

MILTON'S EYESIGHT AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF HIS WORKS

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One reads in the biographies of Milton the poet that his eyesight was defective from his youth, and that he became totally blind in his 44th year of age. Nothing definite, however, is said about the exact nature of his complaint, or complaints. STERN says that the poet's blindness was probably caused by Glaucoma (Milton und seine Zeit, Drittes Buch p. 267), and the same suggestion is made by J. HIRSCHBERG (Geschichte der Augenheilkunde, contained in GRAEFE-SAEMISCH-HESSE, Handbuch der gesamten Augenheilkunde, 2. Aufl., XIV, 4. Abt., 3. Buch, 10. Abschnitt, 1914, § 637, p. 146, footnote 2). Among Milton scholars, the prevailing opinion seems to be that this question is of a purely medical interest only. This is, however, by no means the case, as was dimly recognized by V. P. SQUIRES, who, in his article on "Milton's Treatment of Nature" (Modern Language Notes IX, pp. 454 ff.), speaks at some length of the possible effect of the poet's "Near-sightedness" upon his style (p. 472).

As against these vague suppositions and inconclusive reasonings, the present writer has formed a most definite theory concerning the influence of Milton's eye-troubles upon his literary production. In his pamphlet entitled "Milton und das Licht" (Niemeyer, Halle 1920; reprinted from Beiblatt zur Anglia, November-December 1919), he maintains that Milton was an albino by constitution, and must in consequence have suffered from Photophobia and Nyctalopia until his blindness became effective.

The influence of this photophobia and nyctalopia upon his writings was stated to be twofold, as manifesting itself in (1) the Selection of Plot, and (2) in the Choice of Words. (On this principle see H. SPERBER, "Motiv und Wort", Reisland, Leipzig 1918). This means (1) that his plots must be such as to enable him to move about under favourable conditions of illumination only, i. e. the action must take place in the dark or in the

twilight; and (2) that his thoughts are constantly revolving round the "Light-Shade Complex", in consequence of which he again and again yields to the emotional pressure to use words and expressions belonging to this group. These mental phenomena were said to disappear when the poet lost his sight.

The latter statement may serve for the basis of a chronological law. An attempt will be made to prove that it is possible to say that all those of Milton's writings which contain a strong photophobic element must have been composed before his blindness, and that the absence of such features is a proof of later composition. This law will be of the greatest value in determining the chronology of the different books of "Paradise Lost".

Before this law can be applied it is necessary, however, to introduce a most important modification. The date of Milton's effective blindness must be shifted to the period when the first attack of glaucoma occurred. This happened eight years before the definite destruction of the poet's sight in 1652, i. e. in the year 1644, as Milton himself explains in his letter to Philaras, dated September 28th, 1654. This letter contains sufficient evidence to enable the eminent ophthalmologist of Berlin University, Professor HIRSCHBERG, definitely to diagnose Milton's fatal complaint as Glaucoma. As the learned eye-specialist informed the present writer in a private letter, it is Milton's report of "seeing a rainbow" that leads to the above diagnosis. The first attack of glaucoma in 1644 would have the effect of suddenly reducing the sensibility of the retina so considerably as to cause the disappearance of the existing photophobia without, however, completely destroying the power of sight.

This qualification concerning the date of the disappearance of Milton's photophobia had remained concealed from the present writer in the first instance, because he had concentrated his attention on the poetical works. There are, however, no poetical works belonging, according to current criticism, to the decisive years about 1644. An examination of the prose works, however, will at once reveal the gulf which separates the period of photophobia from that of partial and complete blindness.

On the following pages the complete material resulting from an inquiry into the style of Milton's Early English Prose Works will be displayed. The method pursued has been to extract all

verbal references to the light-shade complex, and to compare their relative frequency. It is hoped that the number of references which have escaped the author's attention may be but small. The extracts have been grouped under six heads:

I. *Phenomena of Light*. The photophobic person is naturally very susceptible to all the different modes of illumination; he will, therefore, often introduce references to phenomena of light, and be liable to connect, in his metaphors, the idea of brightness with that of power.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness*. Considering the sensibility of the albinotic eye, it is not surprising to find Milton frequently alluding to the contrast between light and darkness to symbolize the idea of opposed principles.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination*. This section contains metaphorical references to phenomena agreeable to the albino. This group must not be identified with Section I.

IV. *Shade and Darkness*. Owing to his photophobia, Milton exhibits a strong liking for metaphors based on the ideas of shade and of darkness.

V. *Albinotic Vision*. Under this head are classified all figures of speech which contain, in the opinion of the present writer, a reference to the mode of seeing peculiar to the albino.

VI. *Albinotic Facies*. This section is added as an appendix. It has no immediate connection with the light-shade complex but contains figures of speech suggested to Milton by the peculiarities of his personal appearance resulting from his albinotic condition. In this connection it is important to remember that the albino is remarkable for the "fairness" of his complexion, and for the general wrinkling of the skin around the immediate neighbourhood of the eyes ("frowning").

Extracts from the Early English Prose Works of Milton.

The following works have been investigated:

Year of Publica- tion	T i t l e	Number of Lines
1641	Of Reformation	c. 2430
1641	Of Prelatical Episcopacy	c. 720
1641	Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence	c. 2280
1641/42	The Reason of Church Government	c. 3060

Year of Publica- tion	Title	Number of Lines
1642	Apology (for Smectymnuus)	c. 2720
1643/44	The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce . . .	c. 4000
1644	Areopagitica	c. 1920
1645	Tetrachordon	c. 5100
1645	Colasterion	c. 1260
1649/50	The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates . . .	c. 1780
1649	Eikonoklastes.	c. 7600

NB. All references are to pages of ROBERT FLETCHER'S edition of the Prose Works, 1835.

A. From "Of Reformation", 1641:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. The *fiery* rage of the old *red* dragon. 2 b.
2. Surrounded with *celestial* beams. 7 b.
3. "The knowledge of truth . . . now opens *brighter* than the *sun*". 9 b.
4. Declamatory *flashes*. 10 a.
5. The portentous *blaze* of *comets* and *impressions* in the *air*. 14 a.
6. *Flaming* charity and zeal. 15 b.
7. A *firecross*. 16 a.
8. Heavenly *brightness* and inward *splendour*. 16 a.
9. And rid ourselves of corrupt discipline, as we would shake *fire* out of our bosoms. 18 a.
10. Her *fiery* whip. 19 b.
11. To threaten uproar and *combustion*, and shake the *brand* of civil discord. 20 b.
12. We shall never more see the *sun* of thy truth again. 21 a.
13. *Beatific* vision. 21 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. After so many *dark* ages, wherein the huge *overshadowing* train of error had almost swept all the *stars* out of the firmament of the church; how the *bright* and *blissful* reformation . . . struck through the *black* and *settled* night of ignorance. 2 a.
2. A short *blaze*, soon *damped* and *stifled*. 2 b.

3. The very essence of truth is plainness and *brightness*, the *darkness* and the crookedness is our own. 9 b.
4. The man could not *stand in Caesar's light*. 12 a.
5. Thou . . . shalt *open the clouds*. 21 b.
6. *Beatific vision* . . . joy and *bliss* . . . the *darkest and deepest gulf of hell*. 21 b.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

1. *Embers* of forgotten tongues. 2 b.
2. The new *lamp* of saving light. 2 b.
3. The reformers lighted their *tapers*. 2 b.
4. How should then the *dim taper* of this emperor's age, that had such need of snuffing, extend any beam to our times, wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, than by those luminaries that God hath set up to shine to us far nearer hand. 7 b.
5. The cheerful *dawn*. 21 a.

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. *Deep* and retired thoughts. 1 a.
2. They knew not how to *hide* their slavish approach to God's behests . . . but by *cloaking* their servile *crouching*. 2 a.
3. *Dusty corners*. 2 b.
4. Powers of *darkness*. 2 b.
5. A *mist* to *cover* nakedness. 2 b.
6. They sat *under a spreading vine*. 4 b.
7. *Cloakbags* full of citations. 5 a.
8. "While the apostles were on earth, the depravers of doctrine did but *lurk*". 6 a.
9. A *vine*. 7 a.
10. The *elm*. 7 a.
11. There be some books, and especially some places in those books, that remain *clouded*. 9 b.
12. A general *obscurity*. 9 b.
13. Other things follow as the *shadow* does the substance. 11 a.
14. The *fogging* proctorage of money. 19 b.
15. That banking *den* of thieves. 19 b.
16. I do now feel myself *inwrapped* on the sudden into those *mazes and labyrinths*. 20 a.
17. The *bottomless pit*. 21 a.
18. That *pitchy cloud* of *infernal darkness*. 21 a.
19. That *darkest and deepest gulf of hell*. 21 b.

V. *Albinotic Vision.*

1. The beauty of inward sanctity was *not within their prospect.* 7 b.
2. Her chaste and modest veil, surrounded with celestial beams, they overlaid with wanton tresses, and in a *staring tire* bespeckled her with all the gaudy allurements of a whore. 7 b.
3. If our understanding have a *film of ignorance* over it, or be *blear with gazing on false glitterings*, what is that to the truth? If we will but *purge with sovereign eyesalve that intellectual ray* which God hath planted in us. 9 b.
4. These doctors, who had *scarce half the light* that we enjoy. 9 b.
5. They *fear the plain field* of the scriptures; . . . they *seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest*, they would *imbosk*; they *feel themselves strook in the transparent streams* of divine truth; they would *plunge, and tumble*, and think to *lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy water*, where no plummet can reach the bottom. 10 a.
6. Like a mirror of diamond, till it *dazzle and pierce their misty eyeballs.* 10 b.
7. The *quicksighted Protestant eye* cleared in great part from the mist of superstition. 15 b.
8. A *dazzling giddiness at noonday.* 20 a.
9. Light and glory *unapproachable.* 20 a.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

1. Thus to *blanch* and varnish her deformities *with the fair colours . . . of episcopacy.* 4 a.
2. "*With open forehead* [with an unwrinkled brow?] they durst preach down the truth with falsities". 6 a.
3. Our monks in their histories *blanch* the kings. 7 a.
4. With *half an eye* upon St. Paul's principles. 7 b.
5. They *stoop not, neither change colour.* 19 a.
6. The awful and majestic *wrinkles of her brow.* 19 b.

