

THE BATTLE OF THE BOOKS

Running Commentary

p. 29 *title page* A / Full and True Account / OF THE / BATTEL / Fought last *FRIDAY*, / Between the / *Antient* and the *Modern* / BOOKS / IN St. *JAMES'S* LIBRARY] Ehrenpreis notes that Swift gives his story “the appearance of a sensational pamphlet reporting a fresh battle,” making “the narrator a journalist” (*Mr Swift*, p. 228). Not to mention variations such as “True and Faithful,” the formula “Full and True” is recorded uncounted times in the seventeenth century (ELLIS [2006], p. 208) and seems to have been particularly popular with Swift (*Prose Works*, II, 162; VI, 139; X, 145; *Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, II, 392). Swift owned *An Exact and Most Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Trial, and Judgement ... of Twenty-Nine Regicides, the Murderers of his Late Sacred Majesty of Most Glorious Memory* (London: R. Scot *et al.*, 1679 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 621-22]) by Lord Chancellor Heneage Finch, admittedly not a journalistic pamphlet, its sensational title notwithstanding.

Fought last *FRIDAY*] According to *A Full and True Account of a Most Bloody and Horrid Conspiracy against the Life of His Most Sacred Majesty, February the 24th. 1696* (London: Clement Knell, 1696), the discovery of this plot also occurred on a Friday, a *dies infaustus*, or unlucky, melancholy day (TILLEY F679; SIMPSON AND ROUD s.v.; *A Dictionary of Superstitions*, eds Iona Opie and Moira Tatem [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990], s.v.), invariably associated with death and destruction, sometimes called “hanging day,” because the execution of criminals would take place on a Friday (*Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, ed. Adrian Room [London: Cassell, 2001], p. 468) but also the day of Adam's creation and expulsion from Paradise (MORÉRI s.v. “Adam”; Steve Roud, *The Penguin Guide to the Superstitions of Britain and Ireland* [London: Penguin, 2006], s.v. “Fridays: unlucky”) and that of Christ's crucifixion.

Between the / *Antient* and the *Modern* BOOKS / IN St. *JAMES'S* LIBRARY] See the note on “the BOOKS in St. *James's* Library” (p. 31, l. 16).

p. 31 *dropped-head title* THE / BOOKSELLER / TO THE / READER] There is no evidence that this Preface, presumably written after August 1703 when Charles Boyle became Earl of Orrery (see the gloss on “*Charles Boyle* [now *Earl*

of *Orrery*],” p. 31, l. 10), is *not* by Swift (as assumed by CRAIK, p. 419; TEMPLE SCOTT, p. 159n1; GUTHKELCH, p. 251; PRESCOTT, p. 202).

BOOKSELLER] In the period from about 1675 to 1750, “the one word ‘bookseller’ served to cover any one who engaged in any one, or any combination, of the three activities ... which we designate as wholesale and retail bookselling and publishing.” Thus, in Swift’s day, *booksellers* could mean *publishers* in the modern sense, those who, “having the legal right of reproduction, cause books to be printed and distributed for sale” (Michael Treadwell, “London Trade Publishers, 1675-1750,” *The Library*, 6th ser., 4 [1982], 101-34), as well as *printers*, as this advertisement demonstrates: “The Undertakers of this Journal, resolving to make it as Compleat as possible, intend at the End of each succeeding Month to add the Titles of all Books whatsoever publish’d in *England* ... The *Booksellers* are therefore desir’d to send in the Titles of what Books they Print, as soon as publish’d, to any of the Undertakers” (*History of the Works of the Learned*, 2 [1700], 394). In George Farquhar’s *The Constant Couple*, Clincher Sr thinks of an agreement “with a *Bookseller* about *Printing* an Account of [his] Journey through *France* to *Italy*” (*The Complete Works*, ed. Charles Stonehill, 2 vols [New York: Gordian Press, 1967], I, 144).

p. 31, ll. 1-2 THE following Discourse, as it is unquestionably of the same Author] That is, the author of *A Tale of a Tub*, published together with *The Battle of the Books*, as is evident from the title page. See also Textual Introduction, p. □.

p. 31, ll. 3-4 I mean, the Year 1697, when the famous Dispute was on Foot, about *Antient and Modern Learning*] Initiated in 1690, the controversy peaked in 1698 and 1699 (see the bibliography of pamphlets in Richard Bentley, *The Works* [1836-1838], ed. Alexander Dyce, 3 vols [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1971], I, xi-xix; GUTHKELCH, p. 297-312; A. T. Bartholomew and J. W. Clark, *Richard Bentley, D.D.: A Bibliography of his Works and of All the Literature Called Forth by his Acts or his Writings* [Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1908], pp. 26-41; Alexandre Maurocordato, *La Critique classique en Angleterre de la Restauration à la mort de Joseph Addison* [Paris: Didier, 1964], pp. 701-4).

p. 31, l. 5 an Essay of Sir *William Temple*’s] “An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning,” *Miscellanea: The Second Part* (London: by T. M. for Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690), pp. 1-72.

p. 31, ll. 5-6 which was answer'd by *W. Wotton*, B.D. with an Appendix by Dr. *Bentley*] The first edition of Wotton's *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London: by J. Leake for Peter Buck, 1694), published on 2 July 1694, responded to Temple's essay, but did not yet contain Bentley's *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, added to the second edition of 1697 and published on 15 July (Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, pp. 27-28 [*94]). For a full analysis of Wotton's *Reflections*, see Marie-Luise Spieckermann, *William Wottons "Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning" im Kontext der englischen "Querelle des anciens et des modernes"* (Frankfurt am Main and Bern: Peter Lang, 1981).

p. 31, ll. 9-10 a new Edition of *Phalaris*, put out by the Honorable *Charles Boyle*] *Phalaridis Agrigentorum Tyranni epistolæ: ex MSS recensuit, versione, annotationibus, & vita insuper authoris donavit Car. Boyle* (Oxford: Johannes Crooke, 1695), published 1 January (Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, pp. 27 [*91]). "The prefix 'Honourable' (Hon.) is given to sons of peers below the rank of Marquess" (OED).

p. 31, l. 10 (now *Earl of Orrery*)] Charles succeeded his elder brother Lionel as Earl of Orrery in August 1703 (G. E. C., X, 178-80).

p. 31, ll. 10-11 to which Mr. *Boyle* replied at large] The first and second editions of *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined* came out in the same year (London: Tho. Bennet, 1698), a third in 1699 (Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, pp. 29 and 32 [*97, *98, *107]). The rumour that Boyle's *Examination* had been authored by a group of Christ Church wits coming to his rescue under the leadership of Francis Atterbury, Boyle's tutor, was disseminated soon after its appearance (see the note on "*Boyl*, clad in a suit of Armor which had been *given him by all the Gods*," p. 51, ll. 27-28).

p. 31, ll. 11-12 the Doctor, voluminously, rejoined] *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris: With an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle* (London: J. H. for Henry Mortlock and John Hartley, 1699). This is the much enlarged edition of Bentley's *Dissertation*, first published on 23 February 1698/9 as an appendix to the second edition of Wotton's *Reflections* in July 1697, and reprinted several times in the following years (Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, pp. 32-33 [*109]). Bentley's copy of Boyle's 1695 edition

of Phalaris, bearing his holograph marginalia on the text, is in the British Library (shelfmark 682.b.7).

p. 31, ll. 12-13 In this Dispute, the Town highly resented to see a Person of Sir *William Temple's* Character and Merits, roughly used] After 1698 when Boyle's *Examination* was published, a controversy about a question of historical facticity, the spuriousness of the epistles of Phalaris, turned into an issue of moral character. Among the many who resented "*a certain great Man ... universally revered for every good Quality*" unfairly treated (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. G), Tom Brown happily denounced Bentley as "a stiff haughty *Grammarians*" and "*Arrogant Pedant*," whom "all the *Polite Judges* in Europe were pleased to see worsted and foiled by a *Young Gentleman*" (*Familiar and Courtly Letters*, 3rd ed. [London: S. B., 1701], pp. 133-34), and he was vigorously supported by the anonymous pamphleteer, possibly Atterbury, of *A Short Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Justice* ([London: Thomas Bennet, 1699], pp. 1-4, and *passim*), the anonymous author of *A Letter to the Reverend Dr Bentley, upon the Controversy betwixt Him and Mr Boyle* ([London: J. Nutt, 1699], pp. 21-22), as well as *A Short Review of the Controversy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley*, which is also attributed to Atterbury (Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, p. 38 [*129]) and which has a tellingly sarcastic subtitle: *With Suitable Reflections upon ... the Dr's. Advantagious Character of Himself* (London: A. Baldwin, 1701).

p. 31, ll. 16-20 the BOOKS in St. *James's* Library, looking upon themselves as Parties principally concerned, took up the Controversy, and came to a decisive Battel; But, the Manuscript, by the Injury of Fortune, or Weather, being in several Places imperfect, we cannot learn to which side the Victory fell] St James's Palace originally housed two libraries: the *Royal Library*, founded by Edward VI, and the *Queen's Library* (Edgar Sheppard, *Memorials of St James's Palace*, 2 vols [London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894], I, 372-80). As becomes evident from two later references, the Battle of the Books is set in the *Royal Library* (see the note on "there was a strange Confusion of Place among all the *Books* in the Library," p. 37, ll. 14-15).

It is misleading to assume that "the account ends indecisively in a textual hiatus" (ELLIS [2006], p. 208, echoing Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 228, Thomas E. Maresca, *Epic to Novel* [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974], p. 163, J. A. Downie, *Jonathan Swift: Political Writer* [London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984], pp. 107-8). Rather, the contrary is correct. One of the structural principles of ancient epics, and by implication of modern burlesques, or

mock-epics, like *The Battle of the Books* (see Historical Introduction, pp. □□), is expressed in the formula, “*Never end at the end*” (R. S. Conway, *The Architecture of the Epic* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925], p. 5). This formula suggests a fragmentary character of epics. Among contemporary theorists with whom Swift was familiar, Cowley explains why this has in fact always been, and should continue to be, the case. In his explanatory Preface to *Davideis*, “an *Heroical Poem of the Troubles of David*,” the poet confesses that he had “no mind to carry [David] quite on to his *Anointing* at *Hebron*, because it is the custom of *Heroick Poets* (as we see by the examples of *Homer* and *Virgil*, whom we should do ill to forsake to imitate others) never to come to the full end of their *Story*; but onely so near, that every one may see it; as men commonly play not out the game, when it is evident that they can win it” (Abraham Cowley, *Poems* [London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656], sig. b1v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). Le Bossu followed suit: “Il suffit que tous les obstacles soient levez, & que le Lecteur ne doute plus de ce qui arrivera [’Tis enough that all Obstacles were remov’d, and that the Reader be no longer in doubt of what follows]” (*Traité du poëme epique* [Paris: Michel le Petit, 1675], pp. 258-59 [II, xvii]). In *The Battle of the Books*, this outcome is not in doubt. While among the Ancients not a single one of their warriors has been defeated, the majority of the Moderns has either been killed or seriously wounded. The battle of the Ancients and the Moderns has come to an end because everything that needed to be said has been said, paradoxically indicated by a “*Desunt cætera* [The remainder is missing],” (p. 52, l. 32). In fact, nothing is missing: “The joined deaths of Wotton and Bentley, the final event in the text, replace the lost resolution” (Deborah Baker Wyrick, *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word* [Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988], p. 58).

p. 31, ll. 21-22 I must warn the Reader, to beware of applying to Persons what is here meant, only of Books in the most literal Sense] “WHEN I am reading a Book, whether wise or silly, it seemeth to me to be alive and talking to me” (*Prose Works*, IV, 253).

p. 31, l. 22 *Virgil*] See the note on “*Virgil* was hemm’d in with *Dryden*” (p. 37, ll. 24-25).

p. 32 *dropped-head title* THE / PREFACE / OF THE / AUTHOR]

p. 32, ll. 1-3 *SATYR* is a sort of Glass, wherein Beholders do generally discover every body’s Face but their own; which is the chief Reason for that kind of

Reception it meets in the World, and that so very few are offended with it] This passage is an early expression of a view to which Swift was to revert repeatedly throughout his career as a satirist. “In all [his] labors,” he famously told Pope in 1725, his desire was “to vex the world rather than divert it,” and he called upon his friend: “When you think of the World give it one lash the more” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 606). With Swift, satires spring from the aggressive intention of declaiming against a degenerate world, and in his view they only had a chance of being ‘efficient’ as *ad hominem* attacks pillorying their victims, ostracizing them, and humiliating them in public. In short, satires had to target “discernible historical particulars” (Edward W. Rosenheim, Jr, *Swift and the Satirist’s Art* [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1963], p. 31). Swift provided an ironical explanation in the *Battle’s* companion piece, *A Tale of a Tub*: “For there is not through all Nature another so callous and insensible a Member as *the World’s Posteriors*” (p. □). Therefore, notwithstanding a plethora of perfunctory protestations claiming to lash the vice but to spare the name in their *apologiae pro satiris suis* – “qui nullum hominum genus prætermittit, is nulli homini, vitiis omnibus, iratus videtur [when men of every different sort are censured, it is clear that vice in general is the target, not a particular person],” as Erasmus (following Martial, *Epigrammaton libri xii*, ed. Hadrianus Junius [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1568], p. 259 [X, xxxiii, 9-10]) put it in his *Moriæ encomium: cum Gerardi Listrii commentariis* ([Oxford: W. Hall for S. Bolton, 1668], p. 12 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 574-75]) – Swift, and the majority of Augustan satirists, exposes himself by *démenti*, by disavowal. At the end of his life, the number of his victims, historically authentic personages and identifiable professions and institutions, was legion (Hermann J. Real, “A Dish plentifully stor’d’: Jonathan Swift and the Evaluation of Satire,” *Reading Swift* [1993], pp. 45-58 [49-50]).

The mirror metaphor, which Swift may have appropriated from the Bible, possibly in Francis Bacon’s or Joseph Glanvill’s transmission, drives this point home: “It is a strange thing to behold, what grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many ... doe commit, for want of a *Frend*, to tell them of them; To the great damage, both of their Fame, and Fortune. For, as *S. James* saith, they are as Men, *that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape, and Favour*” (“Of Friendship,” *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, ed. Michael Kiernan [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985], pp. 85, 230; *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Michael Kiernan [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000], p. 169 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26]; Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis scientifica* [London: by E. Cotes for Henry Eversden, 1665], which Swift had read

before 1699 [pp. 47-48] [*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1]). For St James, see The General Epistle of James 1:23-24.

Alternatively, the mirror also features as a powerful means of seduction, most conspicuously in pictorial representations of Venus (Matilde Battistini, *Symbole und Allegorien* (Berlin: Parthas, 2003), pp. 138-41), and, as a result, as a means of deception and self-deception (Wyrick, *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word*, p. 58), leading to the proverb, “To deceive ones selfe is very easie” (George Herbert, *Outlandish Proverbs*, in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941], p. 342 [*632]).

p. 32, l. 4 *But if it should happen otherwise, the Danger is not great* [This is predicated on the assumption that satire has an effect: “Whether or not it had the effect of moral reform and social improvement claimed by some of its apologists remained a matter of debate, but few doubted that it struck home” (Brean S. Hammond, “Swift, Pope and the Efficacy of Satire,” *Swift, the Enigmatic Dean*, eds Rudolf Freiburg, Arno Löffler, and Wolfgang Zach [Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 1998], pp. 71-79). In an imaginary dialogue between Horace and the lawyer C. Trebatius Testa, Trebatius therefore warns the satirist “to beware, lest haply ignorance of our sacred laws brings you into trouble,” continuing: “If a man will write ill verses against another, there is a right of action and redress by law [Sed tamen vt monitus caueas, ne forte negoti / Incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum: / Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, just est, / Iudiciumque]” (*Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Daniel Heinsius [Leiden: Elzevir, 1628], p. 154 [II, i, 80-82] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]). Although the rejection of this ‘danger’ by the satirist was to become a stock element of his *apologia pro satira sua* (see Lucius Rogers Shero, “The Satirist’s *Apologia*,” *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, no 15: *Classical Studies*, series no 2 [Madison, 1922], pp. 148-67; and P. K. Elkin, *The Augustan Defence of Satire* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973], pp. 100-5), it was at times very real (see Hermann J. Real, “‘A Printer brave enough to Venture his Eares’: Defoe, Swift, and the Pillory,” *Swift Studies*, 25 [2010], 165-66).

p. 32, ll. 4-6 *I have learned from long Experience, never to apprehend Mischief from those Understandings, I have been able to provoke*]

p. 32, l. 9 *There is a Brain that will endure but one Scumming*] In a far-fetched explanation, GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH here posit a reference to Wotton, at the same time adding what reads like a withdrawal of their statement: “But *wit*

without knowledge is far from applicable to him. It may be a sarcasm on the mass of general information in his *Reflections*” (p. 215n2).

p. 32, ll. 12-15 *Wit, without Knowledge, being a sort of Cream, which gathers in a Night to the Top, and by a skilful Hand, may be soon whipt into Froth; but once scumm'd away, what appears underneath will be fit for nothing, but to be thrown to the Hogs*] GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, echoed by several of Swift’s critics (PONS, p. 272; Herbert Davis, *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1964], pp. 107-8), claim that “there is a similar metaphor in the *Histoire poétique [de la guerre nouvellement déclarée entre les Anciens et les Modernes]* of François de Callières (1688)” (pp. 215-16n3). This assumption is unfounded unless one is willing to accept a remark by William Wotton in his *Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, first published in 1705 as an Appendix to the third edition of the *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* as well as a separate print in the same year (Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, p. 40 [*133]): “And I have been assured that the *Battel in St. James’s Library* is *Mutatis Mutandis* taken out of a *French Book*, entituled, *Combat des Livres*, if I misremember not” (p. 540). This carelessly malicious remark accused Swift of plagiarism, with a pinch of salt, to be sure, even though it admitted to being based on nothing but hearsay and a faulty memory, provoked his angry response in the Apology to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub*, in which he categorically disclaimed any knowledge of the *Histoire poétique* (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. □). Nonetheless, posterity has opted to side with Wotton (see Donald M. Berwick, *The Reputation of Jonathan Swift, 1781-1882* [Philadelphia, 1941], pp. 35, 69). In 1770, *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (40 [1770], 159) repeated the charge, and in his *Life of Swift*, the authoritative Samuel Johnson concurred: “*The Battle of the Books* is so like the *Combat de Livres* ... that the improbability of such a coincidence of thoughts without communication is not, in my opinion, balanced by the anonymous protestation prefixed, in which all knowledge of the French book is peremptorily disowned” (*The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006], III, 193, 435). It is unlikely that Wotton and Johnson had ever seen “the book they called in evidence with such airy dogmatism” (Harold Williams, “Swift’s Early Biographers,” *Pope and his Contemporaries: Essays Presented to George Sherburn*, eds James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949], pp. 114-28 [124-25]). Nonetheless, a host of later critics all followed Wotton and the Great Cham, all failing to bolster it with evidence (Richard Gosche, “Jonathan Swift,” *Jahrbuch für Litteraturgeschichte*, 1 [1865], 151; Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, 2nd ed., 2 vols [London and New York:

Macmillan, 1894], I, 90-91; Otto Diede, *Der Streit der Alten und Modernen in der englischen Literaturgeschichte des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* [Greifswald: Hans Adler, 1912], pp. 133-34; Gilbert Highet, *The Anatomy of Satire* [Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, and London: Oxford University Press, 1962], pp. 109, 262-64n49). This is also true of the last to have endorsed the charge of plagiarism (Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991], pp. 129-32).

Rather than by de Callières, Swift is likely to have been ‘inspired’ by Marvell’s *Rehearsal Transpros’d*, which *was* in his library and which he is known to have read carefully (Irvin Ehrenpreis, “Four of Swift’s Sources,” *Modern Language Notes*, 70 [1955], 95-100 [p. 95]; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-9).

p. 33, ll. 1-4 WHOEVER examines with due Circumspection into the **Annual Records of Time*, will find it remarked, that *War is the Child of Pride*, and *Pride the Daughter of Riches*] In his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH (EC 431), Ehrenpreis notes a ‘parallel’ with Hobbes’s “Answer to the Preface before Gondibert”: “Time and education begets experience; Experience begets experience; Memory begets Judgement, and Fancy; Judgement begets the strength and structure; and Fancy begets the ornaments of a Poeme” (*Sir William Davenant’s “Gondibert”*, ed. David F. Gladish [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. 49). Hobbes was to resume this idea a year later, elaborating it in *Leviathan* ([London: Andrew Crooke, 1651], pp. 4-8 [I, ii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]).

The ‘remark’ may be identified with the help of a reference in Hawkesworth’s large octavo edition of the *Works* (HAWKESWORTH I, 247†: “now call’d *Wing’s* sheet almanack, and printed by *J. Roberts* for the company of *Stationers*.” A copy of this very rare almanac (CRAIK, p. 420) is Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Carte 114, fol. 551: *An Almanack for the Year of Our Lord God, 1693 ... by Vincent Wing* (London: by Mary Clarke for the Company of Stationers, 1693). *Wing’s* sheet almanac, a single sheet of an unusually large format printed in columns, provides weather forecasts as well as information about astronomical events and liturgical feasts. The top left-hand corner shows an astrological emblem under which a more elaborate version of the lines quoted in the marginal gloss occurs: “War begets Poverty, / Poverty Peace: / Peace maketh Riches flow, / (Fate ne’er doth cease:) / Riches produceth Pride, / Pride is War’s ground, / War begets Poverty, &c. / (The World) goes round,” followed by this *subscriptio*: “*Omnium rerum Vicissitudo*: All things change” (see facsimile in ELLIS [2006], facing p. 103 [Plate 26]). The thought is commonplace, if not

proverbial (Sir John Denham, *Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of "Coopers Hill"*, ed. Brendan O Hehir [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969], p. 112, ll. 37-38; Sir Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* [London: for R. Clavell, *et al.*, 1686], p. 323 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1622-23]).

At first sight, it seems remarkable that Swift should have made the narrator of the *Battle* lean on an ephemeral publication like Wing's sheet almanac for his cyclical model of the dynamics of history rather than Sir William Temple, who had also propounded it in his *Introduction to the History of England* ([London: Richard and Ralph Simpson, 1695], p. 60; see also Ricardo Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936], pp. 78-79). But it is important to see that Swift's narrator adopts only the first 'assertion' of the model but modifies the second, as a result of which the cyclical genealogy is replaced by a linear one, in which have-nots are aggressors (see the note on "Invasions usually travelling from *North* to *South*," p. 33, ll. 9-10). Thus, the narrator prefers Pierre Charron, who had proposed the linear genealogy 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, 512 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395-96]), to Sir William Temple but at the same time shows himself at pains not to make this rejection manifest in a pamphlet written in his patron's defence.

Vid. Ephem ... opt. Edit] The abbreviations "Ephem." and "opt. Edit." in the marginal gloss stand for *Ephemeris* or *Ephemerides*, Greek for "Registers or Astronomical tables calculated to shew the daily motions of the planets, with their aspects, places and other circumstances throughout the year, [which] Astrologers generally use [in drawing] horoscopes and schemes of the heavens" (BAILEY s.v.), and *optima editio*, "the best edition." The parody of *optima editio* unfolds from a note in Pope's "Peri Bathous" in *Miscellanies: The Last Volume*, published together with Swift some twenty years later: "In order to do justice to these great Poets, our Citations are taken from the best, the last, and most correct Editions of their Works" ([London: B. Motte, 1727], p. 20).

p. 33, ll. 7-8 Beggary and *Want*, either by Father or Mother, and sometimes by both] Poverty belongs to the classical Pantheon, "a Goddess adored by the Pagans," but her genealogy is contested. While some authors make her "the Daughter of Luxury and Idleness," others take her to be "the Daughter of Labour and Thriftiness" (MORÉRI s.v. "Poverty"). Aristophanes, whom Swift quotes elsewhere in *A Tale of a Tub* (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. □), has one of his dramatic personae declare "Poverty, Beggary, truly the twain to be sisters" (*The Plutus*, in

Aristophanis Comoediae vundecim cum scholiis antiquis [Geneva, 1607], p. 58 [v. 549] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 80-82]).

p. 33, ll. 9-10 Invasions usually travelling from *North* to *South*, that is to say, from Poverty upon Plenty] Two aspects need to be considered here: first, the view that it is have-nots who tend to be aggressors; second, that in the history of human civilization aggressive movements triggered off by have-nots run from North to South.

By the time Swift was engaged in writing *The Battle of the Books*, the view that it is have-nots who tend to be aggressors had acquired the gnomic quality of a moral maxim: “*Inopia enim prompta est in perpetrando malis* [Indigence is ever ready to commit evil deeds],” John Stobaeus formulated in his compendium of *Sententiae* (*Sententiæ ex thesauris Græcorum delectæ*, ed. Conrad Gesner [Basle: by J. Oporinus for C. Froschauer, 1549], p. 515 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 977-78]). “The blunt facts reveal,” Thomas More made Raphael Hythloday expound in his anatomy of England’s anarchic, sordid reality, which was rich only in privation, “that they are completely wrong in thinking that the poverty of the people is the safeguard of peace. Where will you find more quarrelling than among beggars?” (*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], 95 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1833-34]). And Bacon likewise recommended in “Of Seditions and Troubles”: “The first *Remedy* or prevention, is to remove by all meanes possible, that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition* ... which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Estate*” (*The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, p. 47 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-27]). See also Thomas Hobbes, *De cive: The English Version*, ed. Howard Warrender (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 152 (XII, ix).

The idea that in the history of human civilization aggressive movements have run from North to South is Swift’s ironic response to the *translatio studii* topos, according to which civilization moved from East to West and which was often utilized by French and English Moderns to argue for modern superiority: “[In France], cultivated by a Royal Hand, / Learning grew fast, and spread, and blest the Land; / The choicest Books that *Rome* or *Greece* have known, / Her excellent *Translators* made her own; / And *Europe* still considerably gains, / Both by their good *Example* and their *Pains*. / From hence our gen’rous Emulation came, / We undertook, and we perform’d the same. / But now *We* shew the world a nobler way, / And in *Translated Verse* do more than *They*,” Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, proudly announced in “An Essay on Translated Verse” (1684) (*Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn, 3

vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957], II, 298). Swift came across it in, among others, the Roman historian Florus, whose *Epitome* he read no less than three times at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-29), and Sir William Temple (“Of Heroick Virtue,” *Miscellanea: The Second Part*, pp. 77-78). In *Paradise Lost*, which Swift annotated for Stella in 1703 (Hermann J. Real, “Stella’s Books,” *Swift Studies*, 11 [1996], 80-83), Milton compared the fallen angels to barbarian hordes who from “the populous north ... / Came like a deluge on the south, and spread / Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler [London and New York: Longman, 1971], pp. 64-65 [I, 351-55] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). In this conviction, Milton was anticipated by, among others, Machiavelli in his *History of Florence*: “THE People which live North-ward beyond the *Rhine* and the *Danube* ... do many times increase to such insustainable numbers, that part of them are constrained to abandon their Native, in quest of new Countries to inhabit ... These inundations and redundancies of people were the destruction of the Roman Empire” (*The Works of the Famous Nicolas Machiavel* [London: R. Clavell, et al., 1694], p. 1). Swift owned an English translation of Machiavelli’s *Works*, as he did Charron, *Of Wisdom*, trans. Stanhope, I, 389: “The Devastations [the Northern Nations] made, and the Barbarities they exercised, gave Occasion to that Proverb, That *all Evil came out of the North*” (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1141-42; I, 395). See also Strabo, *Rerum geographicarvm libri XVII*, ed. Isaac Casaubon (Paris, 1620), IV, iv, 2 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1754-56).

p. 33, ll. 10-11 The most antient and natural Grounds of Quarrels, are *Lust* and *Avarice*] A deeply held conviction, both by Temple (*Miscellanea: The Second Part*, p. 68) and Swift, reiterated with emphasis some years later in *The Examiner*’s attack on John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough: “THERE is no Vice which Mankind carries to such wild Extreams as that of *Avarice*: Those two which seem to rival it in this Point, are *Lust* and *Ambition* ... the Extreams of this Passion are certainly more frequent than of any other, and often to a Degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their Frequency, they could hardly obtain Belief” (*Prose Works*, III, 80-81). As for lust as a ground of quarrel, see also the note on “The same Reasoning also, holds Place among them” (p. 33, ll. 19-20).

p. 33, l. 13 in the Phrase of Writers upon the Politicks] “That branch of moral philosophy dealing with the ... social organism as a whole (*obs.*)” (ELLIS [2006], p. 208, quoting OED). In “Hobbes, *Leviathan*, part ii, chap. 17, Aristotle is cited as numbering Bees and Ants ‘amongst Politicall creatures’” (GUTHKELCH AND

NICHOL SMITH, p. 218n2). In fact, both bee and ant are commonplace emblems of communal industry and order (HENKEL AND SCHÖNE, cols 926, 930-32).

p. 33, l. 14 in the Republick of *Dogs*] This metaphor has sparked off a remarkable misreading because of its purported rootedness in Hobbes's *Leviathan*: "Swift's satirical voice pushes on far beyond Hobbes towards a savage jeering at man's bestiality," one reader, among many, writes (David Ward, *Jonathan Swift: An Introductory Essay* [London: Methuen, 1973], p. 63; see also PONS, p. 284; ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 219; ELLIS [2006], p. 208; David P. French, "Swift and Hobbes' Leviathan - A Neglected Parallel," *Boston University Studies in English*, 3 [1957], 243-55 [p. 254]; Philip Pinkus, "Swift and the Ancients-Moderns Controversy," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 29 [1959], 46-58 [p. 50]; Robert Hunting, *Jonathan Swift*, TEAS, no 42, 2nd ed. [New York: Twayne, 1989], pp. 26-27; Leon Guilhamet, "The Battle of the Books: A Generic Approach," *Critical Approaches to Teaching Swift*, ed. Peter J. Schakel [New York: AMS Press, 1992], pp. 225-38 [229-39]; Brean Hammond, *Jonathan Swift* [Dublin and Portland, Oregon: Irish Academic Press, 2010], pp. 40-41). This misreading is presumably due to 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. 68-69; endorsed by F. P. Lock, *The Politics of "Gulliver's Travels"* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980], pp. 9-11).

Instead, it is important to bear three aspects in mind:

first, human conduct is frequently illustrated by animal imagery. A case in point is the animal fable, whose most striking generic feature consists in the paradox by which animals acting out human foibles teach men an exemplary lesson: "An einem menschenfernen Gegenstand wird ein (für das Verhalten des Menschen gültiger) Satz demonstriert ... Die Fabel ist in ihrem Kern ein Paradoxon" (Erwin Leibfried, *Fabel* [Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1967], p. 25; Thomas Noel, *Theories of the Fable in the Eighteenth Century* [New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975], pp. 1-13). More particularly, in his Fable of "Le Chien qui porte à son cou le dine de son Maître," La Fontaine recognizes "the image of a city" in the conduct of dogs (*Fables choisies* [Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1693], pp. 233-34 [VIII, vii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1025-27]).

Second, among "Writers upon the Politicks," the canine metaphor does not originate with Hobbes's *Leviathan* but with Plato's *Republic*, in which Socrates

compares the character of the guardians to the nature of noble dogs: “Et hoc quoque (inquit) in canibus videre est: qua in re quoque animalis illius natura admiratione profectò digna est” (*Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. Jean de Serres, 3 vols [Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1578], 375A-376D [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1438-40]). Given the countless references and allusions to Plato and his spokesman Socrates, “that Prince of Philosophers” (*Prose Works*, XI, 268 [IV, viii, 9]), throughout his works, Plato “was one of [Swift’s] favourite writers” (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1440-42, following Irene Samuel, “Swift’s Reading of Plato,” *Studies in Philology*, 73 [1976], 440-62, and Hoyt Trowbridge, “Swift and Socrates,” *From Dryden to Jane Austen: Essays on English Critics and Writers, 1660-1818* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977], pp. 81-123, among others).

Third, in the present context, the metaphor’s exclusive function is to exemplify, and thus to elucidate, the narrator’s second ‘assertion’ which replaced the cyclical model of the dynamics of history by a linear one: have-nots are aggressors (p. 33, ll. 9-10).

p. 33, ll. 15-16 the whole State is ever in the profoundest Peace, after a full Meal] “For Men will sit down after the fullest Meal, tho’ it be only to *doze*, or to *sleep* out the rest of the Day” (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. Q). The proverbial version of this is “A Belly full of gluttony will never study willingly” (TILLEY B285; ODEP, p. 45).

p. 33, ll. 16-19 Civil Broils arise among them, when it happens for one great *Bone* to be seized on by some *leading Dog*, who either divides it among the *Few*, and then it falls to an *Oligarchy*, or keeps it to Himself, and then it runs up to a *Tyranny*] Swift was to elaborate this thought in *Gulliver’s Travels* (*Prose Works*, XI, 262-63 [IV, vii, 13-14]).

p. 33, ll. 19-21 The same Reasoning also, holds Place among them, in those Dissensions we behold upon a Turgescency in any of their Females] “It was afterwards discovered, that the Movement of this whole Machine had been directed by an absent *Female*, whose Eyes had raised a Protuberancy” (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. □). Although the reduction of European tensions in the Age of the Wars of Religion “to the frustrations of an oversexed king is so absurd that it might well be dismissed as the ravings of the Grub Street hack” (W. A. Speck, “Swift and the Historian,” *Reading Swift* [1985], p. 261), there is evidence that this view was held not only by Swift himself but also by contemporary fellow historians. An example from his own library is François Eudes de Mézeray,

Abregé chronologique de l'histoire de France, 6 vols ([Amsterdam: Antoine Schelte, 1696], VI, 371-72 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 589-90]).

p. 33, l. 21 - p. 34, l. 3 For, the Right of Possession lying in common (it being impossible to establish a Property in so delicate a Case) Jealousies and Suspicions do so abound, that the whole Commonwealth of that Street, is reduced to a manifest *State of War*, of every *Citizen* against every *Citizen*; till some One of more Courage, Conduct, or Fortune than the rest, seizes and enjoys the Prize] “For every man by the first Law of Nature (which is common to us and brutes) had, like Beasts in a Pasture, right to every thing, and there being no Property, each Individual, if he were the stronger, might seize whatever any other had possessed himself of before, which made a State of perpetual War” (Henry Nevile, *Plato Redivivus: or, A Dialogue concerning Government* [London: for S. I., 1681], p. 29 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1312]).

p. 34, ll. 3-4 Upon which, naturally arises Plenty of Heartburning, and Envy, and Snarling against the *Happy Dog*] “So it is with dogs, when you toss a bone among them; they spring to their feet and begin biting each other and barking at the one that was first to snatch the bone” (Lucian, “Piscator, seu reviviscentes,” *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Ioannis Benedictus, 2 vols [Amsterdam: P. and I. Blaeu, 1687], I, 411 [36] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]).

p. 34, ll. 7-9 that *Poverty*, or *Want*, in some Degree or other (whether Real, or in Opinion, which makes no Alteration in the Case) has a great Share, as well as *Pride*, on the Part of the Aggressor] See the note on “Invasions usually travelling from *North* to *South*” (p. 33, ll. 9-10).

p. 34, ll. 10-11 NOW, whoever will please to take this Scheme, and either reduce or adapt it to an Intellectual State, or Commonwealth of Learning] The thematic structure of *The Battle of the Books* is dichotomous. As in its most famous epic predecessors, the *narratio*, the mock-epic battle of the books, is preceded by a *propositio*, a statement of the subject matter, or problem, in brief, which is then elucidated by way of *exemplum* in the subsequent ‘heroic’ narrative. With the invocation interspersed at a later stage, Swift inverts the order as described by the late-Latin grammarian Servius in his commentary on Virgil: “In tres partes dividunt poetae carmen suum: proponent, invocant, narrant” (CURTIUS, p. 501).

Among the two types of *exemplum* (LAUSBERG I, 227-29 [§§ 410-14]), Swift opted for the historical one (“A Full and True Account”), in line with the generic

convention of epics that required historical narration (see the note on “Say, Goddess, that presidest over History,” p. 45, l. 19).

p. 34, ll. 14-15 not so easy to conjecture at] “Swift is so prone to introduce the preposition at the close of a sentence that, in this instance, he has added one entirely useless” (CRAIK, p. 421).

p. 34, l. 18 (as I have heard it affirmed by an old Dweller in the Neighbourhood)] In order to authenticate their narratives, historians often invoke the authority of reliable ‘sources,’ both written and oral: “I minde to write nothing but what is true, and which my self either haue seen or learned of such parties as are worthy of credit,” Philippe de Commines, whose *Historie* Swift annotated with some care (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 443-45), assured his readers, perhaps following the example of Thucydides, whose *History of the Peloponnesian War* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 in Thomas Hobbes’s translation (REAL [1978], pp. 129-31; *The History of the Grecian War*, 2nd ed. [London: by Andrew Clark for Charles Harper, 1676], p. 9 [I, xxii, 1-3]; see also Guilhamet, “*The Battle of the Books: A Generic Approach*,” pp. 230-32), that of Diodorus of Sicily whom he also “abstracted” during that time (*The Library of History*, V, 80, 4), or that of Edmund Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, which he is likewise known to have studied with care (*Prose Works*, V, 121; 2 vols [Vevay {London}, 1698], I, 1, 142, 163; II, 852 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]). In *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*, Swift himself would assert the truth of his account “after the most impartial Inquiries [he] could make, and the best Opportunityes of being informed by those who were the principal Actors or Advisers” (*Prose Works*, VII, 1).

p. 34, l. 19 *lying* and *being*] A formulaic element of legal diction (Richard Brownlow, *Declarations and Pleadings in English: Being the Most Authentic Form of Proceeding in Courts of Law*, 3rd ed. [London: by Tho. Roycroft for Henry Twyford, 1659], p. 126). Puzzle’s “deed” in Steele’s *The Funeral* also makes use of this phrase (*The Plays of Richard Steele*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], p. 36 [I, ii, 220]).

p. 34, ll. 19-20 the two Tops of the Hill *Parnassus*] A mountain a few miles north of Delphi (Strabo, *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, 416D-417C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1754-56]), associated with the worship of Apollo and the Muses, and often referred to as having two summits (MORÉRI s.v.; see also LITTLETON s.v.; *Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 671). According to Herodotus,

these are called Tithorea and Hyampea (*Historiarum libri IX*, ed. Thomas Gale [London: E. Horton, *et al.*, 1679], pp. 473, 475 [VIII, 32; 39] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 841-42]), and their loftiness is celebrated by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*: “Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus; / Nomine Parnassus, superantque cacumina nubes” (*Opera*, ed. N. Heinsius, 3 vols [Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1676], II, 16 [I, 316-17] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]). Virgil, in his *Georgica* (*Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis* [Cambridge: Jacob Tonson, 1701], p. 116 [III, 291-93] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]), and Persius, in the Prologue to his *Satyræ sex*, concurred (bound with Swift’s copy of Juvenal, *Decii Jvni Iuvenalis et Avli Persii Flacci satyræ omnes* [Freiburg: Maximilian Helmlin, 1608], p. 1, ll. 2-3 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1400-1]). A modern description by William Lithgow would have been available to Swift in Samuel Purchas’s massive anthology of travel accounts, which was in his library (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 4 vols [London: by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1625], II, 1841 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48]).

The sheer variety of these references notwithstanding, Swift’s most probable source in this case was Lucan’s epic on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, *Pharsalia*, of which Swift owned no less than three individual editions (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1107-8), and the only one, among all demonstrably available to him, to distinguish between a higher and a lower summit: “Hesperio tantum quantum semotus Eoo / Cardine, Parnassus gemino petit æthera colle, / Mons Phœbo, Bromioque sacer: cui nomine misto / Delphica Thebana referunt trieterica Bacchæ. / Hoc solum fluctu terras mergente cacumen / Eminuit, pontoque fuit discrimen, & astris. / Tu quoque vix summam seductus ab æquore rupem / Extuleras, unoque jugo Parnasse latebas [At equal distance from the limits of East and West, the twin peaks of Parnassus soar to heaven. The mountain is sacred to Phoebus and to Bromios, in whose honour the Bacchants of Thebes, treating the two gods as one, hold their triennial festival at Delphi. When the Flood covered the earth, this height alone rose above the level and was all that separated sea from sky; and even Parnassus, parted in two by the flood, only just displayed a rocky summit, and one of its peaks was submerged]” (*Pharsalia: sive, De bello civili*, ed. Thomas Farnaby [Amsterdam: Jan Blaeu, 1665], p. 117 [V, 71-78] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1107-8]). Their multitude also rules out any dependence of Swift’s on de Callière’s *Histoire poétique de la guerre ... entre les Anciens et les Modernes*, a view endorsed by many of his critics and editors ever since William Wotton first proposed it in 1705 (PONS, pp. 271-72; GUTCHKELCH AND SMITH, p. 14n2; ELLIS [2006], p. 208).

p. 34, ll. 20-21 the highest and largest of which, had it seems, been time out of Mind, in quiet Possession of certain Tenants, call'd the *Antients*] A method of acquiring property which made the position of the Ancients unassailable, called *longi temporis praescriptio*. Having found its way into the Emperor Justinian's *Institutes* (*Institutiones* [Amsterdam: L. Elzevir, 1654], pp. 75-79 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 995-96]), it was subsequently incorporated into modern law manuals. By "*Usucaption, or Prescription*," Samuel von Pufendorf explains, "a man who without Violence, Knavery or Injustice has possess'd himself of any thing, and enjoy'd the same quietly and without interruption a long time, is at length accounted the absolute *lawful Owner* thereof" (*The Whole Duty of Man according to the Law of Nature* [London: by Benjamin Motte for Charles Harper, 1691], p. 158 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1544]). See also Christopher Saint German, *An Exact Abridgement of that Excellent Treatise Called, Doctor and Student* ([London: by John More for Matthew Walbank, 1630], sig. 7v [II, xxii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1629-30]); and Edward Leigh, *A Philologicall Commentary: or, An Illustration of the Most Obvious and Usefull Words in the Law* ([London: T. Mabb for Charles Adams, 1652], p. 180 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1065]).

p. 34, ll. 22-23 But, these disliking their present Station] The Moderns rely on nothing but unargued assumptions, "[on] desire to be better than they are, and to be in a higher estate than God hath placed them," the precise word for this desire being 'pride' (Lancelot Andrewes, *Apospasmata Sacra: or, A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures* [London: by R. Hodgkinsonne for H. Moseley, *et al.*, 1657], p. 307 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 59-60]).

p. 34, l. 23 sent certain Ambassadors to the *Antients*] The three modern manifestos that had 'lately pleased' Sir William Temple: Thomas Burnet's *Telluris theoria sacra*, originally published in Latin in two parts (London: by R. N. for Gualt. Kettilby, 1680-89) and subsequently in English translation under the title *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (2 vols [in one] [London: R. Norton for Walter Kettilby, 1684-90]), as well as Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (1686) and *Digression sur les Anciens & les Modernes*, appended to *Poésies pastorales* ([Paris: Michel Guerout, 1688], pp. 224-82; see *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. 1-2, 127-30 [*ad* 1.21-22, 1.22-23, 1.23-24, 2.29-30]).

p. 34, ll. 24-25 how the Height of that Part of *Parnassus*, quite spoiled the Prospect of theirs] An ironic comment on the common ‘similitude’ of the Dwarf and the Giant (*Outlandish Proverbs Selected* [1640], in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. Hutchinson, p. 322 [*50]), according to which the Moderns, though dwarfs, were standing on the shoulders of giants, the Ancients, and having the advantage of both ancient and modern knowledge could “see more or farther than [they],” as Temple, among many others, had assured Swift (for a full bibliography, see *Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 2, 132 [ad 2.48-50]). For additional predecessors Swift may have been familiar with, see 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. 27-29, 31-32, and *passim*.

p. 34, l. 25 especially towards the *East*] The illogicality of “especially” is a sly dig at modern logic, a discipline of much-vaunted progress: “So that the Moderns have enlarged its Bottom; and by adding that *Desideratum* which the Ancients either did not perfectly know, or, which is worse, did invidiously conceal ... have, if not made it perfect, yet put it into such a Posture, as that future Industry may very happily compleat it” (Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 172 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1976]).

The phrase “towards the *East*” satirizes the idea of a *translatio studii* according to which the light of learning had moved geographically from its cradle in the Middle East to France and England in the West (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. □). It is likely that, as on earlier occasions, Swift drew on Temple here (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 4-11, 138-48; pointed out as early as VAN EFFEN II, 61n*, and repeated by Sir Walter Scott, *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, 19 vols [Edinburgh, London, Dublin: Archibald Constable, *et al.*, 1814], XI, 223n*, and PRESCOTT, p. 203), but he may also have come across the model, to which the Moderns frequently appealed in order to ‘prove’ their own superiority, in modernist pleas like Glanvill’s *Scepsis scientifica* (p. 107), which he had read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1), and Burnet’s *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (II, 11 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 302-4]). See also *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, I, Book ii, 2 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48), and, for a scholarly study of its genesis and history, Franz Josef Worstbrock, “*Translatio artium*: über die Herkunft und Entwicklung einer kulturhistorischen Theorie,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47 (1965), 1-22.

p. 34, l. 28 Summit] An obsolete form of “summit” (OED).

p. 34, ll. 30-31 and level the said Hill, as low as they shall think it convenient] Although the thought that people “who cannot be Lower in Mens Esteem” are prone to “levelling all Above ’em” seems to have been commonplace (see, for example, William Wycherley, *Miscellany Poems* [London: C. Brome, *et al.*, 1704], pp. xxvii-xxviii [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1979-81]), Swift is echoing Sir William Temple’s “Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning”: “There is, I think, no sort of Talent so dispisable, as that of such common Criticks, who can at best pretend, but to value themselves, by discovering the Defaults of other Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of their own: A sort of Levellers, that will needs equal the best or riches of the Country, not by improving their own Estates, but reducing those of their Neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves” (*Miscellanea: The Third Part* [London: Benjamin Tooke, 1701], pp. 259-60). One annotator points out that, for Temple, the Moderns are “threats to larger civilization as well as to England” (Howard D. Weinbrot, “‘He Will Kill Me Over and Over Again’: Intellectual Contexts of the Battle of the Books,” *Reading Swift* [2003], p. 230).

p. 34, l. 34 as to their own Seat, they were *Aborigines* of it] *Aborigines*, “the earliest known inhabitants” (OED).

p. 34, ll. 38-39 largely recompenced by the *Shade* and *Shelter* it afforded them]

p. 35, ll. 1-2 if they did, or did not know] That is, “folly, if they did, ignorance, if they did not, know” (CRAIK, p. 421).

p. 35, ll. 2-3 an entire Rock, which would break their Tools and Hearts, without any Damage to it self] The rocky character of Parnassus was emphasized by William Lithgow in the account of his travels in the Middle East, contained in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 1841 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48).

p. 35, ll. 9-10 by Resolution, and by the Courage of certain Leaders and Allies] First of all, an echo of Sir William Temple’s “Of Heroick Virtue,” whose expanded version was published for the first time in 1696: “Victory has generally followed the smaller numbers ... and those who had the smaller Forces endeavour most to supply that defect by the choice Discipline, and Bravery of their troops” (*Miscellanea: The Second Part*, 4th edition [London: Ri. Simpson and Ra. Simpson, 1696], p. 295; ELLIS [2006], p. 208), but also a leitmotif in Diodorus of

Sicily, whose *Library of History* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (X, 34, 10; XI, 11, 2-3; REAL [1978], pp. 128, 131). See also the gloss on “THE Army of the *Antients* was much fewer in Number” (p. 42, l. 24).

p. 35, ll. 10-11 by the greatness of their Number] In their war of the words with the Ancients, the Moderns never tired of citing printing as evidence of their creative potential. Printing competed hard with the compass for the status of supreme modern accomplishment, although its invention was also regarded as problematic. On the one hand, there was nothing, one paean claimed, that compared to “the wonderfull inuention, vtility and dignitie of printing” (John Amos Comenius, *A Patterne of Vniuersall Knowledge* [London: T. H., 1651], p. 31; see also R. H. Bowers, “Some Early Apostrophes to Printing,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 54 [1960], 113-15), and another eulogist declared that in “auncient times” Johannes 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: John Clarke, 1625], p. 128). Besides, 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 to Peter Du Moulin, D.D.* [Cambridge: William Morden, 1669], p. 26), and 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*, Collected Works of Joseph Glanvill, ed. Bernhard Fabian, IV [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1979], pp. 78-79).

On the other hand, the Ancients were quick to point out that these vaunted beneficial effects were more than 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, “[*Lucifer's*] *villanous Engine*,” 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 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!" (ed. D. I. B. Smith [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], pp. 4-5; see also, 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); and Dryden, who in his "Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire," prefixed to his translation of *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis* (1693), lamented the ubiquity of Grub Street, that "multitude of Scriblers, who daily pester the World with their insufferable Stuff" (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958], II, 605).

Swift sided with the critics of the printing press in several respects. Here, as in *A Tale of a Tub*, he reiterated Sir William Temple's criticism, in the "Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning," that the advent of the printed book had chiefly resulted in the (re)production of mass and the proliferation of matter: "The invention of printing has not ... multiplied books, but only the copies of them" (*Sir William Temple's Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 2, 135; see also John R. Clark, *Form and Frenzy in Swift's "A Tale of a Tub"* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1970], pp. 134-35; Daniel Eilon, "Swift Burning the Library of Babel," *Modern Language Review*, 80 [1985], 269-82; and 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).

p. 35, l. 14 *Ink* is the great missive Weapon, in all Battels of the *Learned* Ink and feather as martial metaphors and the accompanying view of the learned as warriors are well-known icons in Renaissance emblem literature (Robert J. Clements, *Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books* [Rome, 1960], pp. 135-49) but still common in the seventeenth century. Samuel Butler, for example, ridiculed the cantankerousness of lawyers in *Hudibras*: "When those the *Pen* had drawn together, / Decided quarrels with *the Feather*, / and winged Arrows kill'd as dead, / And more then Bullets now of Lead. / So all their Combats now, as then, / Are manag'd chiefly by the Pen" (*Hudibras*, ed. John Wilders [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967], p. 290 [III, iii, 415-20]). See also Butler, *Prose Observations*, ed. Hugh de Quehen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 7; Cowley, "The Preface," in *Poems*, sig. a4r (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76); Denham, *Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of "Coopers Hill"*, ed. O Hehir, p. 121, ll. 165-66; "Upon a

Bookseller,” *The Poems of John Oldham*, eds Harold F. Brooks and Raman Selden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 157, ll. 33-35. Behind the idea, a still older notion is lurking. This was originally associated with orality and widespread in Greek and Roman rhetoric and poetry: in delivery, orators and poets transform language into arms, words into weapons (see Godo Lieberg, *Poeta Creator: Studien zu einer Figur der antiken Dichtung* [Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1982], pp. 174-78). Swift would have found an example in Roger L’Estrange, *The Dissenter’s Sayings ... Published in their Own Words*: “That which the *Word* cannot do, the *Sword* shall” ([London: Henry Brome, 1681], p. 40 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1069-70]), and, if he knew it, in the anonymous *Letter to the Reverend Dr Bentley, upon the Controversy betwixt Him and Mr Boyle* (p. 18).

p. 35, l. 15 convey’d thro’ a sort of Engine, call’d a *Quill*] The feathers of choice were usually those of the goose, but also those of swans and turkeys, and occasionally pheasants and ravens, with Holland in Europe and Lincolnshire in England being major suppliers (Joe Nickell, *Pen, Ink, & Evidence: A Study of Writing and Writing Materials for the Penman, Collector, and Document Detective* [Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990], pp. 3-8).

p. 35, l. 17 as if it were an Engagement of *Porcupines*] “They are *all weapon*, and they dart / Like *Porcupines* from every part” (Cowley, “Beauty,” in *Poems*, p. 33 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]).

p. 35, ll. 17-19 This malignant Liquor was compounded by the Engineer, who invented it, of two Ingredients, which are *Gall* and *Copperas*] In the seventeenth century, the type of ink referred to here was made by soaking crushed oak galls in water and adding copperas, ferrous sulphate (FeSO₄), as Sir Thomas Browne explains: “*Atramentum scriptorium*, or writing Inke [is] commonly made, by copperose cast upon a decoction or infusion of galls” (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robin Robbins, 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981], I, 526). It was produced by housewives to recipes passed on within the family from generation to generation (C. A. Mitchell and T. C. Hepworth, *Inks: Their Composition and Manufacture*, 2nd ed. [London: Griffin, 1916], pp. 9-10, and *passim*; Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* [1683-4], eds Herbert Davis and Harry Carter, 2nd ed. [London: Oxford University Press, 1962], p. 82 and n; Nickell, *Pen, Ink, & Evidence*, pp. 35-38; Albertine Gaur, *A History of Calligraphy* [London: The British Library, 1994], pp. 34-35), but also sold by street vendors crying “*Come buy my fine Writing Ink!*” (*The Criers and Hawkers*

of London: Engravings and Drawings by Marcellus Laroon, ed. Sean Shesgreen [Aldershot, Hants: Scolar Press, 1990], pp. 98-99).

p. 35, ll. 20-22 And as the *Grecians*, after an Engagement, when they could not agree about the Victory, were wont to set up Trophies on both sides] A practice confirmed by Thucydides, whose *History of the Peloponnesian War* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 in Thomas Hobbes’s translation (*The History of the Grecian War*, pp. 67, 70, 91, and *passim* [II, xcii, 4-5; IV, cxxxiv, 1; VII, liv]), and Valerius Maximus’ *Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX* ([Amsterdam: Jan Jansson, 1647], p. 258 [VI, i, ext. 3]), also read and annotated by him (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1886-89). “Trophy,” from Greek *tropaion*, Latin *tropaeum*, was a memorial of victory, on which enemy arms such as shields and helmets were fixed and usually set up in the place where the enemy had begun to flee and victory had set in. Trophies were devoted to the God of War and therefore inviolate, as Dryden’s expansive rendering of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (XI, 5-9) demonstrates beautifully: “Yet first to Heav’n perform’d a Victor’s Vows; / He bar’d an ancient Oak of all her Boughs: / Then on a rising Ground the Trunk he plac’d; / Which with the Spoils of his dead Foe he grac’d. / The Coat of Arms by proud *Mezentius* worn / ... Was hung on high, and glitter’d from afar: / A Trophy sacred to the God of War” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, III, 1355). Originally, the memorial was the trunk of a tree “in order that the memorials of the enmity, lasting as they would for a brief time, should quickly disappear” (Diodorus, *Library of History*, XIII, 24, 6); later, the memorials were made of marble, stone, or iron ore (Strabo, *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, p. 185 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1754-56]), and established in the capital or a holy place (Tacitus, *The Annals and History of C. Cornelius Tacitus: Made English by Several Hands*, 2nd ed., 3 vols [London: John Nicholson and Ralph Smith, 1716], II, 381-82 [XV, 18] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1787-88]). See also LITTLETON s.v. “Trophæum”; MORÉRI s.v. “Trophæus.”

p. 35, ll. 23-24 (A laudable and antient Custom, happily revived of late, in the Art of War) A habit of seventeenth-century war parties several times recorded by, among others, Clarendon (*The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 3 vols [Oxford: At the Theatre, 1707], II, 46, 248; Pierre Joseph d’Orléans, *Histoire des revolutions d’Angleterre*, 3 vols [Paris: Claude Barbin, 1695], III, 455 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 940-55, 1344]), and ridiculed in Butler’s *Hudibras*: “Quoth *Hudibras*, I understand / What Fights thou mean’st at Sea, and Land / And who those were that run away, / And yet gave out th’ had won the day” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 287, 443 [III, iii, 307-10]). In a pencilled gloss in his own copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH (EC 431),

Ehrenpreis rejects the editors' view that Swift may be referring to "the Catholic celebrations on the supposed victory at the Boyne" with the remark, "more likely War of the League of Augsburg" (p. 221n2) but fails to provide evidence.

p. 35, ll. 26-31 [These] full impartial Account[s] ... are known to the World under several Names; As, *Disputes, Arguments, Rejoynders, Brief Considerations, Answers, Replys, Remarks, Reflections, Objections, Confutations*] This mock-epic catalogue is one of several techniques to undercut the narrator's claim for historiographic facticity, the 'evidence' of the sources being but a conglomerate of partisan opinions (Nate, "*The Battle of the Books und die Querelle*," pp. 268-69). In a marginal note of his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH (EC 431), Ehrenpreis refers to "Boileau, *Le Lutrin*, V" (p. 222), while another reader takes the catalogue to be suggestive of Rabelais (Guilhamet, "*The Battle of the Books: A Generic Approach*," p. 232). Not only is the resemblance remote in either case, it is also difficult to see what function the 'analogues' would serve.

p. 35, ll. 32-33 their *Representatives, for Passengers to gaze at] A marginal gloss identifies "their *Representatives" with "* *Their Title-Pages*." This was a popular method of advertising: "Such was their Dramatick and Scenical way of scribbling, and they did so teem with new Plays perpetually, that there was no Post nor Pillar so sacred that was exempt, no not even the walls of *Pauls* it self much less the *Temple-gate*, from the pasting up of the Titles" (*The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, ed. Smith, p. 167; *A Tale of a Tub*, p. □). In Sir George Etherege's *She Would If She Could*, Courtall teasingly responds to Gatty's insistence on the secrecy of their meeting: "I wou'd as soon print it, and fee a Fellow to post it up with the Play-bills" (*The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege*, ed. H. F. B. Brett-Smith, 2 vols [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1927], II, 156 [IV, ii, 243-44]).

p. 35, ll. 37-38 IN these BOOKS [*Books of Controversy*], is wonderfully instilled and preserved, the Spirit of each Warriar] GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH quote from Milton's *Areopagitica* (p. 222n2), which, however, was not in Swift's library. The same thought also occurs in Bacon: "But the Images of mens wits and knowledges remaine in Bookes, exempted from the wrong of time, and capable of perpetuall renouation: Neither are they fitly to be called Images, because they generate still, and cast their seedes in the mindes of others, prouoking and causing infinit actions and opinions, in succeeding ages" (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, p. 53 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26]).

