

## *Various Thoughts, Moral and Diverting*

### Running Commentary

Moral and Diverting] This formula mirrors the Horatian dichotomy of the function of poetry: “Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetæ [poets desire either to profit or to please]” (*De arte poetica*, in *Quintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Daniel Heinsius [Leiden: Elzevir, 1628], p. 235 [l. 333] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, II, 905]).

[1] We have just enough Religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another] As Kathryn Davis has shown (“A Note on the *Spectator* 459,” *Modern Language Notes*, 60 [1945], 274), Addison quoted this maxim approvingly in *Spectator*, no 459 (*The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965], IV, 120).

[2] &c.] In Swift, this sign is hardly ever innocent, being generally shorthand for unpleasant attributes, both sexual and other (GORDON WILLIAMS I, 448-49), as well as Swift’s secret code used in communications with his publisher, “to avoid specifically naming his master-work” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 283n2; III, 526 and n11; *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 47 and n50). See also Headnote on An Apology For the, &c. (pp. ). Here, by contrast, the “&c.” simply indicates a (discontinued) catalogue, a device also habitual with Swift (see Resolutions 1699, p. ).

[3] A Wise Man endeavours by considering all Circumstances to make Conjectures, and form Conclusions, but the smallest Accident intervening (and in the Course of Affairs it is impossible to foresee all) does often produce such Turns and Changes, that at last he is just as much in doubt of Events, as the most ignorant and unexperienced Person] “Good and bad luck are in my opinion two sovereign powers. It is unwise to think that human wisdom can fill the role of Fortune. And vain is the undertaking of him who presumes to embrace both causes and consequences and to lead by the hand the progress of his affair ... I will say more, that even our wisdom and deliberation for the most part follow the lead of chance” (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame [Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1981 {1965}], p. 713). In Pierre Coste’s edition of the *Essais*, which was in Swift’s library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72), this essay is Book III, no 8: “L’heur & le malheur sont, à mon gré, deux souveraines Puissances. C’est imprudence, d’estimer que

l'humaine prudence puisse remplir la rolle de la Fortune. Et vaine est l'entreprise de celuy qui presume d'embrasser & causes & consequences, & mener par la main, le progrez de son faict ... Je dis plus, que nostre sagesse mesme & consultation, suit pour la plus part la conduicte du hazard" (5 vols [Geneva: M. M. Bousquet, 1727], IV, 200).

[4] POSITIVENESS is a good Quality for Preachers and Orators] The quality of the adjective 'positive': "confident in opinion or assertion; convinced, assured, very sure. Formerly also occas.: overconfident, opinionated, dogmatic (*obs.*)" (OED). In Swift's view, preachers, like orators, had to offer their arguments "in as moving a Manner as the Nature of the Subject will properly admit." At the same time, he warned the addressee of *A Letter to a Young Gentleman*, to be "beware of letting the pathetick Part swallow up the rational" (*Prose Works*, IX, 70).

[4] he that would obtrude his Thoughts and Reasons upon a Multitude, will convince others the more as he appears convinced himself] "It seems to me, that the man who says what he thinks strikes home much more forcefully than the man who pretends" (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, p. 541). In Pierre Coste's edition of the *Essais* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72), this essay is Book II, no 31: "J'apperois, ce me semble ... que celuy qui dit ce qu'il pense, l'assene bien plus vivement, que celuy qui se contrefaict" (III, 221).

[6] I forget whether Advice be among the lost Things which *Ariosto* says are to be found in the Moon; That and Time ought to have been there] While Astolfo discovers Time among the lost things in the moon, he does not find Advice (*Sir John Harington's Translation of Orlando Furioso by Lodovico Ariosto*, ed. Graham Hough [London: Centaur Press, 1962], pp. xxxiv, 72-81). Temple alluded to the episode in *Miscellanea: The Third Part* (London: Benjamin Tooke, 1701), p. 283, but may have been drawing not on Ariosto himself but on Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, who also described the episode at some length in his *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*, the fourth edition of which was in Swift's library ([Paris: Michel Brunet, 1698], pp. 86-96 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1058]).

[7] NO Preacher is listned to but Time] Swift later enlarged on the ineffectualness of preaching in "Upon Sleeping in Church" (*Prose Works*, IX, 210-18), and in commenting on the ruinous condition of Ireland, he told Pope in October 1729: "I have been telling them in print these ten years, to as little purpose as if it came from the pulpit" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 263).

[7] the same Train and Turn of Thought that elder People have tried in vain to put into our Heads before] See Aphorism [12].

[8] WHEN we desire or solicit any Thing, our Minds run wholly on the good side ... when 'tis obtained, our Minds run only on the bad ones] “For tho’ with Judgment we on things reflect, / Our Will determines, not our Intellect: / Slaves to their Passion, Reason Men employ / Only to compass what they wou’d enjoy” (Edmond Waller, *Poems, &c. Written upon Several Occasions and to Several Persons*, 8th ed. [London: Jacob Tonson, 1711], p. 351). Jeremy Collier, whose *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects* (3rd ed. [London: R. Sare and H. Hindmarsh, 1698]) Swift read in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30), articulates the same idea at length in “Of Eagerness of Desire” (II, 41-47).

[9] IN a *Glass-House*, the Workmen often fling in a small quantity of fresh Coals] “The main of my employment, is from that gallant Knight, Sir *Robert Mansell*, who, with my Lord of *Pembrook*, and divers other of the prime Lords of the Court, have got the sole Patent of making all sorts of Glass with Pit-cole, only to save those huge proportions of Wood which were consumed formerly in the Glass Furnaces” (James Howell, *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ: Familiar Letters, Domestick and Foreign*, 8th ed. [London, 1713], p. 3). This is followed by a detailed description of a Morano glass factory (pp. 38-41). There are several references to this Patent, held by Sir Robert Mansell, between 1611 and 1618 in *S.P. (The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, ed. Joseph Jacobs, 2 vols [London: David Nutt, 1892], II, 702). The Duke of Buckingham also owned a glass-house in Vauxhall in 1676, holding patents for the manufacture of crystal from 1660-1674. John Evelyn records a visit to it in his *Diary* of 19 September 1676 (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], IV, 98-99 and 99n1).

[9] which seems to disturb the Fire, but very much enlivens it. This may allude to a gentle stirring of the Passions that the Mind may not languish] This idea seems to hark back to Sir William Temple, who, like other seventeenth-century faculty psychologists, tended to use “the Passions” synonymously, in his lexicon called invention, imagination, fancy, wit, and genius. In Temple’s view, poetry constituted the collaborative effort of the invention and judgment, both different yet complementary faculties mutually ‘completing’ each other: “Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languishing, without the succors of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant,” he ruled. In order to set the poetic process in motion, a

“true Poetical Fire” needed to be kindled, a charge laid to the faculty of invention (alternatively, imagination, fancy, wit, and genius, all used indiscriminately in two paragraphs). This in turn would generate “the light which accompanies the understanding, illuminating the darkest corners of ignorance” (D. Judson Milburn, *The Age of Wit, 1650-1750* [New York and London: Collier-Macmillan, 1966], pp. 133-35; *Sir William Temple’s Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”: eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung und Kommentar*, ed. Martin Kämper [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 1995], pp. 49, 253-54 [ad 49.297-312 and 49.300]).