NB. (1) The following passage seems to be inspired by the albino's aversion to the walking or lying in the sun: "*Prelates that lie basking in the sunny warmth of wealth and promotion*". 15 a. (2) Owing to his constitutional weak-sightedness, the albino's acoustic

sense is abnormally developed; the following extract contains an allusion to this circumstance: "Were it not that the tyranny of prelates under the name of bishops had *made our ears startling*, we might call every good minister a bishop". 19 a.

B. From "Of Prelatical Episcopacy", 1641:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. The *fire*. 26 a.
2. A *golden light*. 26 a.
3. Such abundance of blood gushed forth as quenched the *fire*. 26 a.
4. It appears not how the *fire* was guilty of his death. 26 a.
5. To put out the *fire* with the martyr's blood. 26 a.
6. The old idolators, finding themselves blasted, and driven back by the prevailing *light* of the scripture. 27 a.
7. The remaining *sparks* of original truth. 27 b.
8. The *brightness* and perfection of the gospel. 28 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. Unless perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the *smoke* would be more odorous than the *flame*. 26 a.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. Some men, *deeply conversant in books*. 22 b.
2. This is but an *obscure* and single witness. 22 b.
3. Leontius, an *obscure* bishop. 23 b.
4. To sleep unmolested in his former *obscurity*. 23 b.
5. For so long they had been shut up in a *cave*. 24 a.
6. In the *midst*, therefore, of so many forgeries. 24 b.
7. Such plausible pretences, such commodious traverses for ambition and avarice to *lurk behind*. 26 b.
8. And thus much for this *cloud* I cannot say rather than petty *fog* of witnesses, with which episcopal men would cast a *mist* before us, to deduce their exalted episcopacy from apostolic times. 27 a.
9. To betake them with all speed to their old startinghole of tradition, and that *wild and overgrown covert* of antiquity. 27 a.
10. In those *dark* times. 27 a.

V. *Albinotic Vision.*

1. The *gazing* after such men. 25 b.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*C. From "*Animadversions*", 1641:I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. But raise and evince from the *light* of nature . . . Look upon the mean condition of Christ and his apostles, without that accessory strength you take such pains to raise from the *light* of nature. 64 b, 65 a.
2. God the father of *light*. 65 b.
3. Whenas we that have lived so long in *abundant light*, besides the *sunny reflection* of all the neighbouring churches, have yet our hearts rivetted with those old opinions. 66 a.
4. Thy *beamy* walk through the midst of thy sanctuary. 66 a.
5. Which is as much as to take away from that church the *light* of his truth. 67 b.
6. Their unquenchable charity, which . . . like a working *flame*, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next to that love which dwells in God to save souls. 68 b.
7. A plain unlearned man that lives well by that *light* which he has. 70 a.
8. With a smooth and *glossy varnish*. 70 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Shade.*

1. In the serious *uncasing* of a grand imposture. 55.
2. O what a death is it to the prelates to be thus *unvizarded*, thus *uncased*, to have . . . your inside nakedness *thrown open to public view*! 57 a.
3. A *full insight* of every *lurking* evil. 57 a.
4. Qui color *ater* erat, nunc est *contrarius atro*. 59 a.
5. We will not buy your rabbinical *fumes*; we have one that calls us to buy of him *pure gold tried in the fire*. 61 a.
6. We . . . have yet our hearts . . . so obstructed . . . with the same fleshly reasonings, which in our forefathers soon melted and *gave way*, against the morning beam of reformation. 66 a.

7. O if we freeze at *noon* after their *early* thaw, let us fear lest the *sun* for ever hide himself, and turn *his orient steps* from our ingrateful horizon, justly condemned to be *eternally benighted*. 66 a.
8. The law of method . . . requires, that *clearest* and plainest expressions be set foremost, to the end they may *enlighten* any following *obscurity*. 67 a.
9. Do they think then that all these meaner and superfluous things come from *God*, and all the divine gift of learning from the *den of Plutus*, or the *cave of Mammon*? Certainly never any *clear* spirit nursed up from *brighter* influences . . . ever entered there but with scorn. 70 a.
10. Two most unlike procreants, the *sun* and *mud*. 70 a.
11. Arising to what climate soever he turn him, like that *sun* of righteousness that sent him, with healing in his wings, and new *light* to break in upon the chill and *gloomy* hearts of his hearers, raising *out of darksome* barrenness a delicious and fragrant spring of saving knowledge. 70 b.
12. Wipe your fat corpulencies *out of our light*. 73 b.

III. Agreeable Modes of Illumination.

1. That *glimmering light*. 65 b.
2. Those golden *candlesticks*. 66 a.
3. A *dimness* amongst us. 66 a.
4. Their *starry light*. 66 a.
5. Thou that hast the *seven stars* in thy right hand. 66 a.
6. Thy holy and ever-burning *lamps*. 66 a.
7. How you have with Simon fished *all night*. 67 a.
8. God threatens to remove the *candlestick*. 67 b.

IV. Shade and Darkness.

1. Within the *close ambushment* of worst errors. 55.
2. Without further amusing himself in the *labyrinth* of controversial antiquity. 56.
3. Confining those against bishops to *darkness*. 57 a.
4. To thrust themselves *under disguise* into a popular throng, to stand the *night long under eaves of houses, and low windows*. 57 a.
5. That deceitful and *close-couched* evil of flattery. 57 a.

6. In old *cloaks* and false beards. 57 a.
7. A *night-walking* cudgeller. 57 b.
8. *Eaves-dropping*. 57 b.
9. What are they but *black* revenues of purgatory? 65 a.
10. A man *destitute of better enlightening*. 65 b.
11. The one is ever *cooped up* at his empty speculations. 70 a.

V. *Albinotic Vision*.

1. These free-spoken and plain-hearted men, that are *the eyes of their country*, and *the prospective-glasses* of their princes. 57 b.
2. *Take your spectacles*, sir! 63 b.
3. Remonst. . . . surely could those *look with my eyes*, they would see cause to be ashamed . . .
 Answ. . . . we shall have more respect to our remonstrant, and liken him to the ass's master, though the story say he was *not so quicksighted* as his beast. Is not this Balaam the son of Beor, *the man whose eyes are open* . . . *Boast not of your eyes*, it is feared you have Balaam's disease, *a pearl in your eye*. 63 b.
4. You will find some such as will prognosticate your date, and tell you that, after *your long summer solstice*, the equator calls for you. 64 a.
5. *Opening our drowsy eyelids leisurely by that glimmering light*. 65 b.
6. *Taking off by degrees the inveterate scales from our nigh perished sight*. 65 b.
7. Thou hast made our false prophets to be found a lie in the sight of all the people, and chased them with sudden confusion and *amazement before the redoubled brightness of thy descending cloud*, that now covers thy tabernacle. 66 a.
8. *He gets him up by break of day*. 69 a.
9. The honest gardener, that ever *since the daypeep, till now the sun was grown somewhat rank*, had wrought painfully about his banks and seedplots. 69 a.
10. Wading to his auditors *up to the eyebrows in deep shallows*. 70 a.
11. They have *hid their eyes from the sabbaths of the Lord*. 72 a.

12. *The fault is in your eyes . . . Wipe them and look better . . .*
 Yea, I beseech God to open them rather that they may see
 good. 73 b.

VI. Albinotic Facies.

1. *To cast a lowering smile.* 55.
2. But his personal excellence like an antidote, overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption which was then a disease that lay hid for a while under show of a full and healthy constitution, as those hydropic humours not discernable at first from a fair and juicy fleshiness of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour, which seems graceful to a cheek otherwise pale; and yet arises from evil causes, either of some inward obstruction or inflammation, and might deceive the first physicians till they had learnt the sequel which Cyprian's days did not bring forth; and the prelatism of episcopacy, which began then to burgeon and spread, has as yet, especially in famous men, a fair, though a false imitation of flourishing. 58 b.
3. *Open your eyes to the light of grace.* 64 b.
4. Remonst. *If yet you can blush.*

Answ. . . . A man would think you had eaten over-liberally of Esau's red porridge, and from thence dream continually of *blushing*; or perhaps, to heighten your fancy in writing, are wont to sit in your doctor's scarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red suffusion, begets a continual thought of *blushing*; that you thus persecute ingenuous men over all your book, with this one over-tired *rubrical* conceit still of *blushing*: . . . spare yourself, lest you . . . make the very conceit itself *blush* with spurgalling. 71 b.

NB. (1) Milton's dislike of the sun is well illustrated by the following passage: "I shall not intend this hot season to bid you the base *through the wide and dusty champaign* of the councils". 60 b. (2) The conception of underground passages seems to have strongly appealed to Milton's imagination. In "Arcades", he speaks of

Divine Alpheus, who, *by secret sluice,*
Stole under seas to meet his Arethuse (ll. 30 f.);

and in the ninth book of "Paradise Lost", he makes Satan enter the Happy Garden in similar fashion:

*In with the river sunk, and with it rose
Satan, involved in rising mist . . . (ll. 74 f.).*

Note further that, at one time, he intended to sing King Arthur "*sub terris bella moventem*" (Mansus l. 81).

In the "Animadversions", the following passage is found exhibiting the same delight taken by the albino in the idea referred to above: "Or to make the word gift, like the river Mole in Surrey, *to run under the bottom* of a long line . . . a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wife's tale of a certain queen of England that *sunk* at Charing-cross, and rose up at Queenhithe". 67 a.

D. From "The Reason of Church Government", 1641/42:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. I trust through the supreme *enlightening* assistance far otherwise. 29.
2. I shall use such *light* as I have received. 33 a.
3. Man to beget man, *fire* to propagate *fire*. 34 a.
4. The *firebrand* of prelacy. 34 b.
5. "When I die let the earth be rolled in *flames*". 34 b.
6. Though schism and *combustion* be the very issue of your bodies. 39 b.
7. Those sums of knowledge and *illumination*. 41 b.
8. Certain precious truths, of such an *orient lustre* as no *diamond* can equal. 41 b.
9. The false *glitter* of their deceitful wares. 41 b.
10. A very sword and *fire* both in house and city over the whole earth. 42 a.
11. "His word was in my heart as a *burning fire*". 42 a.
12. His seraphim, with the hallowed *fire* of his altar. 44 b.
13. Ye think by these *gaudy glisterings* to stir up the devotion of the rude multitude. 46 b.
14. To those whom God hath *enlightened* with true knowledge. 48 a.