To others, this passage has struck “a Lucianic note”: “It is here established that the combatants are the souls of the dead, resident within their books, and it is further implied that the setting for the *Battle* – the King’s Library at St James’s Palace – is therefore a kind of Hades” (McDayter, “The Haunting of St James’s Library,” p. 16). The parallel seems loose.

p. 35, ll. 38-39 after his Death, his Soul transmigrates there, to inform them] “To impart some pervading, active, or vital quality to, to imbue *with a ‘spirit’*” (OED); a meaning common from Sir Thomas Browne and Dryden (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 222n3). In *Paradise Lost*, the sun “[in being] assimilated to the Christian mysticism of light” is described as a place “beyond expression bright /... Not all parts like, but all alike informed / With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 179-80 [III, 591-94] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]).

p. 35, ll. 39-40 it is with Libraries, as with other Cemeteries] “A library is a graveyard of literary ambition ... A symbol of cultural memory, [it] is the last preserve of a few authors and their works, but even there, decay and succession make fame illusory” (Ann Cline Kelly, “Swift’s *Battle of the Books*: Fame in the Modern Age,” *Reading Swift* [1998], p. 96).

p. 35, l. 41 – p. 36, l. 2 a certain Spirit, which they call, *Brutum hominis*, hovers over the Monument, till the Body is corrupted, and turns to *Dust*, or to *Worms*; but then vanishes or dissolves] Numerous parallels have been suggested by Swift’s annotators, among them, Plato and Milton, Sir Thomas Browne, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Henry More (EGERTON, p. 62; CRAIK, pp. 421-22; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 222n5). Another source coming close to the thought is Thomas Vaughan’s *Anthroposophia theomagica* (Stephen Gwynn, *The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift* [London: Thornton Butterworth, 1933], p. 61; ELLIS [2006], p. 209; Mark McDayter, “The Haunting of St James’s Library: Librarians, Literature, and *The Battle of the Books*,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 66 [2003], 1-26 [pp. 19-21): “This Vanish, or ascent of the inward *Ethereall* Principles doth not presently follow their separation: For that part of man which *Paracelsus* calls *Homo Sydereus*, and more appositly *Brutum hominis* ... This Part, I say, which is the *Astral Man* hovers some times about the *Dormitories* of the Dead ... And it retains after Death an Impresse of passions, and Affections to which it was subject in the Body. This makes Him haunt those Places, where the whole Man hath been most Conversant, and imitate the actions, and gestures of Life” (*The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. Alan Rudrum [Oxford: Clarendon

Press, 1984], pp. 89-90). However, it is doubtful whether Swift brought himself to study a “philosopher” whose *Anthroposophia theomagica* he denounced, in a footnote added to the fifth edition of the *Tale*, as “a Piece of the most unintelligible Fustian, that, perhaps, was ever publish’d in any Language” (*A Tale of a Tub*, pp. QQ). It seems more plausible to assume that Swift, who also referred to this notion in “Occasioned by Sir W— T—’s Late Illness and Recovery” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 51, ll. 7-8), was indebted to Paracelsus and his conception of the astral body, the ethereal counterpart of a human or animal body (*Opera omnia*, 3 vols [Geneva: J. Antonius and Samuel de Tournes, 1658], II, 582a [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 259-62]).

p. 36, ll. 2-3 a restless Spirit haunts over every *Book*] A view also voiced in Swift’s “Ode to the Honourable Sir William Temple” (c.1692): “For Learning’s mighty Treasures look / In that deep Grave a Book, / Think she there does all her Treasures hide, / And that her troubled Ghost still haunts there since she dy’d” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 27, ll. 35-38). In Plato’s *Phaedo*, analogously, the souls of evil men are doomed to haunt tombs and monuments: “Circa monumenta & sepulcra oberrat” (*Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. de Serres, I, 81D [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1438-40]).

p. 36, ll. 4-5 *Books of Controversy*, being of all others, haunted by the most disorderly Spirits] “Sad troubled *Ghosts* about their *Graves* do stray” (Cowley, *The Mistress*, in *Poems*, p. 69 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]).

p. 36, ll. 7-8 it was thought Prudent by our Ancestors, to bind them to the Peace with strong Iron Chains] The beginnings go back to about the year 1300 (see Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library* [London: Macmillan, 1931], pp. 3-9, which is studded with illustrations). J. N. L. Myres explains the system: “[The books] are chained to the presses by chains of sufficient length to enable them to lie open on the desks but not to be removed to any other part of the room. The books when not in use stand upright on the shelves ... and the chains are normally attached to the front edges of their upper or lower covers” (“Oxford Libraries in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *The English Library before 1700: Studies in its History*, eds Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright [London: The Athlone Press, 1958], p. 236).

Chained libraries seem to have been peculiar to England. When, in 1721, the francophone Dutch journalist Justus van Effen for the first time translated *A Tale of a Tub* and its companion pieces into French for a Continental audience

(see, in addition to James L. Schorr, *The Life and Works of Justus van Effen* [Laramie, Wyoming: University of Wyoming, 1982], pp. 70-74, Wilhelm Graeber, “Swift’s First Voyages to Europe: His Impact on Eighteenth-Century France,” *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe*, ed. Hermann J. Real [London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005], pp. 5-10), he found it necessary to add an explanatory gloss: “Les livres dans les Bibliothèques publiques en Angleterre sont attachez aux planches par de petites chaines, afin qu’on ne les emporte pas” (VAN EFFEN II, 67n*).

to bind them to the Peace] Swift here “utilizes the magistrates’ sentence of ‘binding over to keep the peace’” (ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 219).

p. 36, l. 8 Of which Invention, the original Occasion was this] While it is correct that chained libraries were first instituted in the Middle Ages (Ernest A. Savage, *Old English Libraries: The Making, Collection, and Use of Books during the Middle Ages* [New York: Barnes and Noble, and London: Methuen & Co., 1970 {1911}], pp. 109, 116-17), the exact history of their origin has been adapted to suit Swift’s satirical purposes here.

p. 36, ll. 9-11 When the Works of *Scotus* first came out, they were carried to a certain great Library, and had Lodgings appointed them; But this Author was no sooner settled, than he went to visit his Master *Aristotle*] Duns Scotus (c.1265-c.1308), *Doctor Subtilis*, one of the leading figures of the Schoolmen, philosophers and theologians from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, who taught at Oxford and Paris. By the middle of the seventeenth century, criticism of the Schoolmen had become widespread. Pietro Soave, better known as Father Sarpi, charged them for “leaving the Scripture ... [and making] *Aristotle*’s Philosophy the Foundation of Theology” (*The History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Nathanael Brent [London: by John Macock for Samuel Mearne, *et al.*, 1676], p. 176 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5]), an assessment endorsed by Bishop Edward Reynolds shortly afterwards (*Works* [London: Thomas Newcomb, 1679], p. 887 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1590-91]). According to Hobbes, “bringing of the Philosophy, and doctrine of *Aristotle* into Religion, by the Schoole-men” had even been one reason why “the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, was ... abolished in *England*” (*Leviathan*, p. 59 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]). Invoking the authority of Luther, Joseph Glanvill concurred: “Nor hath Humane Science monopoliz’d the damage, that hath sprung from this Root of Evils [*Aristotelian Philosophy*]: *Theology* hath been as deep a sharer. The Volumes of the *Schoolmen*, are deplorable evidence of *Peripatetick depravations*. And *Luther*’s censure of that *Divinity*, *Quam primum apparuit Theologia*

Scholastica, evanuit Theologia Crucis [From the moment scholastic theology appeared, the Theology of the Cross disappeared], is neither uncharitable, nor unjust ... This hath robb'd the *Christian* world of its *unity* and *peace*, and made the Church, the Stage of everlasting contentions: And while *Aristotle* is made the *Center of Truth*, and *Unity*, what hope of reconciling? And yet most of these Scholastick controversies are ultimately resolv'd into the subtilties of his *Philosophy*" (*Scepsis Scientifica*, pp. 123-24). A few pages earlier, Glanvill had posited: "*School-Divinity* is but *Peripateticism* in a *Theological Livery*. A *School-man* is the Ghost of the *Stagirite* ... and *Thomas* but *Aristotle Sainted*" (p. 117). The anonymous author of a 1688 broadsheet, *The Pedigree of Popery: or, The Genealogie of Antichrist*, took the implication of this predominance of "*School-Divinity*" to be no less than "the *Casting away of Holy Scripture*." See also Sabina Fleitmann, *Walter Charleton (1620-1707), "Virtuoso": Leben und Werk* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986), pp. 34-37.

p. 36, ll. 11-14 both concerted together to seize *Plato* by main Force, and turn him out from his antient Station among the *Divines*, where he had peaceably dwelt near Eight Hundred Years] Two traditions, one biographical and another doctrinal, have been fused here. Early biographers of Aristotle and Plato have frequently assumed that the relationship between the two philosophers was marred by hostility, rooted in a charge of plagiarism. In his *Varia historia*, which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30), Claudius Aelianus, for example, records: "Significabat igitur Plato, inuoluto quodam sermone, ingratitude Aristotelis. Etenim is quum maxima philosophiæ semina & adminicula à Platone accepisset, suffartus optimis quibusque, recalcitrans scholam contra Platonem aperuit, & in Peripato cum suis familiaribus & discipulis aduersus eum pugnavit, & Platonis aduersarius esse cupiebat" (*Varia historia*, ed. Tanneguy Lefevre [Saumur: Jean Lesnier, 1668], p. 308 [IV, ix] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 15-16]). At the same time, the teachings of Plato and Aristotle in the various fields of philosophy were taken to be irreconcilable. In his lengthy entry on Plato, MORÉRI summarized an Italian theologian's syncretism comparing the philosophical and theological views of either and concluding: "The Paralel whereof shews clearly, That *Plato* had Sentiments more conform to Christianity, and that *Aristotle* had such Errors as might favour Hereticks" (s.v.). This assessment not only accounts for Plato's popularity "among the *Divines*," it also harks back to the conviction of several Fathers of the Church who, admiring the conformity "between the Doctrine of *Plato* and the *Old Testament*," referred to Plato as "the *Athenian Moses*" (s.v.). Not a few of Swift's near contemporaries still maintained this view. In his *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, Henry More, for one, asked,

“What is *Plato* but *Moses Atticus*” ([London: by James Fleisher for William Morden, 1662], pp. 3, 100; see also Nevile, *Plato Redivivus: or, A Dialogue concerning Government*, sig. A6v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1312]), and the French librarian, Urbain Chevreau, for another, whose *Histoire du monde* was in Swift’s library, accepted it, too (2nd ed., 5 vols [The Hague: Abraham de Hondt, 1698], I, 207-8 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 398-400]). Swift later poked fun at this notion, inverting it in *Mr Collins’s Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713): “[*Plato*’s] Notions are so like some in the Gospel, that a Heathen charged Christ with borrowing his Doctrine from *Plato*” (*Prose Works*, IV, 42).

In the light of this information, the fact that Swift assigned “the supremacy of the preceding eight hundred years to *Plato*” is less “curious” than it has seemed to be to some of Swift’s annotators (CRAIK, p. 422).

p. 36, l. 16 all *Polemicks* of the larger Size] “Polemical or controversial works” (CRAIK, p. 422), in folio, of course.

p. 36, ll. 18-19 if a new Species of controversial Books had not arose of late Years] No doubt, an allusion to Wotton’s *Reflections* and particularly Bentley’s two *Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris* (see p. 31, ll. 5-6).

p. 36, l. 19 instinct] “Impelled, moved, excited, inflamed, animated” (OED).

p. 36, ll. 21-22 I remember to have said upon Occasion] A pose implying intimate familiarity with the course of events; also taken by the narrator of *A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome* of 1701: “When the Act Passed some years ago against Bribing of Elections; I remember to have said upon occasion, to some Persons of both Houses, that we should be very much deceived in the Consequences of that Act” (ELLIS [1967], p. 125, ll. 342-46).

p. 36, ll. 24-26 I advised, that the Champions of each side should be coupled together ... that like the blending of contrary Poysons, their Malignity might be employ’d among themselves] Swift’s narrator presents himself as a disciple of ancient medicine, advocating the allopathic principle of Hippocrates, *Contraria contrariis curentur [curantur]*, which Swift would have found explained not only in his edition of this eminent Greek physician (*Opera quae extant*, 2 vols [Venice: Hieronymus Mercurialis, 1588], I, 9C; II, 24B [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 863-64]) but also in the *Opera omnia* of the Italian polymath Girolamo Cardano, likewise in his library (10 vols [Lyon: I. A. Huguetan and M. A. Ravaud, 1663],

VI, 590a-593b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46]). By contrast, a Modern like Philipp Aureol Theophrast Bombast von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus (see the note on “*Paracelsus* brought a *Squadron of Stink-Pot-Flingers* from the snowy Mountains of *Rhætia*,” p. 42, ll. 10-11), subscribed to the opposite, homoeopathic maxim, *Similia similibus curentur [curantur]* (*Opera omnia*, I, 196b, 721a [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 259-62]; Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance* [Basle and New York: S. Karger, 1958], pp. 146-48). The metaphor ‘poison,’ which is here used to explain the medical principle, already occurs in Erasmus: “Dum uenenum cum ueneno colluctatur, seruatur homo” (*Parabolae sive similia* [Basle: Froben, 1534], p. 132 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 573-74]). See also Steward LaCasce, “Swift on Medical Extremism,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 31 (1970), 599-606.

p. 36, ll. 28-29 the terrible Fight] A burlesque hyperbole, emphasizing the discrepancy between the triviality of the event and the sublimity of the diction, as old as the Homeric *Batrachomyomachia*: “Litem immensam, tumultuosum opus Martis,” as the Latin verse paraphrase in an edition Swift owned has it (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. Jean de Sponde, 2 vols [in one] [Basle: Sebastian Henricpetri, 1606], II, 340, l. 4 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 36, ll. 32-33 an *Historian*, and retained by neither Party] A customary affirmation of historians and at least as ancient as Sallustius (*Bellum Catilinarium: cum commentariis Johannis Minellii* [The Hague: Arnold Leers, 1685], pp. 12-13 [IV, 2] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, III, 1634-37]). “*I know the Duty of an Historian leads him to write as one that is of neither Party*,” Gilbert Burnet writes in the Preface to his *History of the Reformation* (2nd ed., 2 vols [London: Richard Chiswell, 1681-83], II, sig. a2v), which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 129-31). Butler poked fun at the formula in *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 30 (I, ii, 35-40).

At first sight, the *Battle’s* historian, unlike the *Tale’s* narrator (*A Tale of a Tub*, pp. QQ), does not seem to have his “position eroded” in the course of the narrative: “There is no shift of perspective to undermine any stable view that the reader has constructed” (Everett Zimmerman, *Swift’s Narrative Satires: Author and Authority* [Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983], pp. 89-90). But this impression is misleading. Not only does the narrator parody his own formulae of historiographic objectivity, what parades in the guise of historical facticity (see the note on “A / Full and True Account / OF THE / BATTEL,” p. 29) also metamorphoses into a *parti pris* document in favour of the Ancients as the allegory unfolds (Ronald Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift’s “Tale of a*

Tub” [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960], pp. 188-89; Richard Nate, “*The Battle of the Books und die Querelle*,” *Wissenschaft und Literatur im England der Frühen Neuzeit* [München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001], pp. 267-73). Last but not least, unlike the critical historian, who admits only “authenticated documents as evidence,” Swift submits “a history ... of events that are ... entirely fabulous” (John F. Tinkler, “The Splitting of Humanism: Bentley, Swift, and the English Battle of the Books,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49 [1988], 453-72 [p. 470]).

p. 36, ll. 33-34 to comply with the urgent *Importunity of my Friends*] A tongue-in-cheek claim, resonating with the mocking tone pervading the whole. Asseverations like this are commonplace in seventeenth-century book production, defined as “the stale Excuse for coming out in Print” (B. E., *A New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, p. 97) and familiar from many authors known to have been in Swift’s library: “*The Importunity of many, much affected with (the Occasion, I suppose, rather than) the Sermon ... caused me straightway to put together my Sermon in Writing, as it was then preached*,” Bishop Edward Wetenhall, for example, writes in the Preface to his *Hexapla Jacobæa* ([Dublin: by A. Crook and S. Helsham for William Norman, *et al.*, 1686], sigs A7v-A8r). Wetenhall had been anticipated by, among others, Sir Thomas Herbert (*A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile* [London: William Stansby and Jacob Bloome, 1634], p. 1), George Buchanan (*Rerum Scotticarvm historia* [Amsterdam: Louis Elzevir, 1643], sig. *2r), Sir William Petty (*Several Essays in Political Arithmetick* [London: Robert Clavel and Henry Mortlock, 1699], sig. A2r [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1959-60; II, 831-32; I, 297-98; II, 1413-14], and Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. xix). The sheer amount of these references accounts for a caustic comment in Bishop Edward Stillingfleet’s Preface to *Origines sacræ*: “*IT is neither to satisfie the importunity of friends, nor to prevent false copies (which and such like excuses I know are expected in usual Prefaces) that I have adventured abroad this following Treatise*” ([London: H. Mortlock, 1675], sig. b2r [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, III, 1752-54]). In *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift utilized the cliché in order to explode the vacuous portentousness of the Grub Street hack (*A Tale of a Tub*, pp. QQ); see also *An Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet*, p. 5, ll. 6-8.

p. 36, l. 34 by writing down a full impartial Account thereof] Adherence to truth as well as the striving for completeness and objectivity are the distinctive features of historians: “*Nam quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, nequid falsi dicere audeat, deinde nequid veri non audeat, nequa suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis? hæc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus*,” Cicero famously

asked in *De oratore* (*Opera*, 4 vols [in two] [Paris: Charles Estienne, 1555], II, 148 [II, 34] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]); repeatedly endorsed by Cicero's younger contemporary Diodorus of Sicily's *Library of History*, which Swift "abstracted" in 1697/8 (III, 11, 3; XIII, 90, 7 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128, 131]), as well as William Camden in the Preface of his *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales regnante Elisabetha* ([Leiden: Elsevir, 1639], sigs *2r-6v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336]), and Peter Heylyn in the Preface to *Aërius redivivus: or, The History of the Presbyterians*, 2nd ed. [London: by Robert Battersby for Christopher Wilkinson, *et al.*, 1672], sig. A4r-v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 852-53]), not to mention Johannes Sleidanus, whose *Commentariorum de statu religionis & reipublicæ Carolo V Cæsare libri xxvi* (Frankfurt: Johannes Theodor Schönwetter, 1610), sig. *2r) Swift "abstracted" at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 130).

In his own historiographical essays, Swift would pledge his solidarity with this commitment. Even for a severe portrait of Harley in *An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry*, he claimed: "I thought it lay in my Power, as I am sure it is in my Will, to represent Him to the World with Impartiality and Truth" (*Prose Works*, VIII, 138). See also *An Enquiry into the Behavior of the Queen's Last Ministry*, ed. Irvin Ehrenpreis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), pp. 14-15n35.

p. 36, l. 35 THE *Guardian* of the *Regal Library*] Succeeding the emigré French Huguenot Henri (Henry) Justel (1620-93), who became librarian at St James's Palace in 1681 (Sheppard, *Memorials of St James's Palace*, I, 378), Richard Bentley was appointed Royal Librarian on 12 April 1694, his annual salary being £200 (George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, [*British Museum*] *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols [London, 1921], I, xxvii; D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents relating to the London Book Trade, 1641-1700*, 3 vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], III, 186).

p. 36, ll. 35-36 a Person of great Valor, but chiefly renowned for his **Humanity*] In the Preface to his edition of the epistles of Phalaris, as a footnote added to the fifth edition of 1710 pointed out, Boyle lambasted Bentley's ostensible lack of cooperation: "[*Epistolas*] collatas etiam curavi usque ad *Epist. 40 cum MS in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro singulari suâ humanitate negavit*" (*Phalaridis Agrigentinarum Tyranni epistolæ*, sig. a4v). Although in the subsequent war of the words Bentley vigorously defended himself (*A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* [1697], pp. 66-68), hardly a

pamphleteer failed to refer to Bentley's "*Humanity*," turning private offence into public stigma (Anthony Alsop, *Fabularum Æsopicarum delectus* [Oxford: Johannes Crooke, 1698], p. 128; [Atterbury, *et al.*], *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined*, pp. 7, 9, 10, and *passim*; William King, *A Journey to London in the Year 1698* [London: A. Baldwin, 1698], p. 23; [Atterbury], *A Short Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Justice*, pp. 2-3, 6, 24; [Atterbury], *A Short Review of the Controversy between Mr Boyle and Dr Bentley*, pp. 6, 7, 8, and *passim*; Tom Brown, *Letters from the Dead to the Living* ([London, 1702], p. 22). It seems no exaggeration to say that whoever used the word 'humanity' between 1698 and 1704 would automatically have associated 'Bentley': "This was the sparkle which kindled so hot a flame" (SCOTT XI, 227n†).

p. 36, l. 36 a fierce Champion for the *Moderns*] One of many paradoxes pervading *The Battle of the Books*: no less a figure than England's most eminent classical scholar turns out to be a camp follower of the Moderns (PRESCOTT, p. 205; Robert M. Adams, "Swift and Bentley," *The Roman Stamp: Frame and Façade in Some Forms of Neo-Classicism* [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1974], pp. 145-60), bearing, as is emphasized a few lines later, "a cruel Rancour to the *Antients*" and showing "all Marks of his Favor to the *Books* of their Adversaries" (p. 37, ll. 8-10).

p. 36, l. 37 - p. 37, l. 1 had vowed, with his own Hands, to knock down two of the *Antient* Chiefs] Phalaris and Aesop (see p. 50, ll. 14-15).

p. 37, ll. 1-2 on the superior Rock] See the note on "the two Tops of the Hill *Parnassus*" (p. 34, ll. 19-20).

p. 37, ll. 2-7 but endeavouring to climb up, was cruelly obstructed by his own unhappy Weight, and tendency towards his Center; a Quality, to which, those of the *Modern* Party, are extreme subject; For, being light-headed, they have in Speculation, a wonderful Agility, and conceive nothing too high for them to mount; but in reducing to Practice, discover a mighty Pressure about their Posteriors and their Heels] A characteristic of the *Battle* is "the echoing of phrases or ideas of the *Tale* proper," in this case to a question asked by the Hack in the Dedication to Prince Posterity (Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift's "Tale of a Tub"*, pp. 192-93). All their boundless pretensions notwithstanding, Moderns like "the *True Critick*," Bentley, invariably gravitate towards the bottom (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. Q); an image not unique with Swift, as Samuel Butler's portrait of the

Dunce demonstrates: “He is commonly compos’d of two different tempers, strong inclinations and as feeble abilities, both which pulling contrary ways he stands stock still, unless, as all things are up hill to him, every strain he makes, his weight being more than his strength can master, does but set him backwards” (*Characters, 1612-1680*, ed. Charles W. Daves [Cleveland and London: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970], p. 271).

p. 37, l. 10 lodging them in the fairest Apartments] A reference to the “tiny studies, known as ‘carrels,’” which are a characteristic of medieval libraries, and “each of which was provided with a desk and a stool to accommodate a single monk,” or any other reader, for that matter (Streeter, *The Chained Library: A Survey of Four Centuries in the Evolution of the English Library*, pp. 4-5).

p. 37, ll. 13-15 Besides, it so happened, that about this time, there was a strange Confusion of Place among all the *Books* in the Library] Not only “about this time,” but throughout the seventeenth century the Royal Library’s state of decay was deplored (McKenzie and Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents relating to the London Book Trade, 1641-1700*, I, 299, 318, 450; II, 314, and *passim*; Sheppard, *Memorials of St James’s Palace*, I, 377-78). Little had changed by the time Bentley took office in 1694. In an exact and penetrating analysis, his *Proposal for Building a Royal Library* published three years later, he was outspoken on its want of space, its general state of dereliction, and the neglect of its collections: “THE Royal Library now at St. *James’s* ... has gradually gone to Decay, to the great dishonour of the Crown and the whole Nation. The Room is miserably out of Repair; and so little, that it will not contain the Books that belong to it. A Collection of ancient Medals, once the best in *Europe*, is embezzled and quite lost. There has been no supply of Books from abroad for the space of Sixty years last: nor any allowance for Binding; so that many valuable Manuscripts are spoil’d for want of Covers: and above a Thousand Books printed in *England*, and brought in Quires to the Library, as due by the Act for Printing, are all unbound and useless” ([London, 1697], p. 1; reprinted in Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, pp. 93-96).

Bentley was not alone in his criticism (McDayter, “The Haunting of St James’s Library, pp. 4-14). Not only did a contemporary and friend like John Evelyn side with him (*The Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], V, 224; *Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., FRS, to which are added, A Selection from his Familiar Letters*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley, 4 vols [London: Bickers and Son, 1906], III, 449), even Continental visitors to London chimed in. The French traveller, Henri Misson de Valbourn, for example, recorded in his

Memoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre, “La Bibliothèque du Roi est aussi en pitoyable état: J’apprens que le Docteur Bentley qui en a la Direction ... fait tout ce qu’il peut pour la rétablir: mais il n’y réüssira pas, si le Maître n’a le loisir & la volonté de s’en mêler” ([The Hague: Henri van Bulderen, 1698], p. 32), and as late as 1708, a German Lutheran philosopher and literary historian, Jakob Friedrich Reimann (1668-1743), in response to the question, “Was hat man denn von der *Bibliotheca Regia zu Londen* vor Nachricht [What is the news about the Royal Library in London]?” told his readership: “Gar schlechte, denn es ist so wenig eine *Historia*, als ein *Catalogus* von derselben vorhanden ... so soll sie doch itzo ... gar sehr herunter gekommen seyn, und nicht so in acht genommen werden, wie sie wohl billig solte [A very bad one since neither a history nor a catalogue of it is available ... and it is rumoured to be quite dilapidated and uncared for]” (*Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historiam Literariam* [Halle: Renger, 1708], p. 371).

But St James’s Library as the setting for the Battle of the Books is significant in still another respect. As Bentley’s 1697 *Proposal* made manifest, the Royal Librarian’s conception of a library “was guided by the taxonomic impulses and democratic principles of the Royal Society, both at odds with the hierarchies the honorary Ancients admired.” In this, Bentley was guided by the first modern theoretician of library organization, Gabriel Naudé, whose *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library* had been translated into English by Bentley’s friend Evelyn in 1661. “Rather than shelving materials chronologically or by size and format,” Naudé made “the revolutionary proposal” to shelve books by subject, irrespective of age, format, and hierarchy. Following Naudé’s shelving procedures, Bentley “put Ancients and Moderns cheek to jowl,” ignoring reputed merit and prestige and positioning “strange shelf mates” together (Kelly, “Swift’s *Battle of the Books*: Fame in the Modern Age,” pp. 96-98; see also Matthew Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History* [London: Vintage, 2004], pp. 92-95). The upshot is that *The Battle of the Books* begins “in a bibliographic dystopia” (Jayne Elizabeth Lewis, *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651-1740* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], p. 59).

p. 37, l. 15 for which several Reasons were assigned] Swift’s narrator is paying tribute to the pluralism required of a thorough and conscientious historian whenever the causality of events and motives is in doubt, perhaps following the example set by Thucydides and Diodorus of Sicily, both of whom Swift read and “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (*The History of the Grecian War*, p. 258 [VI, lx, 2]; *The Library of History*, IV, 55, 3 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128-31]). However, the gesture is specious since all reasons “for [the] strange Confusion of

Place among all the *Books* in the Library” may in fact be reduced to one, Bentley’s madness (see the note on “some fell upon his *Spleen*,” p. 37, l. 19).

p. 37, ll. 16-17 to a great Heap of *learned Dust*, which a perverse Wind blew off from a Shelf of *Moderns*, into the *Keeper’s Eyes*] Paradoxically, Bentley is blinded by his own (supposed) supporters: “With his caricature of Bentley, Swift may have offered the first instance of that literary cliché – the doddering librarian. Indeed, the entire modern iconography of the library is present here, all the stereotypes are in motion: the learned pedant, crabbed and dust-addled, himself consumed by and consuming bookworms” (Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History*, p. 103).

p. 37, ll. 17-18 He had a Humor to pick the *Worms* out of the *Schoolmen*] Another vicious jab at Bentley who, Swift’s narrator implies, is feeding on rotten intellectual diet. After Bacon’s criticism, in *The Advancement of Learning* and elsewhere, scholastic philosophy was widely denounced as a “kinde of degenerate learning,” which “chiefely raigne[d] amongst the Schoole-men.” These “hauing sharpe and stronge wits, and aboundance of leasure, and smal varietie of reading,” Bacon argued, “their wits being shut vp in the Cels of a few authors (chiefely *Aristotle* their Dictator) ... and knowing little Historie, either of Nature or time, did out of no great quantitie of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out vnto vs ... laborious webbes of Learning” (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, p. 24 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]). More particularly, the critique, coming as it did from many quarters (Herschel Baker, *The Wars of Truth: Studies in the Decay of Christian Humanism in the Earlier Seventeenth-Century* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952], pp. 173-86), focused on what was seen as fruitless subtleties, syllogistic reasoning, and cant, “fine Cobwebs,” as Butler jeered, fit to “take lodgings in a Head / That’s to be let unfurnished” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 6 [I, i, 157-60]; see also Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 154 and 299; John Milton, “An Attack on the Scholastic Philosophy,” *Complete Prose Works, I: 1624-1642*, ed. Don M. Wolfe [New Haven: Yale University Press, and London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1953], 240-48; Cowley, “Life and Fame,” *Poems*, pp. 39-40 and n; Burnet, *Sacred Theory of the Earth*, I, 5 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26; II, 1246; I, 475-76, 302-4]). This view fitted in with the image of Bentley as the archetype of empty-headed, petty-minded pedants. See also the note on “When the Works of *Scotus* first came out” (p. 36, l. 9).

p. 37, l. 18 and swallow them fresh and fasting] A phrase popular with Swift, meaning, we think, “without having eaten anything beforehand” (*Journal to Stella*, ed. Williams, I, 44, 123; *Prose Works*, IV, 173), although this explanation does not accord with the definition given in the OED.

p. 37, l. 19 some fell upon his *Spleen*] ‘Spleen’ is symptomatic of a melancholic temperament: “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 one part than in another, and have their places of residence ... as *Blood* about the heart; *Flegm* in the brain; *Choler* in the liver; and *Melancholy* in the spleen” (Gervase Markham, *Markham’s Master-Piece Revived* [London: by Andrew Clark for Thomas Passenger, 1675], pp. 7-8 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1197]). Critics, such as Bentley, who suffer from pathological melancholia (“male affecto”), teeter on the edge of insanity, as Samuel Butler warned in his “Satyr upon the Imperfection and Abuse of Human Learning”: “For whether ’tis their want of Conversation, / Inclines them to al Sorts of Affectation: / Their Sedentary Life, and Melancholy, / The Everlasting Nursery of Folly; / Their Poring upon Black and White too subtly / Has turnd the Insides of their Brains to Motly, / Or squandring of their wits, and time, upon / Too many things, has made them fit for none, / Their Constant over-straining of the minde / Distort[s] the Braine” (*Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose*, ed. René Lamar [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928], p. 80, ll. 271-80). See also the additional sources listed in the note on “Her *Spleen* was so large” (p. 43, l. 33).

p. 37, l. 19-20 some climbed up into his Head] “To have a worm in one’s brain (head)” is proverbial for “to be mad” (ODEP, p. 732; TILLEY W907). “He is an old frippery-Philosopher, that has so strange a natural Affection to worm-eaten Speculation, that it is apparent he has a Worm in his Skull” (Butler, *Characters*, ed. Daves, p. 76).

p. 37, l. 21 walking much in the dark] People suffering from pathological melancholia “cannot endure light” (Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson, 3 vols [London: J. M. Dent, and New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961], I, 407).

p. 37, l. 23 clap *Des-Cartes* next to *Aristotle*] Bentley's first insane deed (see the note on "Besides, it so happened," p. 37, ll. 13-15). There is no evidence for Swift's ever having owned any edition of René Descartes (1596-1650) nor is there any evidence "for Swift's ever having read [him]" (Phillip Harth, *Swift and Anglican Rationalism: The Religious Background of "A Tale of a Tub"* [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1969], p. 150). The only principle of Cartesian physics and cosmology which Swift is certain to have known is the controversial doctrine of vortices, but this was so commonplace by the end of the seventeenth century (see the note on "till Death, like a Star of superior Influence, drew him into his own *Vortex*," p. 45, ll. 35-36) that he could easily have picked it up from half a dozen books in his library (Hermann J. Real, "Swift's Non-Reading," *That Woman! Studies in Irish Bibliography: A Festschrift for Mary 'Paul' Pollard*, eds Charles Benson and Siobhán Fitzpatrick [Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2005], pp. 126-28), not to mention the *Athenian Mercury*, which in the "Supplement to the Third Volume" (pp. 3-8) printed a long review of Father Gabriel Daniel's *Voyage into the World of Descartes* (Paris, 1691) and whose "four Volumes with their Supplements" Swift had seen and perused in 1691 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 107 and n1).

On the other hand, Swift would have known enough of Descartes's "Warlike Inclination" (MORÉRI s.v.) as well as philosophical antagonism towards Aristotle, if only in that general way which could be expected of any educated reader at the time (Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica*, pp. 20-23, 129, 144). As a result, it is misleading to conclude that "Swift's contrast of Bacon and Descartes implies an assessment of their differing epistemologies" (Zimmerman, *Swift's Narrative Satires*, p. 93). In Glubbudubdrib, too, Swift made Gulliver beg the necromancing Governor to call up Descartes in order to have him interviewed, *and* exploded, by Aristotle (*Prose Works*, XI, 197 [III, viii, 2]). See also Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, pp. 171-72, 363-65.

p. 37, ll. 23-24 Poor *Plato* had got between *Hobs*] As a rule, Swift had little use for systematic philosophy, yet given the countless references and allusions to Plato and his spokesman Socrates, "that Prince of Philosophers" (*Prose Works*, XI, 268 [IV, viii, 9]), throughout his works, Plato "was one of [Swift's] favourite writers" (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1440-42, following Irene Samuel, "Swift's Reading of Plato," *Studies in Philology*, 73 [1976], 440-62, and Hoyt Trowbridge, "Swift and Socrates," *From Dryden to Jane Austen: Essays on English Critics and Writers, 1660-1818* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977], pp. 81-123, among others). Swift also felt attracted to Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), strange bedfellow though the Philosopher of Malmesbury may have seemed. 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 (Ehrenpreis, “The Doctrine of *A Tale of a Tub*,” pp. 68-69; endorsed by F. P. Lock, *The Politics of “Gulliver’s Travels”* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980], pp. 9-11). Even so, it seems difficult to imagine two philosophers whose political principles were further apart than Plato and Hobbes. Coupling them together is to be seen as another of Bentley’s mad misdeeds.

p. 37, l. 24 and the *Seven Wise Masters*] A cycle of stories of Oriental origin but popular in many European languages as shown by the extraordinary number of manuscripts, printed editions, and variations in which it was circulated (Detlef Roth, ed., “*Historia septem sapientum*”: *Überlieferung und textgeschichtliche Edition*, 2 vols [Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004], I, 7-175). Its plot revolves around an emperor who has his son educated away from the court by seven wise masters. On his return, the empress, like Potiphar’s wife, attempts to seduce the prince. When she is repelled, she accuses him to her husband and tries to bring about the prince’s death by seven stories she relates to the emperor. However, each time the seven sages refute her narrative by tales about the craft and deceitfulness of women. Finally, the truth comes to light, and the traitorous empress is executed.

Translated from the Greek into Latin in the fourteenth century, the cycle was first printed in an English version by Wynkyn de Worde c.1515. The fact that Plato here seems to be mismatched with Hobbes and the Seven Wise Masters suggests that Swift was thinking of one of the many chapbook versions, which though of inferior quality were nonetheless widely disseminated (K. Campbell, *A Study of the Romance of the Seven Sages* [Baltimore, 1898], particularly pp. 91-93).

p. 37, ll. 24-25 *Virgil* was hemm’d in with *Dryden*] Publius Virgilius Maro (70-19 BC), “poetarum facile princeps,” as the title page of one of the many editions Swift owned proclaims (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1913-18), echoed in MORÉRI’s entry on Virgil as “the Prince of Poets” in Augustan Rome (s.v.), not only the poet whose *Aeneid* revealed the greatness of the Roman empire but also of the beauty and fertility of Italy, and of Roman religion. Since in Scaliger’s judgement “Virgil [had] not only excelled all *Humane* Wit; but had rais’d himself to a kind of equality with Nature it self ... which made him the Pattern, Rule, Beginning, and End of all *Poetical* Imitation” (Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *De re poetica: or, Remarks upon Poetry. With Characters and Censures of the Most Considerable*

Poets [London: by Ric. Everingham for R. Bentley, 1694], pp. 238-39), it is no surprise that his works should have become the most widely read schoolbooks. During his great reading period at Moor Park in 1697/8, Swift read Virgil twice during one year (REAL [1978], pp. 128-29), and his knowledge of the Roman poet was thorough and pervasive throughout his life.

Seventeenth-century literary criticism revived the ancient debate about the rivalry of Virgil and 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]).

Since one of the symptoms of Bentley’s insanity is to yoke incompatible authors together (see the note on “there was a strange Confusion of Place among all the *Books* in the Library,” p. 37, ll. 13-15), the pairing of Dryden with the Roman poet implies harsh criticism of Dryden’s translation of Virgil. Dryden may have induced this criticism himself. In his “Preface to Fables Ancient and Modern,” which Swift is likely to have known (REAL [1978], p. 134), he had been improvident enough to admit that he had found “*Homer* a more pleasing Task than *Virgil*,” declaring “the *Grecian* [to be] more according to [his] Genius, than the Latin Poet” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1448); a case of being hoist with one’s own petard.

p. 37, l. 25 and *Withers*] A spelling variant of George Wither (1588-1667), author of *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613), common in the seventeenth century. Wither’s reputation as a poet among his contemporaries is amusingly revealed in an anecdote told by John Aubrey in his biography of Sir John Denham: “In the time of the Civill-warres, George Withers, the Poet ... was taken prisoner, and was in danger of his Life, having written severely against the King, &c. Sir John Denham went to the King, and desired his Majestie not to hang him, for that *whilst G. W. lived, he should not be the worst Poet in England*” (*Brief Lives*, ed.

Oliver Lawson Dick [Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1957], pp. 92-93; see also C. S. Hensley, *The Later Career of George Wither* [The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1969], pp. 7-8), so that, unsurprisingly, Wither became “a byword for inept verse” (*Lovers, Rakes and Rogues: Amatory, Merry and Bawdy Verse*, ed. John Wardroper [London: Shelfmark Books, 1995], p. 211 and n). Like Pope later in *The Dunciad*, Swift was presumably not familiar with any of Wither’s poetic output but seems to have relied for his verdict on the criticism by others, “following a tradition already well-established” (*The Dunciad*, ed. James Sutherland, 3rd ed. [London: Methuen, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965], pp. 78-79 [I, 126]). For example, Ben Jonson, who was in Swift’s library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 980-82), launched a caustic satire upon Wither in *Time Vindicated* (1622/3) (*Ben Jonson*, eds C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson, VII [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952], 653-73; X [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967], 651-56), and Butler and Oldham ridiculed him, too (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 20 and 157 [I, i, 639-42 and II, iii, 169-70]; “A Satyr ... Dissuading the Author from the Study of Poetry,” *The Poems*, eds Brooks and Selden, pp. 241, 481, ll. 99-102).

p. 37, ll. 26-27 those *Books* that were Advocates for the *Moderns*, chose out one from among them] The most likely candidate is William Wotton who, in the *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, “examined the Number and Strength” of the Moderns (ELLIS [2006], p. 210).

p. 37, ll. 30-31 in all Fifty Thousand, consisting chiefly of *light Horse*, *heavy-armed Foot*, and *Mercenaries*] “*Light Horse*,” “[a] Name given to distinguish them from the Men at Arms formerly us’d, who were all in Armour ... In *England*, all are now call’d *Light-Horse*, except the Troops of Life-Guards” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.).

“The strength of all Armies,” the military theorist, Sir James Turner, points out, “ever was, and is the Infantry, and the strength of it is the heavy armed,” adding as an explanation that “he who is in good Armour fights with courage, as fearing no wounds, and frightens him with whom he fights, that is not so well armed” (*Pallas Armata: Military Essayes of the Ancient Grecian, Roman, and Modern Art of War* [London: by M. W. for Richard Chiswell, 1683], p. 168).

As the armies of the Ancients and Moderns in full battle array show somewhat later (p. 41, l. 37 - p. 42, l. 27), “the *light-horse* are the poets, other than epic; [and] the *foot* are the historians” (CRAIK, p. 423; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 227n1). ‘Mercenaries,’ while superficially signifying “those who have little interest in the points of the struggle” (CRAIK, p. 423), is a more

loaded term. There are two reasons for this, the first of a constitutional, the second of a political nature, both of which intermingle.

In his “Of Publick Absurdities in England,” miscellaneous observations on customs and beliefs in English political life never published in any edition of Swift’s works during his lifetime, he noted: “Mercenary Troops in England can be of no use, except to awe Senates, and thereby promote arbitrary Power in a Monarchy or Oligarchy” (*Prose Works*, V, 80; echoed in III, 40-41, and XI, 131), “arbitrary Power” being of course, as Swift recorded in *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man* of 1708, “a greater Evil than *Anarchy* it self” (*Prose Works*, II, 15). This argument echoed the one put forward by earlier political theorists, according to which a mercenary standing army posed a continual threat to the constitutional liberty of a country: “The Mercenary and Auxiliary [Souldiers] are unprofitable, and dangerous, and that Prince who founds the duration of his Government upon his Mercenary Forces shall never be firm nor secure, for they are Divided, Ambitious, Undisciplin’d, Unfaithful, Insolent to their Friends, Abject to their Enemies, without Fear of God, or Faith to Men, so the Ruin of that Person who trusts to them is no longer Protracted, than the Attempt is deferred,” Machiavelli warned in *The Prince* (*The Works of the Famous Nicolas Machiavel*, pp. 214-15); see also Diodorus of Sicily (*The Library of History*, V, 11, 1-4), Morus (*The Complete Works of St Thomas More, IV: Utopia*, eds Surtz and Hexter, pp. 63-65), and Sir William Temple, with all of whom Swift was intimately familiar (Robert C. Steensma, “Swift on Standing Armies: A Possible Source,” *Notes and Queries*, 208 [1963], 215-16; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1141-42; III, 1833-34). For repercussions of this constitutional argument during the standing army controversy, see E. Arnold Miller, “Some Arguments Used by English Pamphleteers, 1697-1700, concerning a Standing Army,” *Journal of Modern History*, 18 (1946), 306-13.

However, at the time Swift was engaged in writing *The Battle of the Books*, there was a second, more immediate occasion, which was conducive to the view that “the word, *standing Army*, had an odious sound in *English* ears” (as Bishop Burnet was to formulate retrospectively in the *History of his Own Time*, 2 vols [London: Thomas Ward, and Joseph Downing and Henry Woodfall, 1724-34], II, 206). The explanation is to be sought in the bitter controversy about a standing army which erupted in England after the Peace, or Treaty, of Ryswick in 1697 (Lois G. Schworer, “*No Standing Armies!*” *The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* [Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974], particularly pp. 137-87). In this controversy, the King, insisting on his favourite Dutch guards and supported by his Lord Chancellor Somers and Defoe, among others, stood against Dryden and opposition

pamphleteers like John Trenchard and Walter Moyle. All of these voiced the same, and familiar, reservations, calling up the spectre of “Despotick Pow’r: / Dang’rous to Freedom, and desir’d alone / By Kings, who seek an Arbitrary Throne” (Dryden, *Fables Ancient and Modern*, in *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1560-61, ll. 599-601), and denouncing standing armies as “the Instruments of Tyranny and their Country’s Ruin” (John Trenchard, *An Argument Shewing that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government* [London, 1697], p. 29; see also [Revd Samuel Johnson], *A Confutation of a Late Pamphlet Intituled, A Letter Ballancing the Necessity of Keeping a Land-Force in Times of Peace* [London: A. Baldwin, 1698], pp. 6-7, and *passim*).

