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AN EDITION, WITH AN INTRODUCTION,
NOTES, AND A PARALLEL LATIN TEXT, OF
SIR ROBERT HOWARD'S TRANSLATION OF
STATIUS'S "ACHILLEIS"

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AN EDITION, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND A PARALLEL LATIN
TEXT, OF SIR ROBERT HOWARD'S TRANSLATION OF STATIUS'S
"ACHILLEIS"

University of New Hampshire

PH.D. 1983

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AN EDITION,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND A PARALLEL LATIN TEXT,
OF SIR ROBERT HOWARD'S TRANSLATION OF STATIUS'S ACHILLEIS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

AN EDITION,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND A PARALLEL LATIN TEXT,
OF SIR ROBERT HOWARD'S TRANSLATION OF STATIUS'S ACHILLEIS

by

ROGER WESLEY HATCH, JR.

University of New Hampshire, December, 1983

This edition offers a critical old-spelling text of Sir Robert Howard's translation of Statius's Achilleis (1660). Sir Robert's annotations on his translation are given in the form of photographic copies, and the Latin text which Sir Robert seems to have principally used, that of 1658, is given in the form of an unedited typed transcript, and is presented next to the text of the translation in a closely parallel manner. The first section of the introduction offers reasons why Sir Robert's Achilleis is significant and includes a brief discussion of extant Roman epics and of Renaissance and eighteenth-century translations of them. This section is followed by a textual introduction, which provides the biographical and bibliographical facts necessary for a scholarly understanding of the translation. The third section of the introduction begins with an attempt to place Sir Robert's Achilleis within the history of Renaissance and eighteenth-century translation, the decision being that the work probably belongs to the metaphrastic tradition of translation, which was rejected by the Restoration and eighteenth-century poets in favor of a more liberal approach. In addition

to the fidelity of the translation are discussed its style, the nature of Sir Robert's annotations, and the relationship between the translation and other Restoration literature. It is shown that Statius's Achilleis is very much like a Restoration heroic play--especially when, as in Sir Robert's Latin text and in his translation, it is divided into five books rather than only two. Two of the works which were published along with Sir Robert's Achilleis--his translation of Aeneis IV and his Blind Lady--show that Sir Robert was interested in the concept of the heroic drama at an early time. The fourth section of the introduction is a statement of editorial method. The explanatory notes which are offered, explain difficult points in the translation and show where Sir Robert seems to have followed a different Latin text, that of 1653, and where he seems to have been influenced by the French translation which accompanied his principal Latin text. Appendix A gives the footnotes to the Latin of 1658; Appendix B, the results of a collation of the text of 1658 and that of 1653; and Appendix C, a life of Sir Robert Howard.

I. INTRODUCTION

The General Significance Of Sir Robert Howard's Translation of Statius's Achilleis

It may well be asked why Sir Robert Howard's translation of Statius's Achilleis deserves the kind of attention which it receives in the following pages--why it should not rather be left in the dark, dusty corner in which it has thus far reposed, and in which to most it would, at first, seem to belong. There are at least four or five good reasons why Sir Robert's translation merits scholarly attention, and these are reasons which, if one gives the matter some thought, offer themselves even before one actually begins reading the translation. The first, and perhaps the most important, of these reasons has to do with the limited survival of Roman epics and with the availability of what can be called "literary" translations of these works.

Epic poetry, we are told, was "the most enduring form of poetry" in ancient Rome.¹ Unfortunately, however enduring this genre may have been throughout the long course of Rome's rich and exciting literary history, the epics themselves have not endured to our own day in any large number. Of all the epics that were composed before the beginning of what is called Late Latin (in A.D. 117), we have only six in anything like their original wholeness, and these are the works of only five epic poets. One of these poets, of course, is Vergil (70-19 B.C.), who is and always has been regarded as unquestionably the greatest of all the writers of epic who succeeded the sublime Homer, and it was probably inevitable that his epic should textually endure for us.² We have, then, epics

from only four of all the other Roman writers who contributed to the genre before the Late period--from only four of all those, that is, who were not immediately known to have achieved a unique immortality.³ All of these four are of the Silver Age (A.D. 17-117), Vergil being different here too, as our only Roman epic poet who wrote during the highest period of Roman literature, the Golden Age (106 B.C.-A.D. 17). Too, it is rather exasperating than consolatory that we are not totally without specific knowledge of the epic compositions of which roughly two millenia of human activity and inactivity have deprived us. Titles, critical comments, and short but magnificent fragments have escaped the fire and sword of the barbarian and the no less destructive neglect of civilization, and these "heroick" vestiges are such that, if one could possibly, with solemn tones of veneration and with promise of votive offerings, induce the ~~the~~ mother of the Muses to vouchsafe to us a more substantial memory of lost and virtually lost classical works, one would be able to make supplicating and selective reference to a large number of specific Roman epics--to Ennius's Annales, for example, or the Bellum Siculum of Cornelius Severus, which are but a few of the many works that one would rejoice to see turn up at some monastic library or emerge in an archeologist's hand from the exciting dust and darkness of some long-buried room. Indeed, the evidence that we have allows us to know that two of the epics that have been granted to us, the Punica of Silius Italicus (c. A.D. 26-c. 101) and the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus (ob. A.D. 92 or 93), are not among those epics the preservation of which we should, for one reason or another, have most desired. To some who have made Silius's Punica--"the longest and most boring Latin poem"⁴--the subject of their devoted lucubrations, it may seem that we have one Roman epic too many, and almost anyone would

enthusiastically exchange the Punica for Naevius's virtually lost, and very tantalizing, Bellum Punicum. Silius's epic seems not to have been greatly surpassed in critical favor by that of Valerius Flaccus, which is not so good as the Hellenistic poem of the same name, the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, the chief source for the Roman poem. At least, neither Silius Italicus nor Valerius Flaccus seems to have received any really significant attention in English literature, or to be read now, either in the original or in translation, by anyone except the most conscientious aficionado of classical epic. On the other hand, the other two of the four Roman epic poets with whom we are left after we have looked beyond the immortal greatness of Vergil, are poets who have almost consistently been held in much esteem for their literary accomplishment. Their works have been both popular and influential, and are even today, by the fading light of modern culture, read with significant frequency and appreciation. The Pharsalis, or properly, De Bello Civili, of Lucan (A.D. 39-65) and the Thebais and Achilleis of Statius (c. A.D. 45-96) are not works which one can easily speculate about exchanging for epics that have been lost. As it is, the first and the third of these, and also the Argonautica, are unfinished epics, their authors having died before they could be completed. The Achilleis, which is by far the most incomplete of these, consists, by the usual division, of only two books, and the second book itself is not nearly complete.

For the reader who is interested, as some still are, in the fascinating verse translations that were made and published by English writers during the Renaissance and the eighteenth century, the literary category of Roman epic is even more limited than has just been indicated, one reason for this being the very limited availability of some of the

major translations. Vergil's Aeneis, of course, was translated repeatedly, and the well-known translations, that by Dryden, for example, have been reprinted and are widely available. Of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus, it seems that we do not have a translation which was written before the nineteenth century, and it is possible that the epic has never been poetically translated in its entirety.⁵ A translation, by Thomas Noble, of the first book of the Argonautica was published in 1808. Technically, it lies outside the scope of our interest here, but it does seem to be the only verse translation from the epic, and its character would probably be even less an obstacle than its date in considering it for inclusion amongst the translations of the previous century. Noble's translation appeared as part of his Blackheath. A Poem in five cantos. Lumena, or the ancient British Battle; and various other poems . . .; it seems never to have been reprinted and is probably not readily available.⁶ Noble himself, of course, is no luminary, and must be regarded as belonging, ignobly, to that rank of writers which someone has had the wit to designate with the term "minimus," as opposed to "minor" and "major." It should perhaps be remarked that we have here an example of another limiting factor in the category of translated Roman epic: Some of the authors even of the major translations do not have a literary reputation that is great enough to encourage either the reprinting or the reading of their contributions. Another example is provided by the case of Silius's Punica. A verse translation of part of the fifteenth book of this epic appeared in The Gentleman's Magazine for September 1738, under the title "Virtue and Pleasure, From Silius Italicus. B.XV." This translation, which covers the beginning of the contest between "Virtus" and "Voluptas" for the allegiance of Scipio, was "To be continued," but no continuation appears

to have come out in The Gentleman's Magazine at any time during the next three months.⁷ The author of the translation is anonymous. His translation, however, might be not only the most unknown, but also the only partial translation of Silius's epic. The epic has already been translated in its entirety. In 1661 was published The Second Punic War between Hannibal and the Romanes. The whole 17 books Englished from the Latine . . . with a continuation from the Triumph of Scipio to the death of Hannibal, and what may be a second edition came out in 1672. This translation seems to be the only verse translation of the whole epic. The author of this translation, Thomas Ross, "keeper of His Majesties' Libraries, and Groom of His most Honourable Privy-Chamber," is a decidedly obscure figure in English literature, and his translation, like its original, seems to have been almost totally forgotten.⁸ More memorable work, as one would expect, was done on the epics of Lucan and Statius. During the period in which we are interested, the Pharsalia was translated in part by Christopher Marlowe, Sir John Beaumont (brother of Francis), Thomas Shadwell, John Ayloffe, Jabez Hughes, John Hughes, Thomas Tickell, and George Lord Lyttelton.⁹ It was translated in whole by Sir Arthur Gorges, by Thomas May, and by Nicholas Towe, whose stately and lucid version, first published in 1718, was called by Dr. Johnson "one of the greatest productions of English poetry."¹⁰ The versions by Marlowe and Rowe are widely known and widely available. Some familiar names are connected with the epic poetry of Statius as well. The Thebais was rendered in part by Thomas Stephens, Alexander Pope, Walter Harte, Christopher Pitt, Thomas Gray, and Jabez Hughes.¹¹ The translations by Pope and Gray are, of course, widely available. The epic was translated in its entirety by William Lillington Lewis. His translation came out in 1767, under the

following title: The Thebaid of Statius, translated into English verse, with notes and observations; and a dissertation upon the whole by way of preface . . .; it was published again in 1773, in a "2d edition," having been "corrected."¹² Although Lewis seems to be otherwise unknown as an author,¹³ his translation was reprinted by Alexander Chalmers, and also by Robert Anderson, and is thus adequately accessible.¹⁴ Of the Achilleis there was made but one translation. This translation, which gives the work in its entirety, is by Sir Robert Howard--a familiar name to students of Restoration literature--and was published in 1660, as part of Howard's Poems, and in 1696, as part of his Poems on Several Occasions, which is really a reissue of the earlier volume. This translation has been neither well known nor readily available. In the words of one modern scholar, "neither students of classical poetry in translation nor historians of English literature seem to know of Howard's version . . ."¹⁵ This statement seems to be worded a bit too strongly, but true it certainly is that very few scholars are aware of the existence of this unique translation. Prior to the present edition, it seems never to have been re-edited or reprinted. It has been reproduced, along with the rest of Poems, in a "microbook," in The Library of English Literature, which is put out by Library Resources Inc., an Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, but this series of microform reproductions, or film cards, does not seem to be widely available or widely known.¹⁶ According to the most recent published listing, the translation has not been offered on microfilm by University Microfilms International, whose collection of reproduced British books from the period 1641-1700 which does seem to be relatively available and relatively well known, has over 30,000 titles.¹⁷

Thus, the only Renaissance or eighteenth-century translation of

one of our very small number of surviving Roman epics--indeed, of one of our even smaller number of really esteemed epics of this kind--has remained almost totally hidden in the protected obscurity of rare book rooms and private research libraries, its very existence virtually unnoted except in these repositories and in bulky bibliographies and the massive catalogues put out by the national libraries of England and America. When someone has wanted to read the Aeneis or the Pharsailia or the Thebais in an early translation, he has been able to start reading without much delay. The Achilleis, alone among the surviving Roman epics that have proven popular has not been adequately available in a version done during the great period of English literary translation. It was, in part, to correct this situation that the present edition was begun. And there are other reasons why--"sight unseen," it can be said--Sir Robert Howard's translation of the Achilleis merits attention. It seems to be not only the sole Renaissance or eighteenth-century translation of the Achilleis, but also the only poetic translation of it--in whole or in part. In fact, there seems to be only one other English translation of or from the poem--the one which appears in The Loeb Classical Library, a prose translation.¹⁸ Howard's translation is important not only for what it is, but also for when it was written. It was composed at a very important time in the history of English literature, when both the theory and practice of poetic translation and the theory and practice of poetry itself were undergoing important changes. As poets, abandoning the lawless versification and unnatural wit of the earlier seventeenth century, moved towards a more "Augustan" manner of poetic expression, they deliberated upon, and poetically essayed solutions to, the problems involved in translating the classics into English, and, ultimately, there came into general favor the method which

has rendered to enduringly popular the neo-classical poetic compositions belonging to that great generation of translations of which Pope's Iliad is the most magnificent and shining example.¹⁹ Sir Walter Scott credits Dryden with having been the first "to free translation from the fetters of verbal metaphrase, and exclude from it the license of paraphrase" and "manfully to claim and vindicate the freedom of a just translation."²⁰

It is an interesting question where in the process of development of Howard's Achilleis belongs. It was written after Cowley and Denham, and Godolphin and Waller had, with their liberated experiments, broken away from the tradition of metaphrastic translation, and before the first published translation of Dryden.²¹ Was Sir Robert, who, notwithstanding the mediocrity of most of his work, was undeniably a leading figure in several important literary developments of his age, at all a trend-setter in the area of poetic translation? The question is the more interesting in view of Sir Robert's early and very close association with Dryden, who, in fact, in his commendatory verses in Poems, praised both Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis and his accompanying translation of the fourth book of the Aeneis.²² Indeed, there exists evidence that suggests that Dryden himself read both translations before printing and made some minor alterations in them.²³ These two translations seem to be the only substantial translations that Sir Robert published, and hence any attempt to evaluate Sir Robert as a translator would have to be based to a very great extent upon them. Sir Robert's Achilleis is additionally interesting because Dryden, whose literary opinions are so important for an understanding of the literary history both of the Restoration and of the eighteenth century, held a disturbingly low opinion of the poetry written by the author of the original Achilleis--Statius. Right in his commendatory

verses to Poems, Dryden says that Statius "dress'd" Achilles "in too bold a look" and that Statius's "work" in the Achilleis "was lamely rough,

Each figure stiffe as if design'd in buffe [i.e., leather];
His colours laid so thick on every place,
As onely shew'd the paint, but hid the face";

and he says similar things elsewhere.²⁴ To Pope, however, whose opinions are, of course, also very important, and who is often said to have been in close agreement with Dryden with respect to the proper nature of poetry, Statius was, it seems, deserving of greater respect. Pope told Spence that, as a youth, he "liked . . . Statius of all the Latin poets, by much, next to Virgil"; not long after his twelfth birthday, he said, he wrote four books of an epic poem, on "Alcander, Prince of Rhodes," and in this poem, endeavoring "to collect all the beauties of the great epic writers," imitated the style of Statius; he later translated the first book of the Thebais; and Spence says that "to the last, he used to call . . . [Statius] the best of all the Latin epic poets after Virgil."²⁵ This is not to suggest that there was total disagreement between Dryden and Pope on the subject of Statius's poetry: a question concerning literary reputation is rarely to be answered so simply. It is to suggest that an examination of the literary reputation and influence of Statius in England in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century would make some very interesting revelations. In the history of literary taste, Statius's poetry was naturally subject to some fluctuation of opinion, for Statius, unlike Vergil, was not a purely classical, but, rather a Manneristic poet.²⁶ When a real study of Statius's reputation and influence in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century is written, Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis will demand no small amount of attention.²⁷ Finally--to offer one more reason why Sir Robert's translation deserves attention--because Sir Robert,

unlike Thomas Noble, Thomas Ross, and William Lillington Lewis, does have, apart from his role as a translator, an important place in the history of English literature, his literary output in general should be of interest at least to students of the period in which Sir Robert wrote. Some readers, undoubtedly, were unaware of Sir Robert's importance in literary history. Even many people who are interested in the literature of the Restoration seem to know, in this regard, only that Sir Robert was Dryden's brother-in-law, that he was co-author, with Dryden, of what is often called the first heroic play--The Indian Queen, that he subsequently had a controversy with Dryden over the question of using rime in the drama, and, perhaps, that he had at least one brother who wrote bad plays, and who, for them, was scoffed at and mocked by the more sophisticated wits of the day. There is a good deal more which should be known about Sir Robert, both by the reader of his translation of the Achilleis and by the reader of other Restoration literature. Accordingly, in Appendix C of this edition is provided a treatment of Sir Robert's life and literary works.

Notes
To
"The General Significance
Of

Sir Robert Howard's Translation of Statius's Achilleis"

¹Sir Paul Harvey, The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature (Oxford, England, 1959), p. 161.

²The dates for Roman authors are from The Oxford Classical Dictionary (second Edition), ed. by N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard (Oxford, England, 1970).

³The date used in this discussion for the beginning of Late Latin, and the other dates used with respect to the general development of the language and literature of Rome are not used by all scholars, but they are preferred by many. Even if the year 200 is taken as the beginning of Late Latin, as is done by some, the epic poetry of Claudian (ob. c. 404), the next candidate for inclusion within the scope of our consideration, still lies well within the period of Late Latin. Claudian is not only the next candidate, but also the last one who can be called "classical," so that even if we did not consider the distinction between Late Latin and the earlier periods, we could increase our list of Roman epic poets by only one poet at the most. It was but a short time after the death of Claudian that Rome was sacked by Alaric and the Visigoths (410).

⁴This is quoted (or, perhaps, misquoted) by memory from a forgotten source. Actually, the Punica is not so boring as it is often made out to be.

⁵It seems desirable to emphasize a few things here "just in case." The present discussion is to be understood as dealing only with published translations into English. Also, with one exception, which is plainly indicated as being in prose, all the translations to which any specific reference is made, are, or, at least, seem to be, in verse. The discussion does, however, sometimes refer to the nonexistence of a prose translation, and sometimes goes beyond the bounds of the Renaissance and the eighteenth century (the sentence to which this note is appended exemplifies both kinds of deviation). All of these things seem fairly clear within the discussion itself. Something that is not clear there is this: the statements concerning the extent to which the different Roman epics--except those of Statius--were translated, are based almost exclusively upon a consultation of a relatively small number of common reference works, and not upon anything like a large-scale search of available sources of information.

Let us now turn to a more purely bibliographical problem. In Lewis William Bruggemann's A View of the English Editions, Translations and Illustrations of the Ancient Greek and Latin Authors . . . (New York, [1965?--originally pub. in 1797]), one finds, in Vol. I, on p. 669, the following:

Although the story of Media, says Mr. Warton in his History of English Poetry. Vol. III. Sect. XL. p. 409, existed in Guido de Columna, and perhaps other modern writers in Latin, yet we seem to have had a version of Valerius Flaccus in 1565. For in that year, I know not if in verse or prose, was entered to Purfoote [in the Stationers' register],
 "The story of Iason, how he gotte the golden flece,
 "and howe he did begyle Media (Medea,) oute of Laten into
 "Englishe by Nicholas Whyte." Of the translator Whyte, I know nothing more.

The editor has seen no reference to Whyte's translation except in Bruggemann's View, in A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D., ed. by Edward Arber (New York, 1950) (Vol. I, p. 134), and in Henrietta R. Palmer's List of English editions and Translation of Greek and Latin Classics Printed Before 1641 (Folcroft Library Editions, 1970 - originally pub., in London, in 1911) (p. 109). With respect to Whyte's translation; both Bruggemann and Palmer probably relied solely upon the information in the Stationers' registers. The translation is, apparently, not extant.

⁶It is possible, however, that Noble's translation was reprinted in his Poems (1821). Neither the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books (Vol. 172, col. 495) nor The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints (Vol. 420, p. 385) gives the contents of this book.

The full title of Blackheath . . . is Blackheath. A poem in five cantos. Lumena, or the ancient British Battle; and various other poems, including a translation of the first book of the Argonautica of C. Valerius Flaccus.

⁷The translation appears on p. 486 of Vol. VIII (in the issue for September 1738).

⁸Ross's titles are quoted from J.D. Duff's Silius Italicus: Punica (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1961), Vol. I, p. xviii, where the titles are quoted by Duff.

⁹The editor has not verified the existence of all of the partial translations which are reported by others, and now by himself, to have been written and published. Nor has he resolved all of the problems that have arisen in comparing the information in one bibliography or catalogue with that in another. The facts in the following list and in the list for Statius should, however, be at least generally correct. Each unparenthesized underlined title in these lists and in the second list for Lucan (giving the major translation) is from either the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books or The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints, and the date given for any title is that of the first publication. "Chalmers' collection" is Alexander Chalmers' The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper; Including the Series Edited, with Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, by Dr. Samuel Johnson: And the most Approved Translations. The Additional Lives by Alexander Chalmers, F.S.A. In Twenty-one Volumes (London, 1810), recently republished in this country by Greenwood Press (Westport, Connecticut, 1969), by the Johnson Reprint Corporation (New York, 1970-1971), and by Adler's Foreign Books, Inc.

(New York, 1971). Here is the list:

Marlowe--Lucan's first Booke, translated line for line . . . by C. Marlow. 1600. (Available in The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, ed. by Fredson Bowers [Cambridge, England, 1973 & 1981], Vol. II.)

Beaumont--in Bosworth-field: with a taste of the variety of other poems, left by Sir J. Beaumont . . . Set forth by his sonne Sir John Beaumont, Baronet. 1929. (Selections.) (There seems to be no translation from Lucan among Beaumont's poems in Chalmers' collection, Vol. VI.)

Shadwell--in The Tenth Satyr of Juvenal, English and Latin. The English [in verse] by T. Shadwell. With illustrations upon it. 1687. ("Cato to Labienus, Lucan. Lib. 9.") (Available [with the Latin] in The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. by Montague Summers [London, 1927], Vol. V.)

Ayloff--According to Bruggemann (Vol. I, p. 664), Ayloff's translation appeared in "the Poems of Affairs of State. The sixth Edition. London 1710. 8. p. 172 and 173." ("Cato's Answer to Labienus when he advis'd him to go and consult the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon; translated out of the 9th Book of Lucan . . ." [ibid.].)

Jabez Hughes--in The Rape of Proserpine, from Claudian. In three books. With the story of Sextus and Erichtho, from Lucan's Pharsalia, book 6. Translated by Mr. Jabez Hughes. 1714. There may be additional material from Lucan in Miscellanies in verse and prose. 1737. (According to Bruggemann [Vol. I, p. 665], there are under this title "Translations from Lucan.")

John Hughes--in Poems on several occasions. With some select essays in prose . . . By John Hughes, esq; adorned with sculptures . . . 1735. ("The Tenth Book of Lucan's Pharsalia. Translated.") (Available in Chalmers' collection, Vol. X.)

Tickell--in The Works of the most celebrated Minor Poets, etc., Vol. II. 1749. ("Part of the Fourth Book of Lucan.") (Available in Chalmers' collection, Vol. XI.)

Lord Lyttelton--in The Works of George Lord Lyttelton . . . Published by G.E. Ayscough, Esq. The second edition, with additions. 1775. ("Cato's Speech to Labienus, in the Ninth Book of Lucan.") (Available in Chalmers' collection, Vol. XIV.)

¹⁰The "Life of Rowe," in The Lives of the English Poets--p. 72 of Vol. 10 of The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.: A New Edition, in Twelve Volumes. With An Essay on His Life and Genius, by Arthur Murphy, Esq. (London, 1796).

Here is the list for the major translations of Lucan's epic:

Gorges--Lucan's Pharsalia: containing the Civill Warres betweene Caesar and Pompey . . . Translated into English verse by Sir A. Gorges. . . . Whereunto is annexed the life of the Authour, collected out of divers Authors. 1614. (Not available in Helen Estabrook Sandison's The Poems

of Sir Arthur Gorges [Oxford, England, 1953].)

May--Lucan's Pharsalia: or the Civil Warres of Rome, betweene Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. The three first Bookes. Translated into English by T[homas] M[ay.] 1626. Lucan's Pharsalia . . . The whole ten Books Englished by T. May. 1627. In 1630 appeared A continvation of of Lucan's historicall poem till the death of Ivlivs Caesar by T M., also by May, and in seven books.

Rowe--A translation of the ninth book appeared in Poetical Miscellanies: the sixth part. Containing a collection of original poems, with several new translations. By the most eminent hands. 1709. This translation was published considerably earlier than the translation of the whole epic: Lucan's Pharsalia: translated into English verse by N. Rowe. 1718. (Available in Chalmers' collection, Vol. XX.)

¹¹Stephens--An Essay upon Statius; or, the five first books of P. Papinius Statius, his Thebais. Done into English verse by T. S(tephens) with the poetick history illustrated. 1648.

Pope--in Miscellaneous Poems and Translations. By Several Hands. 1712. ("The First Book of Statius his Thebais"--written when Pope was only fourteen years old.) (Available in Chalmers' collection, Vol. XII [with the Latin--Pope himself having had the Latin text printed in the editions from 1736 on] and in Pastoral Poetry and an Essay on Criticism, ed. by E. Audra and Aubrey Williams [Vol. I of The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope]) [London, 1961].

Harte--in Poems on several occasions. 1727. ("The Army of Adrastus, and his Allies, Marching from Argos to the Siege of Thebes. From the 4th Thebiad [sic] of Statius." and "The Sixth Thebaid of Statius. Translated into English; with Notes.") (Available in Chalmers' collection, Vol. XVI.)

Pitt--According to Bruggemann (Vol. I, p. 675), Pitt's translation appeared "in his Poems, and in Mr. Pope's Miscellany Poems. The sixth Edition. London 1732. 12. Vol. II. p. 145-153." ("Part of the Second Book of Statius.") (Available in Chalmers' collection, Vol. XII.)

Gray--in The Poems of Mr. Gray. To which are prefixed memoirs of his life and writing including his correspondence by W. Mason. 1775. (Thebaid VI, 704-724. This translation was written in 1736.) Two more translations from Statius were first published in the following two centuries, one in The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and William Mason, to which are added some Letters addressed by Gray to the Rev. James Brown, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. With notes and illustrations by . . . J. Mitford, 1853 (Thebaid VI, 646-688--This too was written in 1736.), the other in The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton, 1734-1771 . . . Edited with introduction, notes and index by Paget Toynbee . . . With portraits and facsimiles, 1915 (Thebaid IX, 319-326--Although the date of it is unknown, this translation may be Gray's earliest extant English poem.). (All three pieces are available in The Complete Poems of Thomas Gray: English, Latin and Greek, ed. by H.W. Starr and J.R. Hendrickson [Oxford, England, 1972].)

Hughes--in Miscellanies in verse and prose. 1737. ("Translations

from Statius," according to Bruggemann [Vol. I, p. 675] and to the Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum . . . Scriptores Latini, by Wilhelm Engelmann and E. Preuss [Leipzig, 1882] [p. 597].)

¹²The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 565, p. 438. The titles of the books by Noble, Ross, and Lewis are each given according to either the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books or The National Union Catalog. The title of Noble's book is shortened in the text but given in full (as reported) in the notes.

¹³Indeed, information of any kind on the man cannot readily be found.

¹⁴Alexander Chalmers--The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper; Including . . . the most Approved Translations. . . --a previous note gives the full title and other important information. Robert Anderson--The Works of the British Poets. With Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, by Robert Anderson . . ., 14 vols. (London, 1795-[1807?]).

Besides Lewis's translation, there seems to be only one other poetic translation of the whole Thebais: J.B. Poynton's translation, which came out in 1971 and 1975, and which, mirabile dictu, is in Spenserian stanzas. (P. Papinius Statius: Thebais I-III [Oxford, England, 1971], P. Papinius Statius: Thebaid IV-VIII [Oxford, England, 1975], P. Papinius Statius: Thebaid IX-XII [Oxford, England, 1975].)

¹⁵H.J. Oliver, Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography (Durham, North Carolina, 1963), p. 32.

¹⁶In A Prospectus to . . . The Library of English Literature: Part One: Beginnings to 1660, the location of Library Resources Inc. is given as "301 East Erie Street. Chicago, Illinois 60611." In The Library of English Literature, Sir Robert's Poems has the following number: LEL 12196.

¹⁷Early English Books: 1641-1700: Selected from Donald Wing's Short-Title Catalogue: A Cross Index to Units 1-40 of the Microfilm Collection, Reels 1-1220 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1982). A relatively large number of works by Howard are offered in the collection.

¹⁸In Vol. II of J.H. Mozley's Statius: With an English Translation (London, 1967, 1969).

¹⁹The term "Augustan" is admittedly vague and problematic, and for a long time it was carelessly used both by amateur critics and by professional scholars. Nevertheless, it remains a useful term in responsible criticism - for referring in an economical and general way to the set of literary characteristics which is most commonly associated with the early eighteenth century in general and with Alexander Pope in particular. It is in this utilitarian spirit, and with an awareness of the problems involved, that the term is used in the present edition; and the same sort of thing can be said of the terms "neo-classical," "Renaissance," and "metaphysical."

²⁰The Life of John Dryden, ed. by Bernard Kreissman (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1963), pp. 453 and 434-435. Scott presents what seems to be the usual picture of the history of poetic translation during the Renaissance and the eighteenth century:

In this sphere also [that of translation], it was the fate of Dryden to become a leading example to future poets, and to abrogate laws which had been generally received, although they imposed such trammels on translation as to render it hardly intelligible. Before his distinguished success showed that the object of the translator should be to transfuse the spirit, not to copy servilely the very words of his original, it had been required, that line should be rendered for line, and, almost, word for word. It may easily be imagined, that, by the constraint and inversion which this cramping statute required, a poem was barely rendered not Latin, instead of being made English, and that, to the mere native reader, as the connoisseur complains in "The Critic," the interpreter was sometimes "the harder to be understood of the two." Those who seek examples, may find them in the jaw-breaking translations of Ben Jonson and Holyday. Cowley and Denham had indeed rebelled against this mode of translation, which conveys pretty much the same idea of an original, as an imitator would do of the gait of another, by studiously stepping after him into every trace which his feet had left upon the sand. But they assumed a license equally faulty, and claimed the privilege of writing what might be more properly termed imitations, than version of the classics. It was reserved to Dryden manfully to claim and vindicate the freedom of a just translation; more limited than paraphrase, but free from the metaphrastic severity exacted from his predecessors.

--pp. 434-435.

(See Dryden's "Preface" to Ovid's Epistles, Translated by Several Hands, [specifically] pp. 114-119 in The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680 [Vol. I of "The California Dryden"], ed. by Edward Noles Hooker, H.T. Swedenberg, Jr., et al. [Berkeley, California, 1956], and his dedicatory epistle to his translation of the Aeneis, [specifically] pp. 1053-1055 in Vol. III of The Poems of John Dryden, ed. by James Kinsley [Oxford, England, 1958].) In "The Theory of Translation in the Eighteenth Century" (Neophilologus 6 [1921], 241-254), John W. Draper agrees that Dryden led the way for the eighteenth century, but he presents a different picture of the theory which prevailed before Dryden:

In the Seventeenth Century, the object of translation was to enrich the vernacular rather than to give an accurate idea of the original. Two types contended for supremacy, imitation and paraphrase. Chapman claimed accuracy for his Homer, but he was obliged to admit his periphrases and excuse them with the examples of Laurentius Valla and Eobanus Hessius. Stanyhurst, in his Virgil, was chiefly anxious to translate with a different word from Phasor's whenever the sense would allow. Roger Ascham's English pride, when he declared that Oxford men could correct even Cicero's Latinity, does not point to a very jealous regard of the original in translation. After the Restoration, Roscommon roundly declared that it was his "chief care . . . to Write intelligibly, and where the Latin was Obscure" to add "a Line or two to explain it"; and he delivered himself of various obiter dicta that recommend a very free use of the original. There is every evidence, moreover, that he was read, marked, learned and inwardly

digested, by the following century of translators. The magisterial Dennis admitted that he had improved upon Ovid to make the story of Byblis "moving" and "credible." The chief, however, of all single influences was undoubtedly Dryden. Roscommon and Dennis had confused "translation" and "imitation"; Dryden distinguished three degrees of fidelity to the text: "metaphrase" which was literal, according to the standards of the day, "paraphrase", which allowed considerable freedom; and "imitation", which followed only the general plan of the original. He intended his Aeneis to be between metaphrase and paraphrase. He "endeavored to make Virgil speak such English as he would himself have spoken, if he had been born in England and in this present age." . . . His theory of translation was commonly accepted; Pope's commendation set the example; and prefaces are full of his praise. . . . Tytler quotes him with respect and approbation, and truly remarks that the "followers of Dryden saw nothing so much to be emulated in his translations as the ease of his poetry: Fidelity was a secondary object." Such was the tradition in theory and in practice that the Eighteenth Century inherited; and, although some authors had the hardihood to speak of "laws of translation", the canon seems rather vague except for one cardinal principle: translations exist primarily to improve the vernacular language and to enrich its literature; and to this end, they should be freely adapted to the new conditions very much as a Mediaeval romance of one century might be adapted in a later recension.

--pp. 243-244.

See the next note.

²¹Cowley--"translations" of Pindar in Poems, (pub. in) 1656; Denham--The Destruction of Troy, An Essay upon the Second Book of Virgils Aeneis, (pub. in) 1656; (Sidney) Godolphin and Waller--The Passion of Dido for Aeneas As it Is Incomparably Expressed in the Fourth Book of Virgil, (pub. in) 1658 (Godolphin's part had been written at least fifteen years earlier, for he was killed, during a military operation, in 1643.); Dryden--contributions to Ovid's Epistles, Translated by Several Hands, (pub. in) 1680. Denham's translation is particularly interesting. According to Theodore Howard Banks, in his edition of Denham's poetry, it exists not only in the printed form, but also in a manuscript, which contains Books II-VI; which Banks thinks to have been written in 1636; and "which differs materially from the printed fragments" (i.e., the part of Book II offered by The Destruction of Troy and the part of Book IV published in 1668). Before discussing how the two versions are different with respect to the Latin, Banks talks generally about the history of translation in Renaissance England: "In the seventeenth century a very large number of translations from the classics were produced. . . . In general . . . we may say that the earlier attempts were largely word for word, and line for line. Later two other methods arose: more or less free paraphrase, and what was called 'imitation.'" Banks briefly treats of Denham's theory, saying that he was an "imitator" in theory but really a paraphraser in practice, and then gives us the following:

Denham's translation of Virgil clearly illustrates this change toward greater freedom, his 1636 version being considerably closer to the Latin than the revised form. . . . I might give many illustrations of this, but perhaps one will suffice, since it concerns the famous line,

. . . timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

In the . . . MS. this reads:

The Grecians most when bringing gifts I feare.

In The Destruction of Troy:

Their swords less danger carry than their gifts.

l. 48.

That Denham here is ready to sacrifice the full force of so famous a phrase for the sake of greater neatness and antithesis shows unmistakably that no render Virgil literally is no longer so important as to render him attractively.

The case of Denham's translation seems to be an example also of the fact that "the reform of our Numbers" and the change in the approach to translation took place together. During revision, Denham seems to have made his translation more "Augustan" not only in its relationship to the Latin, but also in its versification. Banks says that the MS. "is in his earliest manner, abounding in run-on couplets, full stops within the line, and other irregularities. . . . In the printed form . . . the verse is somewhat tightened and polished, indicating later work." (The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham, Second Edition [1969], pp. 41-44.)

²²Dryden's commendatory verses are entitled "To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard." They appear on pp. 17-20 of The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680. The lines in which Dryden talks about the two translations, are quoted later in the present edition, in "Sir Robert Howard's Translation of the Achilleis as a Work of Scholarship and of Literature."

²³See the "Textual Introduction" in the present edition.

²⁴"To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard," ll. 69-76, on p. 19 of The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680; "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence" (1677--prefixed to The State of Innocence: an Opera), (specifically) p. 201 of Vol. I of John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy And Other Critical Essays, ed. by George Watson (London, 1962); the dedication of The Spanish Friar (1681), (specifically) pp. 275-277 of Vol. I of John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy . . .; "A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" (1693--prefixed to The Satires of . . . Juvenalis, Translated . . .), (specifically) p. 82 of Vol. II of John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy . . .; "Preface of the Translator, With a Parallel of Poetry and Painting" (1695--prefixed to De arte graphica . . . by C.A. du Fresnoy, Translated . . .),

(specifically) pp. 204-205 and p. 207 of Vol. II of John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy . . .; the dedication of the translation of the Aeneis, in The Works of Virgil, Translated . . . (1697), (specifically) pp. 224-225 and 242-244 of Vol. II of John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy . . .; to which might be added "Defence of the Epilogue: Or an Essay on the Dramatic Poetry of the Last Age" (1672--attached to The Conquest of Granada), (specifically) p. 171 of Vol. I of John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy The references in the third, the fourth, and the fifth of these pieces are noted on pp. 534-535 of The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1693-1696 (Vol. IV of "The California Dryden.") (Berkeley, California, 1974). In the first of the two passages in the " . . . Parallel of Poetry and Painting," Dryden quotes the opening of the Achilleis:

But . . . [Statius] was always in a foam at his setting out, even before the motion of the race had warmed him. The soberness of Virgil, whom he read it seems to little purpose, might have shown him the difference betwixt

arma virumque cano

and

magnanimum Aeacidem, formidatamque tonanti progeniem.

But Virgil knew how to rise by degrees in his expressions: Statius was in his towering heights at the first stretch of his pinions.

Dryden's references to Statius are not, however, invariably negative.

²⁵Anecdotes, Observations and Characters of Books and Men Collected from the Conversation of Mr. Pope and Other Eminent Persons of his Time by the Reverend Joseph Spence As First Published from the Original Papers with Notes and a Life of the Author by Samuel Weller Singer and Now Newly Introduced by Bonamy Dobree (Carbondale, Illinois, 1964), pp. 166-168. Spence took Pope's opinion of Statius as one of "some few marks . . . of a mistaken taste in Mr. Pope, from that early and unguided reading of his." The other such marks were Pope's admiration for Politian's "Ambra" and "perhaps a little more regard for Ovid's Metamorphosis than he might otherwise have had." (Pp. 166-167.)

In Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors Living and Deceased from the Earliest Accounts to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century . . . (Philadelphia, 1897-1898), it is implied that Pope called Statius "The best of the Latin poets after Virgil" (Vol. I, p. 1094)--which is considerably different from calling him "the best of all the Latin epic poets after Virgil." Allibone may or may not have misquoted Spence.

²⁶See the "Introduction" to David Vessey's Statius and the Thebaid (Cambridge, England, 1973), particularly the section "Mannerism and classicism," pp. 7-14. The reader can gain some understanding of the material in this section--of the important distinction between classical and Manneristic literature--from the following excerpts:

. . . for epic writers in the Flavian era, Virgil was regarded as master. It was folly to dispute his pre-eminence. There are dangers in such an attitude. The recognition of norms of artistic perfection will in itself give rise to imitative tendencies, and so to the formalisation of criteria in themselves good but easily transmuted into convention. In such a way mannerism comes to birth in literature. . . . Mannerism may, perhaps, be best described as a disease of classicism. Ancient theories of imitatio in themselves lent encouragement to the excesses of mannerism. . . . It is unfortunately true that many imitators exaggerate and plagiarise the worst faults in their models rather than their best points. . . .

. . . Quintilian has, by depicting the results of wrongly applied imitatio, given an excellent summary of the essential traits of mannerism. Mannered writers are fully aware, indeed too conscious, of the greatness of their classical predecessors; but they are unable to distinguish temperance from excess. They place ars above ingenium; they change virtues into vices and excellencies of style into specious artifices. Curtius has succinctly expressed the truth: 'The mannerist wants to say things not normally but abnormally. He prefers the artificial and affected to the natural. He wants to surprise, to astonish, to dazzle. While there is only one way of saying things naturally, there are a thousand forms of unnaturalness.' This cult of the unnatural is intimately linked with the hypothesis of imitation. Felicities of style are 'piled on indiscriminately and meaninglessly'; the mannerist consistently 'overruns the classic norm'. Curtius has seen that this characteristic can be manifested in 'linguistic form' and in 'intellectual content,' adding that 'in its florescence it combines both'. . . . Statius must be recognised as a mannerist poet, in the light of the contemporary discussion of Quintilian and the modern explorations of E.R. Curtius.

The seeds of mannerism in Latin literature were sown by Ovid. They germinated with Seneca and Lucan and blossomed with Statius. . . .

. . . Statius was a frequent imitator of the tragedies of Seneca, and an avowed devotee of Lucan. Both were important figures in the history of Roman mannerism. It is true that Statius presented himself as a lowly disciple of the magnus magister, Virgil. Despite this, it has been observed that ' . . . his work is not at all Virgilian'. We may go further: in many respects, Statius, like Lucan, is not merely post-Virgilian but anti-Virgilian--although not, perhaps, by deliberate intention. Virgil cannot be called a manuscript. Ovid has been, and both Lucan and Statius owed a profound debt to Ovid. With this, we may contrast Valerius Flaccus: although he made some use of Lucan and although the influence of Ovid can be clearly detected in his epic, his utilisation of them is not so considerable as that of Statius. Valerius

is a 'standard classiciser', far more aptly labelled a Virgilian poet than Statius. To be sure, some mannered traits can be found in the Argonautica: no man can live entirely outside his own age. In general the epithet is not appropriate to his work. It is not improper to say that Statius attempted to fuse two opposing literary traditions: Virgil on the one hand, Ovid, Seneca and Lucan on the other. The result is a mannered epic, in total contrast to the classicism of Quintilian, Valerius and, to a lesser extent, Silius. It should not be forgotten that, in the Institutio, Quintilian was critical of Ovid, antagonistic to Seneca and tepid towards Lucan, whereas Valerius is mentioned with approval.

(Pp. 8-12.)

English literature, of course, went through a Manneristic period, and a number of the characteristics given above are true not only of Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, and Statius, but also of Donne, Cowley, and other members and adherents of the so-called Metaphysical School. Except for the name "Statius," a statement about Statius's reputation in Chalmers' General Biographical Dictionary (1812-1817) sounds as if it had been taken right out of an eighteenth-century "life" of one of the Metaphysical poets: "Statius, by the general verdict of modern critics, is ranked among those authors, who, by their forced conceits, violent metaphors, swelling epithets, and want of just decorum, have a strong tendency to dazzle, and to mislead inexperienced minds, and tastes unformed, from the true relish of possibility, propriety, simplicity, and nature." (The General Biographical Dictionary: Containing an Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Most Eminent Persons in Every Nation; Particularly the British and Irish; From the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time. A New Edition, Revised and Enlarged by Alexander Chalmers, F.S.A. [London], Vol. XXVIII, p. 347.) Dryden, who himself had succumbed to the temptation of their extravagant and affected style, was, of course, the greatest leader of the great reaction against the Metaphysicals, whose once highly fashionable compositions, as is well known, remained more than just out of fashion for a long, long time after The Age of Dryden. Some of the criticisms which Dryden makes with respect to Statius are applicable also to the Metaphysicals, and it is not unlikely that in his mind the Roman Mannerists were associated with the English, although no one could ever actually mistake the style of one group for that of the other. In the dedication of The Spanish Friar (cited in a previous note), Dryden implies a stylistic similarity between the poetry of Statius and that in "Sylvester's Dubartas." At least, it is clear that he made a distinction between the poetry of Statius and other Roman Mannerists and that of more purely classical authors. He sometimes--as in the instance just cited--contrasts Statius, unfavorably, with Virgil, and he expresses strongly negative opinions also of Ovid, Seneca, and Lucan, the last of whom he sometimes criticizes in the same place in which he criticizes Statius, and for the same or similar reasons. It is significant that two of the three authors involved in Spence's brief discussion concerning "a mistaken taste in Mr. Pope" are Ovid and Statius. The third author is Politian (1454-1494):

. . . before the Ambra, in his Politian, . . . Pope had added, "Optimum hoc, ut puto, Politiani opus est." He still retained the same opinion of it; though the Ambra seems to be more in Claudian's manner, than some other pieces by the same author, and particularly than his Nutritia: and, I should imagine, is not so good as that.

(Spence's Anecdotes, pp. 165-166.)

Spence questions Pope's admiration of the "Ambra" largely, at least, because it is "more in Claudian's manner, than some other pieces by the same author, and particularly than his Nutritia." The sudden reference to Claudian seems strange--one gets the impression that, in Spence's day, Claudian's poetry was commonly believed to be bad poetry. (Dryden, in his dedication to Examen Poeticum, had called Claudian "a faulty poet, and living in a barbarous age.") Spence seems to be using Claudian as a negative touchstone. The subsequent references to Statius and Ovid's Metamorphoses help to explain exactly what was on Spence's mind. Like Ovid and Statius, Claudian was a Mannerist. (See p. 13 of Statius and the Thebaid). He was, in fact, one of the extremely small number of Roman poets who were influenced by Statius. (His De Raptu Proserpinae is supposed to be greatly indebted to the Achilleis. [See pp. 18-19 of O.A.W. Dilke's Statius: Achilleid (Cambridge, England, 1954).] The stated objects of Pope's "mistaken taste" thus seem to be all of a piece. It seems that by "a mistaken taste in Mr. Pope," Spence means a taste for what we now call "Mannerism." He probably thought that Pope's taste should be more exclusively classical or "Augustan." He assures us, however, that Pope's opinion of the "Ambra," his opinion of Statius, and his opinion of Ovid's Metamorphoses "are the only instances . . . [he] can recollect" of "a mistaken taste in . . . Pope." This assurance makes one think all the more that for Spence's "mistaken" one could substitute "Manneristic." And one cannot forget that Pope, the most Augustan of English neo-classical poets, was interested enough in the poetry of Donne to "versify" two of his satires. According to Spence, Pope had a high opinion of Donne's poetry. But, of course, Donne's two satires were Augustanized by Pope in the process of being "versified," and it is important to note that Pope did the same sort of thing when he translated the first book of Statius's Thebais. According to The Twickenham Edition (Vol. I),

the letters [[to Cromwell]] . . . make clear . . . that he was determined not to follow his author into what he considered faults of decorum. Thus he refused to the last to preserve ll. 408-81 of Statius, which he considered "an odd account of an Unmannerly Battle at fistycuffs between the two Princes [Polynices and Tydeus] on a Very slight Occasion, & at a time when one would think the fatigue of their Journey in so Tempestuous a Night might have renderd 'em Very unfit for such a Scuffle." When Statius emphasizes that the prize for which the brothers fight is not a realm of wealth and great palaces, but only a poor kingdom, Pope translates a portion of the passage with remarkable brilliance. In order to safeguard, however, what he considered to be the dignity of an epic

poem, he objects to what he calls Statius's "Mean Opinion" of the prize, and therefore omits the lines which contain one of the major ironies of the conflict:

sed nuda potestas
armavit fratres, pugna est de paupere regno.

He refuses to follow Statius into what he considers instances of bathos, or of extravagant hyperbole and geographical error and tells Cromwell that "there are numberless particulars blameworthy in our Author, which I have try'd to soften."

(Alexander Pope: Pastoral Poetry
and an Essay on Criticism,
pp. 351-352.)

Statius was not, however, without genuine appeal for the eighteenth century. J. Wight Duff, in his Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age, (London, 1935) writes as follows:

The Silvae, in particular, have the elegance of the eighteenth century. They imply a cultured leisure fertile in refined improvisations. The elegance bears a resemblance to that of Pope and Thomson, and the scenery to that of Watteau's Fetes Champetres. Some of the missives have a tone that would have suited the boudoir of a French marquise or the library of a noble patron of letters in the time of Queen Anne or the early Georges. Nor is it surprising that the Thebaid should have made an appeal, if only a transient one, to Gray, whose works contain a fragment of his early translation into heroic couplets of part of its sixth book. (P. 493.)

²⁷Significant work has been done on the reputation and influence of Statius in England in the Middle Ages. See The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer, by Boyd Ashby Wise (Baltimore, 1911--a published dissertation) and The Mediaeval Achilleid of Statius, ed. by Paul M. Clogan (Leyden, 1968). Wise begins his "Conclusion" thus: "With the exception of Ovid, and possibly of Boethius, Statius was Chaucer's most familiar Latin author. The nature and extent of his borrowings from the Thebaid show an intimate acquaintance extending over almost the entire period of his literary activity." (P. 141.) Concerning Statius's other epic, Wise says, earlier in his study, the following: "There is no reason why Chaucer should not have known the Achilleis, since it was read and admired in the Middle Ages. . . . He refers to it in the House of Fame, where he names the works that in his estimation give Statius a right to fame. . . . But I have been unable to find an indication that Chaucer took anything from it." (P. 137.) The main significance of The Mediaeval Achilleid of Statius can, perhaps, be adequately known from the following passage from the "Introduction":

This edition . . . presents the text and glosses of Statius' Achilleid in a form in which they were carefully read and studied in the Middle Ages: as one of the six elementary Latin texts in the popular medieval schoolbook, Liber

Catonianus. Used in a curriculum of instruction in grammar which in the Middle Ages comprised language and literature, the Liber Catonianus consists of six selections drawn from pagan and Christian writers without distinguishing between them. For the Middle Ages, each selection in this schoolbook . . . was an authority or auctor. The first three selections are elementary and easy texts for a student of Latin. (1) The Distichs of Cato (3rd cent.) . . . (2) Theodulus' tenth century Eclogues . . . (3) Avianus' fourth century animal Fables . . . After these moral and didactic selections come the not so moral (4) Elegies of Maximianus, early sixth century Roman poet whose elegies fascinated students in the Middle Ages. There follow two incomplete epics: (5) Statius' Achilleid . . . and (6) Rape of Proserpine of Claudian . . . the last great poet of the pagan Roman world.

There is no chronological order or arrangement by subject matter in these selections. All are of the same value; all are timeless. Yet this is not a casual selection of auctores. It had evolved from a nucleus of Cato and Avianus in the ninth century to the standard six authors in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries with very little change except that sometimes Claudian preceded Statius. With the passage of time the list of auctores increases, and during the Renaissance this schoolbook developed into an auctores octo.

(Pp. 2-3.)

Of the eleven manuscripts collated for the edition, four are indicated by the editor as having been "written in England," and one is indicated as "probably written" there. The text of the Achilleis in this edition is divided in the same way as the text in the present edition.

Textual Introduction

Sir Robert Howard's translation of the Achilleis was first published in 1660, in his Poems (National Union Catalog NH 0555992, Wing H3003, Macdonald 4a).¹ The exact date of publication can be said to have been between April 16, when Poems was entered in the Stationers' Register,² and the end of June, in which month the volume was advertised for sale in Mercurius Publicus.³ When the translation was written cannot be stated with similar specificity, but we have positive evidence which enables one to say that it could not have existed in its present form before 1658.

At the beginning of the "Annotations of the Third Book of Staius his Achilleis" (p. 231--R4^r--in Poems), Sir Robert says, "Staius, in the beginning of his third Book, (according to the Paris-Edition, for that of Amsterdam maketh but two) representeth Greece preparing war against Troy, and declaring their affection to it." This sentence seems to indicate that Sir Robert, whose translation is divided into five books, used as the basis of his translation "the Paris-Edition." At the least, it tells us that Sir Robert, at some time before he wrote the annotations to his third book, had seen and looked through the two editions which he there mentions. The dates of these editions can, therefore, help us to decide upon a date for the writing of Sir Robert's translation. Sir Robert does not mention either of the two editions, or similarly mention any other edition, at any other point in his translation.⁴ The way in which he refers to the two editions implies that they were well-known editions. One would think that they were probably the most recent editions of Staius's works or of the Achilleis. The field of possibilities within which Sir Robert stood, as it were, when he so confidently mentioned "the Paris-Edition" and "that of Amsterdam," can be shown by a list of the editions of Staius

which were published in Paris or Amsterdam between 1600 and 1660:

- 1) 1600--Paris--Papinii Svrclii Statii Opera Qvae Extant. Placidi Lactantii in Thebaida et Achilleida Commentarivs. Ex Bibliotheca Fr. Pithoei. I.C. Collatis MSS, veteribusque exemplaribus, recensuit; partim edidit, Fr. Tiliobroga. Adiectis Variarum Lectionum obseruationibus, indiceque vberimo.--in which the Achilleis is divided into five books.
- 2) 1601--Paris--Papinii Surculi Statii Achilleis. F. Morelli . . . scholia ad eam.--in which the Achilleis seems to be divided into two books.
- 3) 1618--Paris--Opera, cum obseruationibus ac cum commentariis tam veterum quam recentiorum interpretum. Emericvs Crvcevs recensvit, et nouo commentario Statij Syluas illustravit. Cum indicibus locvpletissimis.
- 4) 1624--Amsterdam--Pvb. Papinivs Stativs, denuo ac serio emendatus.--in which the Achilleis is divided into two books.
- 5) 1630--Amsterdam--Pvb. Papinvs [sic] Stativs, Denuo ac serio emendatus.--in which the Achilleis is divided into two books.
- 6) 1637--Paris--Statii Achilleis cum commentariis et scholiis.
- 7) 1637--Paris--P. Statii Papinii Opera, qvae extant.
- 8) 1640--Amsterdam--P. Pap. Statii Opp. poetica omnia.
- 9) 1653--Amsterdam--P. Papinii Statii Opera ex recensione et cum notis I. Frederici Gronovii.--in which the Achilleis is divided into two books.
- 10) 1658--Paris--P. Statii Papinii. Thebaidos Libri Dvodecim. [Silvarum libri V. Achilleidos libri V.] Cvm Notis Francisci Guieti Andini. Io. Peyraredi nob. Aquitani, & aliorum. Opera ac studio Michaelis de Marolles Abbatis de Villelloin.--in which the Achilleis is divided into five books.

The last two of these editions were not merely the latest two

editions of Statius published in Paris or Amsterdam before 1660, but also the latest two editions of Statius published anywhere before that date. They were, then, the most recent editions of Statius when Sir Robert published his translation. Moreover, they were both major new editions of Statius, and would have been well known among those interested in classical literature. The first of the two, which seems to have been the first Elzevir edition of Statius, printed the notes of Gronovius for the first time, and even in the modern age has been considered one of the most important editions of Statius ever published.⁵ The second is a very elaborate scholarly production, having--among other things--a French translation and both French and Latin notes for each of Statius's three works. And, as can be seen in the list, the edition published in Paris has the Achilleis divided into five books, while to quote Sir Robert, "that of Amsterdam maketh but two." Thus, the Amsterdam edition of 1653 and the Paris edition of 1658 seem to be the two editions to which Sir Robert refers in his annotations. They are divided in the necessary manner, and Sir Robert would have been able to be confident that he could refer to them simply as "the Paris-Edition" and "that of Amsterdam" without running the risk of not being precisely understood.⁶

That the Amsterdam edition of 1653 and the Paris edition of 1658 are the two editions to which Sir Robert refers, has been corroborated by close comparative study of his translation and of the texts of the Achilleis presented by the two editions. It seems rather certain that Sir Robert not only refers to the two editions, but actually used both of them in writing his translation. As can be seen in "Appendix B," which lists "The Variants Found in a Collation of a Copy of the Latin Text of 1658 and a Copy of That of 1653," and which shows, where possible, which

text Sir Robert followed for the wording of his translation, Sir Robert seems to have used as the basis of his translation the text of 1658, as, indeed, he implies in the above-quoted sentence from the annotations. Moreover, in a number of places in his translation, some of which are noted in the present edition-in the "Explanatory Notes on the Translation," Sir Robert seems to have been influenced by the French traduction which accompanied the Latin of 1658. On the other hand, it seems that he used the text of 1653 for more than just a quick comparison concerning the textual division of the Achilleis. It seems that on occasion he actually translated from the earlier text instead of from the later. Admittedly, a number of the places where Sir Robert seems to have used the text of 1653 instead of the text of 1658 are places where the text of 1658 has an obvious error which Sir Robert could have corrected himself, without the use of a second printed authority. In a few places, however, it is not likely that Sir Robert made use only of his own resources.⁷ All of the places where Sir Robert seems to have used the earlier text are discussed in the "Explanatory Notes." The specific problems involved in positing the actual use by Sir Robert of this text can be considered by the reader at his leisure.

The important thing at this point is the fact that it seems, from sufficiently strong evidence, that Sir Robert both refers to and actually used the Paris edition of 1658. From this fact, one can, without great mental strain, make the deduction that Sir Robert probably wrote his translation of the Achilleis no earlier than 1658. He could have written it in 1658, in 1659, or early in 1660, or, perhaps, in two or all of these years. One must, however, acknowledge the faint possibility that Sir Robert actually began working on his translation, or even completed a first

draft, at a much earlier time, using the edition of 1653 or some other edition--he could then have revised his work at some time after the publication of the edition of 1658.

Another possibility--a stronger possibility, and a delightful one--is that Sir Robert wrote his translation, or part of it, while he was a prisoner in Windsor Castle. We know that at least one section of Poems was written at this time. With reference to "A Panegyrick To the King," Sir Robert says, in the preface to Poems,

Yet I should a little be dissatisfied with my self to appear publick in his [Charles's] praise, just when he was visibly restoring to power, did not the reading of the Panegyrick vindicate the writing of it, and, besides my affirmation, assure the Reader, It was written when the King deserved the Praise as much as now, but separated farther from the Power; which was about three years since, when I was Prisoner in Windsor-Castle, being the best diversion I could then find for my own condition; to think, how great his Vertues were for whom I suffered, though in so small a measure compar'd to his own, that I rather blush at it, than believe it meritorious.

("To The Reader," p. A3^v.)

It seems clear that Sir Robert means that he wrote his "Panegyrick" during his imprisonment. Since it seems, from certain statements in the preface, several of which will soon be quoted, that Sir Robert wrote the preface not long before publication, the phrase "about three years since" seems to indicate that he wrote his "Panegyrick" in 1657 and that at least part of his imprisonment was in the same year. H.J. Oliver, however, in his Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, after saying that Sir Robert "was arrested and imprisoned" "in 1657 or 1658" and that "the exact date of the imprisonment is not known," speculates as follows:

it [the imprisonment] may well have been in 1658 when many suspected Royalists were taken into custody as the death of Cromwell appeared imminent and when the leading Royalist John Mordaunt was brought to trial for treason and escaped conviction only on the casting vote of the President of the High Court of Justice.⁸

Oliver presents concrete evidence that Sir Robert was in league with Mordaunt.⁹ If Oliver's conjectural date is possibly correct, we can reasonably think that Sir Robert may have worked on his translation of the Achilleis while he was a "Prisoner in Windsor-Castle." He certainly would have had plenty of time on his hands while he was incarcerated there, and his "Panegyrick," which is 324 lines long, and which does not seem to have been subjected to any time-consuming labor limae, would perhaps not have kept him occupied for the duration of his stay--although no one seems to have ventured a guess as to how long this stay probably was. It is possible that when Sir Robert wrote his preface to Poems, he made too hasty a computation of the date of the composition of the "Panegyrick." It will be noticed that he uses the generalizing word "about," that the phrase "about three years since" appears in a non-restrictive clause, and that the phrase is specifically intended to tell not when Sir Robert was imprisoned, but when the writing of the "Panegyrick" was done, or, possibly, "when the King deserved the Praise as much as now, but [was] separated farther from the Power"--the connection between the indicated time and Sir Robert's imprisonment being given as a kind of afterthought. On the other hand, one must ask how likely it is that Sir Robert would have made an error with respect to the year--the recent year--in which he had been arrested by the government and mewed up within the walls of Windsor Castle. But in such a tenebrous hiatus within the bright sequence of recorded events, one can be content with possibility rather than strict likelihood, and, by the illuminating eye of the imagination, see whatever colorful and fascinating scenes are not positively forbidden by historical logic and ordinary sense. The reader of Cavalier or romantic temperament would undoubtedly prefer to picture Sir Robert,

persecuted and incarcerated by vulgar fanatics for his loyalty to his rightful and sacred king, penning his learned translation, in conscientious use of his captive time, behind the massy, mossy walls of the ancient stronghold of Windsor, and it is not impossible that this was, in fact, the case.

Indeed, other evidence suggests, for the writing of the translation, as early a date as possible, and the idea that Sir Robert may have worked on the translation when he was immured in Windsor Caslte, is thus strengthened. In the preface to Poems, Sir Robert tells the reader that he is now involved in more serious things than literature and that the literary pieces which he has been prevailed upon to allow to be printed are pieces which he wrote a number of years ago:

For the severall subjects which here make one bundle, there is not any of them that have not layn by me these many years (two or three copies of Verses onely excepted); and had been wholly perhaps laid aside, but for the reasons given, applying my self now to more serious studies, according to the severall seasons of encreasing age, as the earth produces various fruits to the different seasons of the year.

(Page A3^r.)

Somewhat later, he gives the reader the impression that he long ago gave up the idea of writing polished translations of classical works:

For the Translations, the Authors have already received those Characters from the world, that they need none of mine, especially Virgil, of whose works I have onely publish'd this one Book [Aeneis IV], that lay finished by me; not judging it convenient to perfect those other Books of his Aeneid's, which I have rudely gone through, having long since laid aside all designes of that nature; and this little of it rather grew publick from accident, than designe, the Mingle it had with my private Papers, was the greatest cause, that it received its share in the publick Impression.

(Page A4^r.)

That "the greatest cause" for the publication of Sir Robert's translation of Book IV of the Aeneis was "the Mingle it had with . . . [his] private

Papers," is, of course, hardly a convincing statement, and one may consequently doubt what Sir Robert says about "having long since laid aside all designs of" (presumably) becoming a great translator. In fact, the whole preface seems to be written from an artificial, though conventional, point of view--that of the noble peer who has scratched down a small collection of elegant literary pieces in his spare hours, but who could never consider literary efforts or literary aspirations in anything like a serious manner. But Sir Robert does say that the pieces which he offers in Poems are years old "(two or three copies of Verses onely excepted)" and he does seem to say that he gave up all designs of being a translator long ago, and we must consider these statements in relation to the other evidence concerning his writing of his translation of the Achilleis.¹⁰

Another delightful possibility is raised by another statement in the preface to Poems. This statement comes in the last paragraph, which reads as follows:

I have thus, ingenuous Reader, given you a clear and true account of my Self and Writings, not opprest with apprehension, nor rais'd by neglect; but preserv'd by an indifferency, that destroys not my civilitie to others, nor my own content; desiring not to engrosse, but share satisfaction. If in any thing I justly need, or designe to ask pardon, 'tis for Errors that probably the Reader may meet with; having been reduc'd to the strait of neglecting this, or businessse. I confesse my Interest prevail'd with me though, not wholly to neglect the Reader, since I prevail'd with a worthy Friend to take so much view of my blotted Copies, as to free me from grosse Errors. Having thus set down all my designe and reasons, I leave the Reader with as little Concern to use his, as I have shewed him mine.

(Pages A4^v and A5^r.)

Concerning this paragraph, H.J. Oliver says, "It is not quite clear whether Howard used the services of his friend before or after the work went to the printer: the wording would perhaps suggest the former, the context the latter. (If the duties of the worthy friend were to read the

proofs, then he fell down on the task rather badly.)"¹¹ From reading the whole preface, one gets the impression that--whether "before or after the work went to the printer"--Sir Robert, at any rate, used the services of his "worthy friend" at or near the time of the printing, not just after the pieces in Poems had been written. Sir Robert seems to mean that the "worthy Friend" did his work before the printing--but this question is vastly overshadowed by the question concerning the identity of this friend. James M. Osborn, in his John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems, says that "this friend was unquestionably Dryden, who may have become acquainted with Howard through their mutual connections with [Henry] Herringman."¹² It was the bookseller Herringman who had prevailed upon Sir Robert to allow his pieces to be published. In the preface to Poems, Sir Robert gives us the following explanation:

. . . I can . . . free my self from that vanity that others would avoid, by assuring the Reader, I had not stock of confidence enough to shew these things privately to many friends, much lesse to be furnish'd with enough, to make them publick to all indifferent persons, had not the desires of the Book-seller prevail'd with me: to whose civilities I believ'd my self so far engag'd, as to deny him nothing that he thought a kindnesse, which could not be severely prejudiciall to my self . . .

(Pages A2^F and A2^V.)

According to Henry R. Plomer, in A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641-1667, Herringman, whose shop was at the "Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange," was "next to Humphrey Moseley, the most important book-seller in the period [1641 to 1667] . . .," and "his shop was the chief literary lounging place in London . . ."¹³

At the time at which Herringman brought out Sir Robert's Poems, Dryden seems to have been both working for and living with Herringman--

having left Cambridge, without his M.A., and having, at least between April 1656 and September 1658, been an employee of the Commonwealth government.¹⁴ In The Medal of John Bayes, Dryden's early career as a writer is chronicled thus:

At Cambridge first your scurrilous Vein began,
 When sawcily you traduc'd a Nobleman,
 Who for that Crime rebuk'd you on the head,
 And you had been Expell'd had you not fled.
 The next step of Advancement you began,
 Was being Clerk to Nolls Lord Chamberlain,
 A Sequestrator and Committee-man.
 There all your wholesome Morals you suckt in,
 And got your Gentile Gayety and meen.
 Your Loyalty you learn'd in Cromwels Court,
 Where first your Muse did make her great effort.
 On him you first shew'd your Poetick strain,
 And prais'd his opening the Basilick Vein.
 And were that possible to come agen,
 Thou on that side wouldst draw thy slavish Pen.
 But he being dead, who should the slave prefer,
 He turn'd a Journey-man t'a Bookseller;
 Writ Prefaces to Books for Meat and Drink,
 And as he paid, he would both write and think.
 Then by th'assistance of a Noble Knight,
 Th'hadst plenty, ease, and liberty to write.
 First like a Gentleman he made thee live;
 And on his Bounty thou didst amply thrive.
 But soon thy Native swelling Venom rose,
 And thou didst him, who gave thee Bread, expose.
 'Gainst him a scandalous Preface didst thou write,
 Which thou didst soon expunge, rather than fight.

To the word "Bookseller" is appended a note: "Mr. Herringman, who kept him in his House for that purpose"; another note (of the four which the author wrote for these lines) is appended to the phrase "Noble Knight": "Sir R.H. who kept him generously at his own House."¹⁵ H.J. Oliver indicates that the first of these two notes applies to the time of the publication of Sir Robert's Poems.¹⁶ (Oliver points to the four lines beginning "Then by th'assistance . . ." as confirmation of the fact that Dryden was residing with Sir Robert towards the end of the year 1663.¹⁷ The following four lines refer, of course, to Dryden's "Defence of 'An Essay of Dramatic Poesy.'") In A Journal from Parnassus, which was written a few years after

The Medal of John Bayes, we find another reference to Dryden's employment as "a Journey-man t'a Bookseller": we are told that "Herringam hir'd . . . [Dryden] by the week to epistolize his Readers."¹⁸

Herringman printed Dryden's "Heroique Stanzas to the Glorious Memory of Cromwell" in 1659, and in 1660, the year of Sir Robert's Poems, he printed Dryden's Astraea Redux. A Poem on the Happy Restoration & Return Of His Sacred Majesty Charles the Second. The editors of Volume I of "The California Dryden" say the "Dryden's relations with Herringman had begun before the publication of the Heroique Stanzas," and, with respect to Sir Robert's relationship with the bookseller, they point out that in the preface to Poems, Sir Robert "hint[s] . . . at amicable relations [with Herringman] over a period of time longer than was required to produce the volume of 1660."¹⁹ Hugh Macdonald, in his John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, says that "Dryden probably met . . . Sir Robert . . . through Herringman."²⁰ One would think that at the time of the publication of Poems, Dryden and Sir Robert had been at least acquaintances for more than just a short while. Macdonald quotes from the sentence in which Sir Robert says that he "prevail'd with a worthy Friend," and adds in brackets, next to the word "Friend," Dryden's name. Macdonald then notes that, in 1697, Dryden did work on Sir Robert's Conquest of China.²¹ A bit later, he reports the following:

Some unpublished poems by Howard reputed to be corrected by Dryden were sold at Sotheby's 4 May 1910:

Lot 108. Howard (Sir Robert), Poet and Dramatist. The Original Autograph Manuscript of his unpublished Poems, covering 20 pp., folio with portrait, crimson morocco.

'Sir Robert Howard, the dramatist and historian, died in 1698 . . . some of the corrections which appear in the MS. seem to be in the autograph of the great Poet Laureate, who generally supervised his relative's literary productions.'²²

The material which Macdonald seems to quote from Sotheby's catalogue appears to have a strong element of commercial overenthusiasm, but it does give support to the possibility that it was Dryden with whom Sir Robert "prevail'd . . . to take so much view of . . . [his] blotted Copies, as to free . . . [him] from grosse Errors." The editors of Volume I of "The California Dryden," giving their opinion about this matter, say the following: "As the only poet to write commendatory verses for Howard's book, it seems likely that Dryden was the 'worthy Friend' who filed and polished Sir Robert's lines."²³ (Why these editors have used the word "polished" is difficult to understand. Sir Robert says that his friend freed him "from grosse Errors," and admits that "probably the Reader may meet with" remaining errors, and seems to feel that these errors are such that he should "ask pardon" for them.) H.J. Oliver says, "I do not think that we can go so far as to say with J.M. Osborn that 'this friend was unquestionably Dryden,' although Dryden's connections with both Howard and Herringman make the identification tempting."²⁴ Of the four expert opinions quoted here, Oliver's is the most cautious. Osborn and Macdonald seem quite certain that Sir Robert's "worthy Friend" was Dryden.²⁵ If Dryden was that friend, it is likely, because such a large percentage of Poems is occupied by the translation of the Achilleis, that Dryden made some alterations in in this translation.

Poems was entered in the Stationers' Register on "16 Aprill 1660." It seems that at that time the projected new book had a different title from the one which was used at the time of publication. The record in the Stationers' Register is as follows:²⁶

16 Aprill 1660

Master Hen. Herringman.	Entred for his copie under the hand of Master THRALE warden a booke called Several Pieces written by ye hono ^{ble} S ^r Robert Howard viz ^t <u>Songs Poems & Panegyrics</u> ; a play called <u>The Blind Lady</u> , &c
----------------------------	--

vj^d

During the printing of Poems, it seems that no authoritative alterations were made in the printed text of the translation of the Achilleis. There seems to be no reason to think that Sir Robert or any "worthy Friend" corrected or revised the printed text of the translation during printing or that, during that procedure, the printed text was proof-read against the MS. The press-variants that have been found--and they are few--can be attributed to whoever was serving as proofreader in the printing shop. Furthermore, only one of the few cases of press-variance is textually significant, and even it involves nothing more than an instance of dittography. More--and more interesting--cases of variance are found within the individual printed exemplar. In a rather large number of instances, the lemmata in the annotations to the translation differ, sometimes substantively, from the textual material which they represent. A few of these cases of variance do not seem likely to be compositorial in origin, and may reflect two stages in the writing of the translation, or, perhaps, revision by "a worthy Friend." (More details about the things discussed in this paragraph are provided in the "Statement of Editorial Method.")

There is disagreement about when Poems was first advertised for sale in the London newspaper Mercurius Publicus, which was a weekly publication and was issued between January 5, 1660, and September 3, 1663, inclusive.²⁷ Sybil Rosenfeld, in her "Dramatic Advertisements in the Burney Newspapers 1660-1700," seems to indicate that Poems was first advertised in Mercurius Publicus in the issue as follows:

Poems, Songs, and Sonets and a new Play,
with several translations. By the Honorable Sir Robert Howard.
. . . printed for Henry Herringham, at the Anchor
on the lower Walk of the New Exchange.²⁸

That the title here given is different not only from the title used in the

Stationers' Register but also from that of the published book, can be explained by a consideration of the verbal material on the title-page of the book:

POEMS,

viz.

1. A PANEGYRICK to the KING.
2. SONGS and SONNETS.
3. The BLIND LADY, a COMEDY
4. The Fourth Book of VIRGIL,
5. STATIUS his ACHILLEIS,
with ANNOTATIONS.
6. A PANEGYRICK to GENERALL
MONCK.

By the Honorable
S^r ROBERT HOWARD.

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at his
shop at the sign of the Anchor on the lower Walk
of the New Exchange. 1660.

The editors of Mercurius Publicus, or whoever wrote the advertisement, evidently quoted from the title-page the true title of the volume and then, to give readers a better idea of what was offered in the volume, gave, for each of the main sections of the volume (the titles of which are also found on the title-page), either the title of the section or a description of its contents, creating a misleading syntactic series, in

which "Songs, and Sonets etc." seem to be coequal with "Poems." Perhaps the two panegyrics were excluded from the "title" because it was thought that those two pieces were covered by the word "Poems." At any rate, it will be noticed that, with the exception of the fact that the panegyrics are not specifically mentioned, the advertisement follows the order and much of the wording of the material on the title-page. Less easily explained is the date of the advertisement quoted by Sybil Rosenfeld. Osborn states that "the volume [Poems] was advertised for sale early in June."²⁹ It is not clear that he means that it was advertised then in Mercurius Publicus. The editors of Volume I of "The California Dryden" are more specific in this respect, but point to a later issue of the newspaper: they say that Poems was "advertised in Mercurius Publicus 21-28 June."³⁰ They have here perhaps followed Hugh Macdonald, who informs us that Poems was "Advtd. Mercurius Publicus 21-8 June 1660."³¹ H.J. Oliver says that "the volume was entered on the Stationers' Register on 16 April 1660 and must have been published soon afterwards, for in June it was being advertised in Mercurius Publicus."³² In none of the quoted sources is it stated that the advertisement to which reference is made was the first advertisement, but this idea seems to be implied.