15. And if the love of God, as a *fire* sent from heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altars of our hearts. 49 b.
16. That *lightning* which harms not the skin. 51 b.
17. The *darts of the sun*, the pure and powerful *beams* of God's word. 54 a.
18. The *golden beams* of law and right. 54 a.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. Let others, therefore, dread and shun the scriptures for their *darkness*; I shall wish I may deserve to be reckoned among those who admire and dwell upon them for their *clearness*. 29.
2. The *sun* shall scatter the *mists*. 37 b.
3. This your old fallacy we shall soon *unmask*. 38 b.
4. The actions of just and pious men do not *darken* in their middle course; but Solomon tells us, they are as the *shining light*, that *shineth* more and more *unto the perfect day*. But if we shall suffer the trifling doubt and jealousies of future sects to *overcloud the fair* beginning of purposed reformation, let us fear that another proverb of the same wise man be not upbraided to us, that "the way of the wicked is as *darkness*, they stumble at they know not what". 40 a.
5. Put from beholding the *bright* countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, to come into the *dim reflection of hollow* antiquities. 44 b.
6. How have they disfigured and defaced that more than angelic *brightness*, the *unclouded serenity* of Christian religion with the *dark overcasting* of superstitious copes and flaminical vestures. 46 a.
7. These her *dark* deeds in the midst of this *great light*. 52 a.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

1. It may with equal probability be urged upon us, that we are bound to observe some monthly solemnity answerable to the new *moons* . . . "And it shall come to pass that from one new *moon* to another . . ." 35 b.
2. In *theatres, porches*, or what other place or way. 44 b.

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. In this our *dark* voyage. 30 a.
2. The imperfect and *obscure* institution of the law. 32 b.

3. A ceremonial *shadow*. 34 b.
4. It was well known what a bold *lurker* schism was. 36 b.
5. The reason is not *obscure*. 37 a.
6. I (i. e. winter) keep down all pestilent *vapours*. 37 b.
7. *In the false vizard* of worldly authority. 47 b.
8. To be separated in the church by *veils* and *partitions*. 49 a.
9. Though in the *deepest* secrecy. 50 a.
10. The blessed meekness of his *lowly roof*, those ever-open and inviting doors of his *dwelling house*. 51 b.
11. Under those fornicated *arches* which she calls God's house. 52 a.
12. That great *darkness* of the Roman church. 52 a.
13. This *crouching* and observance. 53 a.
14. Her *bottomless gorge*. 53 b.
15. Her *dark and infamous den*. 53 b.
16. The *obscure* and pernicious designs of the prelates. 54 b.
17. As hath justly *immured* their haughty looks *within strong walls*. 54 b.
18. Let her spread among ye, till with her *shadow* all your dignities and honours, all the glory of the land be *darkened and obscured*. 54 b.

V. Albinotic Vision.

1. We shall see *with open eyes*, not under a *veil*. 31 b.
2. To *hide* her own deformed barrenness. 33 a.
3. As being . . . a *matter of eyesight* rather than of disquisition. 35 b.
4. The people of England will not suffer themselves to be *juggled* thus out of their faith and religion by a *mist* of names *cast before their eyes*. 38 a.
5. There fell *scales from his eyes*. 40 a.
6. Watchfulness and zeal, two *quicksighted* and ready-handed virgins. 40 b.
7. As it had been some *eyebrightening electuary* of knowledge and foresight. 42 a.
8. With *far more piercing beams* of majesty and awe. 47 b.
9. Let England here *well rub her eyes*. 48 a.
10. Now that God hath been so long *medicining her eyesight*. 48 a.

11. Which might *open his eyes* to a higher consideration of good and evil. 48 b.
12. And *dazzle* the ignorant. 53 a.
13. The fair and *far-sighted eyes* of his natural discerning. 54 a.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

1. "*And all his familiar friends watched for his halting*". 42 a.
2. If she *lift up her drooping head*. 42 b.
3. The *outward . . . chafings* of worldly help, and *external flourishes*. 47 b.
4. So little is it that I fear lest any *crookedness*, any *wrinkle* or *spot* should be found in presbyterian government. 48 a.
5. Thus then the civil magistrate *looking only upon the outward man . . .* if he find in his *complexion, skin, or outward temperature the signs and marks . . .* of injustice, rapine, lust, cruelty or the like. 48 b.
6. Touching the *inward bed of corruption*, and that *hectic disposition* to evil, the source of all vice and obliquity against the law. 48 b.
7. His redemption which he thinks is *visibly marked upon his forehead*. 50 a.
8. A *false-whited*, a *lawny resemblance* of her. 51 b.
9. With such a *brazen forehead*. 53 b.
10. His *illustrious and sunny locks*. 54 a.
11. Those *bright and weighty tresses*. 54 a.
12. His *puissant hair*. 54 a.

E. From "Apology (for Smeectymnuus)", 1642:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete *diamond*, ascends his *fiery chariot* drawn with two *blazing meteors*. 83 b.
2. Under his *flaming wheels*. 84 a.
3. He must make all this *blaze* of it. 87 b.
4. "*The sun looks not upon a braver, nobler convocation*". 89 a.
5. For no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one *globe of brightness* and efficacy, but encountering the dazzled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over. 90 a.

6. You and your fellow "*stars*". 93 a.
7. As *erroneous* as your *stars*. 93 a.
8. Her delivery from *sunburning* and *moonblasting*. 94 a.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. Be taught they will not, but discovered and *laid open* they must be. 77 a.
2. Correcting by the *clearness* of their own judgement the *errors* of their own misinstruction, and were, as David was, wiser than their teachers. 89 b.
3. That it should be neither *obscure* in the opinion of men, nor *eclipsed* for want of matter equal to *illustrate* itself, God and man consenting in joint approbation to choose them out as worthiest above others. 90 a.
4. But these opening the *prisons* and *dungeons*, called *out of darkness* and bonds the elect martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer. 90 b.
5. Left as *dark* as "Galilee of the Gentiles, sitting in the region and *shadow* of death", without preaching minister, without *light*. 92 a.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

1. And this we know in Laertius, that the mimes of Sophron were of such reckoning with Plato, as to take them *nightly* to read on, and after make them his pillow. 78 b.
2. Sinking and wasting to the *snuff* in their western socket. 93 a.

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. To *cloak* themselves under the affected name of moderation. 75 a.
2. Yet at least with quips and snapping adages to *vapour* them out. 76 b.
3. I conceive . . . much may be guessed at the man and his book, what *depth* there is, by the framing of his title. 77 b.
4. To make a *cloudy* transmigration of sexes. 78 a.
5. Old *cloaks*, false beards, *nightwalkers* . . . a *nightwalking* cudgeller. 80 a.
6. The *shady* spaces of philosophy. 81 b.
7. As a thief in the *night*. 83 a.
8. This *obscure* thorn-eater of malice. 87 a.

9. To *creep* into every *blind* tap-house. 88 a.
10. The *shadow* of Sir Francis. 88 b.
11. "Each *hollow* grove". 91 b.
12. "Ye nimble *dryads*". 92 a.
13. A metaphysical *fume*. 92 b.
14. For we are *deep* in dotage. 95 a.
15. Those who in zeal have demolished the *dens* and *cages* of her unclean wallowings. 95 a.
16. But now . . . we have the port within sight; his last section, which is no *deep* one, remains only to be forded. 95 a.
17. To be *entangled* with many impediments. 97 a.
18. All those *dark* places. 97 b.

V. *Albinotic Vision*.

1. However, as my purpose is not, nor hath been formerly, to look on my adversary abroad, through the deceiving glass of other men's great opinion of him, but at home, where I may find him in the proper light of his own worth; so now . . . I must be forced to proceed from the unfeigned and diligent inquiry of my own conscience at home (for better way I know not, readers), to give a more true account of myself. 75 b.
2. And where my morning haunts are, he wisses not. 79 b.
3. This man . . . sees truth as in a rapture . . . not as through the dim glass of his affections. 86 a.
4. Something . . . that made him so quicksighted. 86 a.
5. To see clearer than any fennel-rubbed serpent. 86 a.
6. No sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy, but encountering the dazzled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over. 90 a.
7. While two armies in the field stood gazing on. 90 b.
8. They who have put out the people's eyes, reproach them of their blindness. 92 b.
9. Seeming bigger than they are through the mist and vapour which they raise. 93 a.
10. And that her whorish cunning should prevail to work upon us her deceitful ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our blindness, that we deserve. 95 a.

11. "Moses had an eye to the reward". To what reward, *thou man that lookest with Balaam's eyes?* To what reward had the faith of Moses an eye? . . . *His faithful eyes were fixed* upon that incorruptible reward, promised to Abraham and his seed in the Messiah. 97 a.
12. Higher dignity teaches far less, and *blinds* the teacher. 97 a.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

1. This officious epithet . . . is a strong presumption, that his modesty, set there to sale in the frontispiece, is not much addicted to *blush* . . . it is manifest his purpose was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word modest, *that he might not want colour* to be the more impudent throughout his whole confutation. 77 b.
2. Thus his first address was "an humble remonstrance by a dutiful son of the church", almost as if he had said, *her white-boy*. 77 b.
3. *A personated grim lowering fool*. 78 b.
4. Immediately forced her *to unbend the pontifical brow*. 90 a.
5. "*His fresh cheek, quick eyes*". 91 a.
6. Her *delivery from sunburning* (and moonblasting). 94 a.
7. They saw a religion gorgeously attired and desirable to the eye. What was all that the false doctors of the primitive church and ever since have done, but "*to make a fair show in the flesh*", as St. Paul's words are? . . . like a crafty adulteress she [i. e. Rome] forgot not *all her smooth looks*. 95 a.