Fifty Thousand] Since, in Swift, little if anything is accidental, it may be noted that this figure is strikingly close to the one (49,632) with which Trenchard and Moyle charged William III in their *Short History of Standing Armies in England* ([London: A. Baldwin, 1698], p. 35), and which Swift may have come across in Temple’s library (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 287).

p. 37, ll. 31-32 Whereof the *Foot* were in general but sorrily armed, and worse clad] This description is evocative of forlorn heaps, such as that of Catiline (Sallustius, *Bellum Catilinarium: cum commentariis Johannis Minellii*, pp. 173-74 [LVI, 3] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1634-37]) or that of Falstaff in SHAKESPEARE, *The First Part of King Henry IV*, IV, ii, 2272-2300, which Swift knew (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 481 and n4).

p. 37, ll. 32-33 Their *Horses* large, but extreamply out of Case and Heart] *Scilicet*, those of the light horse (CRAIK, p. 423). *Case*, “physical condition,” as is evident from Thomas Stanley, among others (*The History of Philosophy* [1701] [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1975], p. 121).

p. 37, ll. 33-34 some few by trading among the *Antients*, had furnisht themselves tolerably enough] It is difficult to pinpoint with accuracy any of these modern ‘traders’ Swift may have had in mind.

p. 37, ll. 37-38 a solitary *Antient*, squeez’d up among a whole Shelf of *Moderns*, offered fairly to dispute the Case] “Solitary *Antient*” is reminiscent of a leitmotif (see the note on “the greatness of their Number,” p. 35, ll. 10-11).

p. 38, ll. 2-3 the *Moderns* were much the more **Antient* of the two] A marginal gloss refers the reader “to the *Modern Paradox*,” in its Latin version “*Antiquitas seculi Iuuentus Mundi*.” Its verbal casuistry notwithstanding, this paradox

according to which it was the Ancients who lived in the infancy of time while the Moderns lived in the later, more ancient ages of the world was propounded by Bacon and associated with him throughout the seventeenth century (see, in addition to Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, pp. 78, 120-21, 138, Joseph Glanvill, whose *Scepsis scientifica* [p. 104] Swift read before 1699 [*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1], Glanvill, *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1979 {1676}], I, 26), Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *Essays on Several Subjects* [London: Richard Bently, 1691], pp. 82-84 and 94-95, and Bernhard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* ([Paris: Michel Brunet, 1698], p. 249; *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes*, in *Poésies pastorales*, p. 275 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1057-58]), although the Lord Chancellor was not the only Modern to have asserted it: “These times are the ancient times when the world is ancient, & not those which we count ancient *Ordine retrogrado*” (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, p. 29 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]; see also Foster E. Guyer, “C’est nous qui sommes les Anciens,” *Modern Language Notes*, 36 [1921], 257-64; W. von Leyden, “Antiquity and Authority: A Paradox in the Renaissance Theory of History,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 19 [1958], 473-92). Swift made his persona(e) employ the paradox no less than three times in his early triad of satires (see *A Tale of a Tub*, pp. QQ; *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, pp. QQ), each time varying it to explode their rhetorical and logical inanities (Clark, *Form and Frenzy in Swift’s “A Tale of a Tub”*, pp. 204-7; 215n60). Small surprise, then, that “as for any Obligations [the *Moderns*] owed to the *Antients*, they renounced them all” (p. 38, ll. 3-4).

p. 38, ll. 6-7 *infinitely the greater Number (and especially, we French and English) were so far from stooping to so base an Example]*

p. 38, ll. 7-8 *there never passed, till this very hour, six Words between us]*

p. 38, ll. 8-10 *our Horses are of our own breeding; our Arms of our own forging; and our Cloaths of our own cutting out and sowing]* “L’homme n’aime que son propre ouvrage [But self-conceited man is fond of nothing but his own productions],” La Bruyère exclaims in *Les Caractères de Theophraste*, which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (3 vols [in one] [Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1697], II, 265 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1016-17]).

p. 38, ll. 12-13 their *Weapons* of rotten Wood, their *Armor* rusty, and nothing but Rags underneath] The very opposite of the Ancients' "shining Armor" (p. 46, l. 18).

p. 38, ll. 13-14 [*Plato*] laughed loud, and in his pleasant way, swore] It is unclear whether "in his pleasant way" refers to Plato's voice or manners. Both were attested to by his ancient biographers, among others, Aelian (*Varia historia*, ed. Lefevre, p. 507 [IV, ix], which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128-30; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 15-16]), and Stanley (*The History of Philosophy*, p. 157), drawing on Diogenes Laertius (*De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Marcus Meibomius, 2 vols [Amsterdam: H. Wetstein, 1692], I, 167 [III, 5] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-26]).

p. 38, ll. 16-17 those Advocates, who had begun the Quarrel] Thomas Burnet and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (see the note on "sent certain Ambassadors to the *Antients*," p. 34, l. 23).

p. 38, ll. 18-19 *Temple* happened to over-hear them, and gave immediate Intelligence to the *Antients*] A reference to Temple's "Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning," with which he imported the French *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* into England in 1690. However, in doing so, Sir William but resuscitated the dormant English controversy between Ancients and Moderns which had had a long and independent history of its own, reaching back to the beginnings of the seventeenth century (Richard Foster Jones, "The Background of 'The Battle of the Books,'" *The Seventeenth Century: Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope* [Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, and London: Oxford University Press, 1951], pp. 10-40). For a full bibliography of studies on the *Querelle* as a perennial phenomenon of literary and intellectual history, see REAL (1978), pp. 22-23n20.

p. 38, ll. 19-21 who thereupon drew up their scattered Troops together, resolving to act upon the defensive] Unlike the aggressive have-nots, the Moderns (see the note on "Invasions usually travelling from *North* to *South*," p. 33, ll. 9-10).

p. 38, ll. 22-24 This *Temple* having been educated and long conversed among the *Antients*, was, of all the *Moderns*, their greatest Favorite, and became their greatest Champion] As may be seen from the Præfatio of his edition, *Phalaridis Agrigentinarum Tyranni epistolæ*, where Boyle had launched into an extravagant

panegyric of Temple. Having complimented Sir William as “the great grace of the age [magnum ... sæculi decus],” he continued to portray an intellectually independent, courageous, and forthright mind, capable of friendship but perhaps more ‘martial’ than Temple’s self-image as a peacemaker would have warranted: “Cogitandi vim liberam & solutam, dicendi audaciam; affectuum pro diversâ rerum facie vehementiam, & varietatem; effusam in amicos benevolentiam, acerbum in hostes odium; piam erga literatos reverentiam, sinceram adversus probos amicitiam admiror” (sig. a3r). In Swift’s own “Ode to the Honourable Sir William Temple,” first published in 1745 but generally dated 1692 or 1693, the protagonist is not only good and great but also learned, three “mighty Epithets” in Sir William “at last united grown” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 28, ll. 59-61). What to make of this has been controversially debated (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, pp. 117-26; and Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, pp. 81-93).

p. 38, l. 23 conversed] “Conversant” (ELLIS [2006], p. 210, quoting the OED).

p. 38, ll. 25-26 For, upon the highest Corner of a large Window, there dwelt a certain *Spider*] See Catullus’ *Carmina*, 66, l. 49: “tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam [the spider who weaves her thin web aloft]” (*Catulli, Tibulli et Propertii opera* [Cambridge: Jacob Tonson, 1702], p. 108), echoing Hesiod, “Works and Days,” *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Ralph Winterton ([Cambridge: John Field, 1661], p. 38, l. 13 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 369-70; II, 849]).

p. 38, l. 27 by the Destruction of infinite Numbers of *Flies*] See the note on “*Beelzebub*” (p. 39, l. 3).

p. 38, ll. 28-29 whose Spoils lay scattered before the Gates of his Palace, like human Bones before the Cave of some Giant] Reminiscent of Cacus, “a Giant of a prodigious Bigness, who lived upon Humane Flesh” (MORÉRI s.v.; LITTLETON s.v.) and above whose “doorway skulls and arms of men were fastened pendent, while the ground bristled and bleached with human bones [Ora super postes adfixaque brachia pendent, / Squallidaque humanis ossibus albet humus]” (Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 557-58, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, III, 29 [VIII, 193-97]; Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. [VIII, 193-97] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56; III, 1916-17]). Cacus was eventually defeated and punished by Hercules. Their encounter became also a common subject in Renaissance iconography (Malcolm Bull, *The Mirror of the Goods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* [London: Penguin, 2006], pp. 107-9). See

also the note on “to drag out the lurking Errors like *Cacus* from his Den” (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. QQ).

p. 38, l. 30 Turn-pikes] “A Piece of Wood or Spar twelve or fourteen Foot long, six or eight Inches Diameter, cut in Sexangular Form, every Side of it bor’d full of Holes about an Inch Diameter, and five or six Inches from one another; but not answering on the Sides to one another, on the contrary all differently posited. Through these Holes, Pickets, that is, short Pikes, are run, being about five or six Foot long, pointed with Iron, and fastned into the Holes with Nails or Wedges. Thus the Points stand out every way, and these Turn-pikes are of great Use to stop an Enemy, being plac’d on a Breach, or at the Entrance of a Camp, or in any Gap” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.).

p. 38, l. 30 Palissadoes] “Great Wooden Stakes, or Spars, 6 or 7 Inches Square, and 8 Foot long, whereof 3 Foot are let into the Ground. They are planted on the Avenues of all Places that may be carry’d by Assault ... They are to stand so close, that no Interval remain between them, but what will serve for the Muzzle of a Musket, or to thrust a Pike through” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.; BAILEY s.v.). In *The Tatler*, no 230, of 28 September 1710, Swift scoffed at the fashionable use of this military term, belonging to the “abundance of Polysyllables” introduced, he sarcastically argued, by the war but unable “to live many more Campaigns” (*Prose Works*, II, 176).

p. 38, l. 30 the *Modern* way of Fortification] GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH refer to Perrault (p. 229n2), but this is misleading since Perrault discusses not so much modern fortification as the art of war (*Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes*, ed. H. R. Jauss [München: Eidos, 1964], pp. 401-3 [114-23]). Another annotator suggests that Swift here sneered at Sébastien Le Prestre, Seigneur de Vauban (1633-1707), Louis XIV’s highly regarded Commissaire-Général de Fortification, “who revolutionized the science of fortification and siegecraft” (ELLIS [2006], p. 210; for Vauban’s legacy and its impact, see Jamel Ostwald, *Vauban under Siege: Engineering Efficiency and Martial Vigor in the War of the Spanish Succession* [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007], pp. 8-19). Although Vauban was well known to LUTTRELL, who repeatedly refers to him as “cheife engineer” (II, 370, 503, and *passim*), there is no evidence that Swift had heard of Vauban. On the other hand, in the MILITARY DICTIONARY’s lapidary comment, “*Modern Fortification* [was] improv’d beyond the Ancient” (s.v.); a view to be endorsed by SCOTT XI, 231n†.

p. 38, ll. 31-32 the Center, wherein you might behold the *Constable* himself] GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH (p. 360) point towards Thomas Vaughan's *Anima magica abscondita* (London: by T. W. for H. B., 1650), which Swift is unlikely to have known, however. Sir John Davies's *Nosce teipsum*, which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30, 135), seems a likelier candidate: "Much like a subtill Spider which doth sit, / In middle of her Web which spreadeth wide; / If ought do touch the utmost threed of it, / She feeles it instantly on every side" (*The Poems*, ed. Robert Krueger [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975], p. 40, ll. 1061-64).

the *Constable*] "The governor or warden of a royal fortress or castle. (Still the official title of the governors of some royal castles in England.)" (OED).

p. 38, ll. 34-35 In this Mansion, he had for some Time dwelt in Peace and Plenty, without Danger to his *Person* by *Swallows* from above] According to Virgil, the black swallow likes to live in the villas of rich lords, flitting through them and gathering titbits for her nestlings: "Nigra velut magnas domini cum divitis aedes / Pervolat, & pennis alta atria lustrat hirundo, / Pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas" (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 642 [XII, 473-75] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). This motif is fused here with that of the enmity between the swallow and the spider as told by La Fontaine (*Fables choisies*, pp. 316-17 [IV, vi] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1025-27]), and Sir Roger L'Estrange (*Fables of Aesop and Other Eminent Mythologists: With Morals and Reflexions*, 4th ed. [London: R. Sare, et al., 1704], pp. 232-33 [CCLVIII]). For the traditional association of 'Peace and Plenty,' see the note on "WHOEVER examines with due Circumspection into the **Annual Records of Time*" (p. 33, ll. 1-2).

p. 38, ll. 35-36 or to his *Palace* by *Brooms* from below] In La Fontaine's fable "Of the Gout and the Spider [La Goute & l'Araignée]," the maid servants chase the spider out of the royal palace with their brooms (*Fables choisies*, pp. 105-7 [III, viii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1025-27]).

p. 38, ll. 36-37 When it was the Pleasure of Fortune to conduct thither a wandering *Bee*] See the Historical Introduction for the Bee and the Spider (pp. QQ).

p. 38, ll. 37-38 a broken Pane in the Glass] See the note on "there was a strange Confusion of Place among all the *Books* in the Library" (p. 37, ll. 13-15).

p. 38, l. 40 Cittadel] “A Fort with four, five, or six Bastions, rais’d on the most advantageous Ground about a City, the better to command it, and divided from it by an *Esplanade*, or open Space, the better to hinder the Approach of an Enemy” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.).

p. 38, l. 41 – p. 39, l. 1 Thrice he endeavoured to force his Passage, and Thrice the Center shook] A numeric formula popular with the ancient epic poets as well as their modern imitators. There are several variants; here, the pattern is, ‘Three times the same attempt leads to the same result.’ An example, among many, is from Virgil’s *Aeneid*: “Ter circum astantem laevos equitavit in orbes, / Tela manu jaciens: ter secum Troius heros / Immanem aërato circumfert tegmine silvam” (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 569 [X, 885-88]), presumably echoing Homer’s *Iliad* (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 211, 308, 335, 409 [XI, 462-63; XVI, 784-85; XVIII, 228-29, XXIII, 817] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17; II, 890]). Among the moderns, Milton followed suit in *Paradise Lost*: “Thrice he essayed, and thrice in spite of scorn, / Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 80 [I, 619-20] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]), as did Sir Richard Blackmore in *Prince Arthur* (3rd ed. [London: Awnsham and John Churchill, 1695], p. 109). Swift read *Prince Arthur* at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30). See also *A Tale of a Tub*, p. Q.

p. 39, ll. 1-2 The *Spider* within, feeling the terrible Convulsion, supposed at first, that *Nature* was approaching to her final Dissolution] Based on Revelation (6:12-16; 15:1-8; 16:21), seventeenth-century eschatologists envisaged Christ’s epiphany on the Last Day to be preceded by a physical catastrophe of gigantic proportions (for sources and details, see 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 Press, 1989], pp. 65-96 [74-77]).

p. 39, ll. 3-4 *Beelzebub* with all his Legions, was come to revenge the Death of many thousands of his Subjects] Beelzebub’s origins and functions were as contested among seventeenth-century theologians as they are today (see the learned commentary on 2 Kings 1:2 by Matthew Poole, *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturae interpretum*, 5 vols [London: J. Flesher, et al., 1669-76], I, 589 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1488-89]). In Hebrew, the name means “Lord of the Flies,” later taken to signify a god who “never ceases to infest the human race in every way,” an allegorization which may have caused Milton to

make Beelzebub Satan's closest ally, "one next himself in power, and next in crime" (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 48, 103 [I, 79-81 and n; II, 299-300] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). Here, Swift emphasizes Beelzebub's function as "*Lord of the flies, or ... Master flie, which hath power and authority over the rest*" (Thomas Godwin, *Moses and Aaron: Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites Used by the Ancient Hebrewes*, 7th ed. [London: by S. G. for Andrew Crook and John Williams, 1655], p. 155 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 720-21]), a description approved by numerous others in Swift's library, theologians, lexicographers, and poets (see, in addition to MORÉRI s.v., Cowley, *Pindarique Odes*, in *Poems*, p. 67n8).

p. 39, l. 6 the *Bee* had acquitted himself of his Toils] "Heroic diction for 'freed himself from the cobweb'" (ELLIS [2006], p. 210).

p. 39, l. 13 *A Plague split you, said he, for a giddy Son of a Whore*] "The language is deliberately wasteful: out of fifty three words spoken by the Spider, twenty one are oaths; monotonous and paltry expletives, indicative of a mind's emptiness more than its anger" (Ward, *Jonathan Swift: An Introductory Essay*, p. 67); a fact that William King castigated as early as 1704. To be sure, King did not consider that, for Swift, the Spider's "Oaths and Imprecations" was a means of characterization, dirt for art's sake: "It is through disgust that Swift habitually attains his most forcible effects" (Quintana, *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, p. 83; *Some Remarks on the "Tale of a Tub"* [London: A. Baldwin, 1704], p. 9).

p. 39, l. 16 *Good Words*] An appeal for moderation used, for example, by Patroclus to pacify the irate Thersites in SHAKESPEARE's *Troilus and Cressida* (II, i, 908), but as old as Terence: "Bona verba quæso (*Andria*, in *Comoediae VI* [Amsterdam and Leiden: Abraham Wolfgang and Jacob Hack, 1686], p. 35 [I, ii, 35] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1812-13]); proverbial in the phrase, "Good [soft, fair, gentle] words pacify (appease) wrath" (TILLEY W806 and W822). See also Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 142, 241.

p. 39, l. 17 pruned] "Preened" (OED).

p. 39, l. 18 *Kenne*] "Contemptuously applied to a small and mean dwelling or hut" (OED).

p. 39, l. 19 *Sirrah*] An address expressing contempt or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker, as in SHAKESPEARE, *Coriolanus*, V, ii, 2851-52: “Sirra, if thy Captaine knew I were heere, he would vse me with estimation.”

p. 39, l. 20 *Never to stir abroad against an Enemy*] “Aranei quoque vel maximè hostiles [apibus] (Pliny the Elder, *Historiae naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. Johannes de Laet, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1635], I, 579 [XI, xix] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459]). 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, “*How does a Spider poison a Fly?*”: “It has been observ’d, that when a large Fly is intangled, the Spider dares not come so near to her ... but stands at some little distance” (III, no 1 [Question 5]).

p. 39, l. 24 *whom all the World allows to be so much your Betters*] “The plural form ‘Betters’ was commonly applied to a single person at this time” (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 230n2). See, in addition to *The Spectator*, no 266 (*The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965], II, 536), Samuel Butler: “But rather wisely slip his Fetters, / And leave them for the Knight, his *Betters*” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 194 [III, i, 117-18]).

p. 39, ll. 27-28 the Spider having swelled himself into the Size and Posture of a Disputant] Indicative of the Spider’s pride (p. 40, l. 22), customarily attributed to the spider since the myth of Arachne and Athene. As Ovid narrates it in the *Metamorphoses*, Arachne challenged the goddess to a contest in weaving. Angered at her presumption, Athene tore the web to pieces and beat the weaver. In despair, Arachne hanged herself, but Athene in pity turned her into a spider: “antiquas exercet aranea telas [as a spider, she exercises her old-time weaver-art]” (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 103 [VI, 5-145] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]). According to 1 Corinthians 8:1, *Scientia inflat*, “Knowledge puffeth up,” quoted by Bacon (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, p. 7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]).

p. 39, l. 31 Opposite] “Adversary, opponent” (OED).

p. 39, l. 35 *Drone-Pipe*] “The bass pipe of a bagpipe, which emits only one continuous tone” (OED), with a pun on drone, “the non-working bee” (EGERTON, p. 66).

p. 39, l. 37 *will rob a Nettle as readily as a Violet*] Originally a compliment to the Bee's creative art but here transformed by the Spider into the charge of indiscriminating habits: "I commend [Virgil's and Ovid's] witte, not their wantonnes, their learning, not their lust: yet euen as the Bee out of the bitterest flowers and sharpest thistles gathers honey, so out of the filthiest Fables may profitable knowledge be sucked and selected," Thomas Nash notes in *The Anatomie of Absurditie* of 1589 (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964], I, 332); a conviction voiced earlier by Plutarch, Erasmus, and Jonson, among others (*Omnium quæ exstant operum*, ed. Jean Ruault, 2 vols [Paris: A. Estienne, 1624], II, 467C; *Parabolæ sive similia*, pp. 66, 92; *Volpone*, in *Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, V, 46 [II, i, 30-31] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1467-69; I, 573-74; II, 980-82]).

p. 39, l. 38 - p. 40, l. 2 *This large Castle (to shew my Improvements in the Mathematicks) is all built with my own Hands*] Swift's annotators see the Spider's boast as an expression of the Moderns' vaunted progress in mathematics (SCOTT XI, 233n*), usually referring to Wotton's *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (pp. 174-84, 410-11; CRAIK, p. 424; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 231n1; ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 220; ELLIS [2006], p. 210). While this reading may not be ruled out, it is also a fact that modern superiority in this area was claimed by many others, Joseph Glanvill, whose *Scepsis scientifica* (pp. 103-4) Swift read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1), and Sir Thomas Pope Blount, among them (*Essays on Several Subjects*, pp. 87-88). Arguing *contra opinionem*, Sir William Temple voiced doubts about the pretended superiority of the Moderns in mathematics. While granting mathematics to be "the most valuable of [sciences] to the Use and Benefit of Mankind," he took the mathematics of the Ancients to be on a par with that of the Moderns ("Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning," *Miscellanea: The Third Part*, pp. 232-33). Moreover, it is to be noted that in the Spider's argument mathematical progress is restricted to fortification, whose "true Mother" mathematics is, as Hobbes had emphasized (*Leviathan*, p. 42 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]). For the *de facto* progress of the mathematical sciences in the seventeenth century, see Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 348-50, and *passim*.

p. 40, l. 5 *my Musick*] Aristophanes describes the music of the bees in *The Birds*, ll. 749-51 (*Aristophanis Comoediæ vñdecim Græcè & Latinè* [Leiden: J.

Maire, 1624], p. 557 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 80-82]). See also, for the evolution of ‘the song of the bee,’ Jan Hendrik Waszink, *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1974), pp. 16-17.

p. 40. ll. 6-8 *I visit, indeed, all the Flowers and Blossoms of the Field and the Garden, but whatever I collect from thence, enriches my self* “Silk-worms that live upon Leaves, and Bees that feed on Flowers and Blossoms, do indeed both of them thrive upon their respective Aliments, and are thereby enabled to present Men with useful productions, but with this difference; That the subtil threads of Silk-worms serve principally to cloath others, whereas the Honey that is elaborated by the Bee, does not onely supply others with a healing and cleansing Medicine in some Distempers, but affords a great deal of pleasure to the Bee her self,” Robert Boyle enthused in “Occasional Reflections upon Several Svbiects” (*The Works*, eds Michael Hunter and Edward B. Davis [London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999], V, 48-49), which Swift read before 1702 (*Meditation upon a Broomstick*, p. □). For the great usefulness of the Bee, see also p. 40, l. 25.

Led by “some resemblance” between Swift’s sentence and Temple’s use of the bee metaphor in “Of Poetry,” several critics assume that Swift is here paying a compliment to his patron (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 231n4; Kathleen Williams, *Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise* [Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1958], p. 126; Davis, *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire and Other Studies*, p. 113; Hunting, *Jonathan Swift*, p. 28). This assumption is not convincing. Any closer look at Sir William’s text will reveal that, while Swift emphasizes the Bee’s usefulness, and for very specific reasons, too, Temple reads the bee’s ‘ranging’ as a metaphor of poetic liberty, an interpretation which seems to be unique in its critical history: “The Truth is, there is something in the *Genius* of Poetry, too Libertine to be confined to so many Rules ...’Tis as if to make excellent Honey, you should cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them ... You had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They must range through Fields, as well as Gardens, choose such Flowers as they please, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and distinguish: They must Work up their Cells with Admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and sever it from the Wax, with such Distinction and Choyce, as belongs to none but themselves to perform or to judge” (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 52, 261 [ad 52.409-22]).

p. 40, l. 8 *without the least Injury to their Beauty, their Smell, or their Taste*] An emblem in Joachim Camerarius' *Symbolorum & emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum centuria tertia* compares the beneficial activity of the philosopher with that of the bee: "*Quæ multis prosint, sapiens fert, colligit, auget, / Vt varios flores sedula libat apis.*" Like the Bee in its altercation with the Spider, the *subscriptio* makes the point that this pursuit happens without injuring those that make it possible: "SINE INIVRIA [without any injury]" ([Nuremberg, 1596], p. 91); a thought also emphasized somewhat earlier by Erasmus: "Cum ad omnia aduolent apes, tamen nullis nocent floribus" (*Parabolæ sive similia*, p. 165 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 573-74]; see also "Providence," *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. Hutchinson, p. 118, ll. 65-68; and HENKEL AND SCHÖNE, col. 919).

p. 40, l. 9 *your Skill in Architecture, and other Mathematicks*] An ironic refutation of another Modern boast, which again is indebted to Temple. In "An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning," Sir William had extolled the achievements of ancient architects, praising "that admirable Science or Skill ... by which, such stupendious Fabricks have been raised of old, and so many of the Wonders of the World been produced." Having buttressed this argument with eminent examples from Egyptian, Greek, and Roman architecture, he concluded: "The stupendious Effects of this Science, sufficiently evince, at what Heights the Mathematicks were among the Antients" (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 25, 186 [ad 25.897-901 and 25.909-12]).

p. 40, ll. 11-13 *'tis too plain, the Materials are naught, and I hope, you will henceforth take Warning, and consider Duration and Matter, as well as Method and Art*] "Cobwebs ... may catch small Flies, but let Wasps and Hornets break through" (see *A Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind*, p. Q). See also Sir John Denham: "But if a Wasp or Hornet she entrap, / They tear her Cords like *Samson*, and escape" (*Poems and Translations*, p. 160), and Prior's "Satyr on the Modern Translators": "Whilst from themselves the honest Vermin spin, / I'de like the Texture, tho' the Web be thin" (*The Literary Works*, eds H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears, 2nd ed., 2 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971], I, 24, ll. 175-76).

as well as Method and Art] The Bee reiterates Bacon's request, first submitted in 1605, that any future inquiry into the "knowledge of method" needs to have regard not only to "the use of knowledge, but likewise to the progression of knowledge" (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, p. [PASSMANN AND

VIENKEN I, 126]). According to the representative of the Ancients, the Bee, the Moderns have achieved neither.

p. 40, l. 14 *spinning out all from your self*] It is this “refusal to recognize the value of anything outside oneself which Swift takes to be the chief symptom of madness,” a leitmotif of both the *Tale* and the *Battle* (Michael V. DePorte, *Nightmares and Hobbyhorses: Swift, Sterne, and Augustan Ideas of Madness* [San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1974], p. 67). See also the note on “*our Horses are of our own breeding*” (p. 38, ll. 8-9).

p. 40, ll. 21-22 *by a lazy Contemplation of four Inches round*] One reader points out, rightly, that *acedia*, or accidie, the sin of sloth, not only features as a mortal sin in medieval and Renaissance catalogues of the vices but also as a particular weakness of persons who suffer from morbid melancholy, and whose solipsistic, egotistic thoughts, spider-like, turn mostly upon themselves (Elke Wawers, *Swift zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt: Studie zum ideengeschichtlichen Kontext von “The Battle of the Books” und “A Tale of a Tub”* [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989], pp.180-90).

p. 40, ll. 22-24 *by an over-weening Pride, which feeding and engendring on it self, turns all into Excrement and Venom; produces nothing at last but Fly-bane and a Cobweb*] A commonplace as old as Diogenes Laertius (*De vitis, dogmatibus et apophthegmatibus clarorum philosophorum libri X*, ed. Meibomius, I, 468 [VII, 161] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 525-26]) but still popular in the seventeenth century. It may be encountered, among others, in Bacon, who compared “the wit and minde of man ... if it worke vpon it selfe” to “the Spider work[ing] his webbe ... [and] bring[ing] forth indeed Copwebs of learning, admirable for the finesse of thread and worke, but of no substance or profite” (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 24, 226 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]). In a note on *Pindarique Odes*, Cowley, too, compared “the Distinctions of the *Schoolmen* ... to *Cobwebs* ... either because of the too much fineness of the work which makes it slight, and able to catch onely little Creatures; or because they take not the materials from *Nature*, but spin it out of *Themselves*” (*Poems*, p. 40n1 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). See also Butler, *Characters*, ed. Daves, p. 171.

Fly-bane] “Poison for flies” (OED), coined by Swift (EGERTON, p. 67), presumably on the analogy of ratsbane (SHAKESPEARE, *The Second Part of King Henry IV*, I, ii, 296]). Swift here follows Erasmus, who had equated the spiders’ production of poison with the activity of those who, relying spider-like on

themselves, commingle the fictive with the mendacious, thus generating the ‘poison’ of untruth: “Quemadmodu[m] araneæ ex se telas texunt: Ita quidam ex seipsis comminiscuntur fabulas ac mendacia, cum nihil subsit ueri” (*Parabolæ sive similia*, p. 81 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 573-74]).

p. 40, ll. 24-25 *with long search, much Study, true Judgment, and Distinction of Things, brings home Honey and Wax*] Swift synthesizes the Horatian interpretation of the bee metaphor with another originally proposed by Seneca and subsequently endorsed, with variations of emphasis, by numerous philosophers and critics in Swift’s library (Waszink, *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung*, pp. 23-25). In his *Odes*, Horace compared his own poetic composition to the “swanlike” Pindar’s effortless one, highlighting the laboriousness of the creative process: “Ego apis Matinæ / More, modoque, / Grata carpentis thyma *per laborem* / *Plurimum*, circa nemus, vuidique / Tiburis ripas, *operosa* paruus / Carmina fingo,” translated by Cowley in *Pindarique Odes*: “Whilst, alas, my *tim’erous Muse* / *Unambitious* tracks pursues; / Does with weak unballast wings, / About the *mossy Brooks* and *Springs*; / About the *Trees* new-blossom’ed *Heads*, / About the *Gardens* painted *Beds*, / About the *Fields* and flowery *Meads*, / And all *inferior beauteous things* / Like the laborious *Bee*, / For little drops of *Honey* flee, / And there with *Humble Sweets* contents her *Industrie*” (*Quintvs Horatvs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 83 [IV, ii, 25-32] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]; *Poems*, p. 119). Although Cowley also adopted this aspect for “The Inconstant” (*Poems*, pp. 63-64 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]), and Sir William Temple touched on it in his own use of the metaphor in “Of Poetry” (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 52, 262 [ad 52.409-22]), the *tertium comparationis* of ‘laboriousness’ remained relatively rare in the critical history of the metaphor.

‘Judgment’ and ‘Distinction’ first come into play in Seneca’s reading of the Bee: “Nos quoque has apes debemus imitari, & quæcumque ex diversa lectione conguessimus, separare, melius enim distincta servantur. Deinde adhibita ingenii nostri cura & facultate, in unum saporem varia illa libamenta confundere: ut etiam si apparuerit unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse, quam unde sumptum est, appareat [We also, I say, ought to copy these bees, and sift whatever we have gathered from a varied course of reading, for such things are better preserved if they are kept separate; then, by applying the supervising care with which our nature has endowed us, we should so blend those several flavours into one delicious compound that, even though it betrays its origin, yet it nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came]” (*Ad Lucilium Epistulæ*

morales, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Joh. Fred. Gronovius, 3 vols [Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1658-59], II, 259 [lxxxiv, 5] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1664-65]). Seneca no longer shows himself interested in the creative mode of the process but in its result. This, the sum total - “quaecumque ex diversa lectione congegimus” - he insists, will have to be something other than the sum of its parts - “aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum est” - but only after readers’ discriminating intelligence - “*true Judgment, and Distinction of Things*” - has been brought to bear on their material - “adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate” (August Buck, *Italienische Dichtungslehren* [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1952], pp. 55, and *passim*). In the Renaissance, Erasmus and Montaigne as well as Bacon and Jonson, among others, concurred: “The third requisite in our *Poet*, or *Maker*, is *Imitation*, to bee able to convert the substance, or Riches of an other *Poet*, to his owne use ... Not, as a Creature, that swallowes, what it takes in, crude, raw, or indigested; but, that feedes with an Appetite, and hath a Stomacke to concoct, divide, and turne all into nourishment ... to draw forth out of the best, and choisest flowers, with the Bee, and turne all into Honey” (*Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VIII, 638-39; Erasmus, *Parabolae sive similia*, p. 105; Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. Pierre Coste, 5 vols [Geneva: M. M. Bousquet, 1727], I, 256; Bacon, *Novum Organum*, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, eds James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, IV [Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann Holzboog, 1962 {1860}], 92-93 [aph. xcv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 573-74; II, 1269-70]; see also Jürgen v. Stackelberg, “Das Bienengleichnis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen *Imitatio*,” *Romanische Forschungen*, 68 [1956], 271-93; R. J. Clements, *Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade* [New York: Octagon, 1970 {1942}], pp. 163-75).

‘Honey and Wax’ clinches the case in the Bee’s refutation of the Spider. The new compound is not only *different* from the sum of its components, it is also more *useful*. Like all other readings in the critical history of the bee metaphor, this one is traditional, too. Before Boyle, Pliny the Elder had praised the pre-eminent usefulness of the bee (*Historiae naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. de Laet, I, 566-68 [XI, v-viii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459]), and Cardano had gone so far as to describe it as the most prudent and useful of all animals in the Creation, Man excepted: “Sequitur vt apis omnium sit tum prudentia, tum vtilitate praestantissima, non solùm forsan exanguium, sed cunctorum, praeter hominem” (*Opera omnia*, III, 85b; see also Erasmus, *Parabolae sive similia*, pp. 48, 58; Andrews, *Apospasmata sacra*, p. 105 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46, 59-60, 573-74]). Yet there is a ‘sting’ in its application here inasmuch as the criterion of use is turned against the modern motto of *Commodis humanis inservire*, with which seventeenth-century Moderns identified themselves ever since Bacon first

proclaimed an operational, utilitarian *telos* as the manifesto of the New Science in *The Advancement of Learning* (Historical Introduction, pp. □□; see also J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth* [New York: Dover, 1960 {1932}], pp. 50-63; Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, pp. 59-60, 95-96, 150-55, and *passim*; Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626-1660*, pp. 335-40, and *passim*). In fact, the Moderns' own standard, the investigation of Nature so that "it may be *master'd, managed, and used* in the Services of Humane Life" (Glanvill, *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, III, 36; Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, p. 32 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]), is turned against them.

As a result, it is misleading to reduce Swift's Bee to only one source (Brian Vickers, "Swift and the Baconian Idol," *The World of Jonathan Swift: Essays for the Tercentenary*, ed. Brian Vickers [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968], pp. 87-128 [pp. 98-99]; Donald Greene, "Swift: Some Caveats," *Studies in the Eighteenth Century, II: Papers Presented at the Second David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, Canberra, 1970*, ed. R. F. Brissenden [Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973], pp. 341-58 [pp. 355-56]; Zimmerman, *Swift's Narrative Satires*, p. 94). At the same time, it is crucial to *exclude* specific 'sources,' such as Temple's *tertium comparationis* of *licentia poetica*, for a more adequate understanding of Swift's satiric strategy (*pace* John Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift: A Critical Biography* [London: Jonathan Cape, 1954], p. 76; John Traugott, "A Tale of a Tub," *The Character of Swift's Satire: A Revised Focus*, ed. Claude Rawson [Newark: University of Delaware Press, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983], pp. 83-126 [pp. 94-95]). Swift not only fused several aspects which had played a role in the critical history of the metaphor, he also ruled out a strictly poetological interpretation, which identifies sweetness and light with the Horatian *prodesse* and *delectare* (Williams, *Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise*, p. 126; Günter Ahrends, "Theorie der Dichtung und der literarischen Kritik in Swifts *Battle of the Books*," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, 18 [1968], 360-80; Charles Scruggs, "'Sweetness and Light': The Basis of Swift's Views on Art and Criticism," *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, 18 [1973], 93-104 [pp. 93-96]; Joachim Möller, "Von der Verrätselung zum Offenkundigen: Swifts *Battle of the Books* und Churchills *Epistle to William Hogarth* im Kontext ihrer Zeit," *Hogarth in Context: Ten Essays and a Bibliography*, ed. Joachim Möller [Marburg: Jonas, 1996], pp. 143-55 [147]). Of course, 'Honey and Wax' applies to poets but not to poets *only*. Aesop expressly emphasizes this in his epimyth: "*We shall find the Conclusions fall plain and close upon the Moderns and Us*" (p. 41, ll. 10-11), all areas of learning, *all*

Moderns and Ancients, that is (see also Nate, “*The Battle of the Books und die Querelle*,” pp. 271-73).

From the outset of the encounter, Swift drew on the knowledge that the Spider was the Bee’s firmly established natural enemy (see the note on “*Never to stir abroad against an Enemy*,” p. 39, l. 20), a fact which alone sufficiently explains his opting for the Spider as the Bee’s antagonist. His choice was propped by the Spider’s ‘character,’ its traditional association with pride and presumption (see the note on “the Spider having swelled himself into the Size and Posture of a Disputant,” p. 39, ll. 27-28). Finally, the Spider symbolically united, and juxtaposed in itself, the two qualities which, in Swift’s view, stood for Modernity – pathos of novelty and uselessness. The celebrated Christian virtuoso, Robert Boyle, had driven this very point home in a trenchant passage of the first Essay contributed to *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy* (1661): “And he, that is [in the contemplation of the world and the reflections on the information of the senses] wanting to himself, seems to live in this magnificent structure, called the universe, not unlike a spider in a palace; who taking notice only of those objects, that obtrude themselves upon her senses, lives ignorant of all the other rooms in the house, save that wherein she lurks; and discerning nothing either of the architecture of the stately building, or of the proportion of the parts of it in relation to each other, and to the entire structure, makes it her whole business, by intrapping of flies, to continue an useless life; or exercise herself to spin cobwebs, which, though consisting of very subtle threads, are unserviceable for any other than her own trifling uses” (*The Works*, ed. Thomas Birch, 6 vols [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965-66 {1772}], II, 9). This last requirement ruled out the silkworm, “which weaves its web much like the spider [telas araneorum modo texunt]” (Pliny the Elder, *Historiae naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. de Laet, I, 581 [XI, xxii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459]), as a serious alternative (not to mention the inconvenience that a library was hardly an eligible locality for the silkworm): “We finde great goodnesse many wayes in the Bee, and in the Silkworm,” Lancelot Andrewes, among many others, assured his readers (*Apospasmata sacra*, p. 105; Cardano, *Opera omnia*, III, 85b; Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 307 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 59-50, 344-46; III, 1976]).

p. 40, l. 32 *Aesop* broke silence first] Fittingly enough, Swift makes Aesop, “the greatest Master in his kind” (*Sir William Temple’s Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 33, 212 [ad 33.1172-73]; see also MORÉRI s.v.), provide the epimyth, or moral, of the fable, “a triumphant vindication of the art of Aesop, no matter what Bentley had done to his title page

and half of his leaves,” a figure who “exemplifies textual endurance” (Davis, *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire and Other Studies*, p. 112; Kelly, “Swift’s *Battle of the Books: Fame in the Modern Age*,” p. 99; see also Williams, *Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise*, p. 125; C. J. Horne, “‘From a Fable form a Truth’: A Consideration of the Fable in Swift’s Poetry,” *Studies in the Eighteenth Century: Papers Presented at the David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, Canberra 1966*, ed. R. F. Brissenden [Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1968], p. 196; Ramsey, “Swift’s Strategy in *The Battle of the Books*,” p. 385; Lewis, *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651-1740*, pp. 58-60).

Generically, the introduction of Aesop as adjudicating arbiter in the contest between the Spider and the Bee makes the fable both a ‘status poem’ (*Rangstreitgedicht*), a well-known genre in Greek and Roman literature, for which Swift only had to shift the superiority contest between, say, trees and plants into the animal kingdom (see Ewald Wagner, *Die arabische Rangstreitdichtung und ihre Einordnung in die allgemeine Literaturgeschichte* [Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1963]), and an allegory within an allegory, more precisely, “an allegorical interpretation of the allegory of the ancients and moderns of which Aesop himself is a part” (Zimmerman, *Swift’s Narrative Satires*, pp. 88-89, endorsing Maresca, *Epic to Novel*, p. 164).

p. 40, ll. 33-34 the *Regent’s Humanity*] See the note on “a Person of great Valor, but chiefly renowned for his *Humanity*” (p. 36, ll. 35-36).

p. 40, ll. 34-35 who had tore off his Title-page, sorely defaced one half of his Leaves, and chained him fast among a Shelf of *Moderns*] A satirical enactment of Bentley’s claim, in his *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris ... and the Fables of Aesop*, to have proved “one Half of the *Fables* now extant, that carry the name of *Aesop*, to be above a Thousand Years more recent than He. And the other Half ... will be found to be yet more modern, and the latest of all” (Bentley, “A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris ... and the Fables of Aesop,” appended in 1697 to Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 146 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1976]).

p. 40, ll. 36-37 He tried all his Arts, and turned himself to a thousand Forms] An allusion to the protean variety of Aesop’s themes: “*materiae tanta abundet copia* [an abundant variety of subjects],” as Phaedrus describes it in the Epilogue to Book Four (*Fabularum Aesopiarum libri V*, ed. David van Hoogstraten

[Amsterdam: Frans Halma, 1701], p. 128, [IV, xxv, l. 6]; see also II, Prologus, ll. 10-11 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1417]).

p. 40, ll. 37-38 in the borrowed Shape of an *Ass*, the *Regent* mistook Him for a *Modern*] “Swift credits Bentley with a propensity to mistake Asses for Moderns – a happy stroke of satire as Bentley is himself a leader of the Moderns” (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 233n4; see also Miriam Kosh Starkman, *Swift’s Satire on Learning in “A Tale of a Tub”* [Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950], pp. 103-4).

p. 41, l. 3 swore in the loudest Key] A pun, “Key” not only meaning “tone of the voice” (OED) but also the epimyth, or moral, of a fable (see L’Estrange, *Fables of Æsop and Other Eminent Mythologists*, sig. A4v).

p. 41, ll. 11-12 *was ever any thing so Modern as the Spider in his Air, his Turns, and his Paradoxes.*] Paradox was frequently deemed a hallmark of Modernity. Paradoxically, Swift makes the speaker of *An Argument against Abolishing Christianity* propound a paradox perhaps too hard to endure “even for [his] wise and paradoxical Age” (*Prose Works*, II, 27), an assessment also put forward by Meric Casaubon (*A Treatise concerning Enthusiasme* [1655], ed. Paul J. Korshin [Gainesville, Florida: Scholars’ Facsimiles, 1970], p. 13). For “Paradox [as] the Dotage of the Modern World,” see Clark, *Form and Frenzy in Swift’s “A Tale of a Tub”*, pp. 181-230; and Hermann J. Real, “The Dean’s European Ancestors: Swift and the Tradition of Paradox,” *La Grande-Bretagne et l’Europe des Lumières*, ed. Serge Soupel (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1996), pp. 135-42.

p. 41, l. 25 *unless it be a large Vein of Wrangling and Satyr*] In his “Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning,” Sir William Temple had lamented “the Vein of Ridiculing all that is serious and good” as “the Itch of our Age and Clymat,” a critique reiterated in “Of Poetry” (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 40, 227 [ad 40.1435-42] and 69, 307 [ad 1038-71.1100]), and chiming in with a complaint of Joseph Glanvill’s, who had denounced “the Humour of Disputing” as “*that* evil Genius, that makes Men confident of uncertain Opinions; and clamorously contentious against every different Judgment.” Glanvill reinforced this jeremiad with a long list of “the sad Effects of the *Humour* of Disputing” (*Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, IV, 24).

p. 41, ll. 30-31 *by infinite Labor, and search, and ranging thro' every Corner of Nature*] See the note on “*with long search, much Study, true Judgment, and Distinction of Things*” (p. 40, ll. 24-25).

p. 41, ll. 32-33 *thus furnishing Mankind with the two Noblest of Things, which are Sweetness and Light*] Swift makes Aesop think out, in his *interpretatio* of “Sweetness and Light,” the logical implications of the Bee’s “*Honey and Wax*” (p. 41, l. 32) so that there is no need to trace back the precise origin of what seems a distinctively Swiftian phrase. All attempts to show that Swift borrowed it have been unconvincing so far: either the ‘sources’ suggested are analogues at best (CRAIK, p. 425) or there is no likelihood, let alone evidence, that Swift would have been familiar with them (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 235n1).

p. 41, l. 35 this long Descant of *Aesop*] “Descant” here means “comment,” although a pun on the musical significance, “melodious accompaniment,” is not to be ruled out.

p. 41, l. 37 the two main Bodies withdrew] As mock-epic, *The Battle of the Books* draws not only on the generic repertory of individual poets, such as Virgil and Homer, but on that of the whole epic tradition with which Swift was familiar, its plots and themes, motifs, images, and idioms. It is therefore misleading (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, pp. 229-30) to embed the catalogue of forces *only* in the pre-texts of *The Iliad* (II, 484-877) and *The Aeneid* (VII, 641-817 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17]). Equally plausible candidates are Cowley (*Davideis*, in *Poems*, pp. 86-87) and Milton (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 66-77 [I, 376-567] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76; II, 1247]) as well as parodists mocking this generic matrix, such as Lucian in “A True Story” (*Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 647-53 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]) and Butler in *Hudibras* (I, ii, 102-486, ed. Wilders, pp. 32-42 [REAL {1978}, p. 134]). This even leaves out of consideration whether battle orders as recounted by historians such as Thucydides, whose *History of the Peloponnesian War* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 in Hobbes’s translation (REAL [1978], pp. 129-31) (*The History of the Grecian War*, pp. 221-22, 252-53 [V, 67; VI; 43]), have to be ruled out. As regards the length of his catalogue, Swift seems to have heeded an advice by Abraham Cowley. In the notes on his biblical epic *Davideis*, Cowley criticized his Greek and Roman predecessors, in particular Homer, as tedious and uninspiring because of the sheer length of their lists, announcing pointedly: “In this *Enumeration* of the chief *Persons* who came to assist *David*, I choose to name but a few” (*Poems*, p. 108).

p. 41, ll. 37-38 under their several Ensigns] “The Officer that carries the Colours among the Foot, and is the last Commission-Officer in the Company, being subordinate to the Captain and Lieutenant. The Ensign’s Post is at the head of the Pikes. He is to dye rather than lose his Colours” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.; see also Clifford Walton, *History of the British Standing Army, 1660 to 1700* [London: Harrison, 1894], p. 410).

p. 42, l. 1 Cabals] Archaic or obsolete for “a secret or private meeting, esp. of intriguers or of a faction” (OED).

p. 42, l. 1 consults] “Consultations” (OED). Annotators refer to Milton (CRAIK, p. 425; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 235n2), among others: “After short silence then / And summons read, the great consult began” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 90 [I, 797-98] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]).

p. 42, ll. 1-4 The *Moderns* were in very warm Debates upon the Choice of their *Leaders*, and nothing less than the Fear impending from their Enemies, could have kept them from Mutinies upon this Occasion] Another leitmotif of the *Battle*: lack of discipline among the Moderns is lamented by, among others, Justus Lipsius in *De militia Romana libri quinque*: “Ultimum, *Disciplina*. Me miserum, quid componam! Vtinam color aut species sit, quâ possim! Sed qualisqualis illa veterum; hodie nulla est; & fatebuntur ipsi qui militiæ se dederunt. O pudor, ô dedecus! Barbari & Scythæ hac parte nos superant, & leges ij aliquas habent, nos nullas. Quid ergo comparem?” continuing shortly afterwards: “Vnde tot rebelliones hodie ac tumultus? Minæ aut arma in suos duces? ab impunitate & licentiâ: & quamquam aliæ causæ prætexantur, istæ veræ & intimæ sunt” (*Opera omnia*, 4 vols [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin and B. Moret, 1637], III, 227, 229; see also IV, 89 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1079-84]). By contrast, military discipline among the Romans was legendary: “VENIO nunc ad præcipuum decus, & stabilimentum Rom. imperii, salutari perseverantia ad hoc tempus sincerum, & incolome servatum, militaris disciplinæ tenacissimum vinculum; in cujus sinu ac tutela serenus tranquillussq; beatę pacis status acquiescit,” Valerius Maximus enthused (*Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX*, p. 76 [II, vii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1886-89]).

p. 42, l. 4 The Difference was greatest among the *Horse*] The epic poets, or rather *poems*, “the combatants [being] not authors but ‘Creatures, call’d *Books*’” (ELLIS [2006], p. 211). In the hierarchy of literary genres, epic poems ranked

highest (H. T. Swedenberg, Jr, *The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944], pp. 8, 55, and *passim*), and so did, correspondingly, the cavalry in the military hierarchy: “Those who served on Horseback ... were all Gentlemen, and most of them of a high extraction,” which made them “with much reason demand as their due, the precedency of the Foot,” Sir James Turner explains (*Pallas Armata*, p. 231; see also Christopher Thomas Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army* [London: Putnam, 1934], pp. 17-18). Most troopers were “literate and able to supply their own horse” (see Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 116) and being better paid, too, the cavalry “always attracted a more intelligent, higher class of recruit than the infantry” (Correlli Barnett, *Britain and her Army, 1509-1970: A Military, Political, and Social Survey* [London: Allen Lane, 1970], pp. 96, 91; Austin Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War* [London: Phoenix Press, 2000], p. 98).

p. 42, l. 5 private Trooper] “Trooper. The vulgar Name, by which every Horse-Soldier is call’d” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.). “Private,” a soldier below the rank of non-commissioned officer. In January 1697/8, LUTTRELL reports, the Commons voted that, “on disbanding the army, besides what is due to them, there shall be allowed, by way of bounty ... six dayes full pay to each private trooper and non commission officer of the horse and dragoons” (IV, 333). See also the note on “*Dragoons, of different Nations*” (p. 42, l. 12).

p. 42, ll. 5-6 pretended to the chief Command, from Tasso and Milton, to Dryden and Withers] Torquato Tasso (1544-95), “the wonder of Italy,” whose epic poem on the conquest of Jerusalem during the first crusade, *La Gerusalemme liberata* (1581), was frequently summoned as an example of modern creativity. This “admirable Poem,” Samuel Daniel ruled in 1603, is “comparable to the best of the ancients” (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. Smith, II, 369). Swift owned Edward Fairfax’s enthusiastically received and widely influential 1600 translation (*Godfrey of Bulloigne: A Critical Edition of Edward Fairfax’s Translation of Tasso’s “Gerusalemme Liberata”*, eds Kathleen M. Lea and T. M. Gang [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981], pp. 35-52) in a later Dublin reprint, (*Godfrey of Bulloigne: or, The Recovery of Jerusalem* [Dublin: A. Rhames, 1726] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1800]), but there are no traces of his familiarity with Tasso in his early satires. However, he would have been aware of numerous testimonies in praise of modern Tasso which were in his library. Jean Louis Guez, Sieur de Balzac, for one, judged in his *Oevvres diverses*: “Je m’assure que vous m’avouëres que sa Jerusalem est l’ouvrage le plus riche & le plus achevé, qui se soit vû depuis le siecle d’Auguste: & on peut dire qu’en cet

excellent genre, Virgile est cause que Tasso n'est pas le premier, & Tasso que Virgile n'est pas le seul" ([Amsterdam: Daniel Elzevir, 1664], p. 122 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 770]). Sir William Davenant, for another, agreed in the Preface to *Gondibert*: "Tasso (who reviv'd the Heroick flame after it was many ages quench'd) is held both in time and merit, the first of the Modernes" (*Gondibert*, ed. Gladish, p. 5). And, finally, Dryden, in "The Dedication of the *Æneis*," declared *La Gerusalemme liberata* to be on a par with Homer and Virgil (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, III, 1010). In the context of these *testimonia*, Sir William Temple may not have been an impartial witness. In "Of Poetry," he saw Tasso's merit chiefly in an imitation of Virgil, "having not Wings for so high Flights" (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 67, 302 [ad 67.964-68]). This verdict left Swift no choice but to make Tasso "pretend to the chief Command" of the Moderns' cavalry.

Milton] Again, a concession to Sir William Temple, who had ignored Milton in his syncretism of ancient and modern epic poets, an indifference for which he was reprimanded even by his admirers (Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple, Bart*, 2 vols [London: Longman, et al., 1836], II, 170-71; Homer E. Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple: The Man and his Work* [New York: The Modern Language Association of America, and London: Oxford University Press, 1940], p. 296). After considering Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, Temple treated Milton as a *quantité négligeable* in "Of Poetry," positing as laconically as high-handedly: "I know none of the Moderns that have made any Atchievements in *Heroick* Poetry worth Recording" (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 68, 304 [ad 68.985-87]).

For once, Swift is unlikely to have concurred with his patron, however. He is known to have annotated *Paradise Lost* for Stella in 1703 (see the note on "Invasions usually travelling from *North* to *South*," p. 33, ll. 9-10), and in later life, too, he professed himself to be "an Admirer of Milton" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 515). Swift's only mildly censorious remark on *Paradise Lost*, among his marginalia of Gilbert Burnet's *History of his Own Time* (*Prose Works*, V, 270), is to be attributed more to an automatic instinct to dissent from the detested Burnet (Ehrenpreis, *Dr Swift*, pp. 692-96) than to a conviction he seriously held. Indeed, after initial neglect, Milton's renown was secure after 1690, as Dryden's famous "*Lines on Milton*" testify: "THREE Poets, in three distant Ages born, / Greece, Italy, and England did adorn. / The First in loftiness of thought Surpass'd; / The Next in Majesty; in both the Last. / The force of Nature cou'd no farther goe: / To make a Third she joynd the former two." Dryden's

lines were engraved anonymously below Milton's portrait in Jacob Tonson's 1688 edition of *Paradise Lost* (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, II, 540; IV, 1991). See also Dryden's "Authors Apology for Heroique Poetry; and Poetique Licence" (*The Works of John Dryden, XII: Plays*, ed. Vinton A. Dearing [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994], XII, 86); Raymond Dexter Havens, *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1922), particularly pp. 12-18; *Milton: The Critical Heritage*, ed. John T. Shawcross (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), particularly pp. 81-83, 89-93, and *passim*; and John Robert Moore, "Milton among the Augustans: The Infernal Council," *Studies in Philology*, 48 (1951), 15-25.

Dryden] A sarcastic comment on Dryden's lifelong yet futile endeavours to write an epic poem, "undoubtedly the greatest Work which the Soul of Man is capable to perform," as he was to confess in "The Dedication of the *Æneis*" of 1697 (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, III, 1003; see also Mary Thale, "Dryden's Unwritten Epic," *Papers on Language and Literature*, 5 [1969], 423-33). This plan was announced as early as the Preface to *Aureng-Zebe* in 1676 (*The Works of John Dryden, XII: Plays*, ed. Dearing, 154-55) and sketched out at some length in the *Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* of 1693, which Swift certainly knew (REAL [1978], p. 134): "And what I had intended to have put in practice (though far unable for the attempt of such a Poem) and to have left the Stage, to which my Genius never much inclin'd me, for a Work which wou'd have taken up my Life in the performance of it" (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, II, 616). Dryden tried to make up for this failure to write an epic poem, the supreme genre in the *rota Virgilio*, by translating Virgil's masterpiece, but if his secret hopes had been that translating the *Aeneid* would afford him the status of epic poet (implied in the Preface to "Poems from *Sylvæ*," *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, I, 391-92), they were dashed by Temple's laconic verdict: "A Man that only Translates shall never be a Poet" (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 17 and 168 [ad 17.585-86]). In this view, Dryden's pretending to the "chief Command" of the cavalry is nothing by presumption. See also the notes on p. 46, ll. 29, 31.

Withers] See the note on "and *Withers*" (p. 37, l. 25).

p. 42, l. 6 The *Light-Horse*] The poets, particularly the writers of 'sublime', that is, formal, complex, and ceremonious, odes. See also the notes on "in all Fifty Thousand, consisting chiefly of *light Horse*" (p. 37, ll. 30-31).

p. 42, ll. 6-7 were Commanded by *Cowly*] Abraham Cowley (1618-67), here as *Anglorum Pindarus*, one of young Jonathan Swift's role models (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, pp. 109-26), as he famously told his cousin Thomas Swift in May 1692: "I have a sort of vanity, or Foibless, I do not know what to call it ... it is (not to be circumstantiall) that I am overfond of my own writings, I would not have the world think so for a million, but it is so, and I find when I writt what pleases me I am Cowley to my self" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 110). Cowley may have owed his status as commander of the light horse to seventeenth-century assessments of his *Pindarique Odes* as 'innovative,' "rather a new sort of Writing than a restoring of an Ancient," as Thomas Sprat put it in the "Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Abraham Cowley," prefixed to the first collected edition of Cowley's *Works* (1668) (*Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Spingarn, II, 131-32 and 338). Denham celebrated the poet as one who had reached "Old *Pindar's* flights" ("On Mr Abraham Cowley," *The Poetical Works*, ed. Theodore Howard Banks, 2nd ed. [Hamden, Connecticut: Archon, 1969], p. 151, ll. 44-48), as did Addison, who in his poem, "An Account of the Greatest English Poets," dated 3 April 1694, praised Cowley as "a mighty genius," who had proved a match to "deep-mouth'd *Pindar*": "*Pindar*, whom others in a labour'd strain, / And forc'd expression, imitate in vain. / Well-pleas'd in thee he soars with new delight, / And plays in more unbounded verse, and takes a nobler flight" (*The Works*, ed. Thomas Tickell, 4 vols [London: Jacob Tonson, 1721], I, 37-38 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 7-8]; Arthur H. Nethercot, "The Reputation of Abraham Cowley, 1660-1800," *PMLA*, 38 [1923], 588-641). In his own Preface to *Pindarique Odes*, Cowley was more modest but nonetheless presented himself there as a pioneer, too, making it his aim "to let the Reader know [not so much] what [*Pindar*] spoke, as what was his *way* and *manner* of speaking; which has not been yet ... introduced into *English*" (*Poems*, sig. 3A2v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). See also the note on "*Pindar* the *Light-Horse*" (p. 42, l. 25).

p. 42, l. 7 *Despreaux*] Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711). "Monsieur Despreaux," Charles Marguetel de Saint-Denis, better known as Saint-Evremond, asked in "De la vraye et de la fausse beauté," "car y a-t-il quelque Ancien qu'on lise avec plus de plaisir?" (*Oeuvres meslées*, 4 vols [Paris: Claude Barbin, 1693], IV, 129 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1190-92]). Professing irritation therefore, numerous annotators have hastened to explain (away) Boileau's role in the camp of the Moderns: "Like Milton and Cowley, he is here named, without satirical purpose, as a representative modern poet" (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 235n3, echoing CRAIK, p. 425, and PONS, p. 276 and n3; endorsed by Jones, "The Background of 'The Battle of the Books,'" pp. 39-40, Hans Kortum,

Charles Perrault and Nicolas Boileau: der Antike-Streit im Zeitalter der klassischen französischen Literatur [Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1966], *passim*, ELLIS [2006], p. 211, and PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 257). In fact, VAN EFFEN, the first to translate Swift's early triad into French (see the note on "it was thought Prudent by our Ancestors," p. 36, l. 7), took this to be such a glaring error that, Bentley-like, he replaced Boileau by Perrault: "Dans l'Original on lui donne pour Compagnon *Despreaux*; j'ai mis *Perrault* à la place, parce que je conjecture qu'il doit être dans le MS. *Despreaux* a pris trop de peines pour défendre les Anciens" (II, 88n[b]).

On the other hand, Swift may be presumed to have known Boileau well (Felix Morrison, "A Note on *The Battle of the Books*," *Philological Quarterly*, 13 [1934], 16-20). There were no less than three editions of Boileau's *Œuvres diverses* in his library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 254-57), and it is therefore safe to assume that he was aware of Boileau's "Ode sur la prise de Namur" (*Œuvres diverses du Sieur D * * * avec Le Traité du sublime*, 2 vols [Paris: Denys Thierry, 1694], I, 249-63). In his "Discours sur l'ode," prefixed to the Ode, Boileau celebrated the beauties of Pindar but at the same time lamented the standard of modern imitations. In trying to overcome their mediocrity by his own imitation, the "Ode sur la prise de Namur," Boileau claimed, he had endeavoured to do justice to Pindar: "J'ay crû que je ne pouvois mieux justifier ce grand Poëte qu'en taschant de faire une Ode en François à sa manière, c'est à dire, pleine de mouvemens & de transports, où l'esprit parust plutôt entraîné de Demon de la Poësie, que guidé par la raison" (I, 251-54). In other words, Boileau set himself up as a modern follower of Pindar, who his (affected) modesty notwithstanding passed himself off as superior to the rest of his fellow Moderns. This self-image made him eligible for Swift as leader of the modern light horse.

p. 42. l. 7 the *Bowmen*] The philosophers (SCOTT XI, 237n‡; CRAIK, p. 425; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 235n4), an image no doubt appropriate to describe rationalists whose minds observe "no earthly limits" (Zimmerman, *Swift's Narrative Satires*, pp. 94-95). Given the fact that a practised bowman was able to shoot some twelve arrows during the time a musketeer needed to load and fire his crude and cumbersome weapon, and that there was always a danger of being caught "with matches unlit or extinguished by rain" (Barnett, *Britain and her Army, 1509-1970*, p. 95; Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army*, pp. 12-13; Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War*, pp. 100-1), it does not come as a surprise that eminent military theorists, such as Sir James Turner, pleaded for bringing the longbow into use again as late as the 1680s (*Pallas Armata*, p. 174). In fact, Parliament had not only confirmed the Archery Law in

1516 but also “made [it] perpetuall.” Lord Herbert, whose *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* is studded with Swift’s scrawls, describes in vivid detail the military advantages of the longbow: “I cannot but commend the constancy, if not wisdom of those times; it being certaine, that, when he that carries the Caleever goes unarm’d, the Arrow will have the same effect within its distance that the bullet, and can, againe, for one shot returne two. Besides, as they used their Halberts, with their Bow, they could fall to execution on the Enemy with great advantage” ([London: by E. G. for Thomas Whitaker, 1649], p. 55 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30]). Having weighed the pros and cons, the *Athenian Oracle*, in answer to the question, “*Whether of the two is the more serviceable Weapon, the Gun or the Bow?*” came to the conclusion: “Were it not that the World has generally disus’d this way of fighting, who are seldom guilty of forgetting the best Methods for destroying one another, we shou’d absolutely conclude for the Bow in all Cases, and at least venture to affirm, that against Horse it seems to be a much better Weapon than the other” (II [London: Andrew Bell, 1703], 340-41).

p. 42, ll. 7-8 under their valiant Leaders, *Des-Cartes, Gassendi, and Hobbes*] Previous annotators refer to Wotton’s *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* of 1697 to account for this strange gang of modern philosophers (p. 262), who may have been “representative leaders” but who also “differed widely in their views” (CRAIK, p. 425; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, pp. 235-36n5). The likelier explanation is more complicated, and it is, again, embedded in Temple’s “Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.”

