

## *A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind*

### Running Commentary

*Tritical Essay*] A neologism derived from “tri[vial]” and “[cri]tical,” “of a trite or commonplace character” (OED), signalling that the *Essay* is a pastiche “stitch[ing] together platitudes and hackneyed quotations, to manufacture a hardly readable pseudo-essay on moral philosophy” (Ehrenpreis, *Dr Swift*, p. 191).

THE Faculties of the Mind] A reference to the psychology of faculties, a doctrine elaborated by the scholastics from classical ideas and subsequently transmitted to seventeenth-century poetry (Edmund Spenser, *The Fairy Queen*, in *The Works* [London: by Henry Hills for Jonathan Edwin, 1679], II, ix, 49-54 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-22]), literary theory (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”: eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung und Kommentar*, ed. Martin Kämper [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995], pp. 29, 49, 200, 253-55), and philosophy. Among the philosophers, Bacon and Hobbes relied on faculty psychology for their systems of human learning and knowledge, distinguishing between Imagination (Fancy), Reason (Judgement), and Memory (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000], pp. 105-6; *Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth* [London: Andrew Crooke, 1651], Chapters 1-9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126-28; II, 870]). The phrase “Faculties of the Mind” occurs in both Bacon and Hobbes (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, p. 105; *Leviathan*, p. 18 [I, v]). See the comprehensive and detailed study by Karl R. Wallace, *Francis Bacon on the Nature of Man: The Faculties of Man’s Soul* (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1967).

*August the 6th. 1707*] The date signifies either the day Swift began to write (but did not finish), or the day the whole of *A Tritical Essay* was begun and finished, or the day he addressed it to its dedicatee.

To — —] Since the addressee is described as “*so great a Lover of Antiquities*” in the following line, Ehrenpreis and Daw conjecture him to be Sir Andrew Fountaine, of Narford Hall near Narborough, Norfolk (*Dr Swift*, p. 191; Introductory Note to the Scholar Press reprint of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, unpaginated). Swift presumably met Fountaine, a keen collector of art, in 1706, when Sir Andrew, who had been knighted in 1699, accompanied the Earl of

Pembroke to Ireland on his viceroyalty. Fountaine's collection of *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica* (1705) is dedicated to Lord Pembroke (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 165n3; II, 618n4). In 1710, Fountaine was instrumental in preparing eight illustrations, designed by the professional artist Bernard Lens (1659-1725) and engraved by John Sturt, for the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, pp. xxv-xxviii). The original pen-and-wash drawings are still at Narford Hall (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 283-84 and n2). By contrast, Nigel Wood (mis)takes the "*Lover of Antiquities*" for the writer of *A Critical Essay* himself, who by providing "a muddled mosaic of proverbs and dicta ... proves his unsuitability for the task" (*Swift* [Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1986], p. 35).

*I have been of late offended with many Writers of Essays and Moral Discourses ... and not handling their Subject fully and closely*] This sounds like an echo of Sir William Temple's anger at Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684-90), originally published in Latin under the title *Telluris theoria sacra* (1680-89), and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (1686), which occasioned Temple's "Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning" (*Miscellanea: The Second Part* [London: Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690]) and which initiated a new phase of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* in England in the 1690s, culminating in Swift's *The Battle of the Books* (published 1704): "I could not read either of these Strains, without some indignation, which no quality among men is so apt to raise in me as sufficiency, the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind" (*Sir William Temple's Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. vi-xix, 2, 131 [ad 2.39-40]).

*Stale Topicks and Threadbare Quotations ... All which Errors I have carefully avoided in the following Essay ... The Thoughts and Observations being entirely New*] Swift loved to tease his readers with this hackneyed 'originality topos': "*He resolved to proceed in a manner, that should be altogether new, the World having been already too long nauseated with endless Repetitions upon every Subject,*" he boasted in the Apology to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub*, dated 1709 (p. G), echoing the *Tale's* Preface: "Dedications, and other Bundles of Flattery run all upon stale musty Topicks, without the smallest Tincture of any thing New" (p. G).

Paradoxically, the topos was as old as Horace ("Dicam insigne recens, adhuc / Indictum ore alio [I will sing of a noble exploit, recent, as yet untold by other lips]," *Carmina*, in *Quintus Horatius Flaccus*, ed. Daniel Heinsius [Leiden: Elzevir, 1628], p. 75 [III, xxv, 7-8] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905]), and Lucretius,

whose lines from *De rerum natura* were quoted as an epigraph on the *Tale*'s title page: "*Juvatque novos decerpere flores, / Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam, / Unde prius nulli velarunt [velarint] tempora Musæ* [’Tis my joy to pluck new flowers and gather glorious coronal for my head from spots whence before the muses have never wreathed the forehead of any man]" (*De rerum natura libri sex*, ed. Tannegui Le Fèvre [Cambridge: by John Hayes for W. Morden, 1675], p. 26 [I, 928-30] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1122]). And as late as 1731, the Dean made the speaker of the *Rose*-tavern monologue say what he probably liked to have heard about himself: "“To steal a Hint was never known, / But what he writ was all his own” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 565, ll. 317-18), a couplet that constitutes a lie enacted being as it was pilfered from Sir John Denham’s “On Mr. Abraham Cowley: His Death and Burial amongst the Ancient Poets”: “To him no Author was unknown, / Yet what he wrote was all his own” (*Poems and Translations*, 5th ed. [London: Jacob Tonson, 1709], p. 86, ll. 29-30). Swift, then, was ‘original’ in claiming plagiarism to be original. In Faulkner’s Advertisement to the *Works* of 1735, the Prince of Dublin publishers repeated the claim: “*The Author never was known either in Verse or Prose to borrow any Thought, Simile, Epithet, or particular Manner of Style; but whatever he writ, whether good, bad, or indifferent, is an Original in itself*” (*Prose Works*, XIII, 184). This sentence reads as if it had been dictated by Swift.

*I desire you will accept and consider it as the utmost Effort of my Genius*] It is easy to overlook the ‘originality’ of this formula, which in fact demonstrates a subtle living up to the author’s promise, a few lines earlier, that his “*Thoughts and Observations [are] entirely New*” (ll. GG). The novelty here consists in the compound of three features: first, the traditional ‘protestation of incapacity’-topos has been transformed into a mock-assertion of authorial self-confidence; second, this mock-assertion of authorial self-confidence is combined with a submission formula, which as a rule occurs only in combination with a corresponding self-abasement and self-disparagement, and, third, it is addressed not to the reader, as traditional self-belittlement would be, but to the dedicatee, Sir Andrew Fountaine (p. G).

PHILOSOPHERS say that Man is a Microcosm or little World, resembling in Miniature every part of the great] “Microcosm, *or a little World, as Man hath been called by Philosophers,*” a note in Section II of the *Tale* explains (p. G). The idea is Platonic in origin and, having become widespread in Neoplatonism, Pythagoreanism, and the philosophy of Paracelsus, radiated deeply into Renaissance thinking and beyond: “If we consider our own selves, we shall see by

a general approbation, that Man is a little World,” Pierre Borell posits (*A New Treatise Proving a Multiplicity of Worlds* [London: John Streater, 1658], p. 63), and many others before and after echoed the thought (Paracelsus, *Opera omnia*, 3 vols [Geneva: J. Antonius and Samuel de Tournes, 1658], I, 285a, 405a, 415a, 625b, 663b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 259-62]; see also Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* [Basle and New York: S. Karger, 1958], pp. 65-72; Francis Bacon, *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, bound with Bacon’s *Essays* [London, 1691], pp. 80-81 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26]; see also the illustration in Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* [Amsterdam and New York, 1971 {London: Wa. Dight, 1612}], p. 190). In the accounts by George Boas (*The Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, III, 126-31) and S. K. Heninger, Jr (*Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* [San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1974], pp. 189-200), many others of Swift’s possible sources are considered.

the Body Natural may be compared to the Body Politick] This commonplace is perhaps best known from Ulysses’ speech on “degree” in SHAKESPEARE’S *Troilus and Cressida* (I, iii, 509-72), according to which “order in the state duplicates the order of the macrocosm” (E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* [London: Chatto & Windus, 1960 {1943}], pp. 82-84), and which most conspicuously contradicts the Epicurean account of the genesis of the universe.

the *Epicureans* Opinion ... that the Universe was formed by a fortuitous concourse of Atoms] A stereotypical phrase associated with the two ontological principles of Epicurean atomism, matter and void (Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica* [London: by E. Cotes for Henry Eversden, 1665], p. 32 [read by Swift before 1699; see *Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 136-39 and n1]; Robert Boyle, “Of the Origine of Forms,” *The Works of Robert Boyle*, eds Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis [London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999], V, 353). As Lucretius explains in his philosophical poem *De rerum natura*, ultimate existence rests in an infinite number of infinitely small, indivisible particles, or atoms, ‘contained’ in an infinite void. The atoms, which are invisible and as indestructible as they are eternal, fall through space not by a divine fiat but by mechanical causation. Since they swerve in their downward path, they collide and coalesce into compound bodies, so that the perceptible world is eventually built up from a fortuitous conflux of atoms (*Titi Lucretii Cari De rerum natura libri sex*, ed. Thomas Creech [Oxford: Ab. Swalle and Tim. Child, 1695], I, 420-29, 484-87, 541-45, 991-96, 1023-27; II, 221-24). Swift owned two editions of *De rerum natura*, which

he studied so thoroughly at Moor Park in 1697/8 that he was able to quote from, and allude to, the poem throughout his life (Hermann J. Real, “A Taste of Composition Rare: The *Tale’s* Matter and Void,” *Reading Swift* [1998], pp. 73-90; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1122-26).

The majority of Swift’s contemporaries were convinced that the Epicurean teachings on the origin of the universe were “never to be reconciled with Reason” (William Bates, *Considerations of the Existence of God and of the Immortality of the Soul* [London: Brabazon Aylmer, 1676], p. 52); a judgement echoed, among others, by Thomas Creech in the Notes on his translation of Lucretius (*Titus Lucretius Carus, His Six Books of Epicurean Philosophy, Done into English Verse, with Notes*, 3rd ed. [London: Anthony Stephens, 1683], p. 21 [sig. c3r]), Ralph Cudworth (*The True Intellectual System of the Universe* [London: Richard Royston, 1678], pp. 97-98, 369-70 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 482]), Thomas Burnet (*The Theory of the Earth*, 3rd ed. [London: by R. N. for Walter Kettilby, 1697], pp. 105-7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 302-4]), and Archbishop Tillotson (*The Works of the Most Reverend Dr John Tillotson*, 3rd ed. [London: B. Aylmer and W. Rogers, 1701], pp. 14-16 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1858-60]). Even critics who were not hostile to the Philosophy of the Garden, such as the early deist Charles Blount, “esteemed the *Epicurean* Philosophy ... even when manag’d with the greatest Art and cunning, to be but a rational kind of Madness” (*Anima Mundi: or, An Historical Narration of the Opinions of the Ancients concerning Man’s Soul after this Life* [London: Will. Cademan, 1679], p. 72). This criticism also provides the context for Swift’s satire in the *Tale’s* “Digression concerning Madness” (pp. GG).

which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the Letters in the Alphabet would fall by chance into a most ingenious and learned Treatise of Philosophy] A comparison frequent in seventeenth-century attacks on Epicurean physics, which assumed a universe without God as the divine architect. Lucretius was ‘refuted’ by, among others, Joseph Glanvill: “*Chance* is the cause of no constant and regular Effect; and to suppose an undirected *Motion* to shuffle these fluid parts into the wonderful and exact form of an *Animal*, or any other regular body; is as likely, as that the divided *Letters* of an *Alphabet* should be *accidentally* jumbled into an elegant and polite Discourse” (*Sciri tuum nihil est: or, The Authors Defence of the Vanity of Dogmatizing* [London: by E. C. for Henry Eversden, 1665], p. 39). Glanvill was anticipated by the Cambridge Platonist John Smith, who sneered in his “Short Discourse of Atheism”: “Which is as much as if some conceited piece of Sophistry should go about to prove that ... one that undertakes to Analyse any Learned Book, should tell us how so many Letters

meeting together in several Combinations, should beget all that sense that is contained therein, without minding that Wit that cast them all into their several Ranks” (*Select Discourses* [London: by J. Flesher for W. Morden, 1660], pp. 47-48). Lucretius himself had used the example of the letters and their “accidental jumbling” to account for the variety as well as diversity of all earthly phenomena: as the same letters are common to different words, so the same elements may be common to most different things (*De rerum natura*, II, 687-98 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1122]). In *Gulliver’s Travels*, the implications of this image led to the ‘invention’ of a word machine with which it is possible to produce books consisting “of broken Sentences,” which when pieced together “[will] give the World a compleat Body of all Arts and Sciences” (*Prose Works*, XI, 182-84 [III, v, 15-17]).