F. From "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce", 1643/44:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. The truth is as impossible to be soiled by any outward touch, as the *sunbeam*. 121 a.
2. The seeds and *sparkles* of new misery. 124.
3. Till all were in a *blaze* again. 124.
4. What a "sore evil is this under the *sun*!" 124.
5. To *light* the way of such an expedient liberty. 125.
6. Scripture or *light* of reason. 125 a.
7. Who hath the power to struggle with an intelligible *flame*, not in Paradise to be resisted, become now more

ardent by being failed of what in reason it looked for.
128 a.

8. That original and *fiery* virtue. 129 b.
9. Till finding Anteros at last, he *kindles* and repairs the almost faded ammunition of his deity by the *reflection* of a coequal and homogeneal *fire*. 129 b.
10. The *light* of all clean philosophy. 133 a.
11. Did God for this come down and cover the mount of Sinai with his *glory*. 139 a.
12. Under the *illuminating* guidance of God's law. 139 a.
13. A devouring *fire*. 139 b.
14. The hallowed *fire* upon his altar. 140 a.
15. The *light* of his law. 140 a.
16. The *irradiation* wherewith it had *enlightened* the mind of man. 141 a.
17. Whether we look at the *clear* knowledge wherein he lived. 142 a.
18. Both easy and perfect to the *enlightening* of the simple. 142 a.
19. Christ added nothing to their *clearness*. 142 a.
20. An ordinary measure of *light* in Scripture. 145 a.
21. By *enlightening* us further. 149 b.
22. Whose unerring guidance and conduct having followed as a *loadstar*. 154 a.
23. Amidst the firmament of his holy laws, to *shine* . . . upon the weaknesses and errors of men. 157 a.
24. If yonder *sun* ride sure, and means not to break word with us to-morrow. 157 a.
25. Through corporal and *garish* rudiments. 157 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. If . . . the purity of God be to be *cleared* from *foulest* imputations. 121 b.
2. To pray for *enlightening* from above. 121 b.
3. Above the *shadow* of the earth, he *darts out* the direct *rays* of his then most piercing eyesight. 129 b.
4. "What communion hath *light* with *darkness*?" 131 a.
5. *Washing an Ethiop*. 132 b.
6. Both diagonal contraries . . . as *day* and *night* together in one hemisphere. 138 b.

7. Or if it be possible, that sin with his *darkness* may come to composition, it cannot be without a *foul eclipse* and *twilight* to the law, whose *brightness* ought to surpass the *noon*. 138 b.
8. That God should enact a licence of certain evil for uncertain good *against his own glory* and pureness, is abominable to conceive. 139 a.
9. That *uttermost and bottomless gulf of chaos*, deeper from holy *bliss* than the world's diameter multiplied. 140 a.
10. We must be resolved how the law can be *pure* and *perspicuous*, and yet *throw a polluted skirt* over these *Eleusian mysteries*. 141 b.
11. But this imputed Jewish *filthiness* was *daily* and *open*. 141 b.
12. From burdensome and remorseless *obscurity*, tangled with manifold repugnances, to their native *lustre*. 154 a.
13. Scholastic sophistry, whose *over-spreading* barbarism hath . . . not only dissipated and dejected the *clear light* of nature in us . . . but hath *tainted* also the fountains of divine doctrine. 157 a.

III. Agreeable Modes of Illumination.

1. To light the nuptial *torch*. 127 b.
2. A *sublunary* and bestial burning. 133 a.
3. Each one's allotted Genius or proper *star*. 133 b.
4. A *foul eclipse* and *twilight*. 138 b.
5. In the *embers*. 139 b.
6. The *lamps* that burned before him might need snuffing. 140 a.
7. *In the centre*, or in that *uttermost and bottomless gulf* of chaos. 140 a.

IV. Shade and Darkness.

1. The inveterate blots and *obscurities*. 120 b.
2. We shall be terrified by a vain and *shadowy* menacing. 122 a.
3. And Hugo Grotius . . . seems not *obscurely* to adhere . . . to the equity of those imperial decrees. 124.
4. These things of great consequence not to be kept *obscure*. 124.

5. Law is no law, but sin *muffled in the robe* of law, or law *disguised in those loose garments* of sin. 126 a.
6. In this *dark region* here below. 129 a.
7. A reason *obscure*. 139 b.
8. To mislead and betray them *under the vizard* of law. 141 a.
9. And this perhaps before the law might have some *covert*. 141 b.
10. For their filthiness was *hid*. 141 b.
11. How could it be so *obscure* then? 142 a.
12. Hardhearted men took hold of this law to *cloak* their bad purposes. 143 b.
13. Pilate . . . shall stand so *black* upon record to all posterity. 146 b.
14. And whoso cannot so conceive it, errs and wrongs exceedingly a law of *deep* wisdom for want of well *fathoming*. 151 b.
15. To be *cooped up*. 153 b.
16. *Obscure* and giddy sects. 158 b.

V. *Albinotic Vision.*

1. *The original blindness we are born in*. 120 a.
2. A *dizzy megrim*. 121 a.
3. What corruption, what *blindness* in religion. 121 b.
4. *With an eye open*. 121 b.
5. A *supercilious* crew of masters, whose holiness, or rather whose *evil eye*. 122 a.
6. Alcuin and Wickliff our countrymen *opened the eyes* of Europe. 123 a.
7. In some things not so *quicksighted*. 127 b.
8. Love, though not wholly blind . . . yet having but one eye . . . and that eye not the *quickest in this dark region here below*. 129 a.
9. The direct rays of his then most *piercing eyesight*. 129 b.
10. And that by certain and true light for men to walk in safety, it holds out false and dazzling fires to stumble men. 138 a.
11. But remove the Pharisaic mists raised between the law and the people's eyes. 142 a.
12. To blind and puzzle them the more. 142 a.
13. To dazzle them, and not to bind us. 144 a.

14. *Who is not too thick-sighted.* 147 a.
15. *If men would but use their eyes.* 150 a.
16. To make men the *day-labourers of their own afflictions.* 154 b.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

1. *With a clear and hearty countenance.* 130 a.
2. *Under the colour of an affected patience.* 154 a.
3. To violate it most, *under colour* of preserving it most inviolable. 154 b.

G. From "Areopagitica", 1644:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. The diminution of his *glory.* 103 b.
2. The *lustre* of your mild and equal government. 104 a.
3. This much may give us *light.* 105 a.
4. This *light* of the gospel. 112 b.
5. "A forbidden writing is thought to be a certain *spark* of truth, that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out". 113 b.
6. There be delights . . . that will fetch the day about from *sun to sun.* 114 a.
7. Had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are *white* already. 115 b.
8. This flowering crop of knowledge and new *light.* 116 b.
9. This is that which hath rarified and *enlightened* our spirits like the influence of heaven. 116 b.
10. What praying there is for *light* and *clear* knowledge. 117 a.
11. Yet when the new *light* we beg for *shines* in upon us, there be who envy and oppose, if it come not in at their casements. 117 b.
12. The advantage of wind and *sun.* 117 b.
13. To go on some new *enlightened* steps in the discovery of truth. 118 a.
14. To *polish* and *brighten* the armoury of truth. 118 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. The *great unmasker* of the Trentine council. 105 b.
2. But that a book . . . should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in *darkness*

the judgement of Radamanth and his colleagues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into the *light*. 106 b.

3. The *cave of Mammon* and the *bower of bliss*. 108 a.
4. While bishops were to be baited down, then all presses might be open; . . . it was the *breaking forth of light*. 113 b.
5. His religion comes home *at night* . . . and . . . walks abroad *at eight*. 114 a.
6. *To extinguish* . . . the *light* of reformation. 114 b.
7. He who hears what praying there is for *light* and clear knowledge *to be sent down among us*. 117 b.
8. Some new *enlightened steps in the discovery of truth*. For such is the order of God's *enlightening* his church, to dispense and deal out by degrees *his beam*. 118 a.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

1. Who *from his private house* wrote that discourse. 104 a.
2. Holy Chrysostom . . . *nightly* studied . . . the same author. 105 a.
3. *Dubiously* and *darkly* to the common reader. 106 a.
4. An academic *night-sitting*. 109 a.
5. All his *midnight watchings*, and expense of Palladian *oil*. 111 b.
6. Sitting by their studious *lamps*. 115 b.
7. Fallen from the *stars* with Lucifer. 119 a.

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. A mere *covert* of state over some secret cause. 105 b.
2. The *bottomless pit*. 106 a.
3. It answers dubiously and *darkly* to the common reader. 108 a.
4. That those evils of prelaty . . . will now light wholly upon learning, is not *obscure* to us. 113 a.
5. He . . . shall now *at home* in his private chair. 113 a.
6. Therefore the studies of learning in her *deepest* sciences have been so ancient . . . among us. 115 a.
7. The *deep* mines of knowledge. 117 b.
8. To *skulk*, to lay *ambushments*. 117 b.
9. What but a vain *shadow* else is the abolition of "those ordinances"? 117 b.

V. *Albinotic Vision.*

1. To have a *vigilant eye* how books demean themselves. 104 b.
2. If execution be remiss or *blindfold* now. 110 b.
3. We boast our light; but *if we look not wisely on the sun itself, it smites us into darkness.* 115 a.
4. *Who can discern those planets that are combust, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the sun, until the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evening or morning.* 115 a.
5. *The light which we have gained, was given us not to be ever staring on.* 115 a.
6. *We have looked so long upon the blaze that Zwinglius and Calvin have beaconed up to us, that we are stark blind.* 115 a.
7. *Had we but eyes to lift up,* the fields are white already. 115 b.
8. *Kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam.* 116 b.
9. *Purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance.* 116 b.
10. *Those also that love the twilight.* 116 b.
11. *Our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice.* 118 a.
12. *To deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it.* 118 a.
13. *And taught the people to see day.* 118 b.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

1. *Her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness.* 108 a.
2. Who under pretence of the poor in their company not to be defrauded . . . brought *divers glossing colours* to the house, which were indeed *but colours*, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours. 119 a.

H. From "Tetrachordon", 1645:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. Wherein his native preeminence ought most to *shine.* 178 a.
2. To shrink the *glorious* omnipresence of God. 187 b.