[10] RELIGION seems to have grown an Infant with Age, and requires miracles to nurse it, as it had in its Infancy] In his detailed discussion “Of Miracles, and their Use,” in Chapter XXXVII of *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes partly anticipates the second point, associating miracles and their function with the early, ‘unenlightened’ stages of religion: “In like manner if we consider all the Miracles done by the hand of Moses, and all the rest of the Prophets, till the Captivity; and those of our Saviour, and his Apostles afterward; we shall find, their end was alwaies to beget, or confirm beleefe, that they came not of their own motion, but were sent by God. Wee may further observe in Scripture, that the end of Miracles, was to beget beleaf, not universally in all men, elect, and reprobate; but in the elect only” (*Leviathan: or, The Matter, Forme, & Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill* [London: Andrew Crooke, 1651], pp. 234-35). It is perhaps timely here to warn against the perennial prejudice that “for Swift any reference to Hobbes must be censorious.” In fact, there is convincing evidence that “far from having contempt for Hobbes, Swift respected him and quoted or alluded to him in support of serious arguments,” even using Hobbes’s “peculiar concepts as authoritative” at times (Irvin Ehrenpreis, “The Doctrine of *A Tale of a Tub*,” *Reading Swift* [1985], pp. 59-71 [68-69]; endorsed by F. P. Lock, *The Politics of “Gulliver’s Travels”* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980], pp. 9-11). See also PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 873-74.

[11] ALL Fits of Pleasure are ballanced by an equal degree of Pain or Languor] “Of the pleasures and good things that we have, there is not one exempt from some mixture of pain and discomfort” (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, p. 510). In Pierre Coste’s edition of the *Essais* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72), this essay is Book II, no 20: “Des plaisirs, & biens que nous avons, il n’en est aucun exempt de quelque meslange de mal & d’incommodité” (III, 138). The same thought was elaborated at some length by Montaigne’s contemporary, the French Pyrrhonist Pierre Charron, in *De la sagesse*, the English translation of

which Swift owned (*Of Wisdom ... Made English by George Stanhope*, 2 vols [London: M. Gillyflower, *et al.*, 1697], I, 331-36 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395-96]).

[12] THE latter Part of a Wise Man's Life is taken up in curing the Follies, Prejudices and false Opinions he had contracted in the former] The contrast between age and youth is of ancient, even prehistoric origins: "Only age possesses [the] wisdom based on experience. Youth has little understanding" (CURTIUS, p. 170). One example known to Swift is Antilochus' speech to Menelaus in Homer: "Bear with me, now, for far younger am I than thou, king Menelaus, and thou art the elder and the better man. Thou knowest of what sort are the transgressions of a man that is young, for hasty is he of purpose, and but slender is his wit" (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. Jean de Sponde, 2 vols [in one] [Basle: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1606], I, 405 [XXIII, 587-90] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). Swift owned two annotated editions of Homer as well as the translations of Hobbes and Pope. He first read Homer at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890-91; 871).

Another equally striking example occurs in Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs*, which Swift also studied with care: "This being a very heavy Charge laid on me by Men of Age and Experience, of whose Integrity I had a very good Opinion, I durst not resist any longer, by balancing my Youth and little Experience against their Years and Judgment" (2 vols [Vevay {London}, 1698]), I, 92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]).

[13] WOULD a Writer know how to behave himself with relation to Posterity] His own image, in the eyes of posterity, mattered to Swift, from "THE Epistle Dedicatory, TO His Royal Highness PRINCE POSTERITY" (see *A Tale of a Tub*, pp. ) to his last published poem, *Verses on the Death of Dr Swift* (1739) (Dirk F. Passmann and Hermann J. Real, "The Intellectual History of 'Self-Love' and *Verses on the Death of Dr Swift*," *Reading Swift* [2008], pp. 343-62 [361-62]).

[13] let him consider in old Books, what he finds that he is glad to know, and what Omissions he most laments] Swift's advice to consult "old Books" rather than new ones reiterates the position taken by him and his mentor Sir William Temple in the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: "It may perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Antients, that the oldest Books we have, are still in their kind the best," Sir William Temple posited in his "Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning" (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 32, 212 [ad 32.1167-68]).



[14] WHATEVER the Poets pretend, 'tis plain they give Immortality to none but themselves] The material in English Renaissance and seventeenth-century poetry illustrating the pretence is voluminous, and a few examples have to suffice here: Edmund Spenser, *Sonnet 75* from *Amoretti* (*Works* [London: by Henry Hills for Jonathan Edwin, 1678], p. 92 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21]); SHAKESPEARE, *Sonnets*, p. 851 (15, 17, 18); Thomas Carew, “Ingratefull Beauty Threatned” (*The Poems of Thomas Carew*, ed. Rhodes Dunlap [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949], pp. 17-18; Abraham Cowley, “The Given Love,” *The Mistress* in *Poems* [London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656], p. 7 [stanza 8] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). Although Swift’s idea appears to be that it is by immortalizing their loved ones that poets immortalize themselves, poets also grant immortality to themselves. The most famous case is perhaps Horace: “EXEGI monumentum ære perennius, / Regalique situ Pyramidum altius; / Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo inpotens / Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis / Annorum series, & fuga temporum. / Non omnis moriar [I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze and loftier than the Pyramids’ royal pile, one that no wasting rain, no furious north wind can destroy, or the countless chain of years and the ages’ flight. I shall not altogether die]” (*Carmina*, III, xxx, 1-6; II, xx: “*Famam suam æternam fore*” in *Quintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, pp. 80-81, 49-50) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, II, 905). In the *Tale’s* Dedication to Prince Posterity, the Hack confesses “*Immortality* to be a great and powerful Goddess” to whom the ‘independent’ Moderns “offer up ... [their] Devotions and Sacrifices” in the same traditional way as their predecessors (p. G).

[14] 'Tis *Homer* and *Virgil* we reverence and admire] “SWIFT’s opinion was,” as Deane Swift noted of a conversation with the Dean, “that HOMER had more genius than all the rest of the world put together” (*An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift* [London: Charles Bathurst, 1755], p. 237 and n\*) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 892-93). In *The Battle of the Books*, Homer is a leader of the Ancients (see the note on “*Homer* led the *Horse*,” p. 42, ll. 24-25; see also REAL [1978], pp. 62 and 79), and in Glubbubdrib one of their heroes (*Prose Works*, XI, 197 [III, viii, 1]). In his admiration of Homer, Swift presumably follows his mentor Sir William Temple: “[*Homer*] was the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful *Genius*” (*Sir William Temple’s Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 51 and 258 [ad 51.358-62]), although the assessment of Homer as “a genius” was common-place in English and French literary criticism around the turn of the century.

In seventeenth-century literary criticism, Virgil became the great rival of Homer in the comparative assessment of the two poets (David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010], pp. 124-42). In this contest, Virgil was frequently victorious because he was regarded as the more perfect poet: “[He] brought green *Poesie* to her perfect Age; / And made that *Art* which was a *Rage*,” Cowley praised Virgil in “The Motto” (*Poems*, p. 2 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]), a verdict which Temple endorsed (*Sir William Temple’s Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry*”, ed. Kämper, pp. 50-51 and 256-57). In 1691, the *Athenian Mercury*, whose “four Volumes with their Supplements” Swift had seen and perused (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 107 and n1), answered in response to the question, “Which is the best Poem that ever was made and who in your Opinion, deserves the Title of the best Poet that ever was?”: “It is Virgil’s *Aeneids*, which in our Opinion, consonant to that of the greatest Criticks in all Ages, carries the Laurel from any humane Composition that was ever yet extant” (II, no 14 [Question 3]).

