.* though he is "a *Devil* indeed; full of *Pride*, *Malice*, *Revenge*, *Obstinacy* and utmost *Confusion*, under his woful *Fall* and *Torments*" ⁵⁶³), the poet "paints him out with all the *Beauties* of *Imagination* and *Elocution*, in his monstrous *Stature*, *Looks*, & *c.* which represent him more conspicuous and terrible; to strike the *Reader's* Fancy" ⁵⁶⁴). Paterson feels the effectiveness of the bold, large outlines of Milton's descriptions. The representation of the "mighty, long and profound Astonishment" of the fallen Angels who spent nine days and nights "Thunder-struck and confounded at their *Dismal Fall*", is found to exceed "all human Imagination, and all the Astonishment or Consternation that ever was or will be again" ⁵⁶⁵).

⁵⁶¹) Cf. The Spectator No. 315.

⁵⁶²) Summary of bk. II.

⁵⁶³) I. 84 n.

⁵⁶⁴) I. 192 n.

⁵⁶⁵) I. 50 n.

8. JOHN HAWKEY'S EDITIONS.

PARADISE LOST. A POEM IN TWELVE BOOKS. The AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. Compared with the Authentic Editions, And Revised by JOHN HAWKEY, Editor of the Latin Classics. DUBLIN: Printed by S. POWELL, for the EDITOR. MDCCXLVII.

8^o: [1], title; pp. I—II, advertisement; 1—394, text and half-titles of the books of the poem; [1—6], a list of various readings and emendations with notes to them.

The aims of this edition are textual. It is an attempt to give a text "freed from all blunders and absurdities" by consulting the two first editions ⁵⁶⁶). Hawkey ⁵⁶⁷) is, on the whole, very careful and even tries to follow the original punctuation, deviating from it mainly in occasionally adding a comma. The spelling is normalized, but now and then Miltonic peculiarities are retained. The edition would not fall under the subject of the present treatise but for a number of notes at the end, dealing with emendations. Hawkey adheres fairly rigorously to the authentic texts, accepting only about a couple of Bentley's emendations and preferring *e. g.* even the reading "medal or stone" in P. L. III. 592 to the more logical "metal or stone", because the first editions have the former. No infallibility on the author's part is assumed but the editor emphasizes that he thinks him very careful even with regard to insignificant details. An instance of carelessness is III. 33 ("Those other two equal'd with me in Fate" — a line preceding an enumeration of four persons) where the apparent logical lapse is ascribed to "poetic rapture". Hawkey refrains on principle from altering such "incuriæ". Milton's language is studied carefully in doubtful cases, as *e. g.*

⁵⁶⁶) Cf. preface.

⁵⁶⁷) John Hawkey (1703—1759), educated at Trinity College, Dublin, editor of Virgil, Horace, Terence &c., translator of Xenophon (cf. DNB).

IV. 115 ("Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envie and despair") where Pearce had changed the substantive to an adjective by removing the comma between it and the following noun. Hawkey shows that X. 1009 has the same substantive ("di'd her Cheeks with pale"). This example evinces not only care but also some insight into the Elizabethan liberty of expression. The same tendency to take into account the author's peculiarities appears in the defence of Milton's spelling "Bearth" for "birth" in IX. 624.

The whole trend of the edition is toward recognition of the poet's authority, in the spirit of Pearce's commentary. Hawkey follows the same principles in his edition of "Paradise Regained" which appeared in 1752⁵⁶⁸).

⁵⁶⁸) PARADISE REGAINED. A POEM IN FOUR BOOKS. With the other POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON. Compared with the best Editions, And Revised by JOHN HAWKEY, Editor of the Latin Classics. DUBLIN: Printed by S. POWELL, for the EDITOR. MDCCLII.

8^o: pp. 391.

No notes.