3. The *sun and planets* in the firmament. 208 b.
4. Former places that give *light* to these two summary verses. 208 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. This divine blessing . . . straight vanishes like *a fair sky*, and brings on such *a scene of cloud* and tempest. 182 b.
2. But to bind and mix together holy and atheist, heavenly with hellish, fitness with unfitness, *light with darkness*. 194 a.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. The *dungeon-gate*. 183 b.
2. Either *obscurely* . . . expressed . . . or not at all. 186 b.
3. To conjecture of the *obscure* Ebraims. 188 a.
4. To utter *clouds* and riddles. 196 a.
5. To perplex . . . them . . . with contrived *obscurities*. 196 a.
6. If . . . he desire to be the shorter, and the *darker* in his conference. 198 a.
7. Bred only under the *shadow* of these words. 199 a.
8. It *darkens* and confounds both knowledge and conscience. 199 b.
9. The Pharisees . . . *covertly* defended Herod. 204 b.

V. *Albinotic Vision.*

1. *The man born blind*. 179 b.
2. Lest when God sends a wise *eye* to examine our trivial glosses, they be found *extremely to creep upon the ground*. 180 a.
3. *Every glance of her eye* . . . would have prophesied adultery. 191 b.
4. Thus *medicining our eyes*, we need not doubt *to see more* into the meaning of these our saviour's words. 195 a.
5. *They see that for Thebes which is not*. 195 b.
6. We see him intending *to dazzle* sophisters. 198 b.
7. Whereby it may be plain enough *to men of eyes*. 201 b.
8. An obdurate Cyclops, to have *but one eye* for the text. 204 b.

9. There is a vulgar also of teachers, who are *as blindly* by whom they fancy *led*, as they lead the people. 212 b.
10. The *blindest* and corruptest times of popedom. 216 a.
11. Nor have the civilians been all *so blinded* by the canon. 218 b.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

1. The *whiteness* and the innocence of this divine law. 189 a.
2. "*But his own house, and the whole neighbourhood, sees his foul inside through his whited skin*". 195 a.
3. The severe sentence of our Saviour will straight *unbend the seeming frown*. 197 b.
4. The vulgar exposition of a permittance by law . . . *whatever the colour may be*, is an opinion both ungodly, unpolitic . . . and void of all honesty. 201 b.
5. To prosecute their own right, or *any colour of right*. 202 b.

I. From "Colasterion", 1645:

- I. *Phenomena of Light.*
 1. Injuries and vexations as importunate as *fire*. 223 a.
- II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*
- III. *Agreeable Modes of Illuminations.*
 1. And dimension of *candle* by the snuff. 227 b.
- IV. *Shade and Darkness.*
 1. The utmost value of his livery-*cloak*. 221 a.
 2. *Lurking* under the safety of his nameless obscurity. 222 a.
 3. The *depth* of his notion. 224 a.
 4. His *obscure* assistant. 226 b.
 5. The Jews had not sufficient knowledge in this point, through the *darkness* of the dispensation of heavenly things. 226 b.

V. *Albinotic Vision.*

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

K. From "The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates", 1649/50:

- I. *Phenomena of Light.*
 1. A *flash* hot and active. 231 b.

2. Have they not hunted and pursued him round about the kingdom with sword and *fire*. 239 b.
3. Have they not besieged him, and to their power forbid him water and *fire*? 240 a.
4. These pulpit-*firebrands*. 242 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. To vindicate his own *glory*, [God] will *uncover* their hypocrisy to the open world. 242 b.
2. A wicked prince, who sits plotting *day* and *night* to subvert them. 245 a.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. If men *within themselves* would be governed by reason. 231 a.
2. Being slaves *within doors*. 231 a.
3. As the *pit* that sent out their fellow-locusts hath been ever *bottomless* and boundless. 246 b.

V. *Albinotic Vision.*

1. *Shutting their eyes*, to think *they see best with other men's*. 235 b.
2. Betray them *blindly* into the snare of those enemies. 242 a.
3. These *blind* and lame defenders of Jerusalem. 245 b.
4. *Blind* also as well as lame, *they discern not* David from Adonibezec. 245 b.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

L. From "Eikonoklastes", 1649:

I. *Phenomena of Light.*

1. The beginning of these *combustions*. 275 b.
2. And with scholastic flourishes beneath the decency of a king, compares him to the *sun*. 281 b.
3. Misled by any wandering *star* mistaken for the *pole*. 292 a.
4. "Against the *light* of his conscience". 295 a.
5. "And that they think all is gold of piety, that doth but *glisten* with a show of zeal". 295 b.
6. Though he would be taken for our *sun* itself. 301 b.

7. "As the *sun's* influence is necessary to all nature's productions" . . . as the *sun's* influence is to the earth. 305 a.
8. He falls next to *flashes*, and a multitude of words. 307 b.
9. To lament that "the tears and blood spilt there did not quench the *sparks* of our civil" discord here. 308 a.
10. To summon *fire* from heaven upon the whole city. 308 a.
11. As it pleased God to dispense his *light* . . . by degrees. 311 b.
12. Let him endeavour to have more *light* in himself. 325 b.
13. With all diligence to *blow the coals*. 327 b.
14. They "shall burn her with *fire*". 336 b.

II. *Contrast between Light and Darkness.*

1. As by letters . . . *came to light*. 281 b.
2. Just matter which yet *never came to light*. 283 a.
3. By removing that *darkness* which the *misty cloud* of his prerogative made between us and a peaceful reformation, which is our true *sunlight*. 301 b.
4. And those *black veils* of his own misdeeds . . . would ever keep "his face from *shining*". 314 a.
5. And that the Scots had notice of it before, hath been long since *brought to light*. 323 b.
6. "If he will continue that *light*", or rather that *darkness* of the gospel. 326 b.
7. If whole councils of the Romish church have *in the midst of their dimness* discerned so much of truth . . . we in our *clearer light* may be ashamed not to discern further. 334 a.
8. His own letters . . . not *brought to light* till afterward. 335 b.

III. *Agreeable Modes of Illumination.*

1. Let him endeavour to have more *light* in himself, and not to walk by another man's *lamp*, but to get *oil* into his own. 325 b.

IV. *Shade and Darkness.*

1. Till the fatal awe of this parliament *hung ominously over him*. 278 b.
2. Notwithstanding his saint's *vizard*. 279 a.

3. A crew of *lurking* railers. 279 b.
4. What *dark* plots he had contrived. 282 a.
5. What *shadowy* conceit or groundless toy will not create a jealousy? 283 b.
6. *Involved in the mists* and intricacies of state. 284 a.
7. *In the deepest* of his solitude. 286 a.
8. "A *dark* and dangerous storm". 289 b.
9. Her golden sayings . . . to be used as *masks*. 291 b.
10. The hand of that *cloud*, which *cast all* soon after into *darkness* and disorder. 294 b.
11. "Horror and bad influence after his *eclipse*". 301 b.
12. Under that *covert* they may remove the goodness of those things. 315 a.
13. Here we may see the very *dark* roots of them both turned up. 315 b.
14. Which he in this place not *obscurely* seems to hold a heresy. 317 b.
15. Taking the advantage of a *thick mist* . . . weather that soon invited him to a design no less treacherous and *obscure*. 318 a.
16. With a train of *covert* war. 318 a.
17. Those cold and *dark* provinces of ignorance. 320 a.
18. The *shadow* of a king. 320 a.
19. He can let them have his *cloak* also. 323 a.
20. The *cloak* of confusion. 323 b.
21. In the change of ignorant and *obscure* ages. 330 a.

V. *Albinotic Vision*.

1. They live and die in such a *strooken blindness*, as next to that of Sodom hath not happened to any sort of men more gross, or more misleading. 274 b.
2. The true *all-seeing* Deity. 279 b.
3. They who are yet incredulous . . . may *satisfy their own eyes at leisure*. 279 b.
4. We suffer *one man's blind intentions* to lead us all *with our eyes open* to manifest destruction. 292 b.
5. But what is it, that the *blindness* of hypocrisy dares not do? It dares pray, and thinks *to hide that from the eyes of God*, which it cannot *hide from the open view of man*. 293 b.

6. The parliament . . . he calls now a "many-headed hydra of government, full of factious distractions, and *not more eyes than mouths*". 301 b.
7. The contrivers thereof, *blinded* with vain hope. 306 a.
8. He could have hardly *dazzled* better. 307 b.
9. "Like *the sun*, [he] shall rise and recover himself *to such a splendour, as owls, bats, and such fatal birds shall be unable to bear*". Poets, indeed, used to vapour much after this manner. 313 b.
10. "*The man born blind*". 314 a.
11. Passing by examples between, and *not shutting wilfully our eyes*, we may see the like story brought to pass in our own land. 316 a.
12. We ought *to look up* with praises and thanksgiving to the author of our deliverance. 316 b.
13. Outward actions *which they pretend to see, though with senses never so vitiated*. 320 b.
14. If whole councils of the Romish church have *in the midst of their dimness discerned so much of truth*. 334 a.

VI. *Albinotic Facies.*

1. He told them with *a masterly brow*. 288 a.
2. To be used as masks and *colours* of injurious and violent deeds. 291 b.

Tables of Results.