[14] not *Achilles* or *Eneas*] In the Trojan War, Achilles, the son of the mortal Peleus and the sea-nymph Thetis, was the chief hero on the Greek side; his portrait was drawn by Homer in *The Iliad*. Aeneas, son of Anchises and the goddess Venus, was one of the Trojan leaders. He escaped from ruined Troy, and, after many wanderings, arrived in Italy, where he founded a Trojan settlement, which became the source of the Roman race. His portrait was drawn by Virgil in *The Aeneid*.

[14] With Historians it is quite the Contrary, our Thoughts are taken up with the Actions, Persons, and Events we Read, and we little regard the Authors] Swift here disagrees with Montaigne, who noted in “A Trait of Certain Ambassadors”: “In the reading of history, which is everybody’s business, I make it a habit to consider who are the authors” (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, p. 50). In Pierre Coste’s edition of the *Essais* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72), this essay is Book I, no 16: “A la lecture des Histoires, qui est le sujet de toutes gens, j’ay accoustumé de considerer qui en sont les escrivains” (I, 88).

[15] WHEN a true Genius appears in the World ... the Dunces are all in Confederacy against him] Probably, the most famous of Swift’s aphorisms, even printed as a slogan on pencils and t-shirts today.

“Genius,” or “true Genius,” are concepts difficult to demarcate semantically as well as conceptually at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As late as 1774,

Alexander Gerard, “a comparative late-comer in the efflorescence of works on genius,” took ‘Genius,’ “the leading faculty of the mind, the grand instrument of all investigation,” to be a subject which “has scarce ever been examined with care” (*An Essay on Genius*, ed. Bernhard Fabian [München: Wilhelm Fink, 1966], pp. xi, 3). The main reason for this neglect seems to have been that ‘Genius’ exhibited “many of the same traits” as another notoriously loose term in eighteenth-century aesthetics, ‘Wit,’ and by implication, ‘True, or Great, Wit(s)’ (Milburn, *The Age of Wit, 1650-1750*, pp. 163-67 [164]; see also Edward Niles Hooker, “Pope on Wit: The *Essay on Criticism*,” and William Empson, “Wit in the *Essay on Criticism*,” both in *Essential Articles for the Study of Alexander Pope*, ed. Maynard Mack [Hamden, Connecticut: Archon, 1964], pp. 175-97, 198-216). In 1711, when *Various Thoughts, Moral and Diverting*, was being prepared for publication, Addison and Pope, among others, addressed the issue, both focusing on great geniuses, or wits, respectively. In *The Spectator*, no 160, of 3 September 1711, in what may perhaps be called the first typology of genius in English literary criticism, Addison introduced a celebrated, and influential, distinction, that between ‘natural’ (later ‘infantine’ or ‘original’ *Originalgenie*) and ‘learned’ genius (later ‘adult,’ *Bildungsgenie*). Given the opposition between “true Geniuses” and “Dunces” in *Various Thoughts*, the characterization of ‘natural genius’ is the more pertinent of the two here (although both are manifestations of “great Genius”): “Great natural Genius’s” are not only “Prodigies of Mankind, who ... have produced Works that were the Delight of their own Times and the Wonder of Posterity,” they are also creators who produce “by the mere Strength of natural Parts, and without any Assistance of Art or Learning, [and] ... there appears something nobly wild and extravagant in [them] ... that is infinitely more beautiful than all the Turns and Polishing of ... a Genius refined by Conversation, Reflection, and the Reading of the most polite Authors” (*The Spectator*, ed. Bond, II, 126-30 [126-27]). In this description, the man of genius is bound by no rules and no standards; he perpetually crosses boundaries, kicking against the pricks of prevailing customs, conventions, and norms. Indeed, his hallmark is the violation of rules. Almost simultaneously, Pope emphasized this same aspect in *An Essay on Criticism* (also published in 1711) when describing, and legitimizing, “Great Wits,” who “sometimes may *gloriously offend*, / And rise to *Faults* true Criticks *dare not mend*; / From *vulgar Bounds* with *brave Disorder* part, / And *snatch* a *Grace* beyond the Reach of Art” (*Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, eds E. Audra and Aubrey Williams [London: Methuen, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969 {1961}], pp. 257-58, ll. 152-55). In other words, Great Wits create beauties that are rooted in ‘*ir*-regularities,’ that are in fact produced contrary to the rules, the genius’s privilege being to “deviate from the



common Track” (*An Essay on Criticism*, l. 151; see also Bernhard Fabian, “Der Naturwissenschaftler als Originalgenie,” *Europäische Aufklärung: Festschrift für Herbert Dieckmann*, eds Hugo Friedrich und Fritz Schalk [München: Wilhelm Fink, 1966], pp. 47-68; Hermann J. Real, “‘Beyond the Pillars of Hercules’: The Role of Curiosity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Science and Philosophy,” *Expanding Boundaries/Repousser les frontières*, eds Allan Ingram and Elisabeth Détiis, *Le Spectateur européen/The European Spectator*, no 6 [Montpellier: Presses de l’Université Paul Valéry, 2004], 27-52 [pp. 48-51]). A few years earlier, Sir William Temple had prepared the ground for this view in “Of Poetry” (1690) when positing that there was an “Elevation of Genius,” which he saw arising from the “Mines of Invention” and “which can never be produced by any Art or study, by Pains or by Industry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples, and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature” (*Sir William Temple’s Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 48, 251-52 [ad 48.277-83]).

the Dunces] A term etymologically derived from Duns Scotus (c.1265-c.1308), originally denoting a disciple or follower of Duns Scotus, *Doctor Subtilis* of scholastic theology, so called for the subtleties of his thought but later used pejoratively of “a dull pedant,” of “one whose study of books has left him dull and stupid, or imparted no liberal education” (OED).

There is perhaps not a better (admittedly later) profile of the archetypal Dunce than that provided by Ricardus Aristarchus Bentley, that is, Pope, in a note to *The Dunciad, in Four Books*, of 1743: “Dulness here is not to be taken contractedly for mere Stupidity, but in the enlarged sense of the word, for all Slowness of Apprehension, Shortness of Sight, or imperfect Sense of things. It includes ... Labour, Industry, and some degree of Activity and Boldness: a ruling principle not inert, but turning topsy-turvy the Understanding, and inducing an Anarchy or confused State of Mind,” sluggish, solipsistic, self-sufficient, self-enclosed, narrow-minded, and ignorant, as Dunces tend to be (*The Dunciad*, 3rd ed., ed. James Sutherland [London: Methuen, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963], p. 270 [ad I, 15]; see also Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* [London: Methuen, 1972], pp. 175-207). Consequently, Addison pointed out in another *Spectator* essay somewhat later, the Dunce, unlike the man of true genius, minds not “magnificent Ideas” but only “the little Beauties and Niceties of his Art” (*The Spectator*, ed. Bond, III, 5 and n1).

[17] ’TIS unwise to punish Cowards with Ignominy] Swift again rejects a suggestion of Montaigne’s: “But as for cowardice, it is certain that the commonest way to chastise it is by shame and ignominy” (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*,

trans. Frame, p. 48). In Pierre Coste's edition of the *Essais* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72), this essay is Book I, no 15: "Mais quant à la coüardise, il est certain que la plus commune façon est de la chastier par honte & ignominie" (I, 84).

[17] Death is their proper Punishment, because they fear it most] Proverbial: "A Coward dies many deaths" (TILLEY C774), as in SHAKESPEARE, *Julius Caesar*, p. 685 (II, ii, 927). Perhaps, Swift also remembered the case of a commanding officer during the Cromwellian occupation of Ireland, Major General Purcel, who "was of so low a Spirit, that wanting Courage at the time of his Execution, he stood in need of two Musqueteers to support him" (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 374 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]).