*Risum teneatis amici.* Hor.] “Would you be able to suppress a laugh, my friends?” (*De arte poetica*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 226 [l. 5]). Both editions of Horace in Swift’s library published before 1711 present the same text (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6).

’tis like an Error in the First Concoction] “A fault or error in the first concoction, in the initial stage, in the very beginning” (OED).

till with *Ixion* they Embrace a Cloud instead of *Juno*] “*Jupiter ...* sent for [*Ixion*] to his Table, where falling in Love with *Juno*, he endeavoured to Debauch her; who acquainting her Husband, he, to try *Ixion*, formed a Cloud into *Juno*’s likeness, upon which, he satisfied his Lust” (MORÉRI s.v.). The crimes of Ixion are recorded at length in, among others, Pindar (*Pythian Odes*, in *Pindari Olympica, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, ed. Johannes Benedictus [Saumur: P. Pié de Dieu, 1620], pp. 279-80 [II, 21-48]); Lucian (*Dialogues of the Gods*, in *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Johannes Benedictus, 2 vols [Amsterdam: P. and I. Blaeu, 1687], I, 195-97 [9 (6)]); Philostratus (*De la vie d’Apollonivs*, 2 vols [Paris: Matthieu Guillemot, 1611], II, 434 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1430-31; 1114-15; 1422]); Diodorus of Sicily (*The Library of History*, p. 165 [IV, iv]), whom Swift read and “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-31); Bacon (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 12, 89, 213 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126-28]), and Glanvill, whose *Scepsis Scientifica* (p. 14) Swift read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 136-39 and n1). Besides, there is a summary of these events in LITTLETON s.v., and TOOKE, p. 267. Swift alluded to “Ixion’s rape” again in “An Answer to a Late Scandalous Poem” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 619, ll. 53-62). In *De la sagesse*, Charron interpreted

“the Fable of *Ixion* [as] the Restless Motion of the Ambitious Man’s Desires” (*Of Wisdom ... Made English by George Stanhope*, 2 vols [London: M. Gillyflower, *et al.*, 1697], I, 188 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395-96]).

like the Dog in the Fable, lose the Substance in gapeing at the Shadow] As HAWKESWORTH noted (III, 250n\*), this is a reference to an Aesopic fable retold in Greek by Babrius (*Fables*, 79) and Phaedrus in Latin: “Canis, per flumen carnem dum ferret natans, / Lympharum in speculo vidit simulacrum suum: / Aliamque prædam ab alio ferri putans, / Eripere voluit: verum decepta aviditas, / Et, quem tenebat ore, demisit cibum, / Nec quem petebat adeo potuit adtingere [A dog, while carrying a piece of meat across a river, caught sight of his own image floating in the mirror of the waters and, thinking that it was another prize carried by another dog, decided to snatch it. But his greed was disappointed: he let go the meal that he held in his mouth, and failed besides to grasp the meal for which he strove]” (*Fabularum Æsopiarum libri V*, ed. David van Hoogstraten [Amsterdam: F. Halma, 1701], pp. 8-9 [I, 4] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1417]); it was enlarged with a “Reflexion” of his own by Sir Roger L’Estrange (*Fables of Æsop and Other Eminent Mythologists: With Morals and Reflexions*, 4th ed. [London: R. Sare, *et al.*, 1704], pp. 5-6), and also used by Pietro Soave, better known as Father Sarpi, and Samuel Butler to describe various specimens of political folly (*The History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Sir Nathanael Brent [London: by John Macock for Samuel Mearne, *et al.*, 1676], p. 103 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]; *Samuel Butler, 1612-1680: Characters*, ed. Charles W. Daves [Cleveland and London: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970], pp. 55-56).

For such Opinions cannot cohere; like the Iron and Clay in the Toes of *Nebuchadnezzar’s* Image, must separate and break in pieces] A reference to the dream of King Nebuchadnezzar II after his capture of Jerusalem: “This image’s head *was* of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, / His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. / Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet *that were* of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. / Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away” (Daniel 2:32-35). MORÉRI offers a brief account of the golden statue (s.v.); another was incorporated into the annotations of Blaise Vigenère’s translation of Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (*De la vie d’Apolloniv*s, II, 269 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1422]).

*Alexander* Wept because he had no more Worlds to Conquer] “Historians give this Character of *Alexander*, that he was Handsom, Prompt, and Vigilant, Couragious, Generous, but insatiably desirous of Glory, insomuch, that being but a Child, he wept when he heard of his Fathers Conquests, thinking that nothing would be left for him to do” (MORÉRI s.v.). Moréri drew on a variety of classical sources (*Q. Curtii Rufi Historiarum libri* [Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1660], X, vi; Plutarch, *Alexander*, in *Plvtarchi Omnium quæ exstant operum, tomus primus, continens vitas parallelas*, ed. Jean Ruault [Paris: A. Estienne, 1624], 666 C-D [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 484-85; II, 1467-69]), but the anecdote was kept alive throughout the seventeenth century: “When for more Worlds the *Macedonian* cry’d, / He wist not *Thetys* in her Lap did hide / Another yet, a World reserv’d for you, / To make more great than that he did subdue,” Edmund Waller was among the many to refer to the story (“A Panegyrick to my Lord Protector” [1654], in *Poems, &c. Written upon Several Occasions*, 8th ed. [London: Jacob Tonson, 1711], p. 182), as were Robert Boyle (“Occasional Reflections upon Several Svbiects,” *The Works*, eds Hunter and Davis, V, 59); Samuel Butler (*Prose Observations*, ed. Hugh de Quehen [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], pp. 289, 404), Bernhard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (*Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*, 4th ed. [Paris: Michel Brunet, 1698], p. 218 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1058]), as well as Claudius Aelianus, whom Swift studied at Moor Park in 1697/8 (*Variæ historia*, ed. Tannegui Le Fèvre [Saumur: Jean Lesnier, 1668], p. 332 [IV, xxix]; REAL [1978], p. 128), and Valerius Maximus, also read and annotated by him (*Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX* [Amsterdam: Jan Jansson, 1647], p. 387 [VIII, xiii, ext. 2] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1886-90]).

the fortuitous concourse of Atoms] See ll. 4-5.

an opinion fitter for that many-headed Beast the Vulgar to entertain] The chief sources for this proverbial image are Plato (*Republic*, in *Platonis opera quæ exstant omnia*, ed. Jean de Serres, 3 vols [Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1578], IX, 588 C), and Horace: “Bellua multorum es capitum” (*Epistles*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 185 [I, i, 76]), describing the fickleness of the Roman populace. Both Plato and Horace were in Swift’s library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1437-40, 905-6). See also TILLEY M1029 and M1308.

so Wise a Man as *Epicurus*] According to Thomas Stanley, the friends and disciples of Epicurus from the very beginning believed, and professed, “that there was not any Man wiser than *Epicurus*” (*The History of Philosophy* [1701]



[Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1975], p. 537). In *De rerum natura*, Lucretius celebrated Epicurus as a hero of the mind “whose genius outshone the race of men [Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit]” (*De rerum natura*, ed. Le Fèvre, p. 92 [III, 1056] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1122]). This veneration of Epicurus’ disciples contrasts sharply with the master’s general condemnation in intellectual history. A pertinent explanation is offered by Charles Marguetel de Saint-Denis, better known as Saint-Evremond, in his “Reflexions sur la doctrine d’Epicure”: “C’est donc là une des causes qui ont fait tomber Epicure dans la haine publique, & qui ont poussé presque tous les hommes à l’effacer du nombre des Philosophes. On l’a condamné sans le connoître: on l’a banny sans l’écouter; & on n’a pas même voulu s’éclaircir de son bon droit” (*Oeuvres meslées*, 4 vols [in two] [Paris: Claude Barbin, 1693], III, 224 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1190-92]).

the corrupt Part of his Sect only borrowed his Name] “The wrong Interpretation of his Opinions, and the Abuse of them by his Disciples, has brought his Philosophy into Disrepute, and caused it to be decried as the Source of all Vice and Immorality,” Thomas Stanley explained (*The History of Philosophy*, sig. c2r). Stanley echoed, among many others, Sir Thomas Browne: “Who can but pity the vertuous Epicurus, who is commonly conceived to have placed his chief felicity in pleasure and sensuall delights, and hath therefore left an infamous name behinde him?” (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robin Robbins, 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981], I, 599).

as the Monkey did the Cat’s Claw to draw the Chesnut out of the Fire] Although this story has a proverbial ring to it (*The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941], p. 341 [584]), Swift may be alluding to Jean de La Fontaine, who tells it at some length in “Le Singe & le Chat”: “Bertrand dit à Raton: Frere, il faut aujourd’hui / Que tu fasses un coup de maître. / Tire moi ces marons; Si Dieu m’avoit fait naître / Propre à tirer marons du feu, / Certes marons verroient beau-jeu. / Aussi tôt fait, que dit: Raton avec sa pate / D’une maniere delicate / Ecarte un peu la cendre, & retire les doigts” (*Fables choisies* [Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1693], p. 294 [III, xvii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1025-26]). Similarly, Butler characterizes “A Forger” as doing “all his feats with other mens hands, like the monkey that scratch’d with the cat’s paw” (*Characters*, ed. Daves, p. 276 and n1).

the first step to the Cure is to know the Disease] Proverbial: “A Disease known is half cured” (TILLEY D358).