One would think that Sir Robert would have wanted to achieve the greatest possible effect from his "Panegyrick to the King" and his "Panegyrick to Generall Monck" and that he would, therefore, have seen to it that Poems would come out as closely as possible to the arrival of Charles in London, which, as everyone knows, was on May 29. Dryden's Astraea Redux, which is, of course, on basically the same subject as Sir Robert's "Panegyrick to the King," was, according to Macdonald, also advertised in Mercurius Publicus in the issue for June 21-28, 1660.³³

But it could not have been written as early as Sir Robert's "Panegyrick," and it was perhaps written later than anything in Poems. In Volume I of "The California Dryden," we are told that Dryden's commendatory poem in Sir Robert's book "was probably written before Astraea Redux."³⁴ Dryden, then, perhaps did not have time to get his panegyric into the shop and onto the streets before the end of June. Sir Robert, it seems, did have the time. And, as has been indicated, it seems likely that he wanted to see both of his panegyrics released as closely as possible to May 29. Osborn's statement about the advertisement of Poems--that "the volume was advertised for sale early in June"--seems, therefore, to make the most sense. But it is possible that there was some unforeseen delay in the printing of Poems, with the result that the book could not be brought out until the end of the month. And, of course, the date of the appearance of the first advertisement was probably not the date on which the copies were first available. Poems could have been first advertised in the end of June and been available since the beginning of the month, or, perhaps, even the reverse could have occurred--the book could have been advertised and still not been actually available in the shop. It is possible that Poems did come out in the end of May--in time for Charles's triumphant and glorious arrival in London. Although Astraea Redux was, it seems, first advertised in Mercurius Publicus for June 21-28, the collector George Thomason dated his copy June 19.³⁵ If, as Osborn says, Poems was advertised "early in June," it might have been available in late May.³⁶

Florence R. Scott, in "The Life and Works of Sir Robert Howard," thinks that Poems was probably published "soon" after it was licensed (on April 16), and the word soon is used also by Oliver.³⁷ Whenever the book appeared, it included, as has already been indicated, commendatory verses,

which are the only ones in the book, Dryden praises, among other things, Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis.³⁸

In 1696, Sir Robert's translation was published again, in Poems on Several Occasions (National Union Catalog NH 0555991, Wing H3004, Macdonald 4b).³⁹ In Poems, Sir Robert had appeared in print for the first time. Now, in 1696, towards the end of his life, after he had appeared in print numerous times, Sir Robert had Poems reissued with a cancel title-page, Poems on Several Occasions being the new title. H.J. Oliver gives the biographical background of this reissue as follows:

The years 1695, 1696, and 1697 seem to have been busy for Howard both as Auditor of the Exchequer and as man of letters--extraordinarily so when one remembers that he was now seventy years old and, as he told Alexander Monro in the letter of 14 April 1696, seriously ill and inconstant pain with gout. Perhaps his illness, paradoxically, gave him more time for writing and publishing; for in 1696, as if the theological controversy [concerning his History of Religion] and the interest in the new version of The Indian Queen [i.e., the operatic version] were not enough, he had the Poems of 1660 reissued⁴⁰

Poems on Several Occasions was, according to the title-page, "Printed for Francis Saunders at the Blue Anchor in the New Exchange in the Strand."

Saunders' address may ring a bell. It may be remembered that Herringman was located at the "Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange."

What had happened is partly explained by the following statement in

Plomer's Dictionary of . . . Booksellers and Printers: "[Herringman]

. . . turned over his retail business at the Blue Anchor to F. Saunders and J. Knight [in 1684, according to two other authorities], and devoted

himself to the production of the Fourth Folio Shakespeare, Chaucer's

works, and other large publishing ventures."⁴¹ The Index to the Stationers'

Register, 1640-1708 indicates that Joseph Knight was a "servant to Henry

Herringman," and, indeed, we find him, in the Stationers' Register, under

January 12, 1683/4, signing his name, for "Master Hen. Herringman [and]

Master Rob^t. Everingham," JOSEPH KNIGHT, M^r HERRINGMANS man."⁴² But, according to the Index, this is the first appearance of Knight's name in the Register, and, under November 8, 1683, the first day on which, according to the Index, Saunders' name appears, we find Saunders too signing for Herringman, although without any indication of position or function.⁴³ Under April 25, 1685, the next day on which, according to the Index, the name of either, or each, man appears, Knight and Saunders are named as owners of the copy being entered.⁴⁴ This information might show merely that Knight and Saunders were acting as members of their own "transition team," without either one being or having been a servant to Mr. Herringman; but how the information should be interpreted will be left to the reader. However the partnership of Saunders and Knight began, it ended, according to C. William Miller, in his "Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller - Publisher," in 1689, when "Knight left Saunders to succeed Gilbert Cownly as proprietor of the shop of the late William Cademan, himself a well-known publisher, trading at the sign of the Pope's Head also in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange."⁴⁵ Saunders continued at the Blue Anchor, and it was he for whom Poems on Several Occasions was - to quote the title-page--"Printed."⁴⁶ Concerning Poems on Several Occasions Macdonald notes that "copies of Howard's poems with this title-leaf are uncommon, so that Saunders was probably not left with a large stock of sheets."⁴⁷ With reference to this statement, Oliver says, "That would be further evidence that Howard's verse had its share of popularity in its day."⁴⁸ As will be seen below, it is certainly true that there are far fewer available copies of Poems on Several Occasions than of Poems--whatever the reason or reasons. One may be inclined to ask why, if Sir Robert's poetry was so popular, there was any stock of remaining sheets at all, or why Poems

was not republished in the form of a real second edition. And it should be repeated here that Poems on Several Occasions is a reissue. It is not a second edition, as it is called in The Dictionary of National Biography and in Wing's Short-Title Catalogue.⁴⁹ Other authorities indicate that it is a reissue.⁵⁰ Two of the collations done for the present edition support the use of this term.⁵¹

Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis seems not to have been published in the usual manner at anytime after Poems on Several Occasions. As has already been said, it has been reproduced in a "microbook"--on a microcard--by The Library of English Literature, but has not, according to the most recent listing, been offered on microfilm by University Microfilms International.⁵² Hitherto, the translation has been available only in The Library of English Literature and in copies of Poems and of Poems on Several Occasions. There is, it seems, no extant manuscript of it.⁵³

Poems is in octavo and has the following collation: A-B⁸, C1-6, U8, C7-8, D-T⁸, U1-7. On the last leaf of gathering U was printed a half-title, for the only play in the volume, The Blind Lady. Macdonald notes that in some copies this leaf "has not been moved to its proper place before C7."⁵⁴ Macdonald gives the contents of the volume thus: "A1^r title; A2^r-A5^r TO THE READER; A6^r-A8^r To my Honored Friend, S^r ROBERT HOWARD, On his Excellent Poems . . . [signed] JOHN DRIDEN; B1^r-U7^r (pp. 1-285) text of Howard's poems and the play. The inserted leaf is a half-title: THE BLIND LADY, A Comedy."⁵⁵ The translation of the Achilleis occupies M6^r-U5^v (pp. 171-282). There are in the book many pages which were incorrectly numbered. The National Union Catalog reports on this problem as follows: "Errors in paging: p. 209, 212-213, 216-217, 220-221

incorrectly numbered 193, 196-197, 200-201, 204-205 respectively; nos. 208-223 repeated in the paging."⁵⁶ Poems on Several Occasions is the same as Poems except that it has cancel title-page, which, unlike the title-page of Poems, does not list the contents of the book.

According to The National Union Catalog, a copy of Poems can be found at each of the following places:

Duke University	Northwestern University
Boston Public Library	Williams College, Chapin Library
Newberry Library	University of Cincinnati
University of Oregon	University of Pennsylvania
Princeton University	Yale University
Cornell University	University of Michigan
Indiana University	Harvard University
University of North Carolina	Henry E. Huntington Library
U.S. Library of Congress	University of Texas ⁵⁷

According to The National Union Catalog, The University of Wisconsin has a "Microfilm copy (negative) of the original in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill." This microfilm copy has The N.U.C. number NH 0555993.⁵⁸

Wing's Short-Title Catalogue lists some additional places:

The British Museum (Thomason Collection)	Trinity College, Cambridge
The Bodleian Library	William A. Clark Library
Cambridge University	Columbia University
The Victoria and Albert Museum (Dyce Collection)	Wellesley College
	Folger Library ⁵⁹

The National Union Catalog names but five places where copies of Poems on Several Occasions can be found:

William Andrews Clark Memorial Library	Princeton University
Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association, Phila., Pa. ("Collection no longer available.")	Harvard University
	University of Texas ⁶⁰

Wing's Short-Title Catalogue lists two additional places:

British Museum
Folger Library.⁶¹

Notes
To
The "Textual Introduction"

¹The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 256, p. 672; Donald Wing's Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries: 1641-1700 (New York, 1948), Vol. II, p. 211; Hugh Macdonald's John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana (London, 1966), pp. 8-9.

²A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; From 1640-1708 A.D. (New York, 1950), Vol. II, p. 258.

³James M. Osborn's John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems, "Revised Edition" (Gainesville, Florida, 1965), p. 187; The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680 [Vol. I of "The California Dryden"], p. 207. Further on in this section, the publication of Poems, including the date, is treated in greater detail.

⁴In the annotations on Book I, on p. 206-07^v, Sir Robert mentions "the Lipswick Edition," but it is not at all clear what he means, and it is possible that there is an error in the text. (Does he mean Lipsius's edition of Tacitus?)

⁵For example, in the Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (Cambridge, England, 1911), the edition of 1653 is named as one of three "Notable editions" among all the editions of Statius which come out between the editiones principes and the most recent editions (Vol. XXV, p. 812).

⁶Indeed, the Amsterdam edition of 1640 (#8 on the list) seems to have been a very obscure edition, and might even not have existed. In a huge compilation of bibliographical information, gathered by the editor of the present edition during extensive research on the subject of editions of Statius published before 1800, the edition of 1640 is attested by only one reference (in the Delphin edition of 1824). The two previous editions on the list were, it seems also not given much attention. The first of these (#6) is attested only once (in the Bude edition of the Achilleis [1971]), although the chief editor, Caspar Barthius, later produced an editio praestans of the opera of Statius, which was published in 1664, and which, like the edition of 1653, is named by the Encyclopedia Britannica as one of the three "Notable editions" which came out between the editiones principes and the most recent editions. The second of the two editions (#7) is attested twice (in the catalogue of the main library of Yale University and in The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints). The edition of 1653 and that of 1658, on the other hand, are listed in catalogues and bibliographies very frequently.

⁷J. MCG. Bottkol, in his "Dryden's Latin Scholarship," tells us that Dryden usually used more than one source when he did his translating:

After reading thousands of lines of Dryden's translations together with the contemporary Latin texts, one can reconstitute his actual working method: he sat with a favorite edition open before him . . ., read the original carefully, often the Latin prose Interpretatio ["The Interpretatio, or running translation into Latin prose which accompanies the original in all the "Delphin" editions of the classics. Occasionally, in following this authority, Dryden is led into renderings which would seem mistranslations today."], and invariably studied the accompanying annotations. When he came to a difficult or disputed passage, he repeatedly turned to other editors, studied and compared their varying opinions, and then chose to follow one authority or another or even to make a new interpretation for himself. Also he had open before him on the table one or more earlier English translations, particularly those which were written in heroic couplets. From these he often took rhymes, stray phrases, even whole lines and passages.

(Modern Philology, XL [1943], 242-243.)

⁸Pp. 11-12.

⁹From the fact that Howard was able to spend his time writing verse, it would seem that the imprisonment was not unduly severe; but that it was justified is suggested not only by the story of the continuing Royalist activities of the Howard family, but also by a letter from Robert to John Mordaunt dated June, 1659. Mordaunt was in direct correspondence with Charles II at the time and was leader of the "Trust" in England empowered to negotiate for his return. A transcript of Howard's letter reads:

1. I shall in London expect youre returne!
2. Hitherto all my proceedings doe more then answer my expectations, especially the businesse in Staffordshire; which by my friend there, is grown to a considerable greatnesse.
3. At your return, I shall dispose of my self as the king's interest will best require mee. I only desire you, that a right use may be made of the distractions they are in here. Their own ruines, which is visible before them, may invite them, more then their consciences, to think of an accommodation; the managing of which is to put our selves in a capacity to enforce more then perhaps they entend; so that if they meane no deceit, wee are not lesse capable of judging; and their falsnesse will not have much power, if wee prepare in the worst expectation; and wee shall never have so free leave againe to arme our selves. But, without dispute, the King must at first appeare in person. Where that shall bee, I shall advise with you when you come, that wee may in the safest way hazzard him that is our all.

A man may always sincerely believe that he is more influential in inner

councils than, in fact, he is; but his letter--written during the confused days of the Rump Parliament at the time when the Roayl return was planned for as early as July (1659)--reads like that of a trusted man of some importance who has been sounding public opinion, is in a position to offer good advice concerning the time to act and the method, is prepared once again to take arms if necessary on behalf of the King, and can safely assume that he will be listened to when he discusses the movement of the King himself.

(P. 12.)

¹⁰Although Sir Robert does not, in his translation (i.e., in the annotations to his translation), mention any specific edition other than "the Paris-edition" "that of Amsterdam" and "the Lipswick Edition" (a mysterious reference, pointed out above, in the notes), he does refer, by name, to a large number of classical scholars, both ancient and modern, whose work he has evidently read or seen in a large number of printed books. It is possible that one could assign a more precise date to the writing of Sir Robert's translation by looking at the dates of publication of the works of the scholars to whom Sir Robert refers. In his references, in fact, Sir Robert usually gives the name of a work as well as the name of its author. Was any work to which Sir Robert refers first published after 1658?

¹¹Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 38.

¹²Pp. 187-188.

¹³(The Bibliographical Society, 1968), pp. 96-97. Plomer notes that "Mr. Arber, in his reprint of the Term Catalogues [vol. ii. p. 642] says that Herringman was apparently the first London wholesale publisher in the modern sense of the words." Herringman printed many of Dryden's and Howard's works. In his "Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller - Publisher," C. William Miller gives the following information about Herringman's activities in and around the year in which he published Sir Robert's Poems:

An analysis of the seventy copies which Herringman entered in the Stationers' Register during . . . [his] first period [1653-1666] reveals that he was publishing almost anything which he thought the better-educated Londoners frequenting the Strand would buy. His trade list included political pamphlets, sermons, plays, verse, romances, histories, philosophical discourses, and even a treatise of chess. Two of his most prolific and best-selling authors were Robert Boyle with his scientific and theological essays, and the eclectic Walter Charleton, physician to Charles II, who turned out with equal facility a history of human nutrition, a translation of Epicurus' Morals, a romance, and a treatise on Stonehenge.

Only very gradually did Herringman begin to accumulate the copyrights of plays and verse collections which were later to make him both wealthy and notable. In the early years of his career, of course, civil unrest, political change, and the ban on the theatres were hardly conducive to the writing of the genres of literature in which Herringman and his customers were soon to become immensely interested. But as soon as the dramatists and poets

resumed their writing, Herringman, shrewdly gauging his market, began to publish their works. He brought out both Davenant's Declamations and his The Siege of Rhodes, the two stage-pieces whose presentations mark the reopening of the London theatre. He also published the first successful play of Orrery, Robert Howard, Etherege, and Dryden, and speedily acquired from other publishers the copyrights to Butler's Hudibras and the poetry of Cowley and Waller.

(The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 42 [1948], 297-298.)

- ¹⁴John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems, pp. 184-186.
- ¹⁵The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. by Montague Summers (The Fortune Press, London, 1927), 5 vols., Vol. V, p. 255.
- ¹⁶Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, pp. 13 and 65.
- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 65.
- ¹⁸The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, pp. 207-208, note.
- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 207.
- ²⁰p. 8, note.
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²Ibid., pp. 8-9, note.
- ²³The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 208.
- ²⁴Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 38.
- ²⁵In "The Life and Works of Sir Robert Howard," "A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School New York University In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy . . . May 1943," Florence R. Scott says the following:

Howard's friendship with Henry Herringman has a pleasing suggestion of Samuel Johnson's relations with Thomas Davies; presumably no young man of his social position would make a friend of a bookseller unless he was interested in reading or the publication of his writings. He was at the time a man of thirty-four. He had a vigorous, energetic nature and considerable mental capability--even though his arrogance and conceit tended to obscure that fact from many of his contemporaries. His courage and strong Royalist sympathies were well known, but in 1660 the impoverishment of his family's fortunes would have left him with far more time than money to spend. It is not very surprising then that he should have quite willingly agreed to Herringman's idea about printing the work [Poems] he had already written. It is also probable that Dryden was partly instrumental

in getting Howard to begin a literary career--if we may accept Mr. James M. Osborn's suggestion that Dryden was "unquestionably" the friend referred to by Howard at the end of his "To the Reader" upon whom he had prevailed "to take so much view of my blotted Copies, as to free me from grosse Errors." Dryden's commendatory verses would seem to reinforce this supposition.

(Pp. 226-227.)

²⁶A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; From 1640-1708 A.D., Vol. II, p. 258.

²⁷The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, "Volume 2: 1660-1800," ed. by George Watson (Cambridge, England, 1971), 1315.

²⁸Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, LI (1936), 128. Oliver refers to the article, on p. 13.

²⁹John Dryden: Some Biographical Facts and Problems, p. 187.

³⁰The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 207.

³¹John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, p. 9.

³²Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 13.

³³John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, p. 9.

³⁴The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 207. Since Dryden uses the opportunity of his commendatory poem to celebrate the restoration of Charles, this poem--not Astraea Redux--may be the first public act of apostasy in Dryden's well-known series of philosophical reversals.

³⁵The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 213.

³⁶In their brief account of the time, the editors of Volume I of "The California Dryden" suggest that the first poem on the Restoration appeared no later than May 14:

. . . General Monck was taking action to restore order--and, secretly, making plans to bring in the King. On 21 February he allowed the excluded members to resume their seats in Parliament. And this Parliament, after arranging for a free election, dissolved itself on 16 March. Thus far everything favored the desires of the King's party. Nevertheless, though the nation was in no mood for further experimentation, doubts clouded the prospect, for nobody could be sure how the new Parliament would respond. On 1 May all doubts were resolved. The King's messages to the two Houses were received with overwhelming relief and approval, and only the formalities remained. On 8 May Charles was proclaimed rightful king; on the 25th he landed at Dover; and on the 29th, his thirtieth birthday, he entered London amid wild enthusiasm.

All was joy and hopefulness.

The poets lost no time in raising their voices. Congratulatory, commendatory, and panegyric verses flowed in a mighty stream from the presses, one specimen appearing as early as 14 May, and others following in rapid succession. [Note: On 14 May Thomason secured a copy of a poem by one G.S., entitled, Britains Triumph for her Imparallel'd Deliverance, and her joyfull celebrating the Proclamation of her most Gracious King, Charles the Second.]

(Ibid., p. 212.)

³⁷P. 219, and Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 13.

³⁸The editors of Volume I of "The California Dryden" summarize the significance of Dryden's commendatory verse in this way:

To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard, as a commendatory poem, belongs to a variety of poetry that was never tied to the requirements of sober truth. Whatever Dryden's real opinion of Sir Robert's poetic abilities might have been (and in inkling of it may be gathered from the candid remarks he uttered a few years later in the Defence of an Essay of Dramatique Poesie), his task in the verses to Howard was to present the subject in the most becoming light possible--even as the painter was expected to represent his subject free of blemishes and deformities. To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard, therefore, lacks interest as a critical estimate. But in praising Howard, Dryden reveals certain aspects of the literary values he cherished, and the poem derives added significance from being the earliest expression of his critical principles.

(Ibid., p. 208.)

³⁹The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 256, p. 672; Donald Wing's Short-Title Catalogue . . ., Vol. II, p. 211; Hugh Macdonald's John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, p. 9.

⁴⁰Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, pp. 303-304.

⁴¹A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland From 1641 to 1667, p. 97; C. William Miller in his "Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller - Publisher," pp. 302-303; John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, p. 9.

⁴²Index to the Stationers' Register, 1640-1708, edited by William P. Williams (La Jolla, California, 1980), p. 26; A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; From 1640-1708 A.D., Vol. III, p. 221.

⁴³Index, p. 26; A Transcript, Vol. III, p. 205; Index, p. 31.

⁴⁴A Transcript, Vol. III, p. 281; Index, pp. 26 and 31.

⁴⁵p. 303.

⁴⁶Miller's treatment of the changes at the Blue Anchor provides a more detailed understanding of what happened, and is worth repeating here in full (minus the notes, however). It is as follows:

Although Herringman began changing his business policy in 1678, it was not until early in 1684 that he converted his business finally to that of wholesale publication by turning over his retail trade to the partners, Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders to succeed Gilbert Cownly as proprietor of the shop of the late William Cademan, himself a well-known publisher, trading at the sign of the Pope's Head also in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. The last joint entry of Knight and Saunders in the Stationers' Register occurred on January 10, 1688/1689. At the dissolving of their partnership, Knight apparently settled with Saunders for a share of their common book stock. An analysis of the fifty-nine items on a Knight 1690 advertisement list reveals that the newly established bookseller at the Pope's Head was offering for sale only those books published by Herringman. At the Blue Anchor, therefore, after 1689, Saunders was, as Dryden referred to him in a letter, Herringman's "man" until his death in the summer of 1699.

Some aspects of the working agreement entered into by the wholesaler Herringman and the retailers Knight and Saunders can be reconstructed from stray bits of evidence. The titles on the 1690 Knight advertisement list, representing Knight's share of the common stock previously owned by Knight and Saunders, indicates that the partners had purchased in 1684 not only the right to conduct a retail business under the well-known sign of the Blue Anchor but also the whole of Herringman's retail stock. Had it been otherwise, Knight would hardly have been expected to include among the books which he offered for sale in 1690 at his new premises the obviously slow-selling published by Herringman in the late 1650's, or copies of the apparently unsalable 1650 edition of Christopher Elderfield's The Civil Rights of Tythes, the remainder of which Herringman had been burdened with in taking over Holden's stock at the outset of his career. Further, it is clear from entries in the Stationers' Register that Knight and Saunders had reserved for themselves the privilege of publishing and offering for sale any new copies which they were able to purchase.

On the other hand, the partners rendered Herringman assistance in two ways. First, they served him as a prime retail outlet for his publications, at least during the early years of his wholesale career. Once Herringman had developed his business and Knight had left the Blue Anchor, however, Saunders became just one of several important retailers whose names are often grouped in title-page imprints in this fashion: "Printed for H. Herringman, and are to be sold by R. Bentley, J. Tonson, F. Saunders, and T. Bennet."

Second, the partners served Herringman as the distributors for his wholesale publications. Evidence for this generalization occurs in a notice printed in the Term Catalogue for Hillary, 1688.

There is now Printed by Henry Herringman a new Edition of the works of Mr. Abraham Cowley, in folio. . . . Booksellers may have them as six shillings in Quires of J. Knight and F. Saunders.

. . .

After Saunders' death in 1699, Herringman abandoned his place of business--it was occupied in 1700 by Bennet Banbury--and, I believe, retired to Carshalton.

("Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher," pp. 302-304.)

This discussion suggests a different interpretation of Joseph Knight's status as "M^r HERRINGMANS man."

⁴⁷John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, p. 9.

⁴⁸Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 304.

⁴⁹The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. X, p. 60; Short-Title Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 211.

⁵⁰E.g., British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Vol. 107, 818; The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints, Vol. 256, p. 672; John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, p. 9.

⁵¹See the "Statement of Editorial Method."

⁵²Early English Books: 1641-1700: Selected from Donald Wing's Short-Title Catalogue: A Cross Index to Units 1-40 of the Microfilm Collection, Reels 1-1220.

⁵³Letters of inquiry were sent to several scholars who would be able to say with some authority whether or not a manuscript exists. The replies of these scholars were all negative. Moreover, a "query" was sent to Notes and Queries, and this was printed in the issue for December 1982. Thus far, the query has brought no reply. Also, it seems, from the replies to the letters and from the absence of a reply to the query, that there is no MS. of any part of Poems.

For the help which they gave me in my search for a manuscript, I should like to express my gratitude to H.J. Oliver, Arthur H. Scouten, Robert D. Hume, John Horden, and the editors of Notes and Queries.

⁵⁴John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana, p. 9.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁵⁶Vol. 256, p. 672. Actually, The N.U.C. gives this information with respect to Poems on Several Occasions, but there should be no difference in paging between the two books.

⁵⁷Vol. 256, p. 672.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Vol. II, p. 211.

⁶⁰Vol. 256, p. 672.

⁶¹Vol. II, p. 211.

Sir Robert Howard's Translation of the Achilleis
As a Work of Scholarship and of Literature

The first question which most people ask concerning a translation has to do with the fidelity of that translation, and it is commonly assumed that if a translation does not faithfully follow its original, it is necessarily no good. It is not at all unusual to hear even a professor of literature condemning Pope's Iliad only because he has been told somewhere that it is not a strictly accurate version of Homer's epic. The attitude behind such a condemnation is quite natural and is by no means new. In England, the idea that a translation should closely follow its original seems to have been strongly held through most of the Renaissance, the period during which the writing of translations first became an important literary activity. Shortly before Sir Robert Howard wrote his translation of the Achilleis, however, a small number of influential English poets had come to think that for a translator closely to render his original is positively bad. A new attitude towards translation--of which Pope's Iliad is the greatest and most famous result--was thus born. In order properly to discuss the fidelity of Sir Robert Howard's Achilleis, or of any translation published during the Restoration, it is necessary first to provide a brief history of the basic development of this new attitude.

In 1656, Abraham Cowley and Sir John Denham both appeared in print with something to say on the subject of translation. Cowley, in the "Preface" to his Pindarique Odes, complained about the poor results obtained from closely following an author's words and observed that "if a Man should undertake to translate Pindar Word for Word, it would be thought that one Mad-man had translated another . . . "; and Denham, in "The Preface" of The Destruction of Troy, said, "I conceive it a vulgar

error in translating Poets, to affect being Fidus Interpres," and advised that "if Virgil must needs speak English, it were fit he should speak not only as a man of this Nation, but as a man of this age."¹ Both Cowley and Denham expressed dissatisfaction with preceding translations, and each offered at least one example of what he considered the proper way of translating. Of the two, Cowley departed further from the norm, or, rather, ideal, of literalness: ". . . I have in these two 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."² Both Cowley and Denham, however, wanted the literary world to know that they, at least, thought that to translate closely is to make a mistake. In 1658, or two years after the appearance of Cowley's Pindarique Odes and Denham's Destruction of Troy, and in the first of the three years in which Sir Robert could have written his translation of the Achilleis, was published The Passion of Dido for Aeneas as It Is Incomparably expressed in the Fourth Book of Virgil, by Sidney Godolphin and Edmund Waller. This translation, or pair of translations, constitutes another departure from the tradition of close translations. The first part, by Godolphin, who was killed in 1643, in the civil wars, seems to have been written much earlier than the liberated versions of Cowley and Denham. It was Godolphin's intention, according to L. Proudfoot, in his Dryden's Aeneid and Its Seventeenth Century Predecessors, "to make his text as lucid and self-explanatory as possible"--free from "the congested obscurities which had gone before." Godolphin shows "a tendency to reject what cannot be readily assimilated into English, not only in syntax . . . but in name, phrase and image too." "He produced the first regular couplet version [of Vergil's Aeneis] in readable English."³

The rest of The Passion of Dido for Aeneas is by Waller, who, like Denham, was a very important figure in the development of English versification, and whose translation seems to have been written much later than Godolphin's. Waller, Proudfoot says, "goes far beyond Godolphin in his omissions"; "in his willingness to omit what he did not care to grapple with, he carried the freedom of the Augustan translators to its limit."⁴ If Waller can be called an Augustan translator, he was certainly one of the earliest. It was not until about twenty years after the publication of The Passion of Dido for Aeneas that the first great Augustan translator appeared before the literary public as a translator. In 1680, a few translations by Dryden were published in Ovid's Epistles, Translated by Several Hands. Dryden wrote the preface to this volume, and in doing so, he looked back at what had been going on in the world of translation since, roughly, the beginning of the century:

All Translation I suppose may be reduced to these three heads: First, that of Metaphrase, or turning an Authour word by word, and Line by Line, from one Language into another. Thus, or near this manner, was Horace his Art of Poetry translated by Ben. Johnson. The second way is that of Paraphrase, or Translation with Latitude, where the Authour is kept in view by the Translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly follow'd as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplyfied, but not alter'd. Such is Mr. Wallers Translation of Virgils Fourth Aeneid. The Third way is that of Imitation, where the Translator (if now he has not lost that Name) assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sence, but to forsake them both as he sees occasion: and taking only some general hints from the Original, to run division on the ground-work, as he pleases. Such is Mr. Cowleys practice in turning two Odes of Pindar, and one of Horace into English.⁵

Having given this classification, Dryden proceeds to make known his own preference. Concerning metaphrase, he has nothing good to say. He quotes Horace's famous injunction against this method: "Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, fidus/ Interpres ——" ("Nor word for word too faithfully translate, as the Earl of Roscommon has excellently render'd it"); and

then he says, among other things, that "'tis almost impossible to Translate verbally, and well, at the same time; . . . the Verbal Copyer is incumber'd with so many difficulties at once, that he can never disentangle himself from all." "'Tis much like dancing on Ropes with fetter'd Leggs: A man may shun a fall by using Caution, but the gracefulness of Motion is not to be expected: and when we have said the best of it, 'tis but a foolish Task; for no sober man would put himself into a danger for the Applause of scaping without breaking his Neck."⁶

Dryden asks, concerning "a literal Translation," "who defends it?"⁷

After discussing, and condemning, metaphrastic translation, Dryden turns to that kind known as "imitation." He makes it clear that it too is improper:

The Consideration of these difficulties, in a servile, literal Translation, not long since made two of our famous Wits, Sir John Denham, and Mr. Cowley to contrive another way of turning Authours into our Tongue, call'd by the latter of them, Imitation. As they were Friends, I suppose they Communicated their thoughts on this Subject to each other, and therefore their reasons for it are little different: though the practice of one is much more moderate. [Later, he says that Denham "advis'd more Liberty than he took himself."] I take Imitation of an Authour in their sense to be an Endeavour of a later Poet to write like one who has written before him on the same Subject: that is, not to Translate his words, or to be Confin'd to his Sense, but only to set him as a Patern, and to write, as he supposes, that Authour would have done, had he liv'd in our Age, and in our Country. Yet I dare not say that either of them have carried this libertine way of rendring Authours (as Mr. Cowley calls it) so far as my Definition reaches. For in the Pindarick Odes, the Customs and Ceremonies of Ancient Greece are still preserv'd: but I know not what mischief may arise hereafter from the Example of such an Innovation, when writers of unequal parts to him, shall imitate so bold an undertaking. To add and to diminish what we please, which is the way avow'd by him, ought only to be granted to Mr. Cowley, and that too only in his Translation of Pindar. . . . But if Virgil or Ovid, or any regular intelligible Authours be thus us'd, 'tis no longer to be call'd their work, when neither the thoughts nor words are drawn from the Original: but instead of them there is something new produc'd, which is almost the creation of another hand. By this way 'tis true, somewhat that

is Excellent may be invented perhaps more Excellent than the first design Yet he who is inquisitive to know an Author's thoughts will be disappointed in his expectation. And 'tis not always that a man will be contented to have a Present made him, when he expects the payment of a Debt. To state it fairly, Imitation of an Author is the most advantageous way for a Translator to shew himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the Memory and Reputation of the dead.⁸

Dryden has skipped over the subject of paraphrase, and the reader is not surprised when Dryden says that "Imitation and verbal Version are in . . . [his] Opinion the two Extreams, which ought to be avoided."⁹ He does not specifically say that paraphrase is his preferred method, but he indicates that he will "have propos'd the mean betwixt . . . [the two extremes]," and he says the following: "There is . . . a Liberty to be allow'd for the Expression, neither is it necessary that Words and Lines should be confin'd to the measure of their Original. The sense of an Author, generally speaking, is to be Sacred and inviolable."¹⁰ In the dedication to his translation of the Aeneis, however, it appears that paraphrase was not Dryden's preferred method, at least for rendering Vergil's epic: "On the whole Matter, I thought fit to steer betwixt the two Extreams, of Paraphrase, and literal Translation: To keep as near my Author as I cou'd, without losing all his Graces"¹¹ Whatever his usual preference can be said to have been, whether paraphrase or the via media between it and metaphrase, Dryden's general philosophy of translation and his translations themselves constituted a model for Pope and the other Augustan translators who came after Dryden. Dr. Johnson was making no novel or idiosyncratic observation when, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, in his life of Dryden, he said, "It was reserved for Dryden to fix the limits of poetical liberty, and give us just rules and examples of translation."¹²

Where, in the story of development sketched above, does Sir

Robert's translation of the Achilleis belong? How accurate is it? How accurate does it seem Sir Robert wanted to make it? How would Dryden have classified it? Sir Robert was a leader in several important English literary developments, and his translation was written at the very time when English poets were beginning to turn away from the metaphrastic method of translation.¹³ One would not be surprised to find that Sir Robert had participated in the new trend. Dryden, after all, whose ideas about translation were to be so important, gave no small amount of praise to Sir Robert's version of the Achilleis. Dryden did this in his commendatory verses in Poems--"To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard"--and he praised also Sir Robert's version of Aeneis IV. Because, in the present chapter, a number of references will be made to what Dryden says, in his commendatory verses, about Sir Robert as a translator, all the pertinent lines in "To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard" will be quoted at this time:

This is not all; your Art the way has found
 To make improvement of the richest ground,
 That soil which those immortall Lawrells bore,
 That once the sacred Maro's temples wore.
Elisa's griefs, are so exprest by you,
 They are too eloquent to have been true.
 Had she so spoke, Aeneas had obey'd
 What Dido rather then what Jove had said.
 If funerall Rites can give a Ghost repose,
 Your Muse so justly has discharged those,
Elisa's shade may now its wandring cease,
 And claim a title to the fields of peace.
 But if Aeneas be oblig'd, no lesse
 Your kindnesse great Achilles doth confesse,
 Who dress'd by Statius in too bold a look,
 Did ill become those Virgin's Robes he took.
 To understand how much we owe to you,
 We must your Numbers with your Author's view;
 Then we shall see his work was lamely rough,
 Each figure stiffe as if design'd in buffe;
 His colours laid so thick on every place,
 As onely shew'd the paint, but hid the face:
 But as in Perspective we Beauties see,
 Which in the Glasse, not in the Picture be;

So her our sight obligeingly mistakes
 That wealth which his your bounty onely makes.
 Thus vulgar dishes are by Cooks disguis'd,
 More for their dressing than their substance priz'd.
 Your curious Notes so search into that Age,
 When all was fable but the sacred Page,
 That since in that dark night we needs must stray,
 We are at least misled in pleasant way.

--ll. 55-86.¹⁴

It is to be noted that Dryden's praise of Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis is based upon the observation or idea that Sir Robert did not play the fidus interpres: by not faithfully rendering what he saw before him, Sir Robert created--Dryden would have us believe--an improved Achilleis, a translation much better than the original. For the reader who is first approaching Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis, the possibility that it is written in the new, more liberal, more stylistically effective manner is thus greatly increased. The reader must, of course, take into consideration the fact that, in the words of the editors of "The California Dryden," Dryden's commendatory poem "belongs to a variety of poetry that was never tied to the requirements of sober truth."¹⁵ But the reader must also ask himself why Dryden chose, from all the flattering ideas that he could have used, the single idea that Sir Robert had in his translation, richly succeeded by not faithfully following the original text which he had undertaken to turn into English. And the reader should be aware that the editors of "The California Dryden" balance their caveat by pointing out that "in praising Howard, Dryden reveals certain aspects of the literary values he cherished, and [that] the poem . . . [is] the earliest expression of his critical principles."¹⁶

It seems, from the quoted statement from the dedication of his translation of the Aeneis, and from a statement quoted by Dr. Johnson

(already given in the notes to the present chapter), that, at least occasionally, Dryden saw, and thought of himself as having used, a via media between metaphrase and paraphrase. It is, of course, an easy matter to add a new way of translation to the classification that Dryden has provided in the preface to Ovid's Epistles. It would be very difficult, however, to say what degrees of liberty and of stylistic effectiveness Dryden probably had in mind when he talked about metaphrase, paraphrase, and the middle way between them. Even a prose translation from Latin or Greek cannot be strictly faithful and at the same time be adequately easy to read, and this is true even if the translator is allowed to change the word-order of the original as he wishes and to provide articles and forms of the verb to be where they are necessary. If he is writing a verse translation, the translator is constantly constrained by the demands of meter and, perhaps--as was the case with most Restoration and eighteenth-century translators--also of rime, and he must, therefore, deviate even further than the prose translator from the actual words, phrases, clauses, and sentences of the original. Dryden, of course, knew this, and must have conceived even of a metaphrastic translation as involving a significant degree of infidelity to the original. Each way of translating considered by Dryden must be thought to involve a sacrificing of fidelity for readability, and this fact obscures the apparent simplicity of Dryden's classification. Imitation, as it was understood by Dryden, and as it was actually practiced in the Restoration and the eighteenth century, is sufficiently distinct from the other kinds of translation; but these other kinds--especially since there seem to be three of them rather than only two--can present real difficulties for someone who wants properly to see an ordinary translation within its

historical context. In practice, it can be difficult for one to classify a given translation according to Dryden's categories. Even a minute examination and analysis of seventeenth-century translations and their originals, including, of course, the translations mentioned by Dryden, and his own translations, might not produce any definite criteria suitable for consistent critical use. In fact, owing to the very complicated nature of this business, it is likely that Dryden himself could not have offered any such criteria, except with respect to the category to which belong imitations. It is certain that the present editor, at least, does not have anything like a Linnaean grasp of the situation. His discussion of Sir Robert's Achilleis in relation to Dryden's categories will, therefore, be found to be only tentative, and not rigidly taxonomic.

It can, indeed, be stated with confidence that Sir Robert's Achilleis is not an imitation. It is not like Dryden's "The Character of a Good Parson; Imitated from Chaucer, and Inlarg'd" or like Pope's "To Augustus" or Dr. Johnson's "London." Beyond this point, however, there is uncertainty. On the one hand, Sir Robert seems to be too interested in closely following the original for his translation to be called a paraphrase. From what Proudfoot says about the omissions in Waller's translation of part of Aeneis IV, the translation which Dryden uses as his example of paraphrase, and from the fact that Waller has there translated 147 lines of Latin in only 134 lines of English, it does not seem that Sir Robert's translation is like Waller's (which, however, is probably a poor example of paraphrase).¹⁷ And because Sir Robert tried, it seems, to translate each of Statius's hexameter lines by means of only one pentameter line, we do not, of course, find that the sense of the original

is significantly "amplified" in the translation. Dryden evidently considered to be paraphrastic his own translation of Theocritus's Third Idyll--"Amaryllis, or the Third Idyllium of Theocritus Paraphras'd" (1684)--and in this translation, partly for the sake of "amplification," he has allowed himself 127 lines of English in order to render only 54 of Greek.¹⁸ In doing this translation, Dryden obviously used a method different from that which Sir Robert used in doing his Achilleis, in which 1,128 lines of Latin are rendered in only 1,250 of English--Dryden's translation shows a 135% increase over the original, and Sir Robert's an increase of merely 11%. On the other hand, because of the same apparent self-restriction that prevented Sir Robert's Achilleis from becoming like Dryden's "Amaryllis," Sir Robert's translation not only lacks significant "amplification," but also, necessarily, is not so faithful as it could be; and hence one might hesitate to call it metaphrastic. Sir Robert certainly knew that a Latin phrase or sentence can almost never be translated in the same number of words as are found in the original; he certainly knew that, in the case of Latin poetry, unless a translator is using a line of inappropriate length, he cannot restrict himself to the same number of lines or nearly the same number as are in the original and at the same time produce a highly faithful translation, especially when he is turning lines of dactylic hexameter into lines of iambic pentameter. It is difficult to believe that when Sir Robert began his translation of the Achilleis, he had in mind a "Verbal" or "litteral" translation. Dr. Johnson defined a "metaphrast" as "a literal translator; one who translates word for word from one language into another."¹⁹ It is hard to see how Sir Robert could have been considered a metaphrast.

It would be easy to say that Sir Robert had followed a via media between paraphrase and metaphrase. But it seems that in imposing a linear restriction upon himself, Sir Robert, although he thus greatly limited the fidelity with which his translation could represent his original, was actually doing something which was characteristic of the metaphrastic tradition. At least, the poets of the new school of translation seem to have regarded the self-imposition of such a linear restriction as one of the characteristic problems of the old school. When in his classification, Dryden says, "Metaphrase, or turning an Authour word by word, and Line by Line, from one Language into another," he seems to mean "one line for one line," not simply that every line of the original is translated. He uses Johnson's translation of "Horace his Art of Poetry" as an example of metaphrase. Later in the preface, at the end of his discussion of metaphrase, he says the following:

We see Ben. Johnson could not avoid obscurity in his literal Translation of Horace, attempted in the same compass of Lines: nay Horace himself could scarce have done it to a Greek Poet.

Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio.

Either perspicuity or gracefulness will frequently be wanting. Horace had indeed avoided both these Rocks in his Translation of the three first Lines of Homers Odyssees, which he has Contracted into two.

Dic mihi Musa Virum captae post tempora Trojae
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.

Muse, speak the man, who since the Siege of Troy, Earl of
So many Towns, such Change of Manners saw. Rosc.

But then the sufferings of Ulysses, which are a Considerable part of that Sentence are omitted.

"Ὅς μάλ'α πολλὰ πλάγχθη. 20

It is fairly clear that Dryden is referring here to the same translation by Jonson to which he made reference previously--the material from Horace

in this passage is all from the Ars Poetica. Dryden seems to be wrong in thinking that Jonson's translation, which, in fact, exists in two versions, was "attempted in the same compass of Lines." William B. Hunter, Jr., in his edition of Jonson's poetry, says that, in general, "Jonson was primarily interested in literal translation" and that both versions of his translation of the Ars Poetica are (although "pedestrian") "accurate"; but, to quote Hunter once again, "Horace's original 476 lines are expanded to 680 in both versions."²¹ Dryden thus seems to be wrong about the nature of Jonson's attempt. But the important thing for the present discussion is not whether Dryden is right or wrong, but that he thought that he was right, or that he said that Jonson had attempted to do his translation "in the same compass of Lines." Dryden seems to have thought of the attempt to translate in this way as something which was done more than just occasionally by the ill-advised poets of the metaphrastic tradition. It may be remembered that, in the same preface with which we have been dealing, he says that it is unnecessary "that Words and Lines should be confin'd to the measure of their Original." The inference that Dryden and, with him, his followers thought that such linear confinement was characteristic of the metaphrastic tradition, is strengthened by a passage in Dr. Johnson's life of Dryden, part of which passage has already been quoted:

The affluence and comprehension of our language is very illustriously displayed in our poetical translation of Ancient Writers; a work which the French seem to relinquish in despair, and which we were long unable to perform with dexterity. Ben Jonson thought it necessary to copy Horace almost word by word; Feltham, his contemporary and adversary, considers it as indispensably requisite in a translation to give line for line. It is said that Sandys, whom Dryden calls the best versifier of the last age, has struggled hard to comprise every book in the English Metamorphoses in the same number of verses with the original. Holyday had nothing in view but to shew that he understood his author,

with so little regard to the grandeur of his diction, or the volubility of his numbers, that his metres can hardly be called verses; they cannot be read without reluctance, nor will the labour always be rewarded by understanding them. Cowley saw that such copyers were a servile race; he asserted his liberty, and spread his wings so boldly that he left his authors. It was reserved for Dryden to fix the limits of poetical liberty, and give us just rules and examples of translation.²²

It is to be noted that of the four translators named by Dr. Johnson as examples of the "servile race" which preceded the bold flight of Cowley, two--or one half of the total number--are pointed out, and thus criticized, as having attempted or desired to produce a translation which would have the same number of lines as the original. It is also significant that Jonson, whom Dryden thought to have attempted this, is not one of the two. Indeed, at least some of the pre-Augustan translators did attempt to translate "Line by Line," and some of the titles of pre-Augustan translations seem to indicate that the translating was done in this way. In the list of pre-Restoration classical translations provided in Volume I of The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature (600-1660), one finds three entries with titles which seem to indicate a "Line by Line" translation: "Marlowe, Christopher. Lucans first booke, translated line for line. 1600 . . . "; "Fleming, Abraham. The Bucolikes drawne into Englishe verse for verse. 1575."; and "[Fraunce, Abraham?]. The lamentation of Corydon, for the love of Alexis, verse for verse out of Latine. . . . 1588 . . ."²³ Marlowe's translation of "Lucans first booke" has 694 lines; the original, 695. Rowe's Augustan translation of the same book has 1,169 lines.²⁴

That in translating the Achilleis, Sir Robert wanted to limit himself to "the same compass of Lines," seems clear in many of the openings of the present edition. Of fifty-nine openings (not including the

the one with the title-pages), seven have the same number of lines in the English than in the Latin; nine have two more lines in the English; thirteen have three more lines in the English; eleven have four more English lines; one has five more; one, six more; and one, seven more (Latin: V,49-65; English: V, 53-76). Five openings have one fewer line in the English; and one has two fewer lines there (Latin: III, Arg. & 1-8; English: III, Arg. & 1-6). As has already been said, there are, altogether, 1,128 lines in the Latin and 1,250 in the English, and the English shows an 11% increase over the Latin. (The "arguments," which Sir Robert uniformly translated with only two couplets, and which, as he probably knew, from having used the editions of 1653, are not really part of the text, have not been included in this analysis.) Certainly, Sir Robert did not produce a translation having "the same number of verses with the original." That he came as close as he did will, however, be remarkable to anyone who has worked with Latin. And that his method in the Achilleis differs greatly from that of Dryden in his translations, must be clear to anyone who has compared some of Dryden's translations against their originals. Dryden is far more expansive than Sir Robert, and if one turns from Sir Robert's Achilleis to his translation of "The Fourth Book of Virgil," which was published along with the Achilleis, one can see the difference--or differences--between the two men as translators in a very convincing way. Although Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis seems to be unique, and thus cannot be compared with any other poetic translation of this work, his translation of Aeneis IV is not unique, of course, because Dryden, for one, did a translation of the same book. A quantitative comparison of the original, Sir Robert's translation, and that by Dryden is very revealing. The original has 705

lines; Sir Robert's version, 807; Dryden's, 1,009. Christopher Pitt's version, which was published in 1740, and which can be taken as another example of the new, Augustan manner of translation, has 1,017 lines.²⁵ Sir Robert's version shows a 14% increase over the original; Dryden's, a 43% increase; and Pitt's, a 44% increase.²⁶ On the other hand, in rendering that part of Aeneis IV which Waller translated, Sir Robert has used many more lines than Waller: while (as has been said) for 147 lines of Latin, Waller's translation has only 134 lines of English, Sir Robert's has 169--a 15% increase over the original. This increase is greater by four points than that in Sir Robert's Achilleis, but even this is, perhaps, not great enough to be called "Augustan." Pope was a genius at poetic compression, and yet his Iliad, the greatest Augustan translation, shows a 21% increase over the original.²⁷

The Augustan translators, writing in the analogistic, imitative spirit of English Augustanism,²⁸ sought, as they worked their way through a classical text, to achieve a stylistic effect which would, in their opinion, be equivalent to that produced by the Latin or Greek. Lucidity, whether or not they found it in the original, was ordinarily a major feature of the desired effect. In order to accomplish their stylistic purpose, the Augustan translators had to be expansive (and inaccurate). As J. M^CG. Bottkol indicates, in writing on "Dryden's Latin Scholarship," it is a characteristic of Dryden's translations that the English version is much longer than the original.²⁹ How likely is it that Dryden would have thought of Sir Robert's Achilleis as having been done in the manner in which he did his own translations, and in which he was recommending that others do theirs? It is illogical to think that a person who, in translating lines of dactylic hexameter

written in a synthetic language, such as Latin, into lines of English iambic pentameter, tries not to exceed the number of lines in the original, is someone trying to produce a literal translation. "Line by Line" must needs militate against "word by word." But if we are going to use Dryden's classification of methods of translation, we must try to accept what seems to be Dryden's thinking. To Dryden, it seems, the metaphrastic method is characterized not only by a desire for literalness--its chief characteristic--but also by a desire for linear parallelism--although the second characteristic conflicts with the first. It seems likely that if Dryden had been asked just after he wrote the preface to Ovid's Epistles, how he would categorize Sir Robert's Achilleis, he would have called it a metaphrastic translation.³⁰ The sophisticated reader who has approached Sir Robert's Achilleis in the hope--the justified hope--of finding its method to be another example of Sir Robert's literary leadership, will, upon reading it, probably be disappointed. But it is possible that a really sophisticated reader of seventeenth-century translations would conclude that Sir Robert's perceptible method is less backward-looking, and more consonant with circumstantial evidence, than has just been indicated. The translation does seem a bit more readable than many earlier translations--the lines seeming less congested, the syntax less complicated, than is often the case with the earlier productions--and this may be the result of an attempt at the new lucidity. But such subjective observations and such easy speculations must be offered, and must be received, only as what they are.

If Dryden had examined Sir Robert's Achilleis, he would, probably, have immediately noticed its close quantitative relationship to the

original, and on the basis of this relationship, he would, it seems likely, have regarded the translation as a metaphrastic translation. If asked about its fidelity, he would perhaps, proceeding from the obvious to the not so obvious, have quickly said that the translation is "litteral" or "Verbal." As has been suggested, whether or not it would, in fact, have been found by Dryden or anyone else to deserve these contemporary tags is a good question. Whether or not it would have been called a metaphrastic translation solely on the basis of its fidelity to the original cannot be answered by the present editor. For a poetic translation, it does, however, seem relatively or reasonably faithful to the original, and although, because of Sir Robert's self-imposed linear restriction, it does, of course, show numerous omissions, these omissions seem to be each a matter of one or a few words only: it seems, that is, that no omission is an extensive one. This is probably the most that should be said at the present time about the general fidelity of the translation, although it should, perhaps, be added that Sir Robert seems to have been occasionally influenced by the French translation of 1658 to use English words which are not justified by the original. The relationship between any translation and its original is a very complicated matter, and unless an editor or other critic is able to adduce some statistical results from a comprehensive, scientific analysis of a translation and its original, he should probably restrain himself from making any positive, seemingly objective statements about the general fidelity of the translation. Too often one finds a critic discussing in the most positive terms the general fidelity of a lengthy translation, and notices that the critic supports his far-reaching, seemingly well-researched statements only with one or two egregious examples, in which the translator has

either superstitiously adhered to or licentiously deviated from the original, the latter crime being the more severely regarded by critics, and the more frequently reported. It has not been possible for the present editor to perform the kind of scientific analysis that would be necessary in order for him to make, with respect to the original fidelity of Sir Robert's translation, more satisfactory statements than he has already offered. The editor has, however, tried to facilitate the detailed study of translation and original and, hence, of the fidelity of the translation, by providing the Latin text which Sir Robert seems actually to have used and by arranging the Latin and the English in a more clearly parallel fashion than is usually done.

Let us now turn from the issue of fidelity and consider the translation in a more Aristotelian manner: what, one asks, are the translation's purely intrinsic qualities, characteristics, etc.? It will not be possible to speak about everything of interest, but those things which seem to the editor to be most noteworthy will at least be mentioned.

With respect to its diction, Sir Robert's Achilleis is rather plain: the modern reader should not have much difficulty with the words that Sir Robert has used. Aside from the pronominal forms thou, thine, etc., which, even today, are commonly understood, there are, in the translation, almost no words which are themselves archaic--words such as alway, found in IV, 38. It is true that some words which are now in current use are, in the translation, used in an obsolete or archaic sense--"bestows." for example, in III, 228--and it is also true that some words of this kind appear in an unfamiliar spelling--for example, "boord," in IV, 92--but such occurrences are to be expected in a seventeenth-

century text and are relatively infrequent in Sir Robert's Achilleis. Similarly, Sir Robert's occasional use of now-archaic verb forms is neither surprising or troublesome. What may surprise the reader is the infrequency of instances in which an English word derived from Latin is used in its etymological rather than in its usual English sense--"virtue," in V, 40 and V, 105, being an example. The Latinate use of Latinate vocabulary can add to the attractiveness of a classical translation, and it is perhaps regrettable that Sir Robert did not go further than he did with this "magnificent" stylistic technique; and one can look with regret also at the paucity of archaisms. Sir Robert's diction can, in fact, be criticized as being too plain. Although his lexical plainness contributes to the readability of his translation, it can be said that Sir Robert has not made good use of the abundant riches of the great English poetic word-hoard. On the other hand, Sir Robert overuses two words in a sense now old and unfamiliar: affected in the obsolete sense of "beloved" is found in I, 88; II, 98; III, 58; III 214; V, 27; and V, 84, and to show in the archaic sense of "to seem" or "to look" appears in at least four places: III, 34; III, 52; III, 103; and IV, 119. Everyone, however, has his favorite words, and perhaps Sir Robert has not so often used affected and to show that one can justifiably say that he has overused them.³¹

Moreover, one might say that Sir Robert has made up for his repeated use of the two words by adorning his translation with some charming early examples of the "poetic diction" which was to become so characteristic of eighteenth-century verse compositions. "Wreathed shells" (for the Tritons' trumpets), in I, 62, "crooked Dolphines," in I, 64, "scaly brood," in II, 32, and "Sol's reflecting beams," in V, 126, for example, show that collocation of otiose, often sentimental, adjective and group noun which

is so familiar to readers of eighteenth-century poetry. None of these examples derives from the Latin original. The third example is particularly interesting, in that it seems to demonstrate one of the major eighteenth-century uses of poetic diction--the decorous avoidance of directly mentioning something so potentially evocative of nasty associations as a bunch of fish, although alive and swimming in the sea: thus, in the eighteenth century, mice were called "the whiskered vermin race," and chickens, "the household feathery people." A fifth example of Sir Robert's use of poetic diction seems strikingly original: in I, 174 he has translated the Latin word "niues" (snows) as "feather'd rain." Sir Robert was not the first English writer to use the kind of poetic diction which would be in vogue in the eighteenth century. The line of descent can be traced back at least as far as Jonson, in whose "To Penshurst," among the numerous natural products bounteously afforded by Penshurst, are listed "the painted partrich," "bright eeles," "the blushing apricot," and the "wolly peach."³² And, of course, far anterior to Jonson and even to English poetry itself lies that vast and inexhaustibly rich body of literature which is so often the source of our English literary techniques--the immortal works of the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome. In Latin poetry, at least, such "eighteenth-century" phrases as we have been considering are rather common: one often sees combinations such as "liquidi fontes" (literally, liquid fountains) and "lanigerae oves" (wooly--literally, wool-bearing--sheep).³³ The appearance of such phrases in Sir Robert's Achilleis is, however, perhaps not insignificant. It could be another indication that his translation is more forward-looking than it can at first seem to be.

In its grammar, Sir Robert's Achilleis is certainly not perfect,

but the serious difficulties that exist in the work are not so frequent that one's reading can be said to be made really difficult by them. The number of serious difficulties is rather small. Indeed, any reader who has gone through some of Sir Robert's other works will probably be both surprised and thankful that his Achilleis is so free from serious grammatical problems. In his writings as a whole, not only those in verse but also those in prose, Sir Robert is at times almost unintelligible, and his failure to keep a constant tight control of his grammar is a major reason for his so frequently lapsing into the intellectual fragmentedness and darkness which so often confronts and vexes and repels the curious reader. (In the "Statement of Editorial Method" are quoted some remarks by Dryden on the subject of Sir Robert's grammar.) The most frequent serious problem in the translation of the Achilleis is perhaps the use of a participial phrase in such a way that it seems to modify one word and actually modifies another. English writers of Sir Robert's time--not to mention those of other periods--whether because they were accustomed to the inflected participles of Latin or because of the continuing rudeness of the English language, often misplaced their participial phrases. As a result, their works do not read so smoothly as we should like, but a misplaced participial phrase creates no real problem unless the true direction of its modification cannot be known or unless its apparent direction is misleading. Some of Sir Robert's misplaced phrases do create a problem, the one in IV, 230, for example. A different kind of abuse of participles can be seen in I, 117-118 and in I, 168, and in I, 204 an adjective seems to be abused in the same way. And, of course, there are other problems not involving participles. In at least one place, I, 144, we find a finite verb without a subject, and in several

places, III, 69-73, for example, we find irregular agreement between subject and verb or noun and pronoun. In some instances of such agreement, we can, perhaps, excuse Sir Robert by using the phrase constructio ad sensum, but since, in reading some of Sir Robert's other works, one sees that improper agreement between subject and verb, at least, is a characteristic problem of Sir Robert, it would perhaps be wise to restrain oneself from using this phrase. (The Blind Lady, a Comedy, which was published along with the Achilleis, has many errors in agreement between subject and verb.) Related to the problem of agreement, but more serious, is the fact that in a few places, IV, 93, for example, two or more pronouns used together have a confusing effect upon the reader. This kind of problem and the others which have been pointed out are not the only ones to be found in the text, and, of course, one must expect to find a number of kinds of problems to have been created by the inconsistent punctuation which was standard during Sir Robert's period. The kinds of problems caused by the punctuation should, however, be familiar to readers of old literature, and the other kinds should not seem unusual to them. Such readers know better than to think that every writer like Dryden, who himself is not without irregularities. He who has forced himself through the grammatical horror-house of Aphra Behn's Oroonoko or of Settle's Empress of Morocco will not object to the lapses of which Sir Robert is guilty in his Achilleis.

It seems to have been held by a number of scholars that Sir Robert was incapable of writing a properly metrical line of verse. Because of this scholarly belief, H.J. Oliver, in his book on Sir Robert, feels compelled to say the following:

[Sir Walter] Scott . . . writes that "the versification of . . . [The Indian Queen], which is far more harmonious than

that generally used by Howard, shews evidently that . . . Dryden had assiduously corrected the whole play, though it may be difficult to say how much of it was written by him." What Scott, who had read Poems 1660, should have remembered was that Howard could write heroic couplets quite competently when he chose; and like most who have discussed the problem (perhaps all except Harbage), Scott was misled by the irregular verse of Howard's three earlier plays--verse which, as has been demonstrated, is written in the mistaken belief that such irregularity was appropriate in a certain kind of play--and drew the erroneous conclusion that Howard's verse without Dryden's help would not even have scanned.³⁴

The versification in his Achilleis is a good example of the fact that Sir Robert could write metrically regular lines of poetry when he wished. The syllables in the lines of his translation are very consistently well-counted: it seems that there is only one line in the whole translation that is clearly wrong metrically--V, 179, which is hypometrical even if "toils" is pronounced as two syllables. And yet the verse in Sir Robert's translation is not merely mechanical; it is not the result of a stultifying determination to be regular. Sir Robert has, that is, adequately varied the meter of his lines, the use of trochees being his most frequent method. But one might say that he was too various in arranging his sense and grammar to fit the pattern of the heroic couplet. Sir Robert's couplets do, indeed, seem to be more in the Augustan manner than those of many, or most, earlier writers of the seventeenth century--as would be expected from someone who had been able to read Waller and Denham and who kept up, as Sir Robert seems to have done, with the most recent literary developments of his time. But all too often we find Sir Robert falling back into what Dr. Johnson, in his life of Dryden, calls the "former savageness."³⁵ Too often, the first line of one of Sir Robert's couplets ends at a very awkward syntactical point, and sometimes, in addition, the rime-word is not one which has any thematic importance

in the couplet but is used as the rime-word only because it happened to be at the end of the line. Too often, there is a full stop within a line, rather than at the end; and too often, the sense and grammar of one couplet simply spill over into the next. The reader will find many examples of such unfortunate atavism. It seems desirable, however, to give at least one at this time:

They all expresse their sexes fears, besides
Aeacides, who scarce his new joy hides,
 Greedy to see the Greeks. The room with guests.
 Was fill'd, who on rich Beds receiv'd their feasts.

--IV, 79-82.

Sir Robert seems to like to use two or more couplets for the purpose of containing a single long sentence, and within the group of verses there is usually some enjambement, but the last line is end-stopped--for example.

The Youth arriv'd, loaded with dust and sweat,
 And wearied with his arms and labours; yet
 His snowy looks, the rosy blushes stain'd;
 His hair the shining Gold with glittering sham'd.

--I, 183-186.

Of course, the combining of couplets is not objectionable; the libertine use of enjambement, on the other hand, is. It is well to remember, however, that when Sir Robert wrote his translation, Dryden had not yet had any real influence on the couplet. Indeed, Dryden had published only two pieces written in this verse form, and both of these show that Dryden had not yet achieved an Augustan mastery of the form. In "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings" (1649), one finds the following:

His native Soyl was the Four parts o'th'Earth;
 All Europe was too narrow for his Birth.
 A young Apostle; and (with rev'rence may
 I speak'it) inspir'd with gift of Tongues, as They.

--11. 21-24.³⁶

In "To John Hoddesdon, on His Divine Epigrams" (1650), one sees this:

Reader, I've done, nor longer will withhold
Thy greedy eyes; looking on this pure gold
Thou'lt know adult'rate copper, which, like this,
Will onely serve to be a foil to his.

--11. 23-26.³⁷

"To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard," Dryden's third published poem in heroic couplets, seems to show great improvement in control of the couplet but this was obviously composed after Sir Robert had written his Achilleis. Sir Robert wrote his translation during a transitional period of English literature: important developments were taking place not only in the art of translation, but also in the art of poetry in general (and of prose). Reflecting this transition, the style of Sir Robert's couplets --like that of Dryden's in his earliest published poems--is a mixed style, part old and part new. In the fact that Sir Robert's couplets are at least somewhat in the new manner, one might see additional evidence that his translation is of a progressive, rather than a regressive, nature, for the poets who reformed English versification were the very poets who reformed the English art of translation. That Sir Robert's couplets are somewhat or very much in the old manner cannot, however, be denied. It is not very significant that we see no triplets or alexandrines in the translation: Dryden did not use his first triplet until he wrote Astraea Redux,³⁸ and it seems that he did not use his first alexandrine until some time after he wrote this poem. Moreover, in at least two places, Sir Robert does show something of the spirit of the triplet, by using the same rime for two couplets in succession. What is very significant, for it clearly distinguishes Sir Robert from the Augustan writers, is his gross overuse of apostrophization. Natural or reasonable contraction, including synaloepha, is one thing; quite another is such desperate

licentiousness as we see in "I'th War" (III, 104), in "and's" (III, 166), and in "Th'Greeks" (IV, 253). Sir Robert was foolish in trying to render the Achilleis without allowing himself more room than he did, especially since he lacked the talent at compression which would have enabled him to pull it off without resorting to such gothic acts of force. Here again, however, it is a good idea to look at some of Dryden's early poems. In the above-quoted passage from "Upon the Death of the Lord Hastings," we find a few examples of the same kind of barbarous contraction that disfigures Sir Robert's Achilleis. The editors of "The California Dryden" attribute Dryden's "profligate" apostrophization in his elegy to a "striving for syllabic regularity," and the same reason may be partly to blame in the case of Sir Robert's Achilleis.³⁹ More important than the cause or causes, however, is the result. What the California editors call "smoothness and sweetness"⁴⁰ cannot be found in any couplet where there is such rude apostrophization as Sir Robert repeatedly uses in his Achilleis.

A large percentage of the part of Poems (or Poems on Several Occasions) which is devoted to the Achilleis is taken up by Sir Robert's "Annotations," the "curious Notes" to which Dryden refers in his commentary verses. There are, in fact, if we look at a copy of Poems, about one and one-half pages of annotations, on the average, to every page of the translation proper, and the annotations are printed with much smaller type than the translation, and with much closer spacing. These simple facts in themselves, one would think, should suffice to prove that Sir Robert was indeed a classicist, or at least that he had the makings of one. The actual character of the annotations totally smothers whatever doubt there might be about applying this term to him. For the notes are

densly packed and loaded with the products and proof of classical learning. In the course of elucidating Statius's text--the ostensible purpose of the notes--Sir Robert overwhelms the reader with an astounding mass of classical material--mythological, geographical, and historical names, quotations from Latin and Greek, translations of these quotations, and references to the learned pronouncements of obscure classical scholars with names like Alexander ab Alexandro, Hermippus, Palaephatus, Synesius, and Schildius. And not content with simply helping the reader to understand the Achilleis, Sir Robert frequently goes into long, speculative digressions on issues raised either by the text itself or by his own elucidation of the text, thus giving himself additional opportunities to quote from the classical languages and to refer to the notae and diatribae of those wonderful old scholars with the Latinized names. For example, in explaining line 220 of Book I--"The monstrous Minotaur fam'd Theseus slew."--Sir Robert first tells the story of Theseus and the Minotaur, including the story of Pasiphae and a good amount of really unnecessary material, and then, in typical fashion, he proceeds to offer a rationalistic explanation for the myth concerning Pasiphae, and this leads him to say that "the Fable was more lewdly presented by Nero," and this reference causes him to note that in talking about Nero's presentation of the fable, Suetonius "as Beroaldus noteth, useth words, that seem to credit Beasts having copulation with Women"--this (female zoolagnia) now becomes the central concern of the note, and Sir Robert cites a law in Leviticus, "which sheweth the probability of it"; he then says, "Besides, if it be possible, we need no farther proof than the unsatiable nature of some women. Nor would any doubt, that Messalina the lascivious Emperesse would have scrupled at such an act, if her fancy had but directed her to

it. Juvenal. Sat. 6."--he then quotes from this famous misogynistic satire nearly fifteen lines, or almost all, of the passage telling of Messalina's activities as a "mertrix Augusta," and then he provides a verse translation of the lines, at the conclusion of which translation-- "And toil'd with men, not satisfi'd, retires."--the note finally comes to an end.⁴¹ It is true that Statius, who, like Ovid, carried on the Alexandrian tradition of mythological ostentation, requires an unusual number of explanatory notes, but Sir Robert, who is himself not averse from ostentation, goes considerably beyond the bounds of strict necessity. H.J. Oliver says that "Howard's notes . . . are not unlike those in many modern school editions of Greek and Latin texts"; but this is surely not an accurate observation, as is indicated in Oliver's own subsequent treatment of the notes, in which Oliver mentions the "discussion on the possibility of 'Beasts having copulation with Women.'"⁴² Sir Robert himself seems to have been aware of his excessiveness, for, in the preface to Poems, he says, "The Annotations may in some places perhaps be judged too large." But he has an excuse for their largeness, and continues thus: "yet, had I omitted any thing, it is probable that the same persons would have censur'd me for ignorance: so that being equally sensible of these extreams, I judg'd it the testimony of the greatest modesty, By omitting little, to shew my self not at all secure in the world's opinion."⁴³

It is not likely that "by omitting little" Sir Robert managed to improve his position "in the world's opinion." One characteristic of English Augustanism was, it seems, a dislike of pedantry. The display of recondite learning is at least now considered to be a frequent feature of Metaphysical writing, and one certainly sees a great deal of such display in earlier seventeenth-century writing generally. Augustan dis-

like of pedantry seems to have been part of the general Augustan rejection of the literary ways and attitudes of the earlier age. The emphasis was now on gracefulness, not on showing off one's laborious attention to details. The new theory of translation was itself related to the rejection of pedantry. In the preface to Ovid's Epistles, Dryden says, "Not word for word too faithfully translate [using Roscommon's translation of part of Horace's Ars Poetica] . . . Too faithfully is indeed pedantically: 'tis a faith like that which proceeds from Superstition, blind and zealous . . ."⁴⁴ (The mingling of the literary and the theological in denouncing the ways of previous writers seems typical of Restoration Augustanism.) And in the Earl of Roscommon's Essay on Translated Verse (1684), which was one of the most well-read Restoration treatments of the art of translation, Roscommon also speaks out against pedantry:

The Soil intended for Pierian seeds;
Must be well purg'd from rank Pedantick Weeds.
Apollo starts, and all Parnassus shakes,
At the rude Rumbling Baralipton makes.
For none have been with Admiration, read,
But who (beside their Learning) were Well-bred.⁴⁵

J. M^CG. Bottkol, who quotes the foregoing passage, discusses the effect that Dryden's dislike of learned ostentation had on his own translations and annotations:

Dryden often chooses to embody material we should put into footnotes in the translation itself. The prejudice of the age was against a pedantic display of learning, and Dryden wrote only a few scattered notes with great reluctance, as we know from the "Postscript" to his Aeneis. This dislike for pedantic ostentation often accounts for the intrusion of information only implied in the original.

In a note, Bottkol quotes from the "Postscript" to the Aeneis:

". . . the few Notes which follow are par manière d'acquit, because I had oblig'd myself by articles to do somewhat of that kind. These scattering observations are rather guesses at my author's meaning in some passages than proofs that so he meant. The unlearn'd may have recourse to any poetical dictionary in English, for the names of persons, places, or fables, which the learned need not; but that little which I say is either new or necessary" . . .⁴⁶

It is likely, then, that Sir Robert did not endear himself with the Restoration world of letters by having such "large" annotations attached to his translation of the Achilleis (and, indeed, one reason for Dryden's hostility towards Statius may have been Statius's own learned ostentation).

The seriousness and "positiveness" which characterize Sir Robert's annotations could only have aggravated the effect produced by their largeness. They Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), from which, in fact, Sir Robert quotes (on "The question Whether Spirits affect carnall copulation"),⁴⁷ is somewhat similar to Sir Robert's annotations, but Burton, who calls himself "Democritus Junior," after the ancient Greek "laughing philosopher," has a different purpose from Sir Robert's, and often gives us the feeling that he is writing with tongue and cheek. Sir Robert, on the other hand, seems to be totally serious.⁴⁸ H.J. Oliver, in discussing the annotations, says, "He . . . shows a tendency to pronounce confidently on any subject that comes up--a tendency that was later to lead to Shadwell's amusing caricature of him as 'Sir Positive At-All' [in The Sullen Lovers (1668)]."⁴⁹ One might wish to go further than Oliver and to suggest that Sir Robert's annotations were themselves in part responsible for the caricature. The annotations appear in Sir Robert's first book, and this book must have done much to create an image of Sir Robert both as a man of letters and as a human being. And in The Sullen Lovers, there are at least two passages which refer to Sir Robert's reputation as a classical scholar:

Sir Pos. Hold Woodcock! why shou'd you disparage Poet Ninny,
He's a man of admirable Parts, and as cunning a fellow, between
you and I Stanford, I believe he's a Jesuite, but I am sure he
is a Jansenist.

Wood. He a Jesuite, that understand neither Greek nor Latine?

Sir Pos. Now he talkes of that Stanford, I'll tele thee
what a Master I am of those Languages; I have found out in

the Progress of my Study, I must confess with some diligence, four and twenty Greek and Latine words for Black Puddens & Sausages.

and

Sir Pos. Hold, hold, hold, hold!
 Navigation, Geography, Astronomy, Palmestry, Phisick, Divinity, Surgery, Arithmetick, Logick, Cookery and Magick: I'll speak to every one of these in their order; if I don't understand e'm every one in perfection, nay, if I don't Fence, Dance, Ride, Sing Fight a Duel, speak French, Command an Army, play on the Violin, Bag-pipe, Organ, Harp, Hoboy, Sackbut, and double Curtal, speak Spanish, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Dutch, Welch and Irish, Dance a Jigg, throw the Barr, Swear, Drink, Swagger, Whore, Quarrel, Cuffe, break Windowes, manage Affairs of State, Hunt, Hawke, Shoot, Angle, play at Catt, Stool-ball, Scotch-hope and Trap-ball, Preach, Dispute, make Speeches. _____
 Prethee get me a glass of small beere, Roger.⁵⁰ (Coughs.)

Sir Robert published no work of classical scholarship between Poems and the appearance of The Sullen Lovers, and his annotations do, as H.J. Oliver indicates, show their author acting as a confident authority on a wide variety of subjects--the annotations do involve a third foreign language, one of those named above: Hebrew, although for only one word. It is not unlikely, then, that Shadwell was thinking to a certain extent of Sir Robert's annotations when he created the ridiculous character Sir Positive At-All. Moreover, it is possible that Dryden had Sir Robert's annotations in mind when, in his "Essay of Dramatic Poesy," which was published in the same year as The Sullen Lovers, he created the character of Crites, whom many scholars (but by no means all) believe to represent Sir Robert. Stanley Archer, in his article on "The Persons in An Essay of Dramatic Poesy," points out that the annotations were an important reason for Dryden's basing Crites, who, in the dialogue of the "Essay," is the spokesman for the Ancients, upon Sir Robert rather than upon some one else:

The suitability of Howard as a spokesman for the ancients rests upon other grounds. In his Poems (1660) he included his translation of a portion of the Aeneid and Statius' Achilleis. To the latter work he added copious notes fraught with learning and conjecture about ancient history, religion, philosophy, and science. Some idea of the scope of these notes may be gathered from the fact that to the 300-line translation of the first book (of five, according to his division) he added over twenty-nine pages of notes. In accord with his understanding of the ancients, Crites comments of modern drama, "'we have the confidence to say our wit is better; of which none boast in this our age, but such as understand not theirs'" In the Preface to Poems (1660), Howard had written of his notes, "The Annotations may in some places perhaps be judged too large; yet, had I omitted anything, it is probable that the same persons would have censur'd me for ignorance." In his verses attached to the volume Dryden commended Howard on the notes:

You curious Notes so search into that Age,
When all was fable but the sacred Page,
That since in that dark night we needs must stray,
We are at least misled in pleasant way.

Howard's comment on his notes and Dryden's compliment in these verses picture Howard as an understander of the ancients, one, like Crites, admirably equipped to explain their dramatic theory and practice.⁵¹

Indeed, although Shadwell and some or many of Sir Robert's other contemporaries may well have found his annotations ridiculous, it does seem that Dryden, in spite of his dislike for pedantry, had at least some amount of respect for the learning contained in the annotations. Late in his life, Dryden wrote what is, apparently, another tribute to these notes. The editors of "The California Dryden" explain this tribute thus:

Malone observed that in 1697 Dryden had written a complimentary statement on Howard's translation of Virgil In his notes on the sixth Aeneid (not the fifth, as Malone said), Dryden wrote (Works of Virgil [1697], p. 631): "Sir Robert Howard in his Translation of this Aeneid, which was Printed with his Poems in the Year 1660; has given us the most Learned, and the most Judicious Observations on this Book, which are extant in our Language." Dryden was apparently trusting to his memory, which here was not accurate. Howard translated the fourth Aeneid, not the sixth; and he wrote no observations on the book. After thirty-seven years Dryden must have confused the annotations on Statius with observations on Virgil.⁵²

This was not the only occasion on which Dryden, who in the well-known "Defense of 'An Essay of Dramatic Poesy'" sharply criticized Sir Robert's Latin, expressed praise of Sir Robert as a classical scholar. H.J. Oliver says that "Dryden's tributes to his brother-in-law's classical knowledge give further reason for believing that Howard had more than the usual familiarity with Roman literature and philosophy."⁵³

Indeed, however ostentatious and "positive" they may seem, one cannot read Sir Robert's annotations without being truly impressed at what Sir Robert knew in the field of classical scholarship. Sir Roberts was not a professional scholar; he was simply a gentleman. One must wonder whether any person of today except one of the most learned of professional scholars, could put on such an overwhelming show as Sir Robert does in his annotations. The man may have been a pretentious ass or fool, as Shadwell would have us believe, and there may even be errors in his annotations, but, as far as scholarship is concerned, he towers above almost all moderns like a glorious and incredible Titan from an educational Age of Gold. Furthermore, the annotations, like the translation itself, are surprisingly readable. Someone who has perused a number of other works by Sir Robert, knows that Sir Robert's prose can be almost as lacking in lucidity as his poetry. The very beginning of his preface to Poems, for example, reads as follows:

It has been the usuall custom of Epistles, to give the Reader an account of the causes that brought those writings into publick, that were onely intended for a private Closet; and commonly it has been at the request of friends, perhaps with mingled truth and designe, to prae-engage the judgments of many, by telling the opinion of some, so to preserve their modesty as much in the pretence, as they could have done in the concealment of their Writings.⁵⁴

Stylistically, the annotations are much better than this. And one is especially glad of the difference because, in spite of the ponderous

learning with which they are loaded, the annotations offer much that is useful and much that is interesting.