[18] THE greatest Inventions were produced in the Times of Ignorance] "Nature, to show that there is nothing barbarous in what is under her guidance, often brings forth, in the nations least cultivated by art, productions of the mind that vie with the most artistic productions" (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, p. 100). In Pierre Coste's edition of the *Essais* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-72), this essay is Book I, no 24: "Nature pour monstrier, qu'il n'y a rien de sauvage en ce qu'elle conduit, fait naistre souvent és Nations moins cultivées par art, des productions d'esprit, qui luittent les plus artistes productions" (I, 225).

[18] as the Use of the *Compass, Gunpowder* and *Printing*] In their war of the words with the Ancients, the Moderns never tired of citing this triad as evidence of the virility of Nature and the creativity of Man (*Natura est semper eadam*). "His tribus tota antiquitas nihil par habet [The whole of antiquity cannot not boast anything comparable]," the Italian humanist and encyclopaedist Girolamo Cardano, who was in Swift's library, enthused in 1550 (*Opera omnia*, 10 vols [Lyon: I. A. Huguetan, *et al.*, 1663], III, 609) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46). In it, the compass was sometimes replaced by Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, as in Sir William Temple's "Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning" (*Sir William Temple's Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 24, 181-82 [ad 24.848-49; 850-51]; see also *A Tale of a Tub*, p. ). Since Swift's attitude towards at least two of these "greatest Inventions" was sceptical, Cardano's statement will have to be regarded with a pinch of salt.

To the Renaissance mind, the first, as a distinguished historian of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* has emphasized, "appeared by far the most significant, not only because it was largely responsible for the discoveries that

amazed and thrilled the age, but also because its mystery defied explanation and invited attention and study ... magnetism as revealed by the compass was an ever-present phenomenon, in which centered the reality and necessity of actual observation” (Richard Foster Jones, *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England*, 2nd ed. [St Louis: Washington University Press, 1961], pp. 13, 30-36; Roy S. Wolper, “The Rhetoric of Gunpowder and the Idea of Progress,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 31 [1970], 589-98). As a consequence, the beneficial effects of the compass and the new “openness of the world by navigation” for which it stood were warmly welcomed by Moderns like Bacon (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000], pp. 90, 285) and George Hakewill in his *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World*, which was first published in 1627 and which reached a third, enlarged edition in 1635 (Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, pp. 29, 281-82n15). This interest in the compass and magnetism continued unabated throughout the seventeenth century, with Joseph Glanvill and Sir Thomas Pope Blount being among the many to extol it as a superior modern achievement (*Plus Ultra* [1668], *Collected Works of Joseph Glanvill*, ed. Bernhard Fabian, IV [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1979], pp. 79-81; *Essays on Several Subjects* [London: Richard Bently, 1691], pp. 121-22).

Printing competed hard with the compass for the status of supreme modern accomplishment: “THE Invention of *Printing*, though ingenious,” Hobbes noted drily in his *Leviathan*, “compared with the invention of *Letters*, is no great matter” (*Leviathan*, p. 12 [I, iv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870-71]). What was more, the invention was regarded as problematic with respect to its effects: “Of those three great inventions in *Germany*, there are two which are not without their incommodities, and ’tis disputable whether they exceed not their use and commodities” (Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici and Other Works*, ed. L. C. Martin [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964], pp. 25, 298). On the one hand, there was nothing, one paean claimed, that compared to “the wonderfull inuention, vtility and dignitie of printing” (R. H. Bowers, “Some Early Apostrophes to Printing,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 54 [1960], 113-15 [p. 114]; see also John Amos Comenius, *A Patterne of Vniuersall Knowledge* [London: T. H., 1651], p. 31), and another eulogist declared that in “auncient times” Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, “to whom the Christian world is vnder God most beholding for this sacred Art, might haue beene a God of higher esteeme ... than *Mercury*” (Thomas Jackson, *A Treatise Containing the Originall of Vnbeliefe* [London: by J[ohn] D[awson] for John Clarke, 1625], p. 128). Besides, the invention of printing was celebrated not only as a heroic feat of modern

ingenuity, but also for its beneficial religious and cultural effects. Echoing the views of the Reformers who were aware that the printing press had been conducive to their cause, Meric Casaubon, for one, was convinced that without the discovery of printing “that *reformation*, which God intended in his Church,” would not have been possible (*A Letter of Meric Casaubon, D. D., to Peter du Moulin, D. D.* [Cambridge: William Morden, 1669], p. 26), Joseph Glanvill, for another, summarized a lengthy debate in *Plus Ultra* of 1668 in the sentence that “by this *excellent Invention* ... *Knowledge* is advantageously *spread* and *improved*” (*Plus Ultra*, pp. 78-79), and William Wotton, finally, posited in his *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* against Sir William Temple that “the Use of *Printing* has been so vast, that every thing else wherein the Moderns have pretended to excel the Ancients, is almost entirely owing to it” and that “its general Uses are so obvious, that it would be Time lost to enlarge upon them” ([London: by J. Leake for Peter Buck, 1694], pp. 170-71).

On the other hand, the Ancients were quick to point out against these arguments that the vaunted beneficial effects were doubtful. After all, the Reformation had meant schism and that first and “famous *Rupture*” (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. ) had engendered more schisms, the printing press fanning and spreading the fire of religious controversy all the while: “Printing, his most pernicious Instrument: / Wild Controversie then, which long had slept, / Into the Press from ruin’d Cloysters leapt” (Sir John Denham, “The Progress of Learning,” *Poems and Translations*, 5th ed. [London: Jacob Tonson, 1709], p. 171); a view also voiced by Lord Edward Herbert of Cherbury, whose *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* ([London: E. G. for Thomas Whitaker, 1649], pp. 157-58) Swift read and ferociously annotated at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30), and Andrew Marvell, whose *Rehearsal Transpros’d* was also in Swift’s library: “O *Printing!* how hast thou disturb’d the Peace of Mankind! that Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into Letters!” (*The Rehearsal Transpros’d*, ed. D. I. B. Smith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. 5) (see, in addition to PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-9, Robert M. Philmus, “Andrew Marvell, Samuel Parker, and *A Tale of a Tub*,” *Swift Studies*, 14 [1999], 71-98).

Swift sided with the critics of the printing press in three respects. As *A Tale of a Tub* makes abundantly clear, the advent of the printed book had, first, resulted in the (re)production of mass and the proliferation of matter. “The Invention of Printing, has not, perhaps, multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them,” Temple grumbled in his “Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning” (*Sir William Temple’s Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry*”, ed. Kämper, pp. 2, 135 [ad 2.58-60]; Daniel Eilon, “Swift Burning the