Truth may be difficult to find, because as the Philosopher observes she lives in the bottom of a Well] An apophthegm with an ancient pedigree, often attributed to Democritus and later quoted, or echoed, by Pyrrho, Horace, Seneca, Aulus Gellius, and, among the Moderns, Francis Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, and Joseph Glanvill. According to Sir Thomas Pope Blount, “Truth ... is the Daughter of Time” (*Essays on Several Subjects* [London: Richard Bently, 1691], p. 95). Its Latin version, *Veritas filia temporis*, appears in numerous emblematic and iconographic representations since the Renaissance, “showing Father Time lifting his daughter Truth from a well or a cave into daylight.” Swift inverted the maxim in *A Tale of a Tub* by leading his readers to the conclusion “that only by destroying the productions of the Moderns does Time fulfil the office of revealing (ancient) Truth to Posterity” (Sabine Baltes, “Father Time: The Emblematic and Iconographic Context of ‘The Epistle Dedicatory to His Royal Highness Prince Posterity’ in Swift’s *Tale*,” *Swift Studies*, 20 [2005], 41-50 [pp. 43, 50]; see also Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962], pp. 18-21, and *passim*, as well as Figures 26-29; Hans Blumenberg, “Die Wahrheit – Tochter der Zeit?” *Lebenszeit und Weltzeit*, 2nd ed. [Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1986], pp. 153-72; TILLEY T324; TOOKE [1713], p. 391).

we need not like Blind Men grope in open Daylight] For Swift, blindness was associated both with the ignorance of the Moderns and the zeal of the Enthusiasts. In *The Battle of the Books*, “Ignorance, ... blind with Age” figures prominently as the father of Criticism (p. 43, ll. 25-26), thereby recalling Ben Jonson’s definition of ignorance as “a pernicious *evill*: the darkner of mans life: the disturber of his *Reason*, and common Confounder of *Truth*: with which a man goes groping in the darke, no otherwise, then if hee were blind” (*Ben Jonson*, eds C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, VII [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954], VIII, 588 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 980-82]). In *A Tale of a Tub*, Jack walks about with his eyes shut in broad daylight, hurting himself and others, thus representing the ‘blind’ zeal of the Dissenters, one of Swift’s main satiric targets (see pp. ).

a stander-by may sometimes perhaps see more of the Game than he that Plays it] Proverbial: “Standers-by (Lookers-on) see more than gamesters (players)” (TILLEY S822; ODEP, pp. 483-84), quoted by Bacon in “Of Followers and Friends”: “*For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters*” (*The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985], p. 149 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26]).

I do not think a Philosopher obliged to account for every Phænomenon in Nature, or Drown himself with *Aristotle* for not being able to solve the Ebbing and Flowing of the Tide, in that fatal Sentence he past upon himself, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me*] Stanley reports in *The History of Philosophy*: “Not being able to resolve [Ebbing and Flowing], [Aristotle] died of Shame and Anxiety. Some affirm that ... he at last threw himself headlong into the River, saying, *Since Aristotle could not take Euripus, Euripus take thou Aristotle*” (p. 236). Stanley was anticipated by Robert Burton (*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, V, eds J.B. Bamborough and Martin Dodsworth [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000], p. 71), John Cleveland (*The Poems*, eds Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967], pp. 2, 79), and Sir Thomas Browne: “THAT Aristotle drowned himself in Euripus as despairing to resolve the cause of its reciprocation, or ebbe and flow seven times a day, with this determination, *Si quidem ego non capio te, tu capies me*, was the assertion of Procopius ... and is generally beleevd amongst us” (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robbins, I, 574; II, 1111). Fifty years later, speculation about the mystery of Aristotle’s death was still widespread (Lawrence Eachard, *Some Observations upon the Answer to an Enquiry into the Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy* [London: N. Brooke, 1671], p. 144; Daniel Defoe, *The Consolidator* [1705], The Stoke Newington Daniel Defoe Edition, eds Michael Seidel, et al. [New York: AMS, 2001], pp. 6-7, 172-73).

*Socrates* ... who said he knew nothing, was pronounced by the Oracle to be the Wisest Man in the World] “His common Saying was, that *he only knew this, that he knew nothing*; with reference to which Persuasion of his, the Oracle pronounced him the Wisest of all Men” (MORÉRI s.v.); repeated almost verbatim by Martin de Baraton (*Poésies diverses* [Paris: Denys Mariette, et al., 1704], p. 74 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, I, 143-44]), Diogenes Laertius (*De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Marcus Meibomius, 2 vols [Amsterdam: H. Wetstein, 1692], I, 103 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-26]), Caius Julius Solinus (*Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, in Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis* [Leyden: H. de Vogel, 1646], p. 197 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1220-22]), and Stanley (*The History of Philosophy*, pp. 95-96), not to mention Sir William Temple: “*Socrates* was by the *Delphick* Oracle pronounced the wisest of all Men, because He professed that He knew nothing” (*Miscellanea: The Third Part* [London: Benjamin Tooke, 1701], p. 284). See also Solinus Polyhistor in his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* ([Leiden: Hieronymus de Vogel, 1646], pp. 351-52; bound with Swift’s copy of Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1220-22]).

BUT, to return from this Digression] A formulaic phrase familiar from *A Tale of a Tub* (pp. GG).

as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclid*] Presumably proverbial: “I shall lay down *three plain* Propositions ... which ... will make it as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclid*,” the anonymous pamphleteer of *A Vindication of the Clergy* ([London: by Andrew Clark for Henry Brome, 1672], p. 3) boasted in his response to Eachard’s *Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into*, to which Swift refers in the *Tale* (p. G). Echoing Hobbes’s *Leviathan* (p. 15 [I, iv]), Butler posited laconically: “Geometry is the only Science, that it hath pleasd God hitherto to bestow on Mankind” (*Prose Observations*, ed. de Quehen, p. 153). Likewise, Locke ruled in *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*: “And though mathematical demonstrations depend not upon sense, yet the examining them by Diagrams, gives great credit to the Evidence of our Sight, and seems to give it a Certainty approaching to that of the Demonstration it self” (ed. Peter H. Nidditch [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], p. 633 [IV, xi, 6]).

Nature does nothing in Vain] The maxim in which the teleological thinking of medieval philosophy and theology most clearly expresses itself (St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologia*, ed. Peter Caramello, II, pt ii [Torino and Rome: Marietta, 1952], p. 693), yet still valid several centuries later: “*Natura nihil agit frustra*, is the onely indisputable axiome in Philosophy,” Sir Thomas Browne declared (*Religio Medici and Other Works*, ed. L. C. Martin [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964], p. 14). Later, the contributors to *The Spectator* were to endorse it (*The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965], II, 322 and III, 510 [nos 210 and 404] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, I, 7-9]) as well as Newton. Regula I from the *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* rules: “Dicunt utique philosophi: *Natura nihil agit frustra* [Philosophers tell us particularly: nature does nothing in vain]” (3rd ed. [1726], eds Alexandre Koyré and I. Bernard Cohen, 2 vols [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972], II, 550 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1314-15]). See also ODEP, p. 555; TILLEY N43.

if we were able to dive into her Secret Recesses, we should find that the smallest Blade of Grass, or most contemptible Weed, has its particular Use, but she is chiefly admirable in her minutest Compositions, the least and most contemptible Insect most discovers the Art of Nature] While Swift was aware of the rationalist

principles and the experimental methodology of the New Science as advocated by the Baconian philosophy and its institutional affiliation, the Royal Society (for the relevant criticism, see the notes in Hermann Josef Real, “The Dean and the Lord Chancellor: or, Swift Saving his Bacon,” *Britannien und Europa: Studien zur Literatur-, Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte. Festschrift für Jürgen Klein*, ed. Michael Szczekalla [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010], pp. 95-111), he seems to have ignored the seventeenth-century accumulation of previously ‘secret’ knowledge; knowledge as cultivated not so much by ‘secret’, or ‘occult,’ disciplines and societies as new insights achieved by the inquisitive urges of industrious researchers: “The ‘book of nature’ cannot be taken at face value, [and] appearances conceal a mysterious but truer meaning available ... to the persevering, diligent, worthy observer” (Melinda Alliker Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy in English Literature from 1650 to 1750* [New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007], pp. 31-36). There is no certain evidence that Swift ever saw, let alone was familiar with, Robert Hooke’s *Micrographia* (1665), and as a result, he ostensibly failed to note the minute engravings of the diverse objects, plants, and animals (such as glass and charcoal, damask roses and nettles, bees, flies, and lice) as well as Hooke’s descriptive ‘observations’ and functional ‘reasons.’ “We shall in all things find,” Hooke enthused in his description of the spider, for example, “that Nature,” which for him meant *Natura Naturans*, the Creator, “does not onely work Mechanically, but by such excellent and most compendious, as well as stupendious contrivances, that it were impossible for all the reason in the world to find out any contrivance to do the same thing that should have more convenient properties,” concluding on the rhetorical question: “And can any be so sottish, as to think all those things the productions of chance?” (*Micrographia: or, Some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies Made by Magnifying Glasses*, ed. R. T. Gunther [New York: Dover Publications, 1961], pp. 171, 189-90, and *passim*).

tho’ Nature which in Variety, will always triumph over Art] In a gloss on his imitation of “The Second Olympique Ode of Pindar,” Cowley notes: “*Pindar* falls frequently into this common place of preferring *Nature* before *Art*” (*Pindarique Odes, in Poems ... and Davideis: or, A Sacred Poem of the Troubles of David* [London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656], p. 10 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]).

*Naturam expellas furca licet, usq; recurret.* Hor.] “Even if you expel Nature with a pitchfork, it will invariably return” (*Epistles*, I, x, 24). The two editions of Horace in Swift’s library published before 1711 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6) offer

a slightly variant text, presumably because Swift was quoting from memory. Both the Heinsius edition of 1628 (*Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, p. 197) and the Talbot edition of 1699 have “furca; tamen usque recurret” (*Quinti Horatii Flacci opera*, ed. James Talbot [Cambridge: Jacob Tonson, 1699], p. 358). The thought was echoed by Juvenal: “TAMEN ad mores natura recurrit / Damnatos, fixa, & mutari nescia” (*Satyræ omnes*, ed. Joseph Lang [Freiburg: I. M. Helmlin, 1608], p. 109 [XIII, 239-40] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 999]).

as *Pandora’s Box* did those of the Body, only with this difference, that they have not left Hope at the Bottom] MORÉRI, drawing chiefly on Hesiod (*Theogony*, in *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Ralph Winterton [Cambridge: John Field, 1661], pp. 90, 92-94 [ll. 507-14, 571-612] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 849]) writes: “It is said, That *Jupiter* being angry with *Prometheus* for stealing Fire from Heaven, sent *Pandora* with a fatal Box into the Earth, which *Epimetheus*, the brother of *Prometheus*, opened; whereupon all sorts of Evils, with which it was filled, came out and dispers’d themselves here below, so as that there remain’d nothing therein but hope alone, which was found in the bottom of the Box” (s.v.). Swift was to refer to Pandora’s Box again in *The Lady’s Dressing Room* (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 528, ll. 83-98).