A student of the history of ideas would be particularly glad that the material in the annotations is stylistically accessible, for the annotations seem to be important as a kind of philosophical document. H.J. Oliver touches upon this aspect of the annotations when he says the following:

. . . Howard is to be commended for his understanding that Greek myths need not be taken literally and for his attempts to interpret them; and, although he may reach some wrong conclusions, he is already trying to make that connection between pagan and Christian myth which was to be one of the main threads in his later History of Religion. So he writes: "I have in some of these Notes, given short intimations, that there was nothing in the worship of Daemons, which was not an imitation of the worship of the true God: Larger proofs whereof, time perhaps may favour my intentions to produce" . . .; and he accepts the identification of Saturn with Noah and comments on the similarity between religious ceremonials mentioned in Juvenal and Suetonius and some referred to in the Old Testament⁵⁵

Gion Carlo Roscioni, in "Sir Robert Howard's 'Sceptical Curiosity,'" looks at the annotations with greater attention, and tries to show that they are characterized by that kind of philosophical thinking to which we refer as "libertinism." "When concerned with religion or history," says Roscioni, "Sir Positive At-All was sometimes very skeptical. One may wonder what the Annotations are actually worth. Their main patterns are certainly not very original, but they have an unmistakable flavor, the flavor of seventeenth-century 'libertinage érudit.' And this is a relevant element in Sir Robert's intellectual background."⁵⁶ Roscioni says that Sir Robert's libertinism can be seen even in Sir Robert's choice of the Achilleis as a work to translate:

The choice of the text is in itself noteworthy. Statius was held in the seventeenth century to be a very dangerous writer. In 1635 Père Jean Boucher, the great impeacher of the French "libertines" of the time, wrote, "Statius a esté le premier

des pédagogues de l'athéisme, et le premier escolier de Satan." In England John Tillotson, talking about atheism, contemptuously referred--as did both Père Boucher and the anonymous author of a pamphlet against Howard's History of Religion--to the famous words of his: "Primus in orbe deos fecit timor"--a saying that the atheist "can never sufficiently admire." Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis is the first English translation, and the only convincing reason for his choosing this text is to be looked for in the Annotations.⁵⁷

Although Roscioni's general thesis would seem to have some validity, some of his minor points seem rather dubious. One wonders, for example, how "dangerous" Statius was really considered in the seventeenth century. Since the time of Dante, a large part of Statius's fame has rested upon Dante's well-known portrait of him, in the Purgatorio. As is, and has been, well known, Dante presents him as a Christian. On the subject of Statius's conversion (of which we have no real historical evidence, either for or against), Dante is very clear:

"Now when thou [Statius] didst sing of the savage strife
of Jocasta's twofold sorrow in the Thebais," said the singer
of the Bucolic lays [i.e., Vergil],

"by that which Clio touches with thee there, it
seems not that faith had yet made thee faithful,
without which good works are not enough.

If this be so, what sun or what candles dispelled
the darkness for thee, so that thou didst there-
after set they sails to follow the Fisherman [i.e., St. Peter]?"

And he to him: "Thou first didst send me
towards Parnassus to drink in its caves, and
then didst light me on to God.

Thou didst like one who goes by night, and
carries the light behind him, and profits not him-
self, but maketh persons wise that follow him,

when thou saidst: "The world is renewed,
justice returns and the first age of man, and a
new progeny descends from heaven' [ll. 5-7 of Vergil's 4th Eclogue].

Through thee I was a poet, through thee a
Christian, but that thou mayst see better what
I outline I will put forth my hand to fill in colour.

Already the whole world was big with the true
belief, sown by the apostles of the everlasting
kingdom;

and thy words, touched on above, harmonised so
with the new preachers, that the habit took
me of visiting them.

They then became so holy in my sight, that
when Domitian persecuted them, their wail-
ing were not without tears of mine.

And while by me yon world was trod, I succoured
them, and their righteous lives made me despise
all other sects;

and ere in my poem [the Thebais] I had brought the Greeks
to Thebes' rivers, I received baptism, but
through fear I was a secret Christian,

long time pretending paganism; and this luke-
warmness made me speed round the fourth circle
more than four times a hundred years.

Thou therefore, who hast lifted the covering
which hid from me the great good I tell of,
while we have time to spare on the ascent,

tell me, where are our ancient Terence, Caecilius,
Plautus, and Varro, if thou knowest; tell me
if they are damned, and in what ward."

--Purgatorio, Canto XXII, ll. 55-99.⁵⁸

Furthermore, Statius's personality and philosophical attitudes, as
revealed in his writings, do not, it is hardly too much to say, seem very
"dangerous."

Of Sir Robert's Achilleis as a whole--both the translation proper
and the annotations--one can justly make the following brief assessment.
It is obviously not one of the classics of English literature: it is not
like Chapman's Homer or Pope's Iliad. Written by an author who has been
almost totally neglected, and is not likely ever to be popular, and lacking
both the rich quaintness of the Elizabethan translations and the charming
gracefulness of the Augustan--a literary product of a period that has

given us no famous English versions of the classics--it will probably never be in the least attractive to anyone except the reader of classical literature in translation. To readers of this particular interest, it will, of course, seem far below the level of most, if not all, of the standard Augustan translations. But if such a reader would only give it a chance, he would probably find that, quite apart from the fact that it seems to be the only verse translation of the Achilleis, it is not a translation unworthy of his attention. For it is a decent translation. It is, for a poetic translation, reasonably faithful; it is not lacking in literary sophistication; and, perhaps most important, it is, generally speaking, very readable. Readability is especially important in the case of a work written by Sir Robert, because it cannot simply be expected of him. Too often, the reader of Sir Robert's poetry must struggle to get through something like the following:

The true Parnassus (Sir) which Muses know,
 Are Subjects which they choose; to whom they owe
 Their Inspirations, differing as the times,
 Unhappy Vertues, or successful Crimes.
 The greatest Choyce is, where the most Successe
 Makes Fears as great, nor their Ambitions lesse.
 With the Usurped Crowns they strive for Bays;
 Those readier not to Act than These to Praise.⁵⁹

Writers usually bestow special care upon the beginning of a work, so as to make a brilliant first impression, but the above is how Sir Robert left the beginning of his "Panegyrick to the King"--the first poem of his first publication. Sir Robert's Achilleis is almost entirely free of such dark thickets, and the reader can travel through it rather easily, although the path is often a bit rough. In addition, Sir Robert's copious annotations, which likewise read rather easily, not only help to explain the text, but also are interesting in their own right. Indeed, a leisurely but careful examination of Sir Robert's translation, his original,

and his annotations is an effective way to gain an appreciation of the fascinating richness, as well as a sense of the prodigious output, of seventeenth-century humanistic activity. The experience should be an enlightening one, and it will probably be found that, like most enlightening experiences, it is also a humbling one.⁶⁰

Having considered Sir Robert's Achilleis with respect to its fidelity, and having then looked at it as an independent work of literature, we are left with the question of its relationship to other Restoration literature, particularly that written by Sir Robert. Its relationship to other Restoration translations has already been discussed, in the section concerning its fidelity. Now we must ask ourselves whether it has any likely connection with any literary works or with any literary developments outside the realm of translation. One's inclination is to think that it probably does. Unless a man is still under the stick of a teacher, he is not likely to translate a work that does not appeal to him, and, similarly, in choosing a work for translation, he is not likely to choose at random. That Smollett translated Don Quixote, that Gifford translated Juvenal, that Scott's first publication consisted of translations or imitations of two German ballads by Bürger, that Byron rendered the first canto of Pulci's Morgante Maggiore--these were not literary accidents or coincidences. In each case the work or works which were translated have a clear connection with the writer's characteristic literary outlook, interests, and manner, as seen in the writer's other, more famous literary productions, and in each case, it is reasonable to say, the writer felt specifically attracted towards the work or works which he chose to translate. It would not be surprising to find that Sir Robert's Achilleis seems to be closely related to one or more of his

other literary works.

That Sir Robert wanted to include a couple of classical translations in his Poems seems quite natural. Like wearing a sword, doing some classical translations was part of the contemporary routine of being a Gentleman; indeed, some elegant English versions of the classics could constitute part of the proof that one would offer in confirmation of the fact that one was a gentleman--they would, if acceptable, at least solidly prove that one was a man of parts. Furthermore, in Sir Robert's day, new translations were not only being written but also being printed and published all the time. Those by Cowley, Denham, and Waller are ready examples, and if we look at the year 1660 itself, which does not seem to have been a big year for translations, we see that, in addition to Sir Robert's contributions, English book-buyers were offered Thomas Grantham's translations from the Iliad, John Ogilby's translation of the whole epic, Samuel Pordage's version of Seneca's Troades, and, perhaps, James Bellamy's Origen against Celsus--and, in addition, Sir Robert Stapleton's translations of Juvenal's satyrs, originally published in 1647, were republished.⁶¹ Similarly, that Sir Robert chose to do some Vergil seems quite natural, and that he was interested in Statius seems almost equally natural, especially if we assume that he was interested in epic. According to E.M.W. Tillyard, in The English Epic and its Background, "Lucan and Statius were the two post-Virgilian epic poets who, known and greatly read through the Middle Ages, became part of the regular epic canon of the neo-classic age."⁶² In the field of Latin epic, Vergil, Lucan, and Statius were, as they still are, the favorites, and there were, of course, some readers who, like Pope, thought that Statius was second only to Vergil. Sir Robert had, perhaps, read Statius in school; we know from

the preface to Thomas Stephens' translation of the first five books of the Thebais, published in 1648, that Statius was still studied by English schoolboys: "The translation was meditated, midst all the clamour and employments of a publike Schoole; and so, cannot be so accomplish'd, as might be expected from a vacant retirednesse. And, when I shall tell thee, that it was intended for a help to my Scholars, for understanding the Poet, thou wilt not wonder at my marginall explications of the Poetick story."⁶³ But why did Sir Robert choose the Achilleis, which is Statius's least-known work (excluding the fragment De Bello Germanico), and which, as far as we know, had not previously been translated into English verse? (We can assume that English schoolboys had done prose translation of it.) The reason offered by Roscioni--that Statius's "dangerousness" appealed to Sir Robert's "libertinism"--is not convincing, although Roscioni indicates that this is "the only convincing reason." In truth, there were probably two or three reasons why Sir Robert chose the Achilleis. One reason may have been the very fact that it had not been previously translated. Sir Robert may have wanted to break fresh ground. He might have been inspired to break fresh ground by the fact that Thomas Ross, who was another adherent of Charles II during his exile, and who, like Robert, was involved in the political intrigues of the time,⁶⁴ had undertaken to do a verse translation of Silius's Puncia, another previously untranslated classical epic. Ross's version was not published until 1661, but the dedication--to the King--is dated, from Bruges, 18 November 1657.⁶⁵ Too, the idea of being able to offer a translation of a whole, though incomplete, classical epic may have been very attractive to Sir Robert: a translation in whole seems to be more laudable than a partial translation. It seems, however, that there was a good deal more to Sir Robert's

choice than the possible desire to be new and the possible desire to translate in toto, although the desire to be new can be said to be a characteristic of Sir Robert. It seems likely that Sir Robert's choice of the Achilleis was, to a great extent, caused by the same interest or fascination that caused him to be the author or co-author of the first popular heroic play in England. The work of Restoration literature to which Sir Robert's Achilleis shows the closest affinity (excluding other translations) in The Indian Queen, which was first produced in 1664. And to this work, of course, are closely related all the heroic plays that were written in imitation of it.

How, one will ask, is the Achilleis like an heroic play? In the first place, it is an epic. At least since the time when Aristotle published his Poetics, epic has, in Western culture, been thought to be closely related to tragedy. Aristotle says, for example, the following:

. . . πάντ' ἔχει ὅσπερ ἡ ἐποποιία (καὶ γὰρ τῷ μέτρῳ ἕξεσσι χρῆσθαι), καὶ ἔτι οὐ μικρὸν μέρος τῆν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰς ὄψεις, δι' ἧς αἱ ἡδοναὶ συνίστανται ἐναργέστατα . . .

[literally, as many as]
 . . . it [tragedy] has all things which the epic poetry [has] (for it is allowed [to tragedy] to use even its meter [i.e., the hexameter]), and moreover a not little portion of its own, the music and the spectacle, by which the delights [of tragedy] stand together most distinctly . . .

(Poetics 26, 9-11)⁶⁶

Heroic drama, a product of the late Renaissance, and a special kind of tragedy, was held to have a special relationship with epic. In what is probably the most famous passage that one encounters in reading Dryden's great Conquest of Granada--in fact the passage is not in the play at all, but rather in the prefatory essay, entitled "Of Heroique Playes"--Dryden says "That an Heroick Play ought to be an imitation, in little of an Heroick Poem" This statement seems clear enough, but it is

incomplete: the formula becomes more specific. What Dryden says next shows why the Achilleis, of all "Heroick Poems," should have seemed particularly attractive to someone interested in writing an "Heroick Play": . . . and, consequently, . . . Love and Valour ought to be the Subject of it."⁶⁷ Most beginning students, and some more experienced ones, take the whole statement to mean that an heroic play should be like a classical epic, and it is a natural assumption that Dryden means that such a play should use material from the classical epics. Not many people take the time to notice that there are almost no heroic plays (and, perhaps, none at all) which are based upon epics of this kind. Not many people take the time to see that it is not ordinarily possible to base an heroic play upon a classical heroic poem. The heroic play, as Dryden indicates, typically has for its "Subject" the theme of "Love and Valour"--or, as we ususally say, with greater broadness, Love and Honor. There is, indeed, plenty of Honor in classical epic, but little Love. In indicating that "Love and Valour" are normally to be found in "an Heroick Poem," Dryden was thinking not of classical epics, but rather of Renaissance works which were considered epics. As the editors of "The California Dryden" put it in their note on Dryden's famous statement, ". . . Dryden's 'Heroick Poem' is the epic as interpreted by the Italian Renaissance to include chivalric love among its subjects . . ."⁶⁸ In his note on the same statement, W.P. Ker, to whom the California editors refer in their note, is more specific:

The practice and theory of Tasso show how the classical form of Epic had been generally modified by the influence of the romances. Homer and Amadis are both authorities for the right conduct of Epic. The Accademia della Crusca went further and said there was no difference between Romance and Epic, except that the latter was tedious . . .⁶⁹

Someone who cannot be happy with a work of literature unless it involves

some kind of love story would surely find almost all classical epics to be tedious indeed. The Achilleis is an exception. It is one of the very few classical epics to employ to any significant extent the theme of love. It is the only one in which love is an important issue throughout most of the work. Book III of Apollonius's Argonautica and Book IV of the Aeneis employ the theme of love, but these are only single books within larger works. Except for the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus, which is largely based upon Apollonius's work, the classical epics that have just been mentioned are the only ones that have an appreciable amount of romantic love in them. Look, for example, at the great Iliad. How much of a lover is Achilles in this work? Dryden, in his "Of Heroique Playes," tells us that "the first Image . . . [he] had of . . . [Almanzor] was from the Achilles of Homer, the next from Tasso's Rinaldo, (who was a copy of the former:) and the third from the Artaban of Monsieur Calprenede: (who has imitated both.)⁷⁰ It is hardly surprising that, for material for his hero, Dryden had to look beyond Homer's Achilles, to whom Briseis is essentially nothing more than a γέρας, or gift of honor, and to whom Patroclus is far more dear than any woman. Rinaldo and Artaban, of course, are not simply "copies" or "imitations" of Homer's Achilles: they are each romantically interested in a woman; Homer's Achilles is not.⁷¹ The Achilles of Statius, on the other hand, is so susceptible to the power of Love that he becomes inflamed with desire at the very first sight of Deidamia:

At this fair Object, the fierce Youth remains
Fix't like a Statue, and receiv'd Love's flames.
Nor would th'insulting passion be conceal'd:
His sparkling eyes the inward fire reveal'd.

--ll. 119-122 of Book II
of Sir Robert's translation.

"Love at first sight," is, of course, a familiar phenomenon to readers

of heroic plays.⁷² The urgency of Achilles' love is another matter. Having "receiv'd Loves' flames," Achilles is so "turned-on"--to use a modern vulgarism--that his mother must restrain him from manifesting his desire directly to the girl:

At length, not brooking to be so delay'd,
Th'advancing Youth was by his Mother stay'd:
Like a young Bull, to rule the herd design'd,
His horns not yet with full perfection twin'd:
When Love first kindleth in his savage breast,
Those ruder passions for some snowy beast;
He fomes at mouth, whilst th'expecting swains,
Joy at the certain witness of his flames.

--Book II, ll. 127-134.

A dramatic poet wishing to use material from the Iliad in an heroic play would have to do a great amount of irreverent invention. The Achilleis, on the other hand, could be used almost without alteration. The same is true of Aeneis IV, which is very similar in theme and somewhat similar in structure to the Achilleis; and it was probably no coincidence that Sir Robert translated both and presented both translations together in his Poems.

It is hardly rash to say that in the heroic drama--The Indian Queen being a good example--there are typically, in each play, one or more conflicts between Love and Honor, these two forces thus doing more than merely constituting "the Subject" which the dramatist wishes dramatically to present. Here again, Statius's Achilleis resembles an heroic play. Like the well-known Aeneis IV, the Achilleis is a story not only of romantic love, but also of a conflict between the impulses and urgings of romantic love and the dictates of Honor. When, for example, Achilles "receives Love's flames," he does not simply fall in love: he also is suddenly enabled to overcome or forget his proud resistance to his mother's dishonorable plan to dress him as a maiden (and thus keep him from the

Trojan War). In the annotations to his translation (p. 215--Q4^r), Sir Robert adds the following explanation: "Those thoughts of glory, that would not suffer Achilles to consent to his kind Mother's advice, yield to Love's power, by which all the World is fettered."⁷³ The Achilleis is, in essence, a story of Love and Honor; its dramatic tensions spring from these two forces. In the case of the Achilleis, however, filial love can be said to be joined with romantic love. Achilles is torn between, on the one hand, his filial love for Thetis and his romantic (or sexual) love for Deidamia, and, on the other hand, his devotion to traditional masculine activities and values, and his sense of the glory which is to be achieved in war. He has a glorious destiny but is held back from it by love, and must choose between the two. His case is parallel to that of Aeneas. Aeneas also has a glorious destiny, and, like Achilles, he is temporarily kept from it by love for a woman. "Dido dux" leads Aeneas astray from the path of "pietas," but, with help from the gods, he realizes what is happening, and he must then choose whether to remain with Dido or to leave and fulfill his destiny. In both the Achilleis and the Aeneis, the hero is first drawn back and forth between the conflicting claims of Love and Honor before making up his mind. This is not so much true of Aeneas as of Achilles. It is not necessary, and would be inappropriate, to lay out in detail here the whole structure of the Achilleis; by himself the reader will see clearly enough the different vicissitudes of Love and Honor. It is perhaps desirable, however, to give here a few examples. (One example has already been given.) The conflict between love and Honor is quite plain in the following passage, which describes Achilles' revealing behavior upon his seeing the gifts cleverly offered by Ulysses and his Greek companions:

But fierce Aeacides, still kept his sight
 Upon the Shield, as if prepar'd to fight.
 His face with fiery blushes grew inflam'd;
 Then to the warlike spear his eyes were chain'd.
 His brows in furrows knit, his staring hairs
 Grew stiffe, and he forgat his Mothers cares,
 With his owne Love: Nothing durst then employ
 His high-erected thoughts but War and Troy.

--IV, 189-196.

Here, Honor easily prevails. In the next example, in which Achilles is sailing from Scyros towards Troy, it is Love that gains the ascendancy:

Achilles having then the entrails flung
 Into the briny waves, he thus begun.
I have obey'd thee, Mother, though't was such
A hard command: I have obey'd too much.
Now with the Greeks, I go fam'd Troy to find,
 This said, into a ship he leapt. The wind
 Drove them from shore: the clouds still thicker grew,
 And Scyros lessen'd to their hindred view.
 The whilst Deidamia on a Tower appears,
 Accompany'd with her sad Sisters tears,
 Holding young Pyrrhus. Still the waves she view'd,
 And that which bore him with fond eyes pursu'd.
 He too his looks sends to th'affected walls
 And widow'd house; then with a sigh recalls
 What he had left: His fire burns again,
 And his great thoughts give way unto his flame.

--V, 15-30

It is interesting that the crafty Ulysses, having (as we are told in the next line) "guess'd . . . [Achilles'] passion by his grief," and wanting, of course, to ensure Achilles' participation in the Trojan War, sees the necessity of reconciling in Achilles' mind the rival claims of Love and Honor: having told the story of the rape of Helen, Ulysses speaks as follows:

Shall we endure these Phrygians, but half-men
Seeking upon our shores their plunders then?
Are we grown bankrupt and unarmed thus?
Or will the waves be lesser friends to us?
What now, if from the Scyrian shores should flie
Unto thine ears, thy lov'd Deidamia's cry,
Ravish'd by some, and calling on thy name?

The effort thus made is successful: Achilles responds just as Ulysses wanted:

With that unto his sword his fingers came,
And's face with angry blushes grew enflam'd,
Ulysses then in silence pleas'd remain'd.

--V, 91-100.⁷⁴

The action in the Achilleis and in Aeneis IV is like that in Dryden's All for Love, where Antony is drawn back and forth between the love offered by Cleopatra and the honor advocated by Ventidius.⁷⁵ In most heroic plays, it would seem, the hero or heroine is simply presented simultaneously with the two choices and required to choose, once and for all, only one of them. In Orrery's Henry V, Owne Tudor is faced with such a dilemma, and says,

I must unworthy or else wretched prove,
Be false to Honour or else false to Love:
To which of both shall I precedence give?
I'm kill'd by this, by that unfit to live.

--Act II, Scene 1.⁷⁶

And in The Rehearsal, the greatest parody of the heroic drama, the most famous scene has Prince Volscius hopping off the stage, one boot on and one off, unable to decide whether to put on the second boot and go off to military activities or whether to take off the first boot and repair to the residence of his new-found love:

Shall I to honour or to Love give way?
Go on, cryes Honour; tender Love says, nay:
Honour, aloud, commands, pluck both boots on;
But softer Love does whisper, put on none.
What shall I do? what conduct shall I find
To lead me through this twy-light of my mind?
For as bright Day with black approach of Night
Contending, makes a doubtful puzzling light;
So does my Honour and my Love together
Puzzle me so, I can resolve for neither.

[Exit with one Boot on, and the other off.]

--Act III, Scene 2.⁷⁷

Both types of action, however--the prolonged tug-of-war and the simple dilemma--involve a conflict between Love and Honor, and this conflict is the important, indispensable thing. The most noteworthy difference, with respect to the theme of Love and Honor, between the Achilleis and Aeneis IV, and heroic plays in general, lies not in the type of action used, but rather in the outcome of the conflict. In both the Achilleis and Aeneis IV, the hero follows the path of Honor; in the heroic drama, it seems, Love is the usual choice. The non-romantic nature of classical epic, as opposed to the heroic drama, is once again obvious.

There are, in addition to the presence of a conflict between Love and Honor, other characteristics which perhaps made the Achilleis attractive to Sir Robert as future author or co-author of The Indian Queen. The Restoration, for historical and cultural reasons which cannot be discussed here, was fascinated with the idea of the hero. The heroic play is one manifestation of this interest; Satan in Paradise Lost--an unintentional hero--is another; and we see this interest even in the comedy of manners. The Achilleis, significantly enough, is perhaps the only Latin epic except the Aeneis that has a powerful and clearly defined hero-protagonist. The Jason of Valerius Flaccus is thought by some to be unsuitably weak,⁷⁸ and he is the only rival to Aeneas and Achilles. Besides, Valerius Flaccus has never been a really attractive author, at least to English readers. If, consciously or subconsciously, someone were contemplating the creation of a hero like Montezuma, of The Indian Queen, and were considering as possible sources the extant productions of the Latin epic poets, he would naturally turn to the Aeneis and the Achilleis.⁷⁹ Indeed, it seems clear that Montezuma was to a certain extent based upon the Achilles of the Achilleis. The early education of

Montezuma is just like that of Achilles in the Achilleis, and the idea probably came right from the Achilleis:

Amex. That sad relation longer time will crave;
I liv'd obscure, he bred you in a Cave,
But kept the mighty secret from your ear,
Lest heat of blood to some strange course shou'd steer
Your youth -----

Mont. I owe him all that now I am,
He taught me first the noble thirst of fame,
Shewd me the baseness of unmanly fear,
Till th'unlick'd whelp I pluck'd from the rough Bear,
And made the Ounce and Tyger give me way,
While from their hungry jaws I snatch'd the Prey:
To tell the story, to describe the place,
With all the pleasures of the boasted chase;
Till fit for armes, I reav'd you from your sport,
To train your Youth in the Peruvian Court:
I left you there, and ever since have been,
The sad attendant of my exil'd Queen.

--The Indian Queen, V, i, 236-255.⁸⁰

If these lines are compared with those in Sir Robert's Achilleis in which Achilles describes his education by Chiron--lines 11-190 of Book V--a number of identical and similar details will be found. And there are other, less specific parallels. For example, Montezuma's true identity, like that of Achilles, is unknown to those amongst whom he lives and is not revealed until towards the end of the stroy. Even if we discount such general parallels, it does indeed seem that the heroic drama, specifically The Indian Queen, owes something directly to Statius's Achilleis and Sir Robert's translation of it.⁸¹

One of the most esteemed features of Statius's writing is its pictorial quality--the vivid description of scenes. David Vessey, in his Statius and the Thebaid, says that "Statius' descriptions often seem to have an almost photographic effect: Dilke [in his "'Magnus Achilles' and Statian Baroque"] has remarked on Statius' 'ability to make a reader stop and visualise a scene as if it were a picture.'"⁸² More to the point

here is what Dilke says on this subject in his edition of the Achilleis: referring especially to T.S. Duncan's "The Influence of Art on Description in the Poetry of P. Papinius Statius," he says, "It has been observed that the outstanding quality of the Achilleid is the poets' ability to draw vivid and detailed pictures of the scenes in Thessaly and Scyros. The portrait of the young hero in I, 159 ff. . . . , the dance in honour of Pallas in I, 285 ff., above all the recognition scene in I, 841 ff., these and many others seem, by their powers of description, to be implanting a pictorial representation into the mind of the listener or reader.⁸³ Here again, we have something which, it is logical to think, would have been attractive to the author, or one of the authors, of The Indian Queen. The greatest reason for the success of The Indian Queen, it will be remembered, was its impressive scenic quality.

Closely related to the scenic or visual quality of Statius's work is the baroque quality of the style in general. Indeed, the former quality is part of the latter, as can perhaps be seen in the following remarks by Vessey:

The vivid technique of the Thebaid is reminiscent . . . of the kind of art found in the two relief panels on the Arch of Titus (A.D. 81). These were for a long time considered typical of Flavian art. They have been termed 'illusionistic', that is of a highly developed realism, which might be termed baroque or mannered. . . . Bardon is correct when he remarks that 'la Thébaïde de Stace est l'équivalent pictural du baroque en art'. At the same time . . . there existed another 'classicising Flavian style', lacking the illusionistic or baroque quality, which, as Bardon realised, finds its complement in literature in Quintilian and Valerius Flaccus.⁸⁴

(Earlier in the present "Introduction" Statius was called a manneristic poet. No attempt will be made at this time to distinguish the manneristic from the baroque elements in Statius's writing, or even to distinguish between the two problematic terms involved.) Baroque architecture characteristically makes a greater use of painting and sculpture than

classical architecture, and one of Statius's descriptions might be considered to be the poetical counterpart of a painting by Rubens or a statue group by Bernini. But, in baroque architecture, the use of painting and sculpture is only contributory to the achievement of the general aim of baroque art--the exciting and overwhelming of the senses with an artistic display of richness, movement, and magnificence; and this aim is achieved by many means. In Statius's Achilleis, there is more to Statius's baroque style than his use of vivid descriptions. In his "'Magnus Achilles' and Statian Baroque," O.A.W. Dilke quotes a "definition of attributes of the baroque" and shows how the Achilleis fulfills the definition. The baroque, Dilke writes, quoting from L.P. Wilkinson's The Baroque Spirit in Ancient Art and Literature,

is grandiose, arresting, theatrical. Full of restless and exuberant vitality, it seeks variety, strangeness and contrast. It is now fantastic, now playful, now picturesque. Indifferent to truth, it claims the right to exaggerate or deceive for artistic ends--anything to escape from a frigid classicism and to enforce attention.⁸⁵

Statius incorporates baroque qualities in his work by using a variety of techniques, which cannot all be discussed at this time. Having been forewarned, as it were, the reader will notice many such qualities and techniques by himself. The quality of grandiosity he will, perhaps, find especially evident, and especially in Statius's treatment of Achilles. The Achilleis is unusual not only for the fact that it has a powerful and clearly defined hero-protagonist, but also for the way in which the hero is depicted. "Statius," Dilke says, "employs every artifice (including comparison with the emperor), in a grandiose manner reminiscent of baroque art, to make . . . [Achilles] appear greater in size, impressiveness and character."⁸⁶ The appropriate contemporary parallel to this grandiosity is, perhaps, to be found not in Flavian relief panels but in the buildings

which the emperor Domitian contributed to the Rome of his principate. To Domitian, as to many tyrants, architecture was not merely an interest, but a madness. He built frequently, and he built big. His proportions seem to have been baroque, not classical. The throne room alone of his new residence on the Palatine had, according to The Cambridge Ancient History, a vault much greater than that of the nave of St. Peter's.⁸⁷ Suetonius tells us that so many and so huge were the vaulted passage-ways and arches that he erected in the city--adorned with chariots and triumphal emblems--that on one of them, someone, playing upon the resemblance of the Latin word for "arch," wrote the Greek word "ἀρκεί" --"It is enough."⁸⁸ Dryden seems to be thinking of this quality in Statius's writing when he makes such comments as the following, in which he quotes from the opening of the Achilleis:

. . . [Statius] was always in a foam at his setting out, even before the motion of the race had warmed him. The soberness of Virgil, whom he read it seems to little purpose, might have shown him the difference betwixt

arma virumque cano

and

magnanimum Aeacidem, formidatamque tonanti progeniem.

But Virgil knew how to rise by degrees in his expressions: Statius was in his towering heights at the first stretch of his pinions.⁸⁹

It is to be noted that in his commendatory verses in Poems, Dryden implies that Sir Robert has toned down Statius's portrait of Achilles, who, Dryden says, was "dress'd by Statius in too bold a look." Again, it seems that Dryden is thinking of the grandiosity of Statius's writing; and if we look at what is perhaps the most baroque passage in the whole epic--that in which Achilles is first fully revealed as himself--we see that Sir Robert has indeed presented a more restrained picture than Statius. The

original appears as follows in J.H. Mozley's translation, which will suffice for the present purpose:

Already was he [Achilles] stripping his body of the robes, when Agyrtes, so commanded, blew a great blast upon the trumpet: the gifts are scattered, and they [Lycomedes' daughters] flee and fall with prayers before their sire and believe that battle is joined. But from his breast the raiment fell without his touching, already the shield and puny spear are lost in the grasp of his hand--marvellous to believe!--and he seemed to surpass by head and shoulders the Ithacan and the Aetolian chief: with a sheen so awful does the sudden blaze of arms and martial fire dazzle the palace-hall. Mighty of limb, as though forthwith summoning Hector to the fray, he stands in the midst of the panic-stricken house⁹⁰

Sir Robert has the following:

At this, his garments from his breast were cast,
Agyrtes straight gave the commanded blast.
 Throwing their gifts away, the Virgins run
 For shelter, and believ'd a War begun.
 His robes untouch'd, fell down at the alarm,
 Snatching the spear and shield upon his arm.
 He taller far than Ithacus appears,
 Or Diomedes. Swift dispersing fears,
 Fill the affrighted Court, whilst in his gate
 He seem'd now seeking to be Hector's fate.

--IV, 215-224.

It will be noticed that Sir Robert has eliminated or seriously changed a number of words and phrases serving, in the original, to convey an increased sense of Achilles' personal greatness and of the dramatic greatness of the scene. "Snatching the spear and shield upon his arm," for example, is much less grandiose than what the original has--"already the shield and puny spear are lost ["consumitur"] in the grasp of his hand." Still, the scene as Sir Robert presents it has a number of baroque qualities, and it would undoubtedly make a very impressive scene on stage in an heroic play. It need hardly be said that the most baroque form of English literature that we have is this kind of play.

There are still other features which perhaps made the Achilleis

appealing to Sir Robert, although these are not necessarily things for which he would have known the Achilleis to be unusual. The rather exotic setting of the epic (Scyros, an island in the Sporades--in the Cyclades, according to Sir Robert), and the story's background of war and threatened conquest, which is admittedly distant but which is never forgotten, especially when Ulysses and Diomedes come to Scyros, would probably be suitable, it can be said, for an heroic play. As is well known, the heroic drama is characteristically exotic in geography and military in dramatic situation; and the Achilleis would probably fulfill both requirements. Moreover, the Achilleis even has a "dance," in IV, 161-170, and we know how much Restoration dramatists loved to include a dance in their plays. The Indian Queen has one, in the beginning of Act III. Sir Robert's translation of the dance in the Achilleis seems rather good, its stiffness seeming appropriate.

It is easy to see why someone interested in the idea of heroic drama would have found the Achilleis a very attractive work to translate. That Sir Robert found the Achilleis very attractive Sir Robert states for us in the preface to Poems, where he says, ". . . I chose it as most pleasing to me."⁹¹ And that Sir Robert was interested in heroic drama around the time when he translated the Achilleis seems likely. Circumstances favored this interest. The English culture in general, it can be said, was ripe for the heroic drama. Part I of Davenant's Siege of Rhodes was first produced in 1656, and other works of an heroic nature were popular during the time when we know that Sir Robert could have written his translation.⁹² In addition to the fact that Sir Robert selected both Aeneis IV and the Achilleis as the only classical works of which translations would be included in Poems, one notes that Sir Robert's The Blind

Lady, also in Poems, shows certain familiar elements of the heroic drama, notwithstanding the fact that the play is a comedy. The background of the dialogue of the play is one of warfare, and, in fact, the play includes two sieges. The setting is rather exotic, as one can tell by looking at the list of "The Persons" of the play--one character is "King of Poland"; another, "Vaivvode of Ruthenia"; and another, "Vaivvode of Lithuania." Florence R. Scott, in "The Life and Works of Sir Robert Howard," says that ". . . [the play's] characters bear the outlandish names typical of all heroic drama . . ." (although she does not seem to say that the play is "heroic" in any other respect).⁹² In the course of the action of the play, the hero's sister falls in love with her brother's enemy (and he with her), Love thus triumphing over Honor. Indeed, the second line of the play begins with the phrase "Love and Ambition," although there does not seem to be in the play so much material on Love and Honor as H.J. Oliver seems to suggest.⁹⁴ And when, near the end of the play, one character says, "Hypasus and I were clearly your Platonicks, / And made up the Romance,"⁹⁵ one gets the feeling that Sir Robert was thinking of such an important dramatic precursor of the heroic drama as Davenant's The Platonic Lovers (1636). Sir Robert seems, then, to have been playing around with the concept of the heroic play well before the Restoration, and long before the composition of The Indian Queen, which was first produced in January 1664, and which was probably composed not long before then.⁹⁶ When the 1658 edition of Statius appeared, with the Achilleis divided into five books instead of only two,⁹⁷ Sir Robert perhaps felt that he had found the perfect classical work to translate. Divided into five books, the Achilleis is rather close to being an heroic play. The idea that Sir Robert was interested in the concept of the heroic drama

when he translated the Achilleis fits in very neatly with the theory of the origin of the heroic drama which is favored by the editors of "The California Dryden:"

Each of these points of view [derivation from French sources and derivation from native sources] has of course much in it. But meanwhile a different, and, it would seem, even more fruitful approach to the problem had begun to be tested by scholars. B.J. Pendlebury would seem to have initiated it, and it has been carried on with distinction.

Pendlebury and his followers take the heroic play to have been produced essentially in consequence of the inevitable drift of epic critical theory and practice in the Renaissance and the early neoclassical period. Only the most salient steps in the process can be mentioned here. As far back as the sixteenth century the long chivalric romances in verse of Ariosto and Tasso had achieved status as examples of the epic, and the recognition of Heliodorus' Aethiopica as likewise belonging to the type (for Aristotle had said that verse was not an essential) had prepared for the acceptance of the long French romances in prose as productions of the heroic kind. Then the epic, thus augmented, and encouraged by the doctrine that epic and tragedy were essentially the same except that one was narrated by the poet and the other by the characters speaking for themselves, began to adopt the five-act form, as in Chamberlayne's Pharonnida (1659, but written at least in part before the civil wars). In prose, Honore d'Urfe's Astree was deliberately formed on the acts-and-scenes principle, and La Calprenede cast his Cassandre (1642-1647) into five parts. Davenant's Gondibert, with its plan for an epic or heroic poem (the terms had become interchangeable) in five books, avowedly in imitation of drama, brought the two genres very close together, and Hobbes supplied the customary statement of their virtual identity in his letter prefixed to the poem. It would seem most logical, then, that Davenant should try to express the spirit of the heroic poem in a work for the stage. Indeed there are, here and there in the preface to Gondibert,⁹⁸ passages in which The Siege of Rhodes appears to be foreshadowed.

Gondibert was published, incomplete, in 1651, and it may be significant that before and during the period of time in which Sir Robert probably began his translation of the Achilleis, the owner of the copyright for Gondibert was Henry Herringman, Sir Robert's publisher and friend.

Herringman republished this important work and brought out Davenant's even more important Siege of Rhodes.⁹⁹

That there is a broad connection, or possible such connection,

between Sir Robert's work on Aeneis IV and the Achilleis, and what he did in the composition of The Indian Queen, and, hence, in the creation of the heroic drama, seems not to have been previously noticed by scholars concerned with the origins of the heroic drama or with Sir Robert Howard and his works. It is a connection the existence, or possible existence, of which could have been put to good use in a number of books and articles. A.E. Parsons' "The English Heroic Play" is an example.¹⁰⁰ It is the purpose of this article," Parsons says,

to suggest that the three heroic kinds [the heroic poem, the heroic prose romance, and the English heroic play] were produced by the shaping of romantic material to the epic pattern; [and] that this imposition of epic form was practised according to a definite plan, and in conformity with the doctrine . . . that the epic is the norm or standard according to which all other kinds of poetry should be regulated . . ."¹⁰¹

As part of his demonstration, Parson stresses the fact that the character Montezuma is similar in many ways to the Achilles of classical epic:

There is evidence that Sir Robert Howard knew the heroic formula and made some attempt to produce heroic plays, in which he enlisted the help of Dryden. In the Essay of Dramatic Poesy, Howard (Crites) is credited with saying that all the rules for writing drama are to be found in Aristotle and Horace; and though his further argument is necessarily confined to the application of the rules to the writing of tragedy, he can hardly have ignored the complementary corpus of epic theory, nor have been unaware of the significance of Davenant's experiments. At any rate, shortly after the appearance of the second version of The Siege of Rhodes, Howard and Dryden jointly produced The Indian Queen. This play, though called by its authors a tragedy, is obviously in the main line of heroic descent. The hero, Montezuma, a type of hot-headed courage, is invincible in arms [Footnote: Cf. Achilles], so that whichever side he champions wins. He is of royal, though unknown, birth [Footnote: From Heliodorus], and recovers his rightful station at the close of the play by means of Reversal and Recognition [Footnote: From Aristotle via Heliodorus]. He is not the leader of the enterprise but a champion whose prowess is necessary to its success [Footnote: Cf. Achilles]. He is refused the lady of his choice with circumstance of insult [Footnote: Cf. Achilles], and when he withdraws in anger, the cause for which he was fighting suffers a defeat [Footnote: Cf. Achilles]. He reverts to the original side when moved by love or friendship [Footnote: Cf. Achilles].¹⁰²

Parsons does not even mention Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis, although he notes that "with regard to heroic form generally, it is perhaps not without significance that during the six weeks' study preliminary to revising . . . Sir Robert's heroic Conquest of China by the Tartars, Dryden devoted none entire days to Virgil."¹⁰³ Another example is Florence R. Scott's "The Life and Works of Sir Robert Howard," an unpublished doctoral dissertation.¹⁰⁴ The author seems to attribute Sir Robert's interest in Aeneis IV only to the influence of earlier translations of the same book, especially the translation by Godolphin and Waller and that by Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, a relative of Sir Robert.¹⁰⁵ As for the translation of the Achilleis, she says, "[The Achilleis] . . . has never been particularly popular, and I have been unable to find a clue to Howard's interest in it. . . . Five books of the Thebaid were translated by Thomas Stephens in 1648, but that is the only item of contemporary interest which I have discovered."¹⁰⁶ On the subject of The Indian Queen, she notes that "the 'Love and Honor' theme" "had begun in England before the exile," and quotes as an authority Genest, who says that "notions of Love and Honor" "had . . . begun to prevail before the civil wars."¹⁰⁷ She does not note that the theme of Love and Honor is central to both Aeneis IV and the Achilleis. "It is clear" to her, she says, "that Howard's knowledge of what his kinsman [Orrery] was doing must have been the spark which lighted the fire for his interest in the heroic play"--referring to literary work done by Orrery after the Restoration.¹⁰⁸ Another example is H.J. Oliver's excellent book on Sir Robert, in which Oliver tries to support the view that The Indian Queen properly belongs to Sir Robert, not Dryden. Oliver does, indeed, see a connection between Sir Robert's Achilleis and The Indian Queen. About to

quote from Act V of The Indian Queen, Oliver informs us that "the following account of the upbringing of Montezuma by Garrucca [quoted in full earlier in this chapter] is based on Howard's translation of Statius' account of the training of Achilles by Chiron and probably intended to suggest the heroic parallel."¹⁰⁹ But Oliver, although he has caught this one small instance of apparent borrowing, says nothing about the broader, more important similarities which exist between the Achilleis and both The Indian Queen and the heroic drama as a whole, and nothing about the fact that Sir Robert seems to have been interested in the concept of the heroic drama when he translated the Achilleis. That Sir Robert seems to have been interested in this concept at such an early date--at a much earlier time than anyone seems to have hitherto noticed--is especially interesting, for it may bear upon the difficult question of the authorship of The Indian Queen. (As Florence R. Scott says, "the question of 'Who wrote what' in this play has never been answered."¹¹⁰) At least, it is a fact that Sir Robert did translate both the Achilleis and Aeneis IV before he worked on The Indian Queen. Dryden had not, at the time of the composition of the play, published anything of a comparable heroic nature. It is not to be doubted that he had read a number of classical epics, but he had not been interested enough in any of them to publish a translation. Both of the translations which Sir Robert had published are of epic compositions which are unusual in their affinity to the heroic drama. It is not, therefore, difficult to agree with A.E. Parsons' statement, quoted earlier, that "there is evidence that Sir Robert Howard knew the heroic formula . . . ," although Parsons does not give the evidence which has been put forth in the present chapter. The editors of "The California Dryden" are probably correct in saying that the evidence that Parsons presents "does

not make it likely that in 1663 Howard 'knew the heroic formula' and could show Dryden how to express it in the Queen . . ."111 Evidence that Parsons does not present, however--evidence which seems to have hitherto gone unnoticed--does seem to make it likely that Howard "knew the heroic formula." The editors of "The California Dryden" say that "such a formula would rather be in Dryden's line."¹¹² In view of the fact that, at the time of the composition of The Indian Queen, Sir Robert had published "heroic" material and Dryden had not, one feels compelled to ask why "the heroic formula" "would rather be in Dryden's line" than Sir Robert's.

Of course, the Achilleis is not an heroic play in epic form. There are things about it which would not have been suitable for heroic drama. Achilles is not, for example, the kind of sublimely virtuous lover that we are always or usually given in the heroic drama: burning with passion and somewhat doubting his own manhood, he boldly rapes Deidamia--certainly not an act that Montezuma or Almanzor would commit, although neither is without his lapses from perfect virtue. But the Achilleis, especially in the form in which it was published in 1658, is perhaps the closest thing that one will find in classical epic to the kind of literary work of which The Indian Queen was the first real manifestation, Aeneis IV being the chief, and almost the only, rival to the Achilleis.

That both Aeneis IV and the Achilleis are very close in nature to the heroic drama is shown by the significant dramatic use to which each was put in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Purcell, of course, used the story of Aeneis IV (modified somewhat) in the famous opera Dido and Aeneas, which premiered in 1689, and of which Nahum Tate wrote the words; and, of course, the opera is the dramatic genre which is closest to

the heroic drama, which, in fact, is thought to have derived, to a certain extent, from the opera. In 1742 appeared another work which makes significant use of Aeneis IV: Love and Honour. A Dramatick Poem: Taken from Virgil. In Seven Cantoes, by Thomas De la Mayne. This work, in the words of The National Union Catalog, is "The story of Dido and Aeneas, with new characters added."¹¹³ The frontispiece of the work, which features (presumably) Dido, has this motto:

Who Sell their Honour & yet Loose their Love,
The wise must Pity, tho' they disapprove!

As for the Achilleis, it too received the attention of writers of dramatic literature, or, at least, it seems to have so done. If we look beyond Robert Bridges' Achilles in Scyros, a play which was written in the late nineteenth century, we see first that John Gay wrote an opera on the subject of Achilles' stay in Scyros. The opera is entitled Achilles and was produced at Covent Garden in 1733. Almost a century earlier, in 1641, was produced, in Italy, another opera on Achilles in Scyros: Giulio Strozzi's La Finta Pazza. This opera might have great importance in the history of the heroic drama. It was the first Italian opera to be presented in Paris, and, therefore, one infers, the first such opera to be really accessible to Englishmen.¹¹⁴ Had Sir Robert seen or heard of Strozzi's opera when he began his translation of Statius's Achilleis?

Notes

to

"Sir Robert Howard's Translation of the Achilleis
As a Work of Scholarship and of Literature"

¹The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Abraham Cowley Now for the First Time Collected and Edited: With Memorial-Introduction and Notes and Illustrations, Portraits, &c., ed. by The Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (New York, 1967), Vol. II, p. 4; The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham, pp. 159-160.

²The Complete Works . . . of Abraham Cowley, Vol. II, p. 4.

³Dryden's Aeneid and Its Seventeenth Century Predecessors (Manchester, England, 1960), pp. 139-142.

⁴Ibid., pp. 144-145.

⁵The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680 (Volume I of "The California Dryden"), pp. 114-115.

⁶Ibid., pp. 115-116.

⁷Ibid., p. 118.

⁸Ibid., pp. 116-117

⁹Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹The Poems of John Dryden, ed. by James Kinsley, Vol. III, p. 1055. In the "Introductory note" to the Scolar Press edition of Sylvae (1685--the "Preface" being by Dryden), James Kinsley says, ". . . [Dryden's] preference . . . [in the preface to Sylvae], and in all his later essays, is for paraphrase." Kinsley then quotes from one of the later essays:

'Sure I am', he says in the Dedication of Examen Poeticum (1693) that if paraphrase 'be a fault, 'tis much more pardonable, than that of those, who run into the other extream, of a litteral, and close Translation, where the Poet is confin'd so streightly to his Author's Words, that he wants elbow-room, to express his Elegancies. He leaves him obscure; he leaves him Prose, where he found him Verse. . . I have . . . attempted to restore Ovid to his Native sweetness, easiness, and smoothness; and to give my Poetry a kind of Cadence, and, as we call it, a run of Verse, as like the Original, as the English can come up to the Latin.'

(A Scolar Press Facsimile: Sylvae: John Dryden: 1685 [Menston, England, 1973], pp. [iii]-[iv].) But Dr. Johnson, in his life of Dryden, quotes Dryden as having said, "Translation . . . is not so loose as paraphrase, nor so close as metaphrase." (The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . With an Essay on His Life and Genius, by Arthur Murphy, Esq., Vol. IX, p. 397.) On the other hand, J. M^cG. Bottkol, writing on "Dryden's Latin Scholarship" and quoting George Saintsbury, indicates that paraphrase was the method that Dryden preferred:

This system [i.e., paraphrase] of Dryden's makes it at once unnecessary and impossible to annotate his Translations as if they were written from the point of view of the scholar. An equal proportion of notes and text would hardly suffice to point out his verbal variations, omissions, and additions, while an attempt to account for any of the three classes would, save in very rare instances, be labour wholly lost.

("Dryden's Latin Scholarship," Modern Philology, XL [1943], p. 241. Bottkol indicates that his quotation is from p. 1 of Vol. XII of The Works of John Dryden, ed. by Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury [Edinburgh, 1882-1893]. The word "paraphrase" seems, from the use of brackets rather than parentheses, to be provided by Bottkol, not by Saintsbury.)

¹²The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . With an Essay on His Life and Genius, by Arthur Murphy, Esq., Vol. IX, p. 397.

"Mr. Waller's Translation of Virgils Fourth Aeneid" (by which Dryden could mean both the translation by Waller and that by Godolphin) was not, what the material which has been provided thus far might seem to suggest that it was, the first paraphrastic translation, although it may have been the first such translation to have an important influence upon subsequent translations. In going through the list of classical translations provided in Volume I of The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature (600-1660), one finds a number of titles which seem to indicate a paraphrastic approach, and at least one of the titles, the first, has a date which shows that the translation must have been composed before the translation from Aeneis IV by Godolphin (b. 1610):

1. "F[owldes], W[illiam]. The strange, wonderfull and bloody battell betweene frogs and mise; paraphrastically done into English heroycall verse. 1603 A freely expanded paraphrase."
2. "B[arksted?], W. That which seemes best is worst, exprest in a paraphrasticall transcript of Juvenals tenth satyre, with Virginias death. 1617."
3. "Baker, Sir Richard. Cato variegatus: or Catoes morall distichs, translated and paraphras'd with variations of expressing, in English verse. 1636."
4. "Ogilby, J[ohn]. The fables of Aesop paraphras'd in verse. 1651."

5. "[Hall, Thomas]. Phaeton's folly, or the dounfal of pride: a translation of the second book of Ovid's Metamorphosis, paraphrastically and grammatically as a supplement to Mr Brinslyes translation of the first book. 1655"

(Columns 2165-2174.)

Notice that the only decade in which more than one of these translations were published is the same decade in which the liberated translations by Godolphin, Waller, Cowley, and Denham came out. Notice also, however, that one of the two translations published in this decade is said to be done both "paraphrastically and grammatically."

¹³In addition to the translators already named, one should mention James Harrington, who published his Virgil's Aeneis: The Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books in 1659. Harrington did not have the reputation or influence of Cowley, Denham, and Waller, but like them, he could not tolerate the shackles of the metaphrastic tradition, and set himself free. "His 'Address to the Reader,'" says Proudfoot (on p. 146), "is a plea for freedom, or rather an assertion of it. The gist is in the concluding sentence:

Virgil's poetry is the best in Latine, and he who can bring it to be the best in English, be his liberty for the rest what it will, shall be his truest translator: which granted, the English Reader may sufficiently judge of like translations, without referring himself unto the Originals."

"Thus," Proudfoot continues, "Harrington belongs with Denham as one of the licentious translators." An additional quotation from Proudfoot will make Harrington's licentiousness more plain:

Harrington's omissions are very extensive. Speech after speech of Virgil is represented by a few words giving the general substance and no more. The result is a rapid narrative in which incident counts for a good deal more than it does in Virgil - a hasty chronicle from which interest of character, situation, and the graces of rhetorical persuasion are altogether lost. Indeed, it is not excessive to say that the poem loses its epic standing and becomes instead a mere narrative. . . . Undoubtedly in this aspect of his work, Harrington is closer to Denham than to anyone; and he is with Denham likewise in the witty embellishments he permits himself. (P. 148.)

¹⁴The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, pp. 18-19.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷The Latin text which was used for the comparison is that offered in The Loeb Classical Library, in Vol. I of Virgil: With an English Translation, ed. by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967, 1969). The text of Waller's translation which was used is that in

The Poems of Edmund Waller, ed. by G. Thorn Drury (New York, 1968) (pp. 157-161).

¹⁸The text of Theocritus's Third Idyll--The Loeb Classical Library, The Greek Bucolic Poets, ed. by J.M. Edmonds (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960); the text of Dryden's translation--The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1681-1684, ed. by H.T. Swedenberg, Jr. and Vinton A. Dearing (Berkeley, 1972) (Vol. II of "The California Dryden") (pp. 160-163).

¹⁹A Dictionary of the English Language: in which the Words are deduced from their Originals, and Illustrated in their Different Significations by Examples from the best Writers. To which are Prefixed, a History of the Language, and an English Grammar. By Samuel Johnson, A.M. In two Volumes. (London, 1755), Vol. II.

²⁰The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 116.

²¹The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson (New York, 1963), pp. 271-272.

²²The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . With an Essay on His Life and Genius, by Arthur Murphy, Esq., Vol. IX, pp. 396-397. See also Vol. IX, p. 79.

²³Columns 2172-2178. One finds in the same list a number of entries with titles indicating the kind of strict accuracy which is usually considered to be the chief characteristic of the metaphrastic tradition:

1. "Sturtevant, Simon. The Etymologist of Aesops Fables, containing the construing of his Latine fables into English; also the Etymologist of Phaedrus fables, containing the construing of Phaedrus into English, verbatim, both very necessarise helps for young schollers. 1602."

2. "Aesop's fables . . . with the fables of Phaedrus . . . moralized, translated verbatim . . . , published by H.D. 1646."

3. "Aesops fables . . . with their moralls, in prose and verse grammatically translated. 1651."

4. [Brinsley, John]. Cato (concerning the precepts of common life) translated grammatically: 1612"

5. [Haine, William?]. Certain epistles of Tully verbally translated . 1611."

6. [Brinsley, John]. The first booke of Tullies offices translated grammatically. 1616"

7. B[rinsley], J[ohn]. Ovid's Metamorphosis translated grammatically and also according to the propriety of our English tongue, as farre as Grammar and the verse will well beare. 1618, 1656. Bk I, fables 1-9."

8. [Hall, Thomas]. Wisdom's conquest: or an explanation and grammaticall translation of the thirteenth book of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

1651."

(Columns 2165-2174.)

Perhaps the titles which appear in Vol. II of The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature (1660-1800) are not given so accurately as those in Vol. I (they seem to be--for one reason or another--generally shorter), but it is a fact that only two of these titles indicate a "line by line," "verbal," or "grammatical" translation:

1. "Anacreon . . . The odes, literally translated into English prose. York 1796."
2. "Tuomy, Martin. A literal translation of Euripides's Hippolytus and Iphigenia [in Aulis]. Dublin 1790. Prose."

(Columns 1489-1490.)

One should notice that in both of these translations poetry is rendered as prose, and that both translations were done in the late eighteenth century, when literalness was once again a desideratum and a goal (see John W. Draper's "The Theory of Translation in the Eighteenth Century," pp. 244 and 252-254).

²⁴The text of Lucan's epic--The Loeb Classical Library, Lucan: With an English Translation, ed. by J.D. Duff (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962); the text of Marlowe's translation--The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, ed. by Fredson Bowers, Second Edition (Cambridge, England, 1981) (Vol. II, pp. 280-299); the text of Rowe's translation--Alexander Chalmers' The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper . . . (Vol. XX, pp. 17-26).

²⁵The text of Aeneis IV--The Loeb Classical Library; the text of Sir Robert's translation--Poems (pp. 141-169 [K7^r-M5^r]); the text of Dryden's translation--The Poems of John Dryden, ed. by James Kinsley (Vol. III, pp. 1144-1170); the text of Pitt's translation--Alexander Chalmers' The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper . . . (Vol. XIX, pp. 554-562).

²⁶The picture just started can be improved somewhat, and a kind of history of translation thus created. The following information concerns the verse translations of Aeneis IV which are listed in The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature as having been published before 1750.

<u>Translator</u>	<u>Date of Pub.</u>	<u>Number of Lines</u>	<u>Percent of Increase</u>
(Original)		(705)	
Gavin Douglas	1553	1,374	95%
Henry Howard Earl of Surrey	1557	943	34%
Thomas Phaer	1558	783	11%

<u>Translator</u>	<u>Date of Pub.</u>	<u>Number of Lines</u>	<u>Percent of Increase</u>
Richard Stanyhurst	1582	762	08%
Anonymous-- "Didos death"	1622	744	06%
John Vicars	1632	744	33%
Sir Robert Stapylton	1634	706	.001%
Sir Richard Fanshawe	1648	801	14%
John Ogilby	1649	730	.04%
Sir John [i.e., James] Harrington	1659	536	-24%
Sir Robert Howard	1660	807	14%
John Dryden	1697	1,009	43%
Nicholas Brady	1716- 1717	945	34%
Richard Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale	1718	805	14%
Joseph Trapp	1718- 1720	939	33%
Christopher Pitt	1740	1,017	44%

It is to be noted that after the first two translations--and Gavin Douglas's Aeneis, according to The Oxford Companion to English Literature [Oxford, England, 1978] [p. 245] "constitutes . . . [Douglas] the earliest translator of [any of] the classics into English"--all the pre-Restoration translations except that by Vicars have a low percent of increase, the figures for Dryden's translation and those subsequent to it, except Lauderdale's, being dramatically higher. It appears likely that, as Dryden seems to have thought, linear parallelism was an ideal to many of the translators who wrote before the Restoration. It was perhaps to help them reconcile the conflicting ideals of literalness and linear parallelism that a number of pre-Restoration translators used in their translations a line of more than five feet. Two of the translators listed above did this in their translations of Aeneis IV: Thomas Phaer used fourteeners, and Richard Stanyhurst employed hexameters, the rest of the translations being in pentameters, except, it may be said, for that of Sir Richard Fanshawe, who adopted the Spenserian stanza. Chapman's Iliad, it will be remembered, is in fourteeners, and Chapman's version of Book I actually has fewer lines than the original, 590 as opposed to 611. (Dryden's translation of the same book has 815 lines; Pope's, 781.)

Chapman would not have been able to use only 590 lines and to be equally accurate without using fourteeners. It is very tempting to think that Chapman and others used fourteeners and hexameters for the purpose of enabling themselves to be linear and at the same time fairly literal. Golding, however, who used fourteeners in his translation of the Metamorphoses, increased the original 779 lines of Book I to 988, a number of lines which is not dramatically less than the 1,096 that Dryden used for the same book.

(Texts used for the above material--the edition of Vergil in The Loeb Classical Library; Gavin Douglas: The Poetical Works, ed. by John Small [Hildesheim, 1970], 4 vols. [Vol. II]; The Poems of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, ed. by Frederick Morgan Padelford [Seattle, 1928]; The seven first bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill, converted into English meter by T. Phaer Esquier [London, 1558]; Richard Stanyhurst's Aeneis, ed. by D. Van Der Haar [Amsterdam, 1933]; Didos death. Translated out of the best of Latine poets, into the best of vulgar languages. By one that hath no name. [London, 1622]; The XII Aeneids of Virgil, . . . translated into English deca-syllables by J. Vicars [London, 1632]; Dido and Aeneas. --The Fourth Booke of Virgils Aeneis. Translated by Sir Robert Stapylton [London, 1634 (?)]; The fourth book of Virgil's Aeneid, on the loves of Dido and Aeneas, done into English by the Right Honourable Sir Richard Fanshawe, knight, edited, with critical remarks, by A.L. Irvine [Oxford, 1924]; The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro. Translated by John Ogilby . . . [London, 1649]; Vergil's Aeneis: the third, fourth, fifth and sixth books. Translated by James Harrington [London, 1659]; Poems [London, 1660]; The Poems of John Dryden, ed. by James Kinsley [Vol. III]; Virgil's Aeneis translated into blank verse By Nicholas Brady . . . [London, 1716-1726], 4 vols.; The works of Virgil, tr. into English verse By . . . Richard late earl of Lauderdale. . . [London, 1718 (?)]; The Aeneis of Virgil, translated into blank verse: by Joseph Trapp . . . [London, 1718-1720], 2 vols.; Alexander Chalmers' The Works of the English Poets, from Chaucer to Cowper . . . [Vol. XIX]; the edition of the Iliad in The Loeb Classical Library, Homer: The Iliad: With an English Translation, ed. by A.T. Murray [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965, 1967], 2 vols.; Chapman's Homer: The Iliad · The Odyssey and The Lesser Homeric: Edited, with Introductions, Textual Notes, Commentaries, and Glossaries, by Allardyce Nicoll [New York, 1956] [Vol. I]; The Poems of John Dryden, ed. by James Kinsley [Vol. IV, pp. 1583-1604]; Alexander Pope: The Iliad of Homer, ed. by Maynard Mack et al. [London, 1967] 2 vols. [Vols. VII and VIII of The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope]; the edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses in The Loeb Classical Library, Ovid: In Six Volumes: . . . : Metamorphoses: With an English Translation . . ., ed. by Frank Justus Miller [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976, 1977], 2 vols.; Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Arthur Golding Translation: 1567: Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by John Frederick Nims [New York, 1965]; The Poems of John Dryden, ed. by James Kinsley [Vol. II, pp. 799-828].)

²⁷The text of the Iliad--the edition in The Loeb Classical Library; Pope's text--Vols. VII and VIII of The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope. The original has 15,693 lines, and Pope's translation has 18,946.

²⁸That this spirit was alive as early as 1660 seems to be indicated in the concluding lines of Dryden's Astraea Redux:

Oh Happy Age! Oh times like those alone
By Fate reserv'd for Great Augustus Throne!
When the joint growth of Armes and Arts foreshew
The World a Monarch, and that Monarch You.

(The Works of John Dryden:
Poems 1649-1680, p. 31.)

²⁹"Dryden's Latin Scholarship," p. 252.

³⁰Thomas Stephens' An Essay upon Statius: or, The Five First Books of Publ: Papinius Statius his Thebais. Done into English Verse by T.S. With the Poetick History Illustrated (1648) calls itself a metaphrase: in the first sentence of the preface, "To the ingenuous Reader," the reader is told that he is "presented with a piece of Statius metaphrased." This self-confessed metaphrase, in its first book, shows a 21% increase over the original--this being almost twice the increase found in Sir Robert's Achilleis. The increase in Book I of Stephens' translation, which, it should be noticed, is the same as that in Pope's Iliad, is far exceeded by that in Pope's translation of the same book. Pope translated the 720 lines of the original in 864 lines, but, as the editors of the Twickenham edition point out (Vol. I, pp. 351-352), he rejected, along with a number of other, much smaller pieces of material, ll. 408-481 of Statius's epic, a sequence of 74 lines, which gives an account of the fight between Tydeus and Polynices, upon their first arriving at Adrastus's court. If, by properly adjusting all the figures, we allow for this massive omission, we find that Stephens' translation still shows an increase of 21% and that Pope's shows one of 33%. (The text of Book I of the Thebais--The Loeb Classical Library, Statius: With an English Translation, ed. by J.H. Mozley [London, 1967, 1969], 2 vols. [Vol. I]; Stephens' text--An Essay upon Statius . . . [pp. 1-30 (B1^r-C7^v)]; Pope's text--The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, Pastoral Poetry and an Essay on Criticism [Vol. I, pp. 409-446].)

³¹Another favorite word, which occurs once or twice in Sir Robert's Achilleis, and rather often in at least some of his other works, is the noun "rate." In The Blind Lady, for example, it is used at least seven times.

³²The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson, pp. 78-79.

³³Virgils' Eclogae II, 59 (p. 14 of Vol. I of the Loeb edition); Virgil's Aeneis III, 660 (p. 392 of Vol. I of the Loeb edition).

³⁴Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698: A Critical Biography), pp. 64-65.

³⁵The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.: A New Edition, in Twelve Volumes. With an Essay on his Life and Genius, by Arthur Murphy, Esq., Vol. 9, p. 396.

- ³⁶The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 3.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 7.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 217.
- ³⁹Ibid., p. 174.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 173.
- ⁴¹Poems, pp. 207, 208, and 193 (08^r-P1^r).
- ⁴²Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, pp. 28-29.
- ⁴³"To the Reader," p. A4^v.
- ⁴⁴The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 115.
- ⁴⁵The quotation is from the edition of 1685--Wentworth Dillon: An Essay on Translated Verse 1685 and Horace's Art of Poetry Made English 1684 (Menston, England, 1971), p. 5 (B3^r).
- ⁴⁶"Dryden's Latin Scholarship," p. 248.
- ⁴⁷Poems, pp. 210-211 (Q1^v-Q2^r).
- ⁴⁸The editors of "The California Dryden" (The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 210) say that the annotations "are piled up in enormous detail, like the notes and illustrations to Barton Holyday (1593-1661) than to Burton. Holyday too attempted, when he was translating, to give line for line (see p. 434 of Scott's Life of John Dryden and p. 1108 of Vol. IX of The D.N.B.).
- ⁴⁹Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 28.
- ⁵⁰Both passages are from Act IV--The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell, ed. by Montague Summers, Vol. I, p. 70 and p. 74.
- ⁵¹Papers on Language & Literature, 2 (1966), 311.
- ⁵²The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 210.
- ⁵³Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698); A Critical Biography, p. 22.
- ⁵⁴"To the Reader," p. A2^r.
- ⁵⁵Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, pp. 28-29.
- ⁵⁶Modern Philology, 65 (1967), 54.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 53-54.
- ⁵⁸The Purgatorio of Dante Alighieri (London, 1956), pp. 275-277. The Italian, as given in the same edition as the English translation, is

as follows:

"Or quando tu cantasti le crude armi
della doppia tristizia di Jocasta,"
disse il cantor de' bucolici carmi,

"per quello che Cliò teco li tasta,
non par che ti facesse ancor fedele
la fè, senza la qual ben far non basta.

Se così è, qual sole o quai candele
ti stenebraron sì, che tu drizzasti
poscia di retro al pescator le vele?'

Ed egli a lui: "Tu prima m' inviasti
verso Parnaso a ber nelle sue grotte,
e poi appresso Dio m' alluminasti.

Facesti come quei che va di notte,
che porta il lume retro e sè non giova,
ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,

quando dicesti: 'Secol si rinnova;
torna giustizia e primo tempo umano,
e progenie discende dal ciel nuova.'

Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano;
ma perchè veggi me' ciò ch' io disegno,
a colorare stenderò la mano.

Già era il mondo tutto quanto pregno
della vera credenza, seminata
per li messaggi dell' eterno regno;

e la parola tue sopra toccata
sì consonava ai nuovi predicanti,
ond' io a visitarli presi usata.

Vennermi poi parendo tanto santi,
che, quando Domizian li persegutte,
senza mio lagrimar non fur lor pianti.

E mentre che di là per me si stette,
io li sovvenni, e lor dritti costumi
fer dispregiare a me tutte altre sette;

e pria ch' io conducessi i Greci ai fiumi
di Tebe, poetando, ebb' io battesimo;
ma per paura chiuso cristian fu' mi,

lungamente mostrando paganesmo;
e questa tepidezza il quarto cerchio
cerchiar mi fe' più ch' al quarto centesimo.

Tu dunque, che levato hai il coperchio
 che m' ascondeva quanto bene io dico,
 mentre che del salire avem soperchio,

dimmi dov' e Terenzio nostro antico,
 Cecilio, Plauto e Varro, se lo sai;
 dimmi se son dannati, ed in qual vico."

(Pp. 274-276.)

⁵⁹Poems, p. 1 (B1^r).

⁶⁰Much of what Florence Scott, in "The Life and Works of Sir Robert Howard," says about Sir Robert's Achilleis does not seem just:

Only one of Howard's attempts at translation is of any interest. The Aeneid was, of course, in every well-educated young man's memory . . .

(P. 235.)

The first book, for instance, requires seven pages for the text but seventeen for the notes. It is all very dull, almost impossible for the modern reader to wade through. For Howard it must certainly have been very early work; it is inferior to the Virgil in every respect. The notes are filled with long Latin quotations, perhaps to parade his not too seasoned scholarship.

(Pp. 244-245.)

The general quality of Howard's work in this translation is well indicated by these brief quotations. It is quite uninspired, and seldom rises above the commonplace. Few people, I feel sure, ever took the trouble to look up the numerous parallel references he here suggests. It undoubtedly did improve his Latin, although the fun made of his use of it in Dryden's reference to the closing of a door, in the essays already discussed, certainly suggests that he did not consider his brother-in-law a very accomplished Latinist. One feels sure that Howard was telling the truth when he stated that many of these poems were written to fill some idle hours; certainly one cannot believe that the Achilleis, at least, ever had many enthusiastic readers.

(Pp. 246-247.)

⁶¹The information on the classical translations offered in 1660 comes from the lists in The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, Vol. I (columns 2165-2180) and Vol. II (columns 1487-1502).

⁶²p. 93 (London, 1954).

⁶³An Essay upon Statius: Or, The Five First Books of Publ: Papinius Statius his Thebais. Done into English Verse by T.S. with the Poetick History Illustrated, "To the ingenuous Reader," p. A4^r.

⁶⁴The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVII, pp. 278-279.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 279. As was said earlier, the title of Ross's translation is The Second Punic War between Hannibal and the Romances. The whole 17 books Englished from the Latine . . . with a continuation from the Triumph of Scipio to the death of Hannibal. On "The Literary Career of Thomas Ross" (Philological Quarterly, XXI, IV (1942), 443-444), Curt Zimansky makes it clear that when this work came out again, in 1672, what appeared was a reissue with a cancel title-page, not a second edition. Zimansky reports that "in the preface Ross promised a continuation of the work to the end of the Punci wars" and that "this promised continuation appeared ten years later [in 1671] as As [sic] Essay upon the third Punique war. Lib. I. and II. To which are added Theodosius's advice to his son. And the Phenix, out of Claudian. By T.R. Esquire." "The volume," Zimansky notes, "is dedicated to the Duke of Monmouth as a model of political virtue for him to follow." This fact is significant, for, to quote Zimansky once agian, Ross "had once been tutor to the Duke of Monmouth and was suspected of having been the first to turn his pupil's thoughts toward the kinship."

⁶⁶The Greek is taken from the text of The Poetics in The Loeb Classical Library, in Aristotle in Twenty-three Volumes: XXIII: The Poetics: "Longinus": On the Sublime: Demetrius: On Style, ed. by W. Hamilton Fyfe and W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), p. 114. The Greek is translated in the Loeb, on p. 115, as follows:

. . . tragedy has all the elements of the epic--it can even use the hexameter--and in addition a considerable element of its own in the spectacle and the music, which make the pleasure all the more vivid . . .

⁶⁷The Works of John Dryden: Plays: The Conquest of Granada [,] Marriage A-La-Mode [,] The Assig nation, ed. by John Loftis, David Stuart Rodes, et al. (Berkeley, 1978) (Vol. XI of "The California Dryden"), p. 10.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 441.

⁶⁹Essays of John Dryden Selected and Edited by W.P. Ker (Oxford, England, 1926), 2 vols., Vol. I, p. 309. Alfred Harbage, in his Cavalier Drama, says the following:

In epic literature proper, love had been adjudged too soft an emotion, and its appropriate setting too pacific, for it to be allowed a prominent place; but in decadent romance, which as we have noted was admitted to the rank of epic literature by Sidney, love occupied not only a prominent but a preeminent postion.

--Cavalier Drama: An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage (New York, 1936), p. 60.

⁷⁰The Works of John Dryden: Plays: The Conquest of Granada . . ., p. 14.

71. . . . Of Heroique Playes makes clear, say the editors of "The California Dryden,"

that Dryden is principally concerned with the first Iliad's quarrel between king and hero over a mistress, a situation assimilable to the world of later romance by, for instance, thinking Briseis more important in herself than Homer allows, important as potential subject, not just object. [Footnote: When Briseis is handed over to Agamemnon's heralds, we learn only that she went with them unwillingly, δέκουσ' ἄμα τοῖσι (Iliad, I, 348). But Dryden's Briseis "wept, and often cast her Eyes behind:/ Forc'd from the Man she lov'd" (Ilias, I, 484-485). . . .] The voice of Homer's Achilles may sound different to us from the voice of Almanzor, but when Dryden came to translate the first Iliad at the end of his life, he made Achilles sound very like Almanzor of earlier days.

--The Works of John Dryden:
Plays: The Conquest of
Granada . . ., p. 418.

72 One scholar, Kathleen M. Lynch, writes as follows:

The peculiar tenets of the Platonic cult are illustrated in the [heroic] plays of Orrery and Dryden as completely as they had been previously illustrated in the [Platonic] plays of D'Avenant and Carlell.

In such drama fate exerts a unique authority. Platonic lovers always love by destiny. Love assails them at first sight and without warning, and it is fruitless to deny the claims of so divine a passion.

--"Conventions of the Platonic Drama in the Heroic Plays of Orrery and Dryden," Modern Language Association of America Publications, XLIV (1929), 461.

Statius's Achilles is no Platonic lover (his ravishment of Deidamia is proof enough of this), but certain aspects of his behavior do remind one of the nobler loves of the heroes of the heroic drama.

73 The next two or three sentences of the note seem to show that Sir Robert considered at least one connection or similarity between the Achilleis and Aeneas IV with respect to the subject of love:

Which matter is excellently expressed by Seneca, Hippolyt. act. I. Chor. The greatnesse of which power, joynd to the swiftnesse of its execution, made the Antients believe, it was a fascination; So Dido, at the first sight of Aeneas, received a passion as durable as her life, since she could find no way but one, to end both.

74 The situation in Aeneis IV can be easily seen in the description of Jupiter's reaction to Iarbas's angry prayer. This passage is rendered by Sir Robert as follows:

. . . th'Omnipotent
 To Carthage turns his eyes, where passion's flame
 Had in the Lovers burnt the thoughts of Fame.
 Then calling Mercurie he thus begins,
 Go son, call Zephyrus and on thy wings,
 Haste to the Trojan Prince, who idly stays
 In Carthage, and contemns in his delays
 Crowns which were promis'd him by Fate and Time,
 Swift as a thought bear him these thoughts of mine.
 His beauteous mother never promis'd me
 Such things as these, nor for this cause was he
 Twice from the Grecians free'd, but that there may
 One spring from Teucer, Italy to sway
 So big with War and Empires; and to give
 Laws, under which th'obliged World should live.
 But if such praise cannot his mind enflame,
 Nor toils be pois'd with weight of endlesse Fame
 Why does he hinder from Ascanius brows
 The Roman Crown? What is it hope allows,
 Whilst thus with foes (delaying) he remains?
 Neglects Ausonia, and Lavinian plains?
 Bid him to sea, go tell him what I say.