Library of Babel,” *The Modern Language Review*, 80 [1985], 269-82, (pp. 269-71); Marcus Walsh, “The Superfoetation of Literature: Attitudes to the Printed Book in the Eighteenth-Century,” *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15 [1992], 151-61); it had, second, not abolished ignorance, which remained as epidemic as it was endemic (Hermann J. Real, “A Taste of Composition Rare: The *Tale’s* Matter and Void,” *Reading Swift* [1998], pp. 73-90 [84-90]); and, third, it was doubtful whether printing was a modern invention at all. In his account of Brobdingnagian learning, Gulliver reports not only that “[the Giants] have had the Art of Printing, as well as the *Chinese*, Time out of Mind,” but also that they keep the number of published books at a minimum: “But their Libraries are not very large,” the largest not amounting “to above a thousand Volumes” (*Prose Works*, XI, 136 [II, vii, 8]). The claim that printing was invented in ancient China may be found in many seventeenth-century treatises on China: “Typographia Sinensium prima gloria & scientiarum propagatio videtur fuisse. Communis [nonn]ullorum opinio, ante Europæos receptam & inventam apud eos floruisse,” the German traveller Jan Nieuhof reports in his *Legatio Batavica ad Magnum Tartariæ Chamum Sungteium* of 1668 ([Amsterdam: J. Meursius, 1668], pt II, 21), which was in Swift’s *Library* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1327-28), not to forget Richard Bentley’s *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris: With an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle* (London: by J. H. for Henry Mortlock and John Hartley, 1699), pp. xciv-xcv, and Sir William Temple who, in his “Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning,” voiced doubts that gunpowder was a modern invention. “The *Chineses*,” he pointed out, “have had the Knowledge and Use of Gun powder, many Ages before it came into *Europe* ... Nor can we say, that [it is] the Invention of this Age, wherein Learning and Knowledge are pretended to be so wonderfully encreased and advanced” (*Miscellanea: The Third Part* [London: Benjamin Tooke, 1701], pp. 280-81).

Gunpowder, was a different matter altogether, benefits being less obvious: “From the beginning some advocates of modernity had, at the least, an awareness that gunpowder was a dubious friend” (Wolper, “The Rhetoric of Gunpowder and the Idea of Progress,” p. 594). For Swift, it was more than that: the invention of gunpowder was a profoundly misanthropic act, as hostile and destructive as it was inhuman, barbaric, and cruel. In *Gulliver’s Travels*, he made the philosopher-king of Brobdingnag tell the visitor: “Some evil Genius, Enemy to Mankind, must have been the first Contriver [of gunpowder and its destructive Machines]” (*Prose Works*, XI, 135 [II, vii, 4]). In this condemnation, Swift followed the humanist criticism of war as elaborated by, among others, Spenser and Daniel, Ariosto, and Milton, who had denounced the cannon as “that divelish Iron Engine,” “wrought /



In deepest Hell, and fam'd by *Furies* skill," and as an instrument "to plague the sons of men / For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent" (*Fairy Queen*, in *Works*, I, vii, 13; *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler [London and New York: Longman, 1971], pp. 191, 333-34 [IV, 17; VI, 505-6 and nn] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21; II, 1247]), not to mention Erasmus and Rabelais (J. R. Hale, "Gunpowder and the Renaissance: An Essay in the History of Ideas," *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honour of Garrett Mattingly*, ed. Charles H. Carter [London: Jonathan Cape, 1966], pp. 113-44; Ian Simpson Ross, "Satire on Warmongers in *Gulliver's Travels*, Books One and Two," *The Perennial Satirist: Essays in Honour of Bernfried Nugel*, eds Peter E. Firchow and Hermann J. Real [Münster: LIT, 2005], pp. 49-65). Under the circumstances, Swift wisely chose to ignore Sir William Temple, who, in *Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning*, had speculated that "the Priests of *Delphos* ... knew the Use and Force of Gunpowder" (*Miscellanea: The Third Part*, pp. 221-22).

[18] by the dullest Nation, as the *Germans*] Swift presumably gained his impression of Germany as a cultural backwater from Sir William Temple, who, in a letter to Sir John Temple of 10 May 1666 (N.S.), noted of his journey to Münster in 1665: "I never travell'd a more savage Country" (*The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart*, 2 vols [London: A. Churchill, *et al.*, 1720], II, 22). In his *History of the Reformation*, which Swift studied during his great reading period at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 129-31), Gilbert Burnet echoed this thought (2nd ed., 2 vols [London: Richard Chiswell, 1681-83], I, 270).

[19] ONE Argument to prove that the common Relations of *Ghosts* and *Spectres* are generally False, may be drawn from the Opinion held that the Spirits are never seen by more than one Person at a time] In 1691, the *Athenian Mercury*, whose "all *four Volumes with their Supplements*" Swift had seen (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 107 and 108n,n1), in response to the question, "*How does a Spirit become visible?*" came to a different conclusion: "A Spirit cannot become *Visible*, 'tis not an object for a *Material Eye*, being it self not Matter" (III, no 19 [Question 5]).

[19] it seldom happens to above one Person in a Company to be possest with any high degree of Spleen or Melancholly] The chances to encounter more than one melancholy person in a company are indeed but slim, as Henry Peacham explained in *Minerva Britanna* (1612): "HEERE *Melancholly* musing in his fits, /... All solitarie, at his studie sits, / Within a wood, devoid of companie"

([Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, 1971], p. 126). In his tabular survey of the system of correspondences in humoral pathology, Jean Baptiste Morin describes the “character and genius [Mores ac Ingenium]” of people suffering from morbid melancholy as “consortii & lucis osores, valdeq; solitarii [hating company and light and eagerly seeking solitude]” (*Astrologia Gallica* [The Hague: Adrian Vlacq, 1661], p. 306 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1290-91]).

Spleen or Melancholly] The précis “Of Humours, and to What End they Serve,” in Gervase Markham’s *Master-Piece*, which was in Swift’s library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1197), explains the system of humoral pathology and its correspondences: “For to speak briefly, and according to the manner of Physicians, *Blood* is of the nature of the Air, in being most predominant therein; *Flegm* of the nature of water, *Choler* of the nature of Fire, and *Melancholy* of the nature of the Earth. And albeit these Humours are symbolized or mixt through every part of the body, yet every one of them aboundeth more in part than in another, and have their places of residence, absolute, and particular to themselves; as *Blood* about the heart; *Flegm* in the brain; *Choler* in the liver; and *Melancholy* in the spleen” (*Markham’s Master-Piece Reviv’d* [London: Thomas Passenger, 1675], pp. 7-8).

If not from the routine of daily life, Swift would have come across this system of correspondences in the majority of the numerous editions of medical authorities, both ancient and modern, on his shelves. In addition to Philipp Melanchthon, “De humoribus,” *Liber de anima* (Wittenberg: Johannes Crato, 1569), sigs kir-k8v (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1223-25), Jean Fernel, *Vniuersa medicina*, 2 vols [in one] [Leiden: F. Hacke, 1645], I, 128-30, 229-34, 262-66 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 611-12), and Cardano, *Opera omnia*, VI, 709-10, 867-68; IX, 67-77 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46), Swift may have consulted the most elaborate tabular survey known of the system in his copy of Morin’s *Astrologia Gallica*, pp. 301-11 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1290-91).

[20] in the Day of Judgment, there will be small Allowance given to the Wise for their want of Morals, nor to the Ignorant for their want of Faith ... some Scruples in the Wise, and some Vices in the Ignorant will perhaps be forgiven upon the strength of Temptation to each] Given the fact of Swift’s own “(On) the Day of Judgement” (c.1731) a satire on contemporary eschatologists, the men who make a show of being in the know about the protocol of God’s final rendezvous with Mankind, it is a surprise that Swift commits himself to any prediction about the *novissima* (Hermann J. Real, “‘An horrid Vision’: Jonathan Swift’s ‘[On] the Day of Judgement,’” *Swift and his Contexts*, eds John Irwin Fischer, Hermann J. Real, and James Woolley [New York: AMS, 1989], pp. 65-96). The biblical texts

touching on issues of eschatology, particularly St Matthew 25:3-26:46 and the Revelation of St John 6:12-7:17, do not grant sinners any mitigating circumstances on the Day of Judgement.