However, the phrase “Pandora’s Box” is due to a “philological accident” by which the fateful vessel “designated as a  $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  (*dolium* in Latin), a huge earthenware storage jar,” was replaced by  $\pi\omicron\chi\iota\varsigma$ , which resulted in the familiar phrase “Pandora’s Box.” For this, Erasmus has to be held responsible (Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora’s Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol* [Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978], pp. 3-33 [7, 15]).

if Truth be not fled with *Astræa*] *Astræa*, the Goddess, or Princess, of Justice, “the last of the celestials to have abandoned the blood-soaked earth” on account of Man’s wickedness: “Victa jacet pietas. & virgo caede madentes, / Ultima coelestum, terras *Astræa* reliquit,” Ovid has it (*Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. N. Heinsius, 3 vols [Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1676], II, 12 [I, 149-50] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]; TOOKE [1713], p. 222). See also Juvenal, *Satyræ omnes*: “Paullatim deinde ad Superos *Astræa* receßit / Hac comite, atque duæ pariter fugère sorores” (ed. Lang, p. 34 [VI, 19-20] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 999-1001]), and, in addition to MORÉRI (s.v.) and *A Tale of a Tub* (p. G), Edmund Waller’s “Of the Lady who can Sleep when she Pleases”: “As fair *Astrea* once from Earth to Heaven / By Strife and loud Impiety was driven” (*Poems, &c. Written upon Several Occasions* [London: Henry Herringman, 1664], p. 33 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1949-50]).

she is certainly as hidden as the Source of *Nile*] A prototypical specimen of “beaten Paths,” as *Apollo’s Edict*, now usually attributed to Mary Barber (FOXON B75), shows: “No Simile shall be begun, / With *rising* or with *setting* Sun: / And let the *secret Head* of Nile, / Be ever banish’d from your Isle” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 270, ll. 11-15). Hiob Ludolf reported in his *Nouvelle histoire d’Abissinie, ou d’Ethiopie* (Paris: A. Cellier, 1684), which Swift read in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 132): “La largeur [du Nil], la longueur de son cours, la bonté de ses eaux ... & la fertilité à leurs campagnes; enfin toutes les merveilles du Nil ont donné aux anciens la curiosité d’en rechercher la source; il y a eû jusqu’à des Rois & des Empereurs qui ont envoyé des troupes pour la découvrir, mais inutilement” (p. 21). This information is identical with that provided by many of the ancients. In 1714, the anonymous editor and annotator of Thomas Creech’s translation of *T. Lucretius Carus, Of the Nature of Things*, drawing, among others, on Tibullus, Lucan, and Claudianus, noted: “Many of the Antients despair’d, that the Source of the Nile would ever be discover’d” (2 vols [London: George Sawbridge, 1714], II, 692-93). Pliny summarized the situation as pithily as succinctly: “Nilus incertis ortus fontibus [The sources of the Nile are uncertain]” (*Historiæ naturalis libri xxxvii*, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1635], I, 256 [V, ix] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459]), echoed verbatim by Solinus Polyhistor in his epitome of Pliny, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, pp. 351-52; bound with Swift’s copy of Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1220-22]). The only seventeenth-century author to defy all this self-confidence was Cowley in a lengthy gloss on his Pindaric ode, “The Plagues of Egypt”: “The fountain of *Nilus* is now known to be in the mountains called *Lunœ montes*, and one of the Titles of *Prester John* is, *King of Goyome, where Nile begins*; but the ancients were totally ignorant of it, insomuch, that this was reckoned among the famous proprieties of *Nilus*, that it concealed its Spring” (*Pindarique Odes*, in *Poems*, pp. 55 [stanza 5] and 64 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). See also Philostratus, *De la vie d’Apollonivis*, II, 200, 385 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1422).

can be found only in *Utopia*] That is, Nowhere; a teasing pun, as in Gulliver’s Letter to his Cousin Sympson, in which Swift makes his traveller lodge a mock-protest against those of his critics who are “so bold as to think [his] Book of Travels a meer Fiction,” going so far as to insinuate as they do “that the *Houyhnhnms* and *Yahoos* have no more Existence than the Inhabitants of *Utopia*” (*Prose Works*, XI, 8). Swift knew Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* particularly well, and he admired its author profoundly (Hermann J. Real, “Voyages to

Nowhere: More's *Utopia* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*," *Eighteenth-Century Contexts: Historical Inquiries in Honor of Phillip Harth*, eds Howard D. Weinbrot, Peter J. Schakel, and Stephen E. Karian [Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001], pp. 96-113).

which would be a sort of Ingratitude] Ingratitude is one of Swift's favourite vices. In Lilliput, "INGRATITUDE is ... a capital Crime," the reason being "that whoever makes ill Returns to his Benefactor, must needs be a common Enemy to the rest of Mankind ... and therefore such a Man is not fit to live" (*Prose Works*, XI, 60 [I, vi, 10]). This view harks back to Hobbes's *Leviathan*, in which ingratitude is a violation of the law "by which a man is forbidden to do that, which is destructive of his life" (*Leviathan*, pp. 64, 75, 80 [I, xiv, xv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870-71]). In his contribution to *The Examiner*, no 6, Swift's trusted friend Matthew Prior, echoing Dryden's *Don Sebastian*, described "*Ingratitude [as] a Weed of every Clime*" (*The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, eds H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2nd ed., 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], I, 392; II, 920-21).

he that calls a Man Ungrateful, sums up all the Evil that a Man can be guilty of. *Ingratum si dixeris omnia dicis*] Again quoted from memory: "Dixeris maledictum, quum ingratum hominem dixeris" (*Publiliji Syri Fragmenta*, in *Opera et fragmenta veterum poetarum Latinorum profanorum et ecclesiasticorum*, ed. Michael Maittaire, 2 vols [London: J. Nicolson, et al., 1713], II, 1521 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1166]). The idea that ingratitude is 'a monstrous,' an inhuman quality is frequent not only in Shakespeare and many of his contemporaries but also among their common classical sources, such as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Cicero's *De officiis*, and Seneca's *Moral Essays* (*Twelfth Night*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], p. 120 [III, iv, 305]; Dirk F. Passmann, "The Lilliputian Utopia: A Revised Focus," *Swift Studies*, 2 [1987], 67-76; see also *The Spectator*, ed. Bond, II, 449n1 [no 244]). Many of these had been dealt with by Girolamo Cardano in his extensive discussion of "De Ingratis & Perfidis" (*Opera omnia*, 10 vols [in five] [Lyon: J. A. Huguetan and M. A. Ravaud, 1663], II, 149-68 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46]). There is also a personal element in Swift's attitude towards ingratitude: "Thanks to Party, I have met in both Kingdoms with Ingratitude enough," he told Viscount Palmerston in an angry letter of January 1726 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 632). An echo occurs in Butler: "Hee that is ungratefull / Is all things that are Base and Hatefull" (*Prose Observations*, ed. de Quehen, p. 272).



what I blame the Philosophers for ... is chiefly their Pride] “Scientia inflat [Knowledge puffeth up],” St Paul warns in 1 Corinthians 8:1.

(tho’ some may think it a Paradox)] Here either in the sense of “a statement that is self-contradictory and absurd or false” or in the sense of “a statement or tenet contrary to received opinion or belief” (OED). In both senses, ‘paradox’ is central to Swift (John R. Clark, *Form and Frenzy in Swift’s “Tale of a Tub”* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1970], pp. 181-230; Hermann J. Real, “A Dish plentifully stor’d’: Jonathan Swift and the Evaluation of Satire,” *Reading Swift* [1993], pp. 45-58 [57-58]; and Real, “The Dean’s European Ancestors: Swift and the Tradition of Paradox,” *La Grande-Bretagne et l’Europe des Lumières: Actes de colloques décembre 1992 et décembre 1993*, ed. Serge Soupel [Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelles, 1996], pp. 135-42).

*Iipse dixit*] “He himself, the master, said it”; a dogmatic statement, or unproven assertion. “Puisqu’il [Aristote] l’avoit dit, on n’avoit garde d’en douter,” the speaker of Fontenelle’s *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* explains (p. 29 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1058]). It was customary for students “to swear by the master’s words [jurare in verba magistri]” (Horace, *Epistles*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 183 [I, i, 14] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905]), particularly applied to Aristotle and his pupils (John Webster, *Academiarum Examen: or, The Examination of Academies* [London: Giles Calvert, 1654], p. 52; Pope Blount, *Essays on Several Subjects*, p. 85). But as the anonymous author of *A Vindication of the Clergy* asserted in response to John Eachard’s *The Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into* of 1670, to which Swift referred in the Apology prefixed to the fifth edition of the *Tale* (pp. QQ), “*Aristotle’s Monarchy* is long since at an end, and all the old moth-eaten *Statutes* (which mention him honourably) out of date, together with a certain little *Oath* thereunto belonging” (p. 53). Later, the phrase was applied to all claiming dogmatical authority for their statements: “He is not yet come to that Authority,” Andrew Marvell jeered at his opponent Samuel Parker, “but that his Dogmatical *Iipse Dixits* may rather be a reason why we should not believe him” (*The Rehearsal Transpros’d*, ed. D. I. B. Smith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. 27 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-9]).

tho’ *Diogenes* lived in a Tub] “He embrac’d a voluntary Poverty, and liv’d in a Tub” (MORÉRI s.v.). See also LITTLETON s.v., and Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 282. One of the many well-known stories about the Cynic philosopher Diogenes of Sinope (c.400-325 BC) may have influenced Swift’s title

choice for his early masterpiece, *A Tale of a Tub*, among other things (Kirsten Juhas, “A Tale of a [Book-]Barrel’: Another Meaning of the *Tale’s* Title,” *The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, 25, nos 1-2 [2011], 11-19 [p. 12]).

there might be for ought I know as much Pride under his Rags] Diogenes’ pride was emphasized by Montaigne: “Ainsi Diogenes ... roulant son tonneau, & hochant du nez le grand Alexandre” (quoted from the annotated edition of the *Essais* by Pierre Coste, 5 vols [Geneve: M. M. Bousquet, 1727], I, 605 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72]). Milton’s nephew, Edward Phillips, likewise described him as well known “for his churlish disposition and clownish conversation” (*The New World of English Words* [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1969 [1658], s.v.).

as in the fine-spun Garment of the Divine *Plato*] In an anecdote told by both Diogenes Laertius (*De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Meibomius, I, 328 [VI, 26] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-26]) and his English popularizer Stanley, “in the Presence of some Friends of *Plato* ... *Diogenes* trod under foot *Plato’s* Robe, saying I tread under foot *Plato’s* Pride: But *Diogenes*, answered *Plato*, how proud are you your self, when you think you contemn Pride?” (Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 284).

A complex pun. For one thing, “like a God,” Cowley noted in his glosses on his biblical epic *Davideis*, “is a frequent *Epithete* in *Homer* for a beautiful person” (*Poems*, p. 147 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]), no doubt a fitting tribute for a leader of the Ancients in *The Battle of the Books* (see the note on “*Homer* led the *Horse*,” p. 42, ll. 24-25); for another, *Plato* had enjoyed an “antient Station among the *Divines*” (*The Battle of the Books*, p. 36, ll. 12-13), an allusion to *Plato’s* popularity among the Fathers of the Church, which had earned him the title “Moses of Attica” (Urbain Chevreau, *Histoire du monde*, 5 vols [The Hague: Abraham de Hondt, 1698], I, 207-8; MORÉRI s.v. [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 398-400]). In *Mr Collins’s Discourse of Free-Thinking*, Swift ironically described *Plato’s* notions as “so like some in the Gospel, that a Heathen charged Christ with borrowing his Doctrine from *Plato*” (*Prose Works*, IV, 42). Finally, according to Diogenes Laertius (*De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Meibomius, I, 164-65 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-26]), an ancient biographical tradition has it that *Plato* “was the Son of *Apollo*, who appearing in vision to [his *Mother*] (being a Woman of extraordinary Beauty) ... she thereupon conceived ... whence *Tyndarus*, He did not issue from a mortal Bed; / A God his Sire, a God-like life he led” (Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 155).