(1) *Absolute Figures.*

Title	Date	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Of Reformation	1641	13	6	5	19	9	6	58
Of Prelatical Episcop. .	1641	8	1	—	10	1	—	20
Animadversions	1641	8	12	8	11	12	4	55
Reason of Church Gov. .	1641/42	18	7	2	18	13	12	70
Apology for Smectymn. .	1642	8	5	2	18	12	7	52
Doctrine of Divorce . .	1643/44	25	13	7	16	16	3	80
Areopagitica	1644	14	8	7	9	13	2	53
Tetrachordon	1645	4	2	—	9	11	5	31
Colasterion	1645	1	—	1	5	—	—	7
Tenure of Kings	1649/50	4	2	—	3	4	—	13
Eikonoklastes	1649	14	8	1	21	14	2	60

(2) *Per 1000 Lines.*

Title	Date	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Of Reformation	1641	5.3	2.5	2.1	7.8	3.7	2.5	23.9
Of Prelatical Episcop. . .	1641	11.1	1.4	—	13.9	1.4	—	27.8
Animadversions	1641	3.5	5.3	3.5	4.8	5.3	1.8	24.1
Reason of Church Gov. . .	1641/42	5.9	2.3	0.7	5.9	4.2	3.9	22.9
Apology for Smectymn. . .	1642	2.9	1.8	0.7	6.6	4.4	2.6	19.1
Doctrine of Divorce . . .	1643/44	6.3	3.3	1.8	4.0	4.0	0.8	20.0
Areopagitica	1644	7.3	4.2	3.6	4.7	6.8	1.0	27.6
Tetrachordon	1645	0.8	0.4	—	1.8	2.2	1.0	6.1
Colasterion	1645	0.8	—	0.8	4.0	—	—	5.6
Tenure of Kings	1649/50	2.2	1.1	—	1.7	2.2	—	7.3
Eikonoklastes	1649	1.8	1.1	0.1	2.8	1.8	0.2	7.9

Thus, there are in the works published after 1644 notable reductions in all the sections, especially in sections I and III. It might be argued that the sudden drop in the frequency of the light-shade elements was due to a change of subject. The facts, however, would not bear this out. "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" is of exactly the same nature as "Tetrachordon", and both the "Areopagitica" and the "Eikonoklastes" deal with current politics. Besides, if there is in the artist's mind a strong craving for expression in some definite direction, he will either select or develop his subject in such a manner as to allow him to display his peculiarity.

The nature of the extracts, too, must be taken into account. The quotations from the first series often are both vivid and picturesque, whereas those from the rest often are commonplace and ineffective. Moreover, a large number of allusions to the light-shade complex collected from the "Eikonoklastes" were provoked by remarks contained in the text against which Milton was writing. These passages were, thus, the results of external influences, whereas in the compositions of the first series, the author was obeying a purely internal impulse only. In any case, whether the theory of Milton's albinotic photophobia is accepted or not, the result of the present statistical inquiry will be that it is proved that in the passage from 1644 to 1645 the nature of Milton's eyesight underwent a remarkable change, and that before that date it was distinguished by certain peculiar qualities for which an explanation will have to be found.

Significance of the Year 1644 for the Chronology of Milton's Works.

In the opinion of the present writer, the position was as follows: Owing to his albinotic condition, his power of seeing clearly had been much below the normal from the very beginning. Yet the sensibility of his retina was not impaired, so that the normal day-light was painful to him. The attack of Glaucoma brought about a complete change. It largely destroyed the sensibility of the retina, which process had a double effect:

- (1) His visual power was reduced still further, and
- (2) His photophobia was almost completely removed.

In the period up to and including the year 1644, Milton's prose works, and more particularly his poetical ones, are marked by a strong admixture of photophobic and nyctalopic elements. The investigation of the early English prose works has revealed how sharp a line divides the literary productions of the two periods. This observation makes it possible to formulate the following rule:

The presence of a strong photophobic element is evidence of composition before 1644, whereas the absence of such an element points to a later date.

This rule makes it possible to broach the question of the chronology of the different books of "Paradise Lost", which question will have to be answered before the true meaning of Milton's master-piece can be discovered.

The problem of the chronology of the different parts of "Paradise Lost" has never been seriously attempted. As a matter of fact, it has hardly been realized that there exists such a problem. The official and conventional Milton criticism has not advanced beyond the very vague statements of Aubrey, who wrote in 1680. MASSON, in his Introduction to the Globe Edition of Milton's "Poems", says that the famous verses in book IV, i. e. lines 32—41, were composed first, viz. in 1642, all the rest during either the five years 1658—63, or the seven years 1658—65. He evidently failed to see that there is neither unity of plot, nor of style, nor of language in "Paradise Lost". The newly-discovered criterion enables the critic to distinguish, for the present, two periods at least in the composition of this long and very unequal poem: (1) Before the first attack of glaucoma; and (2) after this attack. That strong photophobic

element which distinguishes the works belonging to the former period may be discovered in the following books: I, II, IV, and IX. Now it is known that the lines from book IV referred to by Masson were composed first, and that they originally were intended for the opening of a tragedy. It is reasonable to assume that this tragedy was intended to deal with the "Temptation and Fall of Man", i. e. the contents of books IV and IX, which yield a continuous narrative. It is impossible to say how much of this subject Milton succeeded in treating in dramatic form. On this point, A. W. VERITY has an interesting remark: "Aubrey and Phillips . . . say that the poet did, about 1642, commence the composition of a drama on this theme [viz. that of the story of the lost Paradise] — of which drama the opening verses of "Paradise Lost", book IV (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work" (Paradise Lost, ed. Verity, Cambridge University Press 1921, p. XL). Some of the speeches of which the two books largely consist may very well have belonged to this dramatic fragment. This conjectural drama would thus have been the immediate successor of "Comus", to which books IV and IX bear strong resemblance, the former more particularly, for which there exist further criteria.

The dramatic impulse which led to the composition of "Comus" as well as of the conjectural biblical fragment had been derived from the great Elizabethans. It was evidently due to foreign influence that Milton changed his original plans by adopting the form of the Heroic Epic for his next poetic enterprise, with which the preceding one was to become fused in course of time. Ariosto, Tasso, and even Pulci were his models, and there can be no doubt that his Italian journey had much to do with this development. Books I and II must have been conceived and written in epic form. The form of the drama was uncongenial to Milton, at that period, at least, because it was not human character that he wished to draw; his art was to allow him the profuse display of his photophobia and nyctalopia, which could be best accomplished in the description of scenery and of natural phenomena. As the remarkable difference in metre makes it necessary to remove "Paradise Lost" as far as possible from "Comus" as to their respective dates of composition,

it will be safe to assume, for the present, that the four books under discussion were written not before Milton's return from Italy, i. e. August 1639, and not after the first attack of glaucoma, in 1644.

Analysis of Books IV and IX.

- IV. 1—31: These lines form a mere connecting link of uncertain date.
- 32—113: Satan's speech, beginning with the famous address to the sun. This speech contains the most forceful expression of Milton's photophobia, and, more particularly, of his heliophobia, to be found in his poetry.
- 114—130: Connecting link of uncertain date.
- 131—171: Description of the mound on the top of which Paradise is situated: "A steep wilderness . . . With thicket overgrown . . . A sylvan scene . . . Shade above shade, a woody theatre."
- 172—392: Satan is seen wandering through the "undergrowth of shrubs and tangling bushes", "pensive and slow", i. e. in the mood of *Il Penseroso*. He jumps into Paradise and sits on the tree of life. The description of Paradise which follows is full of expressions suggesting "shade". The "open field" is mentioned only in connection with the "morning sun", i. e. under agreeable conditions of illumination (see the present writer's article on "Milton's Selbstdarstellung in *L'Allegro* und *Il Penseroso*", *Beiblatt zur Anglia* 1923, pp. 338 ff.). The First Couple are discovered sitting "under a tuft of shade". It is evening.
- 393—597: Mostly speeches, containing frequent allusions to phenomena of illumination agreeable to the albino.
- 598—609: A very fine passage on the approach of evening inaugurating the action proper. In this respect, it may be compared to the famous address to the evening-star in "Comus", ll. 93 ff.
- 610—1015: The rest of the action is steeped in darkness. The end, too, is similar to that in "Comus": the rising sun puts a stop to the action: "The Fiend

looked up, and knew His mounted scale aloft:
nor more; but fled Murmuring, and with him
fled the shades of night". Compare "Comus"
ll. 956/7.

- IX. 1—47: A connecting link of apparently very late date.
48—191: The action again begins with a reference to the
setting sun and to the evening-star.
192—375: Dialogue between Adam and Eve in the light of
the rising sun, the illumination peculiar to the
Allegro mood; see the article quoted above under
IV. 172—392.
376—1189: In the beginning, Eve "Betook her to the gro-
ves"; but as the reader approaches the story of
the temptation of Eve, the number of allusions
to the light-shade complex becomes less. The
second half of book IX seems to have been writ-
ten after the period of photophobia, probably
about the year 1645, for which assumption there
exist certain other criteria.

Analysis of Books I und II.

- I. 1—49: These lines are of an introductory character and
were evidently written very late, probably not
till after the completion of the whole work.
50—798: The scene is laid in hell throughout. Milton
intended to write a heroic epic, and was thus
forced to treat of battles. Milton begins his nar-
rative "after" the decisive fight, probably because
he had found it impossible to make the battle
itself take place in the dark. Hell is, of course,
blazing with fire; but Milton at once informs
the reader that this fire yields no light: "Yet
from those flames No light; but rather darkness
visible Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades . . ." (ll. 62 ff.).
In other places, the kind of illumination prevail-
ing in hell is described as "gloom" (ll. 244, 544).
Now "gloom" is the word which Milton invented
to describe that peculiar kind of twilight illumi-
nation which he liked best. The same word

occurs twice in the second book, too (ll. 400, 858). Towards the end of book I, the reader is conducted into the "ample spaces" of the council-hall, which are illuminated by "many a row of starry lamps and cressets" (ll. 725 ff.).

- II. 1—505: The scene is in the council-chamber, as above.
 506—628: Descriptions of various regions in hell, all of which are plunged in darkness or "gloom".
 629—1033: Satan in hell and chaos, the latter being the seat of "Ancient Night".
 1034—1055: Satan reaches the region of "dubious light" and of "a glimmering dawn", which brings the narrative to a close.

Significance of Milton's Photophobia as a Principle of Interpretation.

The effects of Milton's eye-troubles thus enable the critic to distinguish three periods:

- (1) The period of Photophobia, from the beginning to the year 1644;
- (2) The period of Reduced and Declining Sight, from 1645 to 1652;
- (3) The period of Blindness, from 1653 to the poet's death in 1674.

The first of these periods is marked by the expression of a strong Photophobia, Heliophobia and Nyctalopia. The poet apparently is unable to move about in any but a favourable light (see, as to details, the pamphlet "Milton und das Licht", and the article in "Beiblatt zur Anglia", quoted above). This is the time of great artistic inspiration; all the really poetic works belong here. It is as if the poet by his complaint had been driven to take refuge in the realm of imagination where he was able to create for himself that kind of illumination which was agreeable to him. When this stimulus failed him, he was no longer capable of great imaginative creation in the full sense of that word. His work becomes more intellectual, and although his skill in the use of metre goes on growing for a certain while, his lines somehow seem to lack that poetic fire of the earlier works. It is a remarkable fact that by far the majority of prose passages which are generally quoted because of their

beauty and strange vigour belong to his first period, and generally contain some reference to the light-shade complex.