--Poems, pp. 150-151,
 L3V-L4r.

That Aeneas must struggle with Love even after Jupiter, through Mercury,
 has reminded him of his Honor, can be seen in the following:

- 1) This said, forewarn'd by Jove within his breast,
 With eyes still fix'd his troubles he suppress.

--Sir Robert's translation,
 p. 154, L5V.

(Cf. Dryden's translation:

. . . unmov'd he holds his Eyes,
 By Jove's Command; nor suffer'd Love to rise,
 Tho' heaving in his Heart; . . .

--11. 480-482.

The original reads thus:

ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
 lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.

--11. 331-332.)

- 2) Though the just Prince enclin'd to give relief,
 And to divert with words her powerfull grief,
 Shook in his breast, where sighs and love did meet;
 Yet he obeys the gods, and views his Fleet.

--Sir Robert's trans., p. 157, L7^r.

(Dryden has the following:

But good Aeneas, tho' he much desir'd
To give that Pity, which her Grief requir'd,
Tho' much he mourn'd, and labour'd with his Love,
Resolv'd at length, obeys the Will of Jove:
Reviews his Forces; . . .

--11. 568-572.

The original is as follows:

At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,
iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.

--11. 393-396.)

- 3) So every way her words the Hero prest,
Shook by her cares within his mighty breast.
But his firm mind unshaken still appears,
And she, in vain, now spends her stock of tears.

--Sir Robert's trans.,
p. 159, L8^F.

(Dryden has the following:

No less a Storm the Trojan Heroe bears;
Thick Messages and loud Complaints he hears;
And bandy'd Words, still beating on his Ears.
Sighs, Groans and Tears, proclaim his inward Pains,
But the firm purpose of his Heart remains.

--11. 648-652.

The original is as follows:

. . . .
haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

--11. 447-449.)

(The quotations from Dryden's translation are from Vol. III of The Poems of John Dryden, ed. by James Kinsley; those from the original are from the Loeb edition.)

⁷⁵Something similar can be seen in the following part of Dryden's Indian Emperor. It will be seen that Cortez first cleaves to the ideal of Honor, then tries to effect a compromise between Love and Honor, and then entirely abandons Honor for Love, only to learn that he must follow

the course of Honor anyway--but then he indicates that whatever Honor he achieves he will sacrifice to Love:

Cort[ez]. If for my self to Conquer here I came,
You might perhaps my actions justly blame.
Now I am sent, and am not to dispute
My Princes orders, but to execute.

Alib[ech]. He who his Prince so blindly does obey,
To keep his Faith his Vertue throws away.

Cort. Monarchs may err, but should each private breast
Judge their ill Acts, they would dispute their best.

Cyd[aria]. Then all your care is for your Prince I see,
Your truth to him out-weighs you love to me;
You may so cruel to deny me prove,
But never after that, pretend to Love.

Cort. Command my Life, and I will soon obey,
To save my Honour I my Blood will pay.

Cyd. What is this Honour that does Love controul?

Cort. A raging fit of Vertue in the Soul;
A painful burden which great minds must bear,
Obtain'd with danger, and possest with fear.

Cyd. Lay down that burden if it painful grow,
You'll find, without it, Love will lighter go.

Cort. Honour once lost is never to be found.

Alib. Perhap she looks to have both passions Crown'd:
First dye his Honour in a Purple Flood.
Then Court the Daughter in the Father's Blood.

Cort. The edge of War I'le from the Battel take,
And spare her Father's Subjects for her sake.

Cyd. I cannot Love you less when I'm refus'd,
But I can dye to be unkindly us'd;
Where shall a Maids distracted heart find rest,
If she can miss it in her Lovers breast!

Cort. I till to morrow will the fight delay,
Remember you have conquer'd me to day.

Alib. This grant destroys all you have urg'd before,
Honour could not give this, or can give more;
Our Women in the foremost ranks appear,
March to the Fight, and meet your Mistress there,
Into the thickest Squadrons she must run,
Kill her, and see what Honour will be won.

Cyd. I must be in the Battel, but I'le go
With empty Quiver, and unbended Bow;
Not draw an Arrow in this fatal strife,
For fear its point should reach your Noble life.

Cort. No more, your kindness wounds me to the death,
Honour be gone, what art thou but a breath!
I'le live, proud of my infamy and shame,
Grac'd with no Triumph but a Lovers name;
Men can but say Love did his reason blind,
And Love's the noblest frailty of the mind,
Draw off my Men, the War's already done.

Piz[arro]. Your orders come too late, the Fight's begun,

The Enemy gives on with fury led,
And fierce Orbellan combats in their head.

Cort. He justly fears a Peace with me would prove
Of ill concernment to his haughty Love;
Retire, fair Excellence, I'll go to meet
New Honour, but to lay it at your feet.

Exeunt Cort. . . . Piz.

(The Indian Emperor: 1667 (Menston, England, [1971 (?)], pp. 18-19, D1V-D2F.)

⁷⁶The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle Earl of Orrery, ed. by William Smith Clark II (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937), 2 vols., Vol. I, p. 184.

⁷⁷English Reprints.: George Villiers.: Second Duke of Buckingham.: The Rehearsal.: First acted 7 Dec. 1671. Published [?July] 1672.: With Illustrations from Previous Plays, Etc., ed. by Edward ARber (London, 1869), p. 87.

⁷⁸The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature says that Valerius Flaccus "makes [Jason] weak and irresolute, and leaves him contemplating the betrayal of his bride." (P. 442.)

⁷⁹It seems from the annotations that Sir Robert had read both Valerius Flaccus and Apollonius Rhodius.

⁸⁰The Works of John Dryden: Plays: The Wild Gallant, The Rival Ladies, The Indian Queen, ed. by John Harrington Smith, Dougald MacMillan, et al. (Berkeley, California, 1962) (Vol. VIII of "The California Dryden"), pp. 228-229.

⁸¹Of course, Montezuma's identity is unknown even to himself, while Achilles knows who he is.

The editors of "The California Dryden" attribute part of Montezuma's education, and his hidden identity to La Calprenède's Cléopâtre, which, they say, Dryden probably used in the form in which it is found translated in Hymen's Praeludia, by Robert Loveday and others (1652-1659): "In the revelation that Montezuma is not, as he supposed, old Garrucca's son but a personage of high birth, Dryden returns once more to the Artaban story in Cléopâtre. [Footnote: Hymen's Praeludia, XII, iii. Points of resemblances are the heroes' posthumous birth, and development of fierceness in youth through the hunting of dangerous beasts (*ibid.*, V, i, 366).]" (The Works of John Dryden: Plays: . . . The Indian Queen, pp. 289-292.) But the number of specific points in which Montezuma's education is either identical with or highly similar to Achilles' is such that, with respect to Montezuma's education, borrowing from Statius's Achilleis seems much more likely than from La Calprenède's Cléopâtre. In his article on "The Dryden-Howard Collaboration" (Studies in Philology, LI, 54-74), John Harrington Smith, on account of "parallels" "in rhetoric and ornament" "rather than in situation," assigns Act V of The Indian Queen to Sir Robert. He says nothing about the parallel between

Montezuma's education and Achilles'. This parallel, however, supports his conclusion that Act V is by Sir Robert, and, conversely, his conclusion and evidence seem to support the view that Montezuma's education is drawn from the Achilleis and not from the Cléopâtre. (Smith says that Sir Robert "may . . . have set Dryden to reading La Calprenède's Cléopâtre, from which Howard may have got the name 'Tiridates' in the [Vestal] Virgin, and in which Dryden would find Artaban, a monarch-snubbing hero upon whom, in I, i of the play, Montezuma is patently modeled" [p. 72]; but we know for certain that Sir Robert had read the Achilleis, and that, in fact, he had done so very carefully.)

⁸²p. 10. Vessey quotes from Latomus 22 (1963), 503.

⁸³Statius: Achilleid, p. 12.

⁸⁴Statius and the Thebaid, p. 11. Vessey refers to H. Bardon's "Le goût à l'époque des Flaviens," Latomus 21 (1962), 732-748. Vessey makes use, in the quoted passage, also of J.M.C. Toynbee's The Art of the Romans (London, 1965).

⁸⁵"'Magnus Achilles' and Statian Baroque," p. 502. Dilke quotes from "The Baroque Spirit in Ancient Art and Literature, in Essays by Divers Hands (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature), n.s. XXV (1950), 1-11."

⁸⁶"'Magnus Achilles' and Statian Baroque," p. 503.

⁸⁷The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume XI: The Imperial Peace: A.D. 70-192, ed. by S.A. Cook, F.E. Adcock, and M.P. Charlesworth, Second Impression (Cambridge, England, 1954), p. 780.

⁸⁸Suetonius: With an English Translation by J.C. Rolfe, PH.D. (in The Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, 1965), 2 vols., Vol. II, pp. 368-369 (in the life of Domitian).

⁸⁹"Preface of the Translator, With a Parallel of Poetry and Painting" (1695--prefixed to De arte graphica . . . by C.A. du Fresnoy, Translated . . .), (specifically) pp. 204-205 of Vol. II of John Dryden: Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays, ed. by George Watson.

⁹⁰Statius . . ., p. 575.

⁹¹p. A4^v.

⁹²See, in particular, the chapter in Alfred Harbage's Cavalier Drama entitled "Cavalier Drama and the Restoration Heroic Play."

⁹³p. 258.

⁹⁴"The dialogue . . . is often no more than a mouthing of platitudes, particularly on Love and Honor . . ." (P. 34). At least Love and Honor do not seem to be often treated together.

⁹⁵Act V, Scene 7; p. 138 K5^v.

⁹⁶The two dramatic offerings by Sir Robert that appeared between the publication of The Blind Lady and the first production of The Indian Queen seem not to have, at least in any obvious way, any such "heroic" features as are found in the first and the fourth of the four plays. Both The Surprisal and The Committee seem to be straight comedies. H.J. Oliver, on the other hand, has detected something "heroic" in The Surprisal, and says the following:

He was . . . quick to sense which way the dramatic wind was blowing; already in The Surprisal there is some attempt at the analysis of Love that was to prove so popular a feature of Heroic Tragedy; there is some of the jesting at old age and particularly at the absurdity of old men in love that was to be one of the mainstays of Restoration comedy (even in Congreve); and Miranzo's disguise as a Friar is an early example of the particular kind of disguise that was to be repeated ad nauseam in Restoration drama. A play like The Surprisal is of no aesthetic value but it does show Howard in the role of a dramatic pioneer. (Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 49.)

⁹⁷This is not to suggest that the Achilleis had not previously been published in five books. It had, but not, as far as the present editor can tell, recently. The last edition of the Achilleis in which the work was divided into five books may well have come out in 1600, in Paris - Papinii Svrevli Statii opera quae extant. Placidi Lactantii in Thebaida commentarius. Ex bibliotheca Fr. Pithoei . . . collatis mss, veteribusque exemplaribus, recensuit, partim nunc primum edidit, Fr. Tiliobroga . . .

⁹⁸Vol. VIII, pp. 285-286.

⁹⁹Herringman completed his apprenticeship on August 1, 1652. At some time within the next six months he purchased the stock of the Stationer John Holden, who had died the previous spring, and reopened the bookseller's shop at the Blue Anchor in the New Exchange, which Holden had occupied since 1650. . . . Undoubtedly Herringman found in his second-hand stock a goodly number of books published by other stationers and merely offered for sale by Holden. But among those books for which Herringman now possessed the copyrights, there were a few worth owning. Probably the most valuable was Davenant's Gondibert. . . . Herringman republished . . . [this book] later in his career.

He brought out both Davenant's Declamations and his The Siege of Rhodes, the two stage-pieces whose presentations mark the reopening of the London theatre.

--C. William Miller's "Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher," pp. 296-298.

¹⁰⁰The Modern Language Review, XXXIII, No. 1 (January 1938), 1-14.

101_{P.} 1.102_{P.} 9.103_{P.} 10.

104_BBecause Florence Scott's dissertation is not generally available, the appropriate passages will be quoted in the notes in full (or almost in full).

105

Earlier translations, which must have been influential in directing Howard toward a study of Virgil, are still available to the reader. One in 1658, published by Humphrey Moseley, was written by Edmund Waller and Sidney Godolphin. Like Howard's it includes only the fourth book, and is entitled The Passion of Dido for Aeneas, As it is Incomparably exprest in the Fourth Book of Virgil. This small book might have been in Howard's possession when he wrote his own translation; perhaps the knowledge that these young men had begun the task inspired Sir Robert to attempt the same literary exercise himself. The reason why this fourth book was the one which they essayed to render into English is perhaps suggested by "The Argument" in the Waller and Godolphin edition:

This fourth book describing only hir passion, deep sense of his ingratitude, and hir death, has been alwayes esteemed the best piece of the best Poets; has been translated into all Languages, and in our days at least ten times by severall Pens, into English. It is freely left to the Reader; which he will preferre.

(P. 238.)

Howard's interest in the Virgil may perhaps have been started by his knowing or having a copy of the work of an earlier member of the Howard family. In 1554, presumably, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, published The fourth boke of Virgill, intreating of the loue betwene Aeneas & Dido, translated into English, and drawne into a strange metre by Henrye late Earle of Surrey, worthy to be embraced." . . .

In Stuart days copies of this Virgil may well have been in the possession of the Howard family; if so they would have moved Sir Robert to try his hand at a contemporary version. At any rate, one feels sure, the knowledge that one of his relatives in the not too distant past had been author of such a work would undoubtedly have been a spur of some importance to him.

(Pp. 242-243.)

106

The translations [sic] of Statius' Achilleid is of much less interest to us today [than the translation of Aeneis IV], since the work is almost completely forgotten. It has never been particularly popular, and I have been unable to find a clue to Howard's interest in it. . . . Five books of the Thebaid were translated by Thomas Stephens in 1648, but that is the only item of contemporary interest which I have discovered. The fact that Sir Robert's translation is the only one entered in many bibliographies would seem to indicate a low regard for it by scholars; it may further account for his feeling that such voluminous annotations were called for with his translation.

(Pp. 243-244.)

107

I shall not in this study spend time tracing in detail the development of the "Love and Honor" theme. It had begun in England before the exile, as Genest clearly indicates:

The most extravagant notions of Love and Honour were in fashion for several years after the Restoration of the Stage--they had however begun to prevail before the civil wars, as this play (Love and Honour) was printed in 1649, and had been acted at Black Friars.

(P. 367.)

108

It is clear, it seems to me, that Howard's knowledge of what his kinsman [Orrery] was doing must have been the spark which lighted the fire for his interest in the heroic play. . . . Howard, as we know, was sufficiently interested in it to spend some time in the latter part of 1663, and to invite John Dryden to assist him, in an attempt to transmute some small part of one of the now popular romances into dramatic form.

(Pp. 372-373.)

(Later, on p. 378, the author notes that "the work upon which The Indian Queen is based, Polexandre by Marin Le Roy de Gomberville, was published (in English) in 1647, and may, therefore, have been known to Howard for a long time.")

¹⁰⁹Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, p. 78.

¹¹⁰"The Life and Works of Sir Robert Howard," p. 365.

¹¹¹Vol. VIII, p. 284. When the California editors say, "But this does not make it likely . . .," they seem to be referring to all of

Parson's evidence.

112 Ibid.

113 Vol. 137, p. 384.

114 Ker, on p. 308 of Vol. I of his Essays of John Dryden, says this about the opera: "The first Italian Opera in Paris was the Finta Pazza (Achilles in Scyros) of Strozzi, 1645, represented at the Petit-Bourbon through the influence of Mazarin, who brought the stage-engineer Torelli from Parma to manage the scenery, &c." The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), has, on p. 295 of Vol. 18, the following:

Even more important was La finta pazza (which has no connection with La finta pazza Licori); it was first performed with music by Sacrati (which is lost) for the opening of the Teatro Novissimo in 1641. Among several revivals of it outside Venice the most notable was in Paris in 1645, with stage designs by Giacomo Torelli and choreography by G.B. Balbi; for this, one of the earliest performances of Italian opera in Paris, some of the recitatives were replaced by spoken dialogue.

Statement of Editorial Method

In this edition, Howard's translation--the translation proper--is presented in a critical old-spelling text,¹ and his annotations thereon are given in the form of a photographic copy derived from the same copy Poems which was used for the text of the translation. The Latin text which Howard seems to have principally used in writing his translation is given in the form of a transcript of a single exemplar. The steps which were taken and the principles and policies which were used in arriving at the texts in this edition, and the apparatus which accompany these texts are set forth and explained in the following paragraphs, in which the word translation, unless modified, is used to signify both the translation proper and the annotations.

So that it might be determined what the relationship is between the text of the translation which appears in Poems (1660) and that which appears in Poems on Several Occasions (1696), two exemplars from the latter were collated against one exemplar from the former. The exemplar from Poems--the control text--is in the copy of Poems owned by the library of Harvard University (*EC65 H8364 660p) and was used by means of a photographic copy. The first exemplar from Poems on Several Occasions is in the copy of that book owned by the library of Harvard University (*EC65 H8364 660pa) and was used by means of a photographic copy; the second is in the copy owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library (H3004) and was used directly. The two exemplars from Poems on Several Occasions were, in the order which has been indicated, compared in every significant detail with the control text. The collations were performed by the editor and without the aid of any machine, and each exemplar from Poems on Several Occasions was collated with the control text once. The significant

differences--almost all of them being differences in legibility, due to differences in inking--were recorded. The results of the collations help to confirm what others have written about the genetic relationship between Poems and Poems on Several Occasions - that the latter is but a reissue, with a cancel title-page, of the former.² The text of the translation in Poems and that in Poems on Several Occasions come from the same setting-up of type.

Although the text in Poems thus cannot be said to be any closer to Howard's lost MS. than that in Poems on Several Occasions, it seemed best that the copy-text for the proposed edition be taken from Poems, as would be done if Poems and Poems on Several Occasions were truly two separate editions. The text of the translation which is found in the copy of Poems owned by the library of Harvard University (*EC65 H8364 660p) was taken as the copy-text. This text was used by means of a photographic copy, one of good quality. This photographic copy is the same that was used for the control text in the set of collations which is explained above. It was used for the control text also in the second set of collations.

The second set of collations had as its main purpose the uncovering of internal variance, if any, within the edition from which the copy-text had been taken. Against the copy-text, serving as the control text, were collated the exemplars in the copies of Poems owned by the following libraries (and having the following shelf-numbers):

- 1) the library of The University of North Carolina (PR3517 .H3 1660)
- 2) the Folger Shakespeare Library (H3003)
- 3) The United State Library of Congress (PR3517 .H3 1660)
- 4) the library of Duke University (822.49 H851P)

5) the library of Cornell University (PR 3517 H3 A17 1660).

The exemplar in the copy at Duke and that in the copy at Cornell were used by means of photographic copies; the others, directly. In the order which has been indicated, the exemplars were compared with the control text as to every significant detail. The collations were performed by the editor and without the aid of any machine, and each of the exemplars which are listed was collated with the control text once. The significant differences, which were--once again--almost all differences in legibility, were recorded. Then, since the text of the translation in Poems on Several Occasions comes from the same setting-up of type as the text in Poems, the differences uncovered in the first set of collations were added to the differences uncovered in the second set. (Hence, in that part of the apparatus entitled "Press-variants by Forme," the two exemplars from Poems on Several Occasions will be found listed along with the exemplars from Poems, as having been used for the detection of internal variance within Poems.) Of all the differences which were collected, almost none are press-variants; as has been indicated, almost all are differences in legibility. Only two formes showing one or more press-variants were revealed. One of these, the inner forme of sheet U, involves only the insertion of a missing catch-word--the indefinite article "A"--and it is very possible that what we have here is not an instance of press-correction, but one of accidental variation, for it is very likely that the word, or letter, simply popped out of the chase, or was pulled out by one of the ink-balls, during printing. The other variant forme, the inner forme of sheet N, although it shows two stages of correction, and thus exists in three states, involves only the correction of an instance of dittography and the moving of the line-numbers of one page from one margin to the

other. Thus, no evidence was found either that Howard corrected or revised the printed text of his translation during printing, or that, during that procedure, the printed text was proofread against the MS. Since the press-variants that had been found in a search of eight exemplars were so few and so unexciting, and in view of the fact that the text of the translation, as it appears in the eight exemplars, is relatively free of obvious compositorial errors, it did not seem that the collation of additional exemplars was likely to yield any valuable results in the way of press-variants. Furthermore, the notes taken from the exemplars which had already been used seemed sufficient to enable the editor to deal satisfactorily with the problem of legibility--the fact that some of the type, particularly punctuation marks, produced a generally poor or inconsistent impression throughout the edition. Although the collations did not reveal many press-variants--and only one (see I, 223, note) is textually significant--they did prove highly necessary for the establishment of the text.

The editorial search of the extant documentary evidence for variant readings was completed by an examination of the copy-text itself. It was found that in two instances a catchword differs in type-style from the word which it represents, the catchword, in each instance, being in italics and the corresponding word in roman letters, and it was found that in a rather large number of instances, the lemmata in the annotations differ, sometimes substantively, from the textual material which they represent. Moreover, in one place in the annotations, in the course of his discussion, Howard quotes a line from his translation, and the line which he gives differs substantively from that which he offers in the main part of his text. (see II, 213, note). All uncovered differences were

recorded.

The extant documentary evidence having thus been searched and the findings recorded, the cases of real variance were then considered and the variant readings evaluated. In the case of the one textually significant press-variant, it was decided, without much difficulty, to use the corrected reading. In one of the cases involving a variant catchword (see IV, 37, note), it was decided that the catchword, being more in harmony with the accidentals of the copy-text, where proper nouns are generally italicized, should be used instead of the reading in the text. In the other case involving a variant catchword (see IV, 145, note), it seemed that the catchword had been italicized simply because the last words of the page were in italics, this continuation of type-style not being found in the first case. As for those cases in which a lemma varies from the text, or the text from the lemma, it seemed that, although some of the variants in the annotations might represent Howard's final intentions better than the readings in the translation proper, there was no sufficiently strong argument for making any editorial alterations. The discrepancies may well have come from Howard himself. All of the readings in the translation proper were, accordingly, allowed to stand. The same kind of decision was made in the case of Howard's two versions of one line in his translation.

After a typewritten copy of the text of the translation proper had been prepared from the copy-text, the alterations were made which had been decided upon during the evaluation of the variants. The typed copy thus produced incorporated all the textual alterations of the copy-text which the editor, in his opinion, could make by using variant readings actually available in the extant documentary evidence. The basic facts

concerning all the cases in which the copy-text either was or could have been altered by means of one or more extant variants, are recorded in the apparatus, in the textual notes.

The silent alterations, of course, were not recorded. They were made before the alterations which have just been explained - during the typing of the copy which is discussed in the preceding paragraph. The silent alterations which were made are as follows.

Totally eliminated were all rules and decoration, signatures, catchwords, parentheses used to set off turn-overs, and running-titles, except for the book-numbers. A number of other things were retained but regularly modified. The spacing of letters, punctuation marks, etc., the spacing of words, the spacing of lines, the position of the text with respect to the page, the position of titles with respect to the text, and the position of the marginal notes with respect to the text, were adjusted as necessary. Howard's annotations, which in the copy-text follow each book of the epic, were all grouped together at the end of the translation proper. The number of words to a line, the number of words to a page, and the number of lines to a page were adjusted as necessary. Each line of poetry is given on a single line, and the text of the translation proper and the Latin text are so arranged that within each opening of the present edition, they begin and end together with respect to content, grammar, and prosody. The page-numbers were changed to be proper for the present edition, and their position and the position of the book-numbers were also changed. The line-numbers were consistently put on the right side of the text; those already there, were adjusted; and the numbers were corrected if necessary, as were also the book-numbers. Italic letters were underlined. No differentiation was made between swash italics and regular

italics, and none was made between italic and roman marks of punctuation. An -s or -s attached to an italicized word was underlined if the -s or -s indicates the genitive case or a plural noun or the third person singular of a verb. An -s, or -s representing (a contraction of) the word is was underlined if the word is would be italicized in the copy-text if the word were given in full; otherwise, the -s or -s was not underlined. Letters printed by type from a wrong font were corrected where only a single letter in a word is involved and where there is no possibility that the whole word should be in the style of the letter in question. The long s was replaced with the short s.³ Ligatures, including the digraphs ae and oe, were typed as two separate letters. Where it was necessary to represent a digraphs as being in the upper case, only the first part was capitalized. The combination "VV" ("double-u") was given as "W." The different kinds, or sizes, of capital letters, such as display capitals and ornamental initials, were replaced with only one kind. The capital letter which, in the copy-text, sometimes follows a large initial capital was reduced to the lower case. Turned letters were corrected. If the correction resulted in the appearance of a different word or spelling, the correction was recorded in the textual notes. A similar policy was used with a turned mark of punctuation. Letters printed from broken type, and other defective letters were, in typing the text, automatically made good. In all other respects, the "externals" of the copy-text were preserved.

Along with the silent alterations, during the typing of the first copy of the text of the translation proper, were made alterations to the hyphenation, or word-division, of the copy-text. Hyphenation, however, unlike the use of the long s and the capitalization of digraphs, comes

under the heading of "accidentals," and it constitutes a special problem for the editor of a critical old-spelling text. As with the other accidentals, the reader should be enabled to know exactly what the hyphenation of the copy-text is, and it should be possible for him to distinguish this hyphenation from any hyphenation that has been added in the new text. In the present edition, no new hyphenation has been added: the only words that are hyphenated are words that are hyphenated in the copy-text. But all the words that are hyphenated in the copy-text are not hyphenated in the new text. A word that is hyphenated within a line in the copy-text, has automatically been hyphenated in the new text. A word that is hyphenated at the end of a line in the copy-text, was hyphenated in the new text if, according to The O.E.D. or the editor's own judgment, it is, or could be, a genuine hyphenated word (or compound) and not a word hyphenated merely for the sake of typographical appearance. The Record of Line-end Hyphenation enables the reader to reconstruct the exact hyphenation of the copy-text and to check the editor's decisions regarding it.

Into the typed copy incorporating the silent alterations, the alterations to the hyphenation of the copy-text, and the alterations consisting of variants actually found in the extant documentary evidence, were introduced the alterations, both to the substantive readings and to the accidentals, which proceeded more purely from the editor's judgment. These alterations are more properly called emendations.⁴ In the process of deciding where emendations should be made, both the substantive readings and the accidentals of the copy-text were treated conservatively. If a questionable substantive reading seemed to be contextually possible, that is, if it seemed to be a reading that could possibly be used in its

own location, the benefit of the doubt was given to the copy-text and the reading was allowed to stand. This policy was not employed merely out of abstract devotion to a general editorial theory. Much of Howard's writing, it seems, has more than a normal share of awkward, strained, and positively incorrect diction and grammar. His meaning is sometimes difficult or impossible to grasp. The problems are not simply results of the lapse of time. In "A Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy" (1668), Dryden, with keen irony, gives us some idea of how Howard's style was regarded in Howard's own day:

But he [Howard] has taken his last farewell of the Muses, and he has done it civilly, by honouring them with the name of his long acquaintances, which is a compliment they have scarce deserved from him. For my own part, I bear a share in the public loss; and how emulous soever I may be of his fame and reputation, I cannot but give this testimony of his style, that it is extreme poetical, even in oratory; his thoughts elevated sometimes above common apprehension; his notions politic and grave, and tending to the instruction of Princes, and reformation of States; that they are abundantly interlaced with variety of fancies, tropes, and figures, which the critics have enviously branded with the name of obscurity and false grammar.⁵

Howard's style being what it is, it seemed appropriate to go through the text with a somewhat indulgent eye, allowing problematical but possible readings to stand. And this is the course that was followed. (This seemed to be a better course than to assume that Dryden did correct the MS. of Poems [see the Textual Introduction]; that he did a thorough job of it, and that, therefore, all problematical readings are to be regarded as compositorial.) However, if a reading seemed impossible (e.g., "Syrians," in II, 104) and the correct reading seemed clear ("Scyrians"), the reading was corrected.

The accidentals too were treated in a conservative manner, as is normally true of a critical old-spelling text. The ease with which the

average reader of older literature could read the text was, however, kept in mind. Explanatory notes have been provided on possibly difficult or doubtful spellings and punctuation, and some clarifying emendations have been made in the accidentals, in addition to emendations which were intended to eliminate what can be called gross errors. Almost all of the total number of emendations are in the punctuation; and the emendations to the punctuation fall into two classes. A small number of emendations were made to prevent grammatical misunderstanding on the part of the reader. In this class of emendations, the alterations were made to punctuation which might have been acceptable in Howard's day. The editorially provided punctuation, however, is based upon punctuation actually found in similar situations in the copy-text. In the second class of emendations, which is of a not inconsiderable size, the alterations were made to punctuation which probably would not have been acceptable in Howard's day. The purpose of these alterations was similar to that of the alterations of the first class. In each case, there was removed a period which interrupted material that should clearly form a single sentence. These alterations seem justified not only because they correct situations which might give difficulty to the reader. With the exception of a relative handful of sentences, in which the alterations were made, the sentences in the copy-text show the proper use of the period, which, unlike other marks of punctuation, is used very consistently. The periods that were removed seem to be punctuative anomalies. Moreover, the educated writers of Howard's time, although they frequently used comma splices, seem to have had a good sense of the completeness, not only in grammar but also in content, which a sentence should have, and rarely wrote sentence fragments. The training in Latin which all these writers had received ensured

that this should be so. Howard, in spite of his occasional lapses within the phrases and clauses of his sentences, was, it seems, like his fellow writers in his basic construction of the sentence. Too, of all the marks of punctuation, it is the seventeenth-century use of the period that most closely approaches the modern use, as can be seen in the copy-text. In fact, with the exception of its use in titles and the like, the seventeenth-century use of the period is the modern use. It seems that the compositor or compositors of the body of Howard's translation did not clearly understand many of Howard's sentences, for there is a substantial number of misplaced periods.⁶ Accordingly, as was not, with one exception, done with commas used in comma splices, the punctuation in question was subjected to editorial emendation. The misplaced periods were, in each case, either eliminated or shifted to the proper place. If another mark of punctuation was substituted, its use was based upon punctuation found in similar situations in the copy-text. The treatment, in the present edition, of the commas used in comma splices and of the anomalous periods, parallels the treatment which has been given by the editors of "the California Dryden"--of which the approach is that of a critical old-spelling edition--to the same problems in Dryden's commendatory verses in Poems, the only part of Poems, it seems, which has hitherto received editorial treatment in modern times. The following four lines from the California Dryden" preserve the punctuation of the copy-text, including the comma splice:

Your easier Odes, which for delight were penn'd,
 Yet our instruction make their second end,
 We're both enrich'd and pleas'd, like them that woo
 At once a Beauty and a Fortune too.

--Ll. 41-44.⁷

But in another four lines, a period was removed--after "those"--and

replaced with a comma, because the period cut off a consecutive clause, or clause of result, from the sentence to which it belongs:

If funerall Rites can give a Ghost repose,
Your Muse so justly has discharge those,
Elisa's shade may now its wandring cease,
And claim a title to the fields of peace.

--Ll. 63-66.⁸

In a related case, one of a run-on sentence, a period was added--after "wore":

This is not all; your Art the way has found
To make improvement of the richest ground,
That soil which those immortall Lawrells bore,
That once the sacred Maro's temples wore.
Elisa's griefs, are so exprest by you,
They are too eloquent to have been true.

--Ll. 55-60.⁹

According to the text and the apparatus in "the California Dryden," there are, in the copy-text for Dryden's commendatory poem, no other situations such as are under consideration here.¹⁰ In such situations, then, the same editorial action is taken in the present edition as is taken in "the California Dryden"--that is, the two editions agree in their treatment of sentences found printed in Poems. In the case of Howard's translation, however, there is a special kind of sentence fragment, which does not appear in the case of Dryden's commendatory verses, and for this kind of fragment, exceptions to the general policy were freely made. In Latin, "a relative pronoun (or adverb) often stands at the beginning of an independent sentence or clause, serving to connect it with the sentence or clause that precedes . . . The relative may usually be translated by an English demonstrative, with or without and."¹¹ This use of a Latin relative, which creates an apparent fragment, seems to have been imitated by certain English writers. For example, in ll. 677-695 of Book II of Paradise Lost, we have the following:

Th'undaunted Fiend [Saten] what this might be admir'd.
 Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
 Created thing naught valu'd he nor shun'd;
 And with disdainful look thus first began.

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
 That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
 Thy miscreated Front athwart my way
 To yonder Gates? through them I mean to pass,
 That be assur'd, without leave askt of thee:
 Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
 Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heav'n.

To whom the Goblin full of wrauth reply'd,
 Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou hee,
 Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then
 Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'ns Sons
 Conjur'd against the highest, for which both Thou
 And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd
 To waste Eternal dayes in woe and pain.¹²

"To whom . . . pain?," in ll. 688-695, is not to be considered a real fragment, although, grammatically, being a relative clause, it cannot stand by itself. Apparently, Milton, a great Latinist, borrowed this kind of construction from the Roman writers with whose works he was so conversant. Howard too had read a lot of Latin, and so, in the editorial review of the accidentals of the copy-text for the present edition, the benefit of the doubt was given to grammatical fragments in the copy-text which begin with a relative pronoun or adverb (for example, the fragment beginning in I, 135).

The basic facts concerning all alterations to the substantive readings and the accidentals of the copy-text, except the line-end hyphenation, are recorded in the textual notes. Also, a brief discussion of each especially difficult or debatable editorial decision on emendation, whether for or against alteration, is provided in the explanatory notes, and, in each case, a note directing the reader to such a discussion is placed in the textual notes--as is not done for the other kinds of explanatory notes.

The product of the editorial work that has just been explained, a single typed and edited copy of the text of the translation proper, incorporated the silent alterations to the copy-text, the alterations to the hyphenation, the alterations consisting of uncovered variants, and the editorial emendations. From this copy the final typed copy was made. This--the final--copy was proofread by being checked twice against the first typed copy and once, by the editor, against the copy-text. It is from this copy, after it was proofread, that all photographic copies--that is, all other copies--of the edited text were made.

The apparatus provided, in the present edition, for the text of the body of Howard's translation consists of the following: the Textual Introduction, the textual notes, the Record of Line-end Hyphenation, the record of press-variants (Press Variants by Forme), and the Explanatory Notes on the Translation.

The purpose of the Textual Introduction, which, like the present section, is found in the introductory material of the edition, is to make available in one place the important bibliographical information about Howard's translation and the known biographical facts concerning the circumstances surrounding its composition and publication.

The primary purpose of the textual notes is to provide both the basic facts concerning all alterations to the copy-text, except silent alterations and alterations to the line-end hyphenation, and the basic facts concerning all known opportunities, as it were, for altering the copy-text by means of an uncovered variant. Their secondary purpose is to direct the reader to those explanatory notes which deal with especially difficult or debatable editorial decisions on emendation of the copy-text. The textual notes are footnotes; normally, the notes for a page of text

all appear at the foot of that page, that is, at the bottom on the right side of the opening, the side on which Howard's text always appears; but where there are too many notes for the space available on the right, the notes are spread out across the opening, on both sides. Each note begins with the number, or, in some cases, numbers, of the line, or lines, in which one will find the reading or readings with which the note is concerned. The numbers used for the notes are, of course, the same as those given in the text to the lines to which belong the readings with which the notes are concerned, and the numbering of the lines is begun at the beginning of each book of the epic. The lemma of a note, that is, its heading - the material found between the number of the note and the square bracket, always represents the reading or readings in the text of the present edition, no matter what the note is about. If no source is indicated immediately to the right of the bracket, the reading represented by the lemma is an editorial emendation, a corrective alteration, that is, which was made by the editor of the present edition and which is not a substituted variant; in such a case, what does appear to the right of the bracket is the original reading in the copy-text. If a source is indicated, the reading represented by the lemma is either a substituted variant taken from that source, or an original reading for which a variant exists but for which the variant has not been editorially substituted. In either case, the source indicated is the source of the reading represented by the lemma. The name of the source enables the reader to tell whether the lemma represents a substituted variant or an original reading. Since, in the case of the present edition, all variants found and noted are internal, that is, from within the edition of the copy-text, all sources indicated are indicated in parentheses. Where a source is indicated for

the reading represented by the lemma, a semicolon separates the lemma, the bracket, and the name of the source, with its parentheses, from the alternative reading and the name of its source. If the lemma represents a substituted variant, the alternative reading is the original reading; if the lemma represents the original reading, the alternative reading is the variant which might have been substituted. A small number of notes, almost all of them being notes recording cases of legibility and notes directing the reader to explanatory notes, show a modified form; but the meaning of each of these notes is clear, and none of them should present any difficulty. What now follows is a list of the more important kinds of textual notes, with examples, and with some additional explanatory material:

1) Notes concerning an editorial emendation to the accidentals of the copy-text. E.g., 16 crown'd,] crown'd.

2) Notes concerning an editorial emendation to the substantive readings of the copy-text.¹³ E.g., 104 Scyrians] Syrians.

3) Notes concerning a case in which there is variance between the accidentals of a lemma in the annotations and the accidentals of the represented reading or readings in the translation proper, and in which no editorial alteration was made to the latter. E.g., 2 An Issue fear'd by Heavens thundring King.] (translation); An issue fear'd by heaven's thundring King. (annotations). It is to be remembered in reading this kind and the next kind of note that almost all words in the lemmata are italicized in the copy-text, and, therefore, underlined in the notes of the present edition. There are only two places in the lemmata where Roman letters are used to represent a word in the translation proper: see the textual note on I, 220 and that on III, 218-220. Because of the

regular italicization of the lemmata, a difference only of italics is not recorded in the textual notes; similarly, a difference only of a capital letter at the beginning of a lemma or of a period at the end of one, or of some combination of the three regular features, is not reported. Also not reported are incorrect line numbers in the lemmata; these are silently corrected.

4) Notes concerning a case in which there is substantive variance between a lemma and the represented reading or readings or in which there is both substantive variance and variance in the accidentals, and in which no editorial alteration was made. E.g., 12 with sacred Fillets crown'd:] (translation); With sacred fillets bound. (annotations)

5) Notes concerning a case of legibility. E.g., 55 rose,] There may be a semicolon instead of a comma. The editor of a work printed during the period of manual printing would go mad if he had to record for the reader all differences in legibility. In the present edition, a note is given only when something is totally invisible in the copy-text or when, in the editor's opinion, there is a serious possibility that something could be something other than what it is in the present edition. Usually, the problem is with a mark of punctuation.

6) The note concerning the one case of textually significant press-correction: 223 a smile] (second corrected state); a a smile (uncorrected state and first corrected state). As is usual with a critical old-spelling edition, in order to learn what the reading in the copy-text is, one must go to the record of press-variants.

7) Notes directing the reader to an explanatory note. E.g., 43 pieces] See explanatory note. As has already been indicated, such a textual note is used only for an explanatory note which deals with an

especially difficult or debatable editorial decision concerning emendation of the copy-text.

The small number of textual notes which do not belong to these seven kinds should, from the information that has been given about the textual notes, be easily understood by the reader.

In the Record of Line-end Hyphenation are listed all the words which are hyphenated at the end of a line in the copy-text (in the translation proper). The exact hyphenation in the copy-text is shown, and, for easy comparison, the hyphenation in the text of the present edition is also shown. The organization of the Record of Line-end Hyphenation is based upon the assumption that the reader will work from the text of the present edition towards the hyphenation of the copy-text.

The record of press-variants (Press-Variants by Forme) gives all the press-variants that were uncovered in the collation of the eight copies used for the present edition. Of each variant, it gives the exact location, by sheet and forme, and for each variant forme, it indicates in which of the collated copies it appears in its uncorrected and in which it appears in its corrected state or states. Additional information about the record of press-variants is given in that part of the apparatus.

The Explanatory Notes on the Translation are all on the translation proper: none of them elucidates or explicates the parallel Latin text only for its own sake, and none of them is concerned primarily with anything in Howard's annotations. The Explanatory Notes are intended to deal with those words, constructions, etc. which were, in the opinion of the editor, most in need of explanatory treatment. There is additional information on the Explanatory Notes in the introduction to the notes.

In the original plan for the present edition, Howard's annotations

were to be edited along with the translation proper, but circumstances conspired to make it impossible to carry out this part of the plan, although the annotations had been covered in the collations, and it was necessary to give the annotations, in the edition, in the form of a photographic copy. The copy which was used was derived from the same copy of Poems in which is found the copy-text for the translation proper, that is, Harvard *EC65 H8364 660p. The annotations are given page by page, as they appear in Poems, except that they are all grouped together after the translation proper, instead of being arranged after the respective books of the translation proper. They are given alone, without notes. Originally, the annotations were to a certain extent to be themselves annotated. All that the editor can do at the present time to help the reader is to make a couple of recommendations: for help with the Renaissance Greek characters and ligatures which appear in the annotations, the reader can use the tables presented in William H. Ingram's "The Ligature of Early Printed Greek," in Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies, 7(1966), 371-389; and for help with the host of obscure classical scholars which Howard mentions, the reader shall turn first to Sir John Edwin Sandys' History of Classical Scholarship (Cambridge, England, 1908, 1921).

As for the parallel Latin text in this edition, it is not much more than a photographic copy. It is not the product of much editorial work. Indeed, there was no real editing at all. Howard's text was the subject of the scholarly project of which this edition is the result, and the Latin text which Howard seems to have principally used was included in the edition only as a convenience for the reader, who will want to see the text for a number of reasons. In the first place, no translation can be satisfactorily evaluated without reference to its original. In the

second place, the original which Sir Robert seems to have mainly used is different in many respects from the text of The Achilleis which is now in use in colleges and universities. And then Dryden himself, in his commendatory verses in Poems, has, in effect, recommended that this edition have a parallel Latin text:

But if Aeneas be oblig'd, no lesse
 Your [Howard's] kindnesse great Achilles doth confesse,
 Who dress'd by Statius in too bold a look,
 Did ill become those Virgin's Robes he took.
 To understand how much we owe to you,
 We must your Numbers with your Author's view;
 Then we shall see his work was lamely rough,
 Each figure stiffe as if design'd in buffe;
 His colours laid so thick on every place,
 As onely shew'd the paint, but hid the face:
 etc.

--Ll. 67-76.¹⁴

The Latin text was, then, to be included, but it was not possible to give it the editorial treatment which is now standard for a seventeenth-century text. It was decided that it would better to do nothing with it than to edit it in a way which not only would be improper but also might create an incorrect impression in the mind of the reader, and also it was thought that it should probably be presented in the form in which (possible press-variants aside) it was (it seems) actually used by Howard--including the numerous errors with which it is loaded. On the other hand, it was seen as desirable, for the purpose of facilitating comparison with Howard's text, to present it in typed rather than photographic form. Thus, the alteration of many of the "externals" of the copy-text was accepted as a necessity. The result is a text in the form of a typed transcript of a single exemplar, of which the "externals" have been silently altered as necessary.

The copy-text used is the text of The Achilleis which appears in

the copy of P. Statii Papinii. Thebaidos Libri Duodecim. . . . (Paris, 1658) which is owned by the library of The University of Chicago.¹⁵ The text was used by means of a photographic copy, of good quality. From this photographic copy, a transcript was typed alternately with the pages of Howard's text when that text was first typed. In the process, the silent alterations were made. The "externals" of the copy-text were silently altered as follows:

All rules and decoration, signatures, and running-titles, except for the book-numbers, were eliminated. The other things that were altered were regularly modified. The spacing of letters, punctuation marks, etc., the spacing of words, the spacing of lines, the position of titles and headings with respect to the text were adjusted as necessary. The footnotes were put in an appendix, Appendix A. The letters which, in the copy-text, are used in the text to refer to the notes were removed--they can be seen in the appendix. Lines which, in the copy-text, are indented to accomodate one of these letters, were brought out to the margin. To continue with other matters, the number of words to a line, the number of words to a page, and the number of lines to a page were adjusted as necessary. Each line of poetry is given on a single line. Words which, in the copy-text, are hyphenated at the end of a line were dehyphenated. (Thus, in the treatment of the Latin text, a class of accidentals was relegated to the status of "externals": the hyphens were removed silently. In fact, in some critical old-spelling editions of English works, the line-end hyphenation of the copy-text is not fully recorded.) The Latin text and the text of Howard's translation are so arranged that within each opening of the present edition, they begin and end together with respect to content, grammar, and prosody. The

page-numbers were changed to be proper for the present edition, and their position and the position of the book-numbers were also changed. The line-numbers were consistently put on the right side of the text; those already there were adjusted; and numbers were added and corrected as necessary. Roman letters were underlined and italic letters were given as plain roman letters, most of the text being in italics. The long s was replaced with the short s. Ligatures, including the digraphs ae and oe, were typed as two separate letters. Where it was necessary to represent a digraph as being in the upper case, only the first part was capitalized. The same thing was done where the copy-text has two separate capital letters for a capital digraph. The different kinds, or sizes, of capital letters, such as display capitals and ornamental initials, were replaced with only one kind. The capital letter which, in the copy-text, sometimes follows a large initial capital was reduced to the lower case. Letters printed from broken type, and other defective letters were automatically made good. In all other respects, the "externals" of the copy-text were preserved. Generally speaking, only those "externals" were altered which, from a typographical or mechanical point of view, had to be altered, whereas in the treatment of the English copy-text, because the editorial purpose was different, some silent alterations were made which were, in fact, not necessary.

The name apparatus seems appropriate to only one part of the edition which is attached to the Latin text - Appendix B, in which are given "Variants Found in a Collation of a Copy of the Latin Text of 1658 and a Copy of That of 1653." This appendix is explained in the paragraph which introduces the appendix. Appendix A has already been mentioned: it contains the footnotes which appear in that part of the edition of 1658 given

to The Achilleis. In the edition of 1658, the reader is referred to the footnotes by means of alphabetical symbols of reference. The symbol is usually put before the word in the text to which a footnote pertains, and so in the appendix, the locations of the notes are indicated uniformly by the word before which the symbol--the letter--appears. But there are irregularities in the footnotes, both in the copy-text and, therefore, in the appendix, and hence the reader is advised to use the appendix in conjunction with the parallel text itself. This caveat having been made, only one other thing must be explained about the Latin text--the line-numbers which appear in parentheses. In order to facilitate the use of the parallel Latin text with one or more of the chief modern editions of The Achilleis--and comparison appeared likely in view of the errors with which the parallel text is fraught--the line-numbers of the chief editions were indicated by putting in parentheses, amongst the other line-numbers, each tenth number from the chief editions, which all have the same numbering. The parenthetical numbers begin with the beginning of Book II in the parallel text, because the numbering in Book I is common to all the editions involved, and end with the end of Book IV, because in the modern editions Book II begins with the beginning of what is Book V in the parallel text, and so the numbering in Book V is also common to all the editions. The line-number in the chief modern editions is always given for the first line and for the last line of each book in which the parenthetical numbers appear. The modern editions in which the line-numbers were checked for this special, parenthetical numbering are the following:

- 1) P. Papini Stati: Achilleis, ed. by Aldo Marastoni (Leipzig, 1974). The Teubner edition.

- 2) P. Papini Stati Thebais et Achilleis, ed. by H.W. Garrod (Oxford, England, 1906). The O.C.T. edition.
- 3) Stace: Achilleide, ed. by Jean Meheust (Paris, 1971). The Budé editions.
- 4) Statius: Achilleid, ed. by O.A.W. Dikle (Cambridge, England, 1954).
- 5) Statius: With an English Translation, ed. by J.H. Mozley (London, 1967, 1969). The Loeb edition.

The final typed copy of the Latin text, made from the first copy, was proofread a total of four times, once by the editor. From this typed copy were made all photographic copies of the Latin text.

Notes
To
"Statement of Editorial Method"

¹The term "critical old-spelling text" should by now be a familiar one to students of Renaissance and those of eighteenth-century English literature, but since some may wish to use this edition who do not often read modern editions of older English works and are not acquainted with modern developments in the editing of English texts--some classicists, for example--it is probably desirable that a brief explanation of the term "critical old-spelling text" be given here, and perhaps it is best to give this explanation in the form of an expository list of the major characteristics of this kind of text as it is used for works of the Renaissance and the eighteenth century:

1) The purpose of a critical old-spelling text is to present, to the extent made possible by the extant documentary evidence and the editor's knowledge and abilities, the author's final intentions for the work in question, not the editor's own ideas about how the work should, ideally, read. A critical old-spelling text is, generally speaking, a conservative text.

2) In a critical old-spelling text, the accidentals of the copy-text, with few exceptions, are retained. It is for this reason that the expression "old-spelling" is used in the name of the kind of text here under discussion. The accidentals of a text are the spelling, capitalization, punctuation, italicization, and word-division of that text. That the term "old-spelling" is used to refer to the retention of all the accidentals of a text, not just the spelling, is unfortunate but true. A copy-text, in the words of Fredson Bowers, who, in addition to establishing many texts, has done more than anyone else to establish critical old-spelling texts as the best kind of text for most scholarly purposes, is "some single form of . . . a text on which an edition should most logically be based" ("Textual Criticism," in The aims and Methods of Scholarship in the Modern Languages and Literatures, ed. by James Thorpe [New York, 1963], p. 26).

3) A critical old-spelling text is "critical" in that it does allow certain kinds of editorial intervention, particularly with regard to the substantive readings of the copy-text. A substantive reading, according to Sir Walter Greg, who seems to have been the first to use both the term "substantive reading" and the term "accidentals," is one that is "significant," that affects "the author's meaning or the essence of his expression," accidentals affecting "mainly its formal presentation" ("The Rationale of Copy-Text," in Collected Papers [Oxford, England, 1966], p. 376). The term "substantive readings" usually refers to the wording of a text.

4) The copy-text is almost always a copy or exemplar from the first edition. The MS. of a work which was first printed in the Renaissance or the eighteenth century is usually not extant; and since each time such a

work was prepared for printing, the compositors, who were far more concerned with fidelity to the substantive readings than to the accidentals of their copy, to a great extent imposed their own accidentals upon the substantive readings, and since they usually used a copy from the first edition as the basis for the second, and so on, the further an edition is from the MS., the less, usually, it preserves the author's MS. accidentals, the substantive readings too, of course, usually showing progressive deterioration, but to a far smaller degree than the accidentals. Furthermore, authors rarely, it seems, bothered with accidentals when they revised a work; they usually inserted substantive alterations in a copy of the last edition and gave this copy to the printing shop to be used as the basis for the next edition, or they made out a list of substantive alterations and this was used by the printing shop in conjunction with a copy of the last edition. In either case, the compositors added new corruption of the accidentals to that which they had included in the previous edition. Thus, although a second or third edition might well be superior as to substantive readings (because the author might have revised his work for it), it is probably greatly inferior as to accidentals. In the case of a simple linear stemma, which is the usual kind of case, the first edition, the only edition set directly from the MS., is the edition that has the greatest authority as to accidentals; and the editor of a critical old-spelling edition, wishing to present his author's final intentions as to accidentals as well as substantive readings, normally takes a copy of the first edition as his copy-text and inserts into its texture of accidentals whatever later substantive variants he has determined to be authorial and whatever personal substantive emendations he thinks are necessary and justifiable. Such variants and such emendations he "dresses" (to use Bowers' term) in the accidentals of the copy-text. Because the use of accidentals, both by writers and compositors as a whole and by individuals, was so inconsistent in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century, and because we understand so little about precisely how they were used by individual authors, the editor usually does not attempt to separate authorial from compositorial accidentals, but simply accepts what he finds in his copy-text. The accidentals there are usually the best that he can offer. Since his aim is to present his author's accidentals (to the extent to which this can be done), not his own, he makes an emendation to the accidentals of the copy-text as rarely as possible, and then only to prevent misunderstanding on the part of the experienced reader or to remove a very egregious error, which he hopes is compositorial, but which, even if authorial, the author would surely, the editor knows, have corrected had it been brought to his attention.

5) A critical old-spelling text is not intended to be like a photographic or typographic facsimile. All the material in the copy-text is divided into three categories, of descending importance: the substantive readings, the accidentals, and the "externals," or, generally speaking, the typographical minutiae. Only the material in the first two categories is necessary for seeing the author's final intentions (except in that most sophisticated kind of bibliographical work). In the preparation of a critical old-spelling text, the material in the third category is to a great extent not accurately preserved, some of it being eliminated, much of it regularly modified, all by means of silent alterations--ones, that is, which are not recorded. (The term "externals" is borrowed from Bowers.)

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5) A critical old-spelling text is not intended to be like a photographic or typographic facsimile. All the material in the copy-text is divided into three categories, of descending importance: the substantive readings, the accidentals, and the "externals," or, generally speaking, the typographical minutiae. Only the material in the first two categories is necessary for seeing the author's final intentions (except in that most sophisticated kind of bibliographical work). In the preparation of a critical old-spelling text, the material in the third category is to a great extent not accurately preserved, some of it being eliminated, much of it regularly modified, all by means of silent alterations--ones, that is, which are not recorded. (The term "externals" is borrowed from Bowers.)

6) A critical old-spelling text is supposed to be scientific, both in derivation and in presentation. One way in which it is scientific is that the reader is enabled to reconstruct the copy-text in all its important details and to check all editorial decisions affecting those details: all alterations both to the substantive readings and to the accidentals of the copy-text are properly recorded.

If the reader wishes to see a good example of the kind of text which has just been explained, he should go to The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (Cambridge, England, 1966-1979), edited by Fredson Bowers, whose editions have served as basic models for the present edition. For additional material on the theory behind critical old-spelling texts, the reader may wish to see one or more of the following:

1) Sir Walter W. Greg's "The Rationale of Copy-Text," in Collected Papers, ed. by J.C. Maxwell (Oxford, England, 1966). This seminal article, with which, it can be said, modern editing began, was first printed in Studies in Bibliography, 3 (1950-1951), 19-36. It had been read before the English Institute on Sept. 8, 1949, by Dr. J.M. Osborn.

2) Fredson Bowers' "Current Theories of Copy-text, with an Illustration from Dryden," Modern Philology, 48, No. 1 (1950), 12-20.

3) Fredson Bowers' "Old-Spelling Editions of Dramatic Texts," in Studies in Honor of T.W. Baldwin, ed. by Don Cameron Allen (Urbana, 1958), 9-15.

4) John Russell Brown's "The Rationale of Old-Spelling Editions of the Plays of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries," Studies in Bibliography, 13 (1960), 49-67.

5) Arthur Brown's "The Rationale of Old-Spelling Editions of the Plays of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: A Rejoinder," Studies in Bibliography, 13, (1960), 69-76.

6) Fredson Bowers' "Established Texts and Definitive Editions," Philological Quarterly, 41, No. 1 (1962), 1-17.

7) Fredson Bowers' "Textual Criticism," in The Aims and Methods of Scholarship in the Modern Languages and Literatures, ed. by James Thorpe (New York, 1963), 23-42.

8) Hershel Parker's "Regularizing Accidentals: The Latest Form of Infidelity," Proof: The Yearbook of American Bibliographical and Textual Studies, 3 (1973), 1-20.

9) G. Thomas Tanselle's "Greg's Theory of Copy-Text and the Editing of American Literature," Studies in Bibliography, 28 (1975), 167-229.

10) Fredson Bowers' "Greg's 'Rationale of Copy-Text' Revisited," Studies in Bibliography, 31 (1978), 90-161.

11) G. Thomas Tanselle's "Textual Scholarship," in Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures, ed. by Joseph Gibaldi (New York, 1981), 29-52.

²Names, titles, page-numbers, etc. are given in the Textual Introduction.

³The i's, j's, u's, and v's of the copy-text were retained. There are several reasons for this. All four characters, unlike the long s, can be easily reproduced on a typewriter. Unlike short s and long s, both pairs of characters, i and j, and u and v, involve two quite different sounds. And unlike the use of the two s's, the use of i and j and that of u and v have attracted some scholarly attention. H.J. Oliver, on p. 8, in a note, says that Howard's use of u and v "is quite arbitrary." Scholars should be enabled to see whether this arbitrariness shows up in the printed text of Howard's translation.

⁴Of course, emendation of a kind had, at this point in the preparation of the text, already been performed, but in each case, the thing that was changed was either one of the "externals," which are subject to silent alteration, or something for which a variant exists in the extant documentary evidence, and for which the variant was substituted.

⁵Essays of John Dryden, ed. by W.P. Ker (Oxford, England, 1926), Vol. I, pp. 118-119. Earlier in the essay--which is "an Answer to the Preface of [Howard's] 'The Great Favourite, or, The Duke of Lerma'"--Dryden has the following:

As for the play of The Duke of Lerma, having so much altered and beautified it as he has done, it can justly belong to none but him. Indeed they must be extreme ignorant, as well as envious, who would rob him of that honour; for you see him putting in his claim to it, even in the first two lines:

Repulse upon repulse, like waves thrown back,
That slide to hang upon obdurate rocks.

After this, let detraction do its worst; for if this be not his, it deserves to be.

--Ibid., pp. 111-112.

An editor who did not bear in mind the nature of Howard's style might think that, surely, "slide to hang" does not represent Howard's final intentions--that neither he nor any other experienced writer could have written it--and might emend it in some way. He would thus improve the sense of the phrase but would remove from the phrase something which, as Dryden suggests, is very characteristic of Howard. That, in Dryden's opinion, Sir Robert had, and caused, difficulty with prose as well as with poetry is made clear in another passage in the essay. After criticizing him for having, in his "Preface" to The Duke of Lerma, translated the Latin word reserate (unlock or open) as "shut," Dryden says this:

. . . ten days after his book is published, and that his mistakes are grown so famous, that they are come back to him he sends his Errata to be printed, and annexed to his play;

and desires, that, instead of shutting, you would read opening, which, it seems, was the printer's fault. I wonder at his modesty, that he did not rather say it was Seneca's or mine and that, in some authors, resarare was to shut as well as to open, as the word barach, say the learned, is both to bless and curse.

Well, since it was the printer, he was a naughty man to commit the same mistake twice in six lines: I warrant you delectus verborum, for placing of words, was his mistake too, though the author forgot to tell him of it: . . . Yet since he has given the Errata, I wish he would have enlarged them only a few sheets more, and then he would have spared me the labour of an answer: for this cursed printer is so given to mistakes, that there is scarce a sentence in the preface without some false grammar, or hard sense in it; which will all be charged upon the poet, because he is so good-natured as to lay but three errors to the printer's account, and to take the rest upon himself, who is better able to support them. But he needs not apprehend that I should strictly examine those little faults, except I am called upon to do it: I shall return therefore to that quotation of Seneca, and answer, not to what he writes, but to what he means.

--Ibid., pp. 117-118.

It is true that, in this essay, Dryden cannot be said to speak with a purely disinterested and objective voice, but if one will take the trouble--and this word is used quite deliberately--to read a few of Sir Robert's prefaces--the one in Poems, for example. ("To the Reader"--one will see that Dryden is not really being unjust in what he says about his brother-in-law's style. (The Duke of Lerma and the preface to it can be found in Dryden and Howard 1664-68, ed. By D.D. Arundell [Cambridge, England, 1929]. In fairness to Sir Robert, it should be added here that according to Oliver, [on p. 117], the author of A Letter from a Gentleman To the Honourable Ed. Howard Esq; Occasioned By a Civiliz'd Epistle of Mr. Dryden's, Before his Second Edition of his 'Indian Emperious' [1668], wants to know who the critics are whom Dryden alleges to have complained of Sir Robert's style and grammar. The author of the "letter", "R.F.," is thought to be Richard Flecknoe.)

⁶No attempt was made to ascertain how many compositors were involved in the setting-up of type for Howard's translation, but it might not be rash tentatively to impute the misplaced periods in the body of the translation to the inexperience or ignorance of a single compositor, although these periods are distributed fairly well throughout this part of the text.

⁷The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, pp. 18 and 380. (Of course, Dryden's verses, "To My Honored Friend, Sir Robert Howard," appear also in Poems on Several Occasions.)

⁸Ibid., pp. 18-19 and 380.

⁹Ibid., pp. 18 and 380.

¹⁰In the edited poem, there is only one other alteration to the copy-text, the mark of punctuation after the last word of the following passage:

Either your Art hides Art, as Stoicks feign
 Then least to feel, when most they suffer pain;
 And we, dull souls, admire, but cannot see
 What hidden springs within the Engine be:
 Or 'tis some happinesse that still pursues
 Each act and motion of your gracefull muse.
 Or is it Fortune's work, that in your head
 The curious Net that is for fancies spread,
 Let's through its Meshes every meaner thought,
 While rich Idea's there are onely caught?

--Ll. 19-28.

In the copy-text, there is a period after "caught" (pp. 17 and 380). Each of the three alterations--in case it has not been made sufficiently clear--is an emendation by the editors of "the California Dryden": none of them is an extant variant introduced into the text (at least, none of them is an extant variant recorded in the apparatus).

¹¹Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges, ed. by J.B. Greenough et al. (Los Angeles, 1973), p. 188.

¹²The Complete English Poetry of John Milton, ed. by John T. Shawcross (New York, 1963), p. 259.

¹³It may raise some eyebrows that in the present edition, the notes concerning the alterations to the accidentals of the copy-text (except the line-end hyphenation) and those concerning the alterations to the substantive readings are mingled together as footnotes. In most critical old-spelling editions, the two kinds of notes are separated, in part, presumably, to reflect the distinction which the editors, bearing in mind the practices of the writers and printers of the texts with which they work, make between the two kinds of textual material. In most critical old-spelling editions, the foot of the page is reserved for notes concerning alterations to the substantive readings, and the notes concerning the alterations to the accidentals are put after the text. This practice has the effect of isolating the most important notes in the most convenient and emphatic position, and this, it seems, is the main purpose of separating the two kinds of notes. In no critical old-spelling edition seen by this editor, except the present one, are the two kinds of notes given together as footnotes. But the arrangement used in this edition is not indefensible. It is certainly more convenient for the reader, to have all the notes for the substantive readings, punctuation, capitalization, and spelling of a page at the foot of that page than to have to keep turning back and forth between that page and another in order to get all the pertinent information about what was editorially done to a certain passage. It is true that the arrangement used in the present edition does not enable the reader who is interested in a certain passage to consult the notes on the line-end hyphenation without turning to a separate page, but one must consider that the line-end hyphenation of a printed copy-text is likely to show almost no authorial hyphens, and

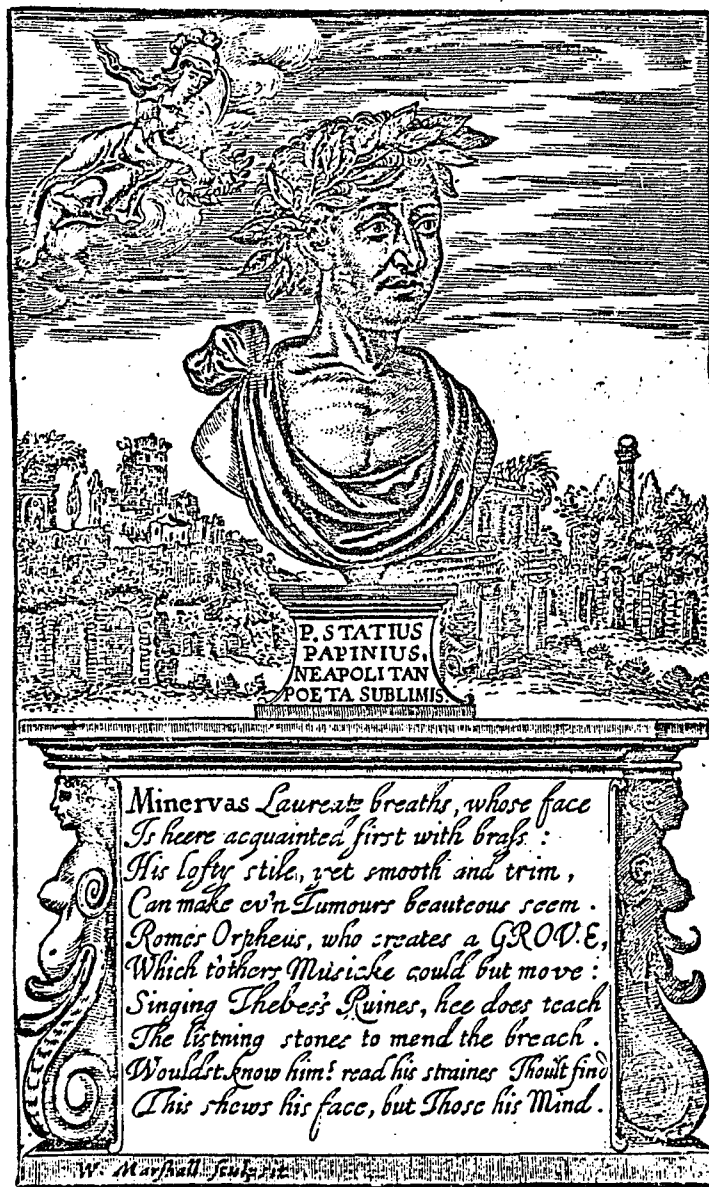
that, unlike the punctuation and capitalization, it would rarely be necessary in a consideration of the syntax of a passage. To continue with the original subject, putting the two kinds of notes together also relieves an editor of the necessity of deciding whether any of the altered accidentals should be considered to be a "semi-substantive," that is, an accidental--a comma, for example--the alteration of which is so significant that it is like the alteration of a substantive reading and should, in the conventional arrangement, be recorded in the notes on the substantive alterations. (For example, on p. xv of The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker [Cambridge, England, 1953], the first of Fredson Bowers' critical old-spelling editions, Bowers, in discussing the textual footnotes, says, "These notes bear on the editorial treatment of the copy-text only in respect of substantive emendation," and then adds in a note the following: "I have adopted a pragmatic rather than a linguistic definition of what constitutes a 'substantive'; thus some semi-substantives are footnoted, as when an editorial change in the punctuation so vitally affects the sense or modification as to warrant calling the reader's attention to the alteration instead of requiring him to sift through the list of altered accidentals to detect editorial intervention in a matter which may be as important as the emendation of substantives.") In fact, as is shown by editorial recognition of what are called "semi-substantives," the usual philosophical distinction between accidentals and substantive readings is not very sound, although it is true that Renaissance and eighteenth-century writers and printers seem to have treated the two classes of textual material differently. Finally, in at least one of Fredson Bowers' editions, The History of Tom Jones: A Foundling (Middletown, Connecticut, 1975), the notes concerning the alterations to the accidentals and those concerning the alterations to the substantive readings are, although after the text, not at the bottom of the pages of the text, given together in only one place, and the notes concerning the line-end hyphenation are given in another place. In some of Bowers' earlier editions, these notes are included amongst the notes on the other accidentals, which notes are given separately from those on the substantive readings.

¹⁴The Works of John Dryden: Poems 1649-1680, p. 19.

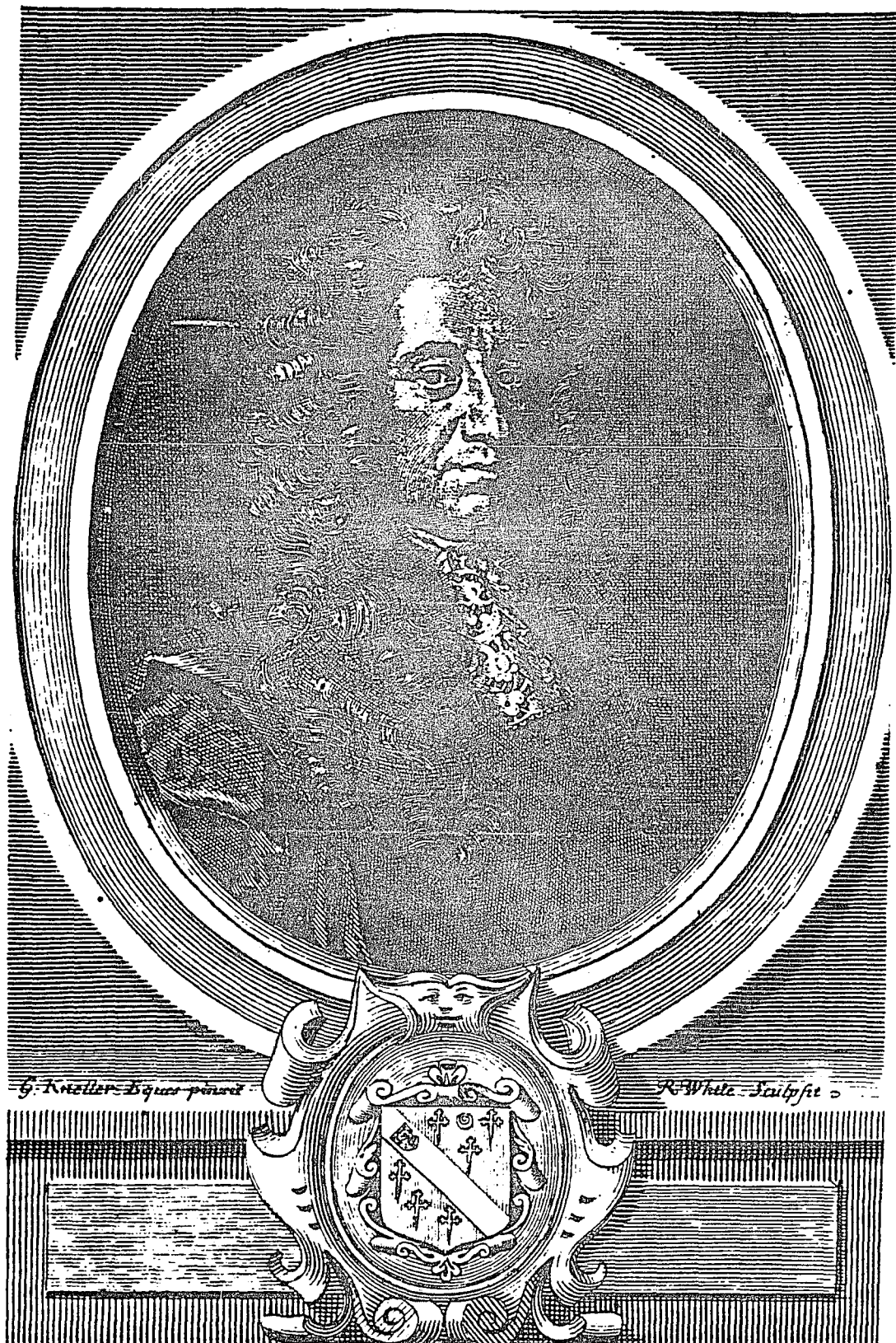
¹⁵It seems, from the entries in The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints and from the editors' own experience, that The University of Chicago has both a copy (National Union Catalog number NS 0875957) and a microfilm of a copy (NS 0875941 and NS 0875958) of the edition of 1658, the original for the microfilm being owned by The University of California (N.U.C. Vol. 565, pp. 438-439). The copy, not the microfilm, provided the copy-text for the parallel Latin of the present edition.

II. THE TEXTS

Following two facsimile frontispieces appear Sir Robert Howard's translation and the parallel Latin text, on facing pages, and then Sir Robert's annotations.



A Facsimile of the Frontispiece to Thomas Stephens' An Essay upon Statius: or, The Five First Books of Publ: Papinius Statius his Thebais. Done into English Verse . . . With the Poetick History Illustrated (1648).



The Hon.^{ble} S^r Robert Howard.

A Facsimile of the Frontispiece, after Kneller, to
 Sir Robert Howard's Five New Plays (1692).

STATII
ACHILLEIDOS.
LIBRI QVINQVE.

PAPINII SVRCVLI
STATII
ACHILLEIDOS
LIBRORVM QVINQVE.
ARGVMENTVM.

In primo Chirona petit Thetis ante precata.

At Thetis Aemonio Lycomedi tradit Achillem.

Tertius Aeaciden quaerit, generat quoque Pyrrhum.

Quartus at occultum Peliden prodit Vlyssi

Nauigat Aeacides ad debita Pergama quinto.

STATIUS his ACHILLEIS,
with ANNOTATIONS.

The title is taken from the table of contents which appears on the title-page of Poems. The title given in the running-title used with the translation is "Stattus his Achilleis."

ACHILLEIDOS.
LIBER PRIMVS.

ARGVMENTVM LIBRI I.
ACHILLEIDOS.

Themate proposito narrat Thetis alma, rapinam
Tyndaridis conquesta. rates sed vana precatur
Mergere Rhoetaeas. alios commenta paratus
Tendit in Aemoniam, carum ablatura magistro
Aeaciden. tunc forte feras lethale fugantem
Ille redit laetusque dapum post munera matri
Fila mouens canit heroas, nox occupat artus.

Magnanimum Aeaciden formidatamque Tonanti
Progeniem, & patrio vetitam succedere coelo
Diu refer. Quamquam acta viri, multum inclyta cantu.
Meonio, sed plura vacant. nos ire per omnem
(Sic amor est) Heroa velis, Scyroque latentem
Dulichia proferre tuba, nec in Hectore tracto
Sistere? sed tota iuuenem deducere Troia.

P. PAPINIUS STATIUS,
His
ACHILLEIS;
The First Book.

The Argument.

The Rape's committed. Thetis begs in vain
Of Neptune a rough storm to swell the Main.
Then to ^aAemonia through the Sea she goes,
And visits the lov'd cause of all her woes.

^aThessaly

The great ^{*}Aeacides, my Muse, now sing;
An Issue fear'd by Heavens thundring King.
Much of his acts, though in admired strains,
Great Homer sung; yet much untold remains.
We his first deeds relate, and how conceal'd,
In Scyros by a Trumpet's sound reveal'd.
Not of dragg'd Hector to his Chariot ty'd,
I sing, but how the Youth to Troy arriv'd.

{ ^{*}Achilles, called
Aeacides, from
Aeacus his Grand-
father.

5

2 An Issue fear'd by Heavens thundring King.] (translation); An
issue fear'd by heaven's thundring King. (annotations)

Tu modo, si veteres digno depleuimus haustu,
Da fontes mihi Phoebe novos, ac fronde secunda
Necte comas. neque enim Aonium nemus aduena pulso, 10
Nec mea nunc primis albescunt tempora vittis.
Sit dircaeus ager. meque inter prisca parentum
Nomina, cumque suo memorant Amphione Thebae.
At tu quem longe primum stupet Itala virtus,
Graiaque, cui geminae florent vatunq; ducunq; 15
Certatim laurus (olim dolet altera vinci)
Da veniam, ac trepidum patere hoc sudare parumpper
Puluere te longo, nec dum fidente paratu
Molitur, magnusq; tibi praeludit Achilles.
Soluerat Oebalio classem de littore pastor 20
Dardanus. incautas blande populatus Amyclas,
Plenaq; materni referens praesagia somni
Culpatum relegat iter. qua condita ponto
Fluctibus inuisis iam Nereis imperat Helle.
Cum Thetis, Idaeos (heu nunquam vana parentum 25
Auguria) expauit sub gurgite remos.
Nec mora. & undosis turba comitante sororum
Prosiluit thalamis. feruent coeuntia Phrivi
Littora, & angustum dominas non explicat equor.