It is reported of this *Diogenes* that when *Alexander* came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask, the *Cynick* only answered; *Take not from me what thou canst not give me, but stand from between me and the Light*] This anecdotal incidence shows Diogenes in his typically cynic “mode of *parrhesia*,” or frankness of speech, by which he tests “representative defenders of conventional values,” such as tyrants and rival philosophers, “to see whether they can withstand his truth telling” (David Mazella, *The Making of Modern Cynicism* [Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007], pp. 33-34). Both Littleton and Moréri present the same account, with that by LITTLETON being somewhat closer: “Alexander the Great came to see him, and bid him ask what ever he would, and he would give it him: Then said Diogenes, Stand from betwixt me and the Sun, lest thou take from me that which thou canst not give me” (s.v. “Diogenes”); anticipated almost verbatim by Diogenes Laertius and reiterated by Stanley (*De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Meibomius, I, 334 [VI, 38] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-26]; *The History of Philosophy*, p. 283). The *locus classicus* of the incident occurs in Arrian’s *De expeditione Alexandri Magni historiarum libri VII* (ed. Nicolaus Blanckaert [Amsterdam: Jan Jansson, 1668], p. 443). Swift owned two editions of Arrian. While he is known to have read the 1704 folio edition by Jacobus Gronovius in 1712, he may have studied Blanckaert’s earlier one before 1708 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 97-99).

the Philosopher that flung his Money into the Sea, with this remarkable saying ....] The Cynic philosopher Crates (*fl.* c.325 BC) parted with a great deal of wealth to take up the life of a beggar: “contemptor eorum quæ vulgo admirationi erant: pecuniarum etiam ac patriæ [He despised those things that people generally admire: money and his native country],” Aelian states in *Varia Historia* (ed. Le Fèvre, p. 232 [III, vi]), which Swift read in 1697/8 and later purchased (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 15-16), and MORÉRI knows that Crates “threw all his Money into the Sea” (s.v.), following Diogenes Laertius (*De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Meibomius, I, 356 [VI, 87] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-27]).

the Usurer, who ... replied, *He cannot take more Pleasure in Spending than I did in getting it*] A related thought occurs in Robert Herrick’s poem “Kissing Usurie”: “By this I guesse, / Of happinesse / Who has a little measure: / He must of right, / To th’utmost mite / Make payment for his pleasure” (*The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick*, ed. L. C. Martin [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956], p. 30). In

Thomas Randolph's comedy *The Muses Looking-Glass: or, The Stage Re-view'd*, a spendthrift son, Asotus, takes pleasure in squandering the wealth his father Aneleutherus, "an illiberal niggardy Usurer," has amassed ([London, 1706], pp. 26-27).

These Men could see the Faults of each other but not their own] Most probably, a reference to Aesop's well-known fable, "De vitiis hominum," as retold by Phaedrus:

Peras imposuit Jupiter nobis duas;  
Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit,  
Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem.  
Hac re videre nostra mala non possumus:  
Alii simul delinquant, censores sumus.

[Jupiter has put upon us two open wallets.  
That one of them which is filled with our own faults he placed at our back,  
the other, heavy with the faults of other people, he has suspended in front  
of our breasts.

For this reason we are unable to see our own vices;  
but as soon as others commit errors we become their critics] (*Fabulae Aesopiae*, ed. van Hoogstraten, p. 104 [IV, 9] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1417]).

It is also possible that Swift remembered Glanvill's *Scepsis Scientifica* (read by him before 1699 [*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 136-39 and n1]): "The weakness of humane understanding, all will confess: yet the confidence of most in their own reasonings, practically disowns it: And 'tis easier to perswade them from others lapses than their own; so that while all complain of our *Ignorance* and *Error*, every one exempts himself" (p. 47), or Tom Brown, whose works Wagstaff claims to have read entire (*Prose Works*, IV, 118): "How apt are we to flatter ourselves, and overlook our own infirmities?" ("Table-Talk," *The Works*, 8th ed., 4 vols [London: Henry Lintot and Charles Hitch, 1744], I, 139). There is an affinity of the thought with "The Preface of the Author" in *The Battle of the Books* (see the gloss on "*SATYR is a sort of Glass, wherein Beholders do generally discover every body's Face but their own*," p. 32, ll. 1-2) as well as *A Tale of a Tub* (p. G), and *A Meditation upon a Broomstick* (p. G).

*Non videmus id manticæ quod in tergo est*] Catullus, *Carmina*, 20, 21. Both of Swift's editions read: "Sed non videmus, manticæ quod in tergo est [But we do not see that part of the bag which hangs on our back]" (*Catulli, Tibulli, et*

*Propertii opera* [Cambridge: Jacob Tonson, 1702], p. 22 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 369]).

I may be perhaps censured for my free Opinions] An example of the ‘affected modesty’ topos, which is intended to dispose judges, like readers, favourably. This is achieved by drawing “attention to this modesty oneself,” which makes it affected (CURTIUS, pp. 83-85 [83]).

those carping Momus’s] Momus is “the carping God, who would do nothing himself, but find fault with every body” (LITTLETON s.v.), a pertinent precis of Momus’ image in countless classical sources. It was “his nature to hate all [the gods],” Babrius writes in his fable on “Momus the Fault-Finder” (no 59), a thought Lucian, among others, never tires of reiterating (*Nigrinus* 32; *Juppiter Tragoedus* 19-23, in *Lyciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 39; II, 138-41 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]). In Carew’s Masque *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), Momus introduces himself as “the Supeme Theomastix, Hupercrittique of manners, Protonotarie of abuses, Arch-Informer, Dilator Generall, Vniversall Calumniator, Eternall Plaintiffe, and perpetuall Foreman of the Grand Inquest” (*The Poems of Thomas Carew*, ed. Rhodes Dunlap [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949], p. 156). In *The Battle of the Books*, Momus is “the Patron of the *Moderns*,” who is intent on nothing but destructive business (p. 42, l. 36).

Worship as *Indians* do the Devil, for Fear] An echo from the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*: “The fundamental Difference in Point of Religion, between the wild *Indians* and Us, lyes in this; that We worship *God*, and they worship the *Devil* ... To me, the difference appears little more than this, That They are put oftner upon their Knees by their *Fears*, and We by our *Desires*” (p. G). That the wild Indians of the New World worshipped the devil was a stock element of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel accounts (Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991], pp. 14-16; Vera Nünning, “‘Writing Selves and Others’: zur Konstruktion von Selbst- und Fremdbildern in Reiseberichten der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Points of Arrival: Travels in Time, Space, and Self*, eds Marion Gymnich et al. [Tübingen: Francke, 2008], pp. 61-78 [67-68]; for a pictorial representation, see Hugh Honour, *The European Vision of America* [Cleveland, Ohio: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975], item 7). Among others, it occurs in Hernando Cortés: “[The Mexican Nation] worshipped the Idoll *Vitzliputzli*, and the Diuel spake & gouerned this Nation” (*Purchas his Pilgrimage* [London: by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1626], V, 864 [PASSMANN AND

VIENKEN II, 1548]), still echoed at the end of the century by Ned Ward: “He’s a man that ... obeys his officer, as Indians do the Devil, not through love but fear” (*The London Spy*, ed. Paul Hyland [East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993], p. 150). In 1691, the *Athenian Mercury*, whose “*all four Volumes with their Supplements*” Swift had seen (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 107 and n,n1), answered in response to the question, “*Whether there be such People as Cannibals?*”: “Yes, amongst the *Indians* at this day, who not only eat one another, but also Sacrifice their Children to the *Devil*” (II, no 1 [Question 10]).

to give my Reputation as many Wounds as the Man in the Almanack] Most almanacs since Elizabethan times featured illustrations of “The Anatomie of mans body” which “provided detailed advice on the best times (‘elections’) for a physician to bleed or operate on his patient” (Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* [Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979], pp. 204-14 [205]; illustration at p. 256).

like Flies they may buz so often about the Candle, till they burn their Wings] Proverbial: “The fly (moth) that plays too long in the candle singes its wings at last” (TILLEY F394).

that self-tormenting Passion of Envy, than which the greatest Tyrant never invented a more cruel Torment] An almost literal translation of the following Latin quotation (l. G), with “self-tormenting” added by Swift and “*Siculi*” rendered by a metonymical “greatest.” Swift would have found the idea that envy is self-tormenting in Phaedrus (*Fabularum Aesopiarum libri V*, ed. van Hoogstraten, p. 134 [V, Prologus, l. 9]), and Cowley’s  *Davideis*: “*Envy*, the worst of *Fiends*, herself presents, / *Envy*, good onely when she’herself torments” (*Poems*, p. 7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1417; I, 475-76]).

*Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni / Tormentum majus* — — Juven.] Not Juvenal but Horace, *Epistles*, I, iii, 58-59. The two editions of Horace in Swift’s library published before 1711 offer a slightly variant text, again because Swift may have quoted from memory. The Talbot edition of 1699 has “*Majus tormentum*” (*Quinti Horatii Flacci opera*, p. 340), as does the Elzevir Heinsius of 1628 (*Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, p. 188 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, II, 905-6]).

my Criticks and Witlings] Two of Swift’s favourite bêtes noires, ritually challenged from the early *Tale of a Tub*, in which he ironically derided the “*True Critick*” as “*a Discoverer and Collector of Writers Faults*” (pp. GG), to the late *On Poetry: A*

*Rhapsody* (1733), which deplores the sheer, oppressive numbers of uncounted would-be wits - “ALL Human Race wou’d fain be *Wits*, / And Millions miss, for one that hits” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 640, ll. 1-2) - and the threat these pose to literature and culture, malicious and insolent, censorious and pretentious, mediocre and ignorant, tasteless and dishonest as they are (D. Judson Milburn, *The Age of Wit, 1650-1750* [New York and London: Collier-Macmillan, 1966], pp. 240-45). Among Swift’s contemporaries, the most prominent to fire salvos against the stunted faculties of the fault finders and ignoramuses are John Dryden, who declaimed against “the little Hectors of the Pit” and “Puny Censors, who [their] skill to boast, / [Are] cheaply witty on the Poets cost” in the Second Prologue to *Secret Love* (1668) (*The Works of John Dryden*, IX, eds John Loftis and Vinton A. Dearing [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966], 120, ll. 22, 26-27), and Alexander Pope, who chimed in almost half a century later when devoting a whole paragraph to “*the Multitude of Critics, and causes of them*” in *An Essay on Criticism (Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, eds E. Audra and Aubrey Williams [London: Methuen, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969 {1961}], pp. 237, 242-43, ll. 26-35).

Than a Man that is born Blind can have any true Idea of Colours] Proverbial: “Blind men can (should) judge no colours” (ODEP, p. 68; TILLEY M80). Erasmus explains in *Adagia*, I, 6, 16: “Eodem pertinet, quod ... [Aristoteles] scripsit libro secundo Naturalium, *cæcum disputare de coloribus*. Quæ verba jam inter nostri temporis Scholasticos in Proverbium abierunt, quoties quispiam de rebus ignotis disputat [What Aristotle writes in the second book of his *Physics* also applies to this: *to dispute with a blind man about colours*. These words have become proverbial among the learned of our time whenever somebody talks about things he does not understand]” (Erasmus, *Opera omnia, II: Complectens Adagia [1701]*, ed. Jean Le Clerc [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961], col. 228). Erasmus was referring to Aristotle, *Physics*, II, i (193A) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 85-86).

empty Vessels sound loudest] Proverbial: “Empty vessels make the greatest sound” (ODEP, p. 220; TILLEY V36).

I value their Lashes as little as the Sea did when *Xerxes* Whipt it] The story was told by Herodotus: “Quem pontibus junctum ingens adorta tempestas ea omnia diruit atque dissolvit. Quod quum audisset Xerxes indigne ferens, jussit trecenta Hellesponto verbera infligi [A terrible storm arose, unloosed and destroyed all of this bridge. When Xerxes heard of this, he indignantly commanded the

Hellespont to be whipped with three-hundred lashes]” (*Historiarum libri IX*, ed. Thomas Gale [London: by E. Horton and J. Grover for John Dunmore, *et al.*, 1679], p. 397 [VII, 34-35]). It was repeated by, among others, Juvenal (*Satyræ omnes*, ed. Lang, p. 84 [X, 180-81]), Montaigne in his *Essais* (I, 33 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 841-42, 999, 1269-72]), and by Samuel Butler (*Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967], pp. 124, ll. 845-46, and 377).