[21] THE Value of several Circumstances in History lessens very much by the distance of Time ... and it requires great Judgment in a Writer to distinguish] “I WAS chiefly disgusted with modern History,” Gulliver reports after learning in his encounters with the ‘heroes’ of the past in necromancing Glubbdubdrib that ‘truth’ is not to be found in (t)his world. “For having strictly examined all the Persons of greatest Name in the Courts of Princes for an Hundred Years past, I found how the World had been misled by prostitute Writers (*Prose Works*, XI, 199 [III, viii, 5]).

[22] ’TIS grown a Word of Course for Writers to say, This Critical Age, as Divines say, This Sinful Age] In *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], pp. 223-24).

[24] THE *Camelion* who is said to Feed upon nothing but Air, hath of all Animals the nimblest Tongue] The ancient myth that the chameleon lives on air, to which Swift also alluded in *A Tale of a Tub* (p. ) and his poems (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 270), was asserted by, among others, Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. N. Heinsius, 3 vols [Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1676], II, 281 [XV, 411] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]) and Pliny (*C. Plinii Secvndi Historiæ naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. Johannes de Laet, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1635], I, 435-36 [VIII, xxxiii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459-60]), and kept alive in Renaissance travel accounts (Leo Africanus, *Totius Africæ descriptio* [Antwerp: J. Laet, 1556], p. 297b; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 4 vols [London: Henry Fetherstone, 1625], II, 848, and Jan-Huygen van Linschoten, *His Discours of Voyages into the Easte and West Indies* [London: John Wolfe (1598)], p. 85) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1066-67, 1546-48, 1077-78). It was rejected by Sir Thomas Browne in *Vulgar Errors* (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robin Robbins, 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981], I, 242-51; II, 856-64). In 1691, the *Athenian Mercury*,

whose “all *four Volumes with their Supplements*” Swift had seen (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 107 and 108n,n1), diplomatically answered in response to the question, “*Whether there be any such thing as a Chameleon ... [which] lives upon Air?*”: “In short, they have been dissected, and Flies found in their Bodies ... which is an evident argument they live not upon nothing” (II, no 14 [Question 7]). Browne described at length the “very great agility” of the chameleon’s tongue (I, 244). The most detailed description of the chameleon among authors known to have been in Swift’s library is to be found in Cardano, *Opera omnia*, III, 517-18 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46).

[25] WHEN a Man is made a Spiritual Peer, he loses his Surname; when a Temporal his Christian Name] From the moment Dr William King, for example, was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin, he would sign his letters “Will[iam] Dublin”; conversely, Henry St John, on being made Viscount Bolingbroke, would become “Bolingbroke” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 320-21, 578).

[27] IN all well instituted Commonwealths, care has been taken to limit Men’s Possessions] “No happiness can be found in human affairs unless private property is utterly abolished,” Raphael Hythlodæus says in his description of the ‘ideal’ commonwealth of the Utopians (*The Complete Works of St Thomas More, IV: Utopia*, eds Edward Surtz, SJ, and J. H. Hexter [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979], p. 105, and *passim* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1833-34]). Swift was a great admirer of St Thomas More (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).

[30] *HERODOTUS* tells us, that in Cold Countries Beasts very seldom have Horns, but in Hot they have very large ones] “*In the Western Part of Libya, there were ASSES with HORNS*,” the Hack claims in *A Tale of a Tub* (p. ), quoting Herodotus (*Historiarum libri IX*, ed. Thomas Gale [London: E. Horton, *et al.*, 1679], IV, cxci: “asini cornibus præditi” [p. 285]) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 841-42).

[31] I never heard a finer Piece of Satyr against *Lawyers*, than that of *Astrologers* ... making the Matter depend entirely upon the Influence of the Stars] This recalls the astrological satire of Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 18-19 (I, i, 575-616). If the introductory sentence’s

verb is to be taken literally, Swift did not read yet may have “heard” about “a great cause” tried at the King’s Bench in Guildhall and narrated at some length in Ned Ward’s *London Spy*. In this trial, two “contending planet-peepers,” notwithstanding “their skill in conjuration” turn out to be unable to foresee its outcome: “But they could not thoroughly determine, by the surest rules of their art, who should have the best on’t.” The Spy therefore concludes his narration on this amusing ‘moral’: “When conjurers their purses draw / And like two blockheads go to law, / They show, by such expensive wars, / There’s little wisdom in the stars, / ... For if one wizard had foreseen / The other should the battle win, / He’d cry ‘Peccavi’ and not come / Before a judge to know his doom. / I think from thence the world may see / They know by th’ stars no more than we” (Ned Ward, *The London Spy* [1709], ed. Paul Hyland [East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993], pp. 326-32 [332]).

in what Time a Suit will end] A reference to the proverb: “The Law is costly” (TILLEY L97). Gulliver admits to the King of Brobdingnag, that he had almost been “ruined by a long Suit in Chancery,” and later tells his Houyhnhnm master that lawyers habitually “adjourn the Cause, from Time to Time, and in Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Years come to an Issue” (*Prose Works*, XI, 130 [II, vi, 13]; 250 [IV, v, 15]); a view echoed by John Gay in a 1731 letter to Swift, in which he tells the Dean about “an injunction ... against pyrating-bookellers” that seems to be going on forever and that is likely to cost him dearly (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 446 and 448n6). In his *Characters*, Samuel Butler had concurred: “[A Lawyer] never ends a Suit, but prunes it, that it may grow the faster, and yield a greater Increase of Strife” (*Characters*, ed. Charles W. Daves [Cleveland and London: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970], p. 113).

[32] THE Expression in *Apocrypha* about *Tobit* and his Dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed ... And I take the Book of *Tobit* to be partly Poetical] The deuterocanonical Book of Tobit, also called the Book of Tobias (in Hebrew, “Yahweh is good”), did not belong to the Hebrew Canon of Scripture. While Protestants regard it as apocryphal, the Council of Trent ruled it to be canonical for Roman Catholics in 1546 (Pietro Sarpi [Pietro Soave Polano], *The History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Nathanael Brent [London: by John Macock for Samuel Mearne, *et al.*, 1676], pp. 143-44, 153-54 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-9]). According to the Sixth of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (1563), the Book of Tobit is not necessary for salvation but an “Example of Life, and Instruction of Manners” (quoted from the second edition of Bishop Gilbert Burnet’s *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* [London: by R. Roberts for Ri. Chiswell, 1700], p. 71). It has been one of the



most popular books of the Bible, as may be seen from many works of art and literature. Despite its ‘poetical quality,’ it was generally regarded as basically historical, enriched by elements of folklore and legend (ODCC, p. 1382). In the biblical story, which purports to be “the words of Tobit” (1:1-3), the dog keeper is Tobit’s son, Tobias. Together with the archangel Raphael, the “sociable spirit, that deigned / To travel with Tobias” (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 270, 201 [V, 221-22; IV, 166-71]), Tobias was sent on an errand, after having been instructed by his blind father Tobit: “Prepare thy self for the journey ... And when his son had prepared all things for the journey, his father said, Go thou with this man, and God ... prosper your journey, and the angel of God keep you company. So they went forth both, and the young mans dog with them” (Tobit 5:16, from *The holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New: newly translated out of the original tongues* [London: Charles Bill and Executrix of Charles Newcomb, 1701], p. 787 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 214-15]). The faithful dog not only stands by Tobias’ side during his adventures but also returns with him to the father’s house, where Tobias is able to heal his father’s blindness with a fish’s gall (11:2-5). In *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift makes Peter invoke the apocryphal book of Tobit in order to ridicule the arbitrariness of Catholics hermeneutics (p. G and n\*).