Thou, Phoebus, (if deserv'd in former layes)
 Give me fresh streams, and now with second Bayes 10
 Adorn my brows. For I the hallowed ground
 Have known before, with sacred Fillets crown'd:
 Witnesse those Theban fields, for which my fame
 Shall last, whilst Thebes records Amphion's name.

But *Thou by Greeks and Romans all-renown'd,
 Both with the wreaths of Mars and Phoebus crown'd,
 (Who lately griev'dst from thy contended brow
 To lay the gentler one) permit me now
 To guide my fearfull pen a little while,
 And on the great Achilles acts to toyl, 20
 Till I sing Thine, yet wanting confidence,
 And for thy Prelude with his name dispence.

{ *Domitian
 the 15
 Emperor, to
 whom the Poet
 addresseth this
 Complement.

The Trojan Swain, from the Laconian Shoar
 Sail'd, and from unsuspecting Sparta bore
 A prey, and in his guilty journey showes 25
 His mother's dream fulfill'd, presaging woes.
 Upon those streams they sayl, where Helle found
 Her fate, yet now among the Sea-gods crown'd.
 When Thetis (never yet, alas! in vain
 Were parents prophesies) through the clear Main, 30
 Affrighted saw the Phrygian Oars, she fled,
 With all the Sea-Nymphs, from her watry bed.
 The almost-meeting Shores heat with the swarm,
 And from the throng the crowded waves grew warm.

12 with sacred Fillets crown'd:] (translation); With sacred
fillets bound. (annotations) 16 crown'd,] crown'd.

Illa ubi discusso primum subit aera ponto, 30
Me petit, haec mihi classis (ait) funesta minatur.
Agnosco monitus, & Protea vera locutum
Ecce nouam Priamo facibus de puppe leuatis.
Fert Bellona nurum. video iam mille carinis
Ionium, Aegaeumque premi, nec sufficit, omnis 35
Quod plaga Graiugenum tumidis coniurat Atridis:
Iam pelago, terrisque meus quaeretur Achilles,
Et volet ipse sequi. quid enim cunabula paruo
Pelion, & torui commisimus antra magistri?
Illic (ni fallor) Lapitharum praelia ludit 40
Improbus, & patria iam se metitur in hasta.
O dolor, ô seri materno in corde timores.
Non potui infelix cum primum in gurgite nostro
Rhoetaeae cecidere trabes, atollere magnum
Aequor? & incesti praedonis vela, profunda 45
Tempestate sequi? cunctasque inferre sorores?
Nunc quoque. sed tardum est, iam plena iniuria raptae.

When Thetis through the parting Billows rose, 35
 To me she cry'd, This Navy threatneth woes.
 What Proteus told, alas! appears too true.
 See Priam's kindled flames; the daughter too
Bellona brings! a thousand Ships appear,
 Which Ionian and Aegean Billows bear. 40
 All the sworn Greeks whom the Atrides got
 Must not suffice: Land, Ocean must be sought
 For my Achilles. To what purpose then
 Was he on Pelion bred, in Chiron's den?
 There with the Lapithites (unlesse I fear 45
 In vain) he fights, and tries his father's Spear.
 Ah me! this fear upon my heart prevails
 Too late. Why could not I, when first these Sails
 Swell'd on my Streams, act what I now would do,
 And make a storm the lustfull Thief pursue, 50
 With all the Sea-Nymphs help'd? Storms now will come
 Too late; the Rape and Injury is done.

40 Aegean Billows] (translation); Aegean billows (annotations)
 41 All the sworn Greeks whom the Atrides got] (translation);
All the sworn Greeks, which the Atrides got (annotations)

Ibo tamen, pelagique deos, dextramque secundi
 Quod superest, complexa Iouis, per Thetios annos.
 Grandeuum patrem, supplex miseranda rogabo 50
 Vnam hyemem. Dixit, magnumque in tempore regem
 Aspicit. Oceano veniebat ab hospite, mensis
 Letus, & aequoreo diffusus nectare vultum,
 Vnde hyemes, ventique silent, cantuque quieto
 Armigeri Tritones eunt, scopulosaque Cete, 55
 Tyrrhenique greges, circumque, infraque rotantur
 Rege salutato. Placidis ipse arduus vndis
 Eminent, & triplici telo iubet ire iugales.
 Illi spumiferos glomerant à pectore fluctus
 Pone natant, delentque pedum vestigia cauda. 60
 Cui Thetis: O magni Rector Gemitorque profundi,
 Aspicias in quales miserum patefeceris vsus
 Aequor? eunt tutis terrarum crimina velis.
 Ex quo iura freti, maiestatemque repostam
 Rupit Iasonia puppis pagasaea rapina. 65
 En aliud furto scelus, & spolia hospita portans
 Nauigat iniustae temerarius arbiter Idae.

Yet I will go, and all the remedy,
 That's left, attempt; I'll move each deity
 That rules in Flouds, and beg the Ocean's King 55
 By Tethys, on the waves one storm to fling.
 No sooner said, but she the god espy'd,
 Who from Oceanus crown'd boards arriv'd.
 The chearing Nectar in his looks yet shin'd:
 At whose approach, the storms, with every wind, 60
 Were all in silence hush'd; and round by him,
 Sounding their wreathed shells, the Tritons swim:
 The shoals of Whales, like moving Rocks, make way,
 And round their King, the crooked Dolphines play.
 He, rais'd above the quiet Ocean rides, 65
 And with his Trident his yok'd Horses guides:
 They with their crooked tails the Chariot row,
 And from their breasts the foaming surges throw.
 To whom sad Thetis said, Great Ocean's King,
 Dost thou not see thy waves assistance bring 70
 To strange designs? The guilty safely go,
 Since Sea's reserved rights were sleighted so
 By the bold Jason: His example left
 See by these follow'd, both in crime and theft:
 And from the friendly shores an unjust prey 75
 By the rash Judge of Ida's born away.

76 By the rash Judge of Ida's] (translation); By the rash Judge of Ida. (annotations)

Heheu quos gemitus terris caeloque daturus?

Quos mihi! sic Phrygiae pensamus praemia palmae.

Hi Veneris mores, hoc gratae manus alumnae? 70

Has saltem, non Semideos, nostrumque reportant

Thesea, si quis adhuc vndis honor, obrue puppes,

Aut permitte fretum. nulla inclementia fas sit

Pro nato timuisse mihi. Da tollere fluctus,

Nec tibi de tantis placeat me fluctibus vnum 75

Littus, & Iliaci scopulos habitare sepulchri.

Orabat laniata comas, & pectore nudo

Coeruleis obstabat equis. Tunc Rector aquarum

Inuitat curru, dictisque ita mulcet amicis.

Ne pete Dardanium frustra Theti mergere classem. 80

Fata vetant. ratus ordo deis, miscere cruentas

Europaeque Asiaeque manus, consultaque bella

Iupiter, & tristes edixit caedibus annos.

Quem tu illic natum Sigeo in puluere? quanta

Aspicias victrix Phrygiarum funera matrum? 85

Cum tuus Aeacides trepidos modo sanguine Teucros

Vndabit campos, modo crassa exire vetabit

Flumina, & Hectoreo tardabit funere currus:

Impelletque manu nostros, opera irrita, muros.

79 a Foster-child's] (translation); A Foster-child. (annota-
tions) 88 by his affected Tomb to grieve] (translation);

Ah me! what mournings shall this cause to be
 In heaven and earth! and what, alas, to me!
 Is this a Foster-child's return? This way
 Will Venus for her Phrygian Garland pay? 80

At least o're-whelm these ships, (for in the throng,
 No Heroes, nor our Theseus goes along)

If any justice yet in waves can be;
 Or else commit the power of storms to me.
 Nor is't ungentle, while 'tis just that I 85

Fear for a child. Let the mad waves swell high:
 Nor suffer me from Clouds to take my leave,
 Onely by his affected Tomb to grieve.

Thus begging, she before the Chariot stood,
 With scattered hair. The Ruler of the Flood 90
 Invites her up, and strives such words to find,
 As might appease her sad afflicted mind.

Ask not their ruine, Thetis: 'tis in vain,
 The gods and Fates do otherwise ordain.
 Sad years to come with slaughters are decreed 95
 By Jove, Europe and Asia both must bleed.

What triumphs shalt thou have in Phrygian plains,
 To see thy son there feed the funerall flames?
 When he the Trojan fields shall stain with blood,
 And with like slaughters cram the blushing Flood? 100
 Great Hector's weight shall make his Chariot slow,
 Those walls we rais'd his hand shall overthrow.

By his affected tomb to grieve (annotations)

Pelea iam desiste queri, talamosque minores, 90
 Credideris peperisse Ioui. nec inulta dolebis,
 Cognatis vtere fretis. dabo tollere fluctus
 Cum reduces Danai, nocturnaue signa Caphareus
 Exeret & dirum pariter quaeremus Vlissem.
 Dixerat. illa graui vultum demissa repulsa, 95
 Quae iam exire fretum, & ratibus bellare parabat
 Iliacis, alios iterum commenta paratus,
 Tristis ad Aemonias detorquet brachia terras
 Ter conata manu, liquidum ter gressibus aequor
 Repulit, & niueas feriunt vada Thessala plantas. 100
 Laetantur montes. & conubialia pandunt
 Antra sinus, lateque deae Sperchios abundat
 Obuius, & dulci vestigia circuit vnda.
 Illa nihil gauisa locis, sed coepta fatigat
 Pectore consilia & solers pietate magistra 105
 Longaeuum Chirona petit. Domus ardua montem
 Perforat, & longo suspendit Pelion arcu.
 Pars exhausta manu, partem sua ruperat aetas.

Nor grieve that thou hast stoop'd to Peleus love,
The Son thou hast by him is worthy Jove.

Nor shalt thou unreveng'd for ever mourn, 105

When they return thy pow'r shall raise a storm:
False flames by night, shall Caphareus then show,
And joynt-revenge wee'l on Ulysses throw;

At this, she hung those looks that did incline,
To raise a storm; and changing the designe 110

With labouring arms to Thessaly she swims,
And on those shores she rests her snowy limbs.

The mountains joy, with that much loved place,
Where Peleus did the goddesse first embrace;

Above his banks the swel'd Sperchios rose, 115
Joy'd whilst his stream about the goddesse flows.

She took no joy in all, but still oppress'd
With the sad fancies of her carefull breast.
Thus fill'd with busie thoughts the goddesse then,

Approacheth to the aged Chirons den; 120
Under the rock, where Pelion doth encline

Like a bent bow: so wrought by Art and Time.

111 Thessaly] (translation); Thessalie. (annotations)

Signa tamen, diuumque tori, & quem quisque sacrarat
 Accubitu, genioque, locus monstratur. at intra 110
 Centauri stabula alta patent, non aequa nefandis
 Fratribus. Hic hominum nullos experta cruores
 Spicula, nec truncae bellis genialibus Orni,
 Aut consanguineos fracti crateres in hostes,
 Sed pharetrae infontes, & inania terga ferarum. 115
 Haec quoque dum viridis, nam tunc labor vnus inermi
 Nosse salutiferas dubiis animantibus herbas?
 Aut monstrare lyta veteres Heroas alumno.
 Et cum venatu rediturum in limine primo
 Opperiens, properatque dapes, largoque serenat 120
 Igne domum. Tum visa procul de littore mater
 Nereis, erumpit siluis, dant gaudia vires
 Motaque desueto crepuit senis vngula campo.
 Tunc blandus dextra, atque imos summissus in armos
 Pauperibus tectis inducit, & admouet antris. 125
 Iamdudum tacito lustrat Thetis omnia visu,
 Nec perpessa moras. vbi nam mea pignora Chiron?
 Dic ait. aut vlla puer iam tempora ducit
 Te sine? merito trepidus sopor? atraque matri
 Signa deum? magnos vtinam mentita timores. 130

Still here the signs remain'd, where, at their feasts,
 The beds were press'd by the immortall guests,
 Which in the stables of the Centaur stood, 125
 Not like the rest of the prodigious brood.
 His darts unstain'd with human cruelties,
 Never did he with vast subverted trees,
 Or massy bowls, disturb the geniall crue,
 Only at Beasts, his guiltlesse arrows flew. 130
 But now by age disarm'd, with herbs he tries
 To restore life her tired faculties:
 Or to Achilles, all the glorious things,
 Fam'd Heroes did, upon his harp he sings.
 'Gainst whose return from his pursued game, 135
 The boards are crown'd; and with the kindled flame
 The cave growes bright, whilst thus he did provide,
 Looking for him, his Mother he espy'd.
 To her he hasts, (while strength his gladnesse yields)
 And trots upon the long unused fields. 140
 To her he bowes his aged Limbs, and then,
 Leads the sad goddesse to his humble den.
 Her busie eye, that would not be delay'd,
 Quickly views all, as soon to Chiron said;
 Where is my pledge! or why do you thus trust, 145
 My child alone? Are my sad dreams then just?
 Those dreadfull visions which the gods have set
 Before mine eyes, I wish as vain as great.

Namque mihi infestos vtero modo contuor enses.
 Nunc planctu liuere manus, modo in vbera saeuas
 Ire feras, saepe ipsa (nefas!) sub inania natum
 Tartara, & ad Stygios iterum fero mergere fontes.
 Hos abolere metus magici iubet ordine sacri 135
 Carpathius vates, puerumque sub axe probato
 Secretis lustrare fretis, vbi littore summa
 Oceani, & genitor tepet illabentibus astris
 Pontus, vbi ignotis horrenda piacula diuis,
 Donaue. sed longum cuncta enumerare, vetorque 140
 Trade magis sic fata parens. neque enim ille dedisset,
 Si molles habitus, & tegmina foeda fateri
 Aussa foret tunc ille refert. Duc optima quaeso
 Duc genitrix, humilique deos infringe precatu.
 Nam superant tua vota modum, placandaque, multum 145
 Inuidia est. non addo metum, sed vera fatebor,
 Nescio quid magnum (nec me patria omina fallunt
 Vis festina parat, tenerosque superuenit annos.
 Olim & ferre minas, & obire audita solebat
 Imperia, & nostris procul haud discedere ab antris. 150

My breast seems wounded now; my hands, to bear
 The signes of strokes; wild beast's, my bosome tear. 150
 And many times I fancy in my dreams,
 Again I dip my child in Stygian streams.
 With Magick art, at last a way I've got,
 To cure my fears, by the kind Proteus taught:
 The Youth must be to those fit parts convay'd, 155
 For such designes, in secret billows laid.
 Where horrid sacrifices are to th'hid,
 And unknown gods; But more I am forbid.
 These rites demand him now: Thus Thetis said:
 The aged Chiron else had not obey'd, 160
 If he had known what garments once should hide
 The youth. But ignorant he thus repli'd;
 Pursue, kind goddess, this unknown designe:
 With humble vows th'ungentle powers encline.
 Not thy ambitious prayers can succeed, 165
 To please the envious gods, nor would I breed
 New fears in thee; but I confesse my share,
 Nor yet deceived by a Father's care:
 'Tis his vast strength, that thus procures my fears,
 Which shews too early for his tender years. 170
 At first, my threatning words he would obey,
 Nor would too farre about the mountains stray.

153 With Magick art,] (translation); with Magick art. (annota-
tions)

Nunc illum non Ossa capit, non Pelion ingens
Thessalicaeue niues. ipsi mihi saepe queruntur
Centauri, raptasque domos, abstractaque coram
Armenta, & campis semet, fluuiisque fugari.
Insidias, & bella parant, tumidique mniantur. 155
Olim equidem Argoos Pinus cum Thessala reges
Huc veheret, iuuenem Alcides, & Thesea vidi,
Sed taceo, figit gelidus Nereida pallor.
Ille aderat multo sudore, & puluere maior.
Attamen arma inter, festinatosque labores, 160
Dulcis adhuc visu. niueo natat ignis in ore
Purpureus. fuluoque nitet coma gratior auro.
Nec dum prima noua lanugine vertitur aetas,
Tranquillaeque faces oculis, & plurima vultu
Mater inest. qualis Lycia venator Apollo 165
Cum redit, & saeuis permutat plectra pharetris.

Not Ossa now, nor Pelion can contain
 His wandrings, nor Thessalian feather'd rain.
 To me the Centaurs often make their moan, 175
 Forc't from their Heards, pursu'd by him alone,
 Who singly dares with all their troops engage,
 Whilst force and fraud they threaten in their rage.
 Lately I saw Alcides on this shore,
 And Theseus, whom the Argive ship then bore. 180
 But see, he comes,--At this abruptly staid,
 Th'expecting goddesses chilling fears invade.
 The Youth arriv'd, loaded with dust and sweat,
 And wearied with his arms and labours; yet
 His snowy looks, the rosy blushes stain'd; 185
 His hair the shining Gold with glittering sham'd.
 Upon his cheeks no Down yet seem'd to rise:
 A gentle lustre in his sparkling eyes
 Still shin'd; his face those charming beauties wore,
 Which his admired Mother had before. 190
 So shews young Phoebus, when he doth retire
 From Lycia, and for shafts assumes his lyre.

Forte & laetus adest (ô quantum gaudia formae
Adijciunt!) foetam Pholoes sub rupe leaenam
Perculerat ferro, vacuisque reliquerat antris
Ipsam, sed catulos asportat, & incitat vngues. 170
Quas tamen, vt fido genitrix in limine visa est,
Abijcit, exceptamque auidis circumligat vlnis.
Iam grauis amplexu, iamque aequus vertice matri.
Insequitur magno iam tunc connexus amore
Patroclus, tantisque extenditur aemulus actis. 175
Par studiis, aeuique modis, sed robore dispar,
Et tamen aequali visurus Pergama fato.
Protinus ille subit rapido quae proxima saltu
Flumina, fumantesque genas, crinemque nouatur.
Fontibus Eurotae, qualis vada Castor anhelò 180
Intrat equo, fessumque sui iubar excitat astri.
Miratur, comitque senex, nunc pectora mulcens,
Nunc fortes humeros. angunt sua gaudia matrem.

By chance he came in pleas'd, (O how much more
It added to what was so well before!)

For under Pholoe in a Cave he slew 195

A Lionesse, and took the young ones too,
Which in his arms he bore. But the lov'd prey,
At his dear mother's sight he threw away;

By Chiron now embrac'd, and then again
Doth in his mother's jealous arms remain; 200

When streight his dearest friend Patroclus came,
In love and age his equall; and the same
Assay'd in generous Arts to imitate,
Yet short in strength, but shar'd an equall fate.

The next adjacent stream Achilles seeks, 205

And with the River cleans'd his sullied cheeks.

So tired Castor in Eurota's streams
Restores his looks, bright as his new Star's beams.

Pleas'd Chiron on his fair proportion stares.

The joy that Thetis took made great her cares. 210

Tunc libera dapes, bacchaeaque munera Chiron
Orat, & attonitum vario oblectamine mulcens, 185
Elicit extremo chelyn, solantia curas
Fila mouet, leuiterque expertas pollice chordas
Dat puero. Canit ille libens immania laudum
Semina, qui tumidae superarit iussa nouercae
Amphitryoniades, crudo quo Bebryca caestu 190
Obruerit Pollux. quanto circumdata nexu
Ruperit Aegides Minoi brachia tauri.
Maternos in fine toros superisque grauatum
Pelion. Hic ficto risit Thetis anxia vultu.
Nox trahit in somnos. saxo collabatur ingens 195
Centaurus, blandisque humeris se innectit Achilles.
Quamquam ibi fida parens, assuetaque pectora mauult,

The Centaur then invites them to his Feast,
 And fills Lyaeus to his troubled guest.
 His Harp to welcome Thetis he prepares,
 Whose charming notes lessen the weight of cares.
 And having gently tri'd the warbling strings, 215
 He gives it to Aeacides, who sings
 The acts of Heroes; how great Juno's spleen
 Vanquish'd so oft by Hercules had been;
 The Victories of Pollux; and how too
 The monstrous Minotaur fam'd Theseus slew. 220
 Lastly, great Peleus, and his Mother's love
 He sung, the Marriage grac'd by those above.
 At this, sad Thetis seem'd to force a smile.
 Night now laid on her heavy charms the while.
Achilles the kind Centaur's shoulder took, 225
 And his affecting Mother's breast forsook.

216-217 sings/ The acts of Heroes;] (translation); --Sings
 the acts of Heroes (annotations) 219 The Victories of
Pollux;] (translation); The victories of Pollux. (annota-
tions) 220 The monstrous Minotaur fam'd Theseus slew.]
(translation); The monstrous Minotaur fam'd-Theseus slew.
(annotations) 223 a smile] (second corrected state); a
 a smile (uncorrected state and first corrected state)

PAPINII SVRCVLI
STATII
ACHILEIDOS
LIBER SECVNDVS.

ARGVMENTVM.

Ad placidas deportat aquas Thetis anxia natum

Pelides blandae renuit genitricis amictus.

Scyriadis tandem patitur correptus ab igne.

Rex Thetidis natum recipit sub imagine falsa.

At Thetis vndisonis per noctem in rupibus astans (198)

Quae nota secreta velit, quibus obdere terris

Destinat, huc, illuc, diuersa mente volutat. (200)

The Second BOOK.

The Argument.

Thetis at last, though long delay'd by fears,
Through the calm waves her dear Achilles bears.
Love shews an object to enflame his eyes:
The King receives him hid in a disguise.

But Thetis, in the night leaving the caves,
Stood where the Rocks sent Ecchoes from the waves,
And in her unresolved phancy weigh'd,
To what safe place her Son might be convey'd.

Proxima sed studiis multum Mauortia Thrace:

Nec Macetum gens dura placet, laudumque daturi 5
 Cecropidae stimulos. nimium opportuna carinis
 Sestos, Abydenique sinus. placet ire per altas
 Cycladas. hinc spretae Myconos, humilisque Seriphos,
 Et Lemnos non aequa viris, atque hospita Delos
 Gentibus. imbelli nuper Lycomedis in aula 10
 Virgineos coetus, & littora persona ludo
 Audierat, duros laxantem Aegaeona nexus
 Iussa sequi, centumque dei numerare catenas. (210)
 Haec placet, haec timidae tellus tutissima matri.
 Qualis vicino volucris iam sedula partu 15
 Iamque timens qua fronde domum suspendat inanem,
 Prouidet hinc ventos, hinc anxia cogitat angues,
 Hinc homines, tandem dubiae placet vmbra, nouisque
 Vix stetit in ramis, & protinus arbor amatur.
 Altera consilio superest, tristemque fatigat 20
 Cura deam. natum ipsa sinu complexa, per vndas
 An magno Tritone ferat, ventosque volucres
 Aduocet, an pelaga solitam Thaumantida pasci. (220)

6 the warlike Macedonian race.] (translation); The Warlick
Macedonian race. (annotations) 14 play'd,] play'd.

She fears, where Mars was born, th'adjacent Thrace; 5
 And dreads the warlike Macedonian race.
 Fam'd-Athens too her doubting phancies fear,
 With Sestos and Abydos, which appear
 Too aptly plac'd for ships. For those lov'd Seas
 She now resolves crown'd by the Cyclades. 10
 Nor Myconos, nor Seriphos pleas'd her mind,
Delos, nor Lemnos unto men unkind.
 By Lycomedes Court, she lately stay'd,
 And heard the shores sound while the Virgins play'd,
 As she was sent to view Aegaeon's bands, 15
 Who strove to loose his hundred-fettered-hands.
 This Land, where quarrels no disturbance wrought,
 The much distracted Thetis safest thought:
 Like a poor Bird, with wavering phansies prest,
 That dares not choose a branch to build her nest, 20
 Lest it her brood, should unto storms, or snakes,
 Or men expose; at length she likes and takes.
 So Thetis on the place resolv'd, prepares
 To go, but is assaulted with new cares;
 Whether her son should in her breast be laid, 25
 Or through the waves born by a Triton's aid,
 Or to the winged winds, his waftage owe,
 Or unto Iris Ocean-nourish'd bow;

15 Aegaeon's bands,] (translation); Aegaeons bands. (annota-
tations) 20 nest,] nest. 26 through] through
 26 aid,] aid. 28 Iris Ocean-nourish'd bow;] (translation);
Iris Ocean-nourish'd Bow. (annotations)

Elicit inde fretis, & murice frenat acuto
 Delphinas bijuges, quos illi maxima Tethys 25
 Gurgite Atlanteo pelagi sub valle sonora
 Nutrierat, nullis vada per Neptunia glaucae
 Tantus honor formae, nandique potentia: nec plus
 Pectoris humani. iubet hos subsistere pleno
 Littore, ne nudae noceant contagia terrae. 30
 Ipsa dehinc toto resolutum pectore Achillem
 (Qui pueris sopor) Aemonij de rupibus antri
 Ad placidasdeportat aquas, & iussa tacere (230)
 Littora. monstrat iter, totoque effulserat orbe
 Cynthia. prosequitur diuam, celeresque recursus 35
 Securus pelagi Chiron rogat, vdaque caelat
 Lumina, & abreptos subito, iam iamque latentes
 Erecto prospectat equo. qua cana parumper
 Spumant signa fugae, & liquido perit orbita ponto.
 Illum non alias rediturum ad Thessala Tempe 40
 Iam tristis Pholoe, iam nubilus ingemit Othrys.
 Et tenuis Sperchios aquis, speluncaque docti
 Muta senis. quaerunt puerilia carmina Fauni (240)
 Et sperata diu plorant connubia nymphae.

At last two Dolphins she was pleas'd to rain,
 Which by great Tethys, in th'Atlantick main, 30
 For her were bred. The vast unfathom'd flood,
 Bore nothing else in all its scaly brood,
 So swift, so kind to men; At her command
 These staid in waves, least injur'd by the Land.
 The sleepy Youth, (for youth may soundly sleep) 35
 She from th'Aemonian cave, bears to the Deep.
 The waves and winds becalmed her designs
 Assist, and Cynthia in full lustre shines.
 For his return the Centaur following pray'd;
 Of waves he knew, he need not be afraid. 40
 O're-flowing tears, fall from his gazing eyes,
 Whilst they upon the rouling billows rise
 Now almost out of sight; yet still he gaz'd:
 And when with waves they sunk, himselfe he rais'd
 Upon his hinder parts, till the waves quite 45
 Had swallow'd all impressions of their flight.
 Him that to Thessaly must ne'er return,
 Sad Pholoe, and the clouded Othrys mourn:
Sperchios streams, no more with joy swell high;
 And Chirons den now wanteth harmony. 50
 The Fauns lament his losse; the Nymphs begin
 To mourn their passion's hope, ravish'd with him.

51 The Fauns lament his losse;] (translation); The Fawns lament
his losse. (annotations) 51 lament] The first letter is
 entirely or almost entirely invisible in the copy-text. That it is an l is
 somewhat clearer in certain other exemplars. Also, see the next
 note.

Iam premit astra dies, humilisque ex equore Titan 45
Rorantes euoluit equos, & ab aethere magno
Sublatum cursu pelagus cadit. at vada mater
Scyria iamdudum fluctus emensa tenebat.
Exierantque iugo fessi Delphines herili.
Cum pueri tremefacta quies, oculique iacentis 50
Infusum sensere diem, stupet aere primo.
Quae loca? qui fluctus? ubi Pelion? omnia versat,
Atque ignoto videt, dubitatque agnoscere matrem. (250)
Occupat illa manu, blandequae affata pauentem.
Si mihi care puer thalamos sors equo dedisset, 55
Quos dabat aethereis ego te complexa tenerem
Sydus grande plagis, magnique puerpera coeli,
Nil humiles Parcas, terrenaque fata vererer,
Nunc impar tibi nate genus, praeclasaque leti
Tantum matre via est, Quin & metuenda propinquant 60
Tempora, & extremis admota pericula metis.

And now the Stars begin to take their flight,
 At the approach of Titan's radiant light.
 Which from the Ocean rose, whose drops like dew, 55
 Back to its waves the rising Chariot threw.
 But Thetis long before, to Scyros came,
 And gave her Dolphines liberty again;
 When sleep forsook refresh'd Aeacides:
 His eyes saluted by the light, and Seas, 60
 To him unknown, for Pelion all amaz'd
 He look'd, and on his doubted Mother gaz'd.
 Who takes him by the hand, with words thus kind,
 Dear child, if he that sure was once design'd,
Had shar'd my marriage-bed, thou hadst been plac'd 65
With Stars, for ever there by me embrac'd:
Heav'n had been then thy due inheritance,
Nor had I fear'd the lesser Fates or Chance.
But now thy Father's mortall, there can be
No way for thee to scape death but by me; 70
And now the sad and fatall time draws near,
Whose dangers are the cause of all my fear.

55 rose,] There may be a semicolon instead of a comma.
 60 Seas,] Seas.

Cedamus, paulumque animos summite viriles,
Atque habitus dignare meos. si Lydia dura (260)
Pensa manu, mollesque tulit Tirynthius hastas:
Si decet aurata Bacchum vestigia palla 65
Verrere, virgineos si Iuppiter induit artus,
Nec magnum ambigui fregerunt Caenea sexus.
Has sine quaeso minas numenque exire malignum,
Mox iterum campos, iterum Centaurica reddam
Lustra tibi. per hoc decus, & ventura iuuentae 70
Gaudia, si terras, humilemque maritum
Te propter, si progenitum Stygis amne seuero
Armaui (totumque vtinam) cape tuta parumper (270)
Tegmina, nil nocitura animo. cur ora reducis?
Quidue parant oculi? pudet hoc mitescere cultu? 75

Forget a while thy Sexe's honour then,
Nor this safe habit which I wear contemn.
If Hercules thus learnt to spin, and round 75
A javeline bore with winding Ivy crown'd;
If Bacchus in these Ornaments was dress'd,
And Jove himself, nor Ceneus mind depress'd
Thereby; then suffer thus at my desire,
Th'appointed time Fate threatneth to expire. 80
Then I'le restore thee to the Centaur's cave.
By all the joyes and glory youth can have,
I do conjure thee now. If I for thee
Shar'd with a Mortall my Divinity;
If by the Stygian arming waves I stood, 85
And dip'd (I wish, all o're) thee in the flood:
Suffer thyselfe thus now to be conceal'd,
The mind's not hurt with what the body's heal'd.
Why dost thou frown, and turn away thy face?
Needst thou to blush? Is gentlenesse disgrace? 90

75 If Hercules thus learnt to spin,] (translation); If
Hercules thus learn'd to spin. (annotations) 78 Ceneus]
(translation); Coeneus (annotations) 84 Divinity;]
 Divinity?

Per te care puer, cognata per aequora iuro
 Nesciet hos Chiron, sic horrida pectora tractat
 Nequicquam mulcens. obstat genitorque roganti,
 Nutriorque ingens, & cruda exordia magnae
 Indolis. infrenae tumidum velut igne iuuentae 80
 Si quis equum primis summittere tentet habenis:
 Ille diu campis, fluuiisque, & honore superbo
 Gausus, non colla iugo, non aspera praebet (280)
 Ora lupis, dominique fremit captiuus inire
 Imperia, atque alios miratur discere cursus. 85
 Quis deus attonitae fraudes, astumque parenti
 Contulit? indocilem quae mens detraxit Achillem?
 Paladi littoreae celebrabat Scyros honorum
 Forte diem, placidoque satae Lycomede sorores
 Luce sacra patriis (quae rara licentia) muris 90
 Exierant, dare veris opes diuaeque seueras
 Fronde ligare comas, & spargere floribus hastam.
 Omnibus eximium formae decus. omnibus idem (290)
 Cultus. & expleto teneri iam fine pudoris
 Virginitas matura toris, animique tumentes. 95
 Sed quantum virides pelagi Venus addita Nymphas
 Obruit, aut humeris quantum Diana relinquit
 Naides, effulget tantum regina decori
 Deidamia chori: pulchrisque sororibus obstat.

By our known streams, I do assure thee too,
 Chiron, nor doth, nor shall know what we doo.

His breast in vain she tries, where rougher seeds
 Were sown, and stories of his Father's deeds:

Thus a proud horse, with vigorous blood inflam'd, 95

And heat of youth, contemneth to be tam'd,

Bot doth through fields, and unto rivers flie,

O'rejoy'd with his affected liberty:

He scorns to yield to the restraining Bitt,

And wondreth at his fellows that submit. 100

What God with craft inspir'd the Mother's mind,

And unto softnesse her rough Son inclin'd?

By chance to Pallas, on the shore that day,
 The Scyrians did their sacred offerings pay.

Hither the King, with his fair daughters came, 105

(Though seldome seen) unto the holy flame.

The image of the rigid *Pow'r they crown'd [*Pallas].

With fragrant wreaths, her spear with garlands bound;

All wondrous fair. Their youthfull blossoms grew,

Now like ripe fruit, as fit for gathering too. 110

But as the Sea-nymphs are by Venus looks

Excell'd, by Cynthia's those of lesser brooks;

So from her Sisters, such lov'd victories

Were challenged by bright Deidamia's eyes.

96 tam'd,] tam'd. 104 Scyrians] Syrians 105 came,]

It is possible that the mark of punctuation is a semicolon.

109 wondrous] wrondrous

Illius e roseo flammatur purpura vultu, 100
 Et gemmis lux maior inest, & blandius aurum.
 Atque ipsi par forma deae, si pectoris angues
 Ponat, exempta placetur casside vultus. (300)
 Hanc vbi ducentem longe socia agmina vidit
 Trux puer, & nullo temeratus pectora motu, 105
 Diriguit, totisque nouum bibit ossibus ignem.
 Nec latet haustus amor. sed fax vibrata medullis
 In vultus, atque ora redit, lucemque genarum
 Tingit, & impulsum tenui sudore pererrat.
 Lactea Massagetae veluti cum pocula fuscant 110
 Sanguine puniceo, vel ebur corrumpitur ostro,
 Sic variis manifesta notis, palletque, rubetque,
 Flamma recens. eat, atque vltro ferus, hospita sacra (310)
 Discussat turbae securus, & immemor aeui,
 Ni pudor, & iunctae teneat reuerentia matris. 115
 Vt pater armenti quondam, rectorque futurus,
 Cui nondum toto peraguntur cornua gyro,
 Cum sociam pastus niueo candore iuuenecam
 Aspicit, ardescunt animi, primusque per ora
 Spumat amor, spectant hilares, optantque magistri. 120
 Occupat arrepto iam tempore conscia mater.
 Hosne inter simulare choros, & brachia ludo
 Nectere, Nate graue est? gelida quid tale sub Ossa, (320)
 Peliacisque iugis? O si mihi iungere curas,
 Atque alium portare sinu contingat Achillem. 125

Her rosy looks did vanquish'd Jewels shame, 115
 And on her purple garments threw a flame;
 She might compare with Pallas, when she takes
 Her gentlest looks, and layes aside her snakes.
 At this fair Object, the fierce Youth remains
 Fix't like a Statue, and receiv'd Love's flames. 120
 Nor would th'insulting passion be conceal'd:
 His sparkling eyes the inward fire reveal'd.
 Like the Massagetans red liquor mixt
 With milk, or purple stains on ivory fixt;
 Such mixture his new kindled passions bred: 125
 His cheeks now pale, but straight with blushing red.
 At length, not brooking to be so delay'd,
 Th'advancing Youth was by his Mother stay'd:
 Like a young Bull, to rule the herd design'd,
 His horns not yet with full perfection twin'd; 130
 When Love first kindleth in his savage breast,
 Those ruder passions for some snowy beast;
 He fomes at mouth, whilst th'exspecting swains,
 Joy at the certain witness of his flames.
 His knowing Mother, finding the fit time, 135
 Was now, thus said; Canst thou, dear Son, repine
With this fair crue, to share unknown delights?
Can Pelion, or cold Ossa, shew such sights?
Oh that my cares were thine! that thou would'st give
A young Achilles in mine arms to live! 140

Mulcetur, laetusque rubet, visusque superbos
 Obliquat, vestesque manu leuiore repellit.
 Aspicit ambiguum genitrix, cogitque volentem,
 Innectitque sinus. tunc colla rigentia mollit,
 Submittitque graues humeros, & fortia laxat 130
 Brachia, & impexos certo domat ordine crines.
 Ac sua dilecta ceruice monilia transfert,
 Et picturato cohibet vestigia limbo. (330)
 Incessum, motumque docet, fandique pudorem.
 Qualiter artificis victurae pollice caerae 135
 Accipiunt formas, ignemque, manumque sequuntur,
 Talis erat diuae natum mutantis imago.
 Nec luctata diu. superest nam plurimus illi
 Inuicta virtute decor. fallitque tuentes
 Ambiguus, tenuique latens discrimine sexus. 140
 Procedunt, iterumque monet, rursumque fatigat
 Blanda Thetis, sic ergo gradus, sic ora, manusque,
 Nate feres, comitesque modis imitabere fictis. (340)
 Ne te suspectum molli non misceat aulae
 Rector, & incepti pereant mendacia furti. 145

At this, with blushes gentler he remain'd:
 And though he yielded, yet she still constrain'd.
 A womans dresse, doth now the youth enclose,
 And his strong arms, he learns how to compose.
 His hair's not now neglected as before: 145
 And on his neck, she hangs the chain she wore.
 Within rich robes, his steps confined now
 Move in a gentler pace; and he's taught how
 To speak with a reserved modesty,
 Thus changing Wax, which nimble fingers plie, 150
 First rendered soft by active heat, inclines
 Unto that form the workman's hand designs.
 So Thetis to another shape convey'd
 Her Son. Nor needed she to what she said,
 Have added more: For in his beauty too, 155
 All things appear'd, which to the sex were due.
 Yet as they went along, she still renews
 Her words, and her instructions thus pursues;
 Dear Child, in gentle looks compose thy face,
 And imitate each motion, and each grace 160
 Thou seest: These beauties wear, or else I fear,
 Unto the King our cous'nage, may appear.

160-161 grace/ Thou seest: These beauties] grace./ Thou
 seest these beauties

Dixit, & admoto non cessat comere tactu.

Sic vbi virgineis Hecate lassata pharetris,

Ad patrem fratremque redit, comes haeret eunti

Mater, & ipsa humeros, exertaque brachia velat,

Ipsa arcum, pharetramque locat, vestesque latentes . 150

Diducit, sparsosque studet componere crines.

Protinus aggreditur regem, atque ibi testibu aris

Hanc tibi ait nostri germanam rector Achilli (350)

(Nonne vides vt torua genas, aequandaque fratri?)

Tradimus. arma humeris, arcumque animosi petebat 155

Ferre, & Amazonio connubia pellere ritu.

Sed mihi curarum satis est pro stirpe virili.

Haec calathos, & sacra ferat. Tu frange regendo

Indocilem, sexumque tene, dum nubilis aetas,

Soluendusque pudor. neue exercere proteruas 160

Gymnadas, aut lustris nemorum concede vagari.

Intus ale, & similes inter seclude puellas.

Littore praecipue, portuque arcere memento. (360)

Vidisti modo vela Phrygum, iam mutua iura

Fallere, transmissae pelago didicere carinae. 165

This said, still as they go some Ornament
 Her busie fingers mend. Thus Cynthia went
 From hunting with her Mother; toil'd with sport, 165
 And with her quiver, to her Father's Court;
 Her arms now hid, her garments losely flow'd,
 And in a better form her hair bestow'd.
 Then to the King, her Son the goddesse brings,
 And thus, the Altars witnessing, begins. 170

Receive Achilles Sister, as thy guest,
Are not her Brothers looks in hers express'd?
She in her quiver, and her bow delights,
And, like the Amazons, scorns marriage-rites.
 Achilles is enough to be enjoy'd 175
 By me: Let this in these rites be employ'd.
Let thy best care of her allay my fears,
Errors are incident to tender years.
Let her not rove the woods, nor Gymnick game
Frequent, lest with her cloathes she put off shame. 180
Let her still live with this fair company,
Nor ever let thy shores unguarded lie.
Thou saw'st the Trojans lately, without cause,
Did violate the world's observed Laws.

Accedit dictis pater, ingenioque parentis
 Occultum Aeaciden (quis diuum fraudibus obstet)
 Accipit. vltro etiam veneratur supplice dextra,
 Et grates electus agit. nec turba piarum
 Scyriadum cessat nimio defigere visu 170
 Virginis ora nouae quantum ceruice, comisque
 Emineat, quantumque humeros, ac pectora fundat.
 Dehinc sociare choros, castisque accedere sacris (370)
 Hortantur, ceduntque loco & contingere gaudent.
 Qualiter Idaliae volucres, vbi mollia frangunt 175
 Nubila, iam longum coeloque, domoque gregatae.
 Si iunxit pennas, diuersoque hospita tractu
 Venit auis cunctae primum mirantur, & horrent,
 Mox propiusque volant, sociam iamque aere in ipso
 Paulatim fecere suam, plausuque secundo 180
 Circumeunt hilares, & ad alta cubilia ducunt.
 Digreditur multum cunctata in limine mater,
 Dum repetit monitus, arcanaque murmura figit (380)
 Auribus, & tacito dat verba nouissima voto.
 Tunc excepta freto, longe ceruice reflexa 185
 Abnatat, & blandis affatur littora votis.

This said, the unknown Youth the King receives, 185
(Who finds out fraud when 'tis a God deceives?)
And further, rendreth all his thanks as just
To her, who thought him worthy such a trust.
The pious troupe, with fixed eyes amaz'd
Upon his beauty, and proportion gaz'd 190
So much excelling others, then invites
Their company unto their sacred rites.
So the Idalian birds, that nimbly flye
Through yielding air, in a known company.
If to the flock, a stranger joyn his wings, 195
He with himself an admiration brings:
At last acquainted all with joy, receive
The stranger, and the aire together cleave.
The lingring Mother, still yet loth to part,
Now takes her leave, repeating all the art 200
She taught before, and what she more could tell,
And with her whispered wishes bids Farewell;
Then takes the waves: her looks still backward bends,
And to the shore, these gentle wishes sends.

Cara mihi tellus, magnae cui pignora curae,
Depositumque ingens timido commisimus astu,
Sis felix, teceasque precor, quo more tacebat
Creta Rheae. te longus honos, aeternaque cingent 190
Templa, nec instabili fama superabere Delo.
At ventis, & sacra fretis, interque vadosas
Cycladas, Aegeae frangunt vbi saxa procellae, (390)
Nereidum tranquilla domus, iurandaque nautis
Insula, ne solum Danaas admitte carinas. 195
Te precor hic thiasos tantum, nihil vtile bellis,
Hic famam narrare doce. dumque arma parantur
Dorica, & alternum Mauors interfurit orbem:
(Cedo equidem) sit virgo pij Lycomedis Achilles. (396)

Finis libri secundi.

Dear earth, which hold'st my dearest joy, to thee 205
Committed with a fearfull subtilty;
Be ever happy and in silence just
To me, as Creet to Rhea in her trust:
Long may thy glories last, and may thy name
Grow greater then the wandring Delos fame: 210
Lesse hurt by storms, then all the Cyclades,
That break the billows of th' Aegean seas.
Let thy name be the Sailer's sacred vow:
Yet to thy shores no Grecian ships allow.
Tell Fame, With thee no warlike spears are found, 215
But headlesse ones with Ivy-garlands Crown'd.
Whilst Mars, the parted Worlds, such rage doth give,
Here let Achilles like a Virgin live.

PAPINII SVRCVLI
STATII
ACHILEIDOS
LIBER TERTIVS.

ARGVMENTVM.

Vltor in Hectoridas Graios dolor armat Atridem.
Aulide iuratur. Pelides poscitur absens.
Panditur in Scyro, quo sit quaerendus Vlysses.
Seque virum fassus, Pyrrhum generavit Achilles.

Interea meritos vltrix Europa dolores	(397)
Dulcibus armorum furiis, & supplice regum	
Conquestu flammata mouet, quippe ambit Atrides	
Ille magis, cui nupta domi, facinusque relatu	(400)
Asperat Iliacum. captam sine Marte, sine armis	5
Progeniem caeli, Spartaetaeque potentis alumnam.	
Iura, fidem, superos, vna calcata rapina.	
Hoc foedus Phrygium, haec geminae commercia terrae.	

The Third BOOK.

The Argument.

An Oath obligeth the revengefull Greeks,
At Aulis took. The sly Ulysses seeks
The wish'd Achilles; who, disguis'd, doth move
Unto the Conquest of his Mistresse Love.

In the mean while, the fatall love of Arms
 Stirrs the fierce Greeks. The Princes give th'alarms,
 Soliciting revenge. The Ilians crime
 They thus enlarge; that in a quiet time,
 No wars, the *daughter of great Jove by them
 Was injur'd, with the Laws of god and men.

[Helen 5

Quid maneat populos, vbi tanta iniuria primos
 Degrassata duces? coeunt gens omnis, & aetas. 10
 Nec tantum exiti bimari quos Isthmia vallo
 Claustra, nec vndisonae quos circuit vmbro Maleae.
 Sed procul admoti, Phryxi quà semita iungi
 Europamque Asiamque vetat. quasque ordine gentes (410)
 Littore Abydeno maris alligat vnda superni. 15
 Feruet amor belli, concussasque erigit vrbes.
 Aera domant Temesae. quatitur naualibus ora
 Eubois, innumera resonant incude Mycenae.
 Pisa nouat currus. Nemeae dat terga ferarum.
 Cirrha sagittiferas certat stipare pharetras. 20
 Lerna graues clypeos caesis vestire iuuincis.
 Dat bello pedites Etolus, & asper Acarnan.
 Argos agit turmas. vacuantur pascua ditis
 Arcadiae. frenat celeres Epiros alumnos. (420)
 Phocis, & Aoniae iaculis rarescitis vmbrae. 25
 Murorum tormenta Pylōs, Messanaque tradunt.
 Nulla immunis humus. velluntur postibus altis
 Arma olim dimissa patrum, flammisque liquescunt
 Dona deum. & raptum superis Mars efferat aurum.

12 flows,] flows. 17 Euboean shores;] (translation);
Euboean shore. (annotations) 18 Mycoena, (translation);
Mycena (annotations) 20 Nemaean-] (translation); Nemea.
(annotations) 22 Lerna gives Hides:] (translation);
Lerna gives hides. (annotations) 22-23 Acarnan yields/
Bodies of Foot, so doth th'Aetolian;] (translation); Acarnan
_____ with th'Aetolian. (annotations) 25 Arcadia's]
(translation); Arcadia. (annotations) 27 Aonian Woods and
Phocis] (translation); Aonian shades, and Phocis. (annotations)

How shall the common people fare, if thus
 They venture first their injuries on us?
 Thus all prepar'd for war; not alone *those
 Whom the two Oceans do almost enclose,
 Or round Malea dwell, but also those
 Who do inhabit where *Propontis flows,
Europe from Asia parting, and again
 Those where the waves spread in a larger Main.
 The wretched love of war warm'd every breast. 15
 Fam'd Temesa gave Brass; rigg'd Navies press'd
 The waves of the Euboean shores; and in
Mycoena, strokes of hammer'd Armor ring.
 Her Chariots Pisa sends for warlick use,
Nemaeen-shades the skins of Beasts produce. 20
Cyrrha the Quiver fills; and for the Shields
Lerna gives Hides: the bold Acarnan yields
 Bodies of Foot, so doth th'Aetolian; Horse,
 In Troops from Argos sent, compleat the force,
 Fetch'd from Arcadia's fair now-emptied plains. 25
 For war her famous breed Epirus trains.
Aonian Woods and Phocis Arrows lend:
 Their Engines Pilos and Messana send,
 No place left free. They Arms from Pillars tore,
 There by their Ancestors hung long before. 30
 The gifts to gods the melting flames devour,
 Alter'd to serve a far severer Pow'r.

{ *The
Inhabitants of
Peloponnesus.

10

{ The
Hellespont.

15

20

25

30

28 Pilos and Messana] (translation); Pylos & Messana. (anno-
tations) 28 send,] send.

Nusquam vmbrae veteres minor Othrys, & ardua sidunt	30
Taygeta, exuti viderunt aëra montes.	
Iam natat omne nemus. caeduntur robora classi.	
Sylua minor remis, ferrum laxatur ad vsus	
Innumeros. quod rostra liget, quod muniat arma	(430)
Belligeros quod frenet equos, quod mille cathenis	35
Squallentes nectat tunicas, quod sanguine fumet,	
Vulneraque alta bibat, quod conspirante veneno	
Impellat mortes, tenuantque humentia saxa	
Attritu, & pigris addunt mucronibus iras.	
Nec modus, aut arcus lentare, aut fundere glandes,	40
Aut torrere sudes, galeasque attollere conis.	
Hos inter motus pigram gemit ora quietem	
Thessalis, & geminis incusat fata querelis.	
Quod senior Peleus, nec adhuc, maturus Achilles.	(440)
Iam Pelopis terras, Graiumque exhauserat orbem	45
Praecipitans in transtra viros insanus, equosque,	
Bellipotens. feruent portus. & operta carinis	
Stagna. suasque hyemes classis promota, suosque	
Attollit fluctus. ipsum iam puppibus aequor	
Deficit & totos consumunt carbasa ventos.	50

No antient shades on th'hills must longer grow:

Taygetus now and Othrys naked show.

Great Oaks for Ships, lesse Trees for Oars they trim: 35

Whole Woods do now on the vast Ocean swim.

Iron by skilfull workmen is design'd

For various use; the beaks of Ships to bind,

For Armor, and for Bridles, and for Nails

On arming-coats, set like to fishes scales; 40

For Swords, for Darts, which, dipp'd in poison, throw

Death in the wounds they give. The whetstones grow

With sharpned weapons thin. Some pieces bring

In forms for Bowes, some Bullets for the Sling

Prepare, some harden Stakes, some places gave 45

To Helmets where th'advanced Plumes should wave.

Among these tumults Thessalie remains

Alone unactive, and alike complains

That Peleus was too old, his son too young.

All-emptied Greece, now mad with fury, throng 50

To Ships, the crowded shores do seem to glow,

And sensible of heat the billows show:

The justled waves seem to present a storm;

The Ships that raise it on the swellings born.

Under their weight the Ocean almost fails, 55

And all the winds scarce serve to fill their sails.

34 Taygetus] (translation); Taygetus (annotations) 38 bind,]
bind. 43 pieces See explanatory note.

Prima rates Danaas Hecateia congregat Aulis
 Rupibus expositis. longique crepidine dorsi
 Euboicum scandens Aulis mare. littora multum
 Montiuagae dilectae deae, iuxtaque caphareus (450)
 Latratum pelago tollens caput. ille pelasgas 55
 Vt vidit transnare rates, ter monte, ter vndis.
 Intonuit, saeuaeque dedit praesagia noctis.
 Coetus ibi armorum, Troiae fatalis, ibi ingens
 Iuratur bellum. donec Sol annuus omnes
 Conficeret metas, tum primum Graecia vires 60
 Contemplata suas. tunc sparsa, ac dissona moles
 In corpus, vultumque coit. & rege sub vno
 Disposita est. Sic torua feras indago latentes
 Claudit, & admotis paulatim cassibus arctat. (460)
 Illae ignem, sonitumque pauent. diffusaque linquunt 65
 Aua, miranturque suum decrescere montem.
Donec in angustam ceciderunt vndique vallem.
 Inque vicem stupere greges, socioque timore
 Mansuescunt. simul hirtus aper, simul vrsa, lupusque
 Cogitur & captos contemnit cerua leones. 70

At first the waves by rocky Aulis bore
 The swarming Greeks, the much affected shore
 Of Cynthia. There loud *Caphareus shows [*Proteus
 His head, and back to th'waves, their clamors throws. 60
 When all these swarms of sails came to his sight,
 Thrice he presag'd a sad prodigious night.
 Here first Troy's fatall foes united are,
 And all by Oath oblige themselves for war,
 Untill the Sun had pass'd one annuall course, 65
 And Greece appear'd in her united force.
 Into a formed Army they compose
 Their diff'ring people, and a Generall chose.
 So the wild multitude that shades enjoys,
 Enclos'd with toils, frighted with fire and noise, 70
 Fly to imprisoning valleys, and admire
 To see their Mountain lessen by the fire.
 There the wild multitude know equall fear.
 The Boar, the Woolf, together with the Bear
 Imprisoned lie: the fearfull Harts by them 75
 The fetter'd Lions in the toils contemn.

Sed quamquam gemini pariter sua bella capessant
 Atridae, famamque auidi virtute paternam
 Tydides, Sthenelusque premant. nec cogitet annos
 Antilochus. septemque Ajax vmbone coruscet (470)
 Armenti greges, atq; aequum montibus orbem, 75
 Consiliis, armisque vigil contendat Vlysses:
 Omnis in absentem belli manus ardet Achillem.
 Nomen Achillis amat, & in Hectora solus Achilles
 Poscitur. illum vnum Teucris, Priamoque loquuntur
 Fatalē. quis enim Aemoniis sub vallibus alter 80
 Creuerit, effosa reptans niue? cuius ab ortu
 Cruda rudimenta, & teneros formauerit annos
 Centaurus? patrij propior cui linea caeli?
 Quemue alium ad stygios tulerit secreta per amnes (480)
 Nereis? & pulchros ferro perstrinxerit artus? 85
 Haec Graiae castris iterant, traduntque cohortes.
 Caedit turba ducum, vincique haud moesta fatetur.
 Sic cum pallentes Phlegraea in castra coirent
 Coelicolae, iamque Odrysiam Gradivus in hastnm
 Surgeret, & lybicos Tritonia tolleret angues, 90
 Ingentemque manu curuaret Delius arcum,
 Stabat anhela metu solum Natura Tonantem
 Respiciens. quando ille hyemes, tonitrusque vocaret
 Nubibus, igniferam quae fulmina posceret Aetnam. (490)

Though both th'Atridae with the Army came,
 And Diomede ambitious of great fame,
 With Sthen'lus and Antilochus appears
 More mindfull of the war than of his years, 80
 Though Ajax brought his Shield of seven hides,
 In compasse like a swelling Mountains sides,
 Though slie Ulysses was among the rest;
 Yet of Achilles all a want express'd.
 His name brings joy. He must be Hector's fate, 85
 And ruine of great Priam and his State.
 "For whose first steps but his were taught to go
 "In the Aemonian Valleys thorough Snow?
 "Whose youth such rigid principles was taught?
 "His line from Heav'n so directly brought? 90
 "For whom, but him, such care would Thetis have,
 "To arm his fair limbs with the Stygian wave?
 This through the Camp while all the Greeks proclaim,
 The Captains joy, though vanquish'd, at his fame.
 So in Phlegraeen fields when the gods were 95
 Assembled, and great Mars assum'd his Spear,
Pallas her Snakes, his Bow Apollo took;
 Yet Nature still wore an affrighted look,
 Till Jove himself loud storms and thunders rais'd,
 And from the clouds Aetnaean lightning blaz'd. 100

80 years,] years. 82 Mountains] Mountain 82 sides,]
 sides. 85-86 He must be Hector's fate,/ And ruine of great
Priam] (translation); He must be Hectors fate, And ruine of
great Priam (annotations) 90 brought?] brought?

Atque ibi dum mixta vallati plebe suorum 95
 Et maris & belli consultant tempora reges,
 Increpitans magno vatem Calchanta tumultu,
 Protesilaus ait (namque huic bellare cupido
 Praecipua, & primae iā tunc data copia mortis.)
 O nimium Phoebi tripodumque oblite tuorum 100
 Thestoride. quando ora deo possessa mouebis
 Iustius? aut quando Parcarum occulta recludes?
 Cernis vt ignotum cuncti, stupeantque, petantque
 Aeaciden? sordet vulgo Calydonius Heros, (500)
 Et magno genitus Telamone, Ajaxque secundus, 105
 Nos quoque sed Mauors & Troia abrepta probabunt,
 Illum neglectis (pudet heu) ductoribus, omnes
 Belligerum ceu numen amant. dic ocyus (aut cur
 Serta comis, & mutus honos) quibus abditus oris
 Quaue iubes tellure peti. nam fama nec antris 110
 Chironis, patria nec degere Peleos aula.
 Eia irrumpe moras, & fata latentia laxa,
 Laurigerosque ignes, si quando audivissimus haurit
 Arma horrenda tibi, saeuosque remisimus enses. (510)
 Numquam has imbelles galea violabere vittas, 115
 Sis felix, numeroque ducum praestantior omni,
 Si magnum Danais per te portendis Achillem.

Whilst here the Captains by their Troops enclos'd
 Consulted on those ways to peace oppos'd,
Protesilaus, who most active show'd
 I'th War, and on whom fate was first bestow'd,
 Thus unto Calchas said; Thestorides, 105
Sure thou forgettest Phoebus Oracles:
For when can thy inspired lips relate
Better then now the hid decrees of Fate?
Dost thou not see how all amaz'd admire
Aeacides, the object of desire? 110
The Calydonian Prince now all contemn,
Slight either-Ajax too, and me with them.
But since our valour now is scorned thus,
Both Mars and ruin'd Troy shall speak for us.
For him, the Princes all neglected are, 115
And he is honour'd as a god of war.
Speak quickly, (or else why should we allow
Those sacred Wreaths on thy adorned Brow?)
Where lurks the Youth? for now, as men report,
Hee's not in Chiron's Cave, nor Peleus Court. 120
Speak then: if ever, now let thy desires
Wish for Prophetick breast-inspiring fires.
Thou shalt secure from war and danger rest,
Those gentle Wreaths with Helmets ne're be press'd.
Be happy in th'esteem which all will ow 125
To thee, if thou to us Achilles show.

Iamdudum trepido circumfert lumina motu,
 Intransemque Deum primo pallore fatetur
 Thestorides, mox igne genas, & sanguine torquens 120
 Nec socios, nec castra videt, sed caecus & amens
 Nunc superum magnos deprendit in aethers coetus,
 Nunc sagas affatur aues, nunc dura sororum
 Licia, thuriferas modo consulit anxius aras. (520)
 Flammarumque apices rapit, & caligine sacra 125
 Pascitur. exiliunt crines, rigidtsque laborat
 Vitta comis, nec colla loco, nec in ordine gressus.
 Tandem fessa tremens longis mugitibus ora
 Soluit, & oppositum vox eluctata furorem est.
 Quo rapis ingentem magni Chironis alumnum 130
 Foemineis Nerei dolis? huc mitte. quid aufers?
 Non patiar, meus iste meus, tu diua profundu.
 Et me Phoebus agit. latebris quibus abdere tentas
 Euersorem Asiae? video per Cycladas altas (530)
 Attonitam, & turpi quaerentem littora furto. 135
 Occidimus, placuit Lycomedis conscia tellus.
 O scelus, en fluxae veniunt in pectora vestes.
 Scinde puer, scinde, & timidae ne crede parenti.
 Hei mihi raptus abit. quaenam haec procul improba virgo?

Calchas this while his eyes doth wildly throw,
 And his pale looks the god's approach do show.
 His cheeks straight glow with heat: nor can he find
 Or friends, or tents; so wild he is and blind. 130
 Now in the sky great troops of gods he spies,
 Now from the Fowls he takes his Auguries,
 Now asks the Fates below their hid designs,
 And then consults the bright perfumed Shrines,
 Snatches the tops of the ascending fires, 135
 And with the holy fume himself inspires.
 His hairs erected stood: in no one place
 His neck kept fix'd, nor keep his feet one pace.
 Tired at length and trembling, a voice broke
 Through the opposing furie, and thus spoke. 140

Whither dost thou Chiron's lov'd charge now bear,
Thetis, with Woman's craft? Return him here.
Hee's due to us: though waves obey thy will,
Yet Phoebus too a god my breast doth fill.
Where dost thou hide the Trojan's fate? I see 145
The Cyclades and Shores sought out by thee,
Where thou of thy unworthy theft art eas'd,
The guilty Land of Lycomedes pleas'd.
O crime! those shamefull flowing garments tear,
And be not subject to a Mother's fear. 150
Ah me! now from mine eyes, hee's ravish'd quite,
What guilty Virgin's that salutes my sight?

149 tear,] The mark of punctuation may be a semicolon.

Hic nutante gradu stetit, amissisque furoris 140
 Viribus, ante ipsas tremefactus corrui aras.
 Tunc haerentem Ithacum Calydonius occupat Heros:
 Nos vocat iste labor, neque enim comes ire recuso,
 Si te cura trahit. licet ille sonantibus antris (540)
 Tethyos aduersae, gremioque prematur aquoso 145
 Nereos, inuenies, tu tantum prouidus astu
 Tende animum vigilem, fecundumque erige pectus,
 Nam te quis vatum dubiis in casibus ausit
 Fata videre prior? subicit gausus Vlysses.
 Sic Deus omnipotens, sic annuat, illaque firmet 150
 Virgo paterna tibi. sed me spes lubrica tardat.
 Grande equidem armatum est castris inducere Achillem.
 Sed si fata negent, quā̄m foedum, ac triste reuerti.
 Vota tamen Danaum non intentata relinquam. (550)
 Iamque adeo aut aderit mecum Peleius Heros, 155
 Aut verum penitus latet, & sine Apolline Calchas.

Then staggering, by his strength and rage forsook,
He sunk down by the Altar whilst he shook.

Then to Ulysses, Diomede thus said, 155
This businessse now seems to require our aid.
For I shall ne'r refuse to go with thee,
If the designe doth with thy thoughts agree.
Though he in Tethys hollow sounding caves
Were hid, or wrapp'd by Nereus in his waves, 160
Thou'dst find him out. Let thy care be express'd
From that great spring of counsels in thy breast.
For, which of all our Prophets can deny
Thy judgment equall to their Prophetie?

Ulysses pleas'd, repli'd, What thou wouldst do, 165
Great Jove assist, and's blue-ey'd Daughter too.
We run a hazard, 't is an act of weight
To arm Achilles; and a shame as great,
If our designe be frustrated by fate:
Yet what the Grecians wish, I'le venture at, 170
And with me, the Peleian Prince I'le bring,
Else Calchas tongue did uninspired sing.

Conclamant Danai, stimulatque Agamemno volentes.
 Laxantur coetus, resolutaque murmure laeto
 Agmina discedunt. Quales iam nocte propinqua
 E pastu referuntur aues. vel in antra reuerti 160
 Melle nouo grauidas mitis videt Hybla cateruas.
 Nec mora iam dextras Ithaceia carbasus auras
 Poscit, & in remis hilaris sedere iuuentus.
 At procul occultum falsi sub imagine sexus (560)
 Aeaciden furto iam nouerat vna latentem 165
 Deidamia virum, sed opertae conscia culpae
 Cuncta pauet, tacitasque putat sentire sorores.
 Namque vt virgineo stetit in grege clarus Achilles,
 Exoluitque rudem genitrix digressa pudorem,
 Protinus elegit comitem (quamquam omnis in illum 170
 Turba coit) blandaeque nouas nil tale timenti
 Admouet insidias. illam sequiturque, premitque
 Improbus, illam oculis, iterumque, iterumque resunit.
 Nunc nimius lateri non euitantis inhaeret. (570)

The Grecians shout: and Agamemnon too,
 Excites them unto that they meant to do.
 The Councell then dissolv'd, the Grecians rise, 175
 And with a gentle murmur shew their joyes:
 So at the night's approach, calm Hybla sees
 Return, with buzzing noise, her Laden bees.
 Now Ithacus a prosperous gale implores
 To fill his sails, the youths too ply their Oars. 180
 Farre off Achilles his disguise conceal'd,
 Who to Deidamia now must be reveal'd.
 She, though the crime were hid, did fear expresse,
 And thought her Sisters at the thing might guesse.
 For as Achilles stood among the bright 185
 Fair charming troupe, (his blushes put to flight)
 He chose his lov'd companion, (though the fair
 Enamour'd troupe for him had equall care)
 And practic'd the unknown designes of love,
 Which in her breast could no suspition move. 190
 With haste, he follows her from place to place:
 His eyes no businesse find but in her face,
 Repeating looks; he useth to abide
 A close companion by her lovely side:

Nunc leuibus sertis, lapsis nunc sponte canistris, 175
 Nunc thyrso parcente ferit. modo dulcia notae
 Fila lyrae, tenuesque modos, & carmina monstrat
 Chironis, ducitque manum, digitosque sonanti
 Infringit cytharae. nunc occupat ora canentis,
 Et ligat amplexus, & mille per oscula laudat. 180
 Illa libens discit, quo vertice Pelion, & quis
 Aeacides. puerique auditum nomen, & actus
 Assiduè stupet, & praesentem cantat Achillem.
 Ipsa quoque & validos proferre modestius artus, (580)
 Et tenuare rudes attrito pollice lanas 185
 Demonstrat, reficitque colos, & perdita dura
 Pensa manu, vocisque sonum, pondusque tenentis.
 Quodque fugit comites, nimio quod lumine sese
 Figat, & in verbis intempestius anhelet,
 Miratur. iam iamque dolos aperire parantem. 190
 Virginea leuitate fugit, prohibetque fateri.
 Sic sub matre Rhea iuuenis regnator Olympi
 Oscula securae dabat insidiosa sorori
 Frater adhuc, medijs donec reuerentia cessit (590)
 Sanguinis, & versos germanae expauit amores. 195

Sometimes about her, flowry wreaths he strows, 195
 And sometimes at her, harmlesse javelins throws.
 Now chants he Layes, that Chiron taught, and brings
 Her courted fingers to the warbling strings;
 Straight his obliged lips to hers are fix'd,
 And praises with a thousand kisses mix'd. 200
 She gladly learns how Pelions top was rais'd,
 And who Achilles was, and hears amaz'd
 His name, with his atchievements of great things,
 Whilst he himself, himself there present sings.
 She teaches then his gentler arms to pull, 205
 In long extended threds, the following wool,
 Settling the shaken distaffe in its place,
 And his full voice admires and strong embrace:
 Observes his looks on none but her were fix'd,
 And all his words with long-fetcht sighs were mix'd. 210
 Now going to reveal his flame, she flies
 With Virgin-fears, and his design denies.
 So Heavn's great Ruler in his tender years,
 Kiss'd his affected Sister without fears: 215
 But Nature's laws being observ'd no more,
 She fears that love, she blush'd not at before.

206 wool,] wool. 213 Heavn's great Ruler] (translation);
Heaven's great Ruler. (annotations)

Tandem detecti timidae Nereidos astus.
 Lucus Agenorei sublimis ad orgia Bacchi
 Stabat, & admissum caelo nemus. huius in vmbra
 Alternum reuocare piae Trieterica matres
 Consuerant, scissumque pecus, terraque reuulsas 200
 Ferre trabes, gratosque deo praestare furores.
 Lex procul ire mares. iterat praecepta verendus
 Ductor, inaccessumque viris edicitur antrum.
 Nec satis est. stat fine dato metuenda sacerdos, (600)
 Exploratque aditus. nequis temerator oberret 205
 Agmine foemineo, tacitus subrisit Achilles.
 Illum virgineae ducentem signa cateruae,
 Magnaque difficili soluentem brachia motu,
 (Et sexus pariter decet, & mendacia matris)
 Mirantur comites. nec iam pulcherrima turba 210
 Deidamia suae, tantumque admota superbo
 Vincitur Aeacide, quantum premit ipsa sorores.
 Vt vero ā tereti demisit Nebrida collo,
 Errantesque sinus edera collegit, & alte (610)
 Cinxit purpureis flauentia tempora vittis, 215
 Vibrauitque graui redimitum missile dextra:
 Attonito stat turba metu, sacrisque relictis
 Illum ambire libet, pronosque attollere vultus.
 Talis vbi ad Thebas vultumque animumque remisit
 Euius, & patrio satiauit pectora luxu. 220
 Serta comis, mitramque leuat, thirsumque virentem
 Armat, & hostiles inuasit fortior Indos.

217 disclose.] disclose, 218-220 A grove there was, whose
 top to Heav'n arose,/ Sacred to Bacchus, in whose shades by nights/

At length, his Mother's craft he did disclose.
 A grove there was, whose top to Heav'n arose,
 Sacred to Bacchus, in whose shades by nights
 The women paid their Trieterick rites. 220
 Whole herds they slaughtered, spears from Trees they rent,
 And to the God their gratefull furies sent.
 The Law forbad all Males: yet that command
 Was giv'n anew. Besides, a Priest did stand
 To watch the bounds, lest they might be defil'd 225
 By some rash man. At this Achilles smil'd.
 Before the troupe he with the Ensigne goes,
 And in unpractiz'd ways his arms bestows,
 Such as became the sex, and help'd the tales
 His Mother told. Wonder on all prevails 230
 To see Deidamia's self excell'd, as she
 From her fair Sisters challeng'd victory.
 But from his snowy neck, that so exceld,
 When the Hart's skin was thrown with Ivy held,
 His shining brows with purple ribbands bound, 235
 And toss'd his spear with Vines and Ivy crown'd,
 The troupe then all amaz'd the sacrifice
 And rites forsook, on him to feed their eyes.
 So Bacchus look't, whil'st he had yet resign'd
 To Theban luxuries his loosened mind, 240
 Then leaves soft wreaths, his green spear head's with steel,
 And now his nobler force the Indians feel.

The women paid their Trieterick rites.] (translation); A grove there was — Sacred to Bacchus, in whose shades by nights, The women pay'd their Trieterick rites. (annotations) 218 arose,] arose. 228 bestows,] bestows. 236 crown'd,] crown'd.

Scandebat roseo medij fastigia caeli
 Luna iugo. totis vbi Somnus inertior alis (620)
 Defluit in terras, mutumque amplectitur orbem: 225
 Consedere chori, paulumque exercita pulsu
 Aera tacent. tenero cum solus ab agmine Achilles
 Haec secum. Quonam timidae commenta parentis
 Vsque feres? primumque imbelli carcere perdes
 Florem animi? non tela licet Mauortia dextra? 230
 Non trepidas agitare feras? vbi campus? & amnes
 Aemonij? quaerisne meos Sperchie natatus?
 Promissasque comas? an desertoris alumni
 Nullus honos? stygiasque procul iam raptus ad vmbras, (630)
 Dicor? & orbatus plangit mea funera Chiron? 235
 Tu nunc tela manu, nostros tu dirigis arcus,
 Nutritosque mihi scandis Patrocle iugales:
 Ast ego pampineis diffundere brachia Thyrsis,
 Et tenuare colos (pudet heu, taedetque fateri)
 Iam scio. quin etiam dilectae virginis ignem, 240
 Aequaeuamque facem captus noctesque, diesque,
 Dissimulas? quonam vsque premes vrentia pectus
 Vulnera? teque marem (pudet heu) nec amore probabis?

Now Cynthia, in her Silver Chariot rode
 On heaven's highest road, when the dull God
 Of Sleep payes visits to the earth, and flings 245
 Over the silent world his heavy wings;
 The tired Company then weary grown,
 Lay down to rest. Achilles all alone
 Thus with himself begins, How long shall I
Endure a Mother's fearfull subtilty? 250
And in this soft effeminate Prison lose
My noblest thoughts? May not my right hand chose
One armed dart, nor more pursue wild game?
Doth not Sperchios still for me complain?
And promis'd hairs? Must I for nothing look, 255
That's brave, who such a Master so forsook?
 Or to the shades do all believe me fled,
 And Chiron mourns me without issue dead:
 My darts and bow are now employ'd by thee,
Patroclus too, and horses train'd for me; 260
Whilst I brandish a spear with Ivy dress'd,
Or learn to spin, I blush while't is confess'd.
 Why dost thou hide thy passionate designe,
 And in dissimulation bury time?
 Shall still these flaming words consume thy breast, 265
 And leave thy sex and passion unexpress't?

255 promis'd] In the copy-text the i and the apostrophe are not visible, and the word has two unused spaces. The apostrophe is visible in certain other exemplars, and in at least one, what may be part of a letter is visible between the m and the s.

Sic ait. & densa noctis gauisus in vmbra	(640)
Tempestiua suis torpere silentia furtis,	245
Vi potitur votis, & toto pectore veros	
Admouet amplexus. risit chorus omnis ab alto	
Astrorum, & tenerae rubuerunt cornua Lunae.	
Illa quidem clamore nemus, montemque repleuit,	
Sed Bacchi comites discussa nube soporis	250
Signa choris indicta putant. fragor vndique notus	
Tollitur & thyrsos iterum vibrabat Achilles.	
Ante tamen dubiam verbis solatur amicis.	
Ille ego (quid trepidas) genuit quem coerulea mater	(650)
Pelliacis syluis, niuibusque immisit alendum	255
Thessalicis, neque ego hos cultus, aut foeda subissem	
Tegmina, ni primo te visa in littore. cessi	
Te propter. tibi pensa manu, tibi mollia gesto	
Tympana. quid defles magno nurus addita ponto?	
Quid gemis ingentes caelo paritura nepotes?	260
Sed pater ante igni, ferroque excisa iacebit	
Scyros, & in tumidas ibunt haec versa procellas	
Moenia, quam saeuo mea tu connubia perdas	
Funere, non adeo parebimus omnia matri.	(660)
Vade, sed ereptum taceas, celesque pudorem,	265

This said, and pleas'd with the concealing time
 Of night, sleep too assisting his designe,
 She now no more his feign'd embraces found,
 Whilst he by force his burning wishes crown'd. 270
 The Stars all smil'd, whilst they the wantons spi'd,
 And Cynthia, her bright horns with blushes di'd.
 The Woods and Hills rang with her noise; when all,
 Rous'd from their sleep, thought it the signall call.
 At which the ecchoing grove with clamours shakes, 275
 Whilst he again, his wreathed Thyrsus takes:
 But his afflicted mistresse first thus chears,
 'T is I am he (why dost thou shew these fears?)
Born of the Oceans Queen, who did bestow
My breeding on me in Thessalian snow. 280
Nor had I e're endur'd this soft disguise,
Had not I first been charmed by thine eyes.
It was thy pow'r besides, that did command
A Timbrel and a Distaff in this hand.
Why dost thou weep, since to the Ocean's King, 285
Thou art a Child, that must Heav'n issues bring?
And ere thy Father shall disturb my joy,
Storms and unvanquish'd flames shall all destroy.
I am not turn'd a woman quite with this,
But yet a while conceal this stealth of blisse? 290

Obstupuit tantis regina exterrita monstris.

Quanquam olim suspecta fides, & cominus ipsum

Horrui, & multum facies mutata fatentis.