The utmost Favour ... is that which *Polyphemus* promised *Ulysses*, that he would Devour him the last] The Cyclops Polyphemus, a son of Poseidon, is a one-eyed, savage giant, who after killing and eating several of his crew is intoxicated and blinded by Ulysses with a pointed stake (*The Odyssey*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. Jean de Sponde [Basle: S. Henricpetri, 1606], II, 3, 119-24 [I, 68-71; IX, 177-505]). Polyphemus promises to eat Ulysses last among his comrades after having been told the stranger’s name, Noman (ll. 368-70). Swift first read Homer at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; 871). The encounter with Polyphemus is also told by Ulysses’ companion Achaemenides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 255-56 [XIV, 154-222] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]).

They think to subdue a Writer as *Cæsar* did his Enemy, with a *Veni, vidi, vici*] A brilliant coinage, regarded as a supreme example of Latin conciseness. It is Caesar’s message to his confidant Gaius Matius after defeating King Pharnakes II in the Battle of Zela on 2 August 47 (BC); reported by Suetonius in Latin (*Life of Caesar*, in *C. Svetonii Tranquilli XII. Cæsares*, ed. Theod. Pulmann [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1574], p. 47 [37, 2] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1761-62]; see also Daniel Heinsius, *Lavs asini* [Leiden: Elzevir, 1629], p. 79 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 811] and Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 82, l. 736) as well as Plutarch in Greek (*Caesar*, in *Plvtarchi Omnium quæ exstant, operum tomus primus, continens vitas parallelas*, ed. Ruault, 731 E [50, 3] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1467-69]).

A R-----] Thomas Rymer (1641-1713), in *A Tale of a Tub*, the archetypal critical dunce, whose genealogy is traced back “in a direct Line” from the not-so-celestial stem of Momus und Hybris (pp. GG). Rymer became controversial around the turn of the century through two pieces of narrow-minded legislative criticism, *The Tragedies of the Last Age* and *A Short View of Tragedy*. The first was published in November of 1677 (*The Term Catalogues*, I, 294) though the title page bears the date 1678, and it provoked Dryden, who “was annoyed by [Rymer’s] veiled antagonism to him,” into responding with *Heads of an Answer to Rymer* (1677)



and in the Dedication of the *Third Miscellany* (1693); the second appeared late in 1692, its title page notwithstanding, which also bears the date of the following year (1693) (*Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn, 3 vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957 {1908}], II, 181-255, 341-42). In “On Poetry: A Rhapsody” (1733), Swift reiterated his criticism of Rymer, again coupling him with Dennis (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 648, ll. 249-51 and nn). Whether this criticism was based on anything but hearsay is unknown (see Melanie Maria Just, *Jonathan Swift’s “On Poetry: A Rhapsody”: A Critical Edition with a Historical Introduction and Commentary* [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2004], pp. 140-42).

a *D---s*] John Dennis (1657-1716), nicknamed after his favourite epithet, Sir Tremendous, playwright and poet but “commonly called *the Critick*” (*Prose Works*, IV, 250). Dennis’s criticism has always been sadly underestimated, presumably because of his lifelong bitter feuds with Alexander Pope (*The Dunciad*, ed. James Sutherland, 3rd ed. [London: Methuen, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963], pp. 437-38). Like Rymer, in the *Tale*, Dennis is the archetypal critical dunce, whose genealogy is traced back “in a direct Line” from the not-so-celestial stem of Momus und Hybris (p. G). Swift’s coupling Dennis with Rymer, which he repeated in “On Poetry: A Rhapsody” (1733) (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 648, ll. 249-51 and nn) is not without irony, however. Dennis’s *The Impartial Critick* of 1693 was one of several works responding to Rymer’s *A Short View of Tragedy*, making them rather strange bedfellows. There is no evidence that Swift had any first-hand knowledge of either Dennis or his writings, but Dennis’s reputation as “the modern Author’s Dread” and “the Scourge of Fools” was common knowledge and lasted throughout the eighteenth century (Thomas Cooke, *The Battle of the Poets: An Heroick Poem* [London: J. Roberts, 1725], p. 13; Just, *Jonathan Swift’s “On Poetry: A Rhapsody”*, pp. 142-45).

a *W----h*] An unusual choice. William Walsh (1663-1708), courtier and Whig Member of Parliament, became Pope’s “poet-friend,” who “encouraged [him] much,” around 1706/7 (George Sherburn, *The Early Career of Alexander Pope* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968], pp. 54-59). Walsh enjoyed discussing matters of poetical technique with Pope, who showed him an early draft of *An Essay on Criticism*, and his letters apparently led the precocious Pope “to turn his lines over and over again” (Joseph Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men*, ed. James M. Osborn, 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], I, 31-32). In his Postscript to the Reader of 1697, Dryden had praised Walsh “without flattery” as “the best Critick of our Nation” (*The Works of Virgil*, in *The*

*Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], III, 1426). Whether that reputation made the young Pope seek Walsh's acquaintance and guidance or not is unclear. Swift's judgement of Walsh is likely to have been different had he met Pope before 1711 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 560-61n,n8). One may therefore speculate that the authorized misspelling of the name since 1713, when the identification of Walsh would have been embarrassing for Swift, was a ruse to make it more difficult; in fact, unlike Rymer and Dennis, Hawkesworth seems to have been unable to decode *W----h*.

the long dispute among the Philosophers about a Vacuum] "Nature abhors a vacuum" (TILLEY N42). This principle became one of the most contested issues in seventeenth-century natural philosophy after Epicurean physics and cosmology slowly began to replace the old world order at the beginning of the century. The material is vast, and a few sources have to suffice (in chronological order): Henry More, *Democritus Platonissans: or, An Essay upon the Infinity of Worlds out of Platonick Principles* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1646), sig. A2r: "But if any space be left out unstuffd with Atoms, it will hazard the dissipation of the whole frame of Nature into disjoynted dust"; Margaret Cavendish, *The Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (London: William Wilson, 1655), p. 4: "IN Nature if Degrees may equal be, / All may be full, and no Vacuity"; Gideon Harvey, *Archelogia Philosophica Nova: or, New Principles of Philosophy* (London: Samuel Thomson, 1663), p. 383: "I assert a *Vacuum* to be repugnant to nature"; and Sir Matthew Hale, *Difficiles Nugæ: or, Observations Touching the Torricellian Experiment*, 2nd ed. (London: William Shrowsbury, 1675), p. 235: "A *vacuum* ... the Catholick Laws of the Universe do not permit."

the Drones of the Learned World, who devour the Honey; and will not Work themselves] Knowledge at least as old as Hesiod: "And ... in thatched hives bees feed the drones whose nature is to do mischief - by day and throughout the day until the sun goes down the bees are busy and lay the white combs, while the drones stay at home ... and reap the toil of others into their own bellies" (*Theogony*, in *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Winterton, p. 94 [ll. 594-99] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 849]).

a Writer need no more regard them than the Moon does the Barking of a little senseless Cur] Proverbial: "The moon does not heed the barking dog" (TILLEY M1119, D449; ODEP, p. 30), also quoted by Butler (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 175, l. 788), and again referred to by Swift in *The Battle of the Books* (p. 50, ll. 3-6).

you may with half an Eye discover the *Ass* under the *Lyon's Skin*] A proverb based on Babrius, *Fables*, no 139 (ODEP, p. 21; TILLEY A351), and enlarged upon by L'Estrange (*Fables of Aesop and Other Eminent Mythologists*, p. 204 [no 224]).

*Demosthenes* being asked what was the First part of an Orator, replied, *Action*, what was the Second, *Action*, what was the Third, *Action*, and so on *ad infinitum*] *Action* here refers to *actio*, “delivery,” traditionally the fifth part of rhetoric, consisting of two parts, “voice and movement [Cicero duas eius partes facit ... vocem atque motum].” Quintilian explains its importance: “Habet autem res ipsa miram quandam in orationibus vim ac potestatem; neque enim tam refert, qualia sint, quae intra nosmet ipsos composuimus, quam quo modo efferantur; nam ita quisque, ut audit, movetur [But the thing itself has an extraordinarily powerful effect in oratory. For the nature of the speech that we have composed within our minds is not so important as the manner in which we produce it, since the emotion of each member of our audience will depend on the impression made upon his hearing]” (*Institutio oratoria*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, 4 vols [London: William Heinemann, and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958-61], XI, iii, 1-2). *Actio* thus falls within the province of *movere*, “constantly granted the highest place among the orator’s resources” (Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988], p. 76). This was illustrated in the scene which Swift was having in mind and which was recorded by Bacon in “Of Boldnesse:” “Question was asked of *Demosthenes*; *What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour?* He answered, *Action*; what next? *Action*; what next again? *Action*” (*The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, p. 37 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26]). Guido Panciroli tells the same story in his Chapter “De Actione”: “Hujus tanta vis est & efficacia, ut inter omnia primas teneat. Demosthenes igitur interrogatus: Quænam potissima & prima Oratoris pars esset? Pronunciatio, Respondit. Quæ secunda? Itidem Pronunciatio. Quæ tertia? Similiter Pronunciatio, dixit: inferre inde volens, Omne Oratoris munus, in dicendi gratia consistere” (*Rerum memorabilium iam olim deperditarum & contra recens atque ingeniose inventarum libri duo*, ed. Henricus Salmuth [Amberg: Michael Forster, 1599], p. 264 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1372-73]). Most of Demosthenes’ biographers emphasize the success of his delivery: “Porro multitudini quidem mirificè actio eius placebat [Furthermore, the masses vastly enjoyed his delivery]” (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, in *Plvtarchi Omnium quæ exstant, operum tomus primus, continens vitas parallelas*, ed. Ruault, 851 A [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1467-69]).

Contemplation in other Things exceeds Action. And therefore a Wise Man is never less alone than when he is alone] “Action” is here no longer used in its rhetorical meaning but in its traditional philosophical one as the antonym of contemplation.

*Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*] In a letter of 1646, James Howell wrote to his friend Sir Kenelm Digby: “There are also some melancholy companions in the way, which are our thoughts, but they turn many times to be good fellows, and the best company; which makes me, that among these disconsolate walls I am never less alone than when I am alone” (*Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ*, p. 392); an idea which Montaigne explored at length in ever new variations and ever new invocations of classical authorities in his essay “De la solitude” (in the annotated edition by Coste, *Essais*, I, 432-55). Swift owned two editions of Montaigne’s *Essais*, but since the one published before 1711 lacks the title page, it is impossible to say which edition Swift used (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72).