In commenting on the progress of “the sciences wherein [the Moderns] pretend to excel,” Sir William had ruled categorically: “I know of no New Philosophers ... for Fifteen Hundred Years past, unless *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it ... by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no Means eclipsed the Lustre of *Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients” (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 23-24, 179 [ad 23.834-24.840]). It is noticeable that Temple, for once, refrained from pontificating, realizing perhaps that he was moving in shallow waters and seeking cover behind “Learned Mens Opinions.” Nonetheless, it is clear that Swift was at pains to make the best of this ‘argument.’ Earlier, he had tried to explain the “Confusion” in the Royal Library by the madness of its librarian, who was in the habit of pairing incompatible authors. Thus, Descartes was “clap[ed] next to *Aristotle*,” his philosophical antagonist (see the note on “clap *Des-Cartes* next to *Aristotle*,” p. 37, l. 23), and the same had happened to Plato, who was shelved next to his opponent Hobbes

(see the note on “Poor *Plato* had got between *Hobs*,” p. 37, ll. 23-24). This arrangement left Swift no alternative but to couple Epicurus with Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), “that Noble wit” who in seventeenth-century philosophy and science figured as the great rediscoverer and propagandist of Epicuro-Lucretian atomism, “a more excellent and more *Antient ... Hypothesis* [than the *Peripatetick Philosophy*],” as Glanvill enthused in *Scepsis scientifica* (pp. 108 and 130), which Swift had read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1) (see, for example, Gassendi’s *De vita et moribus Epicuri libri octo* [Lyons: G. Barbier, 1647], and *Syntagma philosophiae Epicuri* [Lyons: G. Barbier, 1649]).

p. 42, ll. 8-10 they could shoot their Arrows beyond the *Atmosphere*, never to fall down again, but turn like that of *Evander*, into *Meteors*, or like the *Canonball* into *Stars*] Once again, Swift is drawing on Samuel Butler: “It must be supernaturall, / Unless it be that Cannon-Ball, / That, shot in th’aire, point-blank, upright, / Was borne to that prodigious height, / That learn’d *Philosophers* maintain, / It ne’er came backwards, down again; / But in the *Aery region* yet, / Hangs like the Body of *Mahomet*. / For if it be above the Shade, / That by the *Earths* round bulk is made, / ’Tis probable, it may from far, / Appear no Bullet but a Star.” This was explained in a footnote: “This experiment was try’d by some Forreign *Virtuoso*’s, who planted a Piece of Ordnance point-blanc against the *Zenith*, and having fir’d it, the Bullet never rebounded back again, which made them all conclude, that it sticks in the mark; but *Des-Cartes* was of opinion, That it does but hang in the Air” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 164-65, 396 [II, iii, 435-46]).

like that of *Evander*] A lapse of memory, as previous annotators have noted (EGERTON, p. 69; CRAIK, p. 426; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 236n1; ELLIS [2006], p. 212). Swift is referring to the arrow of Acestes, not to that of Evander: “Namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo, / Signavitque viam flammis [For the arrow, as it sped in the streaming clouds, took fire, marking its way with flames]” (Virgil, *Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 338 [V, 525-26] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 42, ll. 10-11 *Paracelsus* brought a *Squadron* of *Stink-Pot-Flingers* from the snowy Mountains of *Rhætia*] Philipp Aureol Theophrast Bombast von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus (1493-1541), the Swiss physician and philosopher, who “used to laugh at the ordinary way of practicing Physick, and gloried to have overthrown the Method of *Galen*, which he saw was imperfect and doubtful, whereby he contracted the hatred of the Physicians” (MORÉRI s.v.). A brief excerpt from the Preface to *Paragranum* in which Paracelsus ferociously insists on

his leadership of modern physicians explains why he was the ideal candidate for Swift's satiric purposes: "*Vos me sectabimini, non ego vos. Me, me, inquam sectabimini: tu Auicenna, tu Galene, tu Rhases ... Non ego vos, sed vos me sectabimini, vos dico Parisienses, vos Montpensulani: vos Sueui ... vos Colonienses, vos Viennenses, vos quotquot Danubius ac Rhenus alit, vos quos Insulæ maritimæ claudunt, tu etiam Italia, tu Dalmatia, vos Athenæ, tu Græce, tu Arabs, tu Israelita. Non ego vos, sed me sectabimini, nec quisquam vel in extremo angulo latitabit, quem canes non permigent. Ego monarcha ero: mea ipsa monarchia erit*" (*Opera omnia*, I, 183 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 259-62]). For another equally contemptuous address to the physicians of his day, see Allen G. Debus, *The English Paracelsians* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1966), pp. 15-17; see also Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, pp. 132-33. For Paracelsus' self-assessment as monarch of modern physicians, see Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, eds Thomas C. Faulkner, et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), II, 243-44; V, 279.

a *Squadron*] "A Body of Horse, the number not fix'd, but from an hundred to two hundred Men, sometimes more and sometimes less, according as Generals see fit, the Army is in strength, and occasion requires" (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.). See also the note on "*Dragoons, of different Nations*" (p. 42, l. 12).

Stink-Pot-Flingers] Annotators are agreed that this phrase refers "to the despised chemical experiments of Paracelsus and his followers" (VAN EFFEN II, 89n[b]; CRAIK, p. 426; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 236n2). This explanation may not be ruled out; indeed, Paracelsus is eulogized as "Prince of Chemists [Chemicorum Princeps]" on the title page of his *Opera omnia medico-chemico-chirurgica*, which Swift owned (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 259-62), and as the high priest of seventeenth-century "chemical philosophers" (Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, pp. 14, 23-24, 29-35, 137-74; Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, pp. 7-9). If it is accepted, stink-pots signify "a hand-missile charged with combustibles emitting a suffocating smoke" (ELLIS [2006], p. 212, quoting from OED).

However, Paracelsus first of all conceived of himself as a physician, and on that proposition, two alternatives are perhaps more convincing. According to the first, stink-pot means "gallipot," or mortar, "a small earthen glazed pot" (OED) in which (medical) ingredients are pounded with a pestle and which was used not only by apothecaries but also by seventeenth-century doctors (Sir Henry Thomas, "The Society of Chymical Physitians: An Echo of the Great Plague of London, 1665," *Science, Medicine, and History*, ed. E. Ashworth Underwood, 2 vols [London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1953], II, 56-71). In fact, a gallipot was an indispensable tool in any physician's equipment. Among Swift's

contemporaries, Tom Brown played with the word in the same way as Swift did here (*Familiar and Courty Letters*, p. 134 [REAL {1978}, p. 133]).

The second alternative seems even more germane to Swift. In this reading, which is also intimated by the *Tale's* description of a Bedlam inmate “dabbling in his Urine” and elsewhere (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. Q and n† [added to the fifth edition]), stink-pot points to the (glass) vessel with which Paracelsians used to practise uroscopy, the examination of urine as a means of diagnosing diseases, pithily propagated in the master’s celebrated and widely influential formula: “Vrina caussæ morbi index [Urine indicates the cause of the disease]” (*Opera omnia*, I, 376a, 784-809; see also Herbert Silvette, “The Doctor on the Stage: Medicine and Medical Men in Seventeenth-Century English Drama,” *Annals of Medical History*, 8 [1936], 520-40 [pp. 520-32]; Debus, *The English Paracelsians*, pp. 31, 156-58; Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine*, pp. 189-94). From the Elizabethans till the middle of the eighteenth century, English satirists often had a field day with this method, invariably associated with the Moderns. “Sirra,” Sir John Falstaff inquires of his page, “what saies the doctor to my water?” (SHAKESPEARE, *The Second Part of King Henry IV*, I, ii, 255), and as late as 1730 Bernard Mandeville, himself a physician, made one of his speakers jeer at “a *Waterologer*, or *Piss-Prophet*, [who was] so expert, that he could tell by a Man’s working-day’s Water, what Trade; and by his *Sunday’s Water*, what Religion he was of” (*A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases*, Collected Works of Bernard Mandeville, eds Bernhard Fabian and Irwin Primer [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1981], II, 80; see also *The Art of Sinking in Poetry*, ed. Edna Leake Steeves [New York: Russell & Russell, 1968], p. 29).

Swift would have needed no inspiration in order to think of stink- or pisspots as ‘missiles.’ In seventeenth-century London life, pisspot (or chamberpot)-flinging was a recurrent feature (see *Sir Charles Sedley’s “The Mulberry Garden” (1668) and “Bellamira: or, The Mistress” (1687)*, ed. Holger Hanowell [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2001], pp. 135, 262-63 [ad 135.547-48]). Sir Samuel Garth, whom Swift owned and annotated, had the same idea for his *Dispensary*, IV, 50-51, V, 205-6 (*Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, pp. 93, 115 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 672-74]).

from the snowy Mountains of *Rhætia*] This term may be loaded for all we know. Paracelsus was a native of Einsiedeln, a small country town near Zürich. As Swift well knew, or could have known, the Latin word for this part of Switzerland was *Helvetia* (MORÉRI s.v. “Switzerland”). *Rhaetia*, by contrast, signifies the south-eastern part of Switzerland, bordering on Tyrol towards the East and Italy to the South. “Dicitur vulgò *les Grisons* Gallis ... tota regio montibus horret; ideóque

aspera & sterilis,” Philippus Ferrarius recorded in his revised edition of Baudrand’s *Novum lexicon geographicum*, which was in Swift’s library (2 vols [in one] [Eisenach: J. P. Schmidt, 1677], s.v. “Rhaetia” [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 615]), echoed by MORÉRI: “The whole Country is seated among inaccessible Mountains and Precipices: And indeed, the *Grisons* are the most Potent Allies of the *Swisses*” (s.v. “Grisons”). Unlike Helvetia, Rhaetia stands for natural, uncultivated wildness, and thus was more in character with the rude and uncivilized manner of Paracelsus.

p. 42, l. 12 *Dragoons*, of different Nations] ‘Dragoons,’ “Musketeers mounted, who serve sometimes a Foot, and sometimes a Horseback, being always ready upon any Thing that requires Expedition” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.; Turner, *Pallas Armata*, pp. 236-37). Because they were mounted (and therefore highly mobile), dragoons were designed for “scouting and skirmishing, advanced and rear guards, and the seizure and defence of bridges and other important tactical points.” Their equipment included “not the musketeer’s matchlock but ... an early form of firelock requiring no match or complicated manipulation, a better weapon for use on horseback or for skirmishing on foot” (see, in addition to Barnett, *Britain and her Army, 1509-1970*, p. 93, J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, I, 2nd ed. [London: Macmillan, 1910], 215-16; H. C. B. Rogers, *The Mounted Troops of the British Army, 1066-1945* [London: Seeley Service, 1959], pp. 63-64; C. H. Firth, *Cromwell’s Army: A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, 4th ed. [London: Methuen, 1962], pp. 123-28). As regards social and military prestige, dragoons were less highly regarded than troopers, implying here that physicians are inferior to poets and philosophers.

Of course, knowledge of military details like this raises the question of Swift’s military knowledge in general, and what may have been its sources, all the more so because critics tend to assume that “military actions evidently bored Swift” (Irvin Ehrenpreis, “Swift’s History of England,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 51 [1952], 177-85 [p. 181]). At first sight, this view seems to be corroborated by the books on his shelves: Swift’s library contained only two military writers, both from antiquity, Aeneas Tacticus (*fl.* BC 362), whose *Commentarius de toleranda obsidione* had been appended to Casaubon’s edition of Polybius of 1609, and the *Strategematum libri octo* by a Macedonian rhetorician, Julius Polyaeus (*fl.* AD 150) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1480-81, 1481-82). Neither of them suited his purposes, though. But since his early days at Trinity College, Swift was an avid reader of “History” (*Prose Works*, V, 192), and among the authors he studied, and “abstracted,” during his great reading period at

Moor Park in 1697/8, were many historians in whom he would have come across considerable information on military matters, such as Lord Edward Herbert's *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (1649) and Johannes Sleidanus' *Famouse Cronicle of our Time* (1560) (REAL [1978], pp. 128-32; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30). There is also evidence that Swift read, and annotated, before 1704 Enrico Caterino Davila's *Historie of the Civill Wars of France* of 1647 (Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, "A pretty mixture': Books from Swift's Library at Abbotsford House," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 67 [1984], 522-43), which would also have supplied him with sizable chunks of military knowledge.

p. 42, ll. 12-13 under the leading of *Harvey*] William Harvey (1578-1657), physician-in-ordinary to King Charles I, who expounded the circulation of the blood to the College of Physicians as early as 1616 but did not publish his discovery, entitled *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus*, until 1628. Together with the art of printing and gunpowder (*Various Thoughts, Moral and Diverting*, p. Q), it was considered to be "a discovery much insisted on by the advocates for the moderns" (HAWKESWORTH I, 145n‡), although "twas beleev'd by the vulgar that he was crack-brained; and all the Physitians were against his Opinion," with many writing against him (*Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Dick, p. 131). One of Harvey's advocates was Wotton, who "heartily congratulate[d] the Felicity of [his] own Country, which produced the Man that first saw the Importance of these noble Hints which he improved into a Theory, and thereby made them truly useful to Mankind" (*Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, pp. xxxiii, 224-36, 251-52 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1976]). Wotton was anticipated by, among others, Cowley (*Miscellanies*, in *Poems*, pp. 16-20), Glanvill (*Plus Ultra*, p. 15; and *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, III, 5), Fontenelle (*Nouveaux dialogues des morts* [Paris: Gabriel Quinet, 1683], pp. 144-55 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76; II, 1055-56]), and Pope Blount (*Essays on Several Subjects*, pp. 112-13).

Sir William Temple, grudgingly, paid his respect to Harvey's achievement but questioned the usefulness of the discovery, thus turning a much-vaunted scientific standard of the Moderns against one of their own most prominent members: "Doctor *Harvey* gave the first Credit, if not Rise, to the Opinion about the Circulation of the Blood; which was expected to bring in great and general Innovations into the whole Practice of Physick; but has had no such Effect" ("Of Health and Long-Life," *Miscellanea: The Third Part*, pp. 149-50; see also *Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of*

Poetry”, ed. Kämper, pp. 24, 181 [ad 24.848-49]). This verdict may account for the fact that, unlike the majority of the Moderns, Harvey is only wounded but not killed.

p. 42, l. 13 their great *Aga*] “*Aga*, is a Title given by the *Turks* to the Commander in Chief of the Janizaries; the word signifies Master or Lord” (MORÉRI s.v.). It occurs frequently in authors known to have been in Swift’s library. In addition to Moréri, Swift may have encountered it in François Bernier’s *Histoire de la derniere revolution des estats du Grand Mogol* (2 vols [Paris: Claude Barbin, 1671] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 190-91; first suggested by GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 236n5), in Sir Paul Rycaut’s *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (6th ed. [London: R. Clavell et al., 1686], pp. 362-65 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1622-23; first suggested by Harold Williams, *Dean Swift’s Library* [Cambridge: 1932], p. 83]), or in a travel account dealing with the Turkish empire available in his edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (II, 1288-90 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48]).

But source-hunting seems to be beside the point here. A more pertinent question is why Swift opted for this rather unusual word twice (see also p. 45, l. 26) to describe the commander of the modern physicians. Two explanations suggest themselves:

first, *Aga* is to evoke the image of the bloody and cruel Turk, a topos with which Swift was familiar from Johannes Sleidanus, whose *Commentaries* he “abstracted” during his great reading period at Moor Park in 1697/8 (*A Famovse Cronicle of oure Time* [London, 1589], fol. lxxxviir-v [REAL {1978}, pp. 128-30]), and from Samuel Butler (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 36, 40, and 356 [I, ii, 249-52, 388]), not to mention Sir William Temple (“Of Heroick Virtue,” *Miscellanea: The Second Part*, pp. 271-76). On the dissemination of the topos, see also C. A. Patrides, “‘The Bloody and Cruell Turke’: The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace,” *Studies in the Renaissance*, 10 (1963), 126-35.

Second, “by calling Harvey an aga Swift is calling him a non-Christian” (ELLIS [2006], p. 212). *Aga* is to conjure up the associative sequence ‘Turk, infidel, heretic, atheist,’ thus invoking commonplace which customarily taxed physicians with atheism, *Ubi tres medici, duo athei* [Out of three doctors, two are atheists]. Although Glanvill protested in *Scep sis scientifica* which Swift had read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1) that “the Proverb, *Ubi tres Medici, duo Athei* [was] a Scandal” (p. 182), the charge of infidelity against physicians had been traditional at least 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, 652). Moreover, due to the semantic indeterminacy of ‘atheism,’ basically “a ‘snarl word’ to be thrown indiscriminately at religious or political opponents for the slightest differences of opinion” in the seventeenth century (Ernest Albert Strathmann, “Elizabethan Meanings of ‘Atheism,’” *Sir Walter Raleigh: A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1951], pp. 61-97), it was possible to brand Mahometan Turks as ‘atheists, or infidels,’ as a famous stipulation in Robert Boyle’s will with which he founded the *Boyle Lectures* shows: the lectures were to be held “for proving the Christian Religion against notorious Infidels, viz. Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mahometans” (John F. Fulton, *A Bibliography of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961], p. 197). The implication seems to be that Modern physicians connive at unholy alliances.

p. 42, l. 13 Part armed with *Scythes*, the Weapons of Death] Pun, playing on scythe as part of the equipment of Death, the Great Leveller, and ‘lethal weapons.’ The first meaning is familiar from Greek and Roman literature (Horace, *Epistles*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 225 [II, ii, 178-79] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]), as well as many emblems of the Renaissance (HENKEL AND SCHÖNE, cols 1815-16; Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962], pp. 239-50, and *passim*), not to mention SHAKESPEARE, and others: “The next time I do fight / Ile make death loue me: for I will contend / Euen with his pestilent Sythe,” Antony promises Cleopatra (*Antony and Cleopatra*, III, xiii, 2004-6).

The second evokes a well-known topos from medical satire, as old as Pliny the Elder (*Historiae naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. de Laet, p. [XXIX, viii, 18] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459]), in which physicians figure as the companions, or helpmates, of Death: “And the multitude of *Physicians* hath destroyed many sound patients, with their wrong practise,” Ben Jonson noted in *Timber: or, Discoveries* (*Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VIII, 642 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 980-82]). Many others concurred, such as Glanvill, whose *Scepsis Scientifica* (p. 164) Swift read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1); Butler, who equated medical doctors with “*Man-slayers*” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 179 [II, iii, 953-54, 964]), and Garth, according to whom doctors, “the *Friends* o’ Fates ... fill *Church-yards*, and unpeople States” (*Dispensary*, III, 163-64 [*Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, p. 88] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 672-74]). See also Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical* (London: John Nutt, 1700), pp. 91-99.

p. 42, l. 14 All steept in *Poison*] See the note on “*white Powder* which infallibly killed without *Report*” (p. 42, ll. 15-16).

p. 42, ll. 15-16 *white Powder* which infallibly killed without *Report*] “Of white powder and such as is discharged without report, there is no small noise in the world,” Sir Thomas Browne, possibly echoing Bacon, noted in *Vulgar Errors* (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robbins, I, 129; II, 756), but any attempt to identify this white powder with gunpowder, which had been put forward by some advocates of the Moderns as a great modern invention (*Various Thoughts, Moral and Diverting*, p. QQ), is bound to be futile (PRESCOTT, p. 208; Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift’s “Tale of a Tub”*, p. 26 and n2; Richard N. Ramsey, “Swift’s Strategy in *The Battle of the Books*,” *Papers on Language and Literature*, 20 [1984], 382-89 [p. 385]). As a result, “the identification of the ‘white powder’ is obscure,” one annotator admits (*Gulliver’s Travels and Other Writings*, ed. Miriam Kosh Starkman [New York, Toronto, London: Bantam, 1965], p. 408n6).

A gloss in an early eighteenth-century commentary points in the right direction; not gunpowder but poison is referred to: “Cette poudre blanche est de la mort-aux-rats. L’Auteur traite ici les Medecins modernes d’empoisonneurs & d’assassins; c’est pour cette raison qu’il les armes de feaux, de couteau envenimez” (VAN EFFEN II, 89-90n[e]). And small cause for surprise this is given the notion of the physician as *veneficus* in medical satire: “I bought an vnction of a Mountibanck,” Laertes tells the King in *Hamlet*, “So mortall, that but dippe a knife in it, / Where it drawes blood, no Cataplasme so rare ... can saue the thing from death / That is but scratcht withall” (SHAKESPEARE, IV, vii, 2918-23; see also T. P. Harrison, Jr, “The Literary Background of Renaissance Poisons,” *Texas University Studies in English*, 27 [1948], 35-67). If this assumption is correct, it is safe to conclude that Swift was having white (sublimated) arsenic in mind, for two reasons: first, white arsenic counted as a modern invention: “The *White* [*Arsenick*] was not known to the Ancients,” Richard Mead stated in his *Mechanical Account of Poisons* ([London: by J. R. for Ralph South, 1702], p. 116); and, second, although known as a virulent poison, white arsenic was administered by contemporary doctors: “Album [Arsenicum] enim in medicina præstantissimum est,” Paracelsus declared, even though, he continued, it had to be used with utmost care by experienced physicians: “Attamen cauendum, ne quid nimium, ne sæpiùs. Venenum quandoquidem in se continens, assiduè ad cor penetrat ... Hoc quoque notatu dignum est, verùm postulat Medicum prudentem, prouidum, & in Medicina valdè expertum” (*Opera omnia*, II, 206b-

207b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 259-62]). See also Boyle, *An Experimental Discourse of Some Unheeded Causes of the Insalubrity and Salubrity of the Air*, in *The Works*, ed. Birch, V, 61-62; VI, 766.

p. 42, l. 16 several Bodies of *heavy-armed Foot*] Historians, of whom Swift never seems to have thought highly (see Davis, “The Augustan Conception of History,” *Jonathan Swift: Essays on his Satire and Other Studies*, pp. 277-92; James William Johnson, “Swift’s Historical Outlook,” *Swift: Modern Judgements*, ed. A. Norman Jeffares [London: Macmillan, 1968], pp. 96-120). If it is legitimate to extrapolate from Gulliver’s views in the necromancing episode of his *Travels* (III, vii-viii), admittedly written some twenty years later, to those of Swift in the late 1690s, he “WAS chiefly disgusted with modern History,” finding upon a strict examination that “the World had been misled by prostitute Writers” (*Prose Works*, XI, 199 [III, viii, 5]). This lack of regard for *modern* historiography may have been inherited from Sir William Temple (*Introduction to the History of England*, sig. A2r), and it is rooted in “a healthy skepticism as to the reliability of their work” (S. J. Connolly, “Swift and History,” *Reading Swift* [2008], pp. 187-202 [187-88]; see also Joseph M. Levine, “Ancients, Moderns, and History: The Continuity of English Historical Writing in the Later Seventeenth Century,” *Studies in Change and Revolution: Aspects of English Intellectual History, 1640-1800*, ed. Paul J. Korshin [Menston: Scolar Press, 1972], pp. 43-75 [47-48]). It is in accordance with this disrespectful treatment that historians represent that part of the modern army with the lowest social prestige. Infantrymen’s pay was that of the meanest labourer, and, as a result, desertion and mutinies were rife among them (Woolrych, *Battles of the English Civil War*, pp. 98-99).

p. 42, l. 16 all *Mercenaries*] See the note on “in all Fifty Thousand, consisting chiefly of *light Horse*, *heavy-armed Foot*, and *Mercenaries*” (p. 37, ll. 30-31).

p. 42, l. 17 *Guiccardine*] Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), the Florentine historian, at first sight, seems a strange choice as one of the leaders of the modern infantry. His posthumous *Della historia d’Italia*, published for the first time complete in 1580 (Venice: Gio. Antonio Bertano, 1580) and “approv’d by all Men of Learning” (MORÉRI s.v.), was not in Swift’s library, nor is there any evidence that Swift, or Sir William Temple, for that matter, was familiar with it. The most one can say with confidence is that Swift saw the passages from Guicciardini’s *History* appended to *The History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Brent, pp. 775-83 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1704-5). The spelling of the name suggests that Swift may have learned about Guicciardini indirectly from

Lord Edward Herbert of Cherbury, whose *Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth* (pp. 121, 213, and *passim*) Swift read and ferociously annotated at Moor Park in 1697/8 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 824-30). Although Lord Herbert frequently drew on Guicciardini for his own history, his stance towards his source was critical at times (see p. 121, for example). This suited Swift's satirical purposes admirably: for one thing, he clearly wanted a multinational gang of commanders, Italian, French, Spanish, Scottish, and English (both native and naturalized), for his "several Bodies of *heavy-armed Foot*"; for another, he needed a modern historiographer who had drawn fire on what in some quarters was regarded as "a pretty good book" (Guy Patin, *Lettres choisies* [Frankfurt: J. L. Du-Four, 1683], pp. 460-61 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1390]; Thomas Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum* [London: Richard Chiswell, 1690], pp. 388-90). In Perrault, Guicciardini figured as a historiographer in whom the Ancients had found their equal (*Parallèle*, ed. Jauss, p. 205 [100]), an assessment in which he had been anticipated by Dryden (*Plutarchs Lives: Translated from the Greek by Several Hands* [London: Jacob Tonson, 1683], in *The Works of John Dryden, XVII: Prose, 1668-1691*, eds Samuel Holt Monk, et al. [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971], 273, 465).

p. 42, l. 17 *Davila*] Enrico Caterino Davila (1576-1631) served in the French religious wars and wrote a *Historia delle guerre civili di Francia* (1630) about them, the English translation of which by Sir Charles Cotterell and William Aylesbury, *The Historie of the Civill Warres of France* (London: R. Raworth, 1647), Swift not only owned but also annotated meticulously from cover to cover. There is even evidence that he read the *Historie* twice over, its some 1,500 pages notwithstanding (Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, "A Pretty Mixture': Books from Swift's Library at Abbotsford House," *The Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 67 [1984], 522-43; PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 500-8). Wotton's judgement of Davila as "a most Entertaining Historian," who "wants neither Art, Genius, nor Eloquence, to render his History acceptable" (*Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 44 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1976]), endorsed Perrault's earlier view (*Parallèle*, ed. Jauss, p. 205 [100]), but, again, Swift had no choice but to follow Sir William Temple's more critical assessment (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 31, 206 [ad 31.1099]). See also Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age*, pp. 40-41.

p. 42, l. 17 *Polydore Virgil*] Polydore Vergil, of Urbino, Italy (c.1470-1555), after going to England in 1502, “in order to receive the *Peter-pence*, acquired the Prince’s favour and was made Archdeacon of *Wells*.” In that capacity, he completed *Anglica Historia*, for the first time published at Basle in 1534 (*The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485-1537*, ed. and trans. Denys Hay [London: Royal Historical Society, 1950], pp. ix-xxiii), which, according to one contemporary view, “is not very faithfull” (MORÉRI s.v.). Although Swift never possessed a copy, he is known to have utilized the *Anglica Historia* for his own historiographical efforts (Irvin Ehrenpreis, “Swift’s History of England,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 51 [1952], 177-85). Polydore’s role as a leader of the modern infantry may be accounted for by the fact that his reputation as a historian had been tarnished from the beginning by the charge that he “committed as many of [English] ancient and manuscript historians to the flames as would have filled a waggon, that the faults of his own work might pass undiscovered” (Marvell, *The Rehearsal Transpros’d and The Rehearsal Transpros’d the Second Part*, ed. Smith, pp. 316, 401). Swift would have found vestiges of this controversy in many historians on his shelves, among them, Francis Bacon (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 67, 268 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]) and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who attributed “not a little malignity” to Polydore (*Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, p. 9, read and annotated by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8; see also pp. 315, 437, and *passim* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 824-30]).

p. 42, l. 17 *Buchanan*] George Buchanan (1506-82) does not figure here as a poet and humanist of European reputation (see the *testimonia* in MORÉRI s.v.) but as the author of a violently anti-Catholic and anti-monarchical *History of Scotland*, which was in Swift’s library (*Rerum Scoticarvm historia* [Amsterdam: Louis Elzevir, 1643] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 297-300]). This gained him many enemies, the purity of his Latin notwithstanding, which was also acknowledged by Sir William Temple (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 23, 177 [ad 23.809-11]). “*Buchanan*,” Dryden enthused in *Plutarchs Lives*, “for all endowments belonging to an Historian, might be plac’d among the greatest, if he had not too much lean’d to prejudice, and too manifestly declar’d himself a party of a cause, rather than an Historian of it. Excepting only that ... our Isle may justly boast in him, a Writer comparable to any of the Moderns and excell’d by few of the Ancients” (*Works*, eds Monk, et al., XVII, 273, 466). Others were plainly derogatory. Among critics from Swift’s library, the relatively mild Anglican controversialist Peter Heylyn laconically characterized Buchanan as “a better Poet then Historian” (*Aërius*

redivivus: or, *The History of the Presbyterians*, pp. 168-69; see also p. 68 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 852-53]). Francis Bacon described the *History of Scotland* as “partial and oblique” (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 67, 268), as did William Camden (*Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha* [Leiden: Elzevir, 1639], pp. 105, 386), and Pierre Joseph d’Orléans (*Histoire des revolutions d’Angleterre*, 3 vols [Paris: Claude Barbin, 1695], II, 381-82 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126, 336-37; II, 1344]).

p. 42, l. 17 *Mariana*] Juan de Mariana, SJ (1535-1624), “a learned Jesuit,” who is here mentioned as the author of a monumental *History of Spain* (*Historiae de rebvs Hispaniae libri XX* [Toledo: Petrus Rodericus, 1592]), which counts among his “most considerable Works” (MORÉRI s.v.). It is unclear why Swift made him play the same infamous role as other modern historians. There is no evidence that he knew the *History of Spain*, and Mariana’s contemporary reputation does not seem to have warranted the hostile attitude implicit here (see Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, pp. 614-15), all the more so since Sir William Temple had conceded that the history of Spain had been written “with great Diligence and eloquent Stile, by *Mariana*” (*Introduction to the History of England*, sig. A2r).

p. 42, l. 18 *Cambden*] William Camden (1551-1623), antiquarian and historian, widely celebrated throughout the seventeenth century as *Strabo Britannicus* and *Pausanias Anglicus* (Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, pp. 618-19). Swift owned the *The Annals or History of Queen Elizabeth* (*Rerum Anglicanarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha* of 1639 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37]), on which Camden had worked for many years (see *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England*, ed. Wallace T. MacCaffrey [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970], pp. xxiv-xxxix). The spelling of the name suggests that Swift had registered Spenser’s eulogy of Camden in “The Ruines of Time”: “*Cambden* though time all monuments obscure, / Yet thy just labours ever shall endure” (*The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser* [London: by Henry Hills for Jonathan Edwin, 1679], p. 135 [3R4r]), but Temple’s sweeping condemnation of modern English historiography in the Preface to his *Introduction to the History of England* did not leave him any other option: “I Have often complained, that so ancient and noble a Nation as ours, so renowned by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits abroad, so applauded and envied, for their wise and happy Institutions at home, so flourishing in Arts and

Learning, and so adorned by excellent Writers in other Kinds, should not yet have produced one good or approved general History of *England*" (sig. A2r).

p. 42, ll. 18-19 The *Engineers* were commanded by *Regiomontanus* and *Wilkins* Engineers are "Persons well skill'd in the Art of contriving all sorts of Forts, and other Works; judicious in finding out Faults in all Fortifications, and mending them; and knowing how to attack and defend all sorts of Posts" (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.). This required men of technical as well as mathematical talents. Seventeenth-century English military art was notoriously backward in this field: "It is significant that the pioneers, who are the only men that we hear of in connection with the unorganised [and obscure] corps of engineers," a distinguished military historian writes, "were the very scum of the army ... It is still more significant that the principal engineers of the New Model Army bore not English but foreign names" (Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, I, 218-19). Later still, Marlborough, too, "was seriously handicapped when it came to sieges by the lack of a larger and more established engineer service" (Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army*, pp. 22-23).

Regiomontanus] Johann Müller (1436-76), famous German mathematician, astronomer, and calendar reformer, of Königsberg, not in East Prussia but Franconia, Bavaria, and of which 'Regiomontan' is the Latin translation (MORÉRI s.v.); in his biography of Müller, Pierre Gassendi explains: "Heinc effectum est, vt *Mulleri* cognomine præterito, appellitatus potiùs fuerit *Joannes* DE MONTE REGIO, vel de REGIO MONTE, ac REGIOMONTANUS" ([Paris, 1654], p. 67). A passage in John Wilkins's *Mathematicall Magick*, in which the Bishop of Chester praises Germany because of its mechanical inventions, perhaps explains the leadership of Regiomontanus among the engineers. Wilkins also refers to that "excellent invention," later echoed in a letter by Anthony Henley to Swift (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 260 and n1), according to which "the Famous Regiomontanus ... framed an Eagle soe artfully of a certain wood, that upon the Approach of the Emperour Maximilian to the Opulent City of Neuremberg, it took wing and flew out of the Gates to meet him" ([London: by M. F. for Sa. Gellibrand, 1648], sig. A4v; p. 191). Although this report sounds anecdotal (for its authenticity, see Ernst Zinner, *Leben und Wirken des Joh. Müller von Königsberg, genannt Regiomontanus*, 2nd ed. [Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968], pp. 214-15), it was widely disseminated in the seventeenth century (see, for example, Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici and Other Works*, ed. L. C. Martin [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964], pp. 15, 293), and Swift may have known it by hearsay or even have come across it in dictionaries (Walter E. Houghton, Jr, "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 [1942],

69-70, 192-93, 201-2; Duncan, *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period*, pp. 5, 12-13, 66-110, and *passim*); Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionarie: or, An Interpreter of Hard English Words* [1626] [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1970], sig. X1r).

Wilkins] John Wilkins (1614-72), theologian and natural philosopher. During his stint as Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, Wilkins proved the guiding spirit of the *Oxford Philosophical Society* and, since August 1660, the *spiritus rector* of the founding fathers of the *Royal Society*. In 1668, he became Bishop of Chester (see Dorothy Stimson, "Dr. Wilkins and the Royal Society," *Journal of Modern History*, 3 [1931], 539-63; Barbara J. Shapiro, *John Wilkins, 1614-1672: An Intellectual Biography* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969], pp. 191-223). Wilkins was well known for his interest in mechanical devices, as his friend John Evelyn records (*The Diary*, ed. de Beer, III, 110-11), and in *Mathematicall Magick: or, The Wonders that May Be Performed by Mechanicall Geometry*, "he had established himself as a minor heir to the artist-engineers of the Renaissance" (Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626-1660*, pp. 163-64, and *passim*). As such, Wilkins was the natural rival of Archimedes, the celebrated mathematician, astronomer, and physicist at the court of Hieron II, tyrant of Syracuse, and known as the inventor of marvellous machines which helped to delay the fall of the city by the Romans under Marcellus in 212 (Hermann J. Real, "Archimedes in Laputa, III, v, 9," *The East-Central Intelligencer*, 17, no 3 [2003], 21-24). In his "Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning," Sir William Temple referred to this siege and praised its "mighty Defence made against the *Roman* Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almost Magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants." At the same time, Temple was doubtful that Wilkins had outdone Archimedes (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 26, 31, 187, 206 [ad 26.913-16; ad 31.1099]).

p. 42, l. 19 a confused Multitude, led by *Scotus*] See the note on "When the Works of *Scotus* first came out" (p. 36, l. 9).

p. 42, l. 19 *Aquinas*] Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-74), of scholastic philosophers, "the *Angelick Doctor* and Eagle of Divines" (MORÉRI s.v. "Thomas Aquinas"), had continually lost in reputation throughout the seventeenth century (John Kenneth Ryan, *The Reputation of St. Thomas Aquinas among English Protestant Thinkers of the Seventeenth Century* [Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1948]). In *Hudibras*, Butler compared St Thomas to Alexander of

Hales, known as the *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, in a passage later deleted: “In *School-Divinity* as able / As he that hight *Irrefragable*; / [A second *Thomas*, or, at once / To name them all, another *Dunce*]” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 6, 325-26). The explanation is that St Thomas was regarded not only as the leading representative of the Schoolmen so despised by Swift (see the note on “He had a Humor to pick the *Worms* out of the *Schoolmen*,” p. 37, ll. 17-18) but also as a defender of papal supremacy (Simon Patrick, *A Discourse about Tradition* [London: T. Basset and Abel Swalle, 1685], p. 25), the theological doctrine, that is, which came under heavy fire in *The Battle’s* companion piece, *A Tale of a Tub* (Harth, *Swift and Anglican Rationalism*, pp. 13-15, 18-19, and *passim*). Swift knew this from Sleidan whose *Commentaries* he read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30): “This Thomas ... gaue him self wholly to learning ... and proued best learned of al men in his time ... He was a great maintainer of the byshop of Romes authoritie. For he attributed unto him the supremacie ouer all other byshops, kynges, and churches uniuersall with both Jurisdictions, as well sacred as ciuile: affirming it to be a necessary thyng unto saluation, that all men be subiect unto him, that he hath full authoritie in the churche” (*A Famovse Cronicle of oure Time*, fols iiv-iiir).

p. 42, l. 20 *Bellarmino*] Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), created Cardinal by Pope Clement VIII in 1599, the most eloquent and influential apologist of papal supremacy and infallibility. His seventeenth-century reputation as a contentious controversialist (Henry Maurice, *Popery Not Founded on Scripture* [London: Richard Chiswell, 1688], p. 12), which even involved him in a confrontation with the King of England (see James Brodrick, SJ, *Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar* [London: Burnes & Oates, 1961], pp. 264-302), becomes evident in a hostile etymology of his name, according to which the name Bellarmine was composed of *Bella, Arma, Minae*: “Il auoit *menace* l’heresie par ses leçons & par ses predications; Il luy declaroit la *guerre* par ses liures de Controuerse, & il fournissoit des *armes* inuincibles pour la détruire” (Charles Ancillon, *Mélange critique de littérature*, 3 vols [Basle: E. and J. G. König, 1698], I, 342). There is no evidence that Swift was familiar with any of Bellarmine’s writings, but he would have come across a considerable number of derogatory comments among Anglican theologians in his library, which are likely to have coloured his verdict. “Indeed could I swallow *Bellarmino’s* Opinion, *That the Popes Iudgement is Infallible*,” Archbishop William Laud of Canterbury set the tone, “I would then submit without any more adoe. But that will never downe with me, unlesse I live till I doate” (*A Relation of the Conference betweene William Laud ... and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite* [London: Richard Badger, 1639], pp. 18, 4, 40, 189, 287, and

passim [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1044-46]), and others following him concurred (Isaac Barrow, *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy* [London: by Miles Flesher for Brabazon Aylmer, 1680], pp. 86, 145, 281, and *passim*; John Tillotson, *The Works*, 3rd ed. [London: B. Aylmer and W. Rogers, 1701], pp. 218-19, 324, 590, and *passim* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 162-63; III, 1858-60]). Swift would also have relished the sustained, point-by-point refutation of Bellarmine by Thomas Hobbes, preceded by a summarizing sentence which is as pithy as it is succinct: "The Kingdome of Christ is not of this world: therefore neither can his Ministers (unlesse they be Kings) require obedience in his name" (*Leviathan*, pp. 269 and 300-20 [III, 42] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870]).

p. 42, l. 21 infinite Swarms of * *Calones*] Applied to "Books in the most literal Sense" (p. 31, l. 22), "*Calones*" are, as a footnote added to the fifth edition of 1710, explains, "*Pamphlets, which are not bound or cover'd.*" As a "new breed" in which "the most important intellectual disputes took place," pamphlets were naturally associated with the Moderns (Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History*, pp. 99-102). On the allegorical level, they refer to "all sorts of mercenary scriblers, who write as they are commanded by the leaders and patrons of sedition, faction, corruption, and every evil work: they are stiled *calones* because they are the meanest and most despicable of all writers, as the *calones*, whether belonging to the army or private families, were the meanest of all slaves or servants whatsoever" (HAWKESWORTH I, 271n†; SCOTT XI, 238n*). *Calones* are indeed camp-followers, soldiers' servants, whose numbers were considerable in any seventeenth-century army and who were notorious for their lack of discipline, cowardice, and greed, not to forget their entanglement in the system of fraud and deception far-flung in military finance (Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, in *C. Iulii Caesaris commentarii* [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1570], p. 43 [II, 24] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 318-19]). In his *Histories*, Tacitus describes them as even more corrupt than ordinary soldiers, "& in libidinem, & sævitiam corruptior," continuing: "*No Effect cou'd be hop'd but from their Rage, and the first motion of their Disdain, which once cooling, wou'd languish into Cowardice*" (*The Annals and History of C. Cornelius Tacitus*, III, 54-55 [III, xxxiii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1787-88]). Their great number is in itself a symptom of decadence: "Puto turbam hanc semper corrumpendæ disciplinae esse" (Lipsius, "De militia Romana," *Opera omnia*, III, 184 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1079-84]; Walton, *History of the British Standing Army, 1660 to 1700*, pp. 664-66).

p. 42, l. 22 *Lestrange*] Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), "Cavalier, poet, musician, surveyor, magistrate, Projector, Journalist, Government spy and apologist, Royal Commissioner, Prince of Pamphleteers and Translators, and in all capacities by force or violence ... outstanding, hated by the many, loved by the very few" (George Kitchin, *Sir Roger L'Estrange: A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century* [London: Kegan Paul, 1913], p. 374). What would particularly have antagonized L'Estrange to Swift was his "unexhausted copiousness in writing" against the Clergy, which made the Clergy, as Bishop Burnet noted in the *History of his Own Time*, "apprehend that their ruin was designed" (I, 461). In his marginal gloss on this passage in Burnet's *History*, Swift characterized L'Estrange as "a superficial meddling coxcomb" (*Prose Works*, V, 279); and in an earlier gloss on the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub*, he also jeered at L'Estrange as one who, after having spent his life in vice, faction, and falsehood, had "*the Impudence to talk of Merit and Innocence and Sufferings*" (*A Tale of a Tub*, p.). L'Estrange was known for his venality, being, as Oliver Goldsmith noted, "the first writer who regularly enlisted himself under the banners of a party for pay" (*Collected Works*, ed. Arthur Friedman, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], I, 499-500); a reputation at which Swift may have guessed from Marvell (*The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, ed. Smith, pp. 22-23 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207-9]), and which accounts for L'Estrange's leadership of a "disorderly Rout" of depraved and predatory *calones*.

p. 42, l. 23 All without *Coats* to cover them] "Mounted troops had an advantage over the foot soldiers, as cloaks were generally carried rolled on the saddle, whereas the latter had no such protection from the weather" (Rogers, *The Mounted Troops of the British Army, 1066-1945*, p. 68).

p. 42, l. 24 THE Army of the *Antients* was much fewer in Number] A commonplace argument proposed by, among others, Sir William Temple in "Of Heroick Virtue": "Victory has generally followed the smaller numbers ... as 'tis likelier to find ten wise Men together than an hundred, and an hundred fearless Men than a thousand: and those who have the smaller Forces, endeavour most to supply that Defect by the choice Discipline, and Bravery of their Troops" (*Miscellanea: The Second Part*, p. 295). Temple had been anticipated by Bacon in "Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates" (*The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, p. 91 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-27]), and Dryden in *Annus Mirabilis*: "Courage from hearts, and not from numbers grows" (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, I, 66, ll. 301-4).

Later, in his account of Brobdingnagian learning, Gulliver reports not only that “[the ancient 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]).

p. 42, ll. 24-25 *Homer* led the *Horse*] “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*). This admiration lasted throughout Swift’s life: Homer is not only a leader of the Ancients in *The Battle of the Books*, he is also one of their heroes in Glubbdubdrib some twenty-five years later (*Prose Works*, XI, 197 [III, viii, 1]). The assessment of Homer as “a genius” was commonplace in English and French literary criticism around the turn of the century (for a representative example, see *The Poems of John Oldham*, ed. Brooks and Selden, pp. 122-27, 423-25), and Swift would also have come across it in 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 51.365-68]). See also the notes on “*Virgil* was hemm’d in with *Dryden*” (p. 37, ll. 24-25) and “The Difference was greatest among the *Horse*” (p. 42, l. 4).

p. 42, l. 25 *Pindar* the *Light-Horse*] “Pindar, a *Greek* Poet, who was called the Prince of *Lyricks*,” MORÉRI introduces his entry on Pindar (c.518-446 BC), echoing Quintilian, who had celebrated him as “Novem vero Lyricorum longe Pindarus princeps spiritus magnificentia, sententiis, figuris, beatissima rerum verborumque copia et velut quodam eloquentiae flumine [Of the nine lyric poets Pindar is by far the greatest, in virtue of his inspired magnificence, the beauty of his thoughts and figures, the rich exuberance of his language and matter, and his rolling flood of eloquence]” (*Institutio oratoria*, X, i, 61; see also VIII, vi, 71) and whose judgement was endorsed by countless others (Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, pp. 6-7), both poets and critics (Horace, *Carmina*, IV, ii, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, pp. 82-84 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]); Dryden in “Preface to *Sylvæ*” [*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, I, 400]; and *The Athenian Mercury*, II, no 14 [1691]). Swift owned the edition by Johannes Benedictus, *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, published by P. Pié de Dieu at Saumur in 1620 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1430-31), but what

he really thought of Pindar beyond what was dictated to him by the exigencies of narrative strategy is unknown.

p. 42, l. 25 *Euclid* was chief *Engineer*] A surprising choice in view of Archimedes' renown as the inventor of marvellous machines which helped delay the fall of Syracuse by the Romans under Marcellus in 212: "Et habuisset tanto impetus cœpta res fortunam, nisi unus homo Syracusis ea tempestate fuisset. Archimedes is erat; unicus spectator cœli siderumque: mirabilior tamen inventor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum, operumque," as Livius respectfully described him (*Historiarvm ab vrbe condita [libri]*, 3 vols [Leiden: Elzevir, 1634], II, 270-71 [XXIV, xxxiv, 2 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1090)]; a judgement also recorded by Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* (XXVI, xviii, 1), which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 131), and endorsed by Sir William Temple (see the note on "Wilkins," l. □). The solution is to be found in Plutarch's *Life of Marcellus*. In this biography of Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the Roman general, who captured Syracuse after a long siege, Plutarch reports that, despite his selfless struggle for his native city, Archimedes did not think highly of the mechanical arts and devices which had helped to postpone the surrender of Syracuse for two years (*Omnivm quæ exstant opervm*, ed. Ruault, I, 305C-307E [XVII, 3-4] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1467-69]; Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, p. 367). Since Swift presumably saw no point in making Archimedes command a body of troops with which Archimedes did not wish to be associated, he had to look for an alternative. This was Euclid's "most generally applauded" *Elements*, "inter opera verò ejus facile palman obtinent [which among his works easily wins the palm]" (Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, p. 24), the most important textbook not only for the teaching of mathematics (MORÉRI s.v.) but also for navigation and fortification (see D. M. Simkins, "Early Editions of Euclid in England," *Annals of Science*, 22 [1966], 225-49).

p. 42, ll. 25-26 *Plato* and *Aristotle* commanded the *Bow-men*] See the note on "the *Bowmen*" (p. 42, ll. 7-8).

p. 42, l. 26 *Herodotus* and *Livy* the *Foot*] Herodotus of Halicarnassus (c.490-c.425 BC), the author of a (perhaps unfinished) *History* which narrates the struggle between Asia and Greece, substantially from the time of Croesus to that of Xerxes, and of which Swift owned two major editions, both with a Latin prose paraphrase (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 839-42). Cicero's eulogy of Herodotus as "the Father of History, and the Prince of Historians" (MORÉRI s.v.; *Laws*, I, i,

5; see also *Orator*, 12, 39 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]) was reiterated many times in the seventeenth century (Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, p. 11) and would have been known to Swift from numerous authors on his shelves (see, for example, Stillingfleet, *Origines sacræ: or, A Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith*, p. 69; Ralph Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* [London: Richard Royston, 1678], p. 309; and Henry More, *Paralipomena prophetica* [London: Walter Kettilby, 1685], pp. 32, 34 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1752-53; I, 482-83; II, 1283-84]). Swift himself reread Herodotus “after a long interval” and, in a “Judicium de Herodoto [Judgement on Herodotus]” dated 6 July 1720 and jotted down in one of his copies, confessed of the “pater Historicorum [Father of History]”: “Hunc Scriptorum inter apprime laudandos censeo [I rank this writer among those who deserve the very highest praise]” (*Prose Works*, V, 243). Fortunately for Swift’s satirical purposes, Sir William Temple agreed, describing Herodotus as “inimitable” in his kind (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 33, 214 [ad 33.1195]).

Livy] Titus Livius (59 BC-AD 17), author of a history of Rome and the Roman people (*Ab urbe condita*) from the early legends to his own age, which brought him fame during his lifetime: “His History is what he got most Reputation by; for some have given him the same Commendation the Rhetorician *Seneca* gave *Cicero*, viz. That his Wit equalled the *Roman Empire*” (MORÉRI s.v. “Titus Livius”). By the end of the seventeenth century, this esteem seems to have faded somewhat. In 1676, the Dutch statesman and diplomat Abraham van Wicquefort, in a comparative survey of the relative merits of ancient and modern historians, came to the conclusion: “On peut dire avec vérité, que *T. Live* n’a pas si bien reussy en son Histore Romaine que *Buchanan* en celle d’Escosse” (*Memoires touchant les ambassadeurs et les ministres publics* [Cologne: Pierre du Marteau, 1676], pp. 434-35 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1965-66]). But, again, Swift followed Temple, who had paired Livy with Herodotus, taking their superiority for granted (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 31, 207 [ad 31.1100]).

Swift owned two copies of *Ab urbe condita*. One of this is starred in the sale catalogue of his library, meaning that it had “Remarks or Observations on [it] in the Hand of Dr. *Swift*” (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1089-92; IV, 349). We do not know when precisely Swift read and annotated Livy, but we do know that, in 1722, he called upon his friend, the Reverend Daniel Jackson, to ask George Rochfort, the son of Chief Baron Robert Rochfort, with whom he had read some of the classics at Gaulstown, “to bring or send [his] Livy,” which he was “going to re-read on a particular Occasion” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, II, 418 and n7;

our emphasis), presumably for the revision of *Gulliver's Travels* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1092). Whether this copy is the portable 1634 Elzevir edition in three volumes or the great variorum edition, in folio, published at Paris in 1625 is unclear.

p. 42, ll. 26-27 *Hippocrates the Dragoons*] Hippocrates of Cos (c.460-c.370 BC), one of the most eminent physicians in the history of medicine and frequently extolled as their “Prince” (Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, pp. 7-8). “Whoever was accounted the God of Physick, the Prince of this Science must be by all, I think, allowed to have been *Hippocrates*,” Sir William Temple ruled in “Of Health and Long-Life” (*Miscellanies: The Third Part*, pp. 146-47; see also MORÉRI s.v.); a dictum which accounts for Hippocrates’ leadership here. Swift owned a highly regarded edition of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* by Hieronymus Mercurialis. In this, the Padua professor of medicine not only made an attempt to distinguish the genuine treatises from the apocryphal ones but also translated the Greek text into Latin and annotated it (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 863-65). Several references to Hippocrates in Swift’s prose, especially in the early works, show that he seems to have studied this edition with some care (*A Tale of a Tub*, pp. QQ; *Prose Works*, III, 129; IV, 252). For an explanation why Swift later made Galen, rather than Hippocrates, fight against Paracelsus in single combat, see the note on “Paracelsus ... observing *Galen*” (p. 45, ll. 20-21).

p. 42, l. 27 The *Allies* led by *Vossius* and *Temple*] Swift’s annotators are undecided (CRAIK, p. 427; PRESCOTT, p. 210; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 238n2; ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 221) whether Vossius refers to Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1647), the noted Dutch classical scholar and “one of the most learned men in Holland ever” (Patin, *Lettres choisies*, p. 46 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1390]; Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, pp. 680-81), who was made canon of Canterbury by Archbishop Laud, and whose *De veterum poetarum temporibus libri duo* (Amsterdam: Joannes Blaeu, 1662) was in Swift’s library, together with the numerous lives he contributed to Michael Maittaire’s *Opera et fragmenta veterum poetarum Latinorum* (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1943-44), or to his equally well-known son, Isaac (1618-89), whose *De Sibyllinis aliisque quæ Christi natalem præcessere oraculis* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1680) Swift read at Moor Park in 1698 (REAL [1978], pp. 129, 131). Isaac’s *De Sibyllinis* was a gift of Temple’s to Swift (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1945-46), inscribed in Swift’s hand, “*Donum Illus^{mi} D[octi] D[omini] G[uilelmi] Temple Febr. 2. 1697*” (ELLIS [2006], p. 213), and there has been some speculation on the reasons which may have led Swift to obliterate this

inscription (Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, pp. 103, 109-10 and 260n140). Perhaps, Gerardus is the more likely candidate since Bentley reputedly “sprinkle[d him] with a few Drops of his Favours,” as the anonymous pamphleteer, possibly Atterbury, of *A Short Account of Dr Bentley’s Humanity and Justice* puts it with a dose of irony (p. 7).