The second period may be described as that of poetic inactivity. With the gradual disappearance of his photophobia the source of his inspiration seems to have been stopped up. It was only after his blindness had become complete that he once more turned to poetry in real earnest. Now, at last, he was able to praise the light, so he tells his readers in the opening lines of the third book of "Paradise Lost". Out of darkness he has come into the light at last; hitherto, his muse had been haunting the shady grove only: henceforth they would visit the sunny hill also.

His inability to move about in the daylight made Milton into a great reader of books. As he was debarred from contemplating nature herself, he saw her, as Dryden very aptly remarked, only "through the spectacles of books", from which he laboriously collected the materials for those marvellous creations of his imagination.

If, thus, his photophobia was to him a source of inspiration, it was also the cause of a very serious weakness. From the very beginning, Milton had been desirous of composing some substantial poetical work which was to have established his fame. His long delay in completing such an enterprise has generally been ascribed to his wanting to prepare himself for his task by the assiduous reading of books. A really great work of art, however, would only be spoilt by too much study, so that the usual explanation must be rejected. The real cause of this delay was his inability to find a subject which would enable him to remain in the dark throughout the duration of the action. In the end, he had to fall back on the story of Satan, already exploited in one of his earliest efforts, the Latin poem "In Quintum Novembris". The non-photophobic parts of "Paradise Lost", i. e. books III, V, VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, XII, can have been executed only after the year 1644 (with the possible exception of certain passages in books V and VI). The formidable list of one hundred subjects tentatively put down not long after his return from Italy proves how desperate was his search.

The epic poem which Milton planned in imitation of the Italians was to have been a national one. As to the subject, he intended to write of the founding of the Britannic nation, of

the coming of the legendary Brutus to the shores of Great Britain. In this detail he was influenced by the example of Virgil, the prince of epic writers according to the opinion of his time, he who had sung of the origin of the Roman people. See on this point, "Epitaphium Damonis" (ll. 161 ff.). In connection with Brutus, the story of King Arthur was to have been treated; see "Mansus" (ll. 80 ff.). Milton seems actually to have tried to arrange a plot in such a manner as to allow him to remain in the dark or in the twilight throughout. It is possible to discover traces of this plot in the very beginning of the poet's "History of Britain", a prose work which may be regarded as the only substantial if perverted result of those early efforts towards a national epic. The following passages, collected by the poet from Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Regum Britanniae", are remarkable in this connection:

(1) Brutus rebels against the Greeks and retires "to the woods and hills". In the ensuing war, he "over night" makes an ambush, and after a successful fight, returns "to the residue of his friends in the thick woods". The next actions are said to take place "at the second hour of the night", and "in a certain woody vale" respectively. There is further an attack upon "the sleeping and unguarded enemy". "Day appearing", Brutus "enters the town", which he only leaves to return to "the woods" (Fletcher p. 477).

(2) The episode of Brutus consulting the oracle of Diana is elaborated with much nyctalopic detail. Brutus is seen in the "inward shrine" of the goddess; he sleeps before the altar and has a vision there. All this strongly reminds of a highly significant passage in the "Nativity Ode" (ll. 173—80). "Diva potens nemorum" is translated by "Goddess of shades" (ib. p. 478).

(3) Mention may further be made of the giants in Cornwall who are said to have lurked "in rocks and caves" (ib. p. 478).

(4) When Milton mentions Arthur in his poem addressed to Mansus, he felt compelled to refer to that feature in the latter's story which had attracted him most, namely the legend of the king's continuing to live underground: "Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem".

Thus the impetus which caused the compilation of the "History of Britain" to be undertaken originally arose out of

the peculiar condition of Milton's eyesight. With the disappearance of the photophobic element, the work degenerates into a mere collection of facts, tedious to read, and of hardly any value to anybody. The same may be said of the "Relations of Moscovia", although in this latter work the photophobic element is much more persistent, as the first signs of the decay of interest do not become visible until the fourth chapter is reached. The hitherto unsuspected importance of the latter prose work for the interpretation of the early parts of "Paradise Lost" will be demonstrated in a separate publication.

* *

There can be but small doubt that Milton identified himself with the figure of Satan as long as his photophobia lasted. Both had been excluded from participating in the benefits of light, and both had thus been placed in opposition to all mankind. It was not till after the disappearance of his photophobia that Milton was able to enter the realms of light (see the opening lines of book III of "Paradise Lost"). And it was only then that he decided to introduce into his poem Christ, whose name henceforth was to be "the copious matter" of his song (book III, 413).

Appendix.

In his most illuminating treatise "*La Pensée de Milton*" (Thèse de l'Université de Paris, 1922), on pp. 236—46, Dr. D. Saurat deals with the influence upon "Paradise Lost" of a fragment of the "Book of Enoch" published only in the year 1652. The analogies discovered by the learned author may be readily and gratefully acknowledged as far as the passages from books VII, VIII, and, above all, XI are concerned; but a different interpretation must be found for the occurrence of the name "Azazel" in the first book, if the theory outlined in the main part of the present treatise is not to be abandoned. Dr. Saurat maintains that in the famous passage describing the raising of the Satanic standard in hell (ll. 531 ff.), which is particularly remarkable for its photophobic features, strong traces of the influence of the "Book of Enoch" may be discovered. The passage in question is reproduced below; the meaning of the italics will be explained further down:

A.

531. Then straight commands that, at the warlike sound
 Of trumpets loud and clarions, be *upreared*
 His mighty *standard*. That proud *honour* claimed
 Azazel as his right, a *Cherub* tall:
535. Who forthwith from the glittering staff *unfurled*
 The imperial ensign, which, full *high advanced*,
 Shone like a meteor *streaming* to the wind,
 With gems and golden lustre rich emblazed,
 Seraphic arms and trophies . . .
544. All in a moment through the gloom were seen
 Ten thousand *banners* rise into the air,
 With orient colours waving . . .

Dr. Saurat bases his conclusion on four main arguments:

- (1) It is only in the "Book of Enoch", he maintains, that Azazel is mentioned as one of the leaders of the Fallen Angels.
- (2) Azazel claims the honour of bearing the standard "as his right" because he has made it (*parce que c'est lui qui l'a fabriquée*).
- (3) For Azazel, according to the "Book of Enoch", taught men the art of making arms, as well as other objects; and he also showed them "the different precious stones", and
- (4) The use of the colouring substances. — As to Nos (3) and (4), it is argued that the influence of these two statements of the "Book of Enoch" appears in line 538, where Milton speaks, in the same order, first of "gems", and next of the "golden lustre" with which the standard was "rich emblazed".

The full text of the crucial passage from the "Book of Enoch" is given by Dr. Saurat in a French translation, which is subjoined:

"Azazel apprit aux hommes à faire des épées, et des armes, et des boucliers, et des cuirasses, enseignement des anges, et il leur montra les métaux et l'art de les travailler, et les bracelets, et les objets de parure, et l'antimoine, et le fard pour teindre les paupières, et les diverses pierres précieuses, et les substances colorantes. Et l'impiété s'accrut; et il se prostituèrent et s'éga-

rèrent et se corrompirent dans toutes les voies. *Sémiazas* enseigna les incantations et les recettes pour couper les racines; *Armaros* le moyen de rompre les charmes; *Rakiel* les connaissances astrologiques; *Khokiel* la science des signes; *Sathiel* l'observation des astres; *Sériel* la connaissance de la lune“.

As against Dr. Saurat's conclusions it is maintained that his argumentation is not conclusive, and that there is no evidence which would make it necessary to assume that Milton must have known the fragment from the "Book of Enoch" when he introduced the name "Azazel" into the first book of „Paradise Lost“:

(1) Milton may have known the name from "Leviticus" XVI. 8, where the Authorized Version has "scapegoat", though the actual meaning is "evil spirit". The form "Azazel" appears in the margin. He may also have known the name from Irenaeus and Origenes who, as Dr. Saurat points out himself, identify Azazel with Satan. When Milton had to describe the Fallen Angels in the style of the epic of chivalry, and was thus compelled to give them high-sounding names, he searched the Old Testament for suitable forms. Thus he found in the margin of "Isaiah" XXIX. 1 the form "Ariel" (PL. VI. 371), meaning "lion of God", and which, according to Verity's note, "seems to be a title of Jerusalem"; the name "Arioch" (VI. 371), meaning "lion-like", really is that of one of the "chief men" whom Ezra summoned. "Probably Milton has used the name merely because its meaning is so descriptive of a great warrior" (Verity). "Nisroch" (VI. 447) is the name of an Assyrian deity (Isaiah XXXVII. 38). The name "Ramiel" Milton seems to have coined himself (see Verity's note on VI. 372). Further biblical names appropriated by Milton for the same purpose are "Adramelech" and "Asmadai" (VI. 365). It is highly improbable that he should have refrained, under these circumstances, from utilising the names of the six other Fallen Angels mentioned besides Azazel in the fragment of the "Book of Enoch", if he knew that text at the time he wrote books I and VI. In the first book of "Paradise Lost" he adopts the medieval view that some of the Fallen Angels became the deities of heathenism, and by anticipation he uses these their "new" names which later generations were to bestow upon them: Moloch, Osiris, Isis, Orus, Titan, Saturn, etc. (see Verity's notes on I. 361—75, and on VI. 354—85). Milton even excuses himself for being unable to pro-

vide more names: powerful and splendid in appearance the Fallen Angels were at one time:

Though of their names in heavenly records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and razed
By their rebellion from the Books of Life. (I. 361 ff.).

And again, in close imitation of the above passage, the poet explains in the sixth book that the rebels are

. . . by doom
Cancelled from Heaven and sacred memory,
Nameless in dark oblivion . . . (VI. 378 ff.).

It is, therefore, not only unnecessary to assume that Milton must have taken the name "Azazel" from the "Book of Enoch", but it is even highly improbable that he knew that document at all when he composed books I and VI of "Paradise Lost".