Quid faciat? casusne suos ferat ipsa parenti?

Seque simul, iuuenemque premat, fortassis acerbas 270

Hausurum poenas? & adhuc in corde manebat

Ille diu deceptus amor, silet aegra, premitque

Iam commune nefas. vnam placet addere furtis

Altricem sociam praecibus quo victa duorum (670)

Annuit. illa astu tacito raptumque pudorem, 275

Surgentemque vterum, atque aegros in pondere menses

Occuluit, plenis donec stata tempora metis

Attulit, & partus index Lucina resoluit. (674)

Finis libri tertij.

At this, new fears amaz'd th'affrighted Queen,
Though still suspicious of him she had been.
Trembling when he came near, now she fear'd more,
When he confess'd what she believ'd before.
Should she her Father tell, (what should she do?) 295
And with her self ruine the lov'd Youth too?
For his dear sake, she rather chose to be
By silence made as deep in guilt as he.
By joynt consent, one confident they chose,
To whom they did their secret theft disclose, 300
Her womb now swells: and, all her heavy time,
She cunningly conceals her shame and crime,
Till Nature's just designed term did come,
And kind Lucina did unload her womb.

PAPINII SVRCVLI
STATII
ACHILEIDOS
LIBER QVARTVS.

ARGVMENTVM.

Tandem exoptata Scyro potiuntur Achiui.
Nititur Aeaciden, dum librant fercula mensis,
Noscere, sed nondum plene tunc discit Vlyxes.
Tum ducibus Graiis demum manifestus Achilles
In sacris armisque fuit. se denique Vlyxis
Hortatu tetigit Lycomedi, & Pergama poscit.
Vt celebratus hymen, nox conscia iunxit amantes.
Deidamia viri deplorat pectore fusa.

Iamque per Aegeos ibat Laertia fluctus (675)
 Puppis, & innumerae mutabāt Cycladas aerae,
 Iam Paros, Olearosque latent. iam raditur alta
 Lemnos, & à tergo decrescit Bacchica Naxos.
 Ante oculos crescente Samo, iam Delos opacat 5
 Aequor. ibi excelsa libant carchesia puppe, (680)
 Responsique fidem, & verum Calchanta precantur.

The Fourth BOOK.

The Argument.

The Grecians at the last Achilles find,
Who is betray'd to what the fates design'd.
Fair Deidamia mourns her Love with tears;
Whose theft had more of joy, though more of fears.

Ulysses now through the Aegean seas
 Chang'd, as he pass'd, the scattered Cyclades.
Olearos and Paros hid, they by
 Lemnos next sail, and lessen as they flye
 The Isle of Naxos: Samos bigger grew,
 And Delos made the Ocean lesse in view.
 Here they with offerings did the God implore,
 For to confirm what Calchas told before.

Audiit Arcitenens, Zephyrumque è vertice Cynthi
 Impulit, & dubiis pleno dedit omina velo.
 It pelago segura ratis. quippe alta tonantis 10
 Iussa, Thetin certas fatorum euertere leges,
 Arcebant aegram lachrymis, ac multa gementem:
 Quod non erueret pontum, ventisque, fretisque
 Omnibus, inuisum iam tunc sequeretur Vlysem.
 Frangebat radios humili iam pronus Olympo 15
 Phoebus, & Oceani penetrabile littus anhelis (690)
 Promittebat equis, cum se scopulosa leuauit
 Scyros, in hanc totos emisit puppe rudentes
 Dux Laertiades, sociosque resumere parentum
 Imperat, & remis Zephyros supplere cadentes. 20
 Accedunt iussi. magis indubitata, magisque
 Scyros erat. placidique superat Tritonia custos
 Littoris. Egressi numen venerantur amicae
 Aetholusque, Ithacusque, deae. tum prouidus heros
 Hospita ne subito terrerent moenia coetu. 25
 Puppe iubet remanere suos, ipse ardua fido (700)
 Cum Diomede petit. sed iam praeuenerat arcis
 Littoreae seruator Abas, ignotaque regi
 Ediderat (sed Graia tamen) succedere terris
 Carbasa. procedunt, gemini ceu foedere iuncto 30
 Hyberna sub nocte lupi, licet & sua pulset
 Natorumque fames, penitus rabiemque minasque
 Dissimulant, humilesque meant, ne nuntiet hostes
 Cura canum, & trepidos moneat vigilare magistros:

Apollo heard. From Cynthus-top kind gales
 Ended their doubts, and stretch'd their swelling sails. 10
 Their ship in safety rode. For Jove forbid
Thetis to strive to hinder what Fate did;
 Who griev'd she could not, being so confin'd,
 On loath'd Ulysses throw waves swell'd with wind.
 Now Phoebus near his journey's end arrives, 15
 And to the waves his sweating Horses drives,
 When Scyros shew'd. Ulysses bids them all
 Furl up their sails, (At his Command they fall)
 And with united strength to reach the shores:
 The sinking wind, the Youths supply with Oars. 20
 Now all perceiv'd that Scyros they had found,
 And saw the shore with Pallas Temple crown'd.
 Leaving their Ship, the Heroes went on shore,
 And there the kind Tritonia they adore:
 When wise Ulysses, lest the City might 25
 At sight of all his Troup receive affright,
 Commands them all within the ship to stay,
 Whilst they alone attempt the rocky way.
 But Abas, that kept watch, had told before
 Of strangers, though all Grecians, on the shore. 30
 Like Wolves the Heroes went, who although prone
 To ease their young ones hunger, and their owne,
 Yet on they silyly creep, dissembling want,
 Lest dogs should make their Masters vigilant;

Sic segnes Heroes eunt, campumque patentem 35
 Qui medius portum, celsamque interiacet urbem, (710)
 Alterno sermone serunt. prior occupat acer
 Tydides. Qua nunc verum ratione paramus
 Scrutari? namque ambiguo sub pectore quiddam
 Verso, quid imbelles thyrsos mercatus, & aera, 40
 Urbibus in mediis, Bacchaeaque terga, mitrasque
 Huc tuleris? varioque aspersas Nebridas auro?
 Hisne grauem Phrygibus, Priamoque armamus Achillem?
 Illi subridens Ithacus paulum ore remisso,
 Haec tibi, virginea modo si Lycomedis in aula 45
 Fraude latens, vltro confessum in praelia ducent (720)
 Peliden. tu cuncta citus de puppe memento
 Ferre, vbi tempus erit, clypeumque iis iungere donis,
 Qui pulcher signis, auroque asperrimus ardet.
 Haec sat erunt, tecum lituo bonus adsit Agyrtes, 50
 Occultamque tubam tacitos apportet in vsus.
 Dixerat, atque ipso portarum in limine, regem
 Cernit, & ostensa pacem praefatur oliua.
 Magna (reor) pridem vestras peruenit ad aures
 Fama trucis belli regum placidissime, quod nunc 55
 Europamque, Asiamque quatit. si nomina quaeras (730)
 Huc praelata ducum, fidit quibus vltor Atrides
 Hic tibi, quem tanta meliorem stirpe creauit
 Magnanimus Tydeus, Ithacis ego ductor Vlysses.

So slow, they took the nearest way that bent 35
Towards the gates, discoursing as they went.

Tydides first began; How we should find
This truth, is always running in my mind.
Why were these Thyrsi and these Timbrels bought?
Why Mitres, Drums, and gilded Stags-skins brought 40
Hither with us? Must these soft things employ,
And arm Achilles for the War of Troy?

To him Ulysses smiling said, To thee
Let this suffice: If that Achilles be
Under a Virgin's habit here conceal'd, 45
By these fond Toyes, thou'lt see the Youth reveal'd.

In these attempts let this alone be thine,
To bring the things when't is a fitting time,
And joy to these the fairest painted shield,
On which the Gold doth radiant lustre yield. 50
This shall suffice. But let Agyrtes too
His Trumpet bring, to help what we must do.

Then seeing to the Gates the King was come,
Shewing an Olive branch, he thus begun.

I do believe that Fame hath fill'd your ears, 55
Best Prince, with Europe's and with Asia's fears,
Preparing war. If you our names would know,
On whom great Agamemnon did bestow
This trust, Hee's Diomed, who hath giv'n Fame
The bravest tales; Ulysses is my name. 60

Causa viae (metuam quid enim tibi cuncta fateri: 60
 Cum Graius, notaque fide celeberrimus vnus?)
 Explorare aditus, inuisaque littora Troiae,
 Quidue parent. medio sermone intercipit ille.
 Annuerit Fortuna precor. dextrique secudent
 Ista dei. nunc hospitio me, tecta, piumque 65
 Illustrate larem. simul intra limina ducit. (740)
 Nec mora, iam mensas famularis turba torosque
 Instruit. interea visu perlustrat Vlysses,
 Scrutaturque domum. si qua vestigia magna
 Virginis, aut dubia facies suspecta figura. 70
 Porticibusque vagis errat, totosque penates
 Ceu miretur, adit. velut ille cubilia praedae
 Indubitata tenens multo legit arua Molosso
 Venator, videat donec sub frontibus hostem
 Porrectum somno, positosque in cespite dentes. 75
 Rumor in arcana iamdudum perstrepat aula (750)
 Virginibus qua fida domus, venisse Pelasgos
 Ductores, Graiamque ratem, sociosque receptos.
 Iure pauent aliae, sed vix noua gaudia caelat
 Pelides, audisque novos Heroas, & arma 80
 Vel talis vidisse cupit. iamque atria feruent
 Regali strepitu, & picto discumbitur ostro.

To tell the cause I come I need not fear,
Since you're a Greek, in friendship too so clear,
'T is that in safety we may still employ
Our ships this way against injurious Troy;

The King thus stops his speech, May ye still find 65
In all ye do the Gods and Fortune kind.
But now let me be honour'd by your stay
Within my Court. This said, he leads the way.

The Tables straight were spread, the Beds laid out,
 In the mean time Ulysses sought about 70
 If any Virgin, of too large a size,
 Might give suspicion to his doubting eyes,
 Thus roam'd he round the house. So every way
 Through fields the Huntsman his undoubted prey,
 Trails with Molossian hounds, till in the shade 75
 He finds the Beast, his head on cool Turfs laid.
 By this the news was to the Virgins got,
 How that a Ship had Grecian Princes brought.
 They all expresse their sexes fears, besides
Aeacides, who scarce his new joy hides, 80
 Greedy to see the Greeks. The room with guests
 Was fill'd, who on rich Beds receiv'd their feasts.

76 Turfs See explanatory note.

Tum pater ire iubet natas, comitesque pudicas
 Natarum. subeunt quales Meotide ripa
 Cum Scythicas rapuere domos, & capta Getarum 85
 Moenia, subpositis epulantur Amazones armis. (760)
 Tunc vero intentus vultus, ac pectora Vlysses
 Praelibat visu. sed nox, illataque fallunt
 Lumina, & extemplo latuit mensura iacentis.
 Et tamen erectumque genas, oculisque vagantem, 90
 Nullaque virginei seruantem signa pudoris,
 Defigit, comitique obliquo lumine monstrat.
 Quod nisi praecipitem blando complexa moneret
 Deidamia sinu, nudataque pectora semper,
 Exertasque manus, humerosque in veste teneret, 95
 Et prodire toris, & poscere vina vetaret (770)
 Saepius, & fronti crinale reponeret aurum,
 Argolicis ducibus iam tunc patuisset Achilles,
 Vt placata fames epulis bis terque repostis,
 Rex prior alloquitur. paterisque inuitat Achiuos. 100
 Inuideo vestris (fateor decora inclyta gentis
 Argolicae) coeptis vtinam mihi fortior aetas,
 Quaeque fuit Dolopas, cum Scyria littora adortos
 Perdomui, fregique vadis. quae signa triumphi
 Vidistis celsas murorum in fronte carinas. 105

Saltem si soboles aptam quam mittere bello (780)
Possem, plena forent mihi gaudia. namque iuuarem.
Nunc ipsi viresque meas, & cara videtis
Pignora. quando nouos dabit haec mihi turba nepotes?
Dixerat, & solers arrepto tempore Vlysses, 110
Haud spernenda cupis. quis enim non visere gentes
Innumeras, variosque duces, atque agmina regum,
Ardeat? omne simul roburque decusque potentis
Europae, meritos vltro iurauit in enses.
Rura, vrbesque vacāt. montes spoliauimus altos. 115
Omne fretum longa velorum obtexitur vmbra. (790)
Tradunt arma patres, ruit irreuocata iuuentus.
Non alias vnquam tantae data copia famae
Fortibus, haud campo maiore exercita Virtus.

Had but kind Nature, made my children men,
To serve you now, my joyes had perfect been. 110
You see old age's witsse on mine head,
And these soft pledges of may marriage-bed,
When shall the wish'd-for issues from these come?

Ulysses catching at these words begun.

Thy wish is just. For who would not have fled 115
To see such swarms, by troops of Princes led?
Th'united strength, that Europe now affords
All sworn to just revenge upon their swords.
Cities are empti'd, mountains naked show,
Sails without number on the Ocean throw 120
A darkning shade: Fathers deliver arms
To the inflamed Youths, who rush in swarms.
Fame for attempting-spirits ne're did yield
So fair an object in so just a field;

Aspicit intentum vigilique haec aure trahentem 120
 Cum paueant aliae, demissaque lumina flectant.
 Atque iterat. Quisquis proavis & gente superbus,
 Quisquis equo iaculoque potens, qui praeualet arcu,
 Omnis honos illic. illic ingentia certant
 Nomina. vix timidae matres, vix agmina cessant 125
 Virginea. hic multum steriles damnatus in annos, (800)
 Inuisusque deis, si quem haec noua gloria segnem
 Praeterit. exisset stratis, nisi prouida signo
 Deidamia dato, cunctas hortata sorores
 Liquisset mensas, ipsum complexa. sed haeret 130
 Respiciens Ithacum, coetuque nouissimus exit.
 Ille quidem incepto paulum ex sermone remisit,
 Pauca tamen iungens at tu tranquillus in alta
 Pace mane, carisque para connubia natis,
 Quas tibi sydereis diuarum vultibus aequas 135
 Fors dedit. vt me olim tacitum reuerentia tangit? (810)
 His decor est formae, species permixta virili.
 Occurrit genitor. quid si Bacchaea ferentes
 Orgia, Palladias aut circum videris aras?
 Et dabimus, si forte nouus cunctabitur auster. 140

Whilst thus he spake, he saw how the Youth's ears 125
 Drank up his words, the rest expressing fears:
 Then thus proceeds, Who'ere proud in the name
Of Ancestors, or in his Nation's fame,
Who manageth his Horse, or else can throw
His dart with fatall aim, or use his bow; 130
Here all their aemulating deeds are paid,
Virgins and fearfull women scarce are staid.
But that base wretch, who this brave action fears,
Hated by Heav'n, shall spend his fruitlesse years.

At this how the Youth mov'd, Deidamia's eyes 135
 Soon found, and gave her sisters signes to rise,
 Leading him forth. Yet he departed last,
 And still his eyes upon Ulysses cast.
 Who having paus'd a little, thus again
 Assum'd his speech, May you, best King, remain 140
In peace, providing marriage-beds for these,
Whose heav'nly beauties equall Deities.
How much their looks amaze, in which doth shine
Mingled with beauty something masculine!

The King replies, If now their looks invites, 145
What would it do at Bacchanalian rites,
Or circling Pallas shrines? This shall appear,
If the kind crossing winds detain you here;

145 The] (text); The (catchword)

Excipiunt cupide & tacitis spes addita votis.
 Caetera depositis Lycomedis regia curis
 Tranquilla sub pace silet. sed longa sagaci
 Nox Ithaco, lucemque cupit, somnoque grauatur.
 Vix dum exhorta dies, & iam comitatus Agyrte 145
 Tydides aderat, praedictaque dona ferebat. (820)
 Nec minus egressae thalamis Scyriades ibant
 Ostentare choros, promissaque sacra verendis
 Hospitibus. nitet ante alias regina, comesque
 Pelides. Qualis Siculae sub rupibus Aetnae 150
 Naides Aetnaeas inter Diana, feroxque
 Pallas, & Elysii lucebat sponsa tyranni.
 Iamque mouent gressus. thyasis Ismenia buxus
 Signa dedit, quater aera Rheae, quater Euia pulsant
 Terga manu, variosque quater legere recursus. 155
 Tunc thyrsos pariterque leuant, pariterque reponunt, (830)
 Multiplicantque gradum modo quo Curetes in actu,
 Quoque pij Samothraces eunt. nunc obuia versae
 Pectine Amazonio, modo quo citat orbe Lacaenas
 Delia, plaudentesque suis intorquet Amyclis. 160

At this, new hope their silent wishes bless'd,
 With haste accepting it. The Court in rest 150
 Was now laid free from cares; only the night
 To wise Ulysses seem'd too slow of flight.
 The morning scarce appear'd, when Diomed,
 Bringing the gifts, with him Agyrtes led;
 The Scyrian Virgins too rose with the day, 155
 Unto their guests the promis'd rites to pay.
 Before the rest, Achilles with the Queen
 Appears. Pallas and Cynthia so were seen,
 With the Elysian King's lov'd Proserpine,
 By Aetna's rocks among the Nymphs to shine. 160
 Now they began to move in measur'd time,
 And from th'Ismenian pipe they took the signe.
 Four times the stroakes on Rhea's brasse rebound,
 As many times the Evian Timbrels sound.
 Four times their measures chang'd: at once they threw 165
 Their spears all up, which fell together too.
 Now they like the Curetes all advance,
 Then they present the Samothracian dance:
 Now all do side like Amazons, then all
 Into Lacaenian circling figures fall. 170

149 At this, new hope their] At this new hope, their
 162 th'Ismenian pipe] (translation); Ismenian pipe. (annota-
tions) 163 Rhea's brasse] (translation); Rhea's Brasse.
 (annotations)

Tunc quoque praecipue iam iam manifestus Achilles.

Nec seruare vices, nec iungere brachia curat.

Tunc molles gressus, tunc aspernatur amictus

Plus soluto, rumpitque choros, & plurima turbat.

Sic indignantem thyrsos, acceptaque matris 165

Tympana iam tristes, spectabant Penthea Thebae. (840)

Soluuntur laudata cohors, repetuntque paterna

Limina. vbi in mediae iamdudum sedibus aulae,

Munera virgineos visus tractura locarat

Tydides, signum hospitij, pretiumque laboris. 170

Hortaturque legant, nec Rex placidissimus arcet.

Heu simplex, nimiumq; rudis, qui callida dona,

Graiorumque dolos, variumque ignorat Vlysem!

Hinc aliae, quã sexus iners naturaque ducit,

Aut teretes thyrsos, aut respondentia tentant 175

Tympana, gemmatis aut nectunt tempora limbis. (850)

Arma vident, magnoque putant donata parenti.

At ferus Aeacides radientem vt comminus orbem

Coelatum pugnis saeuus, & forte rubentem

Bellorum maculis, acclinem & conspicit hastam, 180

Infremuit, torsitque genas, & fronte relicta

Surrexere comae. nusquam mandata parentis,

Nusquam occultus amor, totoque in pectore Troia est.

Achilles now most plain appears, and stands
 Neglecting the just time of joyning hands,
 Scorns the soft measures, and to be so dress'd,
 Forgets his part, disturbing all the rest.

Afflicted Thebes saw Pentheus thus despise 175
 His mother's tymbrels and the sacrifice.

The praised Chorus from their sacred sport
 Were now dismiss'd, and all return'd to th'Court:
 Whither the gifts Tydides had convey'd,
 And all before their eyes in order laid. 180

With these they seem their welcome to requite,
 And every one unto her choice invite.

The King consents, too innocent to find
 The Greeks, and what Ulysses had design'd.

They (by their nature to such choice apply'd) 185

The Thyrus took, or else the Tymbrell tri'd,
 Or Jewels chose. The shining Arms they view,
 And thought them presents for their father too.

But fierce Aeacides, still kept his sight
 Upon the Shield, as if prepar'd to fight. 190

His face with fiery blushes grew inflam'd;
 Then to the warlike spear his eyes were chain'd.

His brows in furrows knit, his staring hairs
 Grew stiffe, and he forgot his Mothers cares,
 With his owne Love: Nothing durst then employ 195

His high-erected thoughts but War and Troy.

Vt leo, materno cum raptus ab vbere mores
 Accepit, pectique iubas, hominemque vereri 185
 Edidicit, nullasque rapi nisi iussus in iras: (860)
 Si semel aduerso radiauit lumine ferrum,
 It iurata fides, domitorque inimicus in illum
 Prima fames, timidoque pudet seruisse magistro.
 Vt vero accessit propius, luxque aemula vultum 190
 Reddidit, & simili tandem se vidit in auro
 Horruit, erubuitque simul. Tunc acer Vlysses
 Admotus lateri summissa voce. quid haeres?
 Scimus ait, tu semiferi Chironis alumnus.
 Tu caeli, pelagique nepos. te Dorica classis, 195
 Te tua suspensis expectat Graecia signis, (870)
 Ipsaque iam dubiis nutant tibi Pergama muris.
 Eia age rumpe moras sine perfida palleat Ida,
 Et iuuet haec audire patrem. pudeatque dolosam
 Sic pro te timuisse Thetin. iam pectus amictu 200
 Laxabat. cum grande tuba (sic iussus Agirtes)
 Insonuit. fugiunt disiectis vndique donis,
 Implorantque patrem, commotaque praelia credunt.

So from the teat, when a young Lion's brought,
 And against nature an obedience taught,
 Nor is an anger of his own express'd:

But if the shining steel threaten his breast, 200
 His faith then flies; he makes his Lord his prey,
 Scorning a fearfull Master to obey.

But when he nearer came, and in the bright-
 Reflecting shield, saw the contemned sight
 How he was cloth'd, then his fierce looks proclaim 205
 In his inflamed blushes rage and shame.

Then slie Ulysses coming to him, said
 With a low voice, Why are we thus delay'd?
We know where thou wert bred, how thou dost spring
Both from the Ocean's God and Heaven's King. 210

For thee the Grecians doubting-Army calls,
And at thy name Troy shakes her nodding walls.
Let Ida shrink, and please thy Fathers ears,
Who blusheth at thy crafty Mother's fears;

At this, his garments from his breast were cast, 215
Agyrtés straight gave the commanded blast.
 Throwing their gifts away, the Virgins run
 For shelter, and believ'd a War begun.

Illius intactae ceciderunt pectore vestes.
 Iam clypeus, breuiorque manu consumitur hasta, 205
 Mira fides, Ithacumque humeris excedere visus, (880)
 Aetolumque ducem. tantum subita arma, calorque
 Martius, horrenda perfudit luce penates.
 Immanisque gradu, ceu protinus Hectora poscens
 Stat medius trepidante domo. Peleia virgo 210
 Quaeritur. ast alia plangebatur parte reiectos
 Deidamia dolos. cuius cum grandia primum
 Lamenta, & notas accepit pectore voces,
 Haesit, & occulto virtus infracta calore est..
 Dimittit clypeum, regisque ad lumina versus, 215
 Attonitum fati, inopinaque monstra pauentem, (890)
 Sicut erat mediis Lycomedem affatur in armis.
 Me tibi care pater (dubium dimitte timorem)
 Me Thetis alma dedit. te pridem tanta manebat
 Gloria, quaesitum Danais tu mittis Achillem. 220
 Gratior & magno (si fas dixisse) parente,
 Et dulci Chirone mihi. sed corda parumper
 Huc aduerte libens, atque has bonus accipe voces.
 Te Peleus nato socerum, & Thetis hospita iungunt,
 Allegantque suos utroque ꝑ sanguine diuos. 225

His robes untouch'd, fell down at the alarm,
 Snatching the spear and shield upon his arm. 220
 He taller far then Ithacus appears,
 Or Diomedes. Swift dispersing fears,
 Fill the affrighted Court, whilst in his gate
 He seem'd now seeking to be Hector's fate.
 The fair troupe the Peleian Virgin seeks, 225
 At whose discovery Deidamia shrieks.
 Whose well known voice, no sooner fill'd his breast,
 But Love began to plead his interest.
 His shield sunk down, and on the King his eyes
 Fixing, amaz'd at all these prodigies, 230
 He still thus arm'd to Lycomedes said,
'T is I, dear Father, (be not now afraid)
Whom the immortall Thetis bore. To you
This glory to oblige the Greeks is due,
In giving them Achilles. Thou shalt be 235
(If it be just to say) dearer to me
Then Peleus or lov'd Chiron. Yet attend
These words with kindnesse, and attention lend:
Peleus and Thetis adde a child to thee
By either side sprung from a Deity. 240

Vnam virgineo natarum ex agmine poscunt. (900)

Dasne? an nos humiles tibi, degeneresque videmur?

Num remuis? iunge ergo manus, & concipe foedus,

Atque ignosce tuis. tacito nam cognita furto

Deidamia mihi. quis enim his obstare lacertis, 230

Quae potuit nostras possessa euadere flammis?

Me luere ista iube. pono arma, & reddo Pelasgis,

Et maneo. quid triste fremis? quid lumina mutas?

Iam socer es. natum ante pedes proiecit. & addit

Iamque auus. immitis quoties tractabitur ensis, 235

Turba sumus. Tunc & Danaï, per sacra, fidemque (910)

Hospitij, blandusque precum compellat Vlysses.

Ille, & si carae comperta iniuria natae,

Et Thetidis mandata mouent, prodique veretur

Depositum tam grande deae, tamen obuius ire 240

Tot metuit fatis, Argiuaque bella morari.

Fac velit, ipsam illic matrem spreuisset Achilles.

Ne tamen abnueret genero se iungere tali:

Vincitur. Arcanis effert pudibunda tenebris

Deiadamia gradum. veniam nec protinus amens 245

Credit, & opposito genitorem placat Achille. (920)

They do require one of these Virgins here.

Dost thou agree? or else do I appear

Degenerate from them? Our hands then joyn

With free consent, and pardon those are thine,

With thy Deidamia's rape. Who can restrain

245

These limbs attempting to appease their flame?

If thou'lt revenge, to me it's onely due,

See how I wait it thus unarmed too.

Why do thy angry eyes so madly run?

Thou art a Father-in-law. Then throws his son

250

Before his feet, and then again proceeds,

By this a Grand-father. Now rigour needs

More then such troups to punish. Th'Greeks with him

Joyn all their reasons to appease the King.

He with his daughter's injury though press'd,

255

And with the words of Thetis still possess'd,

And loth to break his trust, yet fears to stay

The Grecian War, and Fate's designs delay.

His Mother now, if there, in vain might use

Her power: Nor could he such a son refuse.

260

Thus he was vanquish'd; When yet full of fears

The fair Deidamia, blushing still, appears;

She could not think her Father yet was made

So kind, the crime upon Achilles laid.

Mittitur Aemoniam, magnis qui Pelea facti.

Impleat, & classem, comitesque in praelia poscat.

Nec non & geminas regnator Scyrius alnos

Deducit genero, viresque excusat Achiuis. 250

Tunc epulis consumpta dies, tandemque receptum

Foedus, & intrepidus nox conscia iungit amantes.

Illius ante oculos noua bella, & Xanthus, & Ida,

Argolicaeque rates. atque haec iam cogitat vndas,

Auroramque timet. cara ceruice mariti 255

Fusa noui, lachrymas iam soluit, & occupat artus. (930)

Aspiciamne iterum, meq; hoc in pectore ponam

Aeacide? rursusque tuos dignabere partus?

An tumidus, Teucrosque lares & capta reportans

Pergama, virgineae nolis meminisse latebrae? 260

Quid precer? heu timeamne prius? quidne anxia mandem

Cui vix flere vacat? modo te nox vna deditque,

Inuiditque mihi thalamis haec tempora nostris?

The news of all to Thessaly he convoid, 265
 And to his friends and subjects sends for aid.
 The King for his new Son, two ships prepares,
 And blames his power short for such affairs.
 The day was spent in feasts; the Lovers ty'd
 In Hymen's knot: The gentle night comply'd 270
 Now to their bold embraces. He in dreams
 Fancy's the war, Xanthus and Ida's streams,
 The Grecian ships; whilst unto her a fright
 The thought of waves did give, or morning's light.
 About her Lovers neck her arms she spread, 275
 And mingled with her tears these words she shed.
Shall I e're see thee more, and thus remain?
May we be worth thy visit once again?
Will not Troy's ruine, your swel'd mind forbid
To think where you were like a Virgin hid? 280
Ought I to beg, or onely to have fears?
Should I use words, that scarce have time for tears?
Is this our nuptiall bed's designed right,
To be bestow'd and ravish'd in one night?

Hicne est liber Hymen? ô dulcia furta, dolique,
 O timor. abripitur miserae promissus Achillis, 265
 I, (neque enim tantos ausim reuocare paratus) (940)
 I, cautus, nec vana Thetim timuisse memento.
 I felix, nosterque redi. nimis improba posco.
 Iam te spectabunt lachrymis, planctuque decorae
 Troades, optabuntque tuis dare colla lacertis, 270
 Et patriam pensare toris. aut ipsa placebit
 Tyndaris, incaesta nimium laudata rapina.
 Ast ego vel primae puerilis fabula culpae
 Narrabor famulis, aut dissimulata latebo.
 Quin age duc comitem. cur non ego Martia tecum 275
 Signa feram? tu pensa manu, Bacchaeaque mecum (950)
 Sacra, quod infelix non credet Troia, tulisti.
 Attamen hunc, quem moesta mihi solatia linqvis,
 Hunc saltem sub corde tene, & concede precanti
 Hoc solum, pariat ne quid tibi barbara coniux, 280
 Ne qua det indignos Thetidi captiua nepotes.
 Talia dicentem non ipse immotus Achilles
 Solatur, iuratque fidem. iurataque fletu
 Spondet, & ingentes famulas, captumque reuersus
 Ilion, & Phrygiae promittit munera gazae. 285
 Irrita ventosae rapiebant verba procellae. (960)

Finis libri quarti.

Is this free Hymen? O thou kinder theft! 285
What we have leave to love, must thus be left.
Go, go: I dare not ask thee to remain,
Go then; Yet think not Thetis fear'd in vain.
Go, and return again to me, but mine.
I wish too much. Those charming eyes of thine, 290
Will give such passion to Troy's beauteous Dames,
That they'l forget their Country's for thy flames.
Perhaps on Helena, thou'lt be inflam'd,
Whose beauty by her rape is so much fam'd;
Whilst I shall ne're be mention'd to be thine, 295
Or made the subject of thy youthfull crime.
But yet, why should not I still go with thee,
And bear thine ensigne? Thou hast born with me
The distaff, and the arms of Bacchus too;
Which Troy will hardly credit you did do. 300
Your Image though, the comfort of my breast,
Never forget; nor yet this one request.
Let not a barbarous Love enjoy my place,
And bring to Thetis an unworthy race;
 This said, the shaken Youth comforts her fears, 305
 Swears her his faith, and seals it with his tears:
 And promiseth she should alone enjoy
 The Captives, and the wealth of ruin'd Troy.
 His fruitlesse words thus strove to ease her care,
 And his vain promise lost it self in air. 310

PAPINII SVRCVLI
STATII
ACHILEIDOS
LIBER QVINTVS.

ARGVMENTVM.

Nauigat ad Troiam Quinto fatalis Achilles
Dardaniae: memoratque Ithacus primordia belli.
Ille sed Oeniden vitae morumq; docebat
Cruda rudimenta, dederat quae semiuir acer,
Et Laertiaden, fluctus sulcante carina.

Exuit implicitum tenebris humentibus orbem
 Oceano prolata dies, genitorque coruscae
 Lucis adhuc hebetem vicina nocte leuabat
 A nondum excusso rorantem lampada ponto.
 Et iam punicea nodatum pectora palla,
 Insignemque ipsis, quae prima inuaserat armis
 Aeaciden (quippe aura vocat, cognataque suadent
 Aequora) prospectant cuncti, iuuenemque, ducemque
 Nil ausi meminisse, pauent. sic omnia visu
 Mutatus rediit. ceu nunquam Scyria passus
 Littora, Peliaco raptus descendat ab antro.

(Book II
begins.)

5

10

The Fifth BOOK.

The Argument.

For fatall Troy Aeacides now goes:
And as they sail, he from Ulysses knows
The Wars originall; Which having known,
Desir'd, he payes the story with his own.

Night's shadowes now began to flye away,
 When from the waves, the Ruler of the day
 Began to spread the promises of light,
 Yet injur'd by the struggling shades of night.
 When now Aeacides, (his soft robes scorn'd) 5
 Appears in his first courted arms adorn'd.
 For now the winds invited. Now no more
 Durst they remember how he liv'd before,
 So chang'd, as if he were not now the same
 That liv'd in Scyros, but from Pelion came. 10
 8 before,] before.

Tunc ex more deis (ita namque monebat Vlysses)
 Aequareis, austrisque litat. fluctuque sub ipso
 Coeruleum Regem tauro veneratur, auumque
 Nerea, vittata genitrix placata iuuenca est. 15
 Hic spumante salo iaciens tumida exta profatur.
 Paruimus genitrix, quanquam haud toleranda iubebas,
 Paruimus nimium, bella ad Troiana, ratesque
 Argolicas quaesitus eo. sic orsus, & alno
 Insiluit, penitusque noto stridente propinquis 20
 Abripitur terris, & iam ardua crescere nubes
 Incipit, & Scyros longe decrescere ponto.
 Turre procul summa, lachrymis comitata sororum,
 Confessumque tenens, & habentem nomina Pyrrhum
 Pendebat coniux. oculisque in carbasa fixis 25
 Ibat, & ipsa fretū, & puppem iā sola videbat.
 Ille quōque obliquos dilecta ad moenia vultus
 Declinat, viduamque domum, gemitusque relictæ
 Cogitat. occultus sub corde renascitur ardor,
 Datque locum virtus. sensit Laertius heros 30
 Moerentem, & placidis aggressus flēctere dictis:

Then, as they us'd, Ulysses did advise

To offer to the Ocean Deities.

To Neptune on the flames a bull was laid,

To Thetis an adorned heifer paid.

Achilles having then the entrails flung 15

Into the briny waves, he thus begun.

I have obey'd thee, Mother, though't was such

A hard command: I have obey'd too much.

Now with the Greeks, I go fam'd Troy to find,

This said, into a ship he leapt. The wind 20

Drove them from shore: the clouds still thicker grew,

And Scyros lessen'd to their hindred view.

The whilst Deidamia on a Tower appears,

Accompany'd with her sad Sisters tears,

Holding young Pyrrhus. Still the waves she view'd, 25

And that which bore him with fond eyes pursu'd.

He too his looks sends to th'affected walls

And widow'd house; then with a sigh recalls

What he had left: His fire burns again,

And his great thoughts give way unto his flame. 30

Ulysses guess'd his passion by his grief,

And sought by this diversion his relief;

13 a bull] (translation); A Bull. (annotations)

15-16 having then the entrails flung/ Into the briny waves,]

(translation); Having then the entralls flung Into the briny waves
(annotations)

Tene (inquit) magnae vastator debite Troiae,
 Quem Danaum classes, quem diuum oracula poscunt,
 Erectumque manet reserato in limine bellum,
 Callida foemineo genitrix velauit amictu? 35
 Commisitque vllis tam grandia furta latebris?
 Sperauitque fidem? nimis ô suspensa, nimisque
 Mater, an haec virtus tacita torperet in vmbra?
 Quae vix audito litui clangore refugit
 Et Thetin, & comites, & quos suppresserat ignes. 40
 Nec nostrum est quod in arma venis, sequerisque precantes.
 Venisses vltro. quem talibus occupat Heros
 Aeacides longum est resides exponere causas,
 Maternumque nefas. hoc excusabitur ense
 Scyros, & indecores fatorum crimina cultus. 45
 Tu potius dum lene fretum, Zephyrisque fruuntur
 Carbasa, quae Danais tanti primordia belli,
 Ede, libet iustas hinc sumere protinus iras.

Wert thou, (to whom the fate of Troy is due,
Whom Oracles and Grecians call for too
And war within the open threshold stay'd) 35
Dress'd by thy crafty Mother like a maid?
Could she herself to all be so unjust,
To act such theft, and yet expect a trust?
Her fears were much too great in all she did,
Should so much virtue in a shade be hid. 40
Which at the Trumpet's summons, freed thy breast
From thought of friends, and thy lov'd flames suppress'd?
Nor is this glory to our selves assign'd,
To bring thee now: It was above design'd.
 Aeacides reply'd, Too long't would be 45
To tell my Mothers crimes. This sword for me
And my disguise shall at a handsome rate,
Plead an excuse, though't were the guilt of Fate.
You rather, whilst soft Zephyrus conspires
With the smooth Ocean calm'd to our desires, 50
Relate, why Greece thus for revenge prepares,
That my resent may be as just as theirs.

35 war within the open threshold stay'd] (translation);
War within the open threshold stai'd. (annotations) 46 me]
 me,

Hic Ithacus paulum repetito longius orsu,
 Fertur in Hectorea (si talia credimus) ora 50
 Electus formae certamina soluere pastor
 Sollicitas tenuisse deas, nec torua Mineruae
 Ora, nec aetherei sociam Rectoris amico
 Lumine, sed solam nimium vidisse Dionen.
 Atque adeo lis ista tuis exorta sub antris 55
 Concilio superum, dum Pelea dulce maritat
 Pelion, & nostris iam tunc promitteris armis.
 Ira quatit victas. petit exitialia iudex
 Praemia. raptori faciles monstrantur Amyclae.
 Ille Phryges lucos, matris penetralia caedit 60
 Turrigerae, vetitasque solò procumbere pinus
 Praecipitat, terrasque freto delatus Achaeas
 Hospitis Atridae (pudei heu, miseretque potentis
 Europae) spoliat thalamos; Helenaque superbus
 Nauigat, & captos ad Pergama deuehit Argos. 65

Slie Ithacus repli'd, If that we may
Give credit to the tales of Fame, they say;
Once on th'Hectorean shore, three goodly fair 55
Dissenting Goddesses had equall care
For their disputed beauties: And all three
Agree'd the Trojan Swain, their Judge should be.
Sowre Pallas pleas'd not his deciding eyes,
Nor the immortall Mistresse of the skies: 60
Onely fair Venus looks his mind inclin'd,
This strife arose when first the Gods design'd
Peleus for Thetis, and their happy seed,
Thy glorious self, was for our aid decreed.
The vanquish'd Goddesses hid passion fires: 65
The Judge his fatall recompense requires;
Straight sees in Sparta his admired Love;
Then fells the holy shades, and Cybele's grove
Falls on the earth, and the forbidden Pine,
Though sacred, must assist his foul designe. 70
His ships, now built, do through the Ocean passe
To the Achaian shore. His crime, alas!
The injury on potent Europe leaves,
Which first the stained marriage-bed receives
Of Menelaus, when he his ravish't joy, 75
Helen, with captive Argos bears to Troy.

55 th'Hectorean shore,] (translation); Hectorean shore.
 (annotations) 56 care] care. 62 This strife arose]
 (translation); So rose the strife, &c. (annotations)

Inde dato passim varias rumore per vrbes,
 Vndique inexciti sibi quisque, & sponte coimus
 Vltiores. quis enim inlicitis genialia rumpi
 Pacta dolis, facilique trahi connubia raptu,
 Ceu pecus, armentumque, aut viles messis aceruos 70
 Perferat? haec etiam fortes iactura moueret.
 Non tulit insidias diuum imperiosus Agenor,
 Mugitusque sacros, & magno numine vectam
 Quaesiit Europen, aspernatusque Tonantem est
 Vt generum. Raptam & Scythico de littore prolem 75
 Non tulit Aeetes, ferroque & classe secutus
 Semideos reges, & ituram in sydera puppim.
 Nos Phryga semiuirum, portus, & littora circum
 Argolica incaesta volitantem puppe feremus?
 Vsque adeo nusquam arma & equi, fretaque inuia Grais? 80
 Quid si nunc aliquis patriis rapturus ab oris
 Deidamian eat, patriaque a sede reuellat
 Attonitam, & magni clamantem nomen Achillis?
 Illisu ad capulum rediit manus, & simul ingens
 Impulit ora rubor. Tacuit contentus Vlysses. 85

The news through every City Rumour flung,
And to their arms the willing Grecians throng.
For who can bear at so unjust a rate,
Stains on a marriage-bed, with such deceit? 80
Plunder of grain, or cattell, cause affords
To men of valour, to employ their swords.
Agenor brook'd not such a rape, when Jove
Had through the waves born his affected Love;
But sought Europa, when the fact was done, 85
Scorning the God of Thunder for his son.
Aetes so follow'd his child's escape:
Though Semi-gods were guilty of the rape,
Yet he pursu'd the ravishers with War,
And that fam'd ship, in Heaven now a Star. 90
Shall we endure these Phrygians, but half-men
Seeking upon our shores their plunders then?
Are we grown bankrupt and unarmed thus?
Or will the waves be lesser friends to us?
What now, if from the Scyrian shores should flie 95
Unto thine ears, thy lov'd Deidamia's cry,
Ravish'd by some, and calling on thy name?
 With that unto his sword his fingers came,
 And's face with angry blushes grew enflam'd,
Ulysses then in silence pleas'd remain'd. 100

83 when Jove] (translation); When Iove, &c. (annotations)
 87 escape:] escape, 88 rape,] rape; See explanatory note.

Excipit Oenides, quin o dignissima caeli
 Progenies, ritusque tuos, elementaque primae
 Indolis, & valida mox accedente iuuenta,
 Quae solitus laudum tibi semina pandere Chiron,
 Virtutisque aditus, quas membra augere per artes, 90
 Quas animum, sociis, multumque fauentibus ede.
 Sit pretium longas penitus quaesisse per vndas
 Scyron, & his armis primum intendisse lacertos.
 Quem pigeat sua facta loqui? tunc ille modeste
 Inchoat, ambiguus paulum, propiorque coacto. 95
 Dicor, & in teneris, & adhuc crescentibus annis,
 Thessalus vt rigido senior me monte recepit
 Non vllos ex more cibos habuisse, nec almis
 Vberibus satiasset famem, sed spissa leonum
 Viscera, semianimesque lupae traxisse medullas. 100
 Haec mihi prima Ceres, haec laeti munera Bacchi.
 Sic dabat ille pater. mox ire per auia secum
 Lustra, gradu maiore trahens, visisque docebat
 Arridere feris. nec fracta ruentibus vndis
 Saxa, nec ad vastae trepidare silentia syluae. 105

Then Diomede succeeding him begun,

Thou worthy Issue from a Godhead sprung,

Tell thy admiring friends, from thy first age,

What practice did thy youthfull thoughts engage;

The wayes to virtue taught by Chiron too, 105

And how thy limbs and mind enlarged grew.

Let this requite our seeking Scyros shores,

Through tedious waves, and plying of the Oars:

You need not be asham'd to tell your deeds.

At this he blushing, as compell'd, proceeds; 110

When Chiron first receiv'd me to his cave,

The food which to my tender years he gave,

I've heard was much unus'd. For from the breast

My hunger with soft milk was ne're suppress'd,

But with firm flesh of Lions; and I suck'd 115

The marrow from wild Beasts yet-dying pluck'd.

This was my first chear: Chiron bred me so,

Till Time with larger strides taught me to go.

He led me then to th'Woods, without amaze,

Teaching mine eyes upon wild beasts to gaze, 120

And not to fear the noise which billows made

On Rocks, nor th'horrid silence of a shade.

Iam tunc hasta manu, iam tunc ceruice pharetrae,
 Et ferri properatus amor, durataque multo
 Sole, geluque cutis. tenero nec fluxa cubili
 Membra, sed ingenti saxum commune magistro.
 Vix mihi bisenos annorum torserat orbis 110
 Vita rudis volucres cum iam praeuertere ceruos,
 Et Lapithas cogeabat equo. praemissaque cursu
 Tela sequi. saepe ipse gradu me praepete Chiron,
 Dum velox aetas campis admissus agebat
 Omnibus, exhaustumque vago per gramina passu 115
 Laudabat gaudens, meque in sua colla leuabat.
 Saepe etiam primo fluuij torpore iubebat
 Ire super, glaciemque leui non frangere planta
 Hoc puerile decus. quid nunc tibi praelia dicam
 Sylvarum? & vacuos saeue iam murmure saltus? 120
 Nunquam ille imbelles Ossaea per auia Lynces
 Sectari, aut timidos passus me cuspide Damas
 Sternere, sed tristes tutbare cubilibus Vrsas.
 Fulmineosque Sues, & sicubi maxima Tigris.
 Aut subducta iugis foetae spelunca Leaenae. 125
 Ipse sedens vasto facta expectabat ab antro,
 Si sparsus magno remearum sanguine, nec me
 Ante nisi inspectis admisit ad oscula telis.

I now a quiver got, and with a spear
To arm my youthfull hand was all my care.
As unconcern'd, I suffer'd the extrems, 125
Of binding cold and Sol's reflecting beams.
My tired limbs, a soft bed never press'd:
I with my Master on a stone took rest.
When now almost to twice six years I came,
He taught me to pursue the swiftest game, 130
And the fierce Lapithae; and when I threw
My darts, to overtake them. Sometimes too,
Chiron would follow me through fields and plains,
Till age deni'd; and tired with my pains,
Would lay me on his neck. He made me bold 135
To passe the frozen Rivers bound with cold.
These were my youthfull sports. Why should I need
To tell my warres, i'th'woods from roars now freed?
He taught me, not to hunt those beasts whose fear
Urg'd their swift flight, the Lynx, and fallow Deer; 140
But force the Bear to her affrighting roars,
The cruell Tigres, and the foming Boars,
Or from the mountains fetch the Lions young;
Whilst in his cave he look'd to see me come
Bloody; Nor took me in his arms before 145
He saw my spear colour'd with blushing gore.

130 game,] game. 142 Boars,] Boars.

Iamque & ad ensiferos vicina pube tumultus
 Aptabar, nec me vlla feri Mauortis imago 130
 Praeteriit. didici quo Paeones arma rotatu.
 Quo Macetae sua gesa citent, quo turbine caestum
 Sauromates, falcemque Getes, arcumque Gelonus
 Tenderet, & flexae balearicus actor habenae
 Quo suspensa trahens libraret vulnera tractu, 135
 Inclusum quoties distringeret aëra gyro.
 Vix memorem cunctos (& si modo gessimus actus)
 Nunc docet ingenti saltu me iungere fossas,
 Nunc caput aerij scandentem prendere montis
 Quo fugitur per plana gradu, simulachraque pugnae 140
 Excipere immissos curuato vmbone molares,
 Ardentesque intrare casas, peditemque volantes
 Sistere quadriiugos. memini, rapidissimus ibat
 Imbribus assiduis pastus, niuibusque solutis
 Sperchios, vulsasque trabes, & saxa ferebat 145
 Cum me ille immissum, qua soeuior impetus vndae,
 Stare iubet contra, tumidosque repellere fluctus.
 Quos vix ipse gradu toties obstante tulisset.

150 The Macedonian pile:] (translation); The Macedonian Pile.
 (annotations) 151 Sauromatians] (translation); Sauromatians,
 (annotations) 153 Gelonians] (translation); Gelonians,
 (annotations) 154 Balearian slingers] (translation);
Balearian Slingers. (annotations)

And now my Age, and Chiron, did designe
My arms for nobler Wars. All discipline
Of Mars I us'd. I practic'd how to throw
The Macedonian pile: I learnt to know 150
The use, as Sauromatians do, of spears;
Or Getans, of their crooked semitars:
And how the fam'd Gelonians use the bow,
And how the Balearian slingers throw
With so unerring aims the circling slings, 155
Which wound as sure and oft as motion flings.
I scarce remember all. I learn'd the art
To leap vast dikes, whose banks were far apart;
And the high tops of airy hills to gain,
To get me breath and swiftnesse for the plain. 160
Then, the true image of a fight to yield,
He made me take huge milstones on my shield;
To enter burning hovells, and with force
And speed, to stay swift Horses in their course.
Once I remember, how dissolved snow, 165
And constant showres had swell'd Sperchios so,
That with its furious stream it drove a throng
Of torn-up Trees, and rowling stones along:
Then where the waves, the horrid'st force express'd,
He bad me to oppose my youthfull breast, 170
And stop the swelling billows as they run;
Which he with all his feet could scarce have done.

154 throw] There might be a comma or even a semicolon after this word.

Stabam equidem, nec me referebat concitus amnis,
 Et latae caligo viae. ferus ille minari 150
 Desuper incumbens, verbisque vrgere pudorem.
 Nec nisi iussus abij. sic me sublimis agebat
 Gloria, nec duri tanto sub teste labores.
 Iam procul Oebalios in nubila condere discos
 Et liquidam nudare Palen, & spargere caestus 155
 Ludus erat, requiesque mihi. nec maior in istis
 Sudor, Apollineo quàm fila sonantia plectro
 Cum quaterem, priscosque virum mirarer honores.
 Quin etiam succos, atque auxiliantia morbis
 Gramina, quo nimius staret medicamine sanguis, 160
 Quid faciat somnos, quid hiantia vulnera claudat,
 Quae ferro cohibenda lues, quae caederet herbis
 Edocuit, monitusque sacrae sub pectore fixit
 Iustitiae, qua Peliacis dare iura verenda
 Gentibus, atque suos solitus placare bifformes. 165
 Hactenus annorum comites elementa meorum
 Et memini, & meminisse iuuat. scit caetera Mater.
Aura silet, puppis currens ad littora venit.

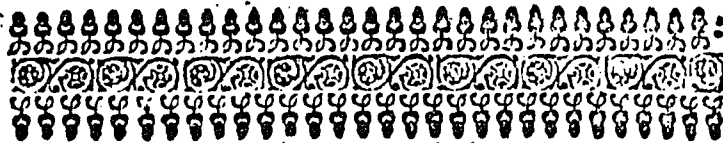
Finis libri Quinti Achilleidos Statij.

Nor could th'impetuous stream a conquest gain,
Whilst Chiron threatned, urging still my shame.
Thus glory I attain'd by his command, 175
Who still a witsesse of my toils did stand.
To fight with arm'd fists, and th'Oebalian stone
To throw and wrestle with oil'd limbs, alone
Were sports, nor seem'd more toils then when
I took my harp, and sung of famous men. 180
He taught me too, which herbs for health were good,
And which would stop effusion of much blood,
Which would close wounds, and which procure kind rest,
How gangrain'd parts to sever from the rest,
What ulcers herbs would cure. He also taught 185
Still to make Justice guide of every thought.
Thus the Thessalians he made happy still,
And thus he wrought his Centaurs to his will.
Y'ave heard, my friends, those acts that did employ
My early years: These I recount with joy. 190
The rest my Mother knows. Thus he gave o're
His tale, and came unto the Trojan shore.

177 To fight with arm'd fists,] (translation); To fight with
armed fists. (annotations) 177 th'Oebalian stone] (transla-
tion); Oebalian quoits. (annotations) 182 blood,] blood.
184 rest,] rest.

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Book I.



ANNOTATIONS

On the first Book of

STATIUS' *his* ACHILLEIS.

A

N issue fear'd by heaven's thundring King.] When Jove sought the marriage of *Thetis*, he was told by *Proteus*, that the issue that came from *Thetis* should exceed the father who begot it: At which, mistrusting his own Omnipotency, he left his Love to keep Heaven.

The Fable is thus rendred by the incomparable *Sandys*, *Metamorph. 11.*

For aged *Proteus* thus foretold the truth,
To wave-wey *Thetis*, thou shalt bear a Youth,
Greater then him from whom he took his birth
In Arms and Fame. Lest any thing on earth
Should be more great than Jove, Jove buns the bed
Of Sea-thron'd *Thetis*, though her beauty led
His strong desire: Who bids *Achilles*
Succeed his Love, and wed the Queen of Seas.

6. *Seyros*.] An Island of the *Ægean Sea*, one of the *Cyclades*, over against *Peloponnesus*, (as *Strabo*, l. 10. relateth) having a Town of the same name; famous most, in being the place where *Achilles* lived disguised. See *Servius* and *Sabinus* on *Virgil's Æn.* 2.

7. Not of dragg'd *Hektor*, &c.] *Statius* here proposeth his designe, to sing the acts of *Achilles* onely from his infancy, which *Homer* had omitted, justly presenting the death of *Hektor* for all his Victories: whose fate was *Troy's* ruine. *Senec. Troad. v.* 185.

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*Aut cum superbo viator in curru stetit,
Egitque habenas, Hectorem & Trojam trahens.*

Or when the Conqueror did his Horses guide,
And Troy which *Hector* at his Chariot ty'd.

For *Achilles* having killed him, tied him to his Chariot, and dragged him thrice round the walls of *Troy*, as *Homer*, *Iliad* 22. Which unwelcome sight *Aeneas* saw painted at *Carthage*, *Virg.* *Æn.* 2. 487.

*Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros,
Examinumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.
Tum vero ingentem gemitum dat peiore ab imo,
Ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici,
Tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermes.*

About *Troy's* walls *Hector's* dead body thrice
Achilles dragg'd, and sold it for a price.
Then from the bottom of his breast he drew
A grief-expressing sigh, his friend to view,
His Spoils and Chariot, and how *Priam* stands
Begging with his erected aged hands.

12. With sacred fillets bound.] These were Ornaments for the Priests heads; in Latin, *Vittæ*. Hence *Juvenal Sat.* 4. of the Vestall Virgin, *Vittata Sacerdos*. And *Virgil* thus presenteth *Anius*, *Æn.* 3. 80.

*Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phœbique Sacerdos,
Vittis & sacra redimitus tempora lauro.*

Anius a King and Priest, his Temples bound
With sacred Fillets, and with Lawrel crown'd,

The Title of Priest was antiently conferr'd on Kings, as *Cassiodorus*, on *Suetonius in Augustus*, delivereth from *Aristotle*, *Polit.* 3. and *Synestus*, *Epist.* 121. by reason that the Government of all Commonwealths consisted in Ecclesiasticall Ceremonies, and Politicall Laws; the care of both which belonged to Kings. Hence *Augustus* was created chief Priest, that all kinds of power might be in him. And as *Servius* observeth (on *Æn.* 3. 80.) the style of *Pontifex Max.*

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Annotations on Book I.

was still assumed by the succeeding Emperors; as may also be seen in the Inscriptions of the *Cæsars* at the end of *Suetonius*, set forth by *Schildius* 1651. Poets called themselves *Phœbus Priests*; so *Tibullus* and *Propertius* frequently. Hereupon *Statius* here dresseth himself with Priestly Ornaments.

13. *Witnesse those Theban fields, &c.*] Our Poet here intimareth his Poem of the Theban-War: So that hence, and by the ensuing Complement to *Domitius*, it is clear, that this was *Statius* his second Work, and his *Silva* the last. To his *Thebans*, with confidence enough, he here promiseth as lasting a fame, as *Thebes* could give *Amphion* the son of *Jupiter* and *Antiope*, who having (as *Plinie* saith, l. 7. c. 56.) found out the use of the Harp, handled it so harmoniously, that he made Stones come of their own accord to raise the Walls of *Thebes*. *Senec. Theb. act. 4.*

— nulla quas struxit manus,
Sed convocatus vocis & citharæ sono
Per se ipse turres venit in summas lapid.

Rais'd by no labouring workman's hands, but brings
With his harmonious voice and charming strings
The willing stones together, which compose
Themselves, and into lofty Towers rose.

Some joyne his brother *Zethus* with him in the businesse. So *Palæphatus*, who reducing the Fable to a seeming truth, saith, The two Brothers admitted their Auditors to their Musick, on condition, that every one should afford his assistance to the Building. A far truer Mythologic is glanced at by *Horace, De arte Poet. v. 391.*

*Silvestres homines sacer interpretæque Deorum
Cadibus & visu sædo deterruit Orpheus,
Dissus ob hoc lenire Tigres rabidosque Leones.
Dissus & Amphion Thebana conditor arcis
Saxa movere sono testudinæ, & prece blandâ
Ducere quò vellet.*

Orpheus inspir'd from gods, first rude men brought
From loving blood and slaughters; hence was thought
Fierce Lions and wild Tigers to have tam'd.
And so *Amphion* with his Harp was fam'd
To raise the Theban walls, and at his choice
To move deaf stones with his admired voice.

So perhaps the Fable arose, from his reducing a savage people to
live

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live under a form of Government; and for their safety (than which, no argument can be more prevalent) perswading them to compass in their City with a Wall. And herein, in my opinion, he was much more judicious than *Lycurgus* and *Agefilaw*, who believed the breasts of valiant Citizens defence enough. And so also thinketh *Plato*, l. 6. *De leg.* For these reasons, *Orpheus* was said to have made wild beasts gentle, and *Amphion* to have moved stones, that is, men of savage lives, and obdurate natures. *Macrobius* in *Sonn. Scip.* l. 2. c. 3. keepeth closer to the Fable; for setting forth the excellencies of Musick, he saith, That from it, the Univerſall Soul of the world took its originall; and that by it therefore all men, not onely the civill, but the barbarous also, are either animated to vertue, or dissolved into pleasure; *quia anima in corpus desert memoriam Musica, cuius in celo fuit conscia*; Because the soul, though in the body, still retaineth a memory of that harmony which it enjoyed in heaven. And hence he conceiveth the Fables of *Orpheus* and *Amphion* had their Originall. See *Clement Alexandr. Admonit. ad Gentes*, p. 2. *Amphion's* excellency proved his ruine: For contemning *Latona*, by her revenge he saw all his children slain, and at the last added himself to the number. *Sandys Ovid's Metam.* l. 6.

*For sad Amphion wounding his own breast,
Had now his sorrow with his soul releast.*

13. *Trojan Swain*] This title is usually given to *Paris*, by reason he was brought up among the shepherds. The story is thus, *Hecuba* being great with *Paris*, dreamed, she should bring forth a flame that should consume *Troy*, *Cic.* l. 1. *de divinat.* Whereupon *Priam* consulted the Oracle; and being told, his Queen should bear a son, who should be the incendiary of his Country, he gave order the child should be destroyed. But *Hecuba* desirous to preserve her infant, conveyed him to mount *Ida* to be bred up among the shepherds. Where at length, being grown up, he pretended love to *Oenone*, and made every Tree witness of his Amours; as the Nymph is made to complain by *Ovid* in her Epistle to *Paris*.

*Incisa servant à te mea nomina fagi;
Et legor OENONE falce notata tui.
Et quantum trunci, tantum mea nomina crescunt:
Crescite, & in titulos surgite ritè meos.
Populus est (memini) fluviali consista ripa,
Est in qua nostrè litera scripta memor
Popule, vive, precor, quæ consista margine ripa
Hoc in rugoso cortice carmen habet.*

N 4

CUM

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CUM PARIS OENONE POTERIT SPIRARE RELICTA,
AD FONTEM XANTHI VERSA RECURRET AQUA.

Xanthe, veire prospera, versaque recurrit Lympha :
Sustinet Oenonen deseruisse Paris.

My name's preserv'd on every wounded Tree :
Their bark *OENONE* bears engrav'd by thee.
Whilst they encrease, my names enlarged grow ;
To bear those titles may they still do so:
A Poplar grows, where crysfall billows glide,
And shews those Letters carved on its side.
Long may it live unprojudic'd by years,
Whose rugged rind this false Inscription bears,
If Paris leave Oenone, yet not die,
Xanthus shall backward to his fountain flie.
Haste back, ye charged Streams, for *Paris* flies
His lov'd *Oenone* oncc, and yet not dies.

His casting off this Nymph was occasioned by the three goddesses repairing to him, about determining their controversy, as *Oenone* in the following Verses complaineth. Each goddess endeavoured to bribe the Judge, *Juno*, by promising him Empire; *Pallas*, Wisdom; *Venus*, Pleasure. This last was pronounced the fairest, and went away with the golden Apple: And in requicall, she directeth her Umpire to receive his promised reward in the fair *Helen*: Whom having seen he loved, and ravished from *Sparta*, where he had been kindly entertained. *Coluthus* and others say, He had her consent; but *Seneca*, *Troad. v. 917.* bringeth her on the Stage excusing her self, by pleading Enforcement: And *Gorgias*, in his defence of *Helen*, saith, *Venus* commanded her to suffer the Trojan to enjoy her. Others say, that *Paris* being sent to demand *Hesione*, the daughter of *Laomedon*, whom *Hercules* had carried from *Troy*, had order given him, That, in case the Greeks refused to deliver her, he should ravish from them whatsoever considerable Lady he could light on. So *Dares Phrygius*, who reporteth also, That *Antenor* was first sent to fetch home *Hesione*, but returned without her; and that all the Grecian Princes deny'd to make any satisfaction. Yet that *Hector's* advice was not to revenge the Rape, by warring against their potent Confederates. And that afterwards *Paris* having received that encouragement from *Venus*, undertook the Voyage; and, by chance, arrived at the Island *Cythera*, at a time when *Helen* was there, in a Town bearing her name: Who had no sooner heard of the Trojan Prince's

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Prince's arrivall, but she had a desire to see him: And so they being both enamoured of one another, *Paris* took her that night after his arrivall, out of *Venus* Temple, and brought her with him to *Troy*. And thus he proved that Fire-brand his mother dreamed of, kindling a flame that burnt *Troy* to ashes.

24. *Laconian*.] The Poets word is *Oebalis*, from *Oebalus* a King of *Laconia*, a region of *Peloponnesus*, bordering on *Messenia*, *Argia*, and *Arcadia*, *Strabo* lib. 8. *Pausanias*, in *Arcadicia*, saith, it is divided from part of *Arcadia*, by the River *Alpheus*. In this Country, stood *Lacedamon*, on the West side of *Eurotas*, beneath the Mountain *Taygetus*: *Strabo*, l. 8. *Polybius*, lib. 5. But the proper name of the City was *Sparta*; *Lacedamon* being more commonly used for the Province, so called from a King of that name, who sometimes reigned there, and married *Sparta* the daughter of *Eurotas*, whose name the City received. To the *Lacedemonians*, *Jonathan* High Priest of the Jews wrote a Letter; saying, It was found in writing, that the *Lacedemonians* and the Jews were brethren, and that they were of the Stock of *Abraham*, 1 *Macc.* 12. 21. *Joseph*, *Antiq.* l. 13. c. 8.

27. *Upon those Streams, &c.*] i. e. the *Hellespont*, which is not past eight furlongs over, as *Pliny* testifieth; About thirty miles below *Gallipoli*, it is not above half a mile over, as *Sir Henry Blunt* in his Travels relateth. This Strait parteth *Europe* from *Asia*: On *Europe's* side, standeth *Sessus*; on *Asia's*, *Abydos*, Towns famous by the Loves of *Hero* and *Leander*, sung by that sweet Poet, whom *Virgil* giveth the preminence to, in the *Elysian* fields, *Aen.* 6. *Leander* perished in these Streams, yet having his wishes Crowned; as *Marciall* representeth him in this Epigram.

*Cum peteret dulces audax Leandrus amores,
Et fessus tumidis jam premeretur aquis:
Sic miser instantes affatus dicitur undas,
Percite dum propero, mergite dum redco.*

When bold *Leander* through the billows sought,
Love's joyes, his arms now almost over-wrought
With waves, he cried, Now spare me gentle Main,
And let me sink as I return again.

But his *Hero* survived but a while; For the next morning, seeing his dead body floating on the Waves, from the top of her Tower, she threw her self into them. Nor lesse memorable is this narrow Sea, for the bridges of Boats, that *Xerxes* made over it: The former of which

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which being broken by a sudden tempest, the vain King scourged the disobedient waves, and cut off the heads of the Workmen; and then caused another to be made with stronger ties, *Herodot. Polymnia*. The same Author reporteth of *Xerxes*, that taking a view of his Land forces, that filled the shores and the plains, and of his Navy, that covered the Hellespont; He sadly wept to think, that within an hundred years, not a man of all that multitude should be living. So many they were, that *Juvenal* scoffingly said, *Sat. 10*

—*Credimus altos*

*Defecisse amnes, epotâque flumina Medo
Prudente, & madidis cantat quæ Soffratus alis.
Iste tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
In Corum atque Eurum solitus seuire flagellis
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos?
Sed qualis rediit? nempe unâ nave cruentis
Pluſtibus, ac tardâ per densa cadavera prorâ.*

We have believ'd deep Rivers could not find,
Liquor for *Xerxes* army, while they din'd;
Things sung by *Soffratus*, well drench'd with wine,
Yet he that so return'd from Salamine,
Once scourg'd the winds, because they rudely blew:
Which in th' Æolian caves they never knew.
But how was his return? In one small boat,
Which could but slowly for dead bodies float.

So *Justine*, lib. 2. *Erat res spectaculo digna, & æstimatione fortis humana, rerum varietate, miranda; in exiguo latentiem videre navigio quem paulò antè vix aquor omne capiebat.* Thus the Hellespont hath the greatest part of its fame, from the misfortunes of two kind Lovers, and one proud Prince; It received its name from *Helle*, daughter of *Atamas*, King of *Thebes*, who fearing the treacheries of her Mother in Law, fled with *Phryxus* her Brother, and with him was here drowned. *Lucian*, *Dialogo Neptuni & Nereidum*, saith, she fell into the water by reason of a *Vertigo* that took her on the sudden: And *Hesiod*, troubled with such another, saith, she was married to *Neptune*, of whom he begat *Paon*.

37. *What Proteus told*] This was a Sea-God, famous for his prophecy, and for the power he had to change his shape at his pleasure; *Ovid Metamorph.* l. 2. v. 9. and lib. 8. v. 737. *Virgil, Georg.* 4.

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398. *Hygin. fab. 118.* He fore-told *Thetis*, that her Son should be killed in the Trojan War : Which prophecy gave the argument to the ensuing story. This *Proteus* was King of *Ægypt*, *Serv. in Æneid. 11.* and, perhaps, got this name of transforming himselfe by his using, still to alter his temper and disposition, suitably to his affairs and occasions ; From the like ground, sprung the fame of *Hercules* labours, achieved with unimitable strength and valour. *Proteus* was also called *Hercules*, as *Servius* affirmeth on that of *Virgil, Æn. 11. 262.*

*Atrides Protei Menelaus ad usque columnas,
Exulat.*

Those Columnes having been wholly attributed to *Hercules*, are there set for the bounds of *Ægypt*.

40. *Ionian*] Over the *Ionian* Sea, many auxiliaries came to assist the Greeks against *Troy*. This Sea took its name from *Ion* son of *Dyrrhachius*, whom *Hercules* having by mischance slain, that he might make him some amends by perpetuating his memory, threw him into this Sea ; Others alledge different reasons, but none worth setting down : Formerly, as *Pausanias* saith, it was accounted part of the *Adriatick*. But *Ptolomy*, in his description of *Macedon*, attributeth that part of the *Adriatick*, which washeth *Macedonia* on the East, to the *Ionian*. But *Pliny, lib. 3. c. 6.* more rightly divideth these two Seas, by the *Ceraunian*, or (as *Horace, lib. 1. Carm. Od. 3. v. 20.* calleth them) *Acroceraunian* mountains : From which the *Ionian* Sea reacheth to the promontory of *Malea*.

[*Ægean billows*] A Sea between *Asia* and *Greece*, full of Islands called *Cyclades* and *Sporades* ; of an uncertain Etymology, as the *Ionian*. Most say, it had its name from *Ægeus*, the father of *Theseus* : Who going to fight the *Minotaur*, was charged, if he got the victory, to give notice thereof at his return by a white sail ; But he forgetting so to do, his Father, from his Tower seeing the ship coming without the token of success, gave his Son for lost, and for grief cast himselfe into the Sea. But some derive the name from *Æge*, a Queen of the *Amazons* ; *Strabo*, from *Æga*, a Sea-Town in *Eubœa*, *Servius in Æn. 3.* calleth that the *Ægean*, which is between the *Hellepont* and the *Adriatick* ; others, that between the *Hellepont*, and *Tenedus*. It is now named the *Archipelago*.

41. All the sworn Greeks, which the *Atrides* got] i. e. *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, called *Atrides*, from *Atræus*, their supposed father. But they were indeed the sons of *Philisthenes*, and onely bred by *Atræus* their

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their Uncle; These two Brethren, to revenge the injury done by Paris, having assembled the whole strength of Greece at Aulis, bound them all by an Oath, to see Troy ruined, or never to return, *Serv. in Æn. 4.* as will also appear in the third book of this Poem. *Thucydides, lib. 1.* glanceth at the reason of the unanimous consent of the Greeks, to punish the rape of Helen, viz. an Oath by which *Tynsarus* had obliged all that came Suitors to his daughter, that they should revenge whatsoever wrong should be done to him that should enjoy her; But he rather believeth, that *Agamemnon* being heir to the houses of *Percus* and *Pelops*, and (as *Homer* styleth him) King of many Islands, was the chief cause of the Expedition. The account of the ships in this Fleet, is various in severall Authors; *D'His Crestensis* maketh them, 1138. *Dares*, 1140. *Homer*, 1193. our Author here, with a Poeticall carelesnesse, reckoneth them but 1000. So *Seneca*, in *Agamemnon*, and *Virgil, Æn. 2.*

*Talibus infidiis, perjuriq; arte Sinonis,
Credita res: captique dolis lacrimisque coactis,
Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissæus Achilles,
Non anni domûre decem, non mille carina.*

Thus they themselves, made captives by belief
Of *Sinon's* perjurd fraud and feigned grief.
Not *Dioned*, nor *Æscides* prevails,
Nor ten years War, nor yet their thousand sails.

Thucydides saith, the number of the Souldiers was not great: But by an indifferent judgement on his own words, the 1200 ships, as he numbrecth them, carried 102000 men; a number in my opinion, not to be made so slight of. Some, as *Dion Chrysostomus*, have made a question, whether there ever was such a War; although it hath employed the pens of *Homer*, *Dares Phrygius*, *Dyctis Crestensis*, *Lycophon* with his Scholiast, and *Josephus Iscanius*, and hath been believed by so many Authors in succeeding ages. That a siege should continue ten whole years, seemed ridiculous to some; but *Thucydides, lib. 1. initio*, giveth a reason for it: Others have conceiv'd, and our late Travellers have also observed, that a potent King could not reign in so inconsiderable a place. Neither do the ruines give testimony of an ample and famous City; And though there never were such a War, yet is it not to be wondred at, that so many have reported it, and that more have believed it: since the report of false-hoods, especially, when favoured by an ancient penne, gaineth

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gaineth belief, either because it cannot be disproved, or because the crediting of it saveth pains. Besides, things are seldom examined or disputed, where interest is not concerned.

44. On Pelion bred, in Chiron's den] Pelion is a mountain of Thessaly, in the Territory of Magnesia, joyning to the mountain Ossa: Herodot. lib. 7. In mount Pelion, was the Cave of Chiron; who (as the rest of the Centaurs) was like an Horse behind, but forward like a Man: S. Isidore, lib. 4. holdeth that he was so represented, quia medicinam jumentorum quidam Chiron Græcus invenit, because he found out medicines for beasts. And he was named Chiron, ἀπὸ τοῦ χειρῶν, because he was a Chirurgion; Suidas saith, he was the son of Ixion, and the Cloud, as the others Centaurs also were: whom Virgil, Æn. 6. placeth in Stables in hell. But he is generally said, to have been the son of Saturn, and Philyra: So Pindar, Pyth. od. 4. And Virgil, lib. 3. Georg. v. 550.

Phillyrides Chiron.

according to the custom of the Greeks, who were wont to give the Parent's names to the children; Servius, on the place affirmeth the same: This Chiron, the justest of all the Centaurs, as Statius representeth him, was Master not onely to Achilles, but to Hercules also, Jason, Æsculapius, Castor, and others, (Apollon. Argonaut. lib. 3.) Herimippus styleth him, ἡ δὲ δαίμωνος ἢ Centaurum sapientem, in Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 1. He first taught men to love justice, shewing the sacred Rites of the gods, the figures and natures of the heavenly bodies; His reputation was so great, that some of the Achæians sacrificed to him, as Eusebius writeth, lib. 4. Prepar. Evang. citing Monimus, ἢ τὸ τῶν δαίμωνος ἢ οὐρανίου. A poisoned arrow of Hercules, by chance wounding Chiron's foot, he desired death, but could not obtain it, being the issue of immortal parents; At last, Jupiter advanced him to be a signe in Heaven, called Sagittarius.

Armasque arca Chiron.

Virgil, de XII Signis. So Seneca, Thyest. act. 4: Lucian, in his Dialogue between Menippus and Chiron, maketh Chiron give another reason, Why he was out of Love with immortality here; Because this life wanteth variety, and is nothing but the repetition, and doing again and again, of the same things: And he promised himselfe in the other World, to be free from Thirst and Hunger, and whatsoever begetteth care. And though Lucian maketh Menippus advise the Centaure, not to feed himselfe with hopes of that ne-

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ture; yet we may have a better opinion of his wishes, having more knowledge of the joys of the next life, and enough of this to be of *Plutarch's* mind, *Consolat. ad Apollonium*.

Terra malis scatet, adversis pelagusque redundat.

O Mors, veni nostris certus medicus malis,

Qui portus humanis es tempestatibus.

Æschylus, ibid.

The Earth hath no such plenty as her woes,
The Ocean too with misery o'ersflows.
Come, Death, thou cure of all this misery,
The Port where all from storms securely lie.

62. *The Tritons swim.*] These by the Poets are commonly called *Neptune's Trumpeters*, and were the issue of him and *Salacia*, *Servius* in *Æneid. 1.* That excellent Trumpeter *Misenus* oweth his death to the malice of a Triton, *Æn. 6. v. 170.*

Sed tum fortè cava dum personat aquora concha

Demens, & tantu vocat in certamina Divos,

Æmulus exceptum Triton (si credere dignum est)

Inter saxa virum spumosa immerferat unda.

But on a Rock whilst he by chance the charms
Of *Mars* rung out, and all the gods alarms
With the loud challenge from his wreathed shell,
(If it be worth belief what others tell)
Whirl'd by an envious Triton from that height,
Among the rocks and waves he found his fate.

So *Virgil, Æn. 10. v. 209.* *Ovid, Metam. l. 1. v. 333.* and *Claudian, de Nuptiis Honorii & Mariae*, give Triton the character of *Neptune's Trumpeter*, *Seneca Troad. all. 2. Triton cecinit hymenæum*; that is, with his shell or trumpet; for none ascribe human voice to a Triton. *Plinie, lib. 9. c. 5.* saith, The Emperor *Tiberius* was told, That a Triton was seen in a cave winding a shell. *Gillius, in Additionib. ad Ælian,* and *Alexander ab Alex. lib. 3. cap. 8.* relate, That there was a Fountain near the Sea-shore, frequently used by the Inhabitants, whence women and virgins fetched water daily; which a Triton, that lay hid on the shore, espying, on a sudden ravished

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one of them, which his hot fancy had most liking to: And that afterwards, he being caught in a snare and imprisoned, died for grief. The same Author reporteth, that one *Trapezuntius*, to whom he affordeth a fair character, told some friends, That he had seen a Maid of an exceeding beauty playing in the Sea, and ever and anon from the middle upward appearing above the water, till at length perceiving she was discovered, she plunged her self into the Deep. *Claudius* the Emperor, by a device, made a *Triton* appear in the middle of a Lake, rising out of the water, and sounding a Trumper, *Sueton.* in *Claudio*, c. 21. Which spectacle was afterward commonly shewed in the Theaters, as *Casaubon* on that place relateth.