Whichever alternative one prefers, it is certain that the alliance between Holland and England on behalf of the Ancients was intended to please Sir William. Temple’s feelings of friendship for the United Provinces and in particular for their Grand Pensionary, Johan De Witt, were only too well known to his secretary (see Preface to Temple’s *Letters*, pp. □□), even if, in later life, Swift himself was to manifest considerable resentment towards the Dutch (Ellen Douglass Leyburn, “Swift’s View of the Dutch,” *PMLA*, 66 [1951], 734-45; J. Kent Clark, “Swift and the Dutch,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 17 [1953-54], 345-56; Douglas Coombs, *The Conduct of the Dutch: British Opinion and the Dutch Alliance during the War of the Spanish Succession* [The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958], pp. 277-336, and *passim*; Anne Barbeau Gardiner, “Swift on the Dutch East India Merchants: The Context of 1672-73 War Literature,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54 [1991], 235-52).

p. 42, l. 28 *Fame*] Although Hesiod lists Fame as a deity, “mischievous, light, and easily raised, but hard to bear and difficult to be rid of [FAMA enim mala est: levis quidem levatu / Facillimè, molesta verò portatu, difficilisque depositu]” (*Works and Days*, in *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Winterton, p. 38 [ll. 760-64] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 849; III, 1972-73]), and although Fame boasted an altar at Athens (*Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, ed. Joachim Kuehn [Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1696], p. 39 [I, xvii, 1] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1394]), it is unclear whether she belongs to the classical pantheon or is to be regarded as the personification of Rumour (see Hermann Usener, *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, 3rd ed. [Frankfurt am Main: G. Schulze-Bulmke, 1948], pp. 266-69; DeWitt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries* [Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955], pp. 252-55). She was often represented as carrying a trumpet (frontispiece to *The Battle of the Books*, p. Q), a fact made visible in the frontispiece added to the *Battle’s* fifth edition. According to a formula proposed by the Dutch classical scholar, Jacobus Gronovius, Fame’s “first business is to fly and to talk [*Volare & loqui proprium Famæ est*]” (*Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum*, 13 vols [Leiden: P. & B. van der Aa, 1697-1701], II, 1 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 752-56]), which is exactly what she does in *The Battle of the Books*. As a result, there seems little point in looking for

specific literary ‘parallels.’ Of course, Virgil’s famous *ekphrasis* of *Fama* in the Fourth Book of *The Aeneid* most readily springs to mind: “Fama, malum quo non aliud velocius ullum; / Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo / ... Monstrum horrendum, ingens: cui quot sunt corpora plumæ, / Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures. / ... Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti / Turribus aut altis, & magnas territat urbes: / Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuncio veri [Rumour is of all evils the most swift. Speed lends her strength, and she wins vigour as she goes ... A monster awful and huge, who for the many feathers in her body has as many watchful eyes below - wondrous to tell - as many tongues, as many sounding mouths, as many pricked-up ears ... By day she sits on guard on high roof-top or lofty turrets, and affrights great cities, clinging to the false and wrong, yet heralding truth]” (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 285 [IV, 174-88] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]; see also *Pvbli Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber qvartvs*, ed. Arthur Stanley Pease [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967], pp. 211-21). The same applies to the description of her palace in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 214-15 [XII, 39-63] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]), not to forget modern imitators, such as Butler, Garth, and Boileau, who exploited the ancient tradition for their parodic purposes (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 102 [II, i, 45-76]); Garth, *The Dispensary*, in *Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, pp. 110-11 [V, 125-30]; and *Le Lutrin*, in *Œuvres diverses*, pp. 162, 181 [II, 1-8; V, 98-108] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 254-57; 672-74]). For further seventeenth-century sources, see Alison Findlay, *Women in Shakespeare: A Dictionary* (London and New York: Continuum, 2010), pp. 135-36.

p. 42, l. 30 fled up strait to *Jupiter*] It is easy to overlook the significance of this flight. The supreme of the Olympians, Jupiter is of course not only the “lord of all the phenomena of heaven” but also “the first cause of the race of men; Most High and King, because of the preeminence of his rule.” But as the context makes clear, it is rather because of Jupiter’s role as saviour and lawgiver, “because of the concern and goodwill he manifests toward all mankind,” because of “the sagacity he manifests in the giving of wise counsel,” and his determination that justice is done and violence avoided that his interference is sought here. Diodorus of Sicily, whose *Library of History* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8, set out all this in impressive detail (V, 71-72, 1-2; REAL [1978], pp. 128, 131). In the frontispiece to *The Battle of the Books*, Fame is shown flying up from the turmoil below her, blowing a trumpet: “*Fame*, found by experience to carry a trumpet, that doth for the most part congregate more Enemies than Friends,” as Francis

Osborne warned in *Advice to a Son* (*The Works of Francis Osborn, Esq.*, 9th ed. [London, 1689], IV, par. 8 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1350-51]).

p. 42, ll. 31-32 (For, among the Gods, she always tells Truth.)] “Porrò eorum quæ dicam, Deum ipsum testem appello, quem nemo fallere, nemo falso sermone decipere possit. Etenim forsitan hominibus facilè imponas sed Deum, maximè verò istum, latere nequeas [I call your god himself [Apollo] to witness what I am about to say. Of course he cannot be tripped by fallacies and misled by falsehoods: for although mere men are no doubt easy to cheat, a god (and above all this god) cannot be hoodwinked],” Lucian makes Phalaris expound in his eponymous self-defence, a rhetorical school exercise if ever there was one (*Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 731 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]). By contrast, Rumour, the allegorical figure of the Induction to SHAKESPEARE’S *The Second Part of Henry IV*, boasts: “Vpon my tongues continuall slanders ride, / The which in euery language I pronounce, / Stuffing the eares of men with false reports” (ll. 6-8).

p. 42, l. 32 *Jove* in great Concern, convokes a Council] Despite the spirited neoclassical debate on the legitimacy of pagan mythological machinery in a Christian age (Swedenberg, *The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800*, pp. 266-305), *concilia deorum* continued to remain a generic feature particularly of mock-epic poetry (see Mason Hammond, “*Concilia Deorum* from Homer through Milton,” *Studies in Philology*, 30 [1933], 1-16). As Addison was to explain somewhat later in *The Spectator*: “In Mock-Heroick Poems, the use of the Heathen Mythology is not only excusable but graceful, because it is the Design of such Compositions to divert, by adapting the fabulous Machines of the Ancients to low Subjects, and at the same time by ridiculing such kinds of Machinery in Modern Writers” (*The Spectator*, ed. Bond, IV, 362 [no 523]).

Although the structure of *concilia deorum* does not vary a great deal and any search for specific sources does not promise to be rewarding, the council’s pattern here suggests that it was modelled on the *concilium deorum* in Book X of Virgil’s *Aeneid*. In either case, the patrons of the hostile parties follow up Jupiter’s introductory speech (ll. 6-15) with their own pleas (ll. 17-62: Venus; ll. 63-95: Juno), accompanied by the controversial comments of the assembly (ll. 96-97), and Jupiter’s conclusion not only announcing the strict neutrality of the Immortals but also subjecting them to the rule of Fate: “Rex Juppiter omnibus idem. / Fata viam inuenient” (ll. 112-13). Swift read Virgil twice during his great reading period at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-29). See also Garth’s imitation in

The Dispensary, in *Poems of Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, 111-12 [V, 133-60], and the note on “the Book of Fate” (p. 43, l. 2).

p. 42, ll. 32-33 in the *Milky-Way*] Like the Council of the Gods convoked by Jupiter in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*: “Consiliumque vocat: tenuit mora nulla vocatos. / Est via sublimis, coelo manifesta sereno: / Lactea nomen habet; candore notabilis ipso. / Hac iter est Superis ad magni tecta Tonantis, Regalemque domum [He summoned a council of the gods. Naught delayed their answer to the summons. There is a high way, easily seen when the sky is clear. ’Tis called the Milky Way, famed for its shining whiteness. By this way the gods fare to the halls and royal dwelling of the mighty Thunderer]” (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 13 [I, 167-71] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]). Joseph Moxon, whose *Tutor to Astronomy and Geography* was also in Swift’s library (3rd ed. [London: by Tho. Roycroft for Joseph Moxon, 1674], p. 230 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1297-98]), referred to this passage in Ovid, as did Milton (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 391 [VII, 574-81] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]).

p. 42, ll. 33-34 he declares the Occasion of convening them; a bloody Battell] As Swift jocularly explained in “An Epistle upon an Epistle,” “*Jove* will not attend on less, / When Things of more Importance press” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 475, ll. 1-2), harking perhaps back to Lucian, “*Juppiter Tragoedus*,” 6 (*Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, II, 130 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]), or Ovid, *Tristia*, II, 215-16: “*Deos, coelumque simul sublime tuenti, / Non vacat exiguis rebus adesse Iovi* [Jove who watches at once o’er the gods and the lofty heaven has not leisure to give heed to small things]” (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, III, 156 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]).

p. 42, ll. 34-35 *Antient and Modern Creatures, call’d Books*] “That the *Gods* call things by other names than we do, was the fancy of *Homer*” (Cowley, *Pindarique Odes*, in *Poems*, p. 47 [sig. 3G4r] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). See, for example, *The Iliad*, I, 403-4; II, 813-14; XIV, 290-91, and *passim* (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 19, 47, 268; and *passim* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]; for an explanation, see *The Iliad of Homer*, eds Walter Leaf and M. A. Bayfield, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, and New York: St Martin’s Press, 1962-65], II, 486), and Dryden’s imitation in *The Hind and the Panther*, III, 821-24: “*Homer*, who learn’d the language of the sky, / The seeming *Gordian* knot wou’d soon unty; / Immortal pow’rs the term of conscience know, / But int’rest is her name with men below” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, II, 524). See also the note on “I must warn the Reader” (p. 31, ll. 21-22).

p. 42, l. 36 *Momus, the Patron of the Moderns*] In contrast to what several commentators have assumed, Momus is not “the god of jealous mockery” (CRAIK, p. 427; EGERTON, p. 70), but “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, *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 39; II, 138, 141 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]), and also prevalent in the image of Momus in *A Tale of a Tub* (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. □). In Carew’s Masque *Coelum Britannicum* (1634), Momus introduces himself as “the Supreme 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). An equally comprehensive and colourful characterization may be found in Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, 4th ed., ed. Paul Hyland (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1993), p. 172. The offspring of Night and Sleep (Hesiod, *Theogony*, in *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Winterton, p. 76, l. 214 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1972-73]; MORÉRI s.v.; TOOKE s.v.), Momus is the antagonist of the light gods Athena and Apollo, the patron deities of the Ancients (see the note on “*Pallas the Protectress of the Antients*,” p. 42, l. 37).

p. 42, l. 37 - p. 43, l. 1 *Pallas the Protectress of the Antients*] Pallas Athena, the highest-ranking of the Olympian gods after Zeus. In the *Homeric Hymns*, an angry Hera accuses her husband in the presence of the assembled gods of having dishonoured her by making Athena the “foremost among all the blessed gods” (*Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, II, 351 [III, 310-15] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]); a thought echoed by Horace, *Carmina*, I, xii, 19-20 (*Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 13 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]), in the *Lettres* of Pierre Costar (2 vols [Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1658], I, 415 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 466-73]), and Ralph Cudworth, among others (*The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, p. 368 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 482-83]). Here, Pallas Athena presents herself not only as “the Queen of Learning” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 692, l. 199; MORÉRI s.v. Minerva), the natural ally of the Ancients, but also as the goddess of war, who is “proeliis audax [bold in battle],” delighting as she does “in tumults and wars and battles” (Horace, *Carmina*, I, xii, 21; *Homeric Hymns*, XI and XXVIII, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, de Sponde, II, 372 and 375-76; Hesiod, *Theogony*, in *Poetæ minores*

Græci, ed. Winterton, p. 110, ll. 924-26; Ovid, *Tristia*, IV, x, 13-14), as well as the goddess of the battle order (see, for example, *The Iliad*, II, 446-52, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 39). See also her image in TOOKE s.v. Minerva. By contrast, the Moderns' lack of discipline is all the more striking (see the note on "The *Moderns* were in very warm Debates" [p. 42, ll. 1-4]).

p. 43, l. 1 [The Assembly was divided in their Affections] Freely translated from Book X of Virgil's *Aeneid*: "Cunctique fremebant / Cœlicolæ assensu vario" (*Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. [ll. 96-97] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). The Immortals succumb to the same passions as mortal men: "At quoniam, quoties fera bella fatigant / Mortales, superi, studiis diversa foventes, / Ipsi etiam inter sese odiis bellantur iniquis, / Maxima interdum toto ardent prælia cælo," the 'Christian Virgil,' Marcus Hieronymus Vida, Bishop of Alba, scoffed in his didactic poem on the game of chess, *Scacchia ludus*, printed in a volume that contained marginal notes by Swift (*Poeticorum libri tres: Accedunt Bombycum libri duo et Scacchia ludus* [Oxford: J. Crosley, 1701], pp. 113-14 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1909-10]).

p. 43, ll. 2-4 [the Book of Fate ... three large Volumes in Folio, containing Memoirs of all Things past, present, and to come] It is no accident that the Book of Fate consists of three folio volumes: *folio* because the large format symbolizes supernatural might; *three* because *Fate* correlates with *Fata*, or *Parcae*, who were three in number, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, and who were frequently represented as *sorores lanificæ*, much-dreaded old spinners (Hesiod, *Theogony*, ll. 217-22, 904-5; *The Shield of Heracles*, ll. 258-62, in *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Winterton, p. 54; Homer, *The Odyssey*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, II, 93 [VII, 197-98]; Catullus, *Carmina*, in *Catulli, Tibulli et Propertii opera*, pp. 91-92 [61, ll. 306-22] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, III, 1972-73; II, 890; I, 369-70]). The Fates' association with the threefold division of time was established by Plato, whom Swift knew particularly well, in his elaborate account of the workings of Necessity: "Lachésin quidem præterita, Clotho res præsentés, Atropon verò, futuras" (*The Republic*, in *Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. de Serres, II, 617C [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1438-40]). See also TOOKE, pp. 257-58.

There is an unperceived facet which supplements and corroborates this account. According to MORÉRI, following Pausanias (*Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, ed. Kuehn, p. 166 [II, xxiv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1394]), "the Greeks had a Statue of *Jupiter* with 3 Eyes, to intimate his Knowledge ... of Things past, present, and to come" (s.v. "Jupiter"). Jupiter here appears as the

supreme power in full control of the world process, and there is “no Fate other than his own decree.” As Milton explains in *Paradise Lost*, “my goodness, which is free / To act or not, necessity and chance / Approach not me, and what I will is fate” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 367 [VII, 171-73 and n] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]).

However, since Swift clearly wanted to incorporate the most compelling motif of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the *fatum*, to which even the Gods owe obedience (Karl Büchner, “Der Schicksalsgedanke bei Vergil,” *Wege zu Vergil*, ed. Hans Oppermann [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966], pp. 270-300), into his mock epic, he transferred the attributes of the most powerful Immortal to Fate, making Jupiter, originally the supreme power, subordinate to a law that determines even the acts of the Gods, Fate (as also posited by Philostratus, *De la vie d’Apollonivs*, 2 vols [Paris: Matthieu Guillemot, 1611], II, 18 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1422]).

Paradoxically, the notion of a *Book* of Fate is post-classical. This view may have originated with Martianus Capella, who, in his allegory *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* (5th century AD), made the Fates *write down* the eternal decrees of the Immortals, thus transforming them into divine secretaries and archivists. There are illustrations in the Renaissance showing the three sisters with paper, pen, and ink (Starnes and Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries*, pp. 340-86).

Mercury] In Roman religion identified with the Greek Hermes; here, in addition to his many functions, the messenger or herald of the Gods, “magni Iouis, & Deorum / Nuntius,” as Horace called him (*Carmina*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 11 [I, x, 5-6] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]). In making use of him, Swift anticipated a jocular recommendation of Pope’s in the “*Receipt to make an Epic Poem*”: “Remember on all occasions to make use of Volatile *Mercury*” (*The Art of Sinking in Poetry*, ed. Steeves, p. 83). See also the pictorial representation in TOOKE s.v.

p. 43, ll. 4-5 The Clasps were of Silver, double gilt] Ordinary clasps were of metal, or lead (Edith Diehl, *Bookbinding: Its Background and Technique*, 2 vols [New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979], I, 65).

p. 43, l. 5 the Covers, of Celestial Turkey-leather] Turkey leather was prepared from goatskin, not common with English binders before 1650 and called ‘Turkey’ from its country of origin in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, although without geographical significance today. It was of a quality superior to morocco (John Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors* [London: Granada Publishing,

1972], pp. 137, 199). *The Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic series) lists a letter from Samuel Mearne, King's bookbinder, bookseller, and stationer, to Lord Arlington, asking for payment of 36 volumes of almanacs, "bound in Turkey leather and gilt, for the use of the King and Council" (McKenzie and Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents relating to the London Book Trade, 1641-1700*, I, 642 [1670 c]).

p. 43, ll. 5-6 and the Paper, such as here on Earth might almost pass for Vellum] "The skin of a *calf*, not tanned but de-greased and especially treated, used either for writing or printing on, or in binding" (Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, p. 205; Diehl, *Bookbinding: Its Background and Technique*, I, 10-11), sometimes distinguished from 'parchment,' which "seems originally to have referred to sheep- or goat-skin ... perhaps because it originated in Asia Minor, where hides would be obtainable in greater numbers from sheep and goats than from calves." While the terms seem to have been more or less interchangeable in ordinary usage in earlier centuries, collectors of manuscripts today distinguish between "*vellum* [as] a highly refined form of skin" and "*parchment* [as] a cruder form, usually thick, harsh, less highly polished than vellum, but with no distinction between skin of calf, or sheep or of goat" (W. Lee Ustick, "'Parchment' and 'Vellum,'" *The Library*, 4th ser., 16 [1936], 439-42). Decorum requires that the Book of Fate is marked off from ordinary copies, written as it is on precious and expensive vellum (see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972], p. 136).

p. 43, ll. 6-7 *Jupiter* having silently read the Decree, would communicate the Import to none] An epic motif as old as Homer (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 24 [I, 545-67] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 43, ll. 8-12 a vast Number of light, nimble Gods, menial Servants to *Jupiter*: These are his ministring Instruments in all Affairs below. They travel in a Caravan, more or less together, and are fastened to each other like a Link of Gally-slaves, by a light Chain, which passes from them to *Jupiter's* great Toe] Unlike what some of Swift's readers have assumed, the context does not explain the passage's meaning sufficiently (EGERTON, p. 70) nor is it a "lightly turned comment on the pursuers of second causes" (Williams, *Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise*, pp. 127-28). Rather, it is a complex synthesis in which several strands have become entangled.

The ‘light, nimble Gods’ who are ‘menial Servants to *Jupiter*’ refer to the *daimones* of Platonic philosophy, “*Mediators and Agents between God and Men*” (Tillotson, *The Works*, p. 569; Andrewes, *Apospasmata sacra*, p. 46; Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, p. 227 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1858-60; I, 59-60; I, 482-83]), whose nature and function Plato elaborated in the *Symposium*: “Deus autem cum homine non miscetur, sed per hanc dæmonum naturam commercium omne atque colloquium inter deos hominésque conficitur ... omnino hi dæmones multi & varii sunt [God with men does not mingle: but the spiritual is the means of all society and converse of men with gods and of gods with men ... Many and multifarious are these spirits]” (*Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. de Serres, III, 202E-203A [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1438-40]; for the interpretation, see Stanley Rosen, *Plato’s Symposium*, 2nd ed. [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987], pp. 225-31).

The ‘light Chain’ with which these ‘nimble Gods’ are fastened to each other is a burlesque commentary on “all sorts of mystical interpretations and esoteric myths,” mainly Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean in character and origin, which accompanied the *aurea catena Homeri* (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ extant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 131-32 and n [VIII, 18-27] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]) and which by the beginning of the seventeenth century had come to signify the full, coherent, and hierarchical chain of existences which stretches from God down to inanimate objects (Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* [New York: Harper, 1960], *passim*; Emil Wolff, *Die Goldene Kette: die Aurea Catena Homeri in der englischen Literatur von Chaucer bis Wordsworth* [Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag, 1947], *passim*; Bernhard Fabian, “Pope und die goldene Kette Homers,” *Anglia*, 82 [1964], 150-79), even though originally it was nothing but “a trial of strength by a ‘tug of war’” (*The Iliad of Homer*, eds Leaf and Bayfield, I, 425). Swift was familiar with this symbol from numerous sources: “that *Adamantine chaine*, / Whose golden linkes, *effects*, and *causes* bee, / And which to Gods owne chaire doth fixt remaine” Sir John Davies, for one, describes “the divinely maintained order of the world” in *Nosce teipsum* (*The Poems*, ed. Krueger, pp. 30, 341, ll. 746-48), which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30). See also *Hieroclis Commentarius in aurea Pythagoreorum carmina* (London: Roger Daniel, 1654), pp. 15-16, 239-40; *Faerie Queene*, IV, x, 35 (*The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, p. 219); Bacon, “Of Atheism,” *The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, p. 51; *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 8-9, 79, and 210n (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 857; III, 1720-21; I, 125-27); and, as Ehrenpreis points out in his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL

SMITH ([EC 431], p. 239), Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 108 (II, xxi) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 870).

Caravan] “A troop of people going in company” (OED).

p. 43, ll. 14-15 where he and they whisper to each other thro’ a long hollow Trunk] An echo of Lucian, “Icaromenippus,” 25-26 (*Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, II, 205-7 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]), as noted by Ehrenpreis (*Mr Swift*, p. 230).

p. 43, ll. 15-16 These Deities are call’d by mortal Men, *Accidents*, or *Events*; but the Gods call them, *Second Causes*] Again, different philosophical strands intersect in this passage. The first is of Platonic origin and may be found in the *Symposium*, where Plato speaks of certain beings intermediate between gods and men and generally known as demons, who have the power “to interpret and convey the things from humans to gods and the things from gods to humans” (Rosen, *Plato’s “Symposium”*, p. 228). Since, in this hierarchy, only the supreme Olympian god would be considered a divine essence, *prima causa*, Swift is justified in calling the inferior divinities, *second causes*, accidents, “non-essential accompaniments” (OED). Of course, in a broader sense, all of created Nature, *Natura naturata*, constitutes “the chain of second causes,” as Glanvill pointed out in *Scepsis scientifica* (p. 182), which Swift had read before 1699 (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1).

The answer why these ‘accidents’ may also be called ‘events’ will be found in Lucretius, whom Swift is known to have read no less than three times at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30). In *De rerum natura*, Lucretius admits but two ontological principles, matter and void. All things are either inseparable properties or accidents of matter and void: “Ergo præter Inane, & corpora, tertia per se / Nulla potest rerum in numero natura relinqui, / Nec, quæ sub sensus cadat ullo tempore nostros, / Nec ratione animi quam quisquam possit apisci. / Nam quæcunq; cluent, aut his conjuncta duabus / Rebus ea invenies, aut horum eventa videbis” (p. 13 [I, 445-50]). In his Latin edition of Lucretius, Thomas Creech explained: “*Conjunctum* (... sive proprium Accidens) est quod non potest abesse sine interitu subjecti: Quale est Calor in Igne, Humiditas in Aqua, &c. *Eventum* vero (... sive Accidens commune) quod potest abesse vel adesse sine subjecti interitu; Quale est Bellum, Paupertas, Concordia, &c.” (*Titii Lucretii Cari De rerum natura libri sex* [Oxford: Abel Swalle and Timothy Child, 1695], pp. 25-26). In the earlier English translation of *De rerum natura* (1682), Creech, following his predecessor John Evelyn (*John Evelyn’s Translation of Titus Lucretius Carus “De rerum natura”: An Old-Spelling Critical Edition*, ed. Michael

M. Repetzki [Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2000], p. 36, ll. 476-78), had translated the passage: “Well then, a different *Third* in vain is sought, / And not to be discover’d by sense or thought. / For whatsoe’r may seem of more degrees, / Are the *Events* or *Properties* of these: [Body and Space]” (*Titus Lucretius Carus His Six Books of Epicurean Philosophy, Done into English Verse, with Notes*, 3rd ed. [London: Thomas Sawbridge and Anthony Stephens, 1683], p. 15). It is through the seventeenth-century translators of Lucretius, then, that *event* with the philosophical meaning *accident* was introduced into English vocabulary, and that both could be regarded as interchangeable synonyms by Swift (Hermann J. Real, “A Hitherto Unrecorded Meaning of ‘Event,’” *Notes and Queries*, 215 [1970], 423-24). The fact that this meaning had not yet been naturalized in the English language and would presumably have been known only to the initiate need not to have bothered Swift, all the more so if he remembered an ironical footnote in Butler’s *Hudibras*: “Heroical Poetry must not admit of any vulgar word (especially of poultry signification) and therefore some of our Modern Authors are fain to import forrain words from abroad, that were never before heard of in our Language” (ed. Wilders, p. 107 [II, i, 259 and n]).

But the Gods call them] The repetition of formulaic phrases is a fixture of epic diction. In his “Observations sur les poésies de Mr de Malherbe,” Ménage justified the practice by invoking the precedent of Homer and Virgil: “Ce n’est pas estre sterile que de se servir deux fois d’une mesme pensée dans vn si grand nombre de vers. Homere & Virgile repetent souvent non seulement les mesmes choses, mais les mesmes vers” (*Les Poésies de M. de Malherbe* [Paris: Louis Billaine, 1666], p. 329 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1171]). For an explanation, see C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London, Melbourne, Toronto: Macmillan, and New York: St Martin’s Press, 1966), pp. 220-22. See also the note on “*Antient* and *Modern* Creatures, call’d *Books*” (p. 42, ll. 34-35).

p. 43, l. 18 the Regal Library] The battlefield.

p. 43, l. 20 - p. 45, l. 14 MEAN while, *Momus* fearing the worst ... Goddess, his Mother] In his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH (EC 431), Ehrenpreis takes these four paragraphs to be “a direct parody of Blackmore, *King Arthur*, Book III, which is itself based on *Aeneid*, VII, 286-457” (p. 240). However, there is no evidence of Swift having read *King Arthur* at any time, nor was this title in his library. He did own and read *Prince Arthur* at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30).

Momus] See the note on “*Momus*, the Patron of the *Moderns*” (p. 42, l. 36).

p. 43, ll. 20-21 and calling to mind an antient Prophecy, which bore no very good Face to his Children the *Moderns*] “*To carry a great face*: to have an appearance of importance; *to have a face*: to have a promising appearance, give promise of success” (OED).

p. 43, ll. 21-22 bent his Flight to the Region of a malignant Deity] The epithet here means “evil in nature and effects” (OED), introducing the first ingredient in the cluster of satanic connotations (see the note on “THE Goddess and her Train having Mounted the Chariot,” p. 44, l. 19): “*Hence it ariseth ... that they hold those for barbarous and illiterate fellowes, who in speaking of the Diuell doe use the proper Greeke name, Diabolus, or the Hebrew name, Satan, or the word borrowed from the Latins, Malignant, which signifieth an aduersary, a back-biter, and one repleat with all maliciousnesse*” (Sébastien Michaelis, *The Admirable Historie of the Possession and Conversion of a Penitent Woman ... Whereunto is annexed, A Pneumology: or, Discourse of Spirits* [London: by Felix Kingston for William Aspley, 1613], sig. Gg4r).

p. 43, l. 22 call'd *Criticism*] To the extent that they have taken notice of it at all, Swift's annotators are agreed that, after the fable of the Bee and the Spider (p. 38, l. 25 – p. 40, l. 31), the episode with Momus and Criticism constitutes the second central incident in *The Battle of the Books*. However, the judgement that “the description of this malignant demon is the gem of the whole pamphlet” (Gerald P. Moriarty, *Dean Swift and his Writings* [London: Seeley, 1893], p. 20) is rather the exception than the rule (Colin J. Horne, *Swift on his Age: Selected Prose and Verse* [London: George G. Harrap, 1953], p. 19). On the whole, impressionistic criticism, which usually fails to buttress its ‘arguments’ with evidence, has ruled supreme. While the followers of one school have been content to portray Criticism's picture as “repulsive” (Ricardo Quintana, *Swift: An Introduction* [London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1955], p. 57; Ellen Douglass Leyburn, *Satiric Allegory: Mirror of Man* [Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969], pp. 31-32), or “gruesome” (W. A. Speck, *Swift* [London: Evans Brothers, 1969], p. 98]), others have denounced its author as “[preoccupied] with filth and deformity, excrement and ugliness” (Leonard Feinberg, *Introduction to Satire* [Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1967], p. 71). The contrary is true: the whole episode is pregnant with meaning. It may be divided into four parts: first, Criticism's *ekphrasis* (p. 43, ll. 22-37); second, her soliloquy (p. 44, ll. 6-18); third, satiric norms; fourth, sources.

The *ekphrasis* of Criticism conceals two norms, which being implicit need to be inferred. The first implicit norm leans on the theme of the harmonious body.

In his *Essays on Several Subjects*, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, appealing to authorities from Homer to Martial, explained what this “received Opinion among the Ancients” meant: “That outward Beauty was an infallible Argument of inward Beauty; and so on the contrary, That a deformed Body was a true Index of a deformed Mind, or an ill Nature” (pp. 159-60). Blount’s perhaps predictable paradigm to illustrate this view was Homer’s Thersites, whose ugly hunchbacked, lame-footed, and bandy-legged body accommodated an ugly foul-mouthed and rancorous soul (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 34-35 and n [II, 211-69] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). As Swift came to describe him in a later poem, “that hateful hideous *Grecian*,” Thersites, “was more abhor’d, and scorn’d by those / With whom he serv’d, than by his Foes” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, III, 775, ll. 51-54). Accordingly, as Homer took care to fit Thersites’ “several ill Qualities ... with a Body suitable to such a Mind” (pp. 160-61), Swift made sure to encase the spirit who always says ‘No’ in a torso indicative of her worth. See also *The Athenian Mercury*, II, no 26 (1691), Question 13; III, no 17 (1691), Question 5.

The second norm is implicit in an ideal of classical poetics and rhetoric, which postulated the identity of moral integrity and intellectual competence for the poet and orator: *vir bonus dicendi/docendi peritus* (Klaus Heitmann, *Ethos des Künstlers und Ethos der Kunst*, Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie, no 11 [Münster, 1962], particularly pp. 9-21). According to Strabo, for example, “the excellence of a poet is inseparably associated with the excellence of the man himself,” since it is impossible for one “to become a good poet unless he has previously become a good man [poetē virtus hominis cum virtute sit coniuncta, neque bonus fieri possit poeta, qui non prius vir bonus extiterit]” (*Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, p. 17D [I, ii, 5] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1754-56]). Analogously, both Cicero and Quintilian demanded of the perfect orator not only mastery of the subject matter but also moral goodness: “Huic eius substantiae maxime conveniet finitio, rhetoricen esse bene dicendi scientiam. Nam et orationis omnes virtutes semel complectitur et protinus etiam mores oratoris, cum bene dicere non possit nisi bonus [The definition which best suits its real character is that which makes rhetoric the *science of speaking well*. For this definition includes all the virtues of oratory and the character of the orator as well, since no man can speak well who is not good himself]” (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, II, xv, 34; XII, i, 1; Cicero, *De oratore*, in *Opera*, I, 151, 201 [II, xx, 85; III, xiv, 55] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]). Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and English criticism subscribed to this ideal wholeheartedly (Hermann J. Real, “‘That Malignant Deity’: An Interpretation of Criticism in Swift’s *Battle of the Books*,” *Philological Quarterly*, 52 [1973], 760-

66). Among authors known to have been in Swift's library, La Bruyère, for one, endorsed it: "La principale partie de l'Orateur, c'est la probité; sans elle il degenerate en declamateur" (*Les Caractères de Theophraste*, II, 219 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1016-17]); in England, Ben Jonson, for another, followed suit: "For, if men will impartially, and not à-squint, looke toward the offices, and function of a Poet, they will easily conclude to themselves, the impossibility of any mans being the good Poet, without first being a good man" (Preface to *Volpone*, in *Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, V, 17 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 980-82]). Later in the seventeenth century, Milton, Dryden, and others declared their agreement with this belief (John M. Steadman, "Chaste Muse and 'Casta Juventus': Milton, Minturno, and Scaliger on Inspiration and the Poet's Character," *Italica*, 40 [1963], 28-34; Dryden, "The Art of Poetry: Written in French by the Sieur de Boileau," *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, I, 358, ll. 977-78), and Shaftesbury and Pope transferred it to the definition of the good critic (Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, "A Letter concerning Enthusiasm," *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. John M. Robertson, 2 vols [Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1963], I, 30; Alexander Pope, *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, eds E. Audra and Aubrey Williams [London: Methuen, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961], p. 231). More importantly, however, Shaftesbury and Pope had been anticipated by the authors of Boyle's *Examination*, who seem to have been the first to propound the identity of the moral and able man for the critic: "A Good Critic is a Name that deserves Honour; for it carries in it Probity, Learning, Relish, Good Nature, and Good Sense" (*Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined*, p. 224).

Compared with this norm, admittedly ideal, the character of Criticism appears as its complete inversion (Wyrick, *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word*, p. 60). Instead of being a *Dea bona iudicandi perita*, she turns out to be a *Dea mala iudicandi imperita*. Accordingly, the Goddess confirms in her subsequent soliloquy (p. 44, ll. 6-18) that her goal is the inversion of the established system of values.

There remains the question of the literary model on which the whole episode is based. Several suggestions have been advanced: Error in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (I, i, 13-15 [EGERTON, p. 70]; Wyrick, *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word*, p. 59), Sin in *Paradise Lost* (II, 757-814 [EGERTON, p. 70; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 240n2; Horne, *Swift on his Age*, p. 19; Guilhamet, "The Battle of the Books: A Generic Approach," pp. 235-36; ELLIS [2006], p. 213]), and Discord in Blackmore's *King Arthur* (ELLIS [2006], p. 213; Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 230; Ehrenpreis, "Four of Swift's Sources," 95-97).

None of these suggestions, however, is entirely convincing. The similarities of Swift's Criticism with Error and Sin seem accidental; and it is doubtful that Swift, in addition to *Prince Arthur*, which he did read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30), was also familiar with *King Arthur* (see the note on "MEAN while, *Momus* fearing the worst," p. 43, l. 20). Besides, the description of Envy in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 45-46 [II, 760-805], not to mention Cowley's and Garth's imitation of it (*Davideis*, in *Poems*, pp. 7-8 [I, 14-17]; *The Dispensary*, in *Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, pp. 71-76 [II, 11-92] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56; I, 475-76; I, 672-74]), may be the archetype common to all. This assumption is all the more plausible as Envy has traditionally been associated with Criticism (*Timber: or, Discoveries*, in *Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VIII, 571-72; see also R. B. Gill, "The Renaissance Conventions of Envy," *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Culture*, n.s., no 9, ed. Paul Maurice Clogan [Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1979], pp. 215-30), and, like Criticism in *The Battle of the Books*, was relegated from the circle of the Olympians: "liuor enim à diuino choro abest" (Plato, *Phaedrus*, in *Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. de Serres, III, 247A [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1438-40]). The diabolic connotations suggested by this, and also evoked in the ekphrasis of Criticism, the spirit that always says 'No' (Historical Introduction, pp. GG), are confirmed in a "Discours contre l'envie" incorporated into the annotations of Blaise Vigenère's translation of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*: "[L'envie] est vn vice qui en cachette retient vne tres-grande domination sur la terre, & qui la destruit, & met en ruine: son proper effect est de persecuter les bons, & ceux qui à cause de leurs vertus & industrie sont en credit & reputation" (*De la vie d'Apollonivs*, II, 262 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1422])

Although there was only one edition of Ovid's works in his library, Swift of course knew Ovid well, and there is sufficient evidence to show that Ovid's account of Envy was indeed Swift's primary model: "Protinus Invidiæ, nigro squallentia tabo, / Tecta petit. domus est imis in vallibus antri / Abdita, sole carens, non ulli pervia vento; / Tristis, & ignavi plenissima frigoris; & quæ / Igne vacet semper, caligine semper abundet ... Videt intus edentem / Vipereas carnes, vitiorum alimenta suorum, / Invidiam: visaque oculos avertit. at illa / Surgit humo pigrâ: semesarumque relinquit / Corpora serpentum: passuque incedit inertî ... Pallor in ore sedet: macies in corpora toto. / Nusquam recta acies: livent rubigine dentes: / Pectora felle virent: lingua est suffusa veneno" (ll. 760-64; 768-72; 775-77). Envy's cave is "hidden away in a deep valley, where no sun shines" and which is "full of numbing chill." Criticism lives in a desolate den "on the Top of a snowy Mountain." Whereas snakes are Envy's food, which she leaves half consumed,

Criticism is “extended upon the spoils of numberless Volumes half devoured.” Envy’s “eyes are all awry, her teeth are foul with mould,” while Criticism’s “Teeth [had] fallen out before” and “Her Eyes turned inward.” “Green, poisonous gall o’erflows [Envy’s] breast, and venom drips down from her tongue,” Criticism’s “Diet was the overflowing of her own *Gall*.”

At the same time, a detailed comparison evinces some degree of refinement in Swift’s version. Structurally, the sequence ‘ekphrasis – soliloquy – intervention’ is rather indebted to Ovid’s imitators Cowley and Garth, and in the description of Criticism itself, at least one line, “Teats, at which a Crew of ugly Monsters were greedily sucking” (p. 43, l. 35), is rather reminiscent of Cowley: “At her breast stuck Vipers which did prey / Upon her panting heart ... Sucking black *blood* from thence” (*Davideis*, p. 7 [I, 14]).

p. 43, ll. 22-23 She dwelt on the Top of a snowy Mountain in *Nova Zembla* Nova Zembla, or Novaya Zemlya, “New Land,” in the arctic north of Russia (see “Hondivs his Map of Russia” of 1625, originally in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, III, 43, 407, reprinted in Dirk F. Passmann and Hermann J. Real, “Barbarism, Witchcraft, and Devil Worship: Cock-and-Bull Stories from Several Remote Nations of the World,” *Swift Studies*, 23 [2008], 95 and n4), figures prominently in early English and Dutch travel accounts. The reasons for this interest were largely economic and commercial. Sixteenth-century European explorers keenly pursued the discovery of a North-East passage, which was believed to open the sea route to China. Their expeditions sailed around the Cola peninsula through the Barentz Sea coasting east and then found the southern coast of Novaya Zemlya and the narrow passage of the Waigatz Strait, between the island and the main land, the only way to get into the Kara Sea and thence further east.

Although the English navigator Stephen Burrough (1525-84) set foot on the island as early as 1556, when he reached the southern coast of Nova Zembla, and the Dutch explorer Willem Barentz (1560-97) was even forced to winter there in 1596 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 306-7 and 150-1), reliable, autoptic knowledge of the region remained scanty. Burrough, for one, relied for his report “that in this Nova Zembla is the mightiest mountaine in the worlde,” not on eye-witness evidence but on hearsay, and at the end of the century, Richard Hakluyt, for another, did not yet know whether the island was inhabited (Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols [Glasgow, 1903-5] {1598-1600}), II, 337 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 778-79]). A hundred years later still, Edward Wells, in his *Treatise of Antient and Present Geography* of 1701, ranked it among the “chief unknown Parts of the World” ([Oxford: at the Theatre, 1701], p. 154), thus echoing entries

on “Nova Zemla” like the one in Michel Antoine Baudrand’s revised edition of Philippus Ferrarius’ *Novum lexicon geographicum*, which Swift owned: “*Nova Zemla ... est in Oceano Glaciali, & creditor pars terræ Arcticæ. Sed non certò constat an sit insula, quanquam sic vulgò credatur, & lustrata tantùm fuit versus littoralem occidentalem. Ibi nullum oppidum neque vicus quod sciam*” (*Novum lexicon geographicum*, 2 vols [Eisenach: Johann Peter Schmidt, 1677], I, 529 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 616]). In Jean Martiny’s *Nouvelle géographie, ou toute la terre est décrite avec beaucoup d’exactitude et de brieveté* (Amsterdam: la Veuve René Pean, 1693), which was in Swift’s library, too (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1207), Nova Zembla is also described as “très-peu connue” (p. 173).

At the same time, the majority of the sources were agreed that Nova Zembla was some inhospitable territory, far off the beaten track and visited only by severe frost and eternal snow, afflicted by darkness and night, a wasteland which was wedded to infertility and barbarism (MORÉRI s.v.; see also *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, III, 473-74, 527-28, 488-89 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48], and Peter Davidson, *The Idea of North* [London: Reaktion Books, 2005], pp. 43-44).

Finally, it is important to register that Criticism’s residence is situated in the north, “ubi literali sensu sedes est Satanae,” as the Archbishop of Upsala, Olaus Magnus (1490-1557), had told readers of his *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), a volume also in Swift’s library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, II, 1161-63; quotation from the Basle 1567 edition [p. 120]). In fact, among the many myths which were circulated about Nova Zembla, no lore was more readily pounced upon than the one that Nova Zemblians were addicted to witchcraft as well as black magic and that they were devout worshippers of the Devil, the Prince of Darkness. Even the first travel account to provide at least some authentic information on Nova Zembla, Pierre Martin de la Martinière’s *Voyage des pays septentrionaux* of 1671, which came out not only in English translation in 1706 but also in Dutch, German, Italian, and Latin, disseminated the fiction that the island was infested with sorcerers, demons, and devils (*A New Voyage to the North ... With the Description of the Religion and Customs of these Several Nations* [London: Thomas Hodgson, 1706], pp. 214-23). This “traditional association of the north with evil goes back to patristic applications of *Is. xiv* 12-14 to the fall of Satan,” who in *Paradise Lost* calls upon his myrmidons “to haste ... / Homeward with flying march where we possess / The quarters of the north” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 300-1 [V, 686-89 and n]). There, to complete the circle, Satan repairs “to his royal seat” on the top of a high mountain, “in imitation of that mount whereon / Messiah was declared in sight of heaven” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 304-5 [V, 756-65] [PASSMANN AND

VIENKEN II, 1247]; see also Paul Salmon, “The Site of Lucifer’s Throne,” *Anglia*, 81 [1963], 118-23).

p. 43, l. 25 At her right Hand sat *Ignorance*, her Father and Husband] Widely regarded as the foremost intellectual evil: “Cum igitur omnium bonorum sapientia mater sit, è contrario malorum omnium ignorantia etiam parens erit,” Cardano rules (*Opera omnia*, I, 492b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46]); a conviction endorsed by, among others, Bishops Lancelot Andrewes and Edward Reynolds (*Apospasmata sacra*, p. 630; *Works*, p. 884 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 59-60; III, 1590-91]). In *Timber: or, Discoveries*, Ben Jonson equated ignorance with blindness, describing it in powerful metaphors 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 Herford and Simpson, VIII, 588 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 980-82]).

Poetically modelled, as one annotator has suggested (ELLIS [2006], p. 213), on the incestuous infernal triad in Milton, who made Satan the father and husband of Sin (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 125-26 and n [II, 746-67] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). Thematically, the marriage of Ignorance and Pride is again indebted to Temple’s “Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.” Confessing to his indignation at the recent manifestos of Thomas Burnet and Fontenelle (see the note on “sent certain Ambassadors to the *Antients*,” p. 34, l. 23), Sir William attributed it to sufficiency, that is, modern self-sufficiency and complacency (OED), “the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind,” a conviction which he reiterated several times later (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 2 and 131 [ad 2.39-40]), and which he may have encountered in Charron, *Of Wisdom*, trans. Stanhope, I, 156: “The greatest of All, and indeed the Source and Root of all the Rest, is *Pride* and *Presumption* ... ’Tis This that puffs Men up with *Sufficiency* and *Self-Satisfaction*” (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395). GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH point out that Sir William Temple’s phrases “had won Wotton’s attention in his *Reflections*, chaps. i and iv” (p. 240n1). In a marginal gloss of his own copy, Ehrenpreis counters: “No: Blackmore, *King Arthur*, Book III.”

p. 43, l. 26 at her left, *Pride* her Mother] Another feature in the cluster of satanic connotations which pepper the *ekphrasis* of Criticism. Pride was the “*morbus Satanicus*,” Lancelot Andrewes, in the wake of Isaiah (14:12-14), had warned (*Apospasmata sacra*, pp. 251, 525 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, I, 59-50]), and

many theologians, humanists, and poets either anticipated him or followed suit (for example, Morus, *The Complete Works of St Thomas More, IV: Utopia*, eds Surtz and Hexter, pp. 243-45; Richard Hooker, “Learned Sermon of the Nature of Pride,” *The Works* [London: by J. Best for Andrew Crook, 1662], pp. 266-71; Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 44-45 [I, 35-37]; William Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants: A Safe Way to Salvation*, 5th ed. [London: M. C., 1684], p. 450 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, III, 1833-35; II, 899-900; 1247; I, 401-2]). Further assessments of Pride, and its network of accompanying vices, such as Madness, Curiosity, Melancholy, and others, both inside and outside the *Battle*, are supplied by Wawers (*Swift zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt: Studie zum ideengeschichtlichen Kontext von “The Battle of the Books” und “A Tale of a Tub”*, pp. 139-200).

p. 43, ll. 27-28 *Opinion* her Sister, light of Foot, hoodwinkt, and headstrong, yet giddy and perpetually turning] The intellectual history of ‘Opinion’ is long and complicated, taking its starting point from the Fifth Book of Plato’s *Republic*. Here, 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, “*Opinio, cognitione obscurior, ignorantia dilucidior* [darker than knowledge and brighter than ignorance]” (*The Republic*, in *Platonis opera quæ extant omnia*, ed. de Serres, II, 476A-478D; see also Marsilio Ficino, *Omnia Divini Platonis opera* [Basle: H. Froben and N. Episcopius, 1546], p. 430 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1437-40]). Several centuries later, this dichotomy was still present in all major European languages and literatures: “opinion” is described as radiating insecurity and granting at best probability, non-demonstrative knowledge. Thus, whenever opinion intrudes into a statement, the result is error, since falsehood is contingent upon opinion. The epithets that most frequently collocate with opinion are “dubious” and “pernicious,” “fallacious” and “false,” not only in Cicero and the Fathers of the Church but also in encyclopaedists like Girolamo Cardano (1501-76) and Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638), in humanists like Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) and Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), and, in seventeenth-century England, in sceptics like Sir John Davies, whose *Nosce teipsum* Swift read in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30), Henry Peacham (c.1576-1642) and Ben Jonson. In *Timber: or, Discoveries*, Jonson, for one, warned that “*Opinion*” was “a light, vaine, crude, and imperfect thing,” which “never arriv[ed] at the understanding, there to obtaine the tincture of *Reason*” (*Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VIII, 564; 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). But there is perhaps no more striking picture of ‘opinion’ meandering between ignorance and passion than the exemplification in Pierre Charron’s *De la sagesse*, whose English translation by George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, was in Swift’s library: “[*Opinion*] is nothing else but a vain and easie, a crude and imperfect Judgment of things, taken up upon slight and insufficient grounds; too credulous an Assent to the Representations of our outward Senses ... And accordingly we see [*Opinion*] is mutable and inconstant, fleeting and deceitful. A very dangerous Guide, that makes Head against Reason ... This is the Source of all our Evils, our Confusions and Disorders, our Passions and Troubles ... So that in truth Madmen and Fools, the Ignorant and the Mobb, are blindly led by the Nose by it” (*Of Wisdom*, trans. Stanhope, I, 159-60 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395-96]). See also Jeremy Collier, whose *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects* Swift read in 1697/8 (3rd ed. [London: R. Sare and H. Hindmarsh, 1698], pp. 239-46 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128-30]), not to mention Blount’s *Essays on Several Subjects* (pp. 177-79). There is a direct line from Charron-Stanhope to Criticism. A few years earlier, in the “Ode to Dr William Sancroft,” which was probably composed between 1689 and 1692, Swift had already portrayed Opinion, “That vagrant leader of the mind,” as “dark and blind” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 62, l. 36).

hoodwink] A term from falconry: “Good my lord,” Caliban urges Trinculo in Shakespeare’s *Tempest*, “Be patient, for the prize I’ll bring thee to / Shall hoodwink this mischance,” describing “the placing of a hood over the head of the bird to render it immobile and harmless” (*The Tempest*, ed. David Lindley [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], p. 195 [IV, i, 203-5]).

p. 43, ll. 29-30 [her Children, *Noise* and *Impudence*, *Dullness* and *Vanity*, *Positiveness*, *Pedantry*, and *Ill-Manners*] The majority of these features are attributable to Criticism’s morbid melancholy (see the note on “Her *Spleen* was so large,” p. 43, ll. 33), which produces characteristic symptoms, physical and mental (*The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 94-95, 291 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 126]). Besides corporeal defects (“Her Teeth fallen out,” l. 31), it engenders dullness and vanity, obstinacy and ill manners. Moreover, women are more susceptible to the disease than men. At the same time, a splenetic temperament was frequently taken to encourage a propensity “to criticism and satire,” as Shaftesbury explained in his *Miscellaneous Reflections (Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. Robertson, II, 223), as well as to be conducive to the alliance of “*Pride, Pedantry and Ill Manners*.” In Swift’s view, ‘Pedantry,’ the domineering and intolerant arrogation of imposing one’s own views on others, which he later defined as “the too frequent or unseasonable

obtruding our own Knowledge in common Discourse, and placing too great a Value upon it" (*Prose Works*, IV, 90 and 215), is always indicative of bad behaviour. In this view, he was anticipated by Charron, who defined the pedant as "not only different from, and contrary to a Wise Man ... but [as] a Fellow that hath the Impudence to oppose and make Head against him" and that "sawcily challenges him to Combat, and talks magisterially and dogmatically" (*Of Wisdom*, trans. Stanhope, I, sig. b1r-v; pp. 359-60 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395]), and followed by 'Boyle's' *Examination* (pp. 93-99) and Steele in *The Tatler* (ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987], II, 414-18 [no 165]).

p. 43, l. 30 Claws like a Cat] In the iconography of the Renaissance, Ignorance is frequently pictured as a feline monster (Robert J. Clements, "Emblem Books on Literature's Role in the Revival of Learning," *Studies in Philology*, 54 [1957], 85-100; and the same author's *Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books*, pp. 86, 92-93). Swift would have encountered the notion in Milton's *Prologues*, which were in his library: "Now foul Error reigns supreme in all the schools ... he has assailed every particle and fragment of natural philosophy and outraged it with impious claws" (*Complete Prose Works*, I, ed. Wolfe, p. 250 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1246]). Moreover, in the elaborate system of correspondences, which was rooted in humoral pathology and which should have been discarded after Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood but was not (see Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours* [New York: Ecco, 2007], particularly pp. 3-41, 187-91), cats were, like Criticism itself, melancholic creatures (Gail Kern Paster, "Melancholy Cats, Lugged Bears, and Other Passionate Animals," *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* [Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004], pp. 135-88). There were many expositions of the system in Swift's library, ranging from Galen to Melanchthon, Fernel and Cardano (see the note on "Her *Spleen* was so large," p. 43, l. 33), but none is as exhaustive as that of Jean Baptiste Morin, French royal physician and professor of mathematics at Paris (*Astrologia Gallica* [The Hague: Adrian Vlacq, 1661], pp. 301-11, particularly p. 304 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1290-91]).

p. 43, ll. 30-31 Her Head, and Ears, and Voice, resembled those of an Ass] A multivalent symbol. In addition to the ass as the traditional image of Folly (as, for example, in Erasmus' *Moriæ encomium*, pp. 16-17, and Daniel Heinsius' equally paradoxical *Lavs asini* [Leiden: Elzevir, 1629], p. 1 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 574-75; II, 811]), and as corroborated by Criticism's being incestuously married to Ignorance, her Father, as well as by other passages in Swift (*Prose Works*, I, 172-

73; *Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 158, ll. 61-66; II, 512, l. 5), at least three more layers of meaning may be noted:

first, like the cat, the ass is a melancholic animal (Morin, *Astrologia Gallica*, p. 304 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1290-91]).

Second, since devil worship is a constituent feature of the episode, Criticism's physiognomy as resembling that "of an *Ass*" puns on the proverb, "The Devil is an ass" (TILLEY D242; ODEP, p. 181), also the title of a comedy by Ben Jonson (*Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VI, 145-270).

Third, Criticism's residence in the inhospitable territory of Nova Zembla, a region of severe frost and eternal snow, evokes an age-old association of 'ass' and 'cold' according to which the icecold water of the Styx "was held to be a deadly poison and to destroy every kind of vessel except those made of a horse's or ass's hoof" (Edward Bensly, *Notes and Queries*, 168 [1935], 210), and which Swift jocularly elaborated in "On Burning a Dull Poem": "AN Ass's Hoof alone can hold / That pois'nous Juice which kills by Cold. / Methought, when I this Poem read, / No Vessel but an Ass's Head, / Such frigid Fustian could contain; / I mean the Head without the Brain" (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 469, ll. 1-6). Although this poem is dated later (1729), the lore to which it refers may be found in numerous sources, ancient and modern, in Swift's library. Among them is Abraham Cowley, who, in "The Mistress," lamented that the tears of his beloved were "so wondrous cold, / As scarce the *Asses hoof* can hold" (*Poems*, p. 66; see also Pausanias, *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, ed. Kuehn, pp. 634-36 [VIII, xviii, 1-6]; Plutarch, *Alexander*, in *Omnium quae exstant operum*, ed. Ruault, I, 707A [LXXVII, 2]; and *Historiarum mirabilium avctores Graeci*, ed. Joannes Meursius [Leiden: A. Elzevir, 1622], pp. 127-28 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475; II, 1394, 1467-69, 1241-42]). Ostensibly, Criticism needs an ass's head in order to cope with Nova Zembla's extreme cold.

p. 43, l. 32 Her eyes turned inward, as if she lookt only upon herself] A symbol evocative of modern intellectual sufficiency, or 'originality,' as the Spider, Modernity's representative, had boasted ("*I am a domestick Animal, furnisht with a native Stock within my self,*" p. 39, l. 38), at the same time underscoring its hostility towards all kinds of imitation and reliance on tradition, denounced as "*universal Plunder*" and "*Stealing*" (p. 39, ll. 36-37). This is a leitmotif linking the *Battle's* Moderns with the *Tale's* Sects, who are equally inimical to 'authority,' whatever it is called (see the note on "*Inward Light,*" *A Tale of a Tub*, p.). Swift was to resume the symbol in his description of the Laputan sages in *Gulliver's Travels* (III, ii, 1), as his annotators have noted (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 240n4).

p. 43, ll. 32-33 Her Diet was the overflowing of her own Gall] Rather than try to remedy her desperate case with an appropriate medication (Jean Fernel, *Vniversa medicina*, 2 vols [in one] [Leiden: F. Hacke, 1645], I, 416; Galen, *Epitome* [Lyon: Jean Caffin and François Plaignard, 1643], p. 592 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 611-12, 662-63]), Criticism exacerbates it.

p. 43, l. 33 Her *Spleen* was so large] Humoral pathologists distinguish four principal humours in every human body: blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy, the interactions of which determine good and ill health. After having been extracted from the food, part of the mixture of humours is distributed through the veins and arteries, part is accumulated in the organs of the body: phlegm in the lungs, choler in the gall bladder, blood in the liver, and melancholy or black bile, in the spleen (Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580-1642* [East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951], particularly pp. 1-20; Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, pp. 3-41, and *passim*; and Clark Lawlor, “Fashionable Melancholy,” *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century: Before Depression*, eds Allan Ingram *et al.* [Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011], pp. 25-53 [27-41]). Thus, the predominant humour in a melancholy person is black bile, of all four the most calamitous and pernicious: “Perniciosissimus succus est atra bilis,” Galen warns (*Epitome*, p. 13b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 662-63]). The extraordinary protuberance of Criticism’s spleen indicates that the goddess suffers from morbid melancholy.

As there is a close correspondence between each human temperament and all natural phenomena that have the same qualities, the melancholic complexion corresponds to the winter and to the north (cold/dry): “Atra bilis sicca est & frigida,” Galen explains (*Epitome*, p. 320a). Swift was clearly at pains to make Criticism’s topography fit in with the physical requirements of humoral pathology (see the note on “a snowy Mountain in *Nova Zembla*,” p. 43, l. 23).