*Archimedes* the famous Mathematician was so intent upon his Problems, that he never minded the Soldier who came to Kill him] Although the Roman general Marcellus, during the conquest of Syracuse in 212 (Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, ed. D. Heinsius, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1634], II, 270-71 [XXIV, xxxiv, 2]; Polybius, *Historiarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. Isaac Casaubonus [Paris: H. Drouard, 1609], 516 B-517 C [VIII, 5-7], and Plutarch, *Marcellus*, in *Plvtarchi Omnium quæ exstant operum, tomus primus, continens vitas parallelas*, ed. Ruault, 305 E-308 F [14, 7-17, 4], all of them on Swift’s shelves [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1089-90, 1481-82, 1467-69]), had given orders to save the life of the famous mathematician and astronomer Archimedes (c.287-212 BC), who had helped delay the fall of the city by his ingenious defence machines, Archimedes was slain by an unthinking soldier when Syracuse was finally taken. Swift referred to this account on at least three occasions throughout his career (*Prose Works*, I, 39, 249-50; IX, 245). In addition to MORÉRI (s.v.), he would have drawn for it on Valerius Maximus’ *Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX* (p. 365 [VIII, vii, ext. 7]), a most influential collection of historical exempla and anecdotes, of which he owned three editions (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1886-90), not to forget Cowley, who related the episode in his Pindaric ode “To Dr. Scarborough” and the accompanying note (*Pindarique Odes*, in *Poems*, pp. 37 and 38 [stanza 6] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, I, 475-76]). See also Hermann J. Real, “Archimedes in Laputa, III, v, 9,” *The East-Central Intelligencer*, 17, no 3 (2003), 21-24.

that Nature which gave us Two Eyes to See, and Two Ears to Hear, has given us but One Tongue to Speak] Proverbial: “NATURE has given us two ears (eyes) and but one tongue” (TILLEY N44; ODEP, p. 555).

the Virtuosi who have been so long in search for the Perpetual Motion]

the Virtuosi] The semantic spectrum of ‘virtuoso’ is difficult to demarcate. Apart from ‘lover of antiquities and rarities,’ ‘connoisseur,’ and ‘patron of the arts,’ the word signifies the ‘gentleman-scholar’ who, if powerfully attracted to the rare, strange, and marvellous (Butler, *Characters*, ed. Daves, pp. 122-23; B. E., *A New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, p. 188), was also sincerely dedicated to the pursuit of learning. However, as one historian has remarked, “the virtuoso stops at the very point where the genuine scientist really begins” (Walter E. Houghton, Jr, “The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 [1942], 51-73, 190-219 [194]). It is safe to suggest, therefore, that the word is as vaguely pejorative here as in *A Tale of a Tub* (p. G), *The Battle of the Books* (p. 44, ll. 26-27), and *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* (p. G), signifying perhaps the members of the Royal Society (Carson S. Duncan, *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period* [Menasha, Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press, 1913], pp. 5, 12-13, 66-110, and *passim*). These were always regarded with the same disrespect by Swift as were the ‘Gimcrack’ amateurs and dilettantes of natural science, who prefer “to study insects,” “men and manners” being below them (Thomas Shadwell, *The Virtuoso*, eds Marjorie Hope Nicolson and David Stuart Rodes [London: Edward Arnold, 1966], p. 72 [III, iii, 88-89]).

Perpetual Motion] As Gulliver’s “inexpressible Delight” on hearing about the immortal Struldbruggs makes clear (*Prose Works*, XI, 207-10 [III, x, 3-9]), the discovery of Perpetual Motion had been, together with the Longitude, the Philosopher’s Stone, and Universal Medicine, one of the enduring dreams of seventeenth-century science, and pseudo-science (MORÉRI s.v. “Philosopher’s-stone”).

SOME Men admire Republicks, because Orators flourish there most, and are the great Enemies of Tyranny] The idea that orators are in the habit of kicking against the pricks is proposed by Maternus, one of the speakers in the *Dialogus de oratoribus* by Tacitus, who was among Swift’s favourite authors: “Non de otiosa & quieta re loquimur, & quæ probitate & modestia gaudeat: sed est magna ista & notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiæ, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine seruitute, contumax, temeraria, arrogans, quæ in bene constitutis ciuitatibus non oritur [The

art which is the subject of our discourse is not a quiet and peaceable art, or one that finds satisfaction in moral worth and good behaviour: no, really great and famous oratory is a foster-child of licence, which foolish men called liberty, an associate of sedition, a goad for the unbridled populace. It owes no allegiance to any. Devoid of reverence, it is insulting, off-hand, and overbearing. It is a plant that does not grow under a well-regulated constitution]" (*In P. Cornelii Taciti Annales et historias commentarii ... addita etiam reliqua eiusdem Taciti opera*, ed. Annibal Scotus [Frankfurt: C. Marnius & J. Aubrius, 1592], col. 1132 [cap. 40] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1784-85]).

One Tyrant is better than a Hundred] Unidentified. It seems possible that Swift was (mis)remembering the extremely anti-democratic Council of the Four Hundred that briefly took power in 411 during the Peloponnesian War: "Now here indeed it was in plain terms propounded, *That not any Magistracy of the Form before used, might any longer be in force ... but that five Prytaness might be elected, and these five chose a hundred, and every one of this hundred take unto him three others. And these 400 ... might have absolute authority to govern the State as they thought best.*" He would have been familiar with the circumstances from Thucydides, whose *History of the Peloponnesian War* he "abstracted" at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 129-31) in Thomas Hobbes's translation (*The History of the Grecian War*, 2nd ed. [London: Andrew Clark for Charles Harper, 1676], p. 340). Thomas Shadwell was referring to the Council of the Four Hundred in his *History of Timon of Athens*, when he made Timon's friend, the noble Alcibiades, exclaim upon being banished by the Athenian senate his merits for the commonwealth notwithstanding: "Banish me! Banish your dotage! your extortion! / Banish your foul corruptions and self ends! / Oh the base Spirit of a Common-wealth! / One Tyrant is much better than four hundred" ([London: by J. M. for Henry Herringman, 1678], p. 60). Admittedly, there is no evidence that Swift knew Shadwell's play.

*Ira furor brevis est* – Hor.] Horace, *Epistles*, I, ii, 62. The text is identical with both editions of Horace in Swift's library published before 1711 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6). In commenting on the quotation, Archbishop Tillotson explains: "Anger is a short fit of madness, and he that is passionate and furious deprives himself of his reason, spoils his understanding, and helps to make himself a fool" (*The Works of the Most Reverend Dr John Tillotson*, [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1858-60], p. 51).

Laws are like Cobwebs which may catch small Flies, but let Wasps and Hornets break through] Originally, a saying of Solon's (Stanley, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 26), which later became proverbial: "LAWS catch flies but let the hornets go free" (TILLEY L116; ODEP, pp. 446-47). The notion also occurs in Bacon's *Collection of Apophthegms, New and Old*: "One of the seven was wont to say; *That Laws were like Cop webs: where the small Flies were caught, and the great brake through*" ([London: Andrew Crooke, 1674], p. 91 [no 303]), and in Sir John Denham: "But if a Wasp or Hornet [the Spider] entrap, / They tear her Cords like *Samson*, and escape" (*Poems and Translations*, 5th ed. [London: Jacob Tonson, 1709], p. 160).

*Artis est celare Artem*] The idea was so widespread in ancient rhetoric that it became proverbial in the English Renaissance and after (TILLEY A335; ODEP, p. 19). In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle explained why it was essential for art to disguise itself: "Quamobrem oportet latere, dum id facimus, & non videri dicere fictè, sed naturaliter: hoc enim appositum ad persuadendum: illud verò contrarium [Wherefore those who practise this artifice should conceal it and avoid the appearance of speaking artificially instead of naturally; for that which is natural persuades, but the artificial does not]" (*Opera omnia quae extant*, ed. Gulielmus du Val, 4 vols [in two] [Paris, 1629], IV, 585 [III, ii {1404b}] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 85-86]). Later rhetoricians converted Aristotle's recommendation into a rule. Not to mention Cicero (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, in *Opera*, 4 vols [in two] [Paris: Charles Estienne, 1555], I, 35 [IV, vii, 10] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]), Quintilian is as good an example as any: "Nam si qua in his ars est dicentium, ea prima est, ne ars esse videatur [For if an orator does command a certain art in such matters, its highest expression will be in the concealment of its existence]" (*Institutio oratoria*, I, xi, 3). In *Of Dramatick Poesie* (1668), Dryden quoted the tag in the form in which it is most familiar: "The hand of Art will be too visible in it against that maxime of all Professions; *Ars est celare artem*, That it is the greatest perfection of Art to keep it self undiscover'd" (*The Works of John Dryden: Prose, 1668-1691*, eds Samuel Holt Monk, et al. [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971], p. 66). Despite all this evidence to the contrary, it should be noted, perhaps, that Swift's version of the tag, *Artis est celare artem*, is different in meaning due to its use of the *genitivus possessivus*: "It is the purpose (function or duty) of art to conceal art."

we shall be forced to Weave *Penelope's* Web, unravel in the Night what we did in the Day] The "ingenious Artifice" of Ulysses' faithful wife against her pressing suitors, with which she "wav'd the Importunity of her Lovers till her Husband

returned” (MORÉRI s.v.; Homer, *The Odyssey*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, II, 17-18, 274, 329-30 [II, 89-109; XIX, 136-55; XXIV, 125-46]). The story remained popular in later centuries. Thomas Carew, for example, referred to it in his most famous poem, “A Rapture”: “The Grecian Dame, / That in her endlessse webb, toyl’d for a name / As fruitlesse as her worke, doth there display / Her selfe before the Youth of *Ithaca*” (*The Poems*, ed. Dunlap, p. 52, ll. 125-28). Swift first read Homer at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 130; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, II, 890-91; 871).

Time is Painted with a Lock before, and Bald behind, signifying thereby that we must take Time ... by the Forelock, for when ’tis once past there is no recalling it] Proverbial: “Take TIME (occasion) by the forelock, for she is bald behind” (TILLEY T311; ODEP, pp. 822-23). In iconographic and emblematic representations, Time is traditionally male (Father Time) (for instance, Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Hyland, p. 29), but Occasion and Opportunity are female, so that it is safe to assume that their gender superseded that of Time: “For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common verse) *turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken*” (Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 68 and 219; see also Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, V, 263; John Gother, *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented: or, A Twofold Character of Popery* [London, 1685], p. 14; and Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, pp. 28-30, 217, and Figure 44).

THE Mind of Man is at first ... like a *Tabula rasa*] This may easily be mistaken for a dig at Locke, but it is no evidence for Swift’s familiarity with Locke’s *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in which only the English translation of *tabula rasa* occurs (4th ed. [London: Awnsham and John Churchill, *et al.*, 1700], II, i, §2), a contested issue, in which two ‘schools’ (W. B. Carnochan, *Lemuel Gulliver’s Mirror for Man* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968], in alliance with J. A. Downie, “Gulliver’s Fourth Voyage and Locke’s *Essay concerning Human Understanding*,” *Reading Swift* [2008], pp. 453-64, and Ricardo Quintana, *Two Augustans: John Locke, Jonathan Swift* [Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978], p. 79) stand against each other. In fact, the phrase *tabula rasa* was already scholastic stock-in-trade (for example, in Thomas Aquinas, who used it in his *Summa totius theologiae*, which was in Swift’s library [*Summa Theologiae*, ed. Peter Caramello, I, pt i {Torino and Rome: Marietti, 1952}, p. 383 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1828-29]), and in the seventeenth century, it was known to writers other than Locke (Pope Blount, *Essays on Several Subjects*, p. 63). St Thomas, in turn, rephrased the concept of



the wax tablet upon which things imprint themselves and which was as old as Plato and Aristotle (*Theaetetus*, in *Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. de Serres, 191 C; *De anima*, in *Opera omnia quæ extant*, ed. du Val, III, 651-52 [III, 4 {430a1}] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1437-42; I, 85-89]; see also *A Vindication of the Clergy*, p. 38, and CURTIUS, pp. 304-5). Moreover, the idea of a woman as “a sheet of lovely spotless Paper ... waiting to be inscribed by the male pen/penis” becomes a widely disseminated sexual metaphor of the writing process in seventeenth-century drama and poetry (Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993], pp. 148-53).

like Wax, which while it is Soft is capable of any Impression, 'till time has hardened it] Proverbial: “Soft WAX will take any impression” (TILLEY W136; ODEP, p. 750), echoed by Joseph Glanvill in *Scepsis Scientifica* (read by Swift before 1699 [*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 136-39 and n1]): “For our initial age is like the melted wax to the prepared Seal, capable of any impression from the documents of our Teachers” (p. 95).