73. By the bold *Jason*.] *Statius* here glanceth at the story of *Jason's* ravishing *Medea* with the golden Fleece, comparing that act of his with this of *Paris*. *Jason* was the first who violated the Sea's reserved rights, as *Seneca Medea*, act. 3. chor. ult. It was the opinion formerly, that Seas were set as bounds, to confine every man within his own Country, and that no man's ambition should aim at more than the higher powers had placed him in. This among others *Seneca Hippol.* act. 2. maketh an argument of the innocency of the Ancients.

Nondum secabant credula pontum rates:
Sua quisque ntrat maria.

No ventrous ship, trusted the waves or wind:
But all men werewith their own Seas confin'd.

76. By the rash Judge of *Ida*.] *Paris*, whose judgment is accus'd of rashness, because he preferred Pleasure before Wisdom or Empire; and because his fond choice was his Countrie's ruine, *Morat. lib. 3. Carm. Od. 3.*

Ilion, Ilion
Fatalis incestusque iudex
Et mulier peregrina vertis
In pulverem.

Troy by a fatal Judge's lust,
And a strange Woman, turn'd to dust.

So *Seneca, Troad. act. 1.* calleth him, *The fatal Judge*. Wherefore our Poet justly giveth him here the title of a rash one. For any thing

thing that is farall; is hardly to be freed from the imputation of Rashnesse.

79. *A Poster-child.*] *Venus*: who was bred of the Ocean, as *Hesiod* in *Theog.* and *Pausanias* in *Corinthiacis*, relate. By *Seneca*, *Hippol. all.* 1. she is called *Divus generata ponto*. This was the greatest reason that *Leander*, encouraged himself withall, to swim over the *Hellepont*. *Musæus vers.* 248.

ἦ δὲ ποῖον ἀλαλίχης
 Ἀγνώσκει δὲ κ' ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ ἢ ἐκ θαλάσσης,
 καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰο, καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰο, καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰο, καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰο.

why dost thou fear the waves?
 Know'st thou not *Venus* from the *Sea* first came,
 Mistressse both of the *Ocean* and my flame?

Servius in *Æn.* 5. writeth, that *Venus* was therefore said to be born of the *Sea*, *quia dicunt. Physici sudorem salum esse, quem semper elicit coitus*. Hence the *Myrtle* was consecrated to *Venus*, because that Tree prospereth best on the *Sea-shore*. Like this is that of *Cælius Rhodiginus*, *lib.* 14. c. 4. *Lascivos Græci ὑγρὸς vocant i. e. humidos, &c.* because *Venereall* appetites proceed from moisture. Hence Poets took occasion to feign, that *Venus* sprung from the *Ocean*. *Caspar Bartholinus Adversar.* l. 21. c. 22. giveth this Mythologic, *Eam Fabulam aliquando arbitratus sum exinde venire, quod Venus prima quasi facienda causa corpus prostituit, velut insatiabile pelagus omnes ad se trahens.* I was sometimes of opinion, saith he, that the *Fable* arose from hence, because *Venus* was the first who prostituted her body for hire, like an insatiable *Sea* travelling all to her. More of *Venus* is to be seen in *Cyraldus*, *Histor. Deor. Syntagm.* 13. *Turnebus* 9. *Adversar.* c. 2. *Natalis Comes*, *Mytholog lib.* 4. c. 13. *Fulgentius*, *Mythol.* l. 2. But above all, I prefer the Interpretation of the *Fable* which *Macrobbius* giveth, *Saturnal. lib.* 1. c. 8. That by the secret parts of *Cælus*, which were cut off by his son *Saturn*, and thrown into the *Sea*, and of the froth wherof *Venus* was engendred, were meant the seeds of things falling from *Heaven*, as soon as there was such a thing as *Time*; which *Saturn* is always held to signify. And by *Cælus* nothing can be understood but *COELUM*, *Heaven*; *Servius* in *Æn.* 5. denying, that the proper name of any god can be of the Neuter Gender. *Cicero lib.* 3. *De nat. Deor.* telleth us of four *Venus*'s; one the daughter of *Cælus* and *Light*; another of the Froth of the *Sea*, of whom, and *Mercurie*, *Cupid* was begotten; a third of *Jupiter* and

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and *Dione* the wife of *Vulcan*; the fourth of *Syrus* and *Syria*. This last was married to *Adonis*, and her the Syrians named *Acapru*, the Hebrews *Astharoth*, 1 King. 11. 5. Judg. 2. 13. And as *Tully* reckoneth many *Venus's*, so, as *Mr. Selden* saith, *De Diis Syris syn- tagm.* 2. c. 2. *St. Augustine* interpreteth *τῆς Ἀσάρτας*, as it there were many *Atharot*. This goddess had many sacrifices offered to her, *Alexand. ab Alexandro*, l. 3. c. 12. and from thence had her name, *Astharoth* signifying *greges: Suspiceris* (saith *Scaliger* in *Con- jectaneis*) *diſſam eam à Viſimaram multitudine*. She was entituled also, *The goddess of Love*, or rather of *Lasciviousness*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* telleth us, that once all her pictures were made after the likeness of *Phryne*, a famous Whore, and that the man who, like another *Pygmalion*, could embrace the statue of the goddess, conceived himself religious, *Admon. ad Gentes*: where he also setteth down her lascivious Ceremonies. *Mr. Gregoriè* writing of the Assyrian Monarchie, relateth, that there was a custom, that every woman should once in her life repair to the Temple of *Venus*, and there prostitute her body to any one that would throw her down a piece of money, which was to be given to the Temple, and to the honor of the goddess: The manner was for the women to sit down in the Temple, distinguished by little lines or cords, which he that had a mind might take away, or break, if the woman seemed coy, and so take the strumpet out of the Temple into a by-corner. This is expressed in the Epistle ascribed to *Jeremie*, at the end of *Baruch*, v. 43. *The woman also with cords about them sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as her self, nor her cord broken*. Such attendants this goddess had as we read, 2 King. 23. 7. *And he broke down the houses of the Sodomites that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the Grove*. This place *Mr. Selden* interpreteth thus, *Diruit quoque domos scortatorum — ubi mulieres texebant cortinas pro Ase- rah, seu luco*. Of which, see his *De Diis Syris*, *Synt.* 2. c. 2. § 4. pag. 237. & 283. Thus far I have digressed, to shew the antiquity of this lascivious goddess; which was not the production onely of fictitious brains. Nor is it to be wondred at, that a thing so loathsome and ridiculous should meet with adoration; for the whole Religion of the Gentiles is so contrived, as to agree with licentious appetites. Which easie way to propagate a novelty, *Mahomet* well understood; nor is it now wholly unpractised.

88. *By his afflied tomb to grieve*] *Thetic* here expresseth a passion, so great for her Son, that if his fate, as fore-told, should be to pe-

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against *Ulysses*. His quarrell with him, was upon the account of his son *Polyphemus*, whose eye *Ulysses* had bored out: Which story is thus related by *Achamenides*, to *Aeneas*, *Æn.* 3.

— *Domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,*
Intus opaca, ingens. Ipse arduus, altaque pulsat
Sidera (Dii talem terris avertite pestem!)
Nec visu facilis, nec dilu affabilis ulli;
Visceribus miserorum & sanguine vescitur atro,
Vidi egomet, duo de numero cum corpora nostro,
Prænsa manu magna, medio resupinus in antro
Frangeret ad saxum, sanieque adpersa natarent
Limina: vidi, atro cum membra fluentia tabo
Mandres, & trepidi tremere sub dentibus artus.
Haud impune quidem: nec talia passus Ulysses,
Oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tantis.
Nam simul expletus dapibus, vinoque sepultus,
Cervicem inflexam posuit, jacuitque per antrum
Immensum, saniem erullans & frustra cruento
Per somnum commixta mero; nos magna precati
Numina, sortisque vices, una undique circum
Fundimur, & celo lumen tenebramus acuto
Ingens, quod torva solum sub fronte latebat.

— Slaughters and bloody feast,
 With shades the vastness fill'd. He high and tall
 The starres assaults. (The gods such plagues from all
 Avert!) His voice and visage stern: his food,
 Bowels of slaughtered wretches and black blood.
 As in his den he lay along, I saw
 Two of our men, grasp'd by his cursed paw,
 And dash'd against the rock: the blood all ore,
 With purple drops drenched the sprinkled floor,
 Limbs flowing with black gore I saw him eat,
 And in his teeth the trembling sinews beat.
 Nor unreveng'd their fates *Ulysses* bears,
 But mindfull of himself in all appears.
 For now ore-charg'd with wine and bloody feasts,
 His head bent down, as in his Cave he rests,
 Wine mix'd with clotty gore returning flows,
 Which belch'd up from his grave-like breast he throws.

Bur'd

Fig 4 . . . Annotations 012 Book I.

rish in the Trojan War, she would leave the Ocean, and ever mourn in those waves, that should wash the place of his Sepulchre: And that was the Sigean promontory. There Alexander the Great performed ceremonies in his memory, declaring him happy, who in his life enjoyed such a friend as Patroclus, and after death, doth still live by Homer: *Plutarch, in Alexandro. Cicero Epist. ad fam. l. 5. ep. 12.*

107. *Caphareus.*] Neptune being forced by the crosse decrees of the Fates to deny *Thetis* petitioning for a storm against the Greeks, to appease her somewhat, telleth her, that the Trojans should be ruined by the valour of her son, and herselfe be revenged on the Greeks at *Caphareus*, who should there suffer ship-wracks. Whereof the Tragedian thus.

————— *Hanc arcem occupat
Palamedis ille genitor, & clarum manu
Lumen nefanda vertice & summo effrens,
In saxa ducit perfida classem face.
Hærent acutis rupibus fixa rates.*

Upon whose summit *Nauplius* stood; and rais'd
In his revenging hand a Light that blaz'd.
Whose treacherous flame the navy guides betwixt
The wracking Rocks, whose points the vessels fix't.
Seneca Agamem. act. 3. v. 557.

Nauplius's grudge against the Greeks, arose from this occasion; *Ulysses* having charged *Palamedes*, for holding correspondence with *Priam*, and writing letters to him, discovered, as a proof of his Treachery, an heap of Gold in his Tent, which he before hand had closely conveyed thither. Whereupon, innocent *Palamedes* was stoned to death, *Serv. in Æn. 2. Diſſys Cretensis*, and *Dares Phrygius*, give other accounts of him: *Dares*, that he was killed by *Parus*, *lib. de excidio Trojano*; *Diſſys*, that *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*, over-whelmed him with stones in a well, whither he, suspecting no foul play, went down to fetch up Treasure, which they told him was hid there, and he should have his share of it, *lib. 2.* *Caphareus* is an high Hill in *Eubæa*, over-looking the *Hellepont*: On the top of this, *Nauplius* caused fires to be made by night, to allure the weather-beaten Greeks to fall upon the Rocks, that so he might revenge his son's death upon them.

108. *Joyn-revenge.*] Neptune promiseth *Thetis* to joyn with her against

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Buri'd in sleep: We all the gods implore,
Spreading ourselves round on the bloody floor,
And with a sharp spear fix'd eternall night
Upon his brow, rob'd of its onely light.

Servius, on this place, saith, That *Polyphemus* was some wise man, and therefore feigned to have his eye in his forehead, that is, near the brain, which *Ulysses*, being wiser than he, put out. But by the Cyclopes generally are understood the Vapors of the Sea or Earth: and hence, perhaps, *Polyphemus*, the chief of them, was said to be the son of *Nephele*, by whom was meant, according to *Chrysippus*, the spirit that moved the waters. *Cic. lib. 1. de Nat. Deor.* And *Ulysses* was therefore feigned to overcome *Polypheme*, because he found out these naturall causes.

111. *Thessalie.*] A Region of Greece, girt about with Mountains, *Olympus*, *Ossa*, and *Pelion*, on the North; *Othrys* and *Oeta* Southward; and *Pindus* on the West. Its bounds are exactly set down by *Herodotus*, *lib. 7.* It was anciently called *Pyrhae*, from *Pyrha* the wife of *Dencalion*, *Strabo lib. 10.* Afterward *Aemonis*, from *Aemon*; from whose son *Thesalus*, at last it was called *Thessalie*.

115. *Sperchios*] A River in *Thessalie*, issuing from Mount *Pelion*, and falling into the *Malian Bay*, ten furlongs from *Thermopyla*, *Strab. lib. 9.*

129. *Disturb the geniall crue*] Our Poet glanceeth at the fray between the Centaurs and the *Lapithae*, which hapned at the marriage of *Pirithous*, so excellently described by *Ovid*, and after him by the enjoyer of his *Genius*, *Mr. Seneca. Genius* (from which *Genial* is derived) *est nascendi atque natura deus, a gignendo dicitur.* Hence the four Elements, whereof all inferior bodies are generated, were called *Dii geniales*; and the Nuptiall-bed, *Lectus genialis.* See *Turnebus Adversar. l. 16. c. 19. & l. 16. c. 14.* *Genii* were accounted the moderators and disposers of the Planets, and their Influences, at mens Nativities. *Horace lib. 2. epist. 2.*

Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum.

Those Demons also whom the Heathen attribute so much the dependance of our resolutions unto, were called *Genii*, as begetting the thoughts of men, and working on them. And perhaps the frequency of these Spirits and opinions, before our Saviour's time, was the occasion of that more absurd conceit, set down by *Scottus* in his *Menippus*, That the shadows which our bodies cast in the

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the Sun-shine will be witness against us in the other world. With reference to these *Genii* must that of the Poet, *Æn. 6. v. 643.* be interpreted,

Quisque suos patimur manes.

i. e. Every one in the next life must receive either punishment for the crimes he committed, by hearkning to his worse *Genii*, or rewards for the good he wrought, by the assistance of his better. For two *Genii*, they say, one good, (the other bad,) attend every man from his birth. This the Heathen were taught by their gods; the Devil herein, as in many other things; playing the Ape, and imitating the true God; who indeed *giveth his Angels charge over us*, (see Clemens Alexandrinus, *lib. 5. Strom.*) that we be not overcome by the power of evil Spirits. For we wrestle not, saith the Apostle, *Ephes. 6. 12. against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darknesse of this world, against spirituall wickednesse;* *ἡ τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῦ*; here translated, *in high places*; which is not at all assisting, if not prejudiciall to the meaning of the verse. *Beza* rendereth it, *Quæ sunt in sublimi*, something nearer, But I see not why the words should not be rendered, *in the lower Heaven*, that is, the Aire, the habitation of these Demons, as *Mr. Mede*, on *2 Per. 2. 4.* and *Jude 6.* doth prove. And it is observed, that for the Heaven of Heavens, or supernaturall Heaven, the word *οὐρανός* is always used. In relation to this sense, *Origen* useth the Verse in his writings against *Celsus*. Moreover, judicious *Calvin* on the place, intimateth as much, where the Interpretation he useth, is, *In æthereis*. *Diode* also understandeth, *The region of the aire, in which evil spirits, driven out of heaven, do wander.* And by *Principalities* he understandeth *evil Angels*; excellently adding, that *in the quality of their nature, and in the power which God suffereth them to have over the world, they have also something common with the holy Angels, in the eminency of Titles.* Yet he there retracteth this Interpretation, in my opinion for a worse.

153. with *Magick art.*] *Thetis*, desirous to conceal from *Chiron* the purpose she had, to disguise his Schollar in woman's apparell, whom he by rigid principles had fitted for the hardest employments, beareth him in hand, that ominous dreame moved her to attempt the prevention of his fate by *Magick Art*. Such a deceit passionate *Dido* beguiled her sister withall, pretending to seek onely a remedy for her love, when indeed her plot was to couzen her self of life.

Ergo ubi concepit furim, eviſa dolore,
 Degrevitque mori, tempus ſecum ipſa modumque.
 Exigit, & maſſam diſis aggreſſa ſororem,
 Conſilium vultu tegit, ac ſpem fronte ſerenas.
 Inveni, germana, viam (gratave ſorori)
 Qua mihi reddat eum, vel eo me ſolvat, amantem.
 Oceani ſinem juxta ſolemque cadentem,
 Ultimus Æthiopum locus eſt, ubi maximus Atlas
 Axem humero torquet ſtellis ardentibus aptum.
 Hinc mihi Maſſyla gentis monſtrata ſacerdos,
 Hesperidum templi cuſtos, epulaſque Draconi
 Que dabat, & ſacros ſervabat in arbore ramos,
 Spargens humida mella ſaporiſerumque papaver.
 Hac ſe carminibus promittit ſolvere mentes
 Quos velit, aſt aliis duras immittere curas:
 Siſtere aquam fluviis, & vertere ſidera retro:
 Noſturnoſque ciet manes, Mugire videbis
 Sub pedibus terram, & deſcendere montibus arnos.
 Virg. Æn. 4.

Vanquiſh'd with grief, and now reſolv'd to die,
 The means and time to act the Tragedy
 She plots: And, with feign'd joy to hide her crime,
 Thus to her ſiſter ſaith, Joy that the time
 Is come, that I ſhall now procure my reſt,
 And gain his love, or freedom to my breſt.
 Near to the Ocean's bounds, where Phæbus flies
 To end his courſe, burnt Æthiopia lies:
 Where on his loaden ſhoulders Atlas bears
 Heaven, which fill'd with glittering Stars appears.
 Hence a Maſſylian came, the Temple's Prieſt
 Of the Hesperides, who there did feaſt
 The watchfull Dragon, and preſerved too
 The Tree on which the ſacred branches grew,
 With Honey and mix'd Poppy, which conveys
 A drouſe dulneſſe: By her charms, ſhe ſays,
 She can diſſolve a paſſion, and procure
 A ſcornfull breſt another to endure,
 Stop in its ſpeed the ſwiſteſt ſtream, and all
 The Stars turn backward from their courſe, and call
 Ghoſts from the howling earth; and from the high
 Tops of the Hills make ſtubborn Trees to ſie.

That

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These Witches had such a faculty as Dido here speaketh of, to quench or kindle love at their pleasure, former times believed.

*Carminē Thesaliū dura in praeordia fluxit
Non satis adductus amor: flammisque severi
Illisitis arserē senes.*

Thesalian charms, without assisting fate,
Can passion give to hearts stil us'd to hate.
Severe old men are fetter'd with Love's chains,
And their chill breasts burn with unlawfull flames.
Lucan lib. 6. vers. 452.

And a little after,

*Quos non concordia missi
Abigat ulla tori, blandaeque potentia formae,
Traherunt torti Magicā vertigine filii.*

Those who ne're car'd to try
Love's joys, whom Hymen's knots could never tye;
Whom charming beauty never yett compell'd,
A slender thread, by Magick ty'd, hath held.

Their power also in other things the same noble Poet thus describeth.

*Cessavere vices rerum: dilataque longā
Hæst nocte dies: legi non paruit æther:
Torpuit & præcepti audito carmine mundus.
Axibus & rapidis impulsis Jupiter ægens
Miratur non ire polos. Nunc omnia complent
Imbribus, & calido producant nubila Phoebus:
Et tonat ignaro cælum Jove. Vocibus iisdem
Humentes latè nebulas, nimbosque solutis
Excussere comis, ventis cessantibus æquos
Intumuit: rursuin vitium sentire procellas
Conticuit, turbante Notos: puppimque ferentes
In ventum tumuere sinus. De rupe pependit
Abscissâ fixus torrens: amnisque cucurrit
Non quæ pronus erat. Nilum non extulit æstus.*

The course of things was stopp'd: nor Heaven obey'd
Its Laws the Day in Night's black Arms delay'd.

The tort'ring world these potent charms benum,
 And while the rapid Poles forget to run,
 Jove stands amaz'd. A storm obeys, and shrouds,
 Phoebus adorn'd with all his rays, in clouds,
 Jove ignorant the Thunder hears. The same
 Dire voice, with loose dishevell'd hair again
 Shattereth the dropping clouds: Seas swell with waves,
 The winds all hush'd; again, though Notus raves,
 The Seas becalmed lie. Ships make their way
 Against the wind, and rushing torrents stay
 Thrown from a precipice. Screams backward run:
 Nor Aste'rc flows the plains scorcht by the Sun.

These places I have produced, to shew what an opinion the ancient Heathen had of Witches. I will only add, that I find that the Tyrians had a custom, to tie the Images of their gods with bands, lest they should be called from them by the charms of their enemies, *Alexand. ab Alex l 4. c 12.* And so subject were those gods to the power of charms, that they were thereby compelled to come, nor could return back without license obtained; *Euseb. de prepar. Evang. l. 5. c. 8, & 9.* From this opinion arose that question in *Lucan, lib. 6. v. 492.*

*Quis labor hic superis cantus herbasque sequendi,
 Spermendique timor? cujus commercia patris
 Obi villos tenuere Deos? parere necesse est,
 An juvat? ignota tantum pietate merentur?*

What is it makes the fearfull gods forbear
 To scorn both herbs and charms? whence comes this fear?
 Doth strong necessity, or their own designe,
 Or piety unknown, them thus incline?

I shall say more of this subject haply hereafter, when a more proper place shall afford opportunity. But thus much at present, to shew, that *Chiron* had reason to believe *Theitis*, when she told him, that she would make use of Magick for her son's preservation.

[166. *The envious gods.*] Our Poet is here thought to have no further aims, than to set forth the praises of his *Achilles*, as if he deserved the envy of the gods. But I have observed *Statius* to be a great imitator of *Virgil*, who was still wont to omit no occasion of interweaving his Learning with his Poetry: wherein *Macrobius* strongly

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strongly justifieth him. Since these words therefore will afford it, I hold it not amiss to interpret them to the more learned sense.

There was a generall Tradition among the Heathen; That the gods envied any perfection or happinesse in Mankind. This proceeded from the Devill's policy, who from the beginning of the world endeavoured to represent God envious unto Man, in that he denied him the knowledge of good and evil; as Junius and Diodate observe on Gen. 3. Learned Mericke asaubon, in his Cause of temporall Evills, saith, that Aristotle sets down this opinion, That God is envious; but protesteth against it, *ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν, ἰσὺς ἴσος*, It is not possible it should be so; yet saith, That if it were so indeed, that the nature of God could be envious, that Envy must needs consist in his denying of men the happinesse of certain knowledge and contemplation. That impious Philosopher Porphyrie, directly chargeth God with envy, for forbidding the Tree of Knowledge: Who is answered by Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat. 38.* Such impious men perhaps take offence at Gen. 3. 21, 23. I forbear to produce further Testimonies, to prove, there was such an opinion among the Heathen, I do not think them needfull; since it is certain, the Devill would let slip no occasion of raising prejudice against God, and charging him with his own crime. Through envy of the Devill came death into the world, *Wild. 2. 24.* It was the Devil's envy that made Man lose Paradise, and not God, who placed him in it. Another reason why the gods were conceived to envy men, was, Because all their prosperity and happinesse, is at length requited with crosses and calamity. Examples of such change are frequent in all times: Among all, scarce is there any more notable then that of the once Great Pompey, flying alone after his overthrow in *Pharsalia*, *Lucan. lib. 1. v. 28.*

— Sed longi penas Fortuna favoris
 Exigit à misero, qua tanto pondere fama
 Res premit adversas, fatisque prioribus urget.
 Nunc festinatos nimium sibi sensit honores,
 Atque laurifera damnat Syllana juventa.
 Nunc & Coryciae classes & Pontica signa,
 Dejectum, meminisse piget. Sic longius ævum
 Destruit ingentes animos, & vita superstes
 Imperio. Nisi summa dies cum fine bonorum
 Affuit, & celeri prævortit tristia leto,
 Dedeçori est fortuna prior. Quisquidne secundis
 Tradere se satis audeat, nisi morte paratâ?

But

But Fortune with her favour still beguiles,
 And with sad woes pursues her former smiles.
 His fame most presteth his declining state,
 And former glories add unto the weight,
 Too hasty now his early fame he found, (crown'd,
 And blames those wreaths with which his Youth was
 Of Pontick or Corycian Victories
 Now when he thinks, his flaming blushes rise.
 Thus greatest minds consuming Age destroys,
 And Life survives our Empires and our Joys.
 Unless life with those joys together flow,
 And a swift fate prevent ensuing woe,
 To Fortune Shame succeeds. In the best state
 Let none confide, unlesse prepar'd for Fate.

Another instance of the mutability of Fortune, was that great
 Soldier, *Hannibal*; whose prophetic spirit was sensible of this,
 at most fatal necessity: as we may see in that incomparable speech,
 which *Livy* maketh him speak to *Scipio*; advising not to trust the
 gods and Fortune too farre: telling him, that what *Scipio* was then,
 himself had been, after the battels at *Trasimene* and *Canna*; and that
 Fortune had never yet deceived him. Thus he spake to move his ene-
 my to accept peace, conceiving no argument of more force, then
 the consideration of the vicissitude of human affairs. And his
 words, though then slighted, *scipio* himselfe afterwards found true,
 and had sad experience, both of the inconstancy of Fortune, and
 of the ingratitude of his Country. To these, I might adde the ex-
 amples of *Marius*, *Cesar*, and infinite others, out of the stories of
 former times, with more prodigious ones of our own age; *Habet*
his vices conditio mortalium, saith *Pliny* in his excellent *Panegyrick*,
ut adversa ex secundis, ex adversis secunda nascantur. Occultat utro-
rumque semina Deus; et pterunque bonorum malorumque cause sub diver-
sa specie latent: "The condition of mortalls, hath these changes,
 " that adversity should spring out of prosperity, and prosperity out
 " of adversity. The seeds of both, God concealeth; and for the
 " most part, the causes of good and evil, things lie hid under a
 " different species. *Herodotus* relateth, how *Amasis* King of *Aegypt*,
 counselled his friend *Polyrates*, King of *Samos*, That he should inter-
 rupt the course of his felicity, by casting quite away something that he held
 most dear, and the losse wherof would most afflict him. *Plutarch*,
De consol. ad Apollonium, telleth us, that *Theramenes*, one of the thirty
 Tyrants.

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Tyrants at Athens, being at Supper with many friends, the house where they were, suddenly fell down, and he onely escaped. Many upon this, gave him the name of Happy: But he crying out, asked, For what sadder death Fortune had reserved him? And indeed, the Torments he endured before his end, added him to the number of those examples, which serve to admonish prosperous persons, of the uncertainty of their Estate, *Seneca, Troad. act. 2.*

*Violenta nemo imperia continit diu:
Moderata durant. Quoque fortuna altius
Evexit ac levavit humanas operes,
Hoc se magis suppressere felicem decet,
Variisque casus tremere, metuentem Deos
Nimum faventes.*

None violent Empires long enjoy secure:
They 're moderate conditions that endure.
When Fortune raiseth to the greatest height,
The happy man should most suppress his state,
Expecting still a change of things to find,
And fearing when the gods appear too kind.

It is an excellent Character, that *Macrobius* giveth of Fortitude, *Tolerare fortiter vel adversa vel prospera*, To bear with courage, either adverse or prosperous Fortune, in *Sonn. Scipionis*, l. 1. c. 8. And perhaps, it may aime at our sense, In the best condition, without distemper, to expect the worst. This dreading *invidiam Numinis*, was the cause, why that mighty Emperour *Augustus*, used once a year, *Cavam manum asses porrigentibus prabere*, as *Suetonius* in his Life relateth, c. 91. To beg with his open, or hollow, hand; the most opprobrious way of begging. On which place, see learned *Casaubon*, giving reasons from the generally received opinion, thus elegantly expressed by *Erasmus*, in his *Philodoxus*, *Sape mecum admirari soleo seu Fortune seu Naturæ invidentiam, quæ nihil omnino commodi largitur mortalibus quod non aliquo temperet incommodo, i. e.* I have often wondered with my self at the envy, either of Fortune or Nature, who never dispense things convenient to mankind, which are not tempered with some inconvenience. For this *Philip* of *Macedon*, kept a Youth, whose office was, every Morning thrice to salute him thus, *Φίλιππε, ἀδελφῶν ἐγὼ εἰ, Philip, thou art a man, Elian. var. hist. l. 8. c. 15.* I will end all with a passage of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Biblioth. hist. lib. 3.* Thus rendered by *Merick, Casaubon*, in his Cause of evils,

vils. Nevertheless, God (ὀυραν) hath not afforded unto men any entire happinesse, without some blemish or envy; but to these his blessings he hath annexed somewhat that is hurtfull, which might serve to admonish them, who through continuance of worldly blessings, are wont to grow into a contempt of the Gods. Whether our Poet had an eye to this opinion, I cannot say; Certainly, his words seem to look that way, and so my discourse is excused from impertinency.

195. *Pholoe*] A woody mountain of *Arcadia*, having a Town of its own name, *Plin. l. 4. c. 6.*

207. *So tired Castor.*] *Statius* here compareth *Achilles* to *Castor*, whose beauty he maketh as bright as his own starre. He and *Pollux* were the sons of *Tyndarus* and *Leda*: And their amity was so great, that they never differed either in matter of Power or Counsell. For which *Hyginus* saith, *Jove* translated them into Stars; *Servius* in *Aeneid. 6.* saith, that *Helen* and *Pollux* were begotten by *Jupiter*, in the shape of a Swan, and from him, drew immortality; but that *Castor* was the son of *Tyndarus*, and so mortall: but by the extream kindnesse of his brother, and the concession of *Jupiter*, mortality and immortality was equally divided betwixt them, *Virgil, Æn. 6.*

Sic fratrem Pollux a'terna morte redemit.

The fable arose from the Stars, one whereof ever riseth at the setting of the other, as if the fate and fall of one redeemed his fellow; That these brethren were ever watchfull for the Roman Common-wealth, *Valerius Maximus* proveth by many examples, *lib. 1. c. 8.* Also *Plutarch* in the Life of *Paulus Æmylius* relateth their meeting of *L. Domitius*, and how they gave him in charge to make known to the Senate and people of *Rome*, that they were victorious; which as yet they were uncertain of: And then, (as *Suetonius*, in the beginning of *Nero's* life writeth, though *Plutarch* mentioneth it not) to evidence their Divinity, they changed his hair from Black to Red. And thence came the name of *Ænobarbus*, which continued to one of the greatest families in *Rome*.

216. *—Sings the acts of Heroes*] *Maturantius* saith, it was a custom among the Greeks, to sing the actions of famous persons; to the end, that others might be inflamed to a generous imitation of them. So *Scipio* was excited to great achievements, by gazing on Statues, erected to the memory of renowned men. Musick was ever much honoured: *Epaminondas*, among other things was famous for it. *Jacobus Crucius*, in *lib. Annot.* relateth out of *Polybius*, that the *Arcadians* generally instructed their youths in Musick, and saith, It

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was a custom among the Grecians, to sing the praises of their Genii, Heroes, and Gods. So Alexander ab Alexandro, l. 4. c. 17. saith, They were wont to sing the praises of their gods, while the sacrifice was in eating. And lib. 2. c. 25. having reckoned up many famous men that were excellent Musicians, he addeth that among the Greeks, Musici, Vates, and Sapientes were in equall estimation; And that, after Supper, the Harp was wont to be played on; Which when Themistocles refused to take in hand, he was for that very cause, held the lesse learned. He there also affirmeth, that the Ancients used to chant out the Encomiums of renowned persons. Thus our Poet setteth forth Achilles, to have been instructed by Chiron, and now to give his Mother the usuall entertainment after their Feast; And Homer telleth us, that he oft practiced this art at the Siege of Troy. Thus also, Dido entertaineth her guests, *Æneis*, Virg. *Æn.* 1.

——— Cithara crinitus Iopas
 Personat aurata, locuit quæ maximus Atlas.
 Hic canit errantem Lunam, solisque labores;
 Unde hominum genus & pecudes, unde imber, & ignes:
 Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones;
 Quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
 Hiberni, vel quæ tardis mora noxiis obstat.

——— Hairy Iopas then begun,
 And on his Harp what Atlas taught he sung;
 The Moon's unconstant ways, and how the Sun
 Performs his course; whence men and beasts first sprung;
 The Bears, the Hyades, and Arcturus sings,
 The cause of showers, and why heav'n lightning sings;
 Why to the waves the Sun should take his flight
 Sooner in Winter, and prolong the night.

219. The victories of Pollux.] The weapon by which Pollux was victorious, was much used by the Ancients, called *Cestus*; whose description J. C. Scaliger thus giveth: At first, (saith he) the Greeks used to fight with naked fists. *Pugnis addita lora ad munimentum, propterea quod nudi cum scriverent saepe plus damni acciperent quam facerent. Ea lora Græco vocabulo CESTUS dicitur (cestus enim cingulum.) Bravia in initio: mox, ne excussa exuerentur in ictibus, tum cubito tum humero alligabantur. Postremo ferrum plumbumque assutum est, seivissimo spectaculo. Cerebrum enim & guttur facillime elidebant. Idcirco aurium munimenta*

menta intuebant, ἀσπίδας. Thus he describeth the *Cassus* to be a piece of a Leather, for the safeguard of the hand, which, when naked, received oftentimes more damage by a blow, than it gave. Lest this *Cassus* should be shaken off by striking, it was fastned, not to the arm onely, but also to the shoulder. At the end of it was sewed a mass of Iron or Lead, which rendred the combat a most cruell spectacle. Their very brains were oft dashed out; for prevention whereof, they covered both their ears with defences. This character *Fabrielus* also confirmeth, relating, that the form of this *Cassus* was to be seen in the house of *Peter Bembo*, when he lived at *Padua*. *Fuerunt coria bubula*, saith he, *quibus plumbum ferrumque insutum est, articulis manûs in volam flexe circumdata; & ut pondus sustinere ferientium manus valerent, brachia alligata.* And hence he believeth, the ancient Germans took the use of the Gantlet, which they wore in war. The reason *Fabrielus* giveth, why the *Cassus* were fastned to the arm, is, in my opinion, better then *Scaliger's*, That so the hand might be strengthened to bear the weight the better. This *Fabrielus* writeth, on the Combat between *Entellus* and *Dares*, *Æn. 5.* This Exercise, as *Scaliger* saith, was at first onely used with bare fists, and prizes propounded for it in the Olympick Games, *Thucyd. lib. 1.* The invention of *Cassus* is ascribed to *Amycus*, *Clem. Alex. lib. 1.* *Στρομ Ἰβρυκῶν Βεβρυκῶν βασιλέως ἡμῶν ἀντικῆς πρώτος ἔυρε* *Antycus the Bebrycian King first found out ἰσχυρὰ πικρῆς, ἰσχυρὰ πικρῆς, ἰσχυρὰ πικρῆς*, that is, the *Cassus*. Which very words, with others of *Clemens*, *Eusebius* useth, *De præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 5.* Hence *Statius* here,

— *crudo quo Bebryca cassu*
Obrucit Pollux.

i. e. *Amycus*, so called from the place where he reigned, *Bebrycia*, which had its name from *Bebryx*, a King in the Pyrenæan Mountains, *Sil. Ital. l. 3.* Since, it was called *Mygdonia*; after that, *Bithynia*, from *Bithynius*, a King there, *Strabo l. 7. c. 12.* *Arianus* giveth one of the daughters of *Danaus* this name, who, as well as her sister *Hyperinnesia*, spared her husband, contrary to her father's command, and flying with him into this Country, gave name to it; till fresher merits destroyed the memory of hers. There is a Village called *Bebryacum*, by *Suetonius*, in *Oshone*, and by *Tacitus*, *Annal. 18.* seated between *Verona* and *Cremona*. In the Lipswick Edition it is called *Bedriacum*, by *Josephus* Βεδρυκῶν, by *Plutarch* Βηδρυκῶν. But by reason of the authority of *Tacitus* and *Orosius*, *Joseph Scaliger* saith,

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saith, *Et nihil aliud sunt quam unum nomen multifariam depravatam.* At this place *Otho* was overcome by *Vitellius*; & *statim*, saith *Suetonius*, *moriendi impetum cepit.* Yet then had he a reserved Army, competent enough to have attempted, in another Battle, the recovery of his Fortune; but he chose rather to let that be the certain advantage of his friends, to procure peace from *Vitellius*, than by hazarding them to pull on all their ruines together. For which cause, *Tacitus* justly saith, *Many enjoyed Empires longer, but none less them brauclicier.*

220. *The monstrous Minotaur sam'd-Theseus slew.*] The Fable is thus; The Adultery of *Mars* and *Venus* being discern'd by the Sun's all seeing eye, and by him discovered to *Vulcan*, in a Net that he had made for the purpose, he caught the Lovers in their embraces. Hereat *Venus* being enraged, ever after pursued the race of *Phæbus* with revenge, intecting them with prodigious passions. The first that suffered was *Pasiphae* the wife of *Minos*; she, being in love with a Bull, was by *Dadalus* his art inclosed in a Cow of wood, and so received the horrid satisfaction of her beastly Lover. And from that loathsome embrace came the Minotaur. By this Queen, *Minos* had three children, *Androgeos*, *Ariadne*, and *Phædra*. *Androgeos*, after many noble Victories, was at last slain by the Athenians and Megarians. In revenge of his death, *Minos* having vanquished the Athenians at Sea, imposed on them this punishment, that seven Youths, and as many Virgins, should every year be delivered to be devoured by the Minotaur. But *Eusebius*, *de prepar. Evang. l. 5. c. 19.* layeth their death to *Apollo's* charge, whose Oracle directed the Athenians, to send the Youths to be killed by *Minos*, that the plague might be averted from them, which they suffered for the death of *Androgeos*. In the third year of this imposition, *Theseus* son of *Aegæus* was sent. He, no less powerfull in person then in forces, first obtained a conquest of the heart of *Ariadne*; and then, by her procurement, having got a thread from *Dadalus* to guide him, he found the way to the Minotaur in the Labyrinth, and slew him; and having so done, he fled away with *Ariadne*. Then *Minos* finding, or suspecting, that *Dadalus*; who made the Labyrinth, had assisted *Theseus*, enclosed both him and his son *Icarus* therein. But *Dadalus* procuring wax and feathers, with other materialls, from his Keepers, under pretence of presenting something rare to the King, made Wings, with which himself and his son flew away. But the rash Youth, contrary to his Pather's instructions, soaring too high, melted his wings against the Sun, and fell into that Sea, which beareth his name, *Cvid. de arte lib. 2. & Metam. lib. 8.*

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lib. 8. The place his father alighted first upon, was *Cume*; Where, on the gates of *Apollo's* Temple; he engraved this storie, omitting nothing but the fate of *Icarus*, *Virg. Æn. 6.*

————— *Tu quoque magnam*
Partem opere in tanto, fineret dolor, Icare, haberes.
Bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro;
Bis patris cecidere manus.

Thou also, *Icarus*, hadst had a part
 In this; had grief giv'n freedom to his art.
 Twice he attempted thy hard fate to paint;
 Twice thy concerned father's hand did faint.

Some hold, this Fable was invented to shew a true storie, and that *Pasiphae* being in love with *Taurus*, Captain of the Guard to *Minos*, lay with him in *Dadaus's* house; and the bringing forth twins, the mockery made up the *Minotaur*. The Fable was more lawdly presented by *Nero*: In relating whereof, *Suetonius*, as *Berosus* noteth, useth words, that seem to credit Beasts having copulation with Women; against which we read a Law, *Levit. 20. 16.* which sheweth the probability of it. Besides, if it be possible, we need no farther proof than the unsatiable nature of some women. Nor would any doubt, that *Messalina* the lascivious Empresse would have scrupled at such an act, if her fancy had but directed her to it. *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*

————— *Claudius audi*
Qua tulerit. Dormire virum cum senserat uxor,
Aur'a Palatino tegetem praeferre cubi'i,
Sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos;
Linguebat comite ancilla non amplius una:
Sed nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero,
Intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar,
Et tunc vicuam, atque suam. tunc nuda papillis
Prostitit auratis, vitulum mentita Lycisca,
Offenditque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem.
Excepit blanda intrantes, atque ara poposcit.
Mox lenone suas jam dimittente puellas,
Tristis abijt: sed, quod potuit, tamen ultima cellam
Clausit, adhuc ardens rigida tentigine vulva,
Et lassata viri, necdum satiata recessit.

————— For

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——— For hear what *Claudius* doth endure :
 Whom whilst his wife believes in sleep secure,
 She did prefer before a Princely Bed
 The Bawdy-house's smoaky-coverlid.
 Th'Emperiall Whore disguis'd from being known ;
 With Night and Scarf, goes with one Maid alone ;
 A yellow Periwig her swarthy hairs
 Conceals, and she to th'Bawdy-house repairs ;
 Which from the new-employed bed a fume
 Retains, Possessing the then emptied room
 She rich adorn'd with naked breasts appears.
Lycisca's name the lying entrance bears.
 There, great *Britannicus*, thy belly's shown.
 With a lascivious kindnesse every one
 She meets, and asks her hire. When all the Whores
 The Bawd sends home, hers last of all the doors
 Was shut, She burning with unquenched fires,
 And toil'd with men, not satisfi'd, retires.

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Long may thy glories last, and may thy name
 210 Grow greater then the wandring Delos faine:
 Lesse hurt by storms, then all the Cyclades,
 That break the billows of th' *Ægean* seas.
 Let thy name be the Sailer's sacred vow:
 Yet to thy shores no Grecian ships allow.
 25 Tell Fame, with thee no warlike spears are found,
 But headlesse ones with Ivy-garlands Crown'd.
 whilst Mars, the parted Worlds, such rage doth give,
 Here let Achilles like a Virgin live.

ANNOTATIONS on the II Book of STATIUS his ACHILLEIS.

Thrace.] *Thetis* considering with her self, whether she might with most safety convey her Son, in the first place feared *Thrace*, conceiving that it would be an hastening of his destiny, to commit him to that warlick people; Whose Country received its name from the son of *Mars*; or, as *Stephanus* saith, a regionis asperitate, quam *ἄσπετος*; *Græci* appellant. So *Pomponius* witnesseth, that this Region is obli-god neither by aire nor soil, especially near the Sea. The roughnesse of the place wrought a like disposition in the Inhabitan's: And hence haply it is said, that *Mars* was here nourished. It is confined on the West by *Macedonia*, and the River *Nessus*, as *Ptolomy*; but by *Stymon*, as *Plinie* saith. See *Thucydides*, lib. 2.

6. The Warlick Macedonian race.] *Macedonia* bordereth on *Thrace*, *Epirus*, *Illyria*, and *Thessalie*; so called from *Macedo*, son of *Ofris*, or (as *Stephanus* and *Solinus*) of *Jupiter* and *Thyria*, daughter of *Deucalion*. *Thucydides*, lib. 2. praiseth them for an hardy and warlick people: But *Statius* had more reason to give them that character, as living after *Alexander* the Great's time, whose Victories were that Nation's greatest glorie. In their *Militia*, the Phalanx had the pre-eminence. This *Nero* imitated, *Sueton*, *Nerone*, ubi vide *Ca-saubenum*.

Stabnum. This steady Band consisted all of tall and able Souldiers, six foot high, or thereabouts, and *Arise*, as *Suidas* saith, of equall age. The like policy the Turk useth in the choice of his Janizaries, and with no lesse success.

7. *Athens*.] This place also the goddess held not safe to trust *Achilles* in, by reason perhaps of the great confluence of strangers thither, it being the most famous City in all Greece, seated in *Attica*, about forty furlongs from the Sea, as *Strabo*, *lib. 9*. *Thucydides*, *lib. 2* saith, it was at its greatest height in the time of *Pericles*. It was the Mother of many Philosophers, and Orators, and Poets, and (as *Tullie* styeth it) the Mistress of all human Sciences. But in the time of *Synesus*, it retained no such excellency, *Epist. 135*. It was called *Cecropia*, from *Cecrops* who first built it, and reigned in it; afterwards *Mopsopia*, from *Mopsus*; lastly, *Athena*; from *Minerva*, whom the Greeks call *Αθηνά*, quasi *Αθήνη*, because she never sucked the breast, nor had need to do it; at her first springing from *Jove's* brain, being not an Infant, but a mature *Virago*, or full stature and strength. To this derivation, *Cal. Rhodiginus* assenteth, *lib. 14. c. 18*. *Macrobius*, *Saturnal. l. 1. c. 17* saith, it was the opinion of *Porphyrie*, that *Minerva* was the virtue of the Sun, which infuseth prudence into the minds of men. For therefore is this goddess said to have issues from the head of *Jupiter*; that is, Wisdom cometh from the highest part of Heaven, whence the Sun hath its Originall. *Αθηναίω*, which signifyeth not effeminate, or manly, doth not onely come near to the name, but also agreeth with the nature of this goddess, who was still pictured in a warlike posture, with an Helmet, a Spear, and a Shield, and said to have a great stroke in all actions of War, which ever depend upon Wisdom. This was the chief plea that *Ulysses* used against *Ajax*, when they strove for *Achilles's* Armour, that *Ajax's* his valour had been useless, without *Ulysses's* policy to direct it, *Quid. Metam. lib. 13*.

8. *Myconos*.] One of the *Cyclades*, under which the Poets feign those Giants to have been buried, that were slain by *Hercules*. The Inhabitants are said to have been so subject to baldness, that a bald man was wont proverbially to be called a *Myconian*, *Plin. l. 11. c. 37*.

9. *Seriphos*.] The Poet giveth it the epithet *humilis*, haply by reason of its small compass, which is but twelve miles, as *Plinie* saith. So *Juvenal*, — *parvæque Seriphos*, *Sat. 101*. The whole world, he saith, was not wide enough for the young man of *Pella*; (so he call'eth *Alexander*, the Great) but when he had it all to turn him in he found himself pitifully straitned for want of room, like one cooped.

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cooped up in little *Seriphos*. The people of this Isle *Perseus* transformed into stones, by shewing them his *Gorgon's* head, to revenge his forced mother. Yet long before, *Acrifus* having thrown his mother, *Danae* and him into the Sea, they were cast upon this Island, and taken up by a fisher-man, and here preserved.

12. *Delos*.] This was placed in the middle of the *Cyclades*, and most famous of them all, by reason of *Apollo's* Oracle there, consulted from most parts of the world. The Fable of its first becoming firm land, see in *Plinic*, *lib. 4. c. 12.* *Strabo*, *lib. 10.* and *Servius*, in *Virg. Æn. 3.* who relate, that it first appeared to receive the burden of *Latona*, who was here delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*. It hath its name from *Δήλος*, manifestus, perspicuus, *Macrob. Saturnal. l. 1. c. 17.* being said to have risen up on a sudden above the waves. Some think it worthy of this name from its Oracles; I wonder why, for they were seldom manifest. But *Servius*, and *Alexander ab Alex. l. 6. c. 2.* say, The Oracle here was clear, when all others were obscure. After this Island had appeared, it continued for some time loose, and floated up and down, untill at last it was fixed by *Diana*. *Seneca Agamemnone æt. 2. Chor.*

— Tu maternam
Sistere Delon, *Lucina*, jubes
Huc atque illuc prius errantem
Cyclada ventis. Nunc jam stabilis
Fixa terras radice tenet.

Thou didst thy mother's *Delos* bind,
Wandering before, drove by the wind
Among the *Cyclades*: Now it stands
Fix'd to the earth with rooted bands.

Servius in *Æn. 3.* saith, The truth is, that *Delos* being shaken by a constant Earth-quake, the Inhabitants petitioning *Apollo* that they might be freed from it, were enjoyned thence-forward to bury none in the Island. And *Alexander ab Alex. lib. 6. c. 2.* writeth, That all such as were near dying, and all women ready to be delivered, were carried over to the Island *Rhene*. *Thucydides lib. 3.* saith, That when *Delos* was totally hallowed by the Athenians, (*Pisistratus* the Tyrant having before hallowed as much as was within the prospect of the Temple) they took away all the Sepulchers, and made an Edict, That none should either be born or buried there for the future; but when any were near the time for either, they

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they should be removed into *Rhene*. In the dispute between *Pausanias* and the Athenians, about Title to this Island, the Athenians alledging this Edict of theirs, *Pausanias* wittily demanded, How it could be their Island, seeing none of them had either been born or buried in it, *Plutarch* in *Apopht.* *Rhene* is so near to it, that when it was won by *Polycrates*, he dedicated it to *Apollo*, and tied it to *Delos* with a chain. Divers Games were here celebrated, as *Thucydides* affirmeth, and *Homer*, *Hymno* in *Apollinem*; who ending their praises, thus also leaveth his own, *vers.* 165.

Ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ Λητώμην Ἀπολλῶν τ' Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
 Χαίρομεν δ' ἔμμεν πασαι ἑμεῖς ἢ καὶ μύθοισι
 Μνήτ' σὺ δὲ πότε κίρ' ἴεσ' ἐπιχθονίων ἀνδρῶπων
 Ἐρδάδ' ἀρήρυται ζῆτες Ἰαλαπίδιος ἰθάσ,
 Ὡ κῆρα, ἴε δ' ἔμμεν: νη ἠδίσσεσ ἀείδων
 Ἐρδά: πῶλειται, καὶ τίφ' περ πῶθε μίλιτα;
 Ἔμμεν δ' ἔμμεν μάλα τῶσαι ἔμμεν καίνασθαι ἀρ' ἠμίω
 Τυ. ἀδ: σὴρ, οὐκ εἶ ἢ Χίφ' ἐπὶ παιπλοίσση.

Let Phœbus and Diana's kindnesse dwell
 Still here: And now to every one Farewel.
 But yet remember when I leave this land,
 And among all some pilgrim shall demand,
 Who was't, O Virgins, that with harmony
 Could most asswage your charmed ears? Reply
 With one consent, and thus my praises tell,
 A Poet blind, in Chios who doth dwell.

Lemnos unto men unkind.] This is an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, called *Ardens* by *Seneca*, *Hercl. Oct. v.* 1362. It is described by *Valerius-Flaccus*, *Argonaut. lib. 2.* Here *Cicero*, *de natura deorum*, placeth *Vulcan's* Forge. *Statius*, *Thebaidos l. 5.*

Ægeο premitur circumflua Nereæ
 Lemnos, ubi ignisæta fessus respirat ab Ætna
 Mulciber.

To Lemnos in th' *Ægean* waves retires
 The wearied *Mulciber* from *Ætna's* fires.

Here *Vulcan* was bred, and had in great veneration. In his injuries the Inhabitants held themselves so concerned, that they hated

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hated *Venus* for her adultery with *Mars*, *Alexand. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 14.* Whereat the goddesse being exasperated, infused such hatred into the women against their husbands, that they took counsell to slay them all at their return from the Thracian War; and did so to all, except *Hypsyle*, who saved her father *Thoas*. The story we have in *Statius, Theb. lib. 5.*

15. *Ægeon's bands.* *Ægeon* the son of Heaven and Earth, (*Hesiod. in Theogon*) was called by *Thetis* to assist *Jupiter*, when *Pallas*, *Juno*, and *Neptune* would have fetter'd him, *Lucian. dial. Martii & Mercurii*: But afterwards waxing insolent, (as most are wont to do after great merits) was himself fetter'd by *Jupiter* to the Rocks of the *Ægean* Sea. And now *Neptune* having given notice, that he was endeavouring to unloose his hundred hands, *Jupiter* sent *Thetis* to view his chains. She passing by *Scyros*, and seeing King *Lycomedes* his daughters at their innocent recreations, and the Island filled with effeminate Inhabitants, thought presently no place could be more fit for her son's concealment, and resolved thither to bring him. This Giant was named *Briareus* by the gods, *Ægeon* by men, *Homer. Iliad. v. 403.* by *Lucian* Βεράσιον ἑξήλοχλον, *Briareum centimanum*; and therefore was he bound with an hundred chains, as our Poet here saith. By *Virgil* he is placed in hell by *Chimera*, *Æn. 6.* The rest of the Giants also are fixed in their severall places by the Poets, as *Otus* in *Creet*, *Typhorus* in *Campania*, *Enceladus* in *Sicily*, whose burning Tomb is made famous by *Claudian's* Muse, *de raptu Præsep. l. 1.*

*Enceladi bustum, qui saucia membra revinctus
Spirat inexhaustum flagranti pectore sulfur:
Et quoties detestatus cervice rebeli
In dextrum laevumque latus, tunc Insula fundo
Vellitur, & dubia nutant cum manibus urbes.*

Vast-limb'd *Enceladus* here buried lies,
From whose hot breast unwasted sulfur flies.
As often as o're-laden with his burd'n,
To ease his wearied side he strives to turn,
The motion makes the heav'd Island quake,
And with their walls the tottering Cities shake.

28. *Iris Ocean-nourish'd Bow.* *Iris* αἰὲρ ἰσὶο nuncio, because the Rainbowe telleth of rain either past or to come, *Magis. lib. 4. cap. 5.* Our Poet calleth her *Thaumatida*. In Greeke she is called Θαυμασιώτις.

Irac. And there is no Meteor so worthy of wonder. Its many colours are caused by the reflection of the Sun beams on a watry-cloud. *Aristot. Meteorol. lib. 3. Iris est arcus multicolor in nube rotunda, opaca, & concava, ex radiorum Solis oppositi reflexione apparet.* *Virgil. Æn. 4.*

*Ergo Ir's crocæis per cælum roscida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso Sole colores.*

Swift *Iris* therefore with her dewy wings,
On which the Sun a thousand colours flings.

The difference of its colours ariseth onely from the unequal parts of the clouds. According to *Aristotle* they are three, *Punicæ, Vividæ, Caruleæ*. Others make them five; as *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who calleth the first *Euscæm speciem*, a palish Yellow; the second, nearer a Tawny; the third, Red; the fourth, Purple; the last, a mixture of Blew and Green. But it is a strange error in Philosophers, to define the colours of the Rain-bowe, and they almost all differ about them. Yet are the colours they quarrell about not real, but apparent onely; as the skie seemeth blew, which without doubt is not blew indeed. Nor is it possible, at so great a distance, to describe colours certainly. All that can be said, is, That they appear such to the eye. *Marcellinus, lib. 20.* taketh occasion, from the appearing of a Rain-bow, while *Constantius* besieged *Amida*, to treat of the reasons of the Rain-bowe, and why the Poets feigned, that *Iris* was so oft sent from heaven, *Indicium est, saith he, permutationis aere, à sudo aere nubium concitans globos, aut contra ex concreto immutata in serenam laticiam cælum. Ideo apud Poetas legimus saepe, Irim de cælo mitti, cum presentium rerum sit status mutatio.* That is, it is a signe of alteration of weather, gathering clouds in clear skies; or, on the contrary, changing thicknesse into serenity. Therefore we often read in the Poets of *Iris* being sent from heaven, when there was any alteration made of the present state of affairs. Of this fancy of the Poets, see *Gyraldi Syntagm. 9.* For the Philosophie, experience contradiceth it. And *Plinie* saith, *Nec pluvius nec serenos dies cum fide ab Iride portendi.* They held, the Rain-bowe was nourish'd by the Ocean, by reason of both the Sun's and the Clouds arising from thence. *Scaliger, Exercit. 10. Sect. 11.* speaketh of a Rainbowe that appeared in the night-time, and was seen by *Albertus* and many others. And *Virellio*, in his answer to the *L. of Mirandula*, concerning the possibility of a Rain-bow's seeming entirely circular, though not being so, affirmeth, that he saw four such at once in *Padua*.

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33. So swift, so kind to men.] Plinie saith, Dolphins are the swiftest of all fish, and amorous. Agellius, lib. 7. c. 8. relateth a story of a Dolphin, that loved a Boy so passionately, that his life was tied to the Boy's life. The same Author, lib. 16. c. 19. out of Herodotus, setteth down the story of Arion's being carried by a Dolphin, charmed by his Musick, Virg. Ecl. 8.

Orpheus in fluit, inter Delphinas Arion.

The story is also related by Plutarch in Symp. but most sweetly by the sweetest of all the Poets, Fast. lib. 2. who thus describeth Arion, when the covetous Mariners threatned him with drawn swords.

*Ille metu pavidus, Mortem non deprecor, inquit;
Sed liceat sumta pauca referre lyra.
Dant veniam, ridentque moram. Capite ille coronam,
Qua possit crines, Phæbe, decere tuos.
Induerat Tyrio distinctam murice passam.
Reddidit ista suos pollice chorda sonos.
Flebilibus numeris veluti, canentia dura
Trajectus penna tempora, cantat olor.
Protinus in medias ornatus desilit undas.
Spargitur impulsa carula puppis aqua.
Inde (sive majus) tergo Delphina recurvo
Se memorant oneri supposuisse novo.
Ille sedet, citharamque tenet, premiumque vehendi
Cantat, & aquoreas carmine mulcet aquas.*

He frighted, cries; I ask but that you'd give
Me leave to touch my Harp, not leave to live.
They grant it, smiling at his fond delay,
Whilst he assumes a Crown, which, Phæbus, may
Become thy locks, and on his shoulders bound
A purple Robe. The stricken strings then sound
The dying Swan so, when his fate begins
Near to approach, in mournfull numbers sings.
And so adorn'd, he leapt into the flood:
On the ship's sides the dash'd-up waters stood,
When straight his crooked back a Dolphin show'd,
And plac'd it under the unusuall load.
He sits, holding his Harp, and whilst he plaies,
The Sea growes calm, and for his portage payes.

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48: *Othrys*: J. A. Mountain bounding *Thessalie* on the South, *Herodot.* l. 7. *Lebach* on the West-side. *Phibionis*, *Strab.* lib. 9. *The Fauns* lament his loss. J. These were Silvanic gods, whose Chief was *Ron*, lascivious like all his followers, who were held strangely amorous of men and women. The Chorus in *Seneca*, *Hippol.* act. 2 believe it impossible, that *Hippolytus* living in the woods, should escape being solicited by them.

Te nemore abditum,

Cum Titan medium constituit diem,

Cringet turba licens, Naiades improba

Formosus solita claudere fontibus:

Et somnis facient insidias tuis

Lasciva nemorum deæ

Montivagique Faunæ.

For whilst in shades you bide, and

Divided by the god of Rays,

The Naiades thy beauty move,

Who in their fountains shut their Loves:

And the lascivious gods that keep

In woods, will court thee in thy sleep.

The question, Whether Spirits affect carnal copulation, hath been disputed by many: I shall onely relate these few opinions. *Petrarch*, *de Tractat. de fæ.* saith, that *fury attendeth their unsatiated lust*. *Paracelsus* relateth stories of some, who have been married to mortall men. *Cardane*, *de Subtilit. & variet. rerum*. saith, *They are as apt as dogs to be familiar with men*. *Plato* was believed to have been begotten in a Virgin by the phantasm of *Apollo*: by reason of his admirable wisdom. *Cardane*, *de var. & fab. rer. lib. 18. c. 43.* speaketh of some, who had had familiar company with Spirits for many years. And *Agrippa*, *de doctr. Philos. lib. 31. cap. 24.* saith, *Sunt adhuc homines qui comertium & conjugalem commixtionem habent cum Demonibus*. *Barion* in his *MELANCHOLY* relateth a story of *Mennippus Lucius*; That between *Cenchrea* and *Syrinth* he met a Spirit, in the habit of a fair Gentlewoman; and, deceived by her allurements, married her: To the Wedding, among other guests, came *Apolonius*, who by conjectures found her to be a Spirit. When she saw her self discovered, she begged of *Apolonius* to be silent: But he refusing, she vanished with all her house and furniture. *Sabinus*, in *David. Metam. lib. 10.* hath the like story. *Florilegus*, in *Ann. 1655.* telleth of a young Gentleman of Rome, who, the same

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day he was married, going to play at Tennis, put his ring on the finger of the image of *Venus*; and returning to take off his ring, *Venus* had bent in her finger so that he could not get it off. Whereupon loath to make his company stay, he left it, intending the next day to use some other means for it. Night being come, and going to bed to his Bride, *Venus* interposed between, telling him, He had betrothed himself to her by the ring he put upon her finger; and thus troubled him for many nights, till by the advice of *Palumbus* a Magician, he was released from his unwelcome Lover. *Lavater, de spellr. part. 1. cap. 19.* telleth this story, *I have heard, saith he, a grave and a wise man, in the Territory of Tigur, who affirmed, that as he and his servant went through the pastures in the summer time, very early, he espied one (as he thought) whom he knew very well, wickedly committing lewdnesse with a Mare. At which being amazed, he returned back again, and knocked at his house whom he supposed he had seen. There he certainly understood, that the man had not been that morning from his chamber. Upon which, discreetly searching into the businesse, he saved the man, who else had suffered for the deluding Damon.* *Corn. Agrip. de occult. Philos. l. 3. c. 19.* citeth a passage in *St. Augustine*, that Spirits are subject to these lusts. And *Mr. Burton* quoteth *Pererius in Gen. lib. 2. c. 6. v. 1.* who affirmeth, that these *Genii* can beget, and have carnall copulation with women: In that fair Temple of *Nelus*, as *Herodorus* saith, there was a Chappell, in which was *splendide stratus lectus, et opposita mensa aurea.* In'to this adorned bed none came, but the woman whom the god made choice of, as the *Chaldean Priests* told him; and their god lay with her himself. Of this opinion is *Lactantius*. And *Lippus* relateth proofs thereof in his daies, in the City of *Louain*. Further discourse on this point I shall reserve for a place more worthy of it.

75. *If Hercules thus leag'd to spin.* *Thetis* being come to the Island where she intended to place her son, letteth him know, that for his safety, she would put him into woman's habit. And knowing, that the greatnesse of his spirit would scorn such a disguise, she letteth *Hercules* before him, who, at the command of *Omphale* in such a dresse sae spinning, *Seneca Hippolyto, act. 1. v. 1.*

Natus Alcmena posuit pharetram,

Et minax vasti spoliū Leonis,

Passus aprari digitis smatagdos,

Et dari legem rudibus capillis.

Crura distincta religavit auro,

Lurco plantas exhibente socco.

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 Fila deduxit properante iuso.
 Vidit Perses, divisque ferax
 Lydia regni, dejecta seri
 Terga Leonu; humerisque, quit us
 Sederat alti regia cæli,
 Tenuem Tyrio stamine pallam.
 Vid. Herc. Furent. v. 465. & Herc. Oct. v. 372.*

Great Hercules once threw away
 His Quiver and the Lion's prey;
 His fingers he adorns with rings,
 And his rude hair in order brings;
 His legs with gold embraced round,
 His feet with yellow buskins bound:
 That hand, which so well arm'd had been
 With his great Club, now learns to spin;
 By Persians and rich Lydians scorn'd,
 Not with his Lion's skin adorn'd.
 Those shoulders on which Heav'n should rest
 Were in a woman's habit drest.

77. *If Bacchus*] Bacchus also disguised himself in a Virgin's habit, for fear of his mother-in law *Juno*, *Senec. Oedip. v. 417.* Mythologers understand this of the effects of Wine; which sometimes rendreth men effeminate, and otherwhile giveth courage to the most womanish mind: And therefore was *Bacchus* said to be of both sexes. *Origen lib. 3. contra Celsam* saith, that *Bacchus* was thought sometimes to have worn a woman's habit. *Eusebius, de Tr. p. Evang. l. 3. c. 9.* giveth this reason, why a woman's form (and therefore habit) was ascribed to *Bacchus*, *ut vim illam que plantarum fructibus inest ex mascula femineaque conflata significet*; To signifie, that the strength was of both kinds by which fruits were produced. 78. *And Jove himself.*] The story is commonly known: *Jupiter* going to visit the world, injur'd by *Phæton's* Lightning, employed his first care on *Arcadia*; where his eyes told his heart such wonders of *Calisto's* beauty, that he counterfeited the shape and dresse of *Diana*, (*Quis Divum fraudibus obliet?*) and so enjoyed the deceived *Calisto*, *Ovid. Metamorph. lib. 2.*

Cæneus] Who being ravished by *Neptune*, and having the grant of wish for her recompence, desired to alter her sex, that she might never suffer such a misfortune more. Unto this the too kind god added

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adled her being invulnerable. Yet in the battell of the Centaurs, and the Lapithæ, she was pressed to death: So impossible it is for power, any way applied in this world, to alter destiny. Nor do our fond attempts give occasion to Him above, to appoint new accidents: It is He, that permits those fond attempts, and letteth them be the means of those accidents, which we would most avoid. The fable sometimes goeth, that she had power to change her sex. Otherwise the sense remaineth not perfect. In the other World, *Virgil* sheweth her in her first sex, *Æn.* 6. v. 448.

— *Et juvenis quondam, nunc scœmina, Cœnens,
Rursus & in veterem fato revoluta figuram.*

And *Cœnens* once a Youth, but now a Maid,
By fate into her former sex convcy'd.

85. *If by the Stygian arming waves.* } *Thetis* to prevent the mortality of *Achilles*, which he had received from his Father, dipped him in the Stygian flood, all but the heel, which she held by; in which mortall part, he was shot by *Paris*. By this River, the gods took their inviolable Oaths, *Virg. Æn.* 6. *Seneca, Thyest.* v. 667. giveth it this Character,

Deformis unda, qua facit calo fidem.

And *Homer, Odys.* 6.

— *Στυγὴς ὕδωρ, ὅτε νέγιστος
ὄρκος δεινότατος τε πῖλιν ἀειπέσσι θεοῖσιν*

The greatest Oath among the blessed Gods.

The fable is, that *Victoria* the daughter of *Styx*, assisted *Jupiter* in his War against the Giants; For which service, he gave this honour to her Mother, that the gods should swear by her, and inviolably keep their Oath, or else be banished from the banquets of the gods. This affordeth some illustration to verse 213. Where *Thetis* wishing honour to the Island *Scyros*, saith,

Let thy name be the Seamans sacred vow,

The Viscount, *St. Albanes, Sapient. Ver.* applicth this to the Leagues and Covenants of Princes, which by reason of interest, are preciselie observed, than more sacred ones. *Natalis Comes, Mytholog.* l. 3. c. 2. saith, that *Styx* discovered the conspiracy of the

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So is, and that therefore, perhaps *Jove* made that *Water* their obliging Oath. *Aristotle*, *Metaphys.* l. 1. c. 3. conceiveth, that the Poets by this fiction, intended to signifie, that *water* is the original of all things. So *Thales Milsius* said, that, *water* is *initium rerum*; *Deum autem, eam Mentem que ex aqua cuncta fingeret*, as *Cicero* saith, *De nat. Deor. lib. 1.* according to that of *Moses*, *Gen. 1. 2.* So the god's Oath seemeth to have been by the first beginning of things. Other reasons may be seen in *Cal. Rhodiginus*, lib. 27. c. 5. Of this opinion, *Plutarch* sheweth *Homer* to be, lib. *De Homero*, where he citeth *Thales* for it; and, after them, *Xenophanes*. The reasons of whose conjecture, *Eusebius* giveth, *De prepar. Evang. lib. 14. c. 14.* *Servius* in *Aen. 6.* saith, *Acheron* hath its name, quasi οὐρανὸν ἕξει, sine gudio: From whence, *Styx* cometh; from *Styx, Cocytus*. Whose Etymologies he thus bringeth along; They, who want Joy, have Sadness, which is neighbour to Grief, the production of Death. The Poets feigned these Rivers to be unpleasent: So must Death needs be to those, who placing their joyes in this World, part with both together. By *Victory*, daughter of *Styx*, may be intimated the power of Death, who assisted *Jupiter*; in that the Gyants were mortall: shewing the vastness of their crimes, which make the true War with God, and want but eternity for themselves, to make their crimes perpetuall. All this significeth but the series of Life and Death, not more of sorrow belonging to our ends, then to our beginnings. *Man is born unto Sorrow*, saith *Eliphaz*, *Job 5. 7.* And according to this sense, *Plutarch* speaketh, whole words I have taken the liberty, to dresse in verse;

*Sicut qui argillam tractat, fingere
Ex ea animalis formam potest,
Rursusque diffingere, iterumque ac
Quoties libet perpetuo vices istas repetere:
Sic etiam Natura ex eadem materia
Olim avos nostros, postea patres pro-
tulit, deinde nos, ac deinceps al-
ios ex aliis evolvit. Ac fluvius
Ille ortus nostri absque intermis-
sione labens nunquam subsistet;
Sicut & interitum flumen hujus
Contrarium, sive is Acheron est.
Prima ergo Causa, qua nobis Solis offendit
Iubar, eadem ad caliginosum Orcum adducit.*

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As one that chafes the pliant clay, may bring
 The substance to the form of any thing;
 Again, destroy the species, and by skill
 Repeat the same as often as he will:
 So nature also at the first, from clay
 Our Ancestors did to the World convey,
 Our fathers next; to them do we succeed,
 Others to us; and they shall others breed.
 This flood of Life, flows at a constant rate,
 Consuming still, as do the streams of Fate.
 This flood's *Cocytus*, or else *Acheron*,
 Which stream the Poets set those names upon.
 Thus the first cause, which shews us the Sun-light,
 Restores us back unto Eternal night.

120: Receiv'd Love's flames.] Those thoughts of glory, that would not suffer *Achilles* to consent to his kind Mother's advice; yield to Love's power, by which all the World is terrified. Which matter is excellently expressed by *Seneca*, *Hippolyt. act. 1. Chor.* The greatness of which power, joyned to the swiftnesse of its execution, made the Antients believe, it was a fascination; So *Dido*, at the first sight of *Aeneas*, received a passion as durable as her life, since she could find no way but one, to end both. The amorous *Sappho*, having expressed all the symptoms of a powerfull passion, expecteth the same fate.

— *Velut herba pallens*
Ora: spirandi neque compos, Orco
Proxima credor.

My lips grow pale, and my disordered breath
 Is spent in sighs: sure, the next thing is death.

Ex interpretatione Henrici Stephani. According to these examples, there is reason enough to believe *Claudians* amorous begger;

Paupertas me seva domat, dirisque Cupido:
Sed toleranda famei, non tolerandus amor.

In Loves and Fortunes fetters I remain:
 One may endure the hunger, not the flame.

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Ælian, Varia hist. lib. 12. c. 58 relateth the story of *Dioxippus*, the famous Wrestler of *Athens*; Who coming into the City, as the manner was, after those exercises, fell in Love with a Maid, (like *Achilles* here) at the first sight, as he passed along.

123. *Massagetans.*] A people of *Scythia*, inhabiting *Caucasus*, who used to break such in pieces, as died of old age, and to throw such to Wild beasts, as died of diseases, *Strabo. lib. 2.* They worshipped the Sun chiefly; to whom they offered an Horse. When they travelled through a wilderness, they were wont to drink Horses blood mingled with milk. So *Claudian*,

*Et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax
Massageies.*

170. *Altars witnessing.*] It was an observed custom, when any thing of consequence was to be said, or petitioned for, to do it before the Altars of the gods. So when *Iarbas* heard of *Dido's* passion for *Æneas*, *Æn. 4.*

*Isque amens animi, et rumore accensus amaro,
Dicitur ante aras, media inter numina Divum, &c.*

Enrag'd ('t is said) at this unwelcome fame,
Among the Altars of his Gods he came.

This he did, that he might perform that usuall ceremony of holding the Altars; as a little below,

Talibus orantem dixit, arasque tenentem.

And the same Prince of Poets, *Æn. 12.*

Tango aras, medios ignes ac numina testor.

And *Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. 3. c. 2.* saith, that *Jupiter* heard him, non quia orabat tantum, sed quia et aras tenebat. And he citeth *Varro, Divin. lib. 9.* who saith, *Aras primum dixit, quod esset necessarium a sacrificantibus eas teneri. Ansis autem solere teneri vasa, quis dubitet?* *Alexander a' Alexandro, lib. 2. c. 18.* saith, It was a custom for those that were piously praying to the gods, to embrace their knees, i. e. the knees of their Statues. And this certainly, is the onely meaning of that in *Juvenal, Sat. 10. 55.*

— genua

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genua incerare Deorum.

But because *incero* signifieth to cover with wax, some hold, that they waxed-on their Petitions on the knees of their Statues. Turnebus *lib. 1. cap. 17.* saith, That they held the Statues with such assiduous fervency, *ut sudore incrassarentur, et videretur illis quasi cera superposita.* Were it possible this place should still remain imperfect, after its having passed through so many learned hands, I should guesse the word *insuccare*, to make moist, more apt to the sense, especially to the interpretation of the most learned Turnebus.

199. *Nor Gymnick game.*] *Gymnades*, from *Γυμνάσιον*, *Exerceo*; or rather from *Γυμνω*, *Nudo*. For they which exercised these Games were all naked. These were invented by *Lycæon of Arcadia*. And the Spartan Virgins used to practise all manly exercises naked. *Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 2. c. 25.*

208. *As Creet to Rhea.*] *Thetis* having now taken leave of her disguised son, and being entred the waves, turneth her eyes towards the Island, and begetteth of it to perform its trust as justly, as *Creet* had done to *Rhea*: Who, when her husband *Saturn* intended to murder all his children, being told that he should have one, who would depose him from his throne, hid her son *Jupiter* in *Disse*, a Mountain of *Creet*, where the *Corybantæ* her Priests, with their sounding Brasse, drowned the noise of the child's crying, *Natalis Comes. lib. 2. c. 1.* *Saturn* was a great devourer of children, for to him the Carthagenians offered their sons, *Plato in Minos.* By *Saturn* was understood *Time*, by *Jupiter*, *Heaven*, which is not subject to the power of *Time*. And therefore was it said, that *Jupiter* was not devoured by *Saturn*. *Gaffard* in his *Curiosities, part. 3. chap. 11. sect. 8.* saith, The ancient Hebrews stood in much dread of the malignancy of the Planet *Saturn*. And the Chaldeans, who gave themselves over to the worshipping of false gods, observing this Star to be hurtfull, thought good by some sacrifice to render it more propitious to them. And no sacrifice being fitter than that on which it wrought its sad effects, they began to sacrifice children to it under the name of *Moloch*. And this, he believeth, was the originall of the Fable, why *Saturn* was said to devour his children. And the Priests were said to have made a noise with their brasse, to drown young *Jupiter's* crie, from the custom which they had to make such noises

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noises when the children passed through the fire to *Moloch*; which was no other then some particular *Dæmon*-rite. For **MOLOCH** signifieth as much as **BAAL**. So we read, *Psal. 106. 37. Matârunt filios suos & filias dæmonis*, as *Mr. Selden* rendreth it, *De Diis Syriis; cap. de MOLOCH*; to whom, and *Saturn*, children were the usuall sacrifices, as he there sheweth.