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), Johannes Curio (“De qvatvor hvmoribus humani corporis,” *Medicina Salernitana* [Frankfurt: Johannes Saur for Vincenz Steinmeier, 1605], pp. 325-41), Jean Fernel (*Vniversa medicina*, I, 128-30, 229-34, 262-66), and Girolamo Cardano (*Opera omnia*, VI, 709-10, 867-68; IX, 67-77 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1223-25; III, 1631-32; I, 611-12; 344-46]), Swift is likely to have

consulted the most elaborate tabular survey known of the system in his copy of Jean Baptiste Morin's *Astrologia Gallica*, pp. 301-11 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1290-91).

p. 43, l. 34 as to stand prominent *like a Dug of the first Rate*] The nurse, in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, also makes "a distinction between the nipple and the dug as breast" (Findlay, *Women in Shakespeare: A Dictionary*, p. 118), recalling that when the baby "did taste the wormwood on the nipple / Of my dug, & felt it bitter, pretty foole / To see it teachie and fall out with Dugge" (SHAKESPEARE I, iii, 384-86).

p. 43, l. 35 Teats, at which a Crew of ugly Monsters were greedily sucking] In Shakespeare's plays, half a dozen of which Swift can be shown to have read, the dug is sometimes seen as "a site of pollution" and "poisonous breastfeeding as a metaphor for ... parental treachery" (Findlay, *Women in Shakespeare: A Dictionary*, p. 118): "Thou frantike woman, what dost thou make here?" York addresses the Duchess in SHAKESPEARE, *King Richard II*, "Shall thy old dugs once more a traitor reare?" (V, iii, 2461-62).

p. 43, l. 39 – p. 44, l. 1 *Who then hereafter, will ever sacrifice, or build Altars to our Divinities?*] Possibly, but not necessarily, an echo of Juno's question in Virgil's *Aeneid*, I, 48-49 (suggested by GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH [p. 241n1], following EGERTON [p. 70]), but equally well a reminiscence of Criticism's relative, *Discorde*, in Boileau's *Le Lutrin*: "Suis-je donc la Discorde? & parmi les Mortels, / Qui voudra désormais encenser mes autels?" (*Œuvres diverses*, p. 156 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 254-57]). See also Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 18 (*Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, II, 138 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]).

p. 44, l. 4 MOMUS having thus delivered himself, staid not for an Answer] Some annotators compare the opening of Bacon's "Of Truth," "*What is Truth*," said jesting *Pilate*; And would not stay for an Answer" (*The Essayes or Counsels*, ed. Kiernan, p. 7; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 241n2), yet it is difficult to see why this echo, if it is one, should be a "definite jibe" at Bacon (Vickers, "Swift and the Baconian Idol," p. 106; Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968], p. 241).

p. 44, l. 5 Up she rose in a Rage] Swift's medical authorities attributed sudden fits of fury to people suffering from melancholia, and women were particularly

eligible, it seems (Melanchthon, “De humoribus,” *Liber de anima*, sig. k5r; Cardano, *Opera omnia*, IX, 68 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1223-25; I, 344-46]). Predictably, the notion was reflected in literature (SHAKESPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet*, III, i, 1540-43).

p. 44, ll. 5-6 as it is the Form upon such Occasions, [she] began a Soliloquy] Swift here adopted the practice of modern burlesques, such as those of Boileau and Garth (*Le Lutrin*, in *Œuvres diverses*, I, 170-72 [II, 121-65]; *The Dispensary*, in *Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, pp. 68-70 [I, 105-67] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 254-57; 672-74]). In fact, soliloquies of the Gods are rare in ancient epics (Richard Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 5th ed. [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972], pp. 427-31).

p. 44, l. 8 *Beaus*] See the note on “like a shrivled Beau” (p. 46, l. 33).

p. 44, l. 8 School-boys, *Judges of Philosophy*] By the time Swift was writing the *Battle*, he still had vivid recollections of his philosophical studies at Trinity College, Dublin, of a decade earlier, for which, he recorded later in his autobiographical fragment “Family of Swift,” “he had no great relish by Nature” (*Prose Works*, V, 192). These detested academical studies comprised heavy doses of Aristotelian logic, physics, metaphysics, and ethics, on which the students had to write weekly commentaries (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, pp. 57-63). The extent to which they had a lasting influence on Swift may be seen from his explosion of the philosophy of the schools in his masterpiece, *Gulliver’s Travels*, some thirty years later (R. S. Crane, “The Houyhnhnms, the Yahoos, and the History of Ideas,” *Reason and the Imagination: Studies in the History of Ideas*, ed. J. A. Mazzeo [New York: Columbia University Press, and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962], pp. 231-53). At the same time, Sir William Temple, in his comment on what he regarded as the modern inversion of values, had lamented: “A Boy of fifteen is wiser than his Father at forty” (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, p. 30).

p. 44, l. 9 *Sophisters debate*] At Trinity College, Dublin, a third-year student was called junior sophister, and a fourth-year student, senior sophister (Constantia Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591-1892* [Dublin: The University Press, 1946], p. 50; R. B. McDowell and D. A. Webb, “Courses and Teaching in Trinity College, Dublin, during the First 200 Years,” *Hermathena*, 69 [1947], 9-30). Thus, a ‘sophister’ was a student who had not yet taken an academic degree and who therefore would have been regarded as semiliterate and

immature. “Sophister,” George Stanhope wrote in the Preface to his translation of Pierre Charron’s *De la sagesse*, which was in Swift’s library, “*is one of those Words which hath absolutely lost its first Signification* [“of wise and learned man”], *and is now become a Mark of Reproach and Contempt*” (*Of Wisdom*, trans. Stanhope, I, sig. a8v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 395]).

“To demonstrate their mastery of the material,” students at Trinity College were expected to engage in “strict syllogistic disputations” on questions drawn from the lectures. These would involve “at least four disputants” and last “an hour apiece” (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 59; E. J. Furlong, “The Study of Logic in Trinity College, Dublin,” *Hermathena*, 60 [1942], 38-53; Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591-1892*, pp. 51-53).

p. 44, ll. 9-10 *Coffee-house Wits*] See the note on “*Covent Garden*” (p. 44, l. 23).

p. 44, ll. 11-12 *Striplings spend their Judgment, as they do their Estate, before it comes into their Hands*] “Bonam deperdere famam, / Rem patris oblimare, malum est vbicunque [To throw away a good name, to squander a father’s estate, is at all times ruinous” (Horace, *Satires*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 127 [I, ii, 61-62] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]). The young prodigal son is a principal character type of Roman comedy: “In this house,” Luxuria tells the audience in the Prologue to Plautus’ *Trinummus*, “a young man lives, who is busy spending his paternal inheritance with my assistance [Adolescens quidam est, qui in hisce habitat ædibus: / Is rem paternam me adjutrice perdidit” (*M. Acci Plavti comœdiæ*, ed. Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, 2 vols [Leiden and Rotterdam: Hackius, 1669], II, 451 [12-13]; see also II, 89 [*Mercator*, I, i, 40-43] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1454-55]). In his *Art of Poetry*, Horace characterizes the young prodigal, “beardless [imberbis juvenis]” and “freed at last from his tutor [tandem custode remoto],” as “slow to make needful provision [and] lavish of money [Vtilium tardus prouisor, prodigus æris]” (*Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 231 [ll. 161, 164] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]); and in Wycherley’s *Country Wife*, Pinchwife at one stage scoffs at the conduct of the rakes, Sparkish and Harcourt, as resembling “true Town Fops, such as spend their Estates before they come to’em, and are Cuckolds before they’r married” (*The Plays of William Wycherley*, ed. Arthur Friedman [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], p. 274 [II, i, 302-4] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1978-79]). See also Robert Jordan, “The Extravagant Rake in Restoration Comedy,” *Restoration Literature: Critical Approaches*, ed. Harold Love (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 69-90.

p. 44, ll. 16-17 *who are now sacrificing to us a Hecatomb*] Misled by the etymology of ‘hecatomb’ (from Greek *hekaton* and *bous*), a variety of authors in Swift’s library assume that “*Hecatomb* ... signifies a Sacrifice of 100 Oxen” (in addition to MORERI s.v., and LITTLETON s.v., see Strabo, *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, III, iii, 7; Philostratus, *De la vie d’Apollonivis*, I, 31 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1754-56; II, 1422]). In fact, any major sacrifice was called ‘hecatomb’ in ancient Greece (see, for example, Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 20, 147-48, 397 [I, 315-16; VIII, 545-48; XXIII, 145-48] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), and the animals which were sacrificed need not have been oxen, as Diodorus of Sicily, whose *Library of History* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8, points out (III, 43, 1 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128, 131]).

p. 44, l. 17 *as I perceive by that grateful Smell*] Given the generic matrix of the *Battle*, Swift is more likely to have thought of the pagan gods of Greece, who traditionally perceive sacrifices by “their savoury steam” (Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 20, 148 [I, 317; VIII, 549-50]; Aristophanes, *The Birds*, in *Aristophanis Comoediae vndecim cum scholiis antiquis*, pp. 610-11 [ll. 1516-18] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; I, 80-82]), rather than the God of the Old Testament who also enjoys the “sweet savour” of burnt offerings (Genesis 8:21; Leviticus 1:9; *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Jeremy Treglown [Oxford: Blackwell, 1980], p. 246). Lucian poked fun at the habit in his delightful cosmic voyage “Icaromenippus”: “[The gods] are especially fond of dining on the smoke from the sacrifices, which comes up to them all savoury” (*Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, II, 207 [27]), as La Fontaine was to do later (*Fables choisies*, pp. 288-89 [III, xiii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15; 1025-27]).

grateful Smell] “From the earth’s great altar send up silent praise / To the creator, and his nostrils fill / With grateful smell” (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 449 and n [IX, 195-97] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]); “grateful” here means “pleasing to the mind or the senses” (OED).

p. 44, ll. 19-23 THE Goddess and her Train having Mounted the Chariot, which was drawn by *tame Geese*, flew over infinite Regions, shedding her Influence in due Places, till at length, she arrived at her beloved Island of *Britain*; But in hovering over its *Metropolis*, what Blessings did she not let fall upon her Seminaries of *Gresham* and *Covent-Garden*?] Structurally and thematically, this paragraph describing Criticism’s cosmic voyage is a palimpsest, a parodic refunctioning of a celebrated scene in Lucretius’ *De rerum natura*, the procession

of the *Magna Mater Deorum*, Cybele, in Book Two (for the full account of the ritual of the Great Mother, see *Titi Lucreti Cari De rerum natvra libri sex*, ed. Cyril Bailey, 3 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963], II, 898-908 [ll. 598-642]), which Swift read no less than three times in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30). In its critical history, this passage was not only praised for the sheer magnificence of its poetry, but was also invoked in uncounted mythographic and iconological accounts of the classical pantheon from the Renaissance to the middle of the eighteenth century (see the illustrations in Passmann and Real, “Barbarism, Witchcraft, and Devil Worship: Cock-and-Bull Stories from Several Remote Nations of the World,” pp. 99-102 and nn19-22). To that extent, educated readers had it, and its imitations, at their fingertips (*The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, p. 223 [IV, xi, 28] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21]; Denham, *Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of “Coopers Hill”*, ed. O Hehir, p. 142, ll. 59-64), and Swift’s parody would have been recognized as impish and playful, as intent upon nothing so much as to provoke laughter:

Quare magna deum mater, materque ferarum,
Wherefore earth alone has been called the Great Mother of the gods ...
 Et nostri genitrix hæc dicta’st corporis una.
and the mother of the wild beasts, and the parent of our body.
 Hanc veteres Graium docti cecinere poetæ
Of her in days of old the learned poets of the Greeks sang
 Sublimem in curru bijugos agitare leones ...
That on a throne in her car she drove a yoke of lions ...
 Adjunxere feras, quia quamvis effere proles
To the car they yoked wild beasts, because, however wild the brood,
 Officiis debet molliri victa parentum ...
It ought to be conquered and softened by the loving care of parents ...
 Ergo cum primum magnas invecta per urbeis
And so as soon as she rides on through great cities,
 Munificat tacita mortaleis muta salute ...
And silently blesses mortals with unspoken salutation ...
 Propterea Magnam armati matrem comitantur,
For this cause in arms they escort the Great Mother
 Aut quia significant divam prædicere, ut armis,
Or else they show forth that the goddess preaches
 Ac virtute velint patriam defendere terram:
That they should resolve with arms and valour to defend their native land
 Præsidioque parent, decorique parentibus esse.

And prepare to be a guard and ornament to their parents.

(The Latin text is taken from the unnumbered 1675 Cambridge edition [pp. 48-49], which was in Swift's library [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1122]. The interlinear English translation is that of Cyril Bailey [I, 267-71], the contemporary one by Thomas Creech, which Swift may have known [*Titus Lucretius Carus His Six Books of Epicurean Philosophy, Done into English Verse*, pp. 51-53], not being literal enough to bring out the more specific resonances, their parodic echoes and stylistic hyperboles, here printed in bold).

Symbolically, however, the hilarity of the burlesque is undercut by a melancholy strain. To account for this atmospheric change, one needs to remember that the Fathers of the Church had transformed the pagan gods into demons and devils. "As for the Gods of the *Gentiles*," Philippe de Mornay, in *A Woorke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* of 1587, which was in Swift's library, posited laconically, "they were Deuils" ([London: by George Robinson for Thomas Cadman, 1587], p. 408 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1295-96]), a position taken by many theologians before and after, Anglican and non-Anglican alike, who all joined in degrading the gods of pagan polytheism into demons. Once this identification had been established, it was but logical to conclude that the fallen angels of Christianity, demons as they were, too, and the gods of paganism were related, were in fact one and the same. In *Paradise Lost*, for example, Milton would identify the fallen angels with the heathen deities, who deceived men into worshipping them as gods, "with gay religions full of pomp and gold, / And devils to adore for deities" (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 66 [I, 372-74 and n] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]; and *A Variorum Commentary on The Poems of John Milton*, IV, ed. Walter MacKellar [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975], 66-67 [117]; see also Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus* (1681), Collected Works, ed. Bernhard Fabian, IX [Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1978], p. 75; and Daniel Featly, *An Appendix to the Fishers Net* [London: by H. Lownes for Robert Millbourne, 1624], p. 79 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 604-5]). In this process, Cybele, the *Magna Mater Deorum*, and her tumultuous, orgiastic followers mutated to *Magna Mater Daemonum*, the "Great" or "Grand Mother of the Devils" (a mutation, incidentally, which may explain why the Devil, who as primordial evil has no Mother, still has a Grandmother; see Franz Josef Dölger, "'Teufels Großmutter': *Magna Mater Deum* und *Magna Mater Daemonum*. Die Umwertung der Heidengötter im christlichen Dämonenglauben," *Antike und Abendland*, 3 [1932], 153-76).

tame Geese] Swift replaces the Great Mother's wild lions, which she softens by loving care, by tame geese, the goose being an established opposite not only of

the swan, the emblem of the poet (Cowley, *Pindarique Odes*, in *Poems*, p. 19 and n4), but also a symbol of the poetaster and fault-finder (see, in addition to *Poems*, ed. Williams, I, 230-31, Virgil, *Eclogues*, in *Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 40 [IX, 32-36], and Propertius, *Catulli Tibulli et Propertii opera* [Cambridge: Jacob Tonson, 1702], p. 370 [II, xxxiv, 83-84] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17; II, 1531-32]). See also William Meredith Carroll, *Animal Conventions in English Renaissance Non-Religious Prose, 1550-1600* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1954), p. 105.

hovering over its *Metropolis*] The reincarnation of the diabolical spirit who always says ‘No,’ Criticism is also a princess of the power of the air, having been described by St Paul, in his *Epistle to the Ephesians*, as a rebellious, sinful “spirit that ... worketh in the children of disobedience” (2:2). The Junius Bible, which was in Swift’s library, explains in a marginal gloss how this has to be understood: “Periphrasis est diaboli, cujus impulsu mundus contra Christum haud secus agitatur quam aëre commoto naves agitantur in mari [This is a periphrasis of the Devil, through whose impulse the world is aroused against Christ in the same way as ships on the sea are tossed about by a violent wind]”

(*Testamentum Novum*, ed. Franciscus Junius [London: Regius Typographus, 1592], p. 148 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 204-5]). In the seventeenth-century history of ideas, this notion became so familiar as to be virtually commonplace. “Spirits of th’Air are bold, proud, and ambitious, / Envious tow’rd Mankinde, Spleenfull, and malicious,” Thomas Heywood rhymed in *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells*, “and these (by Gods permission) not alone / Haue the cleare subtill aire to worke vpon, / By causing thunders and tempestuous show’rs, / With harmefull winds: ’tis also in their pow’rs / T’affright the earth with strange prodigious things, / And what’s our hurt, to them great pleasure brings” ([London: Adam Islip, 1647], p. 505). That repository of Christian learning, *Paradise Lost*, is studded with references to air, or mid air, as the habitation of Satan and his followers, air being “the realm it self of Satan long usurped” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 516 [X, 188-89] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). See also Passmann and Real, “Barbarism, Witchcraft, and Devil Worship: Cock-and-Bull Stories from Several Remote Nations of the World,” pp. 104-9.

Seminaries of *Gresham* and *Covent-Garden*] ‘Seminary’ is a loaded, usually pejorative, word in Swift (see *Prose Works*, IX, 78). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it frequently signifies “a school or college for training persons for the priesthood” (OED), who by English Protestants were bitterly referred to as “Seminary priests.” These were trained in Continental institutions at Douai and elsewhere and would return to England as “emissaries of the Roman Church” (Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism* [Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin,

1958], pp. 109-10; Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850*, I [Ware: St Edmund's College, 1968], ix-xx). Swift would have encountered information about the seminary priests and their mission in Daniel Featly, *An Appendix to the Fishers Net* [Robert Milbourne, 1624], sig.&3v-4r [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 604-5]), and Camden, *Rerum Anglicanarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha*, pp. 314-18 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 336-37), as well as perhaps in the anonymous pamphleteer of *A Vindication of the Clergy* who, in his response to Eachard's *Grounds & Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Enquired into* of 1670, to which Swift refers in the *Tale* (p. G), charged "the *Popish Recusants*" with sending forth "more *Priests*" from the "English *Seminaries* abroad" than the "two Universities at home do *Ministers*" ([London: Andrew Clark for Henry Brome, 1672], p. 102).

Until 1710, Gresham College was the meeting place of the Royal Society (see, in addition to John Evelyn, *The Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955], III, 266, 487; IV, 27, H. Dale, "The Royal Society and its Homes," *Nature*, 152 [1943], 649-51; D. C. Martin, "Former Homes of the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, 22 [1967], 12-19), "establish'd by a *Charter* of King *Charles II.* in *April* 1663. for promoting *Natural Knowledge*, and useful Arts, by Experiments" (Guy Miège's *Present State of Great Britain* [for example, 3rd ed. {London: by J. H. for J. Nicholson, 1716}, p. 125; first published in French [Amsterdam: chez les Wetsteins, 1708], p. 251). It is here used not only in its topographical signification, but also as a metonymy of the New Science, for which the Royal Society stood, and their high-flown pretensions "that the present Age and Posterity may be able to put a Mark on the Errors which have been strengthen'd by long Prescription, to restore Truths that have been neglected, to push on those which are already known to more various Uses, to make the way more passable to what remains unrevealed, &c." (Chamberlayne, *Magnæ Britanniae Notitia*, p. 253; see also Webster, *The Great Instauration*, pp. 88-99, and *passim*; Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981], pp. 32-58). Sir William Temple provides an example of the metonymical use (*Sir William Temples Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry": eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitung und Kommentar*, ed. Kämper, pp. 30 and 205 [ad 30.1094-95]; see also Temple's "Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of *Antient and Modern Learning*" in *Miscellanea: The Third Part*, p. 207). For a satirical portrait of Gresham College, see Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Hyland, pp. 52-54.

Covent Garden is less the contemporary red-light district (as in *A Tale of a Tub*, p. Q, and *Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 581, l. 3) than the favourite locality of clubs and coffee houses (Robert J. Allen, *The Clubs of Augustan London* [Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1967]; Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses* [London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963]). The best-known of the coffee houses was *Will's* (E. J. Burford, *Wits, Wenchers, and Wantons: London's Low Life. Covent Garden in the Eighteenth Century* [London: Robert Hale, 1986], pp. 24-28), “the Place,” Swift noted in a gloss on *A Tale of a Tub*, “where the Poets usually met” (p. Q) and where, as he jotted down shortly afterwards in *Hints towards an Essay on Conversation*, “the Wits (as they were called) used formerly to assemble,” reminding him of “the worst Conversation ... in [his] Life” (*Prose Works*, IV, 90).

p. 44, ll. 26-27 once inhabited by a Colony of *Virtuoso's*] 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” (Houghton, “The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century,” pp. 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. Q), signifying perhaps the ‘members of the Royal Society,’ always regarded with due disrespect by Swift as well as the ‘Gimcrack’ amateurs and dilettantes of natural science, who prefer “to study insects,” as Thomas Shadwell portrays them in *The Virtuoso*, “men and manners” being below them (*The Virtuoso*, eds Marjorie Hope Nicolson and David Stuart Rodes [London: Edward Arnold, 1966], p. 72 [III, iii, 88-89]).

p. 44, l. 27 she staid a while to observe the Posture of both Armies] Thus Pallas Athena watches Ulysses’ preparing for the final showdown with Penelope’s wooers (*The Odyssey*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, II, 313 [XXII, 239-40] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), and Juno does those of the Trojans and Latins (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 625 [XII, 134-37] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 44, ll. 29-31 she cast her Eyes upon her Son *W-tt-It*; to whom the Fates had assigned a very short Thread] Seemingly, a lapse of memory inasmuch as it is Lachesis, the middle of the *sorores lanificae*, who decides on the length of the

thread of life: “O duram Lachesin, quae tam grave sidus habenti / Fila dedit vitae non breviora meae [Ah! cruel Lachesis, when my star is so ill-fated, / not to have granted my life a shorter thread!],” Ovid grieves in Tomis (*Tristia*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, III, 214 [V, x, 45-46] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]), and Claudian followed suit (“De raptu Proserpinæ,” *Cl. Claudiani quæ exstant*, ed. Nicolaus Heinsius [Leiden: Elzevir, 1650], p. 221 [II, 354] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 428-29]). See also the detailed discussion in TOOKE, pp. 257-58, and the full collection of sources in Starnes and Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries*, pp. 340-86.

But then, there is a perhaps equally full collection of passages in the Latin poets in which the clearly distinguishable functions of the sisters overlap, so that what seems a lapse of memory on Swift’s part may be accounted for (see, for example, Tibullus, *Elegies*, in *Catulli, Tibulli et Propertii opera*, p. 214 [III, iii, 35-36], and Virgil, *Eclogues*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 18 [IV, 47] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1855; 1916-17]).

p. 44, ll. 31-32 whom an unknown Father of mortal Race, begot by stollen Embraces with this Goddess] A parodic inversion, perhaps, of Jupiter’s erotic “theft” committed when visiting Alcmena in the guise of her husband Amphitruo, a myth first dramatized by Plautus in his eponymous play, of which Swift owned no less than six editions (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1452-56), and in the seventeenth century imitated by Molière (*Les Oeuvres*, 4 vols [Amsterdam: Henry Desbordes, 1704], II, 383-454 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1262-63]), and Dryden (see *Amphitryon: or, The Two Socias* (1690), in *The Works of John Dryden, XV: Plays*, ed. Earl Miner [Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1976], 221-318). See also the note on “who from his Father’s side,” p. 46, l. 12).

p. 44, ll. 34-35 according to the good old Custom of Deities, she cast about to change her Shape] “These Gods and Goddesses always appear in other Peoples Shapes,” Swift’s friend, Matthew Prior, scoffed in his “Observations on Homer” (*The Literary Works*, eds Wright and Spears, I, 419). Indeed, the number of examples is legion, both in the ancient masters and their modern imitators (Homer, *The Iliad*, II, 16-22; XVI, 715-26; XX, 81-85; *The Odyssey*, VII, 19-20, and *passim*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 27, 308-9, 358; II, 88; Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 175, 343 [I, 314-20; V, 618-22]; Boileau, *Le Lutrin*, in *Œuvres diverses*, I, 157 [I, 63-64] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17; I, 254-57]); and Garth, *The Dispensary*, in *Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, p. 75 and n [II,

74-75] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 672-74]). More significantly, and perhaps not accidentally, Swift chooses for the transformation of Criticism almost the same formulation with which Milton described the metamorphosis of her satanic forebear when meeting Uriel: “But first he casts to change his proper shape” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 183 [III, 634] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]).

p. 44, ll. 35-36 for fear the Divinity of her Countenance might dazzle his mortal Sight] In classical mythology, Mortals are unable to endure any immediate contact with Immortals. Thus, when Zeus visited Semele in all his splendour, she was consumed by his lightning: “How *Semele* of mortal Race, / by Thunder dy’d in *Jove’s* Embrace,” Swift parodied the myth, already known to “School-boys,” in “Strephon and Chloe” (*Poems*, ed. Williams II, 587, ll. 106-8). The story had been told at some length by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 53-55 [III, 259-309] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]), and Diodorus of Sicily, whose *Library of History* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (III, 64, 3-5 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128, 131]), as well as summarized by TOOKE, pp. 59-61.

p. 44, ll. 36-37 She therefore gathered up her Person into an *Octavo* Compass] Another reminder that the combatants are books, so that “intellectual and spiritual concepts” need to be reduced “to physical bodies” (Maresca, *Epic to Novel*, p. 162). Both the 1694 and 1697 editions of Wotton’s *Reflections* were in octavo (Bartholomew and Clark, *Richard Bentley*, pp. 26-28 [*90 and *94]): Wotton becomes the reincarnation of his mother, Criticism.

p. 44, l. 38 Pastboard] “Sheets of paper pasted together,” serving as covers or ‘boards’ (Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 148).

p. 45, l. 1 a Black Juice, or Decoction of Gall and Soot] See the note on “This malignant Liquor was compounded” (p. 35, ll. 17-19).

p. 45, l. 5 *Divine B-ntl-y, W-tt-n’s* dearest Friend] A pun on Bentley, the divine, to whom the *epitheton ornans* ‘divine,’ from the Homeric epics, is applied (see the note on “*God-like* Pindar,” p. 48, l. 6).

p. 45, l. 6 *Why do our Troops stand idle here*] Iris, the celestial messenger sent by Juno, puts the same question to Turnus after Aeneas has left the Trojan camp: “Quid dubitas? nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii*

Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis, p. 484 [IX, 12] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 45, ll. 8-11 she took the ugliest of her Monsters, full glutted from her Spleen, and flung it invisibly into his Mouth; which flying strait up into his Head, squeez'd out his Eye-balls, gave him a distorted Look, and half overturned his Brain] Criticism is reminiscent of the Fury Allecto, who was represented as wreathed with snakes and was hateful even to the gods of the underworld, “her heart [being] set on gloomy wars, passions, plots, and baneful crimes [Cui tristia bella, / Iræque, insidiæque, & crimina noxia cordi].” At Juno’s behest, Allecto hurries to Queen Amata, the wife of King Latinus, and, unseen, “flings a snake ... and thrusts it into her bosom, into her inmost heart, that maddened by the pest she may embroil all the house [Huic Dea cæruleis unum de crinibus anguem / Conjicit, inque sinum præcordia ad intima subdit: / Quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem].” The snake “winds its way unfelt, and ... breathes into her its viperous breath,” with the result that the Queen, “stung by monstrous horrors, in wild frenzy rages from end to end of the city [infelix, ingentibus excita monstis, / Immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem]” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 419-22 [VII, 325-26, 346-48, 376-77] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). Cowley imitated the passage in *Davideis* (*Poems*, p. 10 [I, 21] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]).

p. 45, l. 12 two of her beloved Children, *Dullness* and *Ill-Manners*] In a letter to Charles Boyle, dated Moor Park, 30 March 1698, Sir William Temple explained his refusal to engage further with Bentley after the first *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, published together with the second edition of Wotton’s *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* in 1697, with the argument that he had “no mind to Enter the List, with such a Mean, Dull, Unmannerly PEDANT” ([Atterbury], *A Short Account of Dr Bentley’s Humanity and Justice*, p. 140). It is true that this charge applied more to the outspoken rudeness of Bentley (see p. 49, ll. 13, 26) than to the relatively well-mannered Wotton, but in Swift’s perception of Temple’s antagonists in the controversy, Wotton had equally sinned (An Apology for the *Tale*, pp. QQ).

p. 45, l. 13 Having thus accoutred him] Not dressed or arrayed but “equipped” (OED).

p. 45, ll. 13-14 she vanished in a Mist, and the *Hero* perceived it was the Goddess] A common epic motif. When intervening in human affairs, the Gods

ensure that their divinities are ‘recognized’ and their instructions carried out: “Dixit, & in coelum paribus se sustulit alis; / Ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum. / Agnovit juvenis” (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 484; 179-80; 516 [IX, 14-16; I, 406-10; IX, 656-59] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). But, again (see the note on “according to the good old Custom of Deities,” p. 44, l. 34), Swift bolsters Criticism’s status as the personification of a diabolical spirit by evoking another parallel with her satanic ancestor, who also chooses mist as his disguise, “and with it rose / Satan involved in rising mist” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, pp. 442, 447 [IX, 74-75, 158-59] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]).

p. 45, ll. 16-18 I must, after the Example of other Authors, petition for a hundred Tongues, and Mouths, and Hands, and Pens] One of these other authors had been Virgil: “Non, mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum, / Ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas ... possim [Not if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths, and a voice of iron could I recount all the shapes of crime]” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 388 [VI, 625-27]), inspired by the example of Homer (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 40 [II, 488-92] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17]). However, Swift’s parodic hyperbole seems rather reminiscent of Persius, who had already ridiculed this formulaic habit of the epic poets: “Vatibus hic mos est, centum sibi poscere voces, / Centum ora, & linguas optare in carmina centum,” translated by Dryden: “Of ancient use to Poets it belongs, / To wish themselves an hundred Mouths and Tongues” (*Avli Persii Flacci satyrae omnes*, bound with Swift’s copy of Juvenal [Freiburg: Johannes Maximilian Helmlin, 1608], p. 14 [V, 1-2] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1400-1]; *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, II, 772), with Swift throwing in “Hands, and Pens,” for good measure (see also, for imitations, modifications, and variations of the formula in classical antiquity, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, ed. Eduard Norden, 4th ed. [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1957], p. 293).

Invocations like this tend to occur at a stage in the plot which poses a particular challenge to poetic skill, “so immense a Work,” as Swift has his narrator say in the following line, echoing perhaps once again Butler’s mockery: “But ere we venture to unfold / Achievements so resolv’d and bold / We should, as learned Poets use, / Invoke th’assistance of some Muse” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 19-20 [I, i, 629-32]).

p. 45, l. 19 Say, Goddess, that presidest over History] The Muses, daughters of Mnemosyne and goddesses of literature and the arts, were severally associated

with different arts. The apostrophe, or exclamatory address, here is either of Clio, the Muse of History, or Calliope, the Muse of Epic Poetry (MORÉRI s.v.), which also assumes that what heroic poets tell is true: “Story [that is, History] is the proper Subject of *Heroick* Poems,” Sir William Temple rightly puts it (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 58, 276 [ad 58.615-18]; see also Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, pp. 132-78). While the fact that Swift’s narrator poses as an impartial historian (see the gloss on “an *Historian*, and retained by neither Party,” for example, p. 36, ll. 32-33) speaks for Clio, the habit of mock-epic poets to adopt the formal conventions of their pre-texts, for Calliope. Spenser, whose *Faerie Queene* was in Swift’s library, is equally indeterminate in his address of the Muse: “O holy Virgin, chief of nine” (*The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, p. 1 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21]; see also D. T. Starnes, “Spenser and the Muses,” [*The University of Texas] Studies in English*, 22 [1942], 31-58).

p. 45, ll. 19-20 who it was that first advanced] See Homer, *The Iliad*, XIV, 508-9; XVI, 112-13 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 272, 295 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]) and, as Ehrenpreis notes in his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH ([EC 431], p. 243), Virgil, *The Aeneid*, VII, 641-48 (*Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 435 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 45, l. 20 at the Head of his *Dragoons*] According to contemporary military strategists, dragoons would open hostilities in warfare: “In Battle, or upon Attacks, they are commonly the *Enfans Perdus*, or Forlorn, being the first that fall on” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.). See also the note on “*Dragoons*, of different Nations” (p. 42, l. 12).

p. 45, l. 21 *Galen*] Galenos of Pergamum (AD c.129-99), one of the most famous physicians of antiquity, “for whom people feel the same admiration as they do for Hippocrates [Non minus autem hunc admirabuntur homines, quàm Hippocratem],” as Cardano praised him (*Opera omnia*, I, 159b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-46]). Swift owned an edition of Galen’s complete works (*Opera*, 10 vols [in four] [Basle: H. Froben and N. Episcopus, 1549] and an *Epitome Galeni operum* [Lyons: J. Caffin and F. Plaignard, 1643] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 657-63]).

Galen was *the* ancient medical authority whose teachings dominated the curricula of English universities for centuries, being “the Founder of that Method of Physick now most in use” (MORÉRI s.v.; Phyllis Allen, “Medical Education in

17th Century England,” *Journal of the History of Medicine & Allied Sciences*, 1 [1946], 115-43), and it was on him that Paracelsus particularly showered his contempt (“*Præfatio secunda, in qua impugnantur errores Galenicorum & defenditur PARACELSVS,*” *Opera omnia*, II, sigs †2r-†4r [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 259-62]). In the seventeenth century, ‘Galenists’ and ‘Paracelsians’ were commonly known as implacably hostile groups, as Sir William Temple pointed out in “Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning”: “*Paracelsus* and His Disciples ... introduced new Notions in Physick, and new Methods of Practice, in opposition to the Galenical” (*Miscellanea: The Third Part*, pp. 205-6). Butler ridiculed their antagonism in *Hudibras*: “While all *Professions* else are found, / With nothing but *Disputes* t’abound ... The *Gallenist*, and *Paracelsian*, / Condemn the way, each other deals in” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 291 and 443 [III, iii, 471-72, 475-76]).

p. 45, l. 21 darted his Javelin] According to Diodorus Siculus, whose *Library of History* Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128, 131), the spear marked “the beginning of hostilities” in Roman warfare (VIII, 26, 1).

p. 45, ll. 22-23 his Shield, the Point breaking in the second fold] Homeric shields were constructed from several layers of ox-hide, of a circular shape, firmly stitched together (*The Iliad of Homer*, eds Leaf and Bayfield, I, 547-51). The one of Ajax, “a shield of bronze with sevenfold bull’s-hide [ferens scutum instar turris, / Aereum, è 7. boum corijs factum],” was particularly famous, so famous in fact that it easily lent itself to parody (Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 123 [VII, 219-21; see also XII, 290-97; XIII, 802-4; XVIII, 478-82]; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 215 [XII, 95-97] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890, 1355-56]; Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 38 [I, ii, 337-38]). The shield of Turnus, King of the Rutulians, also consisted of seven folds (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 664 [XII, 925] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). And in Aeneas’ combat with Achilles, “the mighty spear of wise-hearted Aeneas” broke “through two folds of the shield [Sed duas quidem adegit per plicas]” (Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 363 [XX, 267-72]).

p. 45, ll. 24-25 *Hic pauca desunt*] “Here a little is missing.” Swift’s annotators are not agreed in their views on the function of the lacunæ. While one ‘school’ accounts for the gap here “because Swift neither felt inclined nor qualified to discuss the relations between the different medical authorities of recent times” (CRAIK, p. 428), another feels that he “parodies the formulæ by which scholars

indicated incomplete manuscripts” (ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 221). Either view is in need of refinement. See Historical Introduction, pp. □□.

p. 45, l. 26 They bore the wounded *Aga*, on their Shields to his Chariot] Repeated almost verbatim from Milton: “Others bore him on their shields / Back to his chariot” (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 327 [VI, 337-38] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). Of course, the practice seems to have been commonplace, being described by both epic poets and historians: “Impositum scuto referent Pallanta frequentes [His friends throng round Pallas and bear him back laid upon his shield]” (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 550, 567 [X, 506, 841]; Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 271 [XIV, 428-32]; Publius Annii Florus, *Rerum Romanarum epitome* [Paris: F. Leonard, 1674], pp. 37-38 and n25 [I, xviii, 10] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17; II, 890; I, 636]).

Ancient heroes, historical as well as fictional, as Sir Thomas Browne noted, when “presenting [themselves] in battaile” frequently did so “in Chariots drawne by two or three horses” (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robbins, I, 400-1; II, 975). See Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 493-95 (I, 90); and Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History* (XIV, xx, 7; XVII, liii, 1-2; lxxviii, 2-5), which Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-31).

For *Aga*, see the note on “their great *Aga*,” p. 42, l. 13.

p. 45, ll. 27-28 *Desunt nonnulla*] “Something is missing.”

p. 45, l. 30 *Aristotle* observing *Bacon* advance with a furious Mien] The seventeenth century frequently thought of Bacon as the great philosophical antagonist of Aristotle: “[When] in Trinity College in Cambridge, [he] first fell into a dislike of Aristotle’s philosophy, as barren and jejune, enabling some to dispute, more to wrangle, few to find out truth, and none, if confining themselves to his principles” (Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, ed. John Freeman [London: Allen & Unwin, 1952], p. 380; Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, pp. 43-44). But this is seriously misleading (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). What Bacon objected to most in Aristotle, “in effect the Pope in Philosophy” at the time Bacon was studying at Cambridge ([Thomas Tenison], *Baconiana: or, Certain Genuine Remains of Sir Francis Bacon* [London: by J. D. for Richard Chiswell, 1679], pp. 9-10), was the *ipse dixitism*, the unconditional reverence paid to

Aristotle's authority, "the foolish and inconsiderate Dispositions of some Men, who (making themselves Bond-slaves to the Arrogancy of a few) have the Philosophy of the Peripateticks ... in so great esteem, that they hold it, not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious, and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of Imperfection upon it," as he explained in *The Wisdom of the Ancients* ([London, 1691], pp. 82-83; see also *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. Kiernan, pp. 92, 286 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 125-26]).

p. 45, l. 31 which miss'd the valiant *Modern*] Bacon is the only one among the Moderns to escape unharmed (GUTHKELCH, pp. 265-66; ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 222; Irvin Ehrenpreis, "Jonathan Swift: Lecture on a Master Mind," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 54 [1968], 149-64). This may be accounted for by Sir William Temple's approval of Bacon as one of "the great wits among the moderns" (*Sir William Temple's Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 34, 218-19 [ad 13.1225]; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 244n3; ELLIS [2006], p. 214). In any case, Swift here "leaves the unemphatic but distinct impression that the seminal figure of the empirical revolution is at least proof against the Ancients" (Ramsey, "Swift's Strategy in *The Battle of the Books*," p. 385).

p. 45, l. 32 but *Des-Cartes* it hit] This is to be expected of a philosophical antagonist (see the note on "clap *Des-Cartes* next to *Aristotle*," p. 37, l. 23).

p. 45, ll. 32-33 The Steel Point quickly found a *Defect* in his *Head-piece*] A sizeable number of Homeric heroes is killed in this way: "The king smote him on the forehead with his sharp spear, nor was the spear stayed by his helm, heavy with bronze, but passed through it and through the bone, and all his brain was spattered about within [Hunc autem rectà irruentem in fronte acuta lancea / Percussit: nec galea hastam ei repreßit ære grauis: / Sed per ipsam penetrauit & os: cerebrum autem / Intus totum foedatum est: strauit aut ipsum ruentem]" (Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 199, 74, 101, 229 [XI, 96-98; IV, 459-61; VI, 9-11; XII, 183-86] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). But there is more than meets the eye.

Headpieces in use in the latter half of the seventeenth century were of two kinds: the pott, "a low-crowned helmet with a brim," and the skull cap, "a mere shape of thin iron made to fit into the crown of the hat," which became the standard equipment of horse regiments "about the period of the Revolution" (Walton, *History of the British Standing Army, 1660 to 1700*, p. 354; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 333-34, 357).

As the pun on ‘a defect in headpiece,’ ‘helmet’ and ‘head,’ or ‘brain,’ makes clear, Swift is reiterating an assessment familiar from *A Tale of a Tub* (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. Q), according to which the system of Descartes, in particular Cartesian physics and cosmology, was the outpouring of a mad enthusiast (Starkman, *Swift’s Satire on Learning in “A Tale of a Tub”*, pp. 32-33; Harth, *Swift and Anglican Rationalism*, pp. 86-100; Michael R. G. Spiller, “The Idol of the Stove: The Background to Swift’s Criticism of Descartes,” *Review of English Studies*, 25 [1974], 15-24).

p. 45, l. 33 it pierced the Leather and the Pastboard] A reminder that this is a battle of books: “I must warn the Reader, to beware of applying to Persons what is here meant, only of Books in the most literal Sense” (The Bookseller to the Reader, p. 31, ll. 21-22).

p. 45, ll. 35-36 till Death, like a Star of superior Influence, drew him into his own Vortex] The only principle of Cartesian philosophy which Swift is certain to have known, but which did not require him to have read Descartes (George Reuben Potter, “Swift and Natural Science,” *Philological Quarterly*, 20 [1941], 100-1), is the controversial doctrine of vortices, “the first comprehensive attempt to picture the whole external world in a way fundamentally different from the [teleological and spiritual] Platonic-Aristotelian-Christian view” (Edwin Arthur Burt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972], pp. 102-7; for a pictorial representation, see Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966], pp. 240-44). However, the doctrine of vortices was so commonplace by the end of the seventeenth century that Swift could easily have picked it up from half a dozen books in his library (Real, “Swift’s Non-Reading,” pp. 126-28). In addition to Fontenelle’s engraving in *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes*, tucked in between the Preface and the beginning of the text (see also François Grégoire, “Le Dernier défenseur des tourbillons: Fontenelle,” *Revue d’Histoire des Sciences*, 7 [1954], 220-46; L. M. Marsak, “Cartesianism in Fontenelle and French Science, 1686-1752,” *Isis*, 50 [1959], 51-60), the Neoplatonist Cudworth and Bishop Stillingfleet, both of whom were on Swift’s shelves, touched on it (Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, p. 684; Stillingfleet, *Origines sacræ: or, A Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith*, pp. 466-67 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 482-83; III, 1752-53]), as Glanvill had done in *Scepsis scientifica*, which Swift had read before 1699 [pp. 129, 143] [*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 137 and n1]). As an image of the whirl into which epic heroes send their enemies in mortal combat (Homer, *The Iliad*, in

Homeri quae exstant omnia, ed. de Sponde, I, 201, 271 [XI, 145-47; XIV, 410-13] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), the Cartesian vortex suited Swift's satirical purposes admirably.

p. 45, ll. 37-38 *Ingens hiatus hic in MS*] "There is a vast gap in the manuscript here."

p. 46, ll. 1-17 when *Homer* appeared ... with the same Blow dashing out both their Brains] In accordance with Swift's view of Homer as the poet who "had more genius than all the rest of the world put together" (Deane Swift, *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, p. 237 and n*; see also the note on "*Homer* led the horse," p. 42, ll. 24-25), Homer's *aristeia*, the scene in which epic heroes have their finest moments in combat, is the most impressive of all in *The Battle of the Books*. Three constituents of its elaborate structure (see Tilman Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik* [München: C. H. Beck, 1971], pp. 23-72) have been singled out for it: first, the splendour of the armour, here documented by the superiority of the horses; second, the killing of numberless enemies unnamed; and third, the defeat of specific enemies in single combat (Davenant, Denham, Wesley, Perrault, and Fontenelle). Outstanding specimens in Virgil are the *aristeia* of Turnus and the one of Aeneas (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 518-23, 541-42 [IX, 691-790; X, 310-44] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 46, ll. 1-2 mounted on a furious Horse] In epic poetry, a hero's horse is as important to him as his armour, one of the most important things about it being its pedigree: "Just as heroes are superior to other men through their lineage, so their horses are superior to other horses by their birth and resemble their masters in ... origin" (Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, p. 157). The description of Homer's *furor poeticus* is indebted to the categories of seventeenth-century faculty psychology, more particularly to the relationship between reason, or judgement, and imagination, or invention, control or uncontrol (see also Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift's "Tale of a Tub"*, pp. 206-7). In comparison with Virgil, Sir William Temple and Dryden, among others, had allowed Homer the more fertile imagination, "the richest Vein, the most general Knowledge, and the most lively Expression ... as well as the most Spirit, Force, and Life." In short, "*Homer* had more Fire and Rupture, *Virgil* more Light and Sweetness; or at least the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other" (*Sir William Temple's Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp.

50-51, 256-58; “Preface to Fables Ancient and Modern,” *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1448-49). See also the note on “*Homer led the Horse*,” p. 42, ll. 24-25.

p. 46, l. 4 Say, Goddess, whom he slew first, and whom he slew last] An example of the renewed invocation of the Muse at a critical jointure: “Quodsi nemo miratur poetas maximos saepe fecisse, ut non solum initiis operum suorum Musas invocarent, sed provecti quoque longius, cum ad aliquem graviorem venissent locum, repeterent vota et velut nova precatione uterentur [But no one is surprised at the frequency with which the greatest poets invoke the Muses not merely at the commencement of their works, but even further on when they have reached some important passage and repeat their vows and utter fresh prayers for assistance],” Quintilian explains (*Institutio oratoria*, IV, Preface 4; see also Erasmus, *Moriæ encomium*, pp. 69-70 and nn [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 574]). Specimens of the poetic practice are at Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 703-4; XI, 299-300 (*Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 95, 206 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), and Virgil, *The Aeneid*, XI, 664-65 (*Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 604 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 46, ll. 4-5 First, *Gondibert*] *Gondibert: An Heroick Poem* by Sir William Davenant (1606-68) was first published in 1651 (*Gondibert*, ed. Gladish, pp. xxvi-xlv). In the accompanying Preface to Thomas Hobbes, originally brought out the year before, Davenant claimed to have transgressed the generic boundaries set by Homer and to have proceeded into new poetic territory, “affect[ing] a new and remote way of thinking” and deeming it “a deficiency and meanesse of minde, to stay and depend upon the authority of example” (p. 3). Although Waller and Cowley, among others, bolstered Davenant in this claim (pp. 269-86), the majority of critics begged to differ, “rang[ing] themselves posthaste into a boeing chorus” (Arthur H. Nethercot, *Sir William D’Avenant: Poet Laureate and Playwright-Manager* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938], pp. 241-45). Sir William Temple, too, proved more than skeptical, and Andrew Marvell and Thomas Rymer followed suit (*Sir William Temple’s Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 31, 208 [ad 31.1103-4]). In his translation of Boileau’s “Art of Poetry,” Dryden likewise launched a most vigorous attack: “Then *D’Avenant* came; who, with a new found Art, / Chang’d all, spoil’d all, and had his way apart: / His haughty Muse all others did despise, / And thought in Triumph to bear off the Prize, / Till the Sharp-sighted Critics of the Times / In their Mock-*Gondibert* expos’d his Rhimes; / The Lawrels he

pretended did refuse, / And dash'd the hopes of his aspiring Muse" (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, I, 335, ll. 121-28; IV, 1943n).

p. 46, ll. 5-6 mounted on a staid sober Gelding] "A gelded or castrated animal, esp. a horse" (OED). Symbolically, as in the *Tale of a Tub* (Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift's "Tale of a Tub"*, p. 202), the battle between the Ancients and the Moderns is an unequal contest between fertility and infertility, creativity and impotence.

p. 46, l. 6 not so famed for his Speed] Swift is quoting from The Author's Preface to *Gondibert*: "Such posting [upon *Pegasus*] I have long since forborne; and during my Journey in this Worke have mov'd with a slow pace" (*Sir William Davenant's "Gondibert"*, ed. Gladish, p. 21).

p. 46, ll. 6-7 his Docility in kneeling, whenever his Rider would mount or alight] An ironic comparison with Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's war horse: "So long as he was not caparisoned, he would permit only the groom to mount him," Diodorus reports in *The Library of History*, which Swift "abstracted" at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-31), "but when he had received the royal trappings, he would no longer allow even him, but for Alexander alone stood quietly and even lowered his body to assist in the mounting" (XVII, lxxvi, 6). This story, which, Montaigne claimed in his *Essays*, everyone knew (*Essais*, ed. Coste, pp. 574-75), was later repeated by Curtius Rufus (VI, v, 18), Flavius Arrianus (*De expeditione Alexandri Magni historiarum libri VII*, ed. Nicolaas Blanckaert [Amsterdam: Joannes Jansson, 1668], p. 350), Plutarch (*Alexander*, in *Omnium quæ exstant operum*, ed. Ruault, I, 667B-C), and Guido Pancirolli (*Rerum memorabilium iam olim deperditarum*, ed. Henricus Salmuth [Amberg: Michael Forster, 1699], p. 467 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1269-70; I, 484-85; 97-98; II, 1467-69; 1372-73]), as well as echoed by Samuel Butler (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 14, 330 [I, i, 427-34]), among others. Moreover, it was incorporated into some of the reference works in Swift's library (LITTLETON s.v.; MORÉRI s.v.).

p. 46, ll. 7-9 He had made a Vow to *Pallas*, that he would never leave the Field, till he had spoiled **Homer* of his Armor] The arms taken from an enemy killed in single combat were regarded as 'spoils of honour': "To overcome in battle, and subdue / Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite / Manslaughter, shall be held the highest pitch / Of human Glory," Michael prophesies in *Paradise Lost* (ed. Fowler, p. 599 [XI, 691-94] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). Although a marginal note refers readers to Homer, it is unclear whether Swift had a specific

episode in mind. The most famous is perhaps Hector stripping “from Patroclus his glorious armour” (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 315, 74, 78, 119 [XVII, 125-26; see, however, also IV, 463-66; V, 48; VII, 76-77, and *passim*] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). Besides, the model of *The Aeneid* always looms large (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 501, 610 [IX, 359-66; XI, 778-82] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). See also Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, pp. 209-10.

p. 46, l. 9 Madman] Again, an echo of the Homeric *nepios*, “fool, madman” (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 28, 48, 135, 227 [II, 38, 873; VIII, 177; XII, 113, and *passim*]), imitated by Virgil (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 511 [IX, 560]) and Milton (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 317 [VI, 135] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17; II, 1247]), among others.

p. 46, l. 9 who had never once *seen* the Wearer] Swift seems to have heard of the rumour peddled in the seventeenth-century that Davenant did not know any Greek, in fact, that he was “a scholarly humbug, especially in his claims to familiarity with Homer and Virgil” (Nethercot, *Sir William D’Avenant: Poet Laureate and Playwright-Manager*, pp. 25-27).

p. 46, l. 12 he slew *Denham*, a stout *Modern*] Sir John Denham (1615-69), whose reputation in seventeenth-century poetry was established by *Cooper’s Hill* (1642), a poem which mixes topographical description with moral reflection. Its only authorized edition appeared in Denham’s collected *Poems and Translations* issued early in 1668 by Henry Herringman (Denham, *Expans’d Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of “Coopers Hill”*, ed. O Hehir, pp. 70-71). A few years before, Dryden, in the Dedication to his play *The Rival Ladies*, had praised it as “the exact Standard of good Writing” (*The Works of John Dryden, VIII: Plays*, eds John Harrington Smith, et al. [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962], 100); a remark which Anthony à Wood was to borrow almost verbatim for his account of Denham in *Athenae Oxonienses* (III, 825), and with which Oldham was to chime in “Bion: A Pastoral”: “[His] Song rais’d *Cooper’s Hill* so high, / As made its glory with *Parnassus* vie” (*The Poems of John Oldham*, eds Brooks and Selden, p. 132, ll. 171-72). At first sight, Denham’s combat with Homer seems unusual, but then it is important to remember that, in seventeenth-century theories of the epic, didactic and epic poems were no longer clearly demarcated (Bernhard Fabian, “Das Lehrgedicht als Problem der Poetik,” *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste*, ed. Hans Robert Jauß [München: Wilhelm Fink,

1968], pp. 67-89, 549-57; Ulrich Broich, "Das Lehrgedicht als Teil der epischen Tradition des englischen Klassizismus," *Germanisch Romanische Monatsschrift*, 13 [1963], 147-63). Dryden, too, referred to *Cooper's Hill* as an epic (*The Works of John Dryden, VIII: Plays*, eds Harrington Smith, et al., 100).

p. 46, ll. 12-13 who from his †Father's side, derived his Lineage from *Apollo*] An epic convention already parodied with gusto by Butler in *Hudibras*: "He was of great descent and high, / For Splendor and Antiquity, / And from Celestial origine / Deriv'd himself in a right line. / Not as the Ancient *Hero's* did, / Who, that their base births might be hid, / (Knowing they were of doubtful gender, / And that they came in at a Windore) / Made *Jupiter* himself and others / O'th'Gods Gallants to their own mothers, / To get on them a Race of Champions / (Of which old *Homer* first made *Lampoons*)" (ed. Wilders, p. 35 [I, ii, 207-18]). Homeric pretexts are at *The Iliad*, II, 515; XIII, 54; XVI, 175-76 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 41, 240, 296 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 46, ll. 38-39 † *Sir John Denham's Poems are very Unequal, extremely Good, and very Indifferent, so that his Detractors said, he was not the real Author of Cooper's Hill*] It was well known among contemporaries that, early in 1666, Sir John Denham went mad for a time but that he had recovered by September. In the wake of this event, a rumour originated to which this footnote, added to the fifth edition of 1710, referred and which seems to have been circulated by Samuel Butler in what has been called the "vicious and unaccountable" satire of "A Panegyric upon Sir John Denham's Recovery from his Madness": "SIR, you've outliv'd so desperate a Fit, / As none could do, but an immortal Wit; / Had yours been less, all Helps had been in vain, / And thrown away, tho' on a less sick Brain ... And now expect far greater Matters of ye, / Than the bought *Cooper's Hill*, or borrow'd *Sophy*" (*Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose*, ed. Lamar, p. 120, ll. 1-4, 15-16; Denham, *Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of "Coopers Hill"*, ed. O Hehir, p. 296). It is unknown in what way Swift came to learn of the rumour. Hearsay, presumably at Moor Park, seems the most probable source. Lord Lisle wrote to Sir William Temple about it (*The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart*, 2 vols [London: A. Churchill, et al., 1720], II, 135), and a dark innuendo in the Second Part of Marvell's *Rehearsal Transpros'd*, which was not in Swift's library, suggests that "most men that are conversant about Town" were familiar with this detail of London's *chronique scandaleuse* (*The Rehearsal Transpros'd and The Rehearsal Transpros'd the Second Part*, ed. Smith, pp. 204 and 374).