Death that Grim Tyrant stops us in the midst of our Career] Reminiscent of “the several Methods of Tyranny and Destruction” which Prince Posterity’s Governor Time, as the Grim Reaper with the scythe “enemy to Life and Matter,” practises on the countless children of the Moderns (Baltes, “Father Time: The Emblematic and Iconographic Context of ‘The Epistle Dedicatory to His Royal Highness Prince Posterity,’” pp. 48-49). See *A Tale of a Tub*, p. G.

Death, which spares none from the Scepter to the Spade] These metonymies belong to the iconography of the Dance of Death, or *Danse Macabre*, representing the universality of death. Most of the late medieval Dance-of-Death cycles were artistic reactions to the Black Death and its devastating impact on the population of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe. The cycles consisted of allegorical groups each of which showed individual personifications of Death leading away representatives from all social strata to the grave, and in hierarchical order, too: at the higher end, the Emperor/ King holds his sceptre, and at the lower one, the Peasant/ Labourer carries his spade. The earliest known monumental example of *Danse Macabre* was painted on the cemetery wall of the Cloister of the Holy Innocents in Paris (1424-25). This was followed by specimen in Basle (1440) and Lübeck (1463), Berlin (1484), Strasburg (1485), and Berne (1516-20) (for further details, see Hellmut Rosenfeld, *Der Mittelalterliche Totentanz: Entstehung - Entwicklung - Bedeutung*, 2nd ed. [Köln and Graz: Böhlau, 1968 {1954}], and Jean Wirth, *La Jeune Fille et la Mort: Recherches sur*

*les thèmes macabres dans l'art germanique de la Renaissance* [Genève: Libraire Droz, 1979], pp. 20-28). The most famous English example of a Dance-of-Death cycle (c.1440) was based on the one in Paris and was created for the walls of a cloister belonging to St Paul's Cathedral. It was demolished in 1549 at the beginning of the English Reformation (John Stow, *A Survey of London: Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Description of that Citie* [London]: by {John Windet for} John Wolfe, 1598], pp. 264-65).

The concept of sceptre and spade illustrating Death's impartiality also inspired emblematisers: "Mors scepra ligonibus aequat" (HENKEL AND SCHÖNE, col. 1000; see also Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life: An Exploration into the Renaissance Mind* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962], pp. 242-43).

*Mors Omnibus Communis*] "Death is common to all," the ultimate cliché, here in the formulation of Erasmus, *Adagia*, III, 9, 12, but anticipated, for example, by Cicero (*Philippica*, in *Opera*, II, 637 [VIII, 10]: "Mortem effugere nemo potest" [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]), Horace (*De arte poetica*, in *Quintus Horatius Flaccus*, ed. Heinsius, p. 228 [l. 63]: "Debemur morti nos nostraque" [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905]), and Seneca (*De ira*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Joh. Fred. Gronovius, 3 vols [Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1658-59], I, 92 [3, 43, 1] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1664-65]). John Stobaeus proposed the version: "Mors quidem hominibus est uitæ terminus" (*Sententiae*, ed. Conrad Gesner [Basle: Christopher Froschauer, 1549], p. 90 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 977]; see also Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, pp. 239-45). Swift drove the lesson of Death the Great Leveller home, as vigorously as mercilessly, in his "Satirical Elegy on the Death of a Late Famous General" (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 295-97 [p. 297, ll. 29-32]).

ALL Rivers go to the Sea, but none return from it] Ecclesiastes 1:7: "All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea *is* not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again" (ODEP, p. 679). In 1691, the *Athenian Mercury*, whose "*all four Volumes with their Supplements*" Swift had seen (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 107 and n,n1), contradicted a querist, "*Why, the Sea being in some places higher than the Earth, all Rivers naturally tend to the Sea?*": "The *Sea* is no more *higher* than the *Earth*, than the *Earth* is *higher* than the *Sea*," adding by way of explanation: "The *Water* of the *Rivers*, as *all Water*, being a *Lubricous Slippery Body*, must be still *protruded* or thrust forward by that which follows it, and *run infinitely*, were there not a *Receptacle* made to *retain it*" (II, no 28 [Question 5]).

*Xerxes Wept when he beheld his Army*] Narrated by Herodotus (*Historiarum libri IX*, ed. Gale, p. 401 [VII, 44-46]) and Montaigne (*Essais*, ed. Coste, I, 430 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 841-42; 1269-72]).

*Anacreon was Choakt with a Grape-stone*] A Greek lyric poet (6th century BC), much imitated for his light and playful songs of love and wine. The story of his death as narrated by Pliny (*Historiæ naturalis libri xxxvii*, I, 359 [VII, 7] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459]) may be apocryphal, but it was regularly referred to in the seventeenth century, as Cowley's "Elegie upon Anacreon, Who was Choaked by a Grape-Stone," makes manifest (*Miscellanies*, in *Poems*, pp. 39-41 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). See also LITTLETON s.v.; MORÉRI s.v.

violent Joy Kills as well as violent Grief] Proverbial: "Sudden JOY kills sooner than excessive grief" (TILLEY J86). Tilley's source is Thomas Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, which was in Swift's library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 380-82; III, 1683). In 1706, *The Athenian Oracle: Being an Entire Collection of All the Valuable Questions and Answers in the Old Athenian Mercuries*, answered in response to the question, "What are the utmost Effects of Joy, and how does it operate on the Affections?": "Sudden Joy kills as well as sudden Grief (2nd ed. [London: Andrew Bell, 1704], I, 58).

There is nothing in this World constant but Inconstancy] A thought found in, say, Abraham Cowley: "The *World's* a *Scene* of *Changes* and to be / *Constant*, in *Nature* were *Inconstanciè*" ("Inconstancy," *The Mistress*, p. 11 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]); and François de La Rochefoucauld: "Constancy in Love is a perpetual Inconstancy, that causes us to fix our Heart successively on all the Qualities of the Person we Love; some times giving preference to one, some times to another: So that this Constancy is nothing but an Inconstancy restrain'd and confin'd to one and the same Object [La constance en amour est une inconstance perpetuelle, qui fait que nôtre cœur s'attache successivement à toutes les qualitez de la personne que nous aimons, donnant tantôt la préférence à l'une, tantôt à l'autre, de sorte que cette constance n'est qu'une inconstance arrestée & renfermée dans un mesme sujet]" (*Moral Reflections and Maxims: Newly Made English from the Paris Edition* ([London: by D. Leach for Andrew Bell, *et al.*, 1706], p. 71 [175]; *Reflexions ou sentences et maximes morales* [Paris: Claude Barbin et Mabre Cramoisy, 1692], pp. 65-66 [213]).

*Plato* thought that if Virtue would appear to the World in her own native Dress, all Men would be Enamoured with her] This view is expounded at some length by Thomas Stanley in his *History of Philosophy* (pp. 191-93).

Interest governs the World] Self-interest, or money, as in the anonymous *Pecuniæ obediunt omnia*, a collection of satires “shewing the Power and Influence of Money over all Arts, Sciences, Trades, Professions, and ways of Living” (York: John White, 1696). In a letter to Pope of 10 January 1721, Swift described (self-)interest as “the great motive of quarrelling” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 359).

the Golden Mean] Proverbial: “The golden MEAN is best” (TILLEY M792; ODEP, p. 520).

*Jupiter* himself, if he came on the Earth would be Despised] The theme of Swift’s own “Baucis and Philemon” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 110-17), imitated, as he indicated in the subtitle, from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 151-54 [VIII, 611-724] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-58]).

unless it were to *Danaæ* in a Golden Shower] Zeus loved imprisoned Danaë in a shower of gold. Since the story is usually told at length by Greek mythographers, such as Apollodorus (*The Library*, trans. Sir James George Frazer, 2 vols [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, 1963-67], II, iv, 1) not known to have been in Swift’s library, it is difficult to identify Swift’s sources with any degree of precision, unless one is happy with the precis in MORÉRI (s.v.). As a rule, Latin poets merely touch upon the myth, ostensibly taking it for granted (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 79 [IV, 610]; *Carmina*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 67 [III, xvi]; Terence, *Eunuchus*, in *Comœdiæ VI*, 2 vols [in one] [Amsterdam and Leiden: Abraham Wolfgang and Jacob Hack, 1684-86], I, 245 [III, v, 37] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-58; 905; III, 1812-13]).

Men now a days Worship the Rising Sun, and not the Setting] “*For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne Setting*” (Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, p. 82 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26]), anticipated by Erasmus: “*Plures adorant solem orientem, quam occidentem*” (*Opera omnia, II: Complectens Adagia*, ed. Le Clerc, col. 786A), the explanation being, according to Erasmus, that “the Ancients worshipped the sun as a god.” As John Hughes states in “On Descriptions in Poetry,” in poetry, too, “there is no particular Description which the Writers of Heroick Poetry seem to have labour’d to vary so

much as that of the *Morning*. This is a Topick on which they have drawn out all the Copiousness, and even the Luxury of their Fancies” (*Poems on Several Occasions: With Some Select Essays in Prose*, 2 vols [London: J. Tonson and J. Watts, 1735], II, 330 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 929-31]). Hughes lists specimen scenes from Homer, Virgil, Spenser, and Shakespeare, among others.

*Donec eris fœlix multos numerabis amicos*] “So long as you are happy, you will count many friends,” Ovid assures us in *Tristia*, in the light of his personal experience (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, III, 147 [I, viii, 5] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-58]). *Tristia* is a collection of elegiac poems written during the early years of Ovid’s exile (AD 8-12) in Tomi on the Black Sea, most of them lamenting his lot. See also TILLEY T301.

THUS have I in obedience to your Commands, ventured to expose my self to Censure in this Critical Age] In his Preface to the *Life of Lucian* (c.1696), Dryden engages in a passionate digression upon the habits of critics in “an ill-natur’d and ill-judging Age,” continuing: “For Criticism is now become mere Hang-man’s Work, and meddles only with the Faults of Authors; nay, the Critick is disgusted less with their Absurdities, than Excellence, and you can’t displease him more, than in leaving him little room for his Malice in your Correctness and Perfection” (*The Works of John Dryden, XX: Prose, 1691-1698*, eds A. E. Wallace Maurer and George R. Guffey [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989], 223-24).

Whether I have done right to my Subject, must be left to the Judgment of the Learned Reader] Both a formula of submission and a protestation of incapacity (CURTIUS, pp. 407-13), familiar from *A Tale of Tub* and other works: “The Learned Reader will better determine; to whose Judgment I entirely submit it” (p. G).

However I cannot but hope that my attempting of it may be an Encouragement for some able Pen to perform it with more Success] Another ‘affected-modesty’ topos, which Swift would have found in Cowley, for example: “And I shall be ambitious of no other fruit from this weak and imperfect attempt of mine, but the opening of a way to the courage and industry of some other persons, who may be better able to perform it throughly and successfully” (*Poems*, sig. b3v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]); alternatively, in Sir William Temple: “I should think my self happy to see it well pursued by some abler Hand ... I wish it may be performed with the same good Intentions, and with much better Success, than this

small Endeavour of mine” (Preface to *An Introduction to the History of England* [London: Richard Simpson and Ralph Simpson, 1695], sig. A4r-v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1805]).