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ANNOTATIONS on the Third Book
of STATIUS his ACHILLEIS.

Statius, in the beginning of his third Book, (according to the Paris-Edition, for that of Amsterdam maketh but two) representeth Greece preparing war against Troy, and declaring their affection to it. This was the first war we read the Greeks were engaged in, *Thucyd. lib. 1.* And therefore it is the lesse wonder that they loved war, seeing they understood it not. Since also we have monstrous examples of some, that have been weary of peace, giving it no better a name than *Idleness*, and making it *the scandall of a Nation*. When it is wanted, it will be esteemed. Such is the fatal folly of frail nature. Sylla told King Bocchus, that the gods advised him, when he chose any peace rather than war. And when some disliked the effects of the Treaty, *Salust Bell. Jug.* excellently saith, *Scilicet ignari rerum humanarum, quæ fluxa & mobiles sæpius in adversa mutantur.* Expectation of better is the great courage of this world, at least the attempts and profession of it.

10. *Two Oceans.*] *Peloponnesus*, now called *Morea*, hath the Ionian Sea on the right hand, and the *Ægean* on the left, being a *Peninsula*, in whose *Isthmus* stood the City of *Corinth*.

11. *Malea.*] A Promontory in *Laconia*, between which and *Tenarus* is the *Laconian Bay*, *Strab. lib. 8.*

16. *Temesa.*] A City of the *Brutians*, famous for *Brasse-mines*; after called *Tempsa*, *Plin. l. 3. c. 5.* There is a Town of this name in *Cyprus* also famous for *Brasse*. One of these afforded matter for the stately Horse of *Domitian*, *Statius Silv. lib. 1. in Equo Domit.*

*Et quis se totis Tempse dedit hau-
sta metallis.*

Upon which large and stately Statue, shrines
The City *Temesa's* exhausted Mines.

17. *Eubœan shore.*] *Eubœa* assisted with ships, being an Island opposite to the Continent of *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Loeris*, extending from *Sunium* as far as *Thessalie*, *Strab. lib. 10.*

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18 *Mycena*] A City so near *Argos*, that, as *Strabo* saith, their names were oftentimes promiscuously used for one another. It was once the head of *Argia* (distance from *Argos* but fifty furlongs; *Strab. lib. 8. & Pausan. in Corinth.* It received its name (as *Stephanus* saith) from the handle of a *Sword*, which the Greeks call *μύκη*. The word significth properly a *Mushrum*; It is used also for the lower part of the handle of a *Sword*, which is like a *Mushrum*. *Mycena* had its name from hence, because *Percus* letting the handle of his *Sword* fall there, was commanded by *Mercury* there to build that City.

19 *Pisa*] A City near the River *Alphrus*, where the *Olympick* *Games* were celebrated, seated in *Etolia* a Region, which with *Messene* takes up the West part of *Peloponnesus*. Here *Salmones* the *Cher* reigned, whose ambition and punishment is thus described, *Æn. 6. 585.*

Vidi & crudelis dantem Salmones pennis,
Dum flammæ Jovis & sonitus imitatur Olympi.
Quatuor hic juvellus equis, & lampada quatuor
Per Graium populos mediæque per Elidis urbem
Ibat ovam; Divumque sibi posebat honorem:
Devens, cui nimbas & non imitabile fulmen
Ære & canipedum cursu simulârat equorum:
At Pater omnipotens densa in ævâ nubila telum
Contorsit (non ille faces nec summa tedii
Lumina) præcipitemque immani turbine adigit.

I also saw *Salmones* cruel fate
 In tortures held, who strove to imitate
 Jove's lightning, and the noise that heaven makes
 By four Steeds drawn, a sputtering Torch he shaketh
 And through fair *Eli* crowded streets he drives,
 Ambitious of the gods prerogatives;
 Mad man to think, that Flame which thought exceeds,
 To imitate with Brasse and trampling Steeds.
 But through the cracking clouds enraged Jove
 A tall rushing Dart whirPd from above,
 (Not Breaks, nor smoky Trenches) and him cast
 Headlong by that unimitable blast.

20 *Nemea*] A Wood of *Achaia*, where *Hercules* slew a *Lion*; *Serpius* saith, *Nemea est vicina sylva Thebis, in qua Hercules interemis Leonem.*

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Leonem But this is a great error in the learned *Servius*. For *Nemes* is a Forrest between *Cleona* and *Phlius*; *Strab. lib. 8. & Thuyd. l. 5.* which Towns are far distant from *Thibes*, which is in *Bœtia*.

21. *Cyrrha*.] A City of *Phœcis*, in the Corinthian Bay, *Strab. lib. 9.* *Pausanias in Phœcis*, makes it all one with *Crissa*; *Plinie*, nor. Here *Apollo* was worshipped: And therefore the people haply said to have delighted in Arrows.

22. *Lerna græves hider.*] Near *Argos* is a Lake of this name, where *Hercules* slew the *Hydra*, notwithstanding that in the room of one head lopped off, three new ones still sprouted forth, *Servius* believeth, that in this place there was a swift River, which overflowed the neighbouring Towns, and being stopped in one place, broke forth in many others with greater impetuou'ness: Which mischief *Hercules* remedied, by damming up the whole Lake. There is a *Toan* also, as *Britannicus* saith, of this name.

23, 24. *Acarman* ——— with th' *Ætolian*.] *Ætolla* bordereth on *Phœcis*, *Acarmania* on *Ætolia*, betwixt which runneth the river *Achelous*. The Bay of *Ambracia* parteth *Acarmania* from *Epirus*, *Strab. l. 9.* [Argos.] Here *Juno* had a Temple, whence she was called *Juno Argiva*. It is commonly placed in Maps a great way from the Sea; but *Pausanias in Corinthiacis* saith, It is but forty furlongs off, which *Thucydides* also confirmeth, *lib. 4.* where he saith, that the *Argives* fearing the *Lacedæmonians*, and renewing League with the *Athenians*, raised large Walls from their City down to the Sea-shore, to the end, that if they were shut up by Land, they might, by the *Athenian's* help, receive in sitting provisions by Sea.

25. *Arcadia*.] A Region in the midst of *Peloponnesus*, *Strab. lib. 8.* remote every way from the Sea; famous for pasture; and much more, in having been the subject of so many excellent Pens. For which cause it needeth no more of mine.

26. *Epirus*.] A Country bordering on *Greece*, on the East divided from *Achaia* by *Achelous*, on the West by the *Acroceraunian* Mountains, which lie upon the *Adriatick* shore; on the North it is bounded by *Macedonia*: Its South-side is washed by the *Ionian* Sea. It was first named *Molossia*; afterwards *Chaonia*, from *Chaon* brother of *Helenus*; now, *Albania*. Once it was full of Cities and Inhabitants; but after it was vanquished by the *Romans*, it long retained the marks of a conquered Nation. Among other things it was famous for swift Horses; *Servius in Virg. Georg. 3.* That incomparable Poet (*Georg. 1.*) also ascribeth the same to it.

————— *Uleadam palmæ Epiros equarum* —————
Epirus

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Epirus Breed by swiftnesse gains
The Garland in th'Olympick Games.

Servius in loc. out of Plinie, giveth this reason of their swiftnesse, that they stale in their courses; which is not onely ridiculous, but impossible. Georg. 3. 273. The Poet relateth the fond opinion of Mares generating with the wind, which Servius also out of Varro confirmeth. In these latter days, Epirus gained its greatest fame, by being the place for which the generous Scanderbeg performed so many glorious actions.

27. Aonian (hades, and Phocis.) Both Regions of Beotia. The Phocians inhabit the East-side of Parnassus the Muse's Hill, Strab. l. 9. Aonia also had a Fountain dedicated to the Muses: Whence Juvenal Sat. 7.

aptusque bibendis
Fontibus Aonidum.

28. Pylus (or Messana.) Pylus is a City of Messenia, on the Promontory Coryphasium. Thucydides, lib. 4. relating the advice of Demosthenes to fortifie Pylus, taketh occasion to shew its distance from Sparta to be four hundred furlongs, and that it standeth in the Territory, called by the Lacedaemonians Coryphasium, that once belonged to the Messenians. This was Nestor's Country. There is also in Elis a City of this name; Strabo speaketh of them both, and also of a third in Arcadia. Messene, here called Messana, is a City and Region on the West-part of Peloponnesus, confining on Arcadia, Elis, and Laconia. But Messana is a Town in Sicilie, near Pelorus. Strabo lib. 8. saith, it was called Zancle: Which name, Thucydides lib. 6. saith, the Sicilians gave it, because it was like a Sickle, which they called Ζακλῶν. After, it received the name of Messana from Anaxilas the Tyrant of Rhegium, being the name of the Country whence he was antiently descended; but others say from the Messenians, a people in Achaia.

29. Taygetus] A Mountain of Laconia, beginning at the Sea, and reaching up towards Arcadia as far as Lacedaemon, Strabo lib. 8. It was sacred to Bacchus, as Servius saith on these words, Georg. 2.

et virginibus Bacchatae Laconis
Taygeta.

And on Taygetus top, where all
Laconian Virgins pay their Bacchanalls. Cicero

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Cicero de divinat. lib. 1. saith, The Lacedæmonians being warned by Anaximander to leave their houses, they were suddenly thrown down by an Earth-quake, with part of the mountain Taygetus.

45. Stakes] The Ancients made use of stakes in war, sharpened at one end, and hardened in the fire, Virg. Æn. 11.

Stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur, obusis.

57 Aulis] An Haven (or an Island, as Servius saith, in Æn. 4.) of Beotia, where the Greeks made their great rendezvous, and took an Oath to destroy Troy, or never to return, Senec. Agam. 170.

Cruore ventas emimus, et bellum, nec

et 4. A 7.

Non est soluta prospere classis Deo.

Ejecit Aulis impias portas rates;

War and th'obliged Winds by blood were brib'd.

Not a propitious Power was their guide,

When from the Port of Aulis first they fled,

And their swell'd sails the impious Navy spread.

This blood was Iphigenia's, who was sacrificed to Diana, because Agamemnon her father had killed a Hart which the goddess loved. Much contention there is concerning her transformation; Most agree she was turn'd into a Hind. Ludovicus Gappellus in his Diatriba de voto Jephtha, compareth the condition of Agamemnon and Jephtha together, and maketh them contemporary, and fercheth the name Iphigenia from Jephtha, quasi Iephthigenia; and conceiveth the fable of her transmutation arose from the story of Iephthah's daughter wandering on the Mountains. Of this sacrifice speaketh Nazianzen, Orat. 20. And Eusebius de preparat. Evang. hath much of human sacrifices; which are said to have been performed by divers Authors. The fable of Agamemnon's daughter is set down by Hyginus, lib. 1. cap. 98. Ovid, Metamorph. lib. 13. Euripides, in Iphigenia, Seneca in Agam. Dictys Cretensis, and many others.

79. Antilechus] the son of Nestor, famous for his actions against Troy. Statius here giveth him this character,

— nea cogitet annos.

Antilechus.

This

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This, Britannicus interpreteth of his youth, and his doing actions, that such years as his were not vnto produce. But had he remembred, that his Father had been at the hunting of the Boar with Meleager, Ouid. Metamorph. lib. 2. fab. 4. and had already liued two ages, when he came against Troy, Homer. Il. 4. 250. he might with more reason, have believed Juvenal, concerning the age of Antilochus, Sat. 10. 250.

Oro, parumper Attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur Fatorum, Et nimio de stamine, cum videri acris Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quarit ab omni, Quisquis adest sciens, cur hac in tempora durent, Quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit auro.

Hearken a little, how old Nestor cries Against the Faces, and too kind desires; The beard of brave Antilochus, while he Upon the funerals pile doth flaming see, Of every one, demanding what strange crime Prolong'd his age to such a wretched time:

Virg. Aen. 2. 554. The death of Hector; I have above see down; The tulne of Priam is justly attributed to Achilles, in that he begat Pyrrhus, who killed him before the Alect; Virg. Aen. 2. 554.

Hac finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum Sorte tulit; Trojam incensam Et prolapso videntem Pergama, tot quondam populi terrique superbum Regnatorem Asia, jactet ingenti illius truncus, Non sumque huiusmodi caput, Et sine nomine corpus.

This was of once great Priam the hard fate, Troy seen on fire; and his ruin'd state; He who o're part of Asia late did reign; Now headlesse lies, a corps without a name.

We read of few examples, of so great alteration of fortune, unless this later age hath produced them; Who now perhaps, take such a prospect of their scorned bodies, as Lucan, lib. 9. v. 10. giueth pompey of his from Heaven,

— Illic

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— Illic postquam se lumine vero
Implevit, stellaeque vagas miratur, & astra
Fixa poli, vidi quanta sub nocte jaceret
Nostra dies, risuque sui ludibria trunci.

There with true light inspir'd, the wandering fires
And fixed stars for ever he admires.
The day sees wrap'd in night, which us beguiles,
And at his scorn'd and headlesse carcase smiles.

95. *Phlegrean fields*] *Phlegra* is a valley in *Thessaly*, where the mountains *Pelion* and *Ossa* stand, on which the Poets feigned the Giants assailed heaven. There is another *Phlegra* in *Campania*, near *Cuma*, which some make the stage of that bold attempt, *Strab. lib. 5.* Some reduce it to a truth, as ridiculous as the fable; How that a proud Nation, of monstrous dispositions, rather than statures, warred against *Hercules*, and were here overthrown by help of lightning, which arose by agitation of winds, the earth being sulphurous, and so subject to burning: From whence it had the name: *Phlegra*, *ελεος*, signifying to burn. *Cicero*, in his *Ca's major*, saith the War of the Giants with the gods, was nothing but Men's rebelling against Nature. And *Macrobius*, *Saturn, lib. 1. c. 10.* describeth them to have been an impious race of men, who, denying the gods, were therefore said to attempt the dethroning of them, and their lower parts, feigned to be like the winding voluminous tails of Dragons, signified their indirect and crooked affections. *Vadianus*, in his learned Notes on *Meta*, understandeth this *Gigantomachia*, of the enclosure of air in the earth, which forceth its way forth, as it were with defiance to Heaven, which is *Jupiter*; And this glanceh at the Mythology, that *Macrobius* giveth. *Ovid, Fastor. 5.* thus expresseth the Fable.

*Terra ferus partus immania monstra gigantes
Edidit, auturos in Jovis ire domum.
Mille manus illis dedit, & pro cruribus auges;
Atque ait. In magnos arma movete Deos.
Exstruere hi montes ad sidera summa paraban',
Et magnum bello sollicitare Jovem.
Fulmina de caeli jaculatus Jupiter arce,
Vertit in autores pondera vassa suos.*

The

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The Earth brought forth Giants to vastness grown,
 That durst attempt to storm Jove's starry Throne.
 A thousand hands she gave them, crook'd thighs
 Like snakes, and bids them war with Deities:
 They hills on mountains pil'd to reach the stars,
 Attempting Jove himself with impious wars.
 From whose revenging hand, the lightning blaz'd;
 Turning those mountains on them which they rais'd.

This, learned *Bochartus* accurately applieth to the builders of the Tower of Babel, *Geograph. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 13.*

175: *Hybla.*] A City in Sicily, abounding with flowers and bees. *Seneca, Oedip. 601.*

Nec vere flores Hybla tot medio creat.

Nor doth the fragrant Hybla bring
 So many flowers in the Spring.

217. *Heaven's great Ruler.*] *Jupiter* was bred with his sister *Juno* in *Crete*. See on Book II, verse 203. He was said to marry her by reason of the propinquity of the Fire and the Air; Hence also it was, that he could not match with *Thetis*, that is, the Sea. He is called *Zeus* in Greek, *Ζεύς*, from being the giver of Life. *Aulus Gellius, lib. 5. c. 12.* *Jovem Latini veteres à jurando appellaverunt; eundemque alio vocabulo juncto Patrem dixerunt:* Which by the cutting off, and altering some Letters, is *Jovispater*, as *Marspater*, or *Marspiter*. This, unimitable *Selden* condemneth, *Syntagm. 2. de Baal and Belo.*

219, 220, 221. *A grove there was — Sacred to Bacchus, in whose shades by nights, The women pay'd their Trieterick rites.*] I shall venture to be judged impertinent, rather than neglect these two subjects, consecrated Groves, and the Rites of *Bacchus*; Of these, with as much brevity as is possible. A Grove is call'd in Latin, *Iucus, quòd non luceat; non, quòd sint ibi lumina causâ religionis: ut quidam volunt,* as *Servius, in Æn. 1,* And in *Georg. 3* he affirmeth, that all Groves were consecrated to *Diana*; Perhaps, it was generally believed so, by reason that she was reputed the Goddess of the Woods. For *Servius* certainly; could not forget that verse, *Æn. 7.*

— *Et viridi gaudens Feronia luco.*

On

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On which both himselfe and *Sabinus* relate, that the grove of this Goddess, *Peronia*, being burnt down, and the people going to carry away her Statues, immediately it sprung up again, fresh and green. *Suetonius* in *Augusto*, speaketh of a grove, sacred to *Liber* or *Bacchus*, where *Octavius* consulted concerning his son; These Groves were used for Temples by the Germans, *Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 4. c. 17.* And *Tacitus, de morib. Germanor. cap. 9.* saith, *Lucos ac nemora consecrant, Deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod solâ reverentiâ vident:* A description of these groves, see in *Seneca, Oedip. act. 3.* and in our Poet, *Thebaid 4.* I have in some of these Notes, given short intimations, that there was nothing in the worship of *Demons*, which was not an imitation of the worship of the true God: Larger proofs whereof, time perhaps may favour my intentions to produce. Among other things, Groves will appear to have had such an original; Learned *Mr. Mede*, on *Job. 24. 26.* sheweth that the Jewes had their praying places, besides their Synagogues, out of a notable place of *Epiphanius*, a Jew bred and born in *Palastine*. Which, he saith, were open places, and calleth them *Proseuchas*. Of which *Juvenal, Sat. 3. 296.*

— In qua te quæro proseucha?

On which words, the Scholiast and *Lubine* say, *Proseucha* signifieth a place, where Beggars use to inhabit. For *προσευχῆσαι* is *Orare, to beg or pray.* Yet the Scholiast immediately addeth, *Est Proseucha, locus Judæorum, ubi orant;* *Mr. Mede* also citeth a place of *Philo Judæus*, in his *de legat. ad Caium*, where he commendeth the exceeding clemency of *Augustus Cæsar*, in allowing the Jewes their *Proseucha's*. But he denieth not but that, under that name, *Philo* comprehendeth Synagogues also; *Politian Miscell. cap. 30.* saith, the word is used, *pro Templo & Synagoga Judæorum* Some held the Jewes had no Synagogues before the Captivity: and their reason, perhaps, is the silence of the Scripture, which mentioneth them not, till the Jewes were returned from *Babylon*. This *Mr. Mede* taketh notice of, and letteth it passe for currant; But as for *Proseucha*, or consecrated Groves, he proveth them to be near as ancient as *Joshuah*: shewing the Oak of *Shchem*, to have been such an one, and not a single Tree, as the common interpretation rendreth it. That Trees were in these *Proseucha's*, may be gathered from another place of *Philo*, cited by the same worthy Author, where relating the outrage of the Gentiles, at *Alexandria*. against the Jewes, there dwelling in the time of *Caius*, he saith, *Of some of the Proseucha's, they cut down the Trees, others, they demolished*

lished to the very foundations. This also is implied by that of Juvenal, Sat. 6. 542.

*Arcanam Iudæa tremens mendicat ad aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum, & magna sacerdos
Arboris.*

And Sat. 3. 12. he complaineth, that the Jews had leave to live in the wood, which had been sacred to the Muses: Whence this joining of Trees and Jews together, but from their having their Proscucha's ordinarily set with them? I could set down many Texts of Scripture, which directly distinguisheth between these Groves and Temples, as *Psal. 74. 7.* though not rendered so in the Vulgar Translation. So *Gen. 13. 4.* it is said, that Abraham went unto the place of the altar which he had made at first, and there called on the name of the Lord. Which is explained by *Gen. 21. 33.* a place express'd to our purpose, And Abraham planted a grove in Beerseba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God. *Luk. 6. 12.* we meet with one of these praying places. There it is said of Jesus, *ἔξῃ δευτῆρας ἡμέρας ἦν ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἔειπεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἔειπεν ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὅτι ἔγωγε, He went out into a mountain to pray, and continued there all night praying to God. So Beza rendereth the place, Abiit in moniem ad precandum, & pernoctavit illic precans Deum, which certainly will not seem a just interpretation to any eyes: but it would be much more genuinely translated in *proscucha Dei*, than, taking *τῷ ὄρει* for a Genitive case of the Object, in *precatione ad Deum*. And in this sense, without doubt, the word is to be understood; *Act. 16. 16.* *ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἢ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, euntibus nobis ad proscucham, or locum orationis.* Beza here also translateth it *ad precationem*. But *v. 13.* it is said, that Paul and his company went on the Sabbath day out of the city Philippi by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made. If the word *πνεύματι* be here taken for prayer, nevertheless it importeth a place where it was used, and that by a river's side: And it could not be a Temple, because they went out of the city to it, and Temples always stood in Cities. Therefore I judge the word most properly to be taken for a place, that is, a Proscucha, or grove. These Divions taught the Gentiles, in imitation of the Jews, to use such places of devotion. Herein abominable ceremonies were practis'd, as frequently appeareth in scripture, and therefore were they forbidden. See *Isa. 57. 5.* *Hos. 4. 13.* *Ezek. 6. 13.* Thus much of Groves. Now for *bacchus* and *merit's*, I will best set down the Fable, which hath more reflexion on the truth*

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truth than is generally conceived. The Poets say, that *Semele* desiring to embrace *Jupiter* as *Luno* was wont, and being burnt for her ambitious appetite; *Jupiter* caught his little imperfect Infant from within her, and having sewed it up within his own thigh, kept it there till the time was compleat that it should have lien in the womb. Then issuing forth, he was bred up by Nymphs; and became the inventor of Wine. Of which, see *Eusebius de preparat. Evang. lib. 2. cap. 2.* who there speaketh of another *Bacchus* the son *Jupiter* and *Proserpine*, much antienter than the son of *Semele*. But this is rather from others fancies, than from proofs either of his own or theirs. As little will it be necessary to take notice of the endeavours of *Macrobius*, to make *Bacchus* all one with *Apollo*, *Sat. l. 1. c. 18.* Which opinion is condemned by *Eusebius, de preparat. Evang. l. 3. c. 13.* It will be onely in some small manner convenient, to take some sleight notice of some Physicall applications of the Fable. *Bacchus*, they say, was feigned to proceed from his father's thigh, because Vines prosper best in a warm soil. His lips were anointed with Honey by the daughter of *Aristaus*; for the Antients held Wine a friend to Eloquence. He continueth still young; for Wine preserveth the heart from cares, which are a greater cause of wrinkles and gray hairs than age. Hence also was he called *Liber*. Other reasons of which name, see in *Plutarch, Quæst. Roman. qu. 25.* Many other appellations of his see in *Ovid Metam. l. 4. Ælian Var. hist. l. 3. c. 41. Alex. ab Alex. l. 6. c. 4. Natal. Com. l. 5. c. 13. Pier. Hieroglyph. l. 27. Gyrard. Synegm. 8.* All which, having no relation to the truth, I forbear to meddle with. For declaring who *Bacchus* was, and what his rites and ceremonies were, I hold it requisite to shew who *Saturn* the father of *Love* was, by whom *Bacchus* was begotten; and herein I shall wholly follow learned *Bochartus*. *Saturn* he accurately proveth to be *Noah*. For, as the Scripture styeth a Souldier, a man of war, *Josh. 5. 4.* a murderer, a man of blood, *2 Sam. 16. 7. &c.* so it styeth *Noah* onely, a man of the earth, that is, an Husbandman: Which title *Saturn* had, and was, as *Noah*, believed the first planter of Vineyards. Therefore to him they attribute the use of the Reap-hook, and picture him with one, *Plutarch Quæst. Rom. 42. Macrobi. Saturn l. 1. c. 7, & 10.* And as if *Noah*, by his being a man of the earth, had indeed married the earth, *Saturn* was said to be the husband of *Rhea*, which seemeth to be derived of *rho*, to flow; and signified the earth, which is the seat of moisture. For, according to antient Philosophers, all Rivers are generated, and have their courses under-ground. This *Virgil* sheweth, *Georg. 4.* who saith,

S

That

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That when *Aristeus* was admitted into his mother's kingdom,

*Omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra
Spectabat diversa locis.*

There under ground he spi'd
How severall ways the wantring Rivers glide.

Macrobius Saturn. l. 1. c. 10. deriveth *Saturn's* name *à satu*, to wit, from planting or sowing. *Satur*, that is, plenteous or abundant, is nearer to it; and *Sator*, that is, a Sower or Planter. From *Noah's* being drunk, *Bochartus lib. 1. cap. 1.* bringeth the use of the *Saturnalia*; and inserteth a pretty observation concerning his cursing of *Cham*, because he had seen his secret parts. The like the Heathens held proceeded from *Saturn*. For *Minerva* having stricken *Tiresias* blind for seeing her naked, thus excuseth her self to his mother, *Callimach. Hymn.*

non per me, perdidit ille oculos:

Nec mihi luminibus pueros orbare voluptas,

At à falcigero lex Sene lata jubet.

Ut pena graviore luat, temeraria quisquis

Ausit in invitos lumina ferre deos.

It was not by me: nor do I take delight

Or pleasure to rob any of their sight.

The Law from Saturn came, That he should be

Punish'd, who e're th'unwilling gods should see.

For this, *Aetion* suffered. And to this Law *Propertius* alludeth, *lib. 3. e'eg. 12.* speaking of the Golden age,

Non fuerat nudas pena videre deas.

The son of *Noah* or *Saturn* which was cursed, was *Cham* or *Ham*; who, by reason of his being the youngest, or rather because cursed by his father, inhabited the sandy and barren parts of *Africk*, where he was worshipped by the name of *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ham*. Now *Ham* had a son or grandson called *Nimrod*, who was all one with *Bacchus*, as *Bochartus*, without any question, concludeth, *lib. 1. cap. 2.* For *Bacchus* is the same with *BAR-CHUS*, that is, the son of *Chus*, or *Cush*, as *Nimrod* was, *Gen. 10. 8.* So *Darmesek* and *Darmesek* is all one with *Damascus*. One of *Bacchus* his ancient names

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is Ζαγρεύς, which significeth a mighty Hunter, as Nimrod was, Gen. 10. 9. And this is the reason why some held Bacchus the same with Pluto, *Pluto enim defunctorum animas venatur & captat*. Bacchus was also called Νεβρώδης, from νεβρός, an Hind's Calf, because himself and his frantick adorers were usually clad with Stags skins. This also hath relation to Nimrod's being termed an Hunter: And Bochartus sheweth Nimrod and Nebrod to be all one. Bacchus was said to be born of Jupiter's thigh: Now some will not have μῆξις to signifie a thigh, but to be the name of an Hill where he was born, by Nysa in India; so Mela, lib. 3. cap. 7. and Plinie, lib. 6. cap. 21. Others conceive, it significeth the side of a mountain, as Iudg. 19. 1. ἐν μῆξι τοῦ ὄρους Εφραΐμα, in the thighs, or sides, of mount Ephraim. And 2 King. 19. 23. μῆξοῖς τῆς Λιβάνου, the thighs, or sides, of Libanus. So perhaps Bacchus was said to be born out of his father's thigh, because he was born on the side of some mountain, not that of India. But I much rather believe this part of the Fable arose from mistake of the originall word Ἰννῆ, femur, that is, the thigh, or the leg, which the Scripture useth for a modest expression of the place of generation, as Mr. Mede teacheth on Gen. 49. 10. where he interpreteth also the words, [from between his feet] to signifie his posterity. Gen. 46. 26. it is said, *All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, &c.* And Exod. 1. 5. *All the souls which came out of the loins of Jacob.* But in both places the Hebrew significeth thigh, as the Marginall Notes in our Bibles shew. And learned Bochartus saith, the Phœnician words, which properly signifie the thigh, signifie also the generating parts. Thus Bacchus his proceeding from the thigh of Jupiter, according to the Orientall expressions, (from whence this Fable came) implicth no more, than that Bacchus was the son of Jupiter. Now I shall briefly consider their Rites, which will appear the same with the worship of Heroes and Dæmons. Jupiter the son of Saturn or Noah was the same that was named Baal or Belus, as Bochartus sheweth, *Genr. sacra. pag. 189.* Bell was the proper Chaldæan word, Baal the Phœnician, as the most learned Selden saith, *Syntagm. de Baal & Belo*; both which names (as he sheweth) are promiscuously used by Fl. Josephus. The same illustrious Author proveth Baal to be Jupiter; and withall maketh it appear, that Baal was a generall name for all the gods of the Gentiles. And Belus might be taken for Heaven: and so perhaps the Altar which Manasseh raised to the host of heaven was erected to Baal or Bell. Eusebius de prepar. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. saith, *Beel-sames significeth the Lord of Heaven, who by the Greeks is called Zeus, Jupiter.* As the Altars of Baal which Josiah threw down

were in high places, so Delcius in *Senecam. Hercul. Oct.* citeth a place of *Herodotus*, to prove that sacrifices were performed on the Tops of high mountains. *Omnia autem montes*, saith he, *Jovis montes dicitur, quoniam mos fuit antiquorum ut supremo Deorum in sublimi loci sacrificarent.* This he citeth out of *Melanthes*, that every mountain was called the mountain of *Jupiter*, because it was the custom of the ancient, to sacrifice to the most high God in an high place. Now as the Babylonian *Bel*, differed from the Phœnician *Baal* or *Bel*, so *Jupiter Hammon*, from *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and others. *St. Paul*, 1 Cor. 8. 5. saith, *Sunt dii multi, & domini multi.* Which *Mr. Selden* alloweth to be many *Bels*; or, as the Europeans speak, many *Joves*. And thus the name of *Belus*, was conferred on many; But that *Baal* or *Jupiter* who was the son of *Noah* or *Saturn*, was the first we read of, that was worshipped; though the worship of *Baals*, was the worship of Heroes or Demons; To which we now descend. And that it may appear most reasonable, to apply this worship to the most early persons, that we read of in the World; two things are to be thought on, 1. That the Devill no sooner fell from Heaven, but he began to act against God: as we see in his tempting of *Eve*, 2. That he found, all men would be apt to adore most, what they knew here, and from which they received most benefit; Which was the sole reason, that *Plato* and other Heathens give for the worshipping of Heroes. And in the time of *Noah*, there being none besides him and his sons to leave beneficial directions for the succeeding age, it is likely, that they were the first, who, by the Devill's means, were worshipped as Heroes: To whose worship, the Demons joyned their own. That their worships were the same, *Cicero* confirmeth, making Gods and Heroes all one. *Divos, & eos qui caelestes semper habiti, colunt; & illos quos in caelum merita vocantur*, that is, *Those Gods which have ever been in Heaven, are to be worshipped; and those also, whom their deserts have called thither.* And again, by death they came to be Gods; *Apalcus* also, *Est superius aliud angustia que Damonum gerit, &c.* *There is*, saith he, *a more high and excellent kind of Demons, which never were imprisoned in bodies: And these Plato believeth, were the directors of the minds of men.* And *Plato* in his *Cratylus*, giveth the same Title unto Heroes; affirming, that *Hesiod* and other Poets, say excellently well, that good men, when they die, attain great Honour and Dignity, becoming *Spirits, wise ones.* And in his *de Republ.* he would have all that die valiantly in the field, to be worshipped as Demons, and all that did any thing profitable for their Country; *Cicero*, also in his *Seminum Scip.* maketh him say, that all which died in the service of

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of their Country, be rewarded with Divinity: On which, see *Macrobius*, lib. 1. c. 4. There are some, that believe *Serapis*, whose Idol had a Bull-hell on its head, was *Joseph* worshipped by the Egyptians; *Mr. Mede*, in his *Apostasy of the last times*, citeth *Philo Rydium*, who in his Preatace, to *Sanchuniaton*, the antient Phœnician Historian, saith, The Phœnicians and Egyptians, account those as the greatest Gods, who had found out any thing profitable for the Life of man, or deserved well of any Nation. See *Eusebius*, de *Prepar. Evang.* l. 2. c. 6. about the middle; To these also, were Temples erected as well as to their Dæmon-gods. *Thucydides*, lib. 2. saith, The Athenians, who after the Persian War, inhabited the Country, altering their resolutions, went to dwell in the City; but finding it not large enough to receive them, they filled also the Temples and Chappels of the Heroes. *Clemens Alex.* in his *Protrept.* and *Strom.* giveth many the like Instances, which I forbear to adde; Onely shewing, that the Dæmons joynd their own worship to that of Heroes, or deified men, as being the aptest course to draw men from the worship of the true God; Religion, in the infancy of the World, being most confirmed by visibilitie's: Which way God himself was pleased to allow, and the Devils imitated. The worship of these Heroes, or *Baalim*, we find to have been wholly Tragicall, as *Plutarch*, de *desectu oraculo*. describeth it: *ut colligimus ex utrorumque sacrificiis, orgiis & vitibus sacrorum multa admixta fœnebria & lugubria cernentes.* Now this was an expression of sorrow for the deceased; which grew a part of the religion. Wherefore we read, *Lev.* 19. 28. *Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead.* So *Lev.* 21. 5. *They shall not make baldness on their heads, nor make any cuttings in their flesh.* This cutting off hair, we find often an expression of sorrow among the antient Poets; And its being forbidden by God, is a plain Demonstration, that it was part of the Idolatrous worship of Dæmons or Heroes. Yet sometimes it was used onely, for an expression of sorrow, See *Jer.* 48. 37. To this effect, *Saint Augustine* de *civ. dei.* l. 6. c. 10. quoteth a place of *Seneca's*, not exstant in his works, but prefixed by *Ippsius* in his Edition; who thus describeth this Idolatrous and Tragicall employment, *Ille viriles sibi partes amputat, ille lacertos secat. Sic ipsi in teinlis contrucidant; vulneribus suis & sanguine supplicant.* An exacter description, cannot be had of their cutting and lancing themselves, and making their wounds their supplications. This sad manner of worship, we may plainly see to be no other then that of *Baal* or *Jove*, as it is expressed, *1 Kings* 18. 28. *And they cried aloud, (that is, the Priests of Baal) and cut themselves as with their man-*

ner with knives and lances, till the blood gushed out upon them. Thus have we seen the worship of Baal or Jove; that is, Cham or Ham the son of Noah; whose ill mind; it is probable, was easily enticed by Spirits, to cause himself to be worshipped when dead. We shall find his son Bacchus to have had no other rites but those of his. I will not stand to dispute when Bacchus lived, whom Clemens Alex. lib. 1. Strom. placeth after Moses. Neither will I set down the reasons of learned *Vossius*, who saith he was Moses. This would be too large a field to walk over, and at this time not greatly to my purpose. I will onely shew, that his worship was the same with that of Demons or Herpes, as Baal's or Jove's was. First, it will not be amiss to take notice, that Bacchus had the title of Heros given him, *Plutarch Quæst. Græc. 36*. His name BACCHUS signifieth something furious. So he is also called *Maniacus, ab insania*; of which, see *Eusebius, Præp. Evang. l. 2. c. 3*. who expresseth it according to *Clemens Alex. in Protreptico*, where he applyeth the word *Evan*, which when they kept their *Bacchanalia*, they used to houl out, being crowned with Serpents, to the first Serpent the Tempter, *Et signum Bacchicorum orgiorum est Serpens initiatus mysticis*. And, by the way, this perhaps was the cause why in these rites they used to be crowned with Ivy: This being always young and flourishing, is the hieroglyphick of the Serpent, who, by casting his skin, reneweth his youth. *Bochartus* sheweth, how Bacchus his name commeth *à lullu*, from the funerals rites and howlings used in his worship. But such were not proper to Bacchus, but common to all Demons or Heathen gods. *Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. c. 12. Non animali victimâ, nec hostiâ, sed supererare sacrificant*. And perhaps these sad ceremonies of wounding themselves, were by some over-devout Zelots extended to human sacrifices, which were offered to divers Herbes, and among them to Bacchus, as *Clemens Alex. in Protreptico*, reporteth from *Dositus* and others. *Eusebius Præp. Evang. l. 4. c. 16*. relateth the same out of *Porphyrus*, where he mentioneth others besides Bacchus, to whom human sacrifices were offered. The suries of his Priests we often meet with, leaping and dancing on the mad Chorus's. So Baal's Priests are described, *1 King. 18. 26. And they leapt upon the altar which was made*. The Marginall Note, according to the Hebrew, is, *They leapt up and down a (or about) the altar*. The cries and wailings in the *Bacchanalia* were no other, than the howls which accompanied these ceremonies. As *Isa. 15. 2. Moab shall howl over Nebo and over Medeba: on all their heads shall be baldness, and every beard cut off*. And that the sites may appear the same in all things, we may see the very cutting

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ring and lanching; that is, the effusion of blood, mentioned in Baal's Worship, to be also performed in the Feasts of Bacchus; as Statius intimateth, describing the wandring Polynices, who leaveth

— Ogyiis ululata furoribus antra
Deserit, & pingues Bacchea sanguine colles.

Those caves which furious rites with howlings fill,
And with Bacchean blood th'enriched hill.

Upon which, La Canrius saith, *Cerberonem significat, ubi se Bacche fecant in honorem Liberi;* that is, By the bill is meant Citheron, where the Bacche, the Priests of Bacchus, cut themselves in honour of Liber, or Bacchus. Thus have I made it appear, that the worship of Bacchus was exactly the same with his father Jupiter's, and both no other than that of Heroes and Dæmons. And herein was there an imitation of the worshippers of the true God, as may be gathered from Jer. 41. 5. *There came certain men from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria, even fourscore men, having their beards shaven, and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves, with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord.* And because the Lord saw that this would be converted to Dæmon-worship, it was therefore perhaps forbidden in the above-quoted places of Leviticus, and Deut. 14. 1.

254. Doth not *Sperchios*. J. A river in Thessalie, to which *Peleus* promised his son *Achilles* his hairs, if he returned safe from the Trojan war. *Maturantius* saith, It was a custom to offer the hair of Youths to the gods of Rivers, because moisture is the cause of encrease. But I read of no such custom. I have rather given an understanding of this in the precedent Note, where I shewed, that the cutting off of hair was a sacred ceremony, performed to Heroes or Dæmons. And no River antiently being thought to be without a Deity, *Peleus* vowed the hairs of *Achilles* to *Sperchios*, that is, he promised he should be worshipped by him with the performance of that Dæmon-rite. And these words of *Achilles*, which *Homer* *Il. 4.* maketh *Achilles* speak over the body of his dear *Patroclus*, shew, that *Peleus* had built Temples to *Sperchios*.

Σπερχίη, ἄλλως σοὶ γὰρ πατὴρ ἠρώσατο Πηλοῦς,
Κεῖτό με νοστήσαντα φίλῳ ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,
Σοὶ γὰρ κόμιον κείρε, ῥόξιν δ' ἱερὴν ἐπατίμβλω,
Πεντάκροστα δ' ἑσθρῆα παρ' ἄσπεδο μίλη δ' εὐσέφει.

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Εἰ πρὸς, δὴ τοῦ τῆος τοῦ Λοῦο πὲ θυήε
Ω: ἔθ' ὁ γέρον' οὐ δὲ δὲ ἄρ' ἔκ' ἐπέλασε.
Νῦν δ' ἔρε' ἔθ' μὲ' γὰ φίλῳ ἔε πατεῖδη γάτων,
Παρεῖλαθ' ἦζωι κόμην ἐπάσασθαι φη' ἔδει.
Ὅς ἔπειθ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔκλεῖψεν ἑταῖρος φίλοιο
ἔκλεῖψεν ἦτοις ὅ' πᾶσ' ἑυφ' ἴαρεν ἄρ' ἔπειθ' ἔδει.

In vain, Sperchios, Peleus vow'd to thee
At my return to Greece these Locks from me,
Besides a Hecatomb, should then be paid,
And on thine altars fifty Weathers laid,
Near to those fountains where thy Temple's rais'd,
And odors on thy fragrant altars b'az'd;
So Peleus vow'd; but he's unfaithful d,
And since my Country I am now deni'd
For ever, these hairs to the Stygian shade
In my Parocelus hand shall be convey'd;
Thou said, in his friends hand his hair he press'd,
Whilst every one affected grief express'd.

Alexander ab Alexandro lib. 5. cap. 15. saith This Ceremony was performed by the Delian Youths and Maids, over the Hyperborean Virgins, the Men laying their hair on the Sepulchers, the Virgins upon the Tombs. And lib. 3. cap. 7. that it was used by the Barbarians; not onely in funerals, but in any great adversity; and that the Persians at funerals non tantum seipfos sed. Et equos et jumenta tondent. But, that the Romans and the Greeks were wont for expressing their grief, to let their hair grow, and onely their women to shave theirs: Hence it appeareth, that the Ancients thought it the greatest expression of grief to take away those Ornaments; which they preserved in conditions of better satisfaction. That which he saith of the Greeks, is to be understood of the later Greeks, who, by letting their hair grow long, did expresse an alteration from contentment: And because that could be no expression in women, they still retained the old custom of cutting off their hair. In these later times, it hath been usuall to neglect our selves; when the World or Fortune have seem'd unkind to us, letting our hair grow to rudeness and undecency, quitting vanity upon no other cause but misfortune, nor ceasing to care for our selves, till Fortune appear careless of us.

304. Lucina Juno and Lucina are taken for the same; Macrobi Saturn. l. 1. c. 15. And Alexander ab Alex. lib. 6. c. 4; giveth Juno the

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the name of *Lucina*, and *Cyrena*, quod parturientibus opem ferat. Therefore haply was she held the goddess of Marriage. *Virg. Æn.* 4. 59.

Junoni ante omnes, cui vinc'la jugalia curæ.

————— and Juno most of all,
Propitious to the marriage-thrall.
And after, ver. 166.

————— *et pronuba Juno.*

But the confusion of the names of the Heathen gods I will not here stand upon, having spoken something thereof else where. The etymology of *Lucina* Ovid thus delivereth, *Fastor.* l. 2.

————— *dedit hæc tibi nomina Lucas;
Aut quia principium tu, dea, lucis habes.
Parce, precor, gravidis, facilis Lucina, puellis,
Maturumque utero molliter aufer onus.*

From sacred groves they thee *Lucina* call;
Or else because thou givest light to all.
Spare, kindest goddesse, every teeming Maid,
And gently too their fruitfull wombs unlade.

Mr. Selden *Syntagm. de Astoreth*, condemneth those who seek the etymology of *Lucina*, that is, *Lucina*, from the Greek; and he deriveth it from the Arabick word *Alileh*, which signifieth *Night*. The Hebrews also from *Lailah*, that is, *Night*, called this goddess *Lilith*, which may be rendred *Noctiluca*, or *Nocturnus daemon*. To keep this *Dæmon* away from women in travell, the Jews at this day are wont to write this charm on the walls of the chambers where they are, ADAM, CHAVAH, CHUTZ, LILITH; *Be far hence, Lilith*. Perhaps the Moon was adored by women in that condition, by reason that it maketh their labours easier when it is at the full. *Ier.* 7. 18. she is called *the Queen of heaven: The women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of heaven*. Some testimony of that custom remaineth in these days, cakes being still commonly made at such times, and the children themselves being called by the name of *Cake-bread*.

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ANNOTATIONS on the IV Book
of STATIUS his ACHILLEIS.

3. **P** *Aros.*] One of the Cyclades, famous for clear Marble.

5. *Naxos.*] Another of the Cyclades, sacred to Bacchus, who is said to have been here nourished. Here, they say, Ariadne was married to Bacchus, haply because being here forsaken by ungratefull Theseus, she here found a remedy, at least an end of her miseries. Bacchus, from his easing of cares, received the names of *Liber* and *Lyans*, and from his pity, of *Eleleus*, from *ελεος*, *Misericordia*. But this I conceive rather cometh from *ελαλεω*, *clamo*, and hath relation to his rites.

Samos.] An Island famous for the birth of *Pythagoras*. There be three Islands of this name: One but a little distant from the Continent of *Afia*, an Ionick Island, having a City of the same name, *Strab. lib. 14*. Here Juno lived whilst a Virgin: whence the Island was called *Parthenia*. Another, not far from the Bay of *Ambracia*. The third, in the *Ægean* sea, over against the mouth of the Thracian River *Hebrus*, *Plin. lib. 4*. This is here meant.

24. *Kind Tritonia.*] *Pallas* was ever kind to the Grecians, and the Trojans enemy. So *Ovid*,

Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit.

And *Virgil Æn. 1*. saith, that among other Pictures that *Aeneas* saw at *Carthage*, one was of Trojan women going to the Temple, *non-æqua Palladis*, of unjust, or ungentle, *Pallas*. And *Æn. 3*.

*Omnis spes Danaum, ex cepti fiducia belli,
Palladis auxilium semper stetit.*

All the Greeks hopes and confidence which chose
Th'attempted war, from *Pallas* helps arose.

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Her particular kindness to Diomedes Homer sheweth, *Iliad* 5. Servius in *Æn.* 2. saith, she was called *Tritonia*, ἀπὸ τῆς τριῶν, to fear; Pallas being commonly represented terrible with her Snakes. Or else she was called so, in relation to the three concerns of Wisdom, Memory of things past, Judgment in things present, and Providence for things to come. Or she had this name from a River, as Lucan there cited,

Esse dilectā Tritonida dixit ab unda.

She was called *Trigmina* by the Egyptians, *Alexand. ab Alex.* l. 6. c. 2. the same perhaps with *Uel-y-sine*, and *Ue-y-t-ha*, front *Ue-t*, which in the Cretian Language signifies a Head.

85. *Maotis.*] A Lake of Scythia, receiving the River Tanais, with many others, and dividen from the Euxine Sea by the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

86. *With Scythian and with Getan conquests.*] Scythia was divided into two parts, the European, and the Asiatick. The European from the banks of Tanais, by the shores of *Maotis*, and the Euxine Sea, reacheth to the mouth of *Ister*. The Asiatick from the opposite shore extendeth to the East, and is bounded by the Ocean on the North, and by the mountain *Taurus* on the South. The *Getæ* were a People of *Scythia Europæa* called *Dacians*, as *Britannica* affirmeth, and *Plin.* l. 4. c. 12. But *Strabo* lib. 7. placeth the *Getans* towards *Pontus* and the East, but the *Dacians* towards *Germany*. The *Getæ* were famous, or rather infamous, for cruelty. So *Ovid*;

Nulla Getis toto gens est truculentior orbe.

One of their cruell customs was, to kill the wife, that by her death they might appease the ghost of the husband; *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. 5. c. 26.

102. *Inviting them to crowned bowls.*] It was a custom, observed by the Ancients, especially at their Entertainments, to drink freely after their feasts, *Virg. Æn.* 1.

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remota,
Crateras magnos stantium, & vina coronant.*

The first Feast ended, on the tables shine
The weighty bowls, crown'd still with sparkling wine.

At

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At the beginning, small glasses were about, but at the end they enlarged their draughts, *Alex. ab Alex. lib. 5. cap. 27.* The Greeks had a Law, *ut biberent, aut abirent.* How Anacreon liked this custom of drinking, appeareth from this Ode of his concerning himself, *H. Stephano interprete.*

Ut me subit. *Ly aus,*
 Tunc cura dormit omnis,
 Cræsumque sperno præ me.
 Dulcis repente nostro
 Erumpit ore canius:
 Hederâ comasque cingens
 Proculco mente cuncta.
 Ad arma currat alter,
 Ad pocula ipse curram.
 Puer, ocys scyphum da:
 Nam præstas ebrium me
 Quam mortuum jacere.

When powerfull Bacchus rules my breast,
 Then I am from all cares releas'd:
 Scorn'd Cræsus too seems poor to me,
 Whilst charming Lays take liberty
 Through my melodious lips, and round:
 My brows with winding Ivy crown'd,
 Contemning all things in my mind.
 Some are for war and arms design'd;
 But the crown'd bowls do fill my head:
 'Tis better to lie drunk than dead.

106. *The Dolopes.*] A People on the borders of Thessalie, overcome as it seemeth, by Lycomedes in a Sea-battle. See Servius in *Æn. 2. vers. 7.*

161. *Ismenian pipe.*] Ismenus is a River of Bœotia, not far from Aulis, where the Greeks made their great *Rendez-vous.* In this Country stood Thebes, where Bacchus was much worshipp'd: For which City, Statius here putteth the River *Ismenus.* A liberty frequently taken by the Poets: So *Achaia* and *Pelagria*, being but Regions of Greece, are commonly put for *Greece* it self. There is also a Hill of this name by Thebes, whence Apollo was called *Ismenius.* Plutarch in *Pericle* speaketh of a Trumpeter of this name, of whom *Antisthenes, Si probus esset, tibicen non esset.*

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163. *Rhea's Brasse*] Rhea was held the mother of the gods; Who had divers other names set down by Alexander ab Alexandro *lib. 6. c. 4.* She was Saturn's wife, and taken for the Earth: The reason whereof see on *Book III. vers. 220.* Alexander ab Alex. *lib. 3. c. 12:* saith, A Sow, which was called *Præcidonea*, was offered to Ceres, or Rhea, because (as some conceive) a Sow, being a fruitfull creature, was thought a fit Present for the Earth, which was understood by Ceres. But I rather chuse the reason of Servius in *Georg. 2.* where he observeth, that the sacrifices to the gods were all performed, either by similitudes or contraries: By Similitude, as a black Beast to Pluto: By Contraries, as a Sow to Ceres, because an enemy to Fruits; a Goat to Bacchus, because an enemy to Vines. This Agellius *l. 4. c. 6.* seems to confirm, where explaining the word *Præcidonea*, he addeth, *Porca etiam Præcidanea appellata, quam piaculi gratiâ ante fruges novas captas immolari Cerei mos fuit;* that is, *A Sow was called Præcidanea, or a preceding sacrifice, by reason that it was a custom to offer one to Ceres before harvest.* Rhea was commonly represented with Towers upon her head, and drawn by Lions. And hereby the Earth is signified. Which Macrobius *Saturn. l. 1. c. 21.* affirming, addeth also, *Hæc dea Leonibus vehitur, validis impetu atque fervore animalibus. Quæ natura Cæli est, cujus ambitu Aer continetur, qui vehit terram;* that is, *This goddesse is drawn by Lions, creatures of great strength force and fervour: Which is the nature of the Heaven, in whose compass the Aire is contained, which carrieth the Earth.* On which words Pontanus citeth these Verses of Lucretius;

*Hanc veteres Graicum docti cecinere Poetae
Sublimem in curru bijuges agitare Leones,
Aeris in spatio magnam pendere docentes
Tellurem; neque posse in terra sistere terram.*

The learn'd and antient Grecian Poets sung,
This goddesse was by Lions drawn along;
Teaching that round the resting Earth is laid
In Aire: for Earth by Earth could not be staid.

A Philosophy contrary to that which is now received. This goddesse's Priests were called *Galli*, from *Gallus*, a River of Phrygia; and *Corybantes*, which some derive from *κορυβαίνω*, which signifieth *to rattle the head in any violent motion:* Which frantick action they used in their mad ceremonies. But Turnebus *Advers. lib. 13. c. 24.* understandeth

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derstandeth the word otherwise. Their rites set down by Clemens Alexandrinus *Protrept.* and repeated by Eusebius, *de Prepar. Evang. l. 2. c. 3.* little differed from those of Bacchus, altered only by the fancy and interest of severall people. And all the worship that we read to have been performed to severall gods, was no other, than that which from the beginning of the world was taught by Demons.

175. *Afflicted Thebes saw Pentheus.*] Pentheus was killed by his zealous mother *Agave*, and other frantick women, for contemning their *Bacchanalia*. *Natalis Comes, lib. 5. cap. 23.* thinketh Pentheus was some just and temperate Prince, who striving to suppress those rude ceremonies, was murdered by his displeas'd subjects.

The

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of STATIUS *his* ACHILLEIS.

13. **A** Bull.] This was the usuall sacrifice to Neptune. Yet Ovid, *Metam.* 4; when Androneda was freed, saith, A Bull was offered to Jupiter. And Silius Italicus, *lib.* 15.

————— *cadit arduus Taurus*
Viſtima, Neptuno pariter, pariterque Tonanti.

And Virgil, *Æn.* 3.

Calicolum Regi maſſabam in littore Taurum.

————— upon the ſhore
To Heaven's King a Bull I ſew ———

On which place Servius ſaith, that *Æneas* did this contrary to reaſon, in relation to the event, a Bull being the ſacrifice of Neptune, reſembling the roughneſſe of the waves, and the nature of Neptune, and other Sea-gods, as ungentle as the waves that bred them: as Agellius *l.* 15 *c.* 2. *Ferociffimos & immanes & alienos ab omni humanitate Neptuni filios dixerunt*; that is, Neptune's ſons were ſaid to be moſt fierce and ungentle, and ſtrangers to all humanity. See Macrobius, *l.* 3. *c.* 10.

15, 16. Having then the entralls ſung Into the briny waves] This manner of throwing the entralls into the Sea, when ſacrifice was performed to the Sea-gods, Virgil ſet forth down, *Æn.* 5.

Dii quibus imperium pelagi, quorum aquora curro,
Vobis latus ego hodie canentem in littore taurum
Conſtituam ante aras voti reus, extrahite ſalſos
Porriciam in fluſus. You

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You gods whose empire in the Ocean lies,
 Over whose waves I sail; this sacrifice,
 A fine y Bull as due to you, I pay,
 And in the briny waves the entralls lay.

For in all sacrifices, the entralls were a chief part of the dedication; as Juvenal, *Sat.* 10.

*Ut tamen & posent aliquid, uveasque sacellis
 Exta, & candiduli divina tomacula porci.*

That thou maist something wish, and at the shrine
 Offer the sacred entralls of white Swine.

This ceremony of throwing the entralls into the Sea, was, because Neptune, to whom the sacrifice was offered, there reigned. Suetonius in *Augusto* hath these words, *Nunciata repente hostis incursione, semicruda exta rapta foco profecuit: atque ita praelium ingressus, victor rediit;* that is, Hearing of the incursion of the enemy, he cut off the entralls half-raw, snatched from the fire; and so going out to Battle he returned victorious. On which words, Salmastius, *Partem extorum profecandam & Diis praeferendam ara super-imponebant, & diis adolebant;* They laid that part of the entralls on the Altar that was to be cut off, and sacrificed it to the gods. *Reliquam partem vescabantur qui sacrificio intererant.* The rest was eaten by such as were present at the sacrifice. All the actions about the entralls, looking into them and examining them, laying them on the Altar, eating what is to be eaten, *Arrianus* compriseth under this one Verb, *σπασσύνωραθσι.* This custom, among others, which in the Notes I have given short hints of, was taken up by the Heathen in imitation of the true God's worship; as will appear from *Levit.* 1. 9, 11. *The inwards and the legs shall be wash in water, and the Priest shall burn all on the Altar.* Of the Priests eating part of the sacrifice, see *Levit.* 2. 3, 10. and 6. 26 *Ecclus* 7. 31; Likewise the baked and broiled meats were the Priests, *Lev.* 7. 9 Here imitated by the word *semicruda.* And we read but of few ceremonies

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ceremonies among the ancient Gentiles, that had not such a beginning.

35. *Was within the open threshold shut.*] The Poet meantly the Temple of Janus, which in Peace was ever shut, and open in War. From Janus the gates of any private house were called *Janus*. The gates of Janus were shut but twice before the time of Augustus. *Janum Quirinum semel, atque iterum à condita Urbe memoriam ante suam clausum, in multo brevioris spatio, terrâ marique pace partâ, ter cluit*, saith Suetonius, in *Augusto*, c. 22. That is, The Temple of Janus, from the beginning of the City, was but twice shut before the reign of Augustus; but in his reign, in a much lesser space, he being at peace with all the world, it was thrice shut. The first time it was shut was in the reign of Numa Pompilius; The second, when T. Manlius Torquatus, and Atrillius Balbus were Consuls: but it was opened again (as many say) the same year, and so continued till Augustus. Perhaps Rome's not enjoying peace was not the least cause of its prosperity. For in troublous times, mens endeavours commonly are united for the publick safety, but pursue private interests in times of peace and idleness; so hard it is to make true advantage of God's greatest blessings. Augustus first shut Janus his Temple, Anno ab U. C. DXXV. after the overthrow of Antonie; Himself the fifth time, and Sextus Apuleius being Consuls. Four years after he shut it the second time, M. Junius Silanus being Consul with him. The third time he shut it was about the time of our Saviour CHRIST, the Prince of peace. The next time we read of its being shut, was, when Nero, and Valerius Messala, were Consuls, Anno U. C. DCCCXI. which Tacitus and Orosius reckon not, because Nero shut it upon no just grounds. So Suetonius in his life, *Janum geminum clausit tam nullo quam residuo bello*; which Faernus readeth, *Tanquam nullo residuo bello*: that is, *He shut the Temple of Janus, as if there were no signes of war remaining*. The seventh time it was shut (or, more truly, the sixth time) was, Anno U. C. DCCCXXIV. Vespasian and Nerva being Consuls. After this time, Historians say nothing concerning the gates of this Temple. Yet Capitolinus in *Gordino Juniore*, affirmeth, that the custom still remained. Alexander ab Alexandro lib. 1. c. 14. conceiveth the reason, why Janus his

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Temple was the testimony of peace and war, was, his being the President of the revolutions of times; so his Statue intimated, having on its hands the number of the days of the year figured. As he was figured with two faces, so he had also two gates, one toward the East, the other toward the West. These Macrobius, *Saturn. l. 1. c. 9.* useth for arguments, to prove Janus the same with the Sun, according to his designe. But I rather judge this arose from Saturn, (by vvhom Time was meant) his being perhaps all one vvith Janus. But Macrobius, *cap. 9.* believeth, Janus's two faces related to the prudence and care of a Prince, who looketh both on what is past, and also on what is to come: Janus made Saturn partner with him in the Kingdom, for the benefit he received from his instructions about Husbandry: And after his death, in honour of him, and in memory of the ship which brought him to Italy, he caused the figure of a ship to be stamped on one side of his Coin, which on the other had his own Image. Hence came the Game, *Cum pueri denarios in sublimi jactantes, CAPITA. AUT NAVIA, lusu teste vetustatis, exclamant;* which in our days still remaineth, being now called *Cross*: or *Pile*. *Cap. 9.* he telleth this originall story of the opening of Janus's gates in War: When the War of the Sabines was in favour of their ravished Virgins, the Romans hastned to shut the gate at the foot of the Hill Viminalis, (which from the event was after called Ianialis) by reason the enemy was rushing in that way. After it was shut, it straight opened again of its own accord. Which having happened twice or thrice, they stood to defend it with Soldiers, because they could not shut it: when suddenly there came a report, that on another side of the City the Romans were beaten by Tadius: at which, the Romans that defended this gate, affrighted fled. And when the Sabines were breaking in, it is said, that from the Temple of Janus a violent torrent of hot water issued, and overthrew the pressing enemy for this cause. in war the gates were always set open, as it write in exhortation of such help, and in representing the god himself going out to their assistance. And this no doubt proved very advantageous, for the encouragement of the common people, who are apt enough to believe any, that tell them of a god's going out with them. To this purpose also, Servius relateth the story, in *Æn. 1.* and saith, the reason of Janus his being figured with two faces, was the confederacy of the

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two Princes, *Romanus* and *Tartar*. The best reason he giveth, as he thinketh himself, is, *That those that go to war wish to return.* But certainly he is unjust to himself, having before said, *vel quod ad hoc sum irriti de pace cogitare,* that is, *or because that those that are going to war ought to have their thoughts on peace.*

55. *Helloran shore.*] That is, *Trojane.*

58. *The Trojan Swain.*] *Paris*, so called, from his having been bred up among the shepherds. See *Annot. on Book 1. v. 32.*

62. *So rose the strife, &c.*] For they tell out, when they were at the marriage of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, about a golden Apple cast among them by *Discord*.

73. *Europe*] is here put for *Greece.*

83. *When love, &c.*] *love* ravished *Europa* in the shape of a Bull. See *Ovid Metam. lib. 2.*

87. *Aetes.*] The father of *Medea*, who pursued the Argonauts that carried her away in the Ship *Argo*, which was after made a Constellation.

150. *The Macedonian Pile*] See on *Book 2. v. 6.*

151. *Sauromatians,*] a people of *Scythia*, commonly called *Tartars.*

152. *Getans*] See on *Book 4. v. 86*

153. *Gelonians.*] a people also of *Scythia*, so called from *Gelonus* the son of *Hercules*. They are now comprehended under the name of *Tartars*. They were wont to paint and discolour their faces, that they might appear the more terrible in Battle. Hence *Virgil* calleth them *Pilos Gelonos*, *Geor. 2.* They were famous Archers: Hence *Horace*, *lib. 3. od. 4.* calleth them *pharetratos Gelonos*: And *Virgil Aen. 8. Sagittiferos Gelonos*. They used, as the *Massagetans*, to drink *Horses* blood mingled with milk.

154. *Balearian Slingers.*] The *Baleares* are two Islands belonging to *Spain*, commonly called *Majorica* and *Minorica*. Some hold, they received their name from *Baleus*, a companion of *Hercules*, there left by him. But rather they were so called *καταβληται*, from *Slinging*: For the inhabitants were very skillfull in the use of the sling, and bred their children to it. When their children were hungry, they laid their victuals on a high beam, and they were to strike it off with a sling before they had it, *Flor. l. 3. c. 8.* and *Alex. ab. Alex. lib. 2. c. 25.*

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The Greeks formerly called them *Gymnastians*, from their custom of going naked.

177. *To fight with armed fists.*] See on Book I. v. 219.

Oebalian quoits.] This was a weight with a ring in it, which they used to throw. At this Exercise Apollo killed his beloved Hyacinthus. See *Alexand. ab Alex. lib. 3. cap. 21.*

178. *And wrestle with oiled limbs.*] I have shewed above, why places of Exercises are called *Gymnasia*. Those that wrestled were naked, and had their limbs annointed. Thucydides, *lib. 1.* saith, The Lacedæmonians first instituted Wrestling naked, with oyled limbs: but he there affirmeth, that the more antient custom was to wear Breeches. This exercise was in such esteem, that one that was excellent in it was valued as much as the bravest Souldier, *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 25.* For which reputation's sake, they used assiduous practise before they came to the place: And then, as Clemens Alexandrinus *lib. 7.*

Strom. relateth, looking on the Statue of Iupiter, they made this prayer to him, *If all things, O Iupiter, are rightly performed by me for the Combat, give me the deserved Victory.*

A

III. RECORD OF LINE END-HYPHENATION, AND PRESS-VARIANTS BY FORME

Record of Line-End Hyphenation

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Reading in the Present Edition	Reading in the Copy-Text
I, 2	Heavens	Hea-/vens
I, 2	Grand-/father	Grand-/father
I, 15	Emperor	Em-/peror
I, 137	provide	pro-/vide
II, 136	<u>repine</u>	<u>re-/pine</u>
II, 185	receives	re-/ceives
II, 186	deceives	de-/ceives
III, 2	Princes	Prin-/ces
III, 8½	Inhabitants	Inhabi-/tants
III, 9	<u>Peloponnesus</u>	<u>Pel-/ponnesus</u>
III, 12	<u>Hellespont</u>	<u>Helles-/pont</u>
III, 101	enclos'd	en-/clos'd
III, 104	bestow'd	be-/stow'd
III, 153	forsook	for-/sook
IV, 2	scattered	scatte-/red
IV, 90	disguise	dis-/guise
IV, 93	<u>Diomed</u>	<u>Dio-/med</u>
IV, 163	rebound	re-/bound
IV, 195	employ	em-/ploy
IV, 203	bright-/Reflecting	bright-/Reflecting
IV, 205	proclaim	pro-/claim
V, 1	away	a-/way
V, 26	pursu'd	pur-/su'd
V, 42	<u>suppress'd</u>	<u>sup-/press'd</u>

Press-Variants by Forme

In each entry of the following list of press-variants, which comes both the translation proper and the annotations, the material to the left of the bracket either comes from or pertains to the uncorrected state of the forme and the material to the right of the bracket, the corrected state or states. The page numbers refer to Poems and Poems on Several Occasions. The exemplars which were collated are in the following copies.

Copies of Poems (1660): Harvard¹--in the library of Harvard University--
*EC65 H8364 660p. The exemplar in
this copy was used as the control
text for all the collations and as
the copy-text for the present edition.

Cornell--in the library of Cornell University--
PR 3517 H3 A17 1660

Duke--in the library of Duke University--
822.49 H851P

Folger¹--in The Folger Shakespeare Library--
H3003

LC--in The United States Library of Congress--
PR3517 .H3 1660

North Carolina--in the library of The University--
of North Carolina--PR3517 .H3
1660

Copies of Poems on Several Occasions (1696--a reissue, with a cancel title-
page, of Poems): Folger²--in The Folger Shakespeare Library--

Harvard²--in the library of Harvard University--
*EC65 H8364 660pa

Sheet N, inner forme

Uncorrected: Harvard¹

Corrected--first state: Cornell

Corrected--second state: Duke, Folger¹, LC, North Carolina, Folger², and
Harvard²

Page 179--N2^r

I, 205-225 The line-numbers--"205," "210," "215," "220," and "225"--
are to the right of the text.] The line-numbers are to the left
(both corrected states).

I, 223 a a smile] a a smile (first corrected state), a smile (second
corrected state)

Sheet U, inner forme

Uncorrected (?): Cornell

Corrected (?): Harvard¹, Duke, Folger¹, LC, North Carolina, Folger², and
Harvard²

Page 282--U5^v

There is no catchword.] A catchword--"A"--is present.

IV. EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

The following explanatory notes are all on the translation proper and are intended to deal with those words, constructions, etc. which were, in the opinion of the editor, most in need of explanatory treatment. To be more specific, these notes—with a few exceptions—have to do with the following kinds of things: words whose meaning is obscure and which could be deceptive or difficult to the average reader of older literature, including proper nouns and derivatives therefrom not dealt with in Howard's annotations and not likely to be found in a common reference work; constructions and punctuation which are misleading or which are likely to raise a question in the mind of the reader; passages the meaning of which is difficult to understand; places which indicate that Howard used or may have used a verbal reading from the text of the edition of 1653, instead of the corresponding reading in the text of the edition of 1658, which is the text given in parallel in the present edition; and places where an especially difficult or debatable editorial decision on emendation was made. The numbers at the beginning of each note refer to the appropriate book and line or lines of Howard's translation. Except where there is an indication to the contrary, all quotations from, translation from, and references to the Latin text of The Achilleis are from and to the text presented in parallel. Except where there is such an indication, all translations of Latin passages are by the editor of the present edition. In the process of translation from the Latin text of The Achilleis, obvious and insignificant errors and deficiencies in the spelling and punctuation of the parallel text were occasionally corrected,

and the capitalization was modernized. Quotations from and references to Latin works other than The Achilleis are from and to those works as they appear in the appropriate editions in The Loeb Classical Library. A number of other printed sources were substantively used in the preparation of the notes. Those sources which were used only once are named in the notes. Those sources which were used more than once it seemed best that the editor should list in this introduction, along with them giving basic information about the use to which each was put. A list of the sources is, accordingly, now given:

Howard, Sir Robert. "The Fourth Book of Virgill. Of the Loves of Dido and Aeneas." Poems. London, 1660. Like Howard's translation of The Achilleis, his translation of Aeneis IV has as its source a Latin epic and was published in both Poems and Poems on Several Occasions (1696); it is the only other translation in those two volumes. It is logical, therefore, to go to it for illumination of problems which occur in the translation of The Achilleis, and in the following explanatory notes, it is cited not infrequently. All quotations from and references to Howard's translation of Aeneis IV are from and to the text of it which appears in the copy of Poems owned by the Harvard University Library (*EC65 H8364 660p). It is in this copy of Poems that the copy-text for the present is found.

Howard, Sir Robert. The Blind Lady, A Comedy. Poems. London, 1660. References are made also to this part of Poems. The text used is that reproduced by The Library of English Literature in their "microbook" of Poems.

Kidd, D.A. Collins Gem Dictionary: Latin · English: English · Latin

London, 1980. All definitions of Latin words are from this dictionary or the next.

Lewis, Charlton T. and Charles Short. A Latin Dictionary: Founded on

Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary. Oxford, England, 1969. Some additional lexicographical information is taken from this dictionary.

Liddell, Henry George and Robert Scott. A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford,

England, 1925. This dictionary was used as the authority for Greek words.

Mansion, J.E. Harrap's Modern College French and English Dictionary.

New York, 1972. With one exception, the source for which is given in the notes, definitions of French words and other information about them are from this dictionary.

Statius, Publius Papinius. P. Papinii Statii Opera, ex recensione et

com notis I. Frederici Gronovii. Amsterdam, 1653. Howard seems to have occasionally used the text of The Achilleis in the edition of 1653 instead of the text in the edition of 1658, which is the text given in parallel in the present edition of Howard's translation, and so the edition of 1653 is occasionally cited in the notes. In any note, with one or two exceptions, it is cited only if there is a pertinent difference between its text of The Achilleis and that in the edition of 1658, and when reading any note in which it is not cited, the reader is to understand that, with respect to the problem under consideration, the text in the edition of 1653 is at least essentially the same as that in the edition of 1658. All differences between the two texts in wording, text-division, spelling, initial

capitalization, and punctuation are listed in Appendix B.

Statius, Publius Papinius. P. Statii Papinii. Thebaidos Libri Duodecim [Silvarum Libri V and Achilleidos Libri V]. Cum Notis Francisci Guieti Andini. Io. Peyraredi nob. Aquitani, & aliorum. Opera ac studio Michaelis De Marolles Abbatis de Vellelloin. 3 vols. Paris, 1658. The text of The Achilleis in the edition of 1658 is the text that is given in parallel in the present edition of Howard's translation. In the edition of 1658, the text of The Achilleis is accompanied by a parallel French translation, and it seems that Howard on occasion used this translation. No attempt was made in the explanatory notes to point out all of the places in which Howard seems to have been influenced by this translation, but the translation was quoted if influence was apparent in a place upon which an explanatory note was being written for some other reason, or if it seemed that the French would be helpful in revealing the meaning of the Latin. All quotations from the French translation are from the text of it which appears in the copy of the edition of 1658 owned by the library of The University of Chicago (National Union Catalog number NS 0875957); it is from this copy that the parallel Latin text is taken.

Statius, Publius Papinius. Statius: With an English Translation. Ed. by J.H. Mozley. 2 vols. London, 1969. This is the edition of Statius which is in The Loeb Classical Library. It is usually cited for its translation; at such times, if Mozley's Latin text differs significantly from the one in the present edition, the difference or differences are noted. Quotations from Mozley's translation are clearly indicated as such.

Statius, Publius, Papinius. Statius: Achilleid. Ed. by O.A.W. Dilke.

Cambridge, England, 1954. The "Notes" in this edition are cited a few times, and the information on MS. readings came from this edition.

The Oxford English Dictionary: Being a Corrected Re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Oxford, England, 1970. Except where there is some indication to the contrary, all definitions of English words and all other information about English words come from The O.E.D. In each instance in which a definition in The O.E.D. is quoted, the appropriate reference is given, so that a reader may know exactly what part of an article the quotation is from. When an example from The O.E.D. is given, the reader should assume that it is to be found in the part to which reference was last made, unless a new reference is given.

Title-page--In the Latin text of the edition of 1658, which is the text given in parallel in the present edition, there is an argument for the whole of The Achilleis, as well as for each of its five books. In the Latin text of the edition of 1653, which text Howard seems to have occasionally consulted, there is, as in Howard's translation, no such argument; indeed, there are no arguments at all. The fact that there is in Howard's translation no argument for the whole of The Achilleis is not, of course, evidence that Howard in this place followed the earlier edition, but the possibility that he did, however tenuous, must be mentioned, for the omission of the argument is an important one. Although none of the arguments which have been printed with The Achilleis is by

Statius, the omission of five lines from a text is never a small matter. Moreover, in omitting the argument, Howard lost a good opportunity to stress the pretended completeness of The Achilleis. The mere presence of such an argument would serve to make the work seem more like a rounded, finished epic, and the effect would be heightened by the underscoring of the work's five-book division, which, for the purpose of making the work seem like a completed epic, had been editorially imposed upon it in certain late MSS., which were then followed in certain printed editions, including that of 1658. That Howard declined, or appears to have declined, the opportunity presented by the existence of the argument which we find in the text of 1658, seems rather odd.

The argument that Howard could have translated, which, in the present edition, is found in the lower half of the Latin title-page, may be rendered thus:

The Argument
Of the Five Books
Of The Achilleis
Of Papinius Surculus Statius

In the first, Thetis, having previously supplicated, seeks Chiron. Then Thetis delivers Achilles from the Haemonian [i.e., the Thessalian--Chiron] to Lycomedes. The third looks for Aeacides [i.e., Achilles], also begets Pyrrhus. But the fourth reveals hidden Pelides [i.e., Achilles] to Ulysses. In the fifth, Aeacides sails to destined Pergama [i.e., Troy].

I, 2-2½--With respect to the hyphenation of "Grand-/father," consider the following examples from The O.E.D.: "c 1449 Pecoock Repr. II. iii. 150 Lo here lieth my fadir and there lieth my graunt fadir." "1591 Shaks. Two Gent. III. i. 295 La. Who begot thee? Sp. Marry, the son of my Grand-father." (O.E.D. 1.) "1709 Sacheverell Serm. 5 Nov. 22 The Grand-Father of Falshood, the Devil." (O.E.D. 1.b.)

I, 18-22--Howard seems not to have done well here. It seems, from the translation, that Statius wants to write on the subject of Achilles until he does away with Achilles in order to write the prelude to his intended work on Domitian; and "yet wanting confidence" seems to go with "Till I sing Thine." The Latin, in ll. 17-19, bears a distinctly different sense from that which is apparent there in Howard's translation--" . . . grant pardon, and allow me anxiously to toil in this dust awhile. Thine is the theme whereat with long nor yet confident preparation I am labouring, and great Achilles plays the prelude unto thee." (Translation by Mozley, in whose Latin text there is a period after the first word of l. 18. The punctuation in the Latin text of 1658--that used in the present edition of Howard's translation--is very poor.) It is possible, however, that by "dispencc with" ("dispencc" being, as one sees in The O.E.D., merely an orthographical variant