*Homer* has the same Words of *Telemachus* more than once] Telemachus is the son of Ulysses and Penelope, whose history is told in *The Odyssey*. He frequently defies Penelope’s wooers and takes part in Ulysses’ final combat with them (*The Odyssey*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, II, 6-12, 22, 234-37, 338-39 [I, 113-325; II, 310-20; XVI, 186-320; XXIV, 495-548] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). In all of these passages, exhortatory phrases, formulaic affirmations, and particularly *epitheta ornantia* like “wise Telemachus,” “flashing-eyed Athene,” and “the much-enduring, goodly Odysseus” tend to recur. Swift owned two annotated editions of Homer as well as the translations of Hobbes and Pope. He first read Homer at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890-91; 871).

*Virgil* says something like it of *Evander*] Greek *Euandros*, “good man,” in Roman legend, an Arcadian king who having been exiled from his country founded a colony on the banks of the Tiber at the place where Rome was to be built (Ovid, *Fasti*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, III, 27-28 [I, 471-542]). In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Evander helps Aeneas, having landed in Latium with his Trojan fleet, to defeat Turnus, the fiercest opponent of the Trojans (VIII, 51-56, 102-33, 152-83, 454-519). While all editions of Virgil known to have been in Swift’s library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1913-17) retain the Greek form *Euandros*, Dryden in his translation of *The Aeneid*, like Swift, prefers *Evander*, as may be seen from

the Argument of Book Eight: “Æneas goes in Person to beg Succours from Evander and the Tuscans. Evander receives him kindly, furnishes him with Men, and sends his Son Pallas with him” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], III, 1262).

[33] I have known some Men possessed of good Qualities, which were very Serviceable to others, but useless to themselves; like a Sundial on the Front of a House, to inform the Neighbours and Passengers, but not the Owner within] “*For Loyalty is still the same, / Whether it win or lose the Game: / True as a Dyal to the Sun, / Although it be not shin’d upon*” (Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 239 [III, ii, 175-76]).

[34] IF a Man would register all his Opinions upon Love, Politicks, Religion, Learning, &c. beginning from his Youth, and so go on to Old Age, what a Bundle of Inconsistences and Contradictions would appear at last] In Plato’s *Republic*, Socrates, distinguishing between the various faculties of “perception” and their corresponding forms of knowledge, establishes “opinion” (*doxa*) as something in the middle between “knowledge” (*episteme*) and ignorance (*De Republica*, in *Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. Jean de Serres, 3 vols [in two] [Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1578], 476A-478D [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1438-40]). Marsilio Ficino translated this passage in his *Omnia Divini Platonis opera*: “*Inter sapientiam & ignorantiam media est recta opinio*” (Basle: H. Froben, *et al.*, 1546), p. 430n (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1437-38). In this system, ‘opinion’ entails an opposition between *episteme* and *doxa* that is impossible to bridge: “opinion” is many-headed, temporal, and forever changing. In *Gulliver’s Travels*, Gulliver labours hard to expound “the Meaning of the Word *Opinion*” to his Houyhnhnm master, and brings the noble horse to understand it only “with extreme Difficulty” (*Prose Works*, XI, 267 [IV, viii, 9]). Only rational creatures gain immediate, intuitive access to knowledge and truth; others must needs follow “Opinion, dark, and blind, / That vagrant leader of the mind” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 36, ll. 56-57; see “Hermann J. Real and Ian Simpson Ross, “The ‘extreme Difficulty understanding the Meaning of the Word *Opinion*’: Some Limits of Understanding Dean Swift,” *Reading Swift* [2003], pp. 349-61).

[35] WHAT they do in Heaven, we are ignorant of] Answering a Sadducee’s question, Jesus said: “Ye do err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God” (Matthew 22:29).

[35] what they do not, we are told expressly, That they neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage] “For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven” (Matthew 22:30; Mark 12:25); also quoted verbatim by the poet Edmond Waller in a letter “To my Lady Lucy Sydney, upon the Marriage of my Lady Dorothy, her Sister, to my Lord Spencer” (*Poems*, p. xvi), and in Butler’s *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 206, 411 (III, i, 546-52). In one of his sermons, Archbishop Tillotson explained why marriage was not necessary in heaven: “After men have lived a while in this World they are taken away by death, and therefore marriage is necessary to maintain a succession of mankind; but in the other World men shall become immortal and live for ever, and then the reason of marriage will wholly cease: For when men can die no more there will then be no need of any new supplies of mankind” (*The Works of the most Reverend Dr John Tillotson*, 3rd ed. [London: B. Aylmer and W. Rogers, 1701], pp. 253-70 [253] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1858-60]).

[36] those Mares mentioned by *Xenophon*, who while their Mains were on, that is, while they were in their Beauty, would never admit the Embraces of an Ass] “Etiam venustatis causa diuinitus equo iuba, capillus anterior, cauda contigit. Eius argumentum hoc fuerit, quod equæ gregariæ non perinde asinos ad coitum admittant, dum turbatæ sunt [Besides, the mane, forelock and tail have been given to the horse by the gods as an ornament. A proof of this is that brood mares herding together, so long as they have fine manes, are reluctant to be covered by asses].” A marginal gloss refers to *De re equestri* (*Xenophontis quæ exstant opera*, ed. and trans. Joannes Leuclavius [Paris: Typis Regiis, 1625], p. 939D [v, 8] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1984-85]).

[37] ’TIS a miserable thing to live in Suspence, it is the Life of a Spider] “Suspence” puns on the old meaning of “hung up” and “a state of mental uncertainty, usually some apprehension or anxiety” (OED). In *The Battle of the Books*, the Spider, living “upon the highest Corner of a large Window” is threatened by “*Swallows* from above” and “*Brooms* from below” (p. 38, ll. 25-26, 35-36). See also Catullus’ *Carmina*, 68, l. 49: “tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam [the spider who weaves her thin web aloft],” echoing Hesiod, “Works and Days,” l. 777 (*Catullvs Tibvllvs Propertivs cum C. Galli fragmentis serio castigati* [Amsterdam: I. Haring, 1686], p. 53; *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Ralph Winterton [Cambridge: John Field, 1661], p. 39 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 369-70; II, 849]). Again, Swift seems to disagree with a position of Montaigne’s, elaborated in the essay “Of Presumption” (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, p. 488). In Pierre Coste’s edition of the *Essais*, this is Book II, no 17 (III, 80-81).

[37] *Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba dixit.* Ovid. *Metam.*] “Live on, indeed, wicked girl, but hang thou still.” The line alludes to Arachne, in Greek mythology a woman who challenged the goddess Pallas Athene to a contest in weaving. Angered at her presumption, Athene tore Arachne’s web to pieces. In despair, Arachne hanged herself, but as she hung, Pallas Athene lifted her in pity and turned her into a spider, who “exercises her old-time weaver-art” (*Metamorphoses*, ed. Heinsius, II, 102-3 [VI, 129-45] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355]). See also the summary in TOOKE, p. 103.

[38] THE Stoical Scheme of Supplying our Wants by lopping off our Desires, is like cutting off our Feet when we want Shoes] Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, taught that “all passion is an excessive stupid desire ... all those who are led by Passion, are diverted from Reason” (Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy* [1701] [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1975], pp. 321-22). In “My Fate,” Cowley described the Stoics’ scheme as a “sad and cruel doctrine” (*The Mistress in Poems*, p. 56 [stanza 3] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]).