p. 46, ll. 13-14 He fell, and bit the Earth] As Bishop Reynolds pointed out (*Works*, p. 704 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1590-91]), a euphemistic periphrasis for the death of the epic hero (Homer, *The Iliad*, XXIV, 737-38; *The Odyssey*, XXII, 269, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 425; II, 314; Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgiliti Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 550, 592, 605 [X, 489; XI, 418, 669]; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 159 [IX, 61]; Cowley, *Davideis*, in *Poems*, pp. 97, 141 [III, 54; IV, 46] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17; II, 1355-56; I, 475-76]; and, finally, Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*, pp. 213, 225, 232, which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128-30]). “To lick (kiss) the dust (ground)” is the variant which became proverbial in English (TILLEY D651).

p. 46, l. 14 The Celestial Part *Apollo* took, and made it a Star] According to a notion widespread in classical poetry, the stars are divine essences: “*Libera currebant, & inobservata per annum / Sidera: constabat sed tamen esse Deos* [The stars ran their courses free and unmarked throughout the year; yet everybody agreed that they were gods]” (Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 111-12; see also *Metamorphoses*, I, 72-73, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, I, 56; II, 10; Virgil, *Georgics*, in *Publii Virgiliti Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 90 [II, 342] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56; III, 1916-17]). Thus, *tollere ad (in) astra, ferre ad sidera*, “to be extolled to the stars, or skies,” is a periphrasis for apotheosis, to be granted immortality (Virgil, *Eclogues*, in *Publii Virgiliti Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 22 [V, 51-52]; *The Aeneid*, pp. 172, 247, 408 [I, 259-60; III, 158, VII, 98-99]; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ed. Farnaby, p. 246 [IX, 3-9] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1107-8]).

p. 46, l. 15 *Homer* slew *W-sl-y*] Samuel Wesley (1662-1735), who is best remembered today as the father of John Wesley but entirely forgotten as the author of religious poems, of which *The Life of Our Blessed Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ: An Heroic Poem* (1693) was the most ambitious project (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 246n1). It is as safe to assume that this epic gained Wesley a niche in Swift’s *Battle* as it was to achieve him a place in Pope’s *Dunciad* (Frank Baker, “Jonathan Swift and the Wesleys,” *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, 179 [1954], 290-300; *The Dunciad*, ed. Sutherland, pp. 78-79). A second edition of 1697 notwithstanding, the reputation of this poem is highlighted by an amusing dialogue in the *Athenian Oracle* of 1703. In response to the question which religious poetry was to be recommended for young people’s reading, the answer was: “*Cowley’s Davideis ... Milton’s Paradises*, and (if you have Patience) *Wesly’s Life of Christ*” (II, 37). When Pope in 1730 solicited

subscriptions for the impoverished Wesley's folio commentary on Job, Swift obliged, if grudgingly: "The Author's name is utterly unknown here except by some who read verses and have chanced to read some where he is distinguished as an unfortunate medler in Poetry" (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 305 and nn1, 2; 288 and n4; 309). With this judgement, Swift was in line with the views of his contemporaries (Garth, *The Dispensary*, in *Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, p. 107 and n [V, 67-68] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 672-74]; Tom Brown, *Familiar and Courty Letters*, 3rd ed. [London: S. B., 1701], p. 140). See also Edward Niles Hooker's Introduction to Wesley's *Epistle to a Friend concerning Poetry* (1700) and *Essay on Heroic Poetry*, 2nd ed. (1697), Augustan Reprint Society, no 5 (1947), pp. 1-2.

p. 46, l. 16 He took *Perrault* by mighty Force out of his Saddle] Charles Perrault (1628-1703) is here unseated by Homer not, as numerous annotators have assumed (EGERTON, p. 73; CRAIK, p. 430; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 246n2), as one of the protagonists of the Moderns in France but, as a preeminent calumniator of Homer (Perrault, *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes*, ed. Jauss, pp. 291-315 [28-124]; Georg Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit: von Dante bis Goethe* [Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912], pp. 180-81; Noémi Hepp, *Homère en France au XVIIe siècle* [Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1968], pp. 521-25, and *passim*), also a leitmotif of *A Tale of a Tub* (Starkman, *Swift's Satire on Learning in "A Tale of a Tub"*, pp. 87-92). There is no evidence that Swift had first-hand knowledge of Perrault's *Parallèle* but he would have known enough of Sir William Temple's derision of Perrault's depreciation of Homer, and its subsequent revocation following a public storm of indignation (Temple, "Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay of Antient and Modern Learning," *Miscellanea: The Third Part*, pp. 212-15).

p. 46, ll. 16-17 then hurl'd him at *Fontenelle*] Bernhard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757), together with Perrault, the prophet of the modernist creed in France. Sir William Temple's anger at his *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes* (1688), published in *Poésies pastorales* (pp. 224-82), initiated a new outbreak of the Querelle in England (see Historical Introduction, pp. □□). Fontenelle's criticism of Homer was less fundamental and less pervasive than that of Perrault, but even so his anti-Homeric *obiter dicta*, with which Swift was only too familiar (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1055-58), sufficiently account for his quick defeat by Homer (*Nouveaux dialogues des morts*, pp. 53-62; *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes*, p. 227).

p. 46, l. 17 dashing out both their Brains]

p. 46, l. 18 *Virgil* appeared in shining Armor] The splendour of the heroes' armour is a fixture of both *The Iliad* and *Aeneid* (see also the note on "when *Homer* appeared," p. 46, l. 1). The examples are legion, but Patroclus arraying himself "in gleaming bronze" is a particularly striking one: "The greaves first he set about his legs; beautiful they were, and fitted with silver ankle-pieces; next he did on about his chest the corselet of the swift-footed son of Aeacus, richly-wrought, and spangled with stars. And about his shoulders he cast the silver-studded sword of bronze, and thereafter the shield, great and sturdy; and upon his mighty head he set the well-wrought helmet with horse-hair crest, and terribly did the plume nod from above; and he took two valorous spears that fitted his grasp" (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 295, 77, 104-110, 196-97, 246 [XVI, 130-39; V, 4-7; VI, 119-236; XI, 16-46; XIII, 240-45]; *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 476; 539; 626 [VIII, 619-23; X, 270-71; XII, 166-67] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17]; Hermann Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921], pp. 48-49; Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik*, pp. 36-38). Significantly, the splendour of the arms of the Ancients is juxtaposed with the rusty armour of the Moderns (see p. 38, ll. 12-13). In *The Battle of the Books*, one annotator has noted, "shoddy, ill-fitting garments" symbolize villains and fools: "Only the ancients and the gods possess healthy clothes" (Wyrick, *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word*, pp. 138-39).

p. 46, l. 19 compleatly fitted to his Body] In seventeenth-century literary criticism, Virgil became the great rival of Homer in the comparative assessment of the two poets. 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 and Dryden, among many others, were to endorse (*Sir William Temple's Essays "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning" und "Of Poetry"*, ed. Kämper, pp. 50-51 and 256-57; "Preface to Fables Ancient and Modern," *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1448). Blackmore, too, struggled "to form [himself] on *Virgil's Model*, which [he] look[ed] on, as the most *just* and *perfect*" (*Prince Arthur*, sig. c1v). Swift read *Prince Arthur* at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30).

p. 46, ll. 19-20 He was mounted on a dapple grey Steed, the slowness of whose Pace, was an Effect of the highest Mettle and Vigor] Swift is drawing here on

Chapter X, “Of Horses Complexions,” of Gervase Markham’s *Master-Piece*, which was in his library (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1197), and according to which dapple greys “are of Nature most excellent, most Temperate, Strongest, Gentlest, and most Healthfull, [and] naturally inclined to no Disease” (pp. 18-19; Richard Nash, “Of Sorrels, Bays, and Dapple Greys,” *Swift Studies*, 15 [2000], 110-15). See also the note on “when *Homer* appeared at the Head of the Cavalry” (p. 46, ll. 1-2).

p. 46, ll. 21-22 to find an Object worthy of his Valour] “Reserve thy valour for more equal fight, / And let thy *Body* grow up to thy *Spright*,” Saul advises David against engaging with Goliath in Cowley’s *Davideis* (*Poems*, p. 95 [III, 51] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]).

p. 46, l. 22 upon a sorrel Gelding of a monstrous Size] See the note on “mounted on a staid sober Gelding” (p. 46, ll. 5-6). According to Markham’s *Master-Piece*, which is based on humoral pathology, a sorrel though of a choleric temper, is “seldom of any great strength” (p. 17 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1197]): “Swift’s wickedly telling jest at the expense of Dryden’s versification follows Markham’s widely accepted teachings on equine complexion” (Nash, “Of Sorrels, Bays, and Dapple Greys,” p. 112). Whether an echo of William III’s horse Sorrel, which was responsible for a fall that caused the King’s death (*Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, 364-66), is intended, and what function it would serve here, is difficult to say.

p. 46, l. 23 issuing from among the thickest of the Enemy’s Squadrons] A sly innuendo of cowardice on Dryden’s part in as much as a true epic hero would “rush to death amidst the foe, and where he sees the weapons thickest makes his way [Medios moriturus in hostes / Irruit; &, qua tela videt densissima, tendit]” (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 511, 437 [IX, 554-55; VII, 673-74] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). See also Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 8 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 77 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]); and Diodorus, *The Library of History* (XVI, xii, 4), which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-31).

p. 46, ll. 25-26 a loud Clashing of his Armor, terrible to hear] “Arma / Horrendum sonuere [His armour rang terribly],” Virgil exclaims of Turnus (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 520 [IX, 731-32] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). See also Homer, *The Iliad*, IV, 419-

21 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 74 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 46, l. 29 the renowned *Dryden*] In *The Battle of the Books*, the German philosopher Karl Julius Weber rightly noted, Dryden is “the main target of Swift’s mockery [der Hauptgegenstand seines Spottes]” (*Das Lächerliche: Arten und Formen*, ed. Karl Martin Schiller [Leipzig: F. W. Hendel, 1927], p. 78), but speculation is still rampant on Swift’s motives for Dryden’s humiliation. Since Dryden, in the contemporary mind, can hardly have featured as a protagonist of the Moderns, his position remaining “frustratingly elusive” (Joseph M. Levine, *Between the Ancients and the Moderns: Baroque Culture in Restoration England* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999], pp. 35-52; see also Guy Montgomery, “Dryden and the Battle of the Books,” *University of California Publications in English*, 14 [1943], 57-72; Earl Miner, “Dryden and the Issue of Human Progress,” *Philological Quarterly*, 40 [1961], 120-29), all explanations tend to end with Swift’s personal resentment towards Dryden, irrespective of the question how this resentment may be accounted for. While one ‘school’ has opted for Swift’s anger at Dryden’s supposed dictum on young Jonathan’s Pindaric efforts, “Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet” (see the note on “For, the Helmet was nine times too large for the Head,” p. 46, l. 31), another has pointed towards his purported hostility against Dryden’s literary positions (Maurice Johnson, “A Literary Chestnut: Dryden’s ‘Cousin Swift,’” *PMLA*, 67 [1952], 1024-34). Predictably, a third group has favoured a mixture of both, personal malevolence combined with literary antagonism (David Novarr, “Swift’s Relation with Dryden, and Gulliver’s *Annus Mirabilis*,” *English Studies*, 47 [1966], 341-54).

p. 46, l. 31 For, the Helmet was nine times too large for the Head] The number ‘nine,’ like its great rivals ‘three’ and ‘seven’ (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. Q), usually has “a philosophical or theological significance” (CURTIUS, pp. 504-9), but if so, it is difficult to state what it is in this case. Instead, it seems more plausible to associate it with the number of the Muses. As Swift knew from Diodorus, whom he “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-31), “the number nine [had] prevailed since it rests upon the authority of the most distinguished men, such as Homer and Hesiod and others like them” (*The Library of History*, II, 361-65 [IV, 7]). His poetic equipment being ‘nine times too large for Dryden’s Head’ suggests, then, that Swift did not think of his ‘cousin’ as a poet, thus not only paying Dryden back in his own coin but also indicating his “sickness of presumption” (Wyrick, *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word*, p. 136; Nicholas

Jose, *Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660-71* [London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984], pp. 172-73). As for Dryden's supposed dictum on young Jonathan's Pindaric efforts, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet," the most familiar version of the story is in Samuel Johnson's "Swift" (*The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006], III, 191, 433), but it is dubious whether Dryden ever said it (Robert M. Philmus, "Dryden's 'Cousin Swift' Re-Examined," *Swift Studies*, 18 [2003], 99-103).

p. 46, l. 32 like the Lady in a Lobster] "The set of three grinding teeth that constitute the gastric mill in the stomach sac of a lobster, thought to resemble the outline of a seated female figure; (also) the stomach itself, situated just behind the head and usually removed before the lobster is eaten" (OED). This description is one thing, the account of its function quite another, as numerous complicated explanations testify (Robert Folkenflik, "Some Allusions to Dryden in *The Battle of the Books*," *Revue des langues vivantes*, 40 [1974], 355-58; Hermann J. Real, "'The Renowned Dryden' as the Lady in a Lobster," *Swift Studies*, 5 [1990], 112). Given Swift's hostility towards Dryden, the simile is presumably intended, first of all, as a hyperbole to satirize the discrepancy between pretence and performance on Dryden's part. It may also evoke the derogatory term for a knight in the seventeenth century, as it was more widely known in Leicestershire, of all places, where a Civil War regiment of cuirassiers, named "Haselrig's Lobsters" after their commander Sir Arthur Haselrigg, was stationed (Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 113). The significance of this seems to consist in the fact that Dryden, who was "descended from Presbyterian stock but by the time Swift wrote these words a committed Roman Catholic, is allusively and accusingly imaged as a member of a hard-core republican regiment in Cromwell's New Model Army" (Marcus Walsh, "Telling Tales and Gathering Fragments: Swift's *Tale of a Tub*," *Reading Swift* [2008], pp. 151-63 [161]).

p. 46, ll. 33-34 like a shrivled Beau from within the Pent-house of a modern Perewig] "L'Angleterre a ... de ces sortes d'Animaux en assez bonne quantité, & la Ville de Londres sur tout, en est extrêmement garnie," a Continental visitor to London reports with some amusement, adding this comment on their fashionable follies: "Ce sont des coureurs de nouvelles modes; des Perruques & des habits chargez de poudre" (Misson, *Memoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre*, p. 28). This description is echoed by many contemporary observers and satirists: "[Beaux] are easie to be known by their full Periwigs and empty Skulls," Tom Brown jeered in *Letters from the Dead to the Living* ([London,

1702], p. 36), and Abel Boyer chimed in, characterizing beaux as “well-bred People, that never quarrel with any Body, except their Taylors, and, Perriwig-makers” (*Letters of Wit, Politicks, and Morality* [London: J. Hartley, *et al.*, 1701], p. 223). See also *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Treglown, p. 125; Ward, *The London Spy*, ed. Hyland, p. 113; Delarivier Manley, “Prologue from *The Royal Mischief*,” *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women’s Verse*, eds Germaine Greer, *et al.* (London: Virago, 1988), p. 401, ll. 14-15.

p. 46, ll. 34-35 And the Voice was suited to the Visage, sounding weak and remote] One annotator has traced this scene back to Dryden’s Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*, suggesting that Swift borrowed “his derogatory image from his very victim” (John M. Aden, “Dryden and Swift,” *Notes and Queries*, 200 [1955], 239-40), but this account overlooks the fact that “good at the war-cry” is a frequent *epitheton ornans* in Homer’s *Iliad*. Again, Swift makes Dryden appear as the very opposite of his epic ancestors, in particular that of Diomedes and Menelaus (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 42, 50, 84 [II, 563, 586; III, 96; V, 320, 347, and *passim*] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 46, ll. 35-36 *Dryden* in a long Harangue soothed up the good *Antient*, called him *Father*] “Swift refers to the long *Dedication* of Dryden’s *Aeneid*” of 1697, adding, rightly, that “this reference helps to fix the date of the composition of the *Battle of the Books*” (PRESCOTT, p. 214).

p. 46, ll. 36-37 by a large deduction of Genealogies, made it plainly appear, that they were nearly related] A fixture of both classical epics and mock epics (Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 104-7, 252, 263, 362 [VI, 150-211; XIII, 448-54; XIV, 113-27; XX, 206-41]; John Freind, “Pugna gallorum gallinaceorum,” *Musarum Anglicanarum analecta*, 2 vols [Oxford: John Crosley and Samuel Smith, 1699], II, 86 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; I, 566-67]) is here transformed into a satiric jibe at Dryden’s pompous self-assessment in his remarks on the genealogical matrix of English epic poets in “Fables Ancient and Modern” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1444-63).

p. 46, l. 37 - p. 47, l. 1 he humbly proposed an exchange of Armor] Since VAN EFFEN’s gloss in his translation of 1721, this gesture has been understood as the imitation of a passage in Homer (*The Iliad*, VI, 232-36) in which Glaucus exchanges his arms of gold with the brazen weapons of Diomedes (II, 106n*;

EGERTON, p. 73; CRAIK, p. 430; GUTHKELCH, p. 267; Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 129). While this suggestion is certainly possible (see the note on “*Brave Modern, said Lucan*,” p. 47, ll. 17-20), the scene in which Hector and Ajax present arms to each other is also a candidate (Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 125 [VII, 299-305] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 47, ll. 2-3 (For the Goddess *Diffidence* came unseen, and cast a Mist before his Eyes)] ‘*Diffidence*’ here refers to the poet’s well-known shyness and modesty, emphasized by his ancient biographers: “Si quando Romae, quo rarissime commeabat, viseretur in publico, sectantes demonstrantesque se subterfugere solitum in promixum tectum,” Donatus writes in his “Vita” (prefixed to Daniel Heinsius’ edition of *P. Virgilio Maronis Opera* [Leiden: Elzevir, 1636], sig. **3r [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1915-16]). See also the Preface to La Fontaine, *Contes et nouvelles en vers*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Pierre Brunel, 1696), sig. **4v (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1027-28).

p. 47, ll. 3-4 tho’ his was of Gold, and cost a hundred Beeves] “Testatur & Homerus passim, ærea fuisse Heroum arma quanquam potentiores etiam auro se quandoque muniebat, ex eo arma sibi fieri curabant, ut splendidius morerentur [And Homer testifies throughout that the weapons of the heroes were brazen, although the wealthier ones would at times protect themselves with gold and would see to it that arms would be made for them from it, so that they would appear more splendid]” (Pancirolli, *Rerum memorabilium iam olim perditarum*, ed. Salmuth, p. 621 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1372-73]). For Swift’s familiarity with Pancirolli, see *A Tale of a Tub* (pp. QQ). A marginal note refers to Homer (see, for example, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 39, 109 [II, 449; VI, 235-36] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 47, ll. 5-6 Then, they agreed to exchange Horses] See the note on “*Brave Modern, said Lucan*” (p. 47, l. 17).

p. 47, ll. 7-8 *Alter hiatus in MS*] “Another gap in the manuscript.”

p. 47, ll. 10-11 *Lucan* appeared upon a fiery Horse] Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (AD 39-65), the author of *Pharsalia*, an epic in three books on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, of which Swift owned no less than three editions and from which he frequently quoted (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1107-8). Lucan’s character as an impetuous poet may be traced back to Quintilian, who described him as “fiery and passionate [Lucanus ardens et concitatus]” (*Institutio*

oratoria, X, i, 90), a judgment readily taken over by neoclassical critics. In a “Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire,” Dryden called Lucan “too full of Heat, and Affectation” but lacking in “Maturity of Judgment” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, II, 609, 640), and, in “Of Poetry,” Sir William Temple followed suit: “[Lucan], though he must be avowed for a true and a happy *Genius*, and to have made some very high Flights, yet he is so unequal to himself, and his Muse is so young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Fæliciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*” (*Sir William Temples Essays “Upon Ancient and Modern Learning” und “Of Poetry”*, ed. Kämper, pp. 53, 263 [ad 53.432-38]). VAN EFFEN explains the significance of Lucan’s horsemanship: “Par les *Chevaux* il faut entendre le Genie, ou l’imagination des Auteurs; *Lucain* a le Génie beau, mais il n’est pas assez judicieux pour en retenir toujours la fougue” (II, 107n*).

p. 47, l. 12 among the Enemy’s Horse] By the turn of the century, the generic classification of Lucan’s *Pharsalia* as epic poetry was no longer uncommon, being the result of a debate initiated in Renaissance literary criticism (see Helmut Papajewski, “An *Lucanus sit poeta*,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 40 [1966], 485-508; Heinz-Dieter Leidig, *Das Historiengedicht in der englischen Literaturtheorie: die Rezeption von Lucans “Pharsalia” von der Renaissance bis zum Ausgang des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* [Bern and Frankfurt am Main: Herbert and Peter Lang, 1975], particularly pp. 98-138; Heinz-Dieter Leidig, “‘The heat and intrepidity of youth’: zum Bild Lucans in der englischen Literaturkritik des späten siebzehnten und des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts,” *Antike und Abendland*, 25 [1979], 174-91; see also Paolo Asso, *A Commentary on Lucan, “De bello civili” IV: Introduction, Edition, and Translation* [Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010], pp. 10-14).

p. 47, l. 13 *Bl-ckm-re*, a famous *Modern*] Sir Richard Blackmore (1654-1729), physician to William III and Queen Anne, who, as Johnson said of him in his *Life of Blackmore*, “was made a poet not by necessity but inclination,” writing “not for a livelihood but for fame” (*The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, III, 76). He is here pitted against Lucan as the author of voluminous historical epics, such as *Prince Arthur* (1695), which Swift not only owned (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 235-36) but also read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30). In addition to Blackmore’s mock portrait in *The Battle of the Books*, the “Dedication to *Prince Posterity*” has been read as a parody of the Preface to *Prince Arthur* (Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift’s “Tale of a Tub”*, pp. 246-48). What Swift really thought of Blackmore is pithily

expressed in a note added to his own copy of Addison's *Freeholder*: "Insidious Scoundrel" (*Prose Works*, V, 254).

Sir Richard was repeatedly mocked by the wits for having written his epics in his coach. Dryden's "at leisure Hours, in Epique Song he deals, / Writes to the rumbling of his Coaches Wheels" became commonplace around the turn of the century (Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, III, 327n7; [Thomas Newcomb], *Bibliotheca: A Poem, Occasion'd by the Sight of a Modern Library* [London: Printed in the Year, 1712], pp. 6, 16; *The Dunciad*, ed. Sutherland, pp. 131-32). See also Benjamin Boyce, *Tom Brown of Facetious Memory: Grub Street in the Age of Dryden* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 118-21; and Richard C. Boys, *Sir Richard Blackmore and the Wits: A Study of "Commendatory Verses on the Author of the Two Arthurs and the Satyr against Wit" (1700)* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969 [1949]), pp. 2-6, 25-27, and *passim*.

p. 47, ll. 13-14 (but one of the *Mercenaries*) Some of Swift's annotators admit to being confused: "It is difficult to say why Blackmore is named here as a mercenary" (CRAIK, p. 431). The explanation probably is that Swift is referring to a well-known topos in satires on the medical profession, doctors' greed for money: "A vile Emp'rick, who by Licence kills, / Who every week helps to increase the Bills, / Wears Velvet, keeps his Coach, and Whore beside, / For what less Villains must to *Tyburn* ride," as Oldham had it in "A Satyr ... Dissuading the Author from the Study of Poetry" (*The Poems of John Oldham*, eds Brooks and Selden, pp. 244-45, 486 [*ad* ll. 229-32]). See also Butler, *Characters*, ed. Daves, p. 229.

p. 47, ll. 14-15 and darted a Javelin, with a strong Hand, which falling short of its Mark, struck deep in the Earth] Among the many examples in classical epics, see *The Iliad*, XVI, 608-13; XVII, 525-29 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 305, 323 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 47, ll. 16-17 *Aesculapius* came unseen, and turn'd off the Point] Presumably, Aesculapius was at first a nearly-divine type of hero who by classical times had overshadowed other healing gods and heroes, being regarded as the founder of medicine (*Homeric Hymns*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, II, 373 [XVI]); Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, in *Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, ed. Benedictus, p. 297 [III, 6-7] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; 1430-31]): "He was such an excellent Physician, that after his death he was worshipp'd as a God." Having saved Rome from a severe pestilence, "the *Romans* built him a

temple” (LITTLETON s.v.; MORÉRI s.v., drawing heavily on Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, IV, 71, which Swift “abstracted” at Moor Park in 1697/8 [REAL {1978}, pp. 128-31]). In contrast to what John Forster supposed, there is no evidence “that Swift was some time or other indebted to [Blackmore’s] skill” (*The Life of Jonathan Swift* [London: John Murray, 1875], p. 94). HAWKESWORTH is more likely to have been correct in his interpretation of the scene: “[Blackmore’s] skill as a physician attoned for his dullness as a poet” (I, 153n‡).

p. 47, ll. 17-20 *Brave Modern, said Lucan, I perceive some God protects you, for never did my Arm so deceive me before; But, what Mortal can contend with a God? Therefore, let us Fight no longer, but present Gifts to each other. Lucan then bestowed the Modern a Pair of Spurs, and Bl-ckm-re gave Lucan a Bridle* It is doubtful whether the encounter between Hector and Ajax (*The Iliad*, VII, 244-305) provided the sole model for this scene (Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 229). Rather, it seems to have been synthesized from several components, such as the suggestion to exchange presents (ll. 209-300) with the assurance of Diomedes before his combat with Glaucus “not to be minded to fight against the blessed gods” (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 109 [VI, 119-43] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). Appropriately, the fiery Lucan gives the uninspired Blackmore a pair of spurs, with the dull Blackmore responding by presenting the impetuous Lucan with a bridle. This gesture (mis)led SCOTT to the judgement that “the respect with which Swift treats Blackmore, in comparison to his usage of Dryden, shows plainly ... that he was at this period incapable of estimating the higher kinds of poetry” (XI, 247n†).

p. 47, l. 21 *Pauca desunt* “Something is missing.”

p. 47, l. 23 *Creech* After the impressive success of his translation of *Titus Lucretius Carus His Six Books of Epicurean Philosophy Done into English Verse* first published in London in 1682 (Hermann Josef Real, *Untersuchungen zur Lukrez-Übersetzung von Thomas Creech* [Bad Homburg, Berlin, Zürich: Gehlen, 1970], pp. 21-24, 141-48), Thomas Creech (1659-1700) spectacularly failed with his translation of *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1684), so spectacularly in fact that this failure was rumoured to have been a cause for Creech’s suicide in 1700 (Theophilus Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, 5 vols [London: R. Griffiths, 1753], III, 188). Swift alluded to this story in “*On Creech’s hanging himself, for having translated Horace*”: “*CReech murder’d Horace in his senseless Rhymes, / But hung himself to expiate his Crimes*” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 666).

p. 47, ll. 23-26 But, the Goddess *Dulness* took a Cloud, formed into the Shape of *Horace* ... pursued the Image, threaten[ing] loud] Notwithstanding *The Iliad*, V, 344-46; XX, 318-25; XXI, 595-605, where similar events are described (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 86, 364, 382 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), the encounter between Creech and Horace is built upon the duel between Turnus and Aeneas during which Juno fashions a phantom in the likeness of Aeneas - “Tum Dea nube cava teneum sine viribus umbram / In faciem Aeneæ” - armed and mounted - “Dardaniis ornat telis” - placing it in a flying posture - “illa dato vertit vestigia tergo” - which Turnus was glad to begin a combat with - “Tum vero Aenean aversum ut cedere Turnus / Credidit, atque animo spem turbidus hausit inanem” - threatening loud - “Talia vociferans sequitur” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 557-59 [X, 636-88] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]; Ehrenpreis, *Mr Swift*, p. 229).

p. 47, ll. 26-27 his Father *Ogilby*] John Ogilby (1600-76), here not as dancing master, theatrical producer, publisher, and cartographer but as the translator of Virgil (1649) and Homer (1660-65), whose voluminous volumes Pope still greeted ironically in *The Dunciad*: “*John Ogilby* was one, who ... made such a progress as might well stile him the *Prodigy* of his time! sending into the world so many *large Volumes!* His translations of *Homer* and *Virgil, done to the life*, and with *such excellent Sculptures!*” (*The Dunciad*, ed. Sutherland, p. 78 [I, adl. 121]). There is no direct evidence that Swift was familiar with any of these, only indirect one that he associated Ogilby with a poetaster (*Poems*, ed. Williams, III, 1009, l. 37), a comparison common among contemporary critics: “Having ventur’d to translate in Verse the sublimest *Latin Poets*, his Name will, as long as the *English Tongue* lives, signify a *Poetaster*” (Garth, *The Dispensary*, in *Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, p. 107 and n [V, 68] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 672-74]). See also Dryden, “Mac Flecknoe,” ll. 173-74, and “Preface to Fables Ancient and Modern,” *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, I, 269 and IV, 1461. Simultaneously, in “A Satyr on the Modern Translators,” Prior established a genealogical relationship between Ogilby and Creech: “Not *Tarquin’s Lust* so vile as *Creech’s Pen*; / Witness those heaps his *Midnight Studies* raise, / Hoping to rival *Ogilby* in Praise” (*The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, eds Wright and Spears, I, 23, ll. 137-39).

p. 47, l. 28 THEN *Pindar* slew ---, and ---, and *Oldham*] For the *aristeia* as a constituent element of ancient epics, see the gloss on “when *Homer* appeared” (p. 46, l. 1).

Oldham] Among the many different genres at which John Oldham (1653-83) tried his hand during his brief career as a poet are Cowleian Pindarics, the most remarkable of which is perhaps the one “Upon the Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Lady Mary” (*The Poems of John Oldham*, eds Brooks and Oldham, pp. 278-81). Numerous borrowings, both conscious and unconscious, testify that Oldham knew his “sacred *Cowley*” by heart (Harold F. Brooks, “The Poems of John Oldham,” *Restoration Literature: Critical Approaches*, ed. Harold Love [London: Methuen, 1972], pp. 177-203 [184-90]). Swift seems to have known these by hearsay only; there was no edition of any of Oldham’s works in his library nor any trace of his reading Oldham in any of his works.

p. 47, ll. 28-29 *Afra the Amazon* light of foot] Aphra Behn (1640-89), better known as a playwright and novelist than as a writer of Pindaric odes. Whether Swift was familiar with any of these is doubtful; there is not a single trace of Behn in either his library or reading.

Behn began writing her Pindaric poems in 1685 when, during an illness, she was seeking royal patronage by “celebrating royal occasions in pindaric odes which were published as broadsides.” Although some contemporaries did praise these effusions – “Great Pindar’s flights are fit alone for thee” – Behn’s reputation as a Pindaric poet is more critically seen in a note with which an anonymous critic accompanied the reprint of one of these Pindaric poems in the *Muses Mercury*: “Mrs. *Behn* had no Notion of a Pindarick Poem, any farther than it consisted of irregular Numbers, and sav’d the Writer the Trouble of even Measure; which indeed is all our common Pindarick poets know of the Matter” (*Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women’s Verse*, eds Greer, et al., pp. 263-66).

As also noted by Ehrenpreis in his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH ([EC 431], p. 248), Behn’s epic forebear is the warrior-maid Camilla, the daughter of the Volscian king Metabus, and known only from Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Camilla’s most distinguishing quality is her swiftness, “in speed of foot [outstripping] the winds” and when flying over “the topmost blades of unmown corn [not bruising] the tender ears [Cursuque pedum prævertere ventos. / Illa vel intactæ segetis per summa volaret / Gramina; nec teneras cursu læsisset aristas]” (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 443-44; 607 [VII, 806-9; XI, 718-24] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]; parodied by Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 65 [I, iii, 101-5]). Strictly speaking, Camilla does not belong to the legendary nation of female warriors, whose name ‘Amazon,’ supposedly meaning ‘breastless,’ was derived from their habit of cutting off one of their breasts to facilitate the use of arms in battle (Diodorus Siculus, *The Library*

of History, II, 45, 1-47, 6; III, 52, 1-55, 3): “On the left side their Bosom was uncover’d, and they burnt one of their Dugs that it might not hinder them in bending their Bow” (MORÉRI s.v.; echoed by TOOKE [1713], p. 348). In 1691, the *Athenian Mercury*, whose “four Volumes with their Supplements” Swift had seen and perused (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 107 and n1), referred the querist, “Were there any such Creatures as the Amazons,” diplomatically to a long list of “such Authorities as we have on this Subject” (III, no 2 [Question 7]).

The equation of writing women with ‘amazons’ was commonplace in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though. Commenting on the increasing number of female writers at his time, Samuel Johnson was to point out later in *The Adventurer*, “the revolution of years has now produced a generation of Amazons of the pen” (*The Idler and The Adventurer*, eds W. J. Bate, et al. [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963], pp. 457-58 [no 115]).

p. 47, l. 29 Never advancing in a direct Line] This is not, as some of Swift’s annotators have surmised, “a reference to the peculiar construction of the Pindaric Odes” (EGERTON, p. 75, echoed by GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 248n6), but a characterization of its numerous digressive elements. In the epitome preceding his imitation of Pindar’s “Second Olympique Ode,” Cowley writes: “The Ode (according to the constant custom of the Poet) consists more in Digressions, than in the main subject” (*Pindarique Odes*, in *Poems*, p. 1 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). In the “Preface to *The Court of Death*,” John Dennis noted that it was “the length and wildness of the Digressions” in some of Pindar’s *Odes* to which “the generality of Readers” objected (*The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, 2 vols [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939-43], I, 44). For the contemporary hostility to “Pindarick madness,” see the learned glosses by Lonsdale in his edition of Johnson, *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, III, 323-24.

p. 47, ll. 29-30 wheeling with incredible Agility and Force] The topos of Pindar’s *furor poeticus* is at least as old as Horace (*Odes*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius pp. 82-84 [IV, ii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905]), imitated by Cowley in *Pindarique Odes* (*Poems*, pp. 18-20 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). “A Pindarick muse,” Tom Brown mused in a memorable phrase in “Table-Talk,” “is a muse without her stays on” (*The Works, Serious and Comical, in Prose and Verse*, ed. James Drake, 8th ed. [London: Henry Lintot and Charles Hitch, 1744], I, 143 [REAL {1978}, p. 133]). Accordingly, Cowley, in describing her in “The Resurrection,” called himself to order: “Stop, stop, my *Muse*, allay thy vig’orous heat, / Kindled at a *Hint* so Great. / Hold thy *Pindarique Pegasus*

closely in, / Which does to *rage* begin, / And this steep *Hill* would gallop up with violent course, / 'Tis an unruly, and a *hard-mouth'd Horse*, / Fierce, and unbroken yet, / Impatient of the *Spur* or *Bit*" (*Pindarique Odes*, in *Poems*, p. 22). Additional material is presented by Harvey D. Goldstein in "Anglorum Pindarus: Model and Milieu," *Comparative Literature*, 17 (1965), 299-310.

p. 47, ll. 32-33 imitating his Address, and Pace, and Career] A metaphorical account of Cowley's intention as outlined in the Preface to *Pindarique Odes*: "I have in these *Odes* of *Pindar* taken, left out, and added what I please; nor make it so much my aim to let the Reader know precisely what he spoke, as what was his *way* and *manner* of speaking" (*Poems*, sig. 3A2v [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]).

p. 47, l. 35 first *Cowley* threw a Lance, which miss'd *Pindar*] An ominous sign in that readers familiar with Homeric conventions will remember that in the whole of *The Iliad* there is only one instance, the combat between Agamemnon and Iphidamas (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 204 [XI, 232-47] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), in which "the warrior who has the first cast and misses his shot still wins in the end" (*The Iliad of Homer*, eds Leaf and Bayfield, I, 507). The passage reveals some military expertise on Swift's part. According to Sir James Turner, "the Lance was the Horsemans weapon, wherewith he charged" (*Pallas Armata*, p. 171).

p. 47, ll. 36-37 a Javelin, so large and weighty] "SO we some antick *Hero's* strength / Learn by his Launce's weight and length," Edmund Waller had poked fun at the habit (*Poems, &c.: Written upon Several Occasions* [London: Henry Herringman, 1664], p. 44 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1949-50]), presumably inspired by Homer's *Iliad* (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 147, 177, 289 [VIII, 493-94; X, 135; XV, 677-78] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 47, ll. 37-38 that scarce a dozen *Cavaliers*, as *Cavaliers* are in our degenerate Days] Undoubtedly, an allusion to the decisive combat between Aeneas and Turnus, the King of the Rutulians, during which Turnus attempts to hurl a giant stone at Aeneas: "Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens; / Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo qui forte jacebat / Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis. / Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent, / Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus [This scarce twice six chosen men could uplift upon their shoulders, men of such frames as earth now begets]" (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 663 [XII, 896-900] [PASSMANN

AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). At the same time, Swift's annotators have correctly noted (EGERTON, p. 75; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 249n2; D. Laing Purves, *The Works of Jonathan Swift* [Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1871], p. 107n4) that "as *Cavaliers* are in our degenerate Days" is a formula of Homeric language: "οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰς" (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 85, 236, 363 [V, 304; XII, 383; XX, 287] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), translated "in our degenerate Days" by Blackmore in *Prince Arthur* (p. 224), which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30).

p. 47, l. 39 – p. 48, l. 1 [singing thro' the Air] An incident particularly frequent in Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*, which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30): "His Javelin, singing thro' the Air it flew" (p. 294; see also pp. 219, 237, 282).

p. 48, ll. 1-2 [if he had not luckily opposed the Shield that had been given Him by *Venus*] In a famous scene of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Venus presents her son Aeneas with a complete armament, including a "shield's ineffable fabric [clypei non enarrabile textum]" (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 475-76 [VIII, 608-25]; see also Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 302-4). The shield given to Cowley by Venus refers to *The Mistress*, an anthology of love lyrics, which was first published in 1647 and which Swift owned in an edition of 1656 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17; II, 890; I, 475-76).

p. 48, ll. 2-3 [And now, both Hero's drew their Swords] In the battles described by the ancient epic poets, the sword is drawn after a lance or spear is thrown: "At Pallas magnis emittit viribus hastam; / Vaginaque cava fulgentem deripit ensem [But Pallas hurls his spear with all his strength and plucks his flashing sword from its hollow scabbard]" (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 549 [X, 474-75] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 48, ll. 4-5 [thrice he fled, and thrice he could not escape] A numeric formula popular with the ancient epic poets as well as their modern imitators. There are several variants of the formula; here, the pattern is, "Three times the same attempt results in failure": "Ter conatus ... Ter frustra." Among the Ancients, see Virgil, *The Aeneid*, II, 792-93; VIII, 230-32; X, 685-86 (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 238, 457, 559), and Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 436-37; XVI, 702-3; XVIII, 155-57; XX, 445-46 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 89, 308, 334, 368 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17; II, 890]); for the Moderns, see Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 79 (I, iii, 619-21), and Garth, *The*

Dispensary, I, 102 (*Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, p. 67 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 672-74]).

p. 48, ll. 5-11 at last he turned, and lifting up his Hands, in the posture of a Suppliant ... in twain] Unlike what EGERTON suggests (p. 75), not one but three episodes in Homer and Virgil are similar in structure and substance: the combats between Lycaon and Achilles, Hector and Achilles, and Magus and Aeneas (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 371-72, 389 [XXI, 71-119; XXII, 337-54]; *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 551-52 [X, 523-36] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17]). All three contain the sequence ‘plea for mercy - offer of ransom - rejection of plea - killing of the foe.’

p. 48, l. 6 *God-like Pindar ... spare my Life*] “Θεοείκελος. Like a God, is a frequent *Epithete* in *Homer* for a beautiful person,” Cowley explains in a gloss on *Davideis* (*Poems*, p. 147 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). See, for example, *The Iliad*, I, 131; II, 335, 623; III, 16 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 8, 38, 43, 50 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 48, l. 7 *beside the Ransom*] A practice frequent in Homer, *The Iliad*, VI, 46-50; XI, 131-35 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 102, 201 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 48, ll. 9-10 *your Carcass shall be left for the Fowls of the Air, and the Beasts of the Field*] “And the Philistine said to David, Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field” (1 Samuel 17:44; EGERTON p. 75). Homer, *The Iliad*, XXII, 335-36 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 389 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 48, ll. 10-11 he raised his Sword, and with a mighty Stroak, cleft the wretched *Modern* in twain] As the King of the Rutulians, Turnus, did Pandarus: “Sic ait: & sublatum alte consurgit in ensem, / Et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem / Dividit [So saying, he rises high upon his uplifted sword; the steel cleaves the brow in twain full between the temples]” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 521 [IX, 749-51] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 48, ll. 13-17 This * *Venus* took ... to her Chariot] In Roman religion, the ceremony of *lustratio* was designed to effect purification and protection from evil

influences. A notable example occurs in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV, 600-7: “Hunc iubet Aeneae, quaecumque obnoxia morti, / Abluere; & tacito deferre sub aequora cursu. / Corniger exsequitur Veneris mandata suisque, / Quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortale, repurgat / Et respersit aquis. pars optima restitit illi. / Lustratum genetrix divino corpus odore / Unxit, & ambrosia cum dulci neccrate mixta / Contigit os: fecitque Deum [She bade the river-god wash away from Aeneas all his mortal part and carry it down in his silent stream into the ocean depth. The horned god obeyed Venus’ command and in his waters cleansed and washed quite away whatever was mortal in Aeneas. His best part remained to him. His mother sprinkled his body and anointed it with divine perfume, touched his lips with ambrosia and sweet nectar mixed, and so made him a god]” (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 265 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]).

A footnote appended to the fifth edition of 1710, “*I do not approve the Author’s Judgement in this, for I think Cowley’s Pindaricks are much preferable to his Mistress,*” seems to echo young Jonathan Swift’s infatuation with Cowley’s Pindarics: “I find when I writt what pleases me,” he confided to his cousin Thomas, “I am Cowley to my self and can read it a hundred times over” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, I, 110 and nn4, 6). One of Swift’s readers has (mis)taken this “contradictory footnote” for an instance of Swift’s “personal campaign with near-contemporaries for his own literary reputation” (Wyrick, *Jonathan Swift and the Vested Word*, p. 137).

* *Venus*] See the note on “if he had not luckily opposed the Shield that had been given Him by *Venus*” (p. 48, ll. 1-2).

p. 48, l. 14 seven times] In ancient number symbolism, which coalesced with Christian number symbolism, ‘seven’ was considered to be “a perfect number [plenus numerus]” (CURTIUS, pp. 503-5, drawing on *Macrobius: Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis*, in *Opera*, ed. Joannes Pontanus [Leiden: J. Maire, 1628], pp. 13-33 [I, v and vi] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1155-56]; see also Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970], pp. 106-8). As a result, it was taken for a symbol of divinity and divine immutability: “According to the Pythagoreans, it was called both a *Motherless* and *Virgin Number*, because it was the only number within the Decad, which was neither *Generated*, nor did itself *Generate* ... therefore it was made by them a *Symbol* of the *Supreme Deity* ... *The Pythagoreans likened this Number, to the Prince and Governour of All Things, or the Supreme Monarch of the Universe*, as thinking it to bear a resemblance of this *Immutability*” (Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, p. 393 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 482-83]).

p. 48, l. 14 *Ambrosia*] “*Dido* is gone afore (whose turn shall be the next?) / There lives she with the blessed Gods in bliss: / There drinks the *Nectar* with *Ambrosia* mixt.” In a gloss added to the November Eclogue, Spenser explained that “*Nectar and Ambrosia*, be fained to be the drink and food of the Gods” (*The Shepherds Calendar*, in *The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, pp. 44-45 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21]). In writing this note, Spenser may have reminded himself of Homer, *The Iliad*, XIX, 347-48; *The Odyssey*, V, 93, 199; XII, 63, and Plato, *Phaedrus* 247E, among others (*Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 354; II, 67, 171; *Platonis opera quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Serres, III, 247-48 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; 1438-40]). More germane to the purpose here is the fact that the Immortals also used ambrosia as balsam, ointment, and medicinal drug (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 265, 306-7 [XIV, 170-74; XVI, 666-73]; Virgil, *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 639 [XII, 418-19] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17]). Whoever was anointed with ambrosia became immortal (*Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, ed. Benedictus, p. 13 [I, 60-64]; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 265 [XIV, 605-7] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1430-31; 1355-56]).

p. 48, l. 14 thrice] In the ceremony of *lustratio*, ‘three’ and ‘nine’ were the favourite numbers. Swift may have had in mind Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII, 261; *Fasti*, IV, 313-15 (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 122; III, 81 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]), or Virgil, *Ciris*, ll. 369-73 (*P. Virgilii Maronis opera*, ed. Heinsius, pp. 398-99 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1915-16]).

p. 48, l. 15 *Amarant*] Latin “*Amarantus*, everlasting, a flower which never fadeth” (LITTLETON s.v.). Pliny describes it in his *Naturalis historia* in some detail: “Est autem spica purpurea verius, quam flos aliquis, & ipse sine odore: mirum in eo, gaudere decerpi & laetius renasci: provenit Augusto mense: durat in autumnum: Alexandrino palma, qui decerptus asservatur: mirumque, postquam defecere cuncti flores, madefactus aqua revivescit & hybernas coronas facit. Summa ejus natura in nomine est, appellato, quoniam non marcescat [Yet it is more truly a purple ear than a flower, and is itself without scent. A wonderful thing about it is that it likes to be plucked, growing again more luxuriant than ever. It comes out in August, and lasts into the autumn. The prize goes to the amaranth grown as Alexandria, which is gathered for keeping; in a wonderful way, after all flowers are over, the amaranth, if moistened with water, revives and makes winter chaplets. Its special characteristic is implied in its name, given to it because it will not wither]”

(*Historiae naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. de Laet, II, 452 [XXI, viii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1459-60]). In his “Observations sur les poésies de Mr de Malherbe,” Ménage enlarges on its meaning as a symbol of immortality: “*Couronner quelqu’un d’amarante*, est vne façon de parler tres-belles & tres poétique, pour dire *luy donner l’immortalité*; l’amarante estant vne fleur qui ne se flestrit point, comme le marque son nom, & qui pour cela est appelée l’*Immortelle*” (*Les Poésies de M. de Malherbe*, p. 316 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1171]). See also Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 163 and n (III, 352-56 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]).

p. 48, l. 17 *Dove*] In addition to the swan, swallow and sparrow, the dove is the bird of Venus: “The Chariot in which she rides is made of Ivory ... and drawn by Swans, and Doves, or Swallows, as *Venus* directs when she pleases to ride in it” (TOOKE s.v.). There are numerous references to doves depicted drawing the chariot of Venus in classical and seventeenth-century English and French poetry (Propertius, *Catulli, Tibulli et Propertii opera*, p. 376 [III, iii, 31]; Virgil, *Eclogues*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 13 [III, 68-69]; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, p. 265 [XIV, 597]; Cowley, *Poems*, p. 39; La Fontaine, *Fables choisies*, pp. 81-82 [II, xii] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1531-32; 1355-56; III, 1915-16; I, 475-76; II, 1025-27]), and, not to forget, SHAKESPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet*, II, iv, 1277. In his “Answer to a Scandalous Poem,” Swift poked fun at the habit: “Though Venus be as light as air, / She must have doves to draw her chair” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 621, ll. 25-26).

p. 48, ll. 18-19 *Hiatus valdè deplendus in MS*] “A most deplorable gap in the manuscript.”

p. 48, l. 21 DAY being far spent] “Jam nox inducere terris / Vmbras [Already night was beginning to draw her curtain]” (Horace, *Satyrae*, in *Quintus Horatius Flaccus*, ed. Heinsius, p. 137 [I, v, 9-10] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905-6]). Ehrenpreis, in his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH (EC 431), reads the whole paragraph as “a parody of Virgil, *The Aeneid*, IX, 176-449” (p. 250).

p. 48, ll. 23-25 Marginal note “*The Episode of B-ntl-y and W-tt-n*”] “As the account of the Battle of the Books is an allegorical representation of Sir *William Temple*’s essay, in which the antients are opposed to the moderns, the account of *Bentley* and *Wotton* is called an episode, and their intrusion represented as an under action” (HAWKESWORTH I, 287n†). In neoclassical theories of the epic,

episodes are “those incidents by which the poet extends the action of his poem,” making sure all the while that the episodes “bear a close relation to the main action,” indeed being “a part of it, even as the limbs are parts of the body” (Swedenberg, *The Theory of the Epic in England, 1650-1800*, pp. 19-20, and *passim*). In *Timber: or, Discoveries*, Jonson illustrated this relationship between plot and episode by an architectural metaphor: “For the *Episodes*, and digressions in a Fable, are the same that household stuffe, and other furniture are in a house ... For as a house, consisting of diverse materialls, becomes one structure, and one dwelling; so an Action, compos’d of diverse parts, may become one *Fable Epicke*” (*Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VIII, 647-48).

p. 48, l. 22 there issued forth from a Squadron] See the note on “*Paracelsus* brought a *Squadron of Stink-Pot-Flingers*” (p. 42, ll. 10-11).

p. 48, l. 23 a Captain, whose Name was *B-ntl-y*] His leading role in the controversy on the *Epistles of Phalaris* notwithstanding, Bentley is not a commanding general in the army of the Ancients, but only a captain, “the Commander in chief of a Company of Foot, or Troop of Horse or Dragoons” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.); an appointment which he clearly resents and regards as inferior (p. 49, l. 15). What is more, captains were generally of ill repute in the seventeenth century (Paul A. Jorgensen, “Military Rank in Shakespeare,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 14 [1950-51], 17-41).

Of course, as one of Swift’s annotators has rightly remarked, “it is not easy to account for the exaggerated bitterness of Swift’s attack upon Bentley, except on the theory that his hostility nursed itself on its own heat ... and it seems strange that Bentley’s arraignment of Temple, which certainly did not exceed the limits then common in literary controversy, should have provoked such wrath in Swift” (CRAIK, p. 433).

p. 48, ll. 23-26 in Person, the most deformed of all the *Moderns*; Tall, but without Shape or Comeliness; Large, but without Strength or Proportion] Bentley is being compared to Homer’s Thersites, whose ugly hunchbacked, lame-footed, and bandy-legged body accommodated an ugly foul-mouthed and rancorous soul (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 33 [II, 211-69] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). As Swift came to describe him in a later poem, “that hateful hideous *Grecian*,” Thersites, “was more abhor’d, and scorn’d by those / With whom he serv’d, than by his Foes” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, III, 775, ll. 51-54). Accordingly, as Homer took care to fit Thersites’ “several ill Qualities ... with a Body suitable to such a Mind” (Pope Blount, *Essays on Several*

Subjects, pp. 160-61), Swift made sure to encase Bentley in a torso of lavish ugliness, “foul-mouthed and inhuman” (Guilhamet, “*The Battle of the Books: A Generic Approach*,” pp. 236-37; Hammond, *Jonathan Swift*, p. 40). See also the note on “call’d *Criticism*” (p. 43, l. 22).

p. 48, l. 26 His Armor was patch’d up of a thousand incoherent Pieces] A satirical image of a charge frequently raised against Bentley, and reiterated here and in *A Tale of a Tub* (p. QQ), according to which Bentley’s learning was chiefly based on indices and lexicon-lemmata (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 145n1): “*Quod nuperrimè fecisse audio Richardum quendam Bentleium Virum in volvendis Lexicis satis diligentem*,” Anthony Alsop, one of the Christ Church wits, jeered (*Fabularum Æsopicarum delectus*, sig. A4r), echoed many times by other warriors in the fray.

p. 48, ll. 26-27 the Sound of it, as he march’d, was loud and dry] Possibly a reference to Homer, *The Iliad*, XII, 160 (*Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 227 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; EGERTON, p. 76]), although Lucretius’ *De rerum natura* (ed. Tanneguy Lefevre [Cambridge: by J. Hayes for W. Mordon, 1675], p. 174 [VI, 118-19]), which Swift read three times in 1697/8, and Virgil’s *Aeneid* (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Æneis*, p. 654 [XII, 724] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]), which he read twice (REAL [1978], 128-30) are also likely candidates.

p. 48, l. 28 *Etesian* Wind] “Winds that blow constantly every year all the time of the Dogdays” (LITTLETON s.v.), and by which normally “most of the heat in summer is cooled” (Diodorus, *The Library of History*, XII, 58, 4). The references to ‘Etesian Winds’ in classical literature and modern travel accounts are so numerous (Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, ed. Lefevre, p. 190 [VI, 715-16]; Strabo, *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, p. 793C [XVII, i, 7]; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 986 and marginal note [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1122; III, 1754-56; II, 1546-48]; Robert Boyle, *The Experimental History of Cold*, in *The Works*, ed. Birch, II, 610; see also V, 137-38) that Wotton’s *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* has to be discounted as the unique source (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 251n1).

p. 48, ll. 29-30 Brass, which tainted by his Breath, corrupted into Copperas, nor wanted Gall] The ingredients of writing ink (see the note on “This malignant Liquor,” p. 35, ll. 17-19), but also a wordplay on ‘gall’ as the constituent of

pathological melancholy, one of Bentley's features (see the note on "some fell upon his *Spleen*," p. 37, l. 19).

p. 48, l. 32 atramentous Quality] The same pun as the previous one on "Brass": atramentous, from "*Atramentum scriptorium*, or writing Inke" (Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robbins, I, 526), puns on a person suffering from a surplus of black bile, the pathological melancholic.

p. 48, l. 33 In his †right Hand he grasp'd a Flail] "A military weapon resembling a threshing-flail in construction, but usually of iron or strengthened with iron, and often having the striking part armed with spikes" (OED). The note added to the fifth edition of 1710 refers to Bentley's frequently invoked and much-lamented rudeness and ill manners (see the note on "Courts *have taught thee* ill Manners," and "they were all a Pack of *Rogues*," p. 49, ll. 26, 13).

p. 48, l. 34 *offensive* Weapon] "An instrument designed for use in attack" (OED), here evocative of the aggressiveness of the Moderns (see the note on "Invasions usually travelling from *North* to *South*," p. 33, ll. 9-10), but also punning on "foul-smelling, nauseous, or repulsive" (OED).

p. 49, ll. 1-2 the *Modern* Chiefs were holding a Consult upon the Sum of Things] Like the Trojan leaders in Virgil's *Aeneid*: "Ductores Teucrûm primi & delecta juvenus, / Consilium summis regni de rebus habebant [The chief Teucrican captains, flower of their chivalry, held council on the nation's weal]" (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 494 [IX, 226-27] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]), translated literally by Milton in *Paradise Lost*: "Consulting on the sum of things" (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 341 [VI, 673] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). But of course, councils of war were also a fixture in the historians Swift was so fond of reading, and as in the *Battle*, they "were managed with such heat as created great Differences between the principal Officers of the Army" (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 132-34). See also Robert Herrick, *The Poetical Works*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 245 (2). For "consult," see Nicholas Rowe, *The Ambitious Step-Mother*, in *The Dramatick Works*, 2 vols (London: T. Jauncy, 1720), I, 12.

p. 49, l. 3 his crooked Leg, and hump Shoulder] See the note on "in Person, the most deformed of all the *Moderns*" (p. 48, l. 24).

p. 49, ll. 4-5 which his Boot and Armor, vainly endeavouring to hide, were forced to comply with, and expose] Lucian, “The Ignorant Book-Collector,” *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, II, 383 [7] (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15).

p. 49, l. 9 like a wounded Elephant] See, for example, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 844, 1000 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48).

p. 49, l. 13 they were all a Pack of *Rogues*, and *Fools*, and *Sons of Whores*] Mimicry of Bentley’s well-known polemical style and rudeness which, even if it could be excused as the expression of a “somewhat homely energy” (CRAIK, p. 433), was emphasized by the contemporaries early on, for example, in a footnote added to the fifth edition of 1710 (“*The Person here spoken of, is famous for letting fly at every Body without Distinction, and using mean and foul Scurrilities,*” p. 48, ll. 37-38) and, before that, in *Dr Bentley’s Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Aesop Examined* (“For surely no man of Liberal Education cou’d put together so many unmannerly and slovenly expressions without studying for ’em” [pp. 11, 220 [GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 252n1]), as well as a host of other pamphlets (see [Atterbury], *A Short Account of Dr Bentley’s Humanity and Justice*, pp. 2-3, 7-8, 10, 78, 93, and *passim*; *A Short Review of the Controversy between Mr Boyle and Dr Bentley*, pp. 5, 21-22, 28, 33-34, and *passim*; F. B., *A Free but Modest Censure on the Late Controversial Writings and Debates* [London: A. Baldwin, 1698], p. 16). From the military point of view, Bentley’s tirade would have been severely punished (Firth, *Cromwell’s Army*, p. 402).

p. 49, l. 21 *Scaliger*] Two names are possible here, but annotators are divided on whom Swift is targeting. One group argues for Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), “a most Famous Critick, Poet, Physician and Philosopher, who was the Wonder of the last Century” (MORÉRI s.v.). Swift alluded to his encyclopedic natural history, *De subtilitate* (1557), which earned Scaliger the enmity of Cardano in *A Tale of a Tub* (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 203n1). Since Swift did not own *De subtilitate*, it is possible that he learned of it through Cardano, whose *Opera omnia* he did own (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 344-47), or, alternatively, through Daniel Heinsius, also on his shelves, who had praised “the divine” Julius Caesar as “the eagle of his age [ætatis nostræ aquila]” (*Lavs asini* [Leiden: Elzevir, 1629], p. 204 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 811]). Swift, by contrast, thought of the elder Scaliger as the archetype of a pedant (*Prose Works*, IV, 215-16).