(2) The "Book of Enoch" says nothing whatever about "standards"; it only speaks about "arms". Further, it is not at all customary for the makers of such articles to claim the "proud honour" of carrying them. On the other hand, it is a well known fact that under the feudal system to be a standard-bearer was considered a great distinction, which was often hereditary in noble families. Thus the right to carry the standard of the Holy Roman Empire was granted by Lewis the Bavarian to the counts of Württemberg. Therefore the argument under No (2) is of no value whatever.

(3) There exists, no doubt, some slight analogy between the "precious stones" of the "Book of Enoch", and the gems of "Paradise Lost". But being supported by no further details, this analogy is altogether inconclusive. Moreover, one might argue that Milton selected the word "gems" because it alliterates, if only as to the spelling, with "golden lustre", in the same line.

(4) Dr. Saurat translates:

With gems and golden lustre rich emblazed . . .

by: "Richement décorée de pierres précieuses et de couleurs d'or". It is, however, extremely doubtful whether "with golden lustre rich emblazed" refers to any other colour but that of gold. That the latter only was intended will appear below where the real source of this expression is revealed.

Thus much for the negative arguments. There exist positive ones, too, by means of which it is possible to argue very strongly in favour of an early origin of the crucial passage. Parallel passages may be discovered in the prose works, viz. in "On Reformation in England" (1641) and "Eikonoklastes" (1649). In both cases not only the incident and the situation are reproduced, but there is also present a remarkable similarity of vocabulary, especially as between B and A. The two passages are reprinted below, with those words which they have in common with A printed in italics:

B.

"... but [God], when we least deserved, sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those his *cherubims* (l. 534) that fan his mercyseat. Nor shall the wisdom, the moderation, the Christian piety, the constancy of our nobility and commons of England, be ever forgotten, whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant than of solid and deep reach, until their own fury had run itself out of breath, assailing by rash and heady approaches the impregnable situation of our liberty and safety, that laughed such weak enginry to scorn, such poor drifts to make a national war of a surplice brabble, a tippet scuffle, and engage the untainted *honour* (533) of English knighthood to *unfurl* (535) the *streaming* (537) red cross, or to *rear* (532) the horrid *standard* (533) of those fatal guly dragons, for so unworthy a purpose..." (Fletcher's edition of the Prose Works, p. 16b).

C.

"... which begot him [i. e. Charles I] such a party, as, after many wiles and strugglings with his inward fears, emboldened him at length to set up (532) his *standard* (533) against the parliament... After which attempt... they who before hated him for his high misgovernment, nay fought against him with displayed *banners* (540) in the field, now applaud him..." (Fletcher, p. 275b).

The last passage, i. e. C, refers to the event commonly known in history as "the Raising of the King's Standard at

Nottingham" in 1642, that is after the publication of "On Reformation". This passage is the least effective of the three, as it contains but a very slight poetic element, and thus suffers from that decay of style noticeable in the works composed after the first attack of glaucoma.

As A combines the elements of both B and C, it has the strongest claim to originality. Either B and C are derived from A, in which case A must have been composed before or in the year 1641, or all three go back to a common source, which may not have been a complete text, but a collection of notes, a poetic sketch-book so to speak, such as Milton must have been in the habit of compiling, for which there are many indications as will be demonstrated in a future publication. B contains allusions which make it possible to trace at least two sources contributory to this complex of the "raising of the standard":

(1) The "streaming red cross" of the English knighthood is, of course, the flag of St. George, the English national ensign. It also reminds of the "Knight of the Red Cross" of the "Faerie Queene", the work of the great Spenser who was, according to Dryden's statement, Milton's "original". In the text of this epic of chivalry one finds the following passage:

And now exceeding grief him overcame,
To see the *Red Cross* thus *advanced high* (see A, l. 536)
(FQ. II. i. 23. 5—6);

with which may be compared, from the same author's works:

Advance the banner of thy conquest *high* . . .
(Hymn in Honour of Beauty, l. 268).

The former extract establishes a direct connection between A (see l. 536) and B, although in Spenser's text the expression "Red Cross" does not refer to a standard or banner. There is further the curious fact of the occurrence of "cherub(ims)" in both A and B. Both texts also agree in using the word "honour" (533). These two words are used in their natural sense in A, whereas in B they are used either allusively (cherubims), or metaphorically (honour). These facts would seem to speak in favour of the priority of A.

There is found in the text of the "Faerie Queene" yet another instance of the use of "advanced" with the adverb

"high" (see C. G. Osgood, *Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, The Carnegie Institution of Washington 1915). On closer examination of the stanza in question, further verbal similarities will be discovered connecting in a very curious manner passages A and B:

Trompart, fit man for Braggadocchio
 To serve at court in view of vaunting eye;
 Vain-glorious man, when fluttering *wind* (l. 537) does blow
 In his light *wings*, is lifted up to sky;
 The scorn of *knighthood* and true chivalry,
 To think, without desert or *gentle* deed
 And noble worth, to be *advanced high* (l. 536);
 Such praise is shame; but *honour* (l. 533), virtue's meed,
 Doth bear the fairest flower in honourable seed.

(FQ. II. iii. 10).

The words italicized but not followed by a reference occur in B. Note that the words "gentle" and "worth" are found in the lines immediately preceding A:

. . . with high words, that bore
 Semblance of *worth*, not substance, *gently* raised
 Their fainting courage . . . (Pl. I. 527 ff.).

Satan's position, moreover, as represented by Milton, is not unlike that of Spenser's Braggadocchio!

In passing, reference may be made to a further curious correspondence between B and a passage in the fourth book of "Paradise Lost":

. . . now *gentle gales*,
Fanning their odoriferous *wings* . . . (Pl. IV. 156 f.).

Thus B is one of the numerous passages which prove that, after his return from Italy, Milton endeavoured to introduce a poetical and rhetorical style into his prose compositions (see the present writer's *Der andere Milton*, Bonn und Leipzig 1920, p. 94).

(2) "Those fatal [i. e. foretelling the fate of the British nation] guly dragons" strongly remind of King Arthur's father, Uther Pendragon, in the description of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose "Historia Regum Britanniae" Milton had assiduously studied with the intention of extracting from it the plot of his projected epic:

"Reminiscens autem expositionis, quam Merlinus de supra-dicto sidere fecerat, [Uther] jussit fabricare duos dracones ex auro, ad draconis similitudinem, quem ad stellae radium inspexerat. Qui ut mira arte fabricati fuerunt: obtulit unum in ecclesia primae sedis Guyntoniae: alterum vero sibi ad ferendum in praelia detinuit. Ab illo ergo die vocatus fuit Utherpendragon: quod Britannica lingua caput draconis appellamus" (Liber VIII, caput XVII).

The Golden Dragon later on became King Arthur's ensign, as appears from a remark in Geoffrey's Liber X, caput IX.

The passage quoted above contains the explanation of the allusion to the "golden lustre" of line 538 in A, and it also points to the original of the "meteor" in line 537, which seems to be modelled on the stellar body seen by Uther, and described in the following terms:

"Haec dum Guyntoniae agerentur, apparuit stella mirae magnitudinis et claritatis, uno radio contenta: ad radium vero erat globus igneus in similitudinem draconis extensus, et ex ore illius procedebant duo radii . . ." (Liber VIII, caput XIV). The same passage seems to be responsible for the

. . . *globe* of circular *light*,

That with long *beams* the shame-faced Night arrayed . . .

of the "Nativity Ode" (110 f.), which in its turn was imitated in two later poetic passages:

- (1) . . . him round
A *globe* of *fiery* Seraphim enclosed
With bright emblazonry and horrent arms. (PL. II. 511 ff.).
- (2) So Satan fell; and straight a *fiery globe*
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh. (PR. IV. 581 f.).

In another connection it will be shown that the word "globe" in the former passage was called up by association with yet another source of Milton's inspiration.

If thus the "golden lustre" with which Satan's standard was "rich emblazed" is due to the analogy of King Arthur's ensign, the allusion to "orient colours" of line 546 (as well as the adjective "guly" in B) may be explained as occasioned by the "red" colour of the cross in Spenser's epic.

From the above discussion it seems certain that there

exists a close connection of some sort between A and B, the evidence being in favour of the priority of A. A further proof of the latter's greater originality lies in the probability that the introduction of the incident of the raising of the standard into "Paradise Lost" was caused by the example of Dante in the opening line of the last canto of *L'Inferno* (No 34):

Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni . . .

which is itself a very bold extension of the opening line of a hymn in the service-book of the Roman Catholic Church (see the present writer's reference to this subject in *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XXX. p. 298). In B, the incident is introduced not as part of the plot or argument, but as a mere metaphor.

Although thus much speaks in favour of B being derived from A, this cannot be accepted as proved beyond any possibility of doubt by any means. It cannot, however, be denied that both A and B must spring from the same impulse, and that, therefore, these two passages must have been written down at approximately the same time. Both proceed from Milton's interest in the epic of chivalry, and their wording proves that the poet had gone far in collecting materials and in elaborating details towards the accomplishment of his epic plans. Other passages in books I and II could be adduced as similarly related to extracts from Geoffrey's chronicle, one of the most notable among these being the description of military games in II. 528 ff., with which should be compared *Liber IX, caput XIV*. The vocabulary of books I and II points in the same direction. Everything, thus, tends to confirm an essential part of the main thesis of the present treatise, viz. that books I and II must have been composed at an early date (before the first attack of glaucoma). It seems now possible to go beyond the original statement by saying, that book I must have been written not long before the treatise "On Reformation", i. e. shortly before or in the year 1641.

In later life, Milton looked back with disapproval on his former efforts towards an epic of chivalry. In the introduction to book IX of "Paradise Lost", written long after the main part of that book, he says that he believes to have discovered a more suitable subject, namely a religious one, for his epic; for he alleges never to have been

. . . sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deemed, chief mastery to dissect
With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
In battles feigned (the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung), or to describe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,
Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
At joust and tournament . . . (ll. 27 ff.).

The scornfulness and vehemence of the above words clearly express how deep a gulf — not only of sentiment but also of time — then (i. e. close to the conception of “Paradise Regained”, completed in 1666, see ll. 31—3 above) separated him from the ideals and aspirations of his younger days (see Milton und das Licht, p. 34).