[39] *PHYSICIANS* ought not to give their Judgment of Religion] Physicians would assign religion to death just as they are in the habit of killing their patients: “Say [physicians] to death new poisons add, and fire; / Murder securely for reward and hire” (John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, *The Complete Poems*, ed. David M. Vieth [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974], p. 158, ll. 35-36; Samuel Butler, *Prose Observations*, ed. Hugh de Quehen [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], p. 139; George Farquhar, *The Complete Works*, ed. Charles Stonehill, 2 vols [New York: Gordian Press, 1967], I, 113). Although Joseph Glanvill protested in *Scepsis scientifica*, which Swift had read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and 138-39n1), that “the Proverb, *Ubi tres Medici, duo Athei* [Out of three doctors, two are atheists], [was] a Scandal” ([London: by E. Cotes for Henry Eversden, 1665], p. 182), the charge of infidelity against physicians, and *implicite* their inadequacy as judges of religion, had been widely disseminated since Elizabethan times (Paul H. Kocher, “The Physician as Atheist in Elizabethan England,” *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 10 [1947], pp. 229-49). Gay still referred to it in *A True and Faithful Narrative* (1716) (*John Gay: Poetry and Prose*, eds Vinton A. Dearing and Charles E. Beckwith, 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974], II, 470).

[39] for the same Reason that Butchers are not admitted to be Jurors upon Life and Death] “And the same Law should shield him from their fury / Which has

excluded Butchers from a Jury” (John Dryden, “Second Prologue to *Secret Love: or, The Maiden Queen* [1668],” *The Works of John Dryden, IX: Plays*, eds John Loftis and Vinton A. Dearing [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966], p. 120, ll. 30-31), echoed by Samuel Butler in *Prose Observations*: “All officers that are employd about the execution of the Lawes have something of the Hangman in their Natures ... and ought to bee avoyded by Those who have no Necessary businesses to doe with them, as much as Butchers are and soldiers ought to bee forbidden to bee of Juryes.” As Butler’s Editor notes, this “has yet to be explained” (*Prose Observations*, ed. de Quehen, pp. 262, 394). This explanation was already provided by Swift’s French and German translators, Justus van Effen and Georg Christian Wolf, in a footnote: “In diese Gesellschaft der Geschwornen aber wird kein Fleischer gelassen, weil dieselben durch die ihnen so gewöhnliche Blut-Vergiessung leichtlich zur Grausamkeit incliniren möchten [No butcher is admitted as a member to the jury because these may easily be inclined to cruelty on account of their customary shedding blood]” (“Allerhand Einfälle, Erbaulich und Lustig,” *Des berühmten Herrn D. Swifts Märhen von der Tonne*, 2 vols [in one] [Altona: auf Kosten guter Freunde, 1729], II, 118n\*; van Effen, *Le Conte du Tonneau ... avec plusieurs autres pièces très-curieuses*, 2 vols [in one] [The Hague: Henri Scheurleer, 1721], II, 141-42n\*). In *Strephon and Chloe* (1731), Swift took the view that “Lambs by *Instinct* fly the Butcher” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 588, l. 154; our emphasis).

[40] THE Reason why so few Marriages are Happy, is because Young Ladies spend their Time in making Nets, not in making Cages] An allusion to the method of catching birds by means of a net, as in Butler’s *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 170 [II, iii, 620]; see also the note on p. 387 [*ad* II, iii, 7]. Since nets of whatever kind are less likely to last than cages, the *tertium comparationis* is not the imprisonment of men but the stability of marriage.

[41] he will find the Merriest Countenances in Mourning Coaches] The idea of the laughing heir may have originated in Horace: “& si paulum potes, illacrimare. est / Gaudia prodentem vultum celare [and if you can do a bit of it, drop in some tears. If your face betray joy, you can hide it]” (*Satires*, II, v, 103-4) (*Quintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 173 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905]). It also occurs in the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus: “Hæredis fletus, sub personâ risus est [The tears of the heir is a laugh behind a mask]” (*Publi[l]ij Syri Fragmenta in Opera et fragmenta veterum poetarum Latinorum profanorum et ecclesiasticorum*, ed. Michael Maittaire, 2 vols [London: J. Nicholson, *et al.*, 1713], II, 1522 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1542]).



[43] THE Power of Fortune is confest only by the Miserable] The power of Fortune seems to have been fused with its favouritism here: “Fortune holds sway everywhere [profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur]” (Sallustius, *Bellum Catilinarium ...: cum commentariis Johannis Min-Ellii* [The Hague: Arnold Leers, 1685], pp. 34-35 [VIII, 1]), but since “Fortune favours the bold (hardy, valiant) [*Fortes fortuna adjuvat*]” (TILLEY F601), these see no reason to lament: “For the very truth is, Men are frequently very injurious to Providence, and complain without any Just cause” (Charron, *Of Wisdom*, trans. Stanhope, II, 188 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395-96]). Swift parodied the proverb in “Strephon and Chloe” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 588, ll. 148-49).

[43] the Happy impute all their Success to Prudence or Merit] “Tho Men value them selves on their great Actions, they are not often the effects of a great Design, but the effects of Chance” (François de La Rochefoucauld, *Moral Reflections and Maxims: Newly Made English from the Paris Edition* [London: by D. Leach for Andrew Bell, et al., 1706], p. 25 [LVII]; *Reflexions ou sentences et maximes morales* [Paris: Claude Barbin et Mabre Cramoisy, 1692], pp. 23-24 [LX]). For Swift and La Rochefoucauld, see Historical Introduction, pp. □□.

[44] AMBITION often puts Men upon doing the meanest Offices; so Climbing is performed in the same Posture with Creeping] In a letter of 1622 from Madrid, James Howell wrote to Sir James Crofts: “Indeed I have read it to be a true Court Rule, that *descendendo ascendendum est in Aula*, descending is the way to ascend at Court” (*Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ*, p. 114). A vivid illustration is provided by the Yahoos’ leader, who usually had “a Favourite ... whose Employment was to *lick his Master’s Feet and Posteriors* ... for which he was now and then rewarded with a Piece of Ass’s Flesh” (*Prose Works*, XI, 262 [IV, vii, 13]), while the more general argument is supplied by Montaigne (*The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Frame, pp. 796-97). In Pierre Coste’s edition of the *Essais*, this is Book III, no 12: “Il me plaist de voir, combien il y a de lascheté & de pusillanimité en l’ambition: par combien d’abjection & de servitude, il luy faut arriver à son but” (IV, 420).

[45] ILL Company is like a Dog, who Dirts those most whom he Loves best] “So, when the *King* is a Horse-back, he is sure to be the *dirtiest* Person of the Company, and they that make their Court best, are such as *bespatter* him most” (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. ).

[46] CENSURE is the Tax a Man pays to the Publick for being eminent] Censure here puns on now obsolete English “cense,” from Latin *census*, “tax, tribute” (OED). The thought itself occurs in Charron’s *De la sagesse*, the English translation of which Swift owned. In his consideration of the dearly bought “*Miseries and Inconveniences*” which “*Kings and Sovereign Princes*” are exposed to, Charron notes drily: “Every Shop, every Coffee-house sits in Judgment upon their Governours; and without hearing or knowing the Merits of the Cause, proceed to severe and sawcy Condemnations of Them” (*Of Wisdom*, trans. *Stanhope*, I, 448, 457 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395-96]).