Another group pleads for Julius Caesar's equally famous son, Joseph Justus (1540-1609), whom Guy Patin, Daniel Heinsius, and others praised as "a divine man" (*Lettres choisies*, pp. 121, 58, 429 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1390]; Josephus Scaliger, *Epistolæ omnes quæ reperiri potuerunt*, ed. Daniel Heinsius [Leiden: Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevir, 1627], sig. *5v-**1v). Swift owned Joseph Justus' monumental *De emendatione temporum* (Paris: by M. Patisson for Robert Estienne, 1583 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1649]), which revolutionized ancient chronology, as seventeenth-century theologians and chronologers were fully aware of (Stillingfleet, *Origines sacræ: or, A Rational Account of the Grounds of Christian Faith*, p. 161; Aegidius Strauch, *Breviarium chronologicum*, 3rd ed. [London: A. Bosvile and P. Gilburne, 1699], pp. 4-5, and *passim* [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1752-53; 1758-60]).

Presumably, it is Joseph Justus whom Swift makes pay Bentley back in his own coin (CRAIK, p. 433; GUTHKELCH, p. 269; PRESCOTT, p. 215; ROSS AND WOOLLEY, p. 223; ELLIS [2006], p. 217). The reason for this assumption is that, in *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined*, Boyle and the Christ Church group had insinuated Bentley's hostility towards Joseph Justus: "One would think that Dr *Bentley*, with all his Stock of Self-sufficiency, could not have allow'd himself to use such insulting Language towards such Eminent Men [Scaliger and Grotius]" (pp. 158-59). In his *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris: With an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle*, Bentley rejected this claim out of hand (pp. xcix-c, 8, 214-15), though he insisted that even a "great man" like Scaliger could err (pp. 264-65).

In a marginal gloss, "*Vid. Homer. de Thersite*," which already appeared in the first edition, Scaliger is being compared to Thersites, "one of the most Deformed and Silliest Men in *Greece*" (MORÉRI s.v.), notorious for his foul and abusive language (LITTLETON s.v.; *Poems*, ed. Williams, III, 775, ll. 51-54). He is described at length by Homer (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 33-34 [II, 211-77] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]); and Jonson (*Timber: or, Discoveries*, in *Ben Jonson*, eds Herford and Simpson, VIII, 574). From Swift's point of view, the comparison may have been apt, Scaliger being widely known for his hatred of ignorance, pungent sarcasms, and arrogant pride: "He is conscious of his power as a literary dictator, and not always sufficiently cautious or sufficiently gentle in its exercise" (Richard Copley Christie, "The Scaligers," *Selected Essays and Papers*, ed. William Arthur Shaw [London, New York, Bombay: Longmans, Green, 1902], pp. 209-22).

p. 49, l. 21 *Miscreant* Prater] Not “unbeliever, or infidel,” as suggested by one annotator (CRAIK, p. 433), but as an abusive epithet a derivation from the verb *miscreate*, “formed unnaturally, mis-shapen” (OED), and as required by the context.

p. 49, l. 24 *thy Study of Humanity, more Inhuman*] A pun playing on Bentley’s much decried civility and kindness (see the note on “a Person of great Valor, but chiefly renowned for his **Humanity*,” p. 36, l. 36) and his studies in “humanity,” the Greek and Latin classics (James Henry Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.* [London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1830], pp. 14-27, and *passim*; Tinkler, “The Splitting of Humanism: Bentley, Swift, and the English Battle of the Books,” pp. 464-65).

p. 49, l. 26 *Courts have taught thee ill Manners*] Before his appointment as Royal Librarian at St James’s Palace in April of 1694 (see the note on “THE *Guardian* of the *Regal Library*,” p. 36, l. 35), Bentley was Chaplain to Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester (Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.*, p. 16; R. C. Jebb, *Bentley* [London and New York: Macmillan, 1889], pp. 6-8; R. J. White, *Dr Bentley: A Study in Academic Scarlet* [London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965], pp. 50-53). As the authors of *Dr Bentley’s Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined* gleefully charged, “the Dr [had] not profited much by the dependence he once had on a *Great Man* [Stillingfleet], who might have taught him, wou’d he have vouchsaf’d to learn it, the Secret of engaging deep with an Adversary, without Loss of Temper, or Breach of Good Manners” (p. 12 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 276-77]). See also [Atterbury], *A Short Account of Dr Bentley’s Humanity and Justice*, p. 95.

p. 49, ll. 26-27 *polite Conversation has finish’d thee a Pedant*] See the note on “In this Dispute, the Town highly resented” (p. 31, ll. 12-13).

p. 49, ll. 29-30 *I hope, that vile Carcass will first become a Prey to Kites and Worms*] An imprecation which slightly varies curses in Homer’s *Iliad* (*Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 142, 260, 389 [VIII, 379-80; XIII, 831-32; XXII, 335-36] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 49, ll. 31 - p. 52, l. 28 B-NTL-Y durst not reply ... all my Wit and Eloquence can make you] Bentley and Wotton’s nocturnal adventure parallels in many instances the expedition of Virgil’s two youthful heroes, Nisus and Euryalus, devoted friends and companions of Aeneas (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio*

Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis, pp. 499-506 [IX, 314-449] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). For a comparison, whose basic framework needs to be revised and modified by additional details, see A. Sanford Limouze, “A Note on Vergil and *The Battle of the Books*,” *Philological Quarterly*, 27 (1948), 85-89.

p. 49, ll. 32-33 With him, for his Aid and Companion, he took his beloved *W-tt-n*] The *editio princeps* of Bentley’s *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* was appended to the second edition of Wotton’s *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* of 1697 (see the note on “which was answer’d by *W. Wotton*, B.D. with an Appendix by Dr. *Bently*,” p. 31, ll. 5-6). For the epic model of the Bentley and Wotton episode, see the marginal note on p. 48 (“*The Episode of B-ntl-y and W-tt-n*”). Unlike some of Swift’s annotators, we see no suggestion “of sexual perversion in the relationship Swift sets up between Bentley and Wotton” (Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift’s “Tale of a Tub”*, p. 201 and n3; Margaret Anne Doody, “Swift and the Mess of Narrative,” *Locating Swift: Essays from Dublin on the 250th Anniversary of the Death of Jonathan Swift, 1667-1745*, eds Aileen Douglas, Patrick Kelly, and Ian Campbell Ross [Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998], pp. 94-116 [99-100]).

p. 49, ll. 33-34 by Policy or Surprize] The traditional antithesis is “aut vi aut fraude [by force or guile],” of which *fraus*, “fraud, deceit, cunning” is the greater moral evil (Taylor Corse, “Force and Fraud in *The Rape of the Lock*,” *Philological Quarterly*, 66 [1987], 355-65). Either is unworthy of human conduct, as Cicero explains in *De officiis*: “Quum autem duobus modis, id est aut vi, aut fraude, fiat iniuria: fraus quasi vulpeculæ, vis leonis videtur: utrumque alienissimum ab homine est, sed fraus odio digna maiore [While wrong may be done, then, in either of two ways, that is, by force or by fraud, both are bestial: fraud seems to belong to the cunning fox, force to the lion; both are wholly unworthy of man, but fraud is the more contemptible]” (*Opera*, IV, 356 [I, xiii, 41] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]; paraphrased by Sir John Denham in “Of Justice,” *The Poetical Works*, ed. Banks, p. 199, ll. 51-54). See also Sallustius, *Bellum Jugurthinum*, XXIII, 1 (*Bellum Catilinarium et Jugurthinum*, ed. Jan Minell [The Hague: Arnold Leers, 1685], p. 235 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1634-36]); Virgil, *The Aeneid*, II, 390 (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 218 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]); Tacitus, *The Annals and History of C. Cornelius Tacitus*, III, 146-47 [II, xxxix] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1787-88]); Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, VI, vii, 34, l. 5 (*The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, p. 306 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21]); Milton, *Paradise Lost* (ed. Fowler, pp.

51, 81, 98, 106, 316, 349 [I, 121, 646; II, 188, 358; VI, 87, 794] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]); Ludlow, *Memoirs*, II, 797 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35], and Butler, *Hudibras* (ed. Wilders, pp. 52, 101 [I, ii, 837-38; II, i, 38]). Significantly, one component of the traditional antithesis, ‘force, or violence,’ has entirely disappeared from a modern looter like Bentley, who is only capable of cunning and unexpected, surreptitious attack. Butler had described this as a feature of the “Modern way of War,” which, he argued, was “grown more politick by far, / But not so resolute, and bold, / Nor ty’d to Honour, as the old ... All dangers are reduc’d to Famine. / And Feats of Arms, to Plot, Design, / Surprize, and Stratagem, and Mine” (*Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 287-88 [III, iii, 313-16, 330-32]).

p. 49, l. 35 They began their March over Carcasses of their slaughtered Friends] As is to be expected after the uncounted victories of ancient heroes, such as Homer, Virgil, Lucan, and Pindar.

p. 49, l. 36 then wheeled Northward] Presumably, not an accidental movement. Like the West, which brings on darkness, destruction, and death (see p. 33, ll. 9-10), the North tends to be seen as inhospitable territory, visited only by severe frost and eternal snow as well as afflicted by darkness and night, in short, as a wasteland wedded to infertility and barbarism (see the note on “a snowy Mountain in *Nova Zembla*,” p. 45, l. 23).

p. 49, l. 37 *Aldrovandus’s Tomb*] Ulisse Aldrovandi, the Bologna physician and naturalist (1522-1605), “incomparabilis naturæ operum perscrutator, varietate doctrinæ, ubertate Scriptorum, reconditis eruditioris ingenii viribus, cunctos ferè cùm præsentis, tum elapsi sæculi homines superavit,” one contemporary eulogist enthused (Pope Blount, *Censura celebriorum authorum*, p. 589). Aldrovandi figures as a Modern here because, according to Wotton’s *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, his writings were tangible proof that ancient polymaths like Pliny the Elder “knew nothing of many Sorts” (p. 308 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1976]; see also Glanvill, *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion*, III, 30-31).

In contrast to what Swift’s annotators have proposed, Aldrovandi’s tomb is not the monumental work on natural history “on which he spent his life and eyesight” (CRAIK, p. 434; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 253n2), but an image which harks back to an earlier one: if libraries are graveyards (p. 35, l. 40), the books they contain are the tombs (TEMPLE SCOTT I, 183n2; PRESCOTT, p. 215). In his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH ([EC 431], p.

253), Ehrenpreis points to the tomb of the ancient Latin King, Dercennus, as the epic pre-text (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 614 [XI, 849-51] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 49, l. 37 which they pass'd on the side of the declining Sun] Not only an ominous sign in ancient divination (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 230 [XII, 195-243] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), but also symbolically a significant step since the West is assigned to darkness, destruction, and death: "Scarce was the Sun, who shone upon the Horror / Of the past Day, sunk to the Western Ocean," Stratocles describes a similar battle scene in Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane* (*The Dramatick Works*, I, 18-19).

p. 49, l. 40 - p. 50, l. 1 As when two *Mungrel Curs*, whom *native Greediness*, and *domestick Want*, provoke, and joyn in Partnership, though fearful, nightly to invade the Folds] The scene evokes the murderous sortie of Turnus, King of the Rutulians, against the Trojan camp in the middle of the night: "Ac veluti pleno lupus insidiatus ovili, / Cum fremit ad caulas, ventos perpressus & imbres / Nocte super media; tuti sub matribus agni / Balatum exercent: ille asper, & improbus ira / Sævit in absentes: collecta fatigat edendi / Ex longo rabies, & siccae sanguine fauces [As when a wolf, lying in wait about a crowded fold, roars beside the pens at midnight, enduring winds and rains; safe beneath their mothers the lambs keep bleating; he, fierce and reckless in his wrath, rages against the prey beyond his reach, tormented by the long-gathering fury of famine, and by his dry, bloodless jaws]" (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 486 [IX, 58-63] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

'Mungrel Curs,' which replaces the Virgilian 'lupus,' establishes Bentley and Wotton as late descendants of those censorious and abusive cynic philosophers, who were nicknamed 'dogs' because of their etymological affinity with Greek *kuōn*, "dog" (Gill, "The Renaissance Conventions of Envy," pp. 215-30 [216-17, 219-21]) and, as a contemporary explanation specifies, because of their "too-free or *canine* [way of life]" (MORÉRI s.v.). Critics denounced the members of the school as dogs from early on (Lucian, "Philosophies for Sale," *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 376 [10-11] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]), and Swift resumed the metaphor in *A Tale of a Tub*: "a hundred *noisy Curs run barking after him" is explained in a note: "By these are meant what the Author calls, The True Criticks" (*A Tale of a Tub*, p. QQ).

Last but no least, Ehrenpreis following an earlier study by Karl Feyerabend ("Beispiel einer Satura Menippeia bei Swift," *Englische Studien*, 11 [1888], 487-91) repeatedly records in his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH

(EC 431) that, from this moment to the end of *The Battle of the Books*, what outwardly presents itself as prose imperceptibly slides into the rhythm of blank verse at times (pp. 253, 257; see also PRESCOTT, p. 211).

p. 50, ll. 3-4 the conscious *Moon*, now in her *Zenith*, on their guilty Heads, darts perpendicular Rays] ‘Conscious,’ a Latinism (in the sense of the original rather than the naturalized English use), meaning “knowing” or “conscious, aware of something,” “privy to,” a usage which is frequent in Virgil. For example, when Dido, who is about to commit suicide, addresses the stars, believing that these observe her actions: “Testatur moritura Deos, & conscia fati / Sidera [She calls on the gods ere she dies and on the stars, witnesses of her doom]” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 302, 505 [IV, 519-20; IX, 429] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]; see also, in addition to GUTHKELCH, p. 269, *Pvbli Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber qvartvs*, ed. Pease, pp. 432-33). The phrase became stereotypical in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century poetic diction (John Arthos, *The Language of Natural Description in Eighteenth-Century Poetry* [London: Frank Cass, 1966], pp. 122-23), often with the association of guilt: “under conscious night / Secret they finished,” Milton writes (*Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, p. 335 [VI, 521-22] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1247]). As in Milton personified Night is an accessory, so are the stars in Swift, sharing Bentley and Wotton’s guilty knowledge. For the stars and planets as witnesses of secret human doings, see also Juvenal, *Decii Jvnii Ivenalis et Avli Persii Flacci satyrae omnes*, p. 69 (VIII, 149-50) (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 999-1001).

p. 50, ll. 4-5 though much provok’d at her refulgent Visage, whether seen in Puddle by Reflection] A commonplace: “Tell me but what’s the nat’ral cause ... / Or why *Wolves* raise a Hubbub at her [the Moon], / And *Dogs* howle when she shines in water” (Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, pp. 174-75); also recorded by TILLEY D449, and ODEP, p. 194, and referred to by Swift again in *A Trritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind* (p. □).

p. 50, l. 8 ominous Ravens] In ancient divination, ravens bode ill: “Ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix [A raven on the left warned me from the hollow oak]” (Virgil, *Eclogues*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 39 [IX, 15] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). See also, in addition to the sources listed by Carroll, *Animal Conventions in English Renaissance Non-Religious Prose, 1550-1600*, p. 113, Horace *Carmina*, III, xxvii, 15-16 (*Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 76), Pliny the Elder, *Historiae naturalis libri*

xxxvii (ed. de Laet, I, 519-20 [X, xii]; Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX*, pp. 16-17 [I, iv] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 905; 1459; III, 1886-89]; and, among modern imitators, Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*: “Th’ illboding Raven and the screeching Owl / Sung o’er the Camp by Night” (pp. 182, 199). Swift read *Prince Arthur* at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30). Although he denounced the belief as a “decrepitate superstition,” it was, Sir Thomas Browne noted in *Vulgar Errors*, “fresh in the observation in many heads, and by the credulous and feminine partie still in some Majestie among us” (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robbins, I, 424; II, 996-97). See also *A Dictionary of Superstitions*, eds Opie and Tatem, s.v.

p. 50, ll. 8-9 So march’d this lovely, loving Pair of Friends] See the gloss on “With him, for his Aid and Companion, he took his beloved *W-tt-n*” (p. 49, ll. 32-33).

p. 50, ll. 10-11 two shining Suits of Armor, hanging upon an Oak] The scene is reminiscent of Virgil: “corpusque levabat / Arboris acclinis trunco. procul ærea ramis / Dependet galea, & prato gravia arma quiescunt [He rested his reclining frame against a tree’s trunk. Hard by, his brazen helmet hangs from the boughs, and his heavy arms lie in peace on the meadow]” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 567 [X, 834-36] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). The oak, “the Sovereigne of all Plants” (Herrick, *The Poetical Works*, ed. Martin, p. 23 [2]), is a requirement of the “epic landscape,” the epic being the most sublime in the hierarchy of literary genres (CURTIUS, pp. 200-2). Accordingly, in the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser, describes it as “sole King of Forrests all” (*The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, p. 2 [I, i, 8] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1720-21]). See also Dryden, “Fables Ancient and Modern,” *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1527, l. 1058.

p. 50, l. 13 in his Van *Confusion* and *Amaze*] “VAN, or *Vanguard*. The first Line of an Army drawn up in Batalia, which gives the first Charge upon the Enemy” (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.) and in which to fight was regarded as an “Honour” (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I, 259, 328). Unlike “*Horror* and *Affright*,” “*Confusion* and *Amaze*,” amazement or bewilderment, that is (OED), do not belong to the classical pantheon. They may be an invention of Swift’s, vaguely reminiscent of Dryden’s translation of Chaucer’s “Palamon and Arcite” in *Fables Ancient and Modern*: “Ev’ry where thy [Mars’] Pow’r is known, / The Fortune of the Fight is all thy own: / Terrour is thine, and wild Amazement flung / From out thy Chariot,

withers ev'n the Strong: / And Disarray and shameful Rout ensue" (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1508, ll. 300-4).

p. 50, ll. 13-14 while *Horror* and *Affright* brought up the Rear] "*Horror* and *Affright*," Greek *Deimos* and *Phobos*, the sons of Mars. They invariably appear together, assisting their Father in his bloody business: "Sed Marti / Clypeos dissecanti Venus Phobum & Dimum peperit, / Graves, qui virorum densas turbant phalanges, / In bello horrido, unà cum Marte urbes devastante [Also Cytherea bare to Ares the shield-piercer Panic and Fear, terrible gods who drive in disorder the close ranks of men in numbing war, with the help of Ares, sacker of towns]" (Hesiod, *Theogony*, in *Poetæ minores Græci*, ed. Winterton, p. 110, ll. 933-36; see also *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 73, 197, 277 [IV, 439-41; XI, 36-37; XV, 119-20] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1972-73]); and Usener, *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, pp. 366-69; as well as, among Swift's modern imitators, Cowley, *Dauidis (Poems*, p. 135 [sig. 3R4r]) and Vida, "Scacchia ludus" (*Poeticorum libri tres: Accedunt Bombycum libri duo et Scacchia ludus*, p. 128 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76; III, 1909-10]). See also Rowe, *The Tragedy of Jane Shore*, in *Dramatick Works*, II, 33.

"The Third [Line is] the Rear-Guard, or Body of Reserve" (MILITARY DICTIONARY s.v.): "For now the Foe he had survey'd / Rang'd, as to him they did appear, / With *Van*, *main Battel*, *Wings*, and *Rear*" (Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 32 [I, ii, 102-4]).

The parody of this passage is exquisite: Bentley is able to rely on the assistants of Mars, the God of War, it is true, but not in the vanguard where they would be most terrifying (as demonstrated by the images of *Deimos* and *Phobos* on the shield of Agamemnon in *The Iliad*, XI, 36-37) but at the rear, and to make matters worse, *Affright* does not terrify Bentley's enemies but the warrior she supposedly assists, a clear case of a self-defeating action.

p. 50, ll. 14-16 two Hero's of the *Antients Army*, *Phalaris* and *Æsop*, lay fast asleep: *B-ntl-y* would fain have dispatch'd them both] In the general view of the public, Bentley had failed in his endeavour to prove the *Epistles* attributed to Phalaris and Aesop's *Fables* as forgeries: "The Assurance with which their young Hero [Boyle] took the Field, that Air of Superiority with which he every where treats his Adversary, the Acclamations with which the Party, nay the Applauses with which he proclaimed himself Conqueror, made the World begin to look upon the Dr.'s Case as desperate; and 'twas in every bodies mouth, Mr. Boyle's Book is an unanswerable piece" (Samuel Whately, "An Answer to a Late Book

Written against the Learned and Reverend Dr. Bentley (1699),” *Classical Journal*, 9 [1814], 174). See also Dr Charlett’s Letter to the Honourable Mr Charles Boyle, *The Orrery Papers*, ed. Countess of Cork and Orrery, 2 vols (London: Duckworth, 1903), I, 19-21; Garth, *The Dispensary*, V, 73-74 (*Poems on Affairs of State*, VI, ed. Ellis, p. 108 and n), and [Thomas Newcomb], *Bibliotheca: A Poem, Occasion’d by the Sight of a Modern Library* (London: Printed in the Year, 1712), p. 5.

p. 50. l. 17 the Goddess *Affright* interposing] ‘Affright’ is a Goddess because Greek masculine *Phobos* in Swift’s imagination was superseded by its feminine Latin equivalent, *Formido* (Karl Richard Berge, *De belli daemonibus qui in carminibus Graecorum et Romanorum inveniuntur* [Leipzig: Brandstetter, 1895], pp. 44-49). Two examples with which Swift may have been familiar occur in Claudian’s *In Rufinum*, and his panegyric of the general Stilicho, *De laudibus Stilichonis libri III* (*Cl. Claudiani quæ exstant*, ed. Nicolaus Heinsius [Leiden: Elzevir, 1650], pp. 17 [I, 345], 142 [II, 376] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 428-29]).

p. 50, ll. 17-18 caught the *Modern* in her icy Arms, and dragg’d him from the Danger] In a similar manner, Zeus “rousing cowardly rout” in Hector causes the Trojan hero to flee from Achilles (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 301 [XVI, 657-58] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 50, ll. 19-20 soundly Sleeping, and busy in a Dream] Although, in one of his notes appended to the fifth edition of 1710, Swift referred to Homer (“*This is according to Homer, who tells the Dreams of those who were kill’d in their Sleep*,” p. 50, l. 38), Swift’s annotators have been unusually silent on the precise source of this episode: “I have failed to find any,” one of them admits (K. Schmidt, ed., *Jonathan Swift, The Battle of the Books*, Hamburger Hochschultexte, Reihe B, no 2 [1948], p. 31). In fact, there is only one in the whole of Homer that Swift may have had in mind here, the nocturnal excursion of Ulysses and Diomedes. During this adventure, the two warriors invade the camp of the Thracians and slay many of their sleeping enemies, among them, King Rhesus, who is dreaming of his murderer, Diomedes (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 190 [X, 482-97] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). Swift seems to have remembered this scene particularly well. In a letter of 23 November 1727 to Gay and Pope, he reiterated almost verbatim the text of his note: “Nothing but the Devil could have informed you, for I kept no Company but travelled alone. Or else it must be Poetical conjuring, as Homer recites the

dreams of those who were killed in their Sleep” (*Correspondence*, ed. Woolley, III, 140).

p. 50, ll. 20-21 *For *Phalaris* was just that Minute dreaming, how a most vile *Poetaster* had lampoon’d him, and how he had got him roaring in his *Bull*] The Sicilian tyrant Phalaris (c.580 BC) is said to have roasted his enemies to death in a brazen bull with a fire underneath, the cries of the condemned sounding like the roar of a bull (Lucian, *Phalaris*, in *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 737-40 [I, 11-13] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1114-15]). As a result, his name became synonymous with cruelty: “Phalaris, cuius est præter cæteros nobilitata crudelitas [Phalaris, whose cruelty is notorious beyond that of all others],” as Cicero phrased it (*De officiis*, in *Opera*, IV, 378 [II, vii, 26] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 408-11]); and whose “reputation aroused hatred everywhere [odiosa tenet Phalarim vbique fama],” as Pindar’s editor annotated *Pythian Odes*, I, 95-97 (*Pindari Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia*, ed. Benedictus, p. 272 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1430-31]). See also Juvenal, *Decii Jvni Iuvenalis et Avli Persii Flacci satyrae omnes*, p. 66 (VIII, 81-82 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 999-1001]); Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*, IX, 19; Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri IX*, p. 408 (IX, ii, 9 [ext.] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1886-89]); and MORÉRI s.v. Boyle’s edition of the spurious letters of Phalaris, *Phalaridis Agrigentorum Tyranni epistolae* (see the note on “a new Edition of *Phalaris*,” p. 31, l. 9), had a frontispiece with an illustration of the ‘ceremony’ (reproduced in W. G. Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, 1648-1710* [Oxford: Holywell Press, 1960], facing p. 48). After the great public success of *Dr Bentley’s Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined*, written by a group of Christ Church wits under the aegis of Atterbury (see the note on “*Boyl*, clad in a suit of Armor,” p. 51, l. 27) but attributed to Boyle, a cartoon circulated in Cambridge showing Bentley “in the Hands of *Phalaris’s* Guards” while they pushed him into the bull: “And out of the Doctor’s Mouth came a Label with these Words: *I had rather be ROASTED than BOYLED*” (Eustace Budgell, *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Earl of Orrery, and of the Family of the Boyles*, 2nd ed. [London: W. Mears, 1732], p. 193).

p. 50, ll. 23-24 a *Wild Ass* broke loose, ran about trampling and kicking, and dunging in their Faces] Several annotators take this to be a reference to Boyle’s complaint (*Dr Bentley’s Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop Examined*, pp. 219-20) that Bentley had called him an ass (EGERTON, p. 77; GUTHKELCH, p. 269; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 233n4). Happily

retaliating, Bentley pointed out in *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris: With an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle* how little Boyle had mastered his subject matter (p. lxxxiii).

p. 50, ll. 27-28 a Fountain hard by, call'd ... *Helicon*] Having caused some confusion among Swift's annotators (EGERTON p. 78; GUTHKELCH p. 270), this line invites scrutiny. It is true that classical authorities, such as Pausanias, testify to the existence of a *river* by the name of Helicon (*Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, ed. Kuehn, p. 769 [IX, xxx, 8] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1394]; see also MORÉRI s.v.), but this river has no demonstrable connection with the cult of the Muses, as required by the context. The original seat of the Muses' worship was *Mount Helicon* in Boeotia: "In Helicone primos *omnium* sacra Musis fecisse, & Musis eum montem consecrasset Ephialten & Otum tradunt" (*Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, ed. Kuehn, pp. 763-66 [IX, xxviii-xxx]; see also Hesiod, *Theogony*, in *Poetae minores Graeci*, ed. Winterton, pp. 66-67, ll. 22-23; Strabo, *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, p. 409B-D [IX, 410]; Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, ed. Lefevre, p. 4 [I, 117-18]; Pliny the Elder, *Historiae naturalis libri xxxvii*, ed. de Laet, I, 210 [IV, vii, 25] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 849; III, 1754-56; II, 1122; 1459]).

The upshot, then, is that Swift made an error here (as already assumed by VAN EFFEN II, 118), an error, to be sure, frequent in seventeenth-century poetry and attributable to the fact that the sacred fountain Hippocrene (Strabo, *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, p. 379D [VIII, vi, 21]), which inspired those who drank from it (Propertius, *Catulli, Tibulli et Propertii opera*, p. 375 [III, iii, 1-3]; Spenser, "The Tears of the Muses," *The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser*, p. 145 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1531-32; III, 1720-21]), was often celebrated as "the sacred *Heliconian* Stream" (Dryden, "The Satires of Aulus Persius Flaccus," *The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, II, 741; *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Verse*, eds Greer, et al., pp. 449-50). Likewise, Sir John Denham mused about "Poets which did never dream / Upon *Parnassus*, nor did tast the stream / Of *Helicon*" (*Expans'd Hieroglyphicks: A Critical Edition of "Coopers Hill"*, ed. O Hehir, p. 139, ll. 1-3).

in the Language of mortal Men] See the note on "*Antient* and *Modern* Creatures, call'd *Books*" (p. 42, ll. 34-35).

p. 50, ll. 29-31 Thrice, with profane Hands, he essay'd to raise the Water to his Lips, and thrice it slipt all thro' his Fingers] See the note on "thrice he fled, and thrice he could not escape" (p. 48, ll. 4-5).

p. 50, ll. 32-33 *Apollo* came ... nothing but *Mud*] A variation on the motif of divine intervention, common in Roman Augustan poetry, through which the gods forbid the poets to venture on projects for which they are not gifted enough (Gustav Riedner, *Typische Äußerungen der römischen Dichter über ihre Begabung, ihren Beruf und ihre Werke* [Nürnberg: J. L. Stich, 1903], pp. 21-24). A possible, though not close, model is Propertius, III, iii, 15-16 (*Catulli, Tibulli et Propertii opera*, p. 376 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1531-32]); another, Horace, *Satires*, I, i (McDayter, "The Hunting of St James's Library," pp. 17-18), does not seem pertinent.

p. 50, ll. 36-37 as a Punishment to those who durst attempt to taste it with unhallowed Lips] Poets are the Muses' chosen few; being their servants and followers, messengers and prophets, poets are as godlike and immortal in character as the goddesses themselves, and, consequently, they cannot but draw their inspiration from the sacred fountains with 'hallowed' lips (Walter F. Otto, *Die Musen und der göttliche Ursprung des Singens und Sagens* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961], particularly pp. 23-39).

p. 51, ll. 1-20 AT the Fountain Head, *W-tt-n* discerned two Hero's ... it fell to the Ground] Ehrenpreis, in his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH ([EC 431], p. 255), points to the encounter between Arruns and Camilla in *The Aeneid*, XI, 759-804 (*Publii Virgiliti Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 609-10 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 51, ll. 1-2 The one he could not distinguish] Boyle. "Swift seems to hint that Boyle's personal part in the contest was not a very prominent one" (CRAIK, p. 434).

p. 51, ll. 2-3 *Temple*, General of the *Allies* to the *Antients*] See the note on "The *Allies* led by *Vossius* and *Temple*" (p. 42, l. 27).

p. 51, ll. 8-9 *Man for Man, Shield against Shield, and Launce against Launce*] Since the marginal note explicitly refers to Homer, "Vid. Homer," see *The Iliad*, XIII, 130-31, and XVI, 215 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 244, 296-97 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 51, ll. 10-11 *fights like a God, and Pallas or Apollo are ever at his Elbow*] A minor variation on an established Homeric convention (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri*

qvæ exstant omnia, ed. de Sponde, I, 104, 358 [V, 603; XX, 98] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). The “wrong concord,” one annotator claims, “is not infrequent in Swift” (CRAIK, p. 434).

p. 51, l. 11 *Oh, Mother!*] Criticism (ELLIS [2006], p. 218).

p. 51, l. 11 *if what Fame reports, be true*] Although a formulaic phrase frequent in classical poetry (for example, Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, ed. Lefevre, pp. 131, 142 [V, 17, 412]; Horace, *Satires*, in *Qvintvs Horativs Flaccvs*, ed. Heinsius, p. 153 [II, i, 36] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1122; 905-6), “si vera est fama” also marks the celebrated *diffidentia Virgilio*, already noted by the poet’s ancient critics (*P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, ed. Norden, pp. 123-24; *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 267 [III, 551]), and further proof, if proof be needed, of Swift’s pre-eminent familiarity with even the minutest details of Virgil (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN, III, 1916-17).

p. 51, ll. 12-13 *grant me to Hit Temple with this Launce, that the Stroak may send Him to Hell*] “Da sternere corpus, / Loricamque manu valida lacerare revulsam / Semiviri Phrygis” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 623, 504, 611 [XII, 97-99; IX, 409; XI, 791-93] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 51, l. 13 *that I may return in Safety and Triumph, laden with his Spoils*] See *The Iliad*, XVI, 246-48 (*Homeri qvæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 297 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 51, ll. 13-16 The first Part of his Prayer, the Gods granted, at the Intercession of His *Mother* and of *Momus*; but the rest, by a perverse Wind sent from *Fate*, was scattered in the Air] “The *Poets* made always the *Winds* either to disperse the prayers that were not to succeed, or to carry those that were,” Cowley shows himself aware of an established epic motif in his Notes on *Davideis* (*Poems*, p. 119 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 475-76]). In addition to Homer (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri qvæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 298 [XVI, 249-52] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), he may have been thinking of Virgil: “Audiit, & voti Phœbus succedere partem / Mente dedit; partem volucres dispersit in auras [Phœbus heard, and in his heart vouchsafed that half his prayer should prosper; half he scattered to the flying breezes]” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 611 [XI, 794-95] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). Since the first part of Wotton’s prayer is granted, it seems plausible to

read the sentence as an encoding of the historical events: “Wotton’s *Reflections* were published, and thus the first part of his prayer was answered; but not the rest, as the *Reflections* did Temple no harm” (GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 256n1, echoing CRAIK, p. 434). At least, this is what the narrator asserts a few lines after: “*Temple* neither felt the Weapon touch him, nor heard it fall” (p. 51, ll. 20-21).

p. 51, ll. 16-17 brandishing it thrice over his head] “See the note on “thrice he fled, and thrice he could not escape” (p. 48, ll. 4-5).

p. 51, ll. 17-18 the *Goddess*, his *Mother*; at the same time, adding Strength to his Arm] As Pallas Athena adds strength to the arm of Menelaus in Homer’s *Iliad* (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 325 [XVII, 569-70] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]).

p. 51, ll. 19-21 reach’d even to the Belt of the averted *Antient*, upon which, lightly grazing, it fell to the Ground. *Temple* neither felt the Weapon touch him, nor heard it fall] Several of Swift’s early biographers have seen this as a mild criticism of Sir William Temple’s role in the controversy about the authenticity of the epistles of Phalaris: “It serves to intimate,” John Forster writes, “that in the opinion Swift had formed of the Phalaris dispute he did not believe the armour of his friends ... to be entirely unassailable” (*The Life of Jonathan Swift*, p. 93; endorsed by W. H. Davenport Adams, *Wrecked Lives: or, Men who Have Failed* [London: SPCK, 1880], p. 154). While such an assumption may not be excluded, it has to be pointed out that the scene is also a well-known epic motif. Not even the greatest of Homer’s and Virgil’s heroes get away unscathed (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 204, 212, 218, 372 [XI, 248-53: Agamemnon; XI, 375-83: Diomedes; XI, 660-64: Ulysses; XXI, 161-67: Achilles]; *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 549, 634 [X, 474-78: Turnus; XII, 318-23: Aeneas] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17]).

p. 51, ll. 23-24 *Apollo* enraged ... put on the shape of —] In his annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH ([EC 431], p. 256), Ehrenpreis refers to the episode with Opis and Arruns as the epic model of this scene (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 613-14 [XI, 836-67] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). Here, Apollo puts on the shape of Dr Francis Atterbury, young Boyle’s tutor, who composed the greatest part of *Dr Bentley’s Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Aesop*

Examin'd (see the note on “*Boyl*, clad in a suit of Armor,” p. 51, l. 27). Alternatively, ELLIS ([2006], p. 219), following Budgell (*Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Earl of Orrery*, p. 157), suggests the Dean of Christ Church, Dr Henry Aldrich, who, in the summer of 1693, chose the young Boyle to edit the letters of Phalaris (W. G. Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, 1648-1710* [Oxford: Holywell Press, 1960], pp. 50-56).

p. 51, l. 25 young *Boyl*, who then accompanied *Temple*] In the Preface to *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Aesop Examin'd*, Boyle reiterated his admiration and respect for Sir William Temple, which he had first expressed in the Praefatio of *Phalaridis Agrigentorum Tyranni epistolæ* (sig. a3r): “*I was chiefly induc'd to observe these measures, by the Regard I had for the most Accomplish'd Writer of the Age.*” Boyle also referred to himself as a “Young Writer” (sig. A4r; SCOTT, XI, 256n*; GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH, p. 256n3).

p. 51, ll. 27-28 *Boyl*, clad in a suit of Armor which had been *given him by all the Gods*] An allusion to the Christ Church wits, who under the leadership of Atterbury, Boyle's tutor, came to Boyle's rescue in the wake of Bentley's withering attack (see Historical Introduction, pp. □□). The evidence that the greatest part of *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Aesop Examin'd* was indeed the collective effort of a group of Christ Church ‘bees’ is provided in a letter by Atterbury to Boyle: “Some time and trouble this matter cost me. In laying the design of the book, in writing above half of it, in reviewing a good part of the rest, in transcribing the whole, and attending the press, half a year of my life went away” (*The Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury*, ed. John Nichols, 5 vols [London: John Nichols, 1789-98], I, 46). Apart from Atterbury, Anthony Alsop, Dr William King, later an Advocate of Doctors' Commons in London, George Smalridge, soon to be Bishop of Bristol, and the two brothers Freind, John and Robert, joined the fray (William Warburton, *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate to One of his Friends*, 2nd ed. [London, 1809], p. 11; *The Original Works of William King*, 3 vols [London, 1776], I, xiiin°; Colin J. Horne, “The Phalaris Controversy: King *versus* Bentley,” *Review of English Studies*, 22 [1946], 289-303).

The rumour that Boyle's *Examination* was the product of the Christ Church group was disseminated soon after its publication. While Tom Brown rejected it as “*malicious and base*” (*Familiar and Courtly Letters*, p. 134), others were happy to bandy it about ([Thomas Rymer], *Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning*, ed. Curt A. Zimansky, Augustan Reprint Society, no 113 [Los Angeles:

William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1965], pp. 62- 64, the anonymous *Answer to a Late Pamphlet Called, An Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning* [London: E. Whitlock, 1698], pp. 17-20, and Rymer's subsequent *Vindication of an Essay concerning Critical and Curious Learning* [London: E. Whitlock, 1698], pp. 46-47, as well as F. B., *A Free but Modest Censure on the Late Controversial Writings and Debates*, pp. 16-17, 20). For a good recent account of the affair, see Weinbrot, "He Will Kill Me Over and Over Again": Intellectual Contexts of the Battle of the Books," pp. 225-48.

p. 51, ll. 29-30 As a young Lion, in the *Lybian Plains, or Araby Desart*] In antiquity, Libya frequently figures as a metonymy for Africa: "Lybia, which with the Greeks carries the name of all Africa," Sir Thomas Browne explains (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, ed. Robbins, I, 512), drawing on Herodotus (*Historiarum libri IX*, ed. Gale, p. 237 [IV, 42] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 841-42]) and Strabo (*Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, p. 824C [XVII, iii, 1] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1754-56]). As a result, the signification "libyci leones" is not unusual (see, for example, Catullus, *Carmina*, in *Catulli, Tibulli et Propertii opera*, p. 43 [43, ll. 6-7]; Lucan, *Pharsalia: sive, De bello civili*, ed. Farnaby, p. 19 [I, 205-7]; Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 209; V, 177-78 in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, III, 38, 100; Martial, *Epigrammaton libri XII* [Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1568], p. 328 [XII, lxii, 5], and, among the moderns, Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*, p. 224 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 369-70; II, 1107-8; 1355-56; 1203; I, 235-36]), which Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30). The comparison of a young hero with a lion is an epic convention (Homer, *The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 310 [XVI, 823-29], and *Publii Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 548 [X, 454-56] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890; III, 1916-17]; see also Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse*, pp. 59-70). After all, comparing a true hero to an ass would violate poetic decorum, as Vida ruled in his poetics: "Omnia convenient, rerumque simillima imago est: / Credo equidem, sed turpe pecus: nec Turnus asellum, / Turnus avis atavisque potens, dignabitur heros. / Aptius hanc speciem referat leo, quem neque terga / Ira dare, aut virtus patitur" (*Poeticorum libri tres*, pp. 35-36 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1909-10]).

Araby Desart] The spelling is seemingly influenced by Sir Anthony Sherley's travel account (see also "Arabiae Desertae Pars" in "Hondius his Map of Paradise" in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 1436-37 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48]). Lions were recorded for the desert of Arabia by ancient authorities like Strabo (*Rerum geographicarum libri XVII*, ed. Casaubon, pp. 767D, 771A [XVI, iv, 18] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1754-56]), and Diodorus Siculus (*The Library of*

History, II, i, 2), whom Swift read at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-31), as well as their modern followers (Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*, p. 111 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 235-36]).

p. 51, l. 31 wishing to meet some Tiger] In order to demonstrate his bravery, young Ascanius, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, wishes "some Nobler Beast to cross his way, / And rather wou'd the tusky Boar attend, / Or see the tawny Lyon downward bend," as Dryden translated Virgil: "Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem" (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, III, 1150; *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 284 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). Tigers were asserted to be native animals of Africa both in seventeenth-century travel accounts (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 1001 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48]) and contemporary poetry (Edmond Waller, *Poems, &c. Written upon Several Occasions and Several Persons*, 8th ed. [London: Jacob Tonson, 1711], p. 260).

p. 51, ll. 31-32 or a furious Boar] See, in addition to Virgil (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 284 [IV, 159]), Homer, *The Iliad* (*Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 313 [XVII, 20-23]). In antiquity, the wild boar's courage is judged to be equal to that of the lion (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 310 [XVI, 823]; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 548-50, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 190 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]; II, 1355-56); Claudian, "De apro et leone," *Cl. Claudiani quæ exstant*, ed. Heinsius, p. 254 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17; II, 890; II, 1355-56; I, 428-29]).

p. 51, l. 32 a *Wild Ass*, with Brayings importune] The discordant braying of the African wild ass was emphasized in seventeenth-century travel accounts (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, II, 846; Leo Africanus, *De totius Africae descriptione libri IX* [Antwerp: J. Laet, 1556], p. 292b [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1546-48, 1066]).

p. 51, ll. 32-33 the generous Beast, though loathing to distain his Claws with Blood so vile] Reminiscent of L'Estrange's fable, "A Lion and an Asse," in which the lion after having been jeered at by the ass replies: "Take notice only ... that 'tis the Baseness of your Character that has sav'd your Carcass" (*Fables of Aesop and Other Eminent Mythologists*, pp. 9-10 [X]).

p. 51, ll. 34-35 which *Echo*, foolish Nymph, like her *ill-judging Sex*, repeats much louder] "Echo nympha ea, quæ dicuntur, resonat" (Cornelius Schrevelius,

“Sententiæ Græco-Latinæ,” *Lexicon manuale Græco-Latinum et Latino-Græcum* [Leiden: Hackius, 1664], p. 864 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1654]). The nymph Echo fell in love with the beautiful youth Narcissus but was repulsed. Echo wasted away for love of Narcissus until nothing was left but her voice: “Omnibus auditur. Sonus est, qui vivit in illa” (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 56-57 [III, 356-401] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]; MORÉRI s.v.). In the subsequent history of interpretation, however, an innocently babbling nymph was turned into a symbol of “quarrelsome and troublesome women and servants who always wish to have the last word, or scoffers who augment or repeat derisively what is not favorable or pleasing to themselves” (Starnes and Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries*, p. 198). The notion that the tag-ends she was able to repeat sounded louder than the source of the sound itself was commonplace: “That Echo from the hollow ground / His doleful wailings did resound / More wistfully, by many times” (Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Wilders, p. 67 [I, iii, 189-91]). See also Blackmore, *Prince Arthur*, p. 250 (PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 235-36), read by Swift at Moor Park in 1697/8 (REAL [1978], pp. 128-30).

p. 51, ll. 35-36 with more Delight than *Philomela’s* Song] Philomela, the daughter of Pandion, King of Athens, who after having been ravished by Tereus, King of Thrace, and a series of horrendous deeds following in the revenge campaign conducted by her sister, Procne, was metamorphosed into a nightingale, “who with warbling notes still bewails the disasters of her family” (LITTLETON s.v.). One of the most terrifying myths of classical antiquity, it was told at length by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, VI, 424-674 (*Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 109-15 [VI, 424-674] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]). Philomela’s song was sometimes described as beautifully moving. In his translation of the fifteenth-century poem “The Flower and the Leaf” in *Fables Ancient and Modern*, Dryden wrote: “The Nightingale reply’d: / So sweet, so shrill, so variously she sung, / That the Grove eccho’d, and the Valleys rung” (*The Poems of John Dryden*, ed. Kinsley, IV, 1653, ll. 115-17). For a survey and the myth’s history of transmission, see Kirsten Juhas, *“Tle to My Self, and to My Muse Be True”: Strategies of Self-Authorization in Eighteenth-Century Women Poetry* (Frankfurt on Main: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 195-250.

p. 51, l. 38 Lover *B-ntl-y*] See the gloss on “With him, for his Aid and Companion, he took his beloved *W-tt-n*” (p. 49, ll. 32-33).

p. 52, ll. 1-3 the Helmet and Shield of *Phalaris*, his Friend, both which he had lately with his own Hands, new polish'd and gilded] A reference to Boyle's edition of *Phalaridis Agrigentorum Tyranni epistolæ*, "bound in polished calf with gold lettering on the spine" (ELLIS [2006], p. 219). The parenthesis, "with his own Hands," rejects the insinuation bandied about after publication that Boyle had to rely on the assistance of others in editing the Epistles. See the notes on "a new Edition of *Phalaris*, put out by the Honorable *Charles Boyle*" (p. 31, ll. 9-10).

p. 52, l. 3 Rage sparkled in His Eyes] A translation of Virgil's "oculis micat acribus ignis [From all his face shoot fiery sparks]" (*Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 623 [XII, 102] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). See also Homer, *The Iliad*, XII, 466 (*Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 238 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]); and Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse*, p. 49.

p. 52. ll. 5-7 And as a Woman in a little House, that gets a painful Livelihood by Spinning] Although a marginal gloss, "*Vid. Homer*," explicitly refers to Homer (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quæ exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 238 [XII, 432-35] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), Virgil's imitation of the image is remarkably close: "Cum femina, primum / Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva, / Impositum cinerem & sopitos suscitavit ignes, / Noctem addens operi [What time a housewife, whose task it is to eke out life with her distaff and Minerva's humble toil, awakes the embers and slumbering fire, adding night to her day's work]" (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilit Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 465-66 [VIII, 408-11] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]). While paying a compliment to Swift's intimate familiarity with the stylistic mannerisms of Homer, the footnote appended to the fifth edition of 1710 also introduces a mild rebuke of his model: "* *This is also, after the manner of Homer; the Woman's getting a painful Livelihood by Spinning, has nothing to do with the Similitude, nor would be excusable without such an Authority*" (p. 52, ll. 34-36). As a result, the 'parallels' with the goose-keeping woman Oenothea in Petronius' *Satyricon* (135-137) even if they were more convincing than they are (Doody, "Swift and the Mess of Narrative," p. 101), do not seem intended.

p. 52, ll. 7-9 if chance her *Geese* be scattered o'er the Common, she courses round the Plain from side to side, compelling here and there, the Straglers to the Flock] "Swift converts epic pathos into mock epic comedy: Boyle hunting down Bentley and Wotton becomes a farm woman rounding up her runaway geese" (ELLIS [2006], p. 219). Swift may have come across the spelling "Straglers" in

Ludlow's *Memoirs* (I, 62 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1134-35]), which he is known to have studied with care (*Prose Works*, V, 121).

p. 52, l. 11 in *Phalanx*] “Drawn up in close order” (OED). According to ELLIS, this is a “mock-epic exaggeration: two warriors cannot form a phalanx” ([2006], p. 219).

p. 52, ll. 11-12 First, *B-ntl-y* threw a Spear with all his Force] The spear is Bentley's *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*, added to the second edition of Wotton's *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* in 1697. See also the note on “darted his Javelin” (p. 45, l. 21).

p. 52, ll. 12-13 But *Pallas* came unseen, and in the Air took off the Point] In classical epics, the gods always interfere on behalf of the parties they assist or support (see also the notes on p. 51, ll. 10-11, 17-18). For Pallas Athena, see Homer, *The Iliad*, V, 853-54; XI, 437-38; and *The Odyssey*, XXII, 255-59 (*Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 99, 210; II, 313-14 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]). For other helping gods, see *The Iliad*, VIII, 311 (I, 140), and *The Aeneid*, IX, 745-46 (Juno); X, 331-32 (Venus) (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 520, 542 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 52, l. 14 after a dead Bang against the Enemy's Shield] Several similar scenes in Homer notwithstanding (*The Iliad*, in *Homeri quae exstant omnia*, ed. de Sponde, I, 250, 363 [XIII, 409-10; XX, 260] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 890]), the allusion is most probably to Virgil's *Aeneid*: “Sic fatus senior: telumque imbelle sine ictu / Conjecit: rauco quod protinus aere repulsum [So spake the old man, and hurled his weak and harmless spear, which straight recoiled from the clanging brass]” (*Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 225 [II, 544-46] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 52, ll. 15-16 took a Launce of wondrous Length and sharpness] Boyle's, or rather the Christ Church group's collective, *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Aesop Examined*. See the note on “a Javelin, so large and weighty” (p. 47, ll. 36-37).

p. 52, ll. 16-17 as this Pair of Friends compacted stood close Side to Side] See the note on “in *Phalanx*” (p. 52, l. 11).

p. 52, ll. 17-18 and with unusual Force, darted the Weapon] See the note on “and darted a Javelin” (p. 47, ll. 14-15).

p. 52, ll. 21-22 the valiant *W-tt-n*, who going to sustain his dying Friend, shared his Fate] In his own annotated copy of GUTHKELCH AND NICHOL SMITH (EC 431), Ehrenpreis comments: “This seems to be not a parody of Virgil but of Dryden’s translation (XI, 991-96), which is closer to Swift than the original (XI, 670-73)” (p. 258).

p. 52, l. 22 a Brace of *Woodcocks*] As Swift knew only too well (*Polite Conversation*, ed. Eric Partridge [London: André Deutsch, 1963], p. 107), the woodcock is a proverbial symbol of stupidity (TILLEY W746; Carroll, *Animal Conventions in English Renaissance Non-Religious Prose, 1550-1600*, p. 120). See, for example, SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*, II, v, 1066, and *Much Ado about Nothing*, V, i, 2219-20, as well as Butler, *Characters*, ed. Daves, p. 30 and n7.

p. 52, l. 24 So was this pair of Friends transfix’d] The expedition of Virgil’s two young heroes, Nisus and Euryalus, on which the whole episode is based (see the note on “B-NTL-Y durst not reply,” p. 49, l. 31), at this point is superseded by the narrative of Phaedimus and Tantalus, the sons of Niobe, whom Apollo kills with his arrow: “Et jam contulerant arcto luctantia nexu / Pectora pectoribus; cum tento concita cornu, / Sicut erant juncti, trajecit utrumque sagitta [And now they were straining together, breast to breast, in close embrace, when an arrow, sped from the drawn bow, pierced them both just as they stood clasped together]” (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, in *Opera*, ed. Heinsius, II, 105 [VI, 242-44] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN II, 1355-56]).

p. 52, ll. 25-26 *Charon* will mistake them both for one, and waft them over *Styx* for half his Fare] “The Ferry man of Hell, who wafts the Souls of the dead, in a boat, over the *Stygian Lake*” (LITTLETON s.v.). MORÉRI adds that some people “used to put a piece of Coin [traditionally one obol] in their Friends Mouths when dead, that so they might have wherewithall to pay this imaginary debt” (s.v.). Sources which Swift would have had at his fingertips are Aristophanes, Virgil, and Lucian (*The Frogs*, in *Aristophanis Comoediae vundecim cum scholiis antiqvis*, pp. 217, 220 [ll. 139-40, 183-84s]; *The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, pp. 372-74 [VI, 298-330]; *Cataplus*, 1; *Charon*, 11; *Charon et Menippus*, all in *Luciani Samosatensis opera*, ed. Benedictus, I, 422, 356, 308-9 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN I, 80-81; III, 1916-17; II, 1114-15]), all

neatly summarized by TOOKE (1713), pp. 277-78. Swift again refers to Charon in “Cassinus and Peter” (*Poems*, ed. Williams, II, 596, ll. 83-84).

p. 52, ll. 27-28 Farewel, beloved, loving Pair ... And happy and immortal shall you be, if all my Wit and Eloquence can make you] Rhetorically, this apostrophe is a ‘beatification,’ or macarism, “the ascription of happiness to a person” (OED), which usually makes use of the formula *beatus qui, felix qui, fortunatus qui* (G. L. Dirichlet, *De veterum macarismis*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 14, no 4 [1914]). More particularly, Swift ‘translates’ Virgil’s macarism following on the death of Nisus and Euryalus: “Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt, / Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo [Happy pair! If aught my verse avail, no day shall ever blot you from the memory of time]” (*The Aeneid*, in *Publii Virgilio Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*, p. 505 [IX, 446-47] [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1916-17]).

p. 52, l. 32 *Desunt cætera*] “The rest is missing.” Seneca’s editor Gronovius used the formula at the end of *De clementia* (*Opera omnia*, I, 287 [PASSMANN AND VIENKEN III, 1664-65]). See also Historical Introduction, pp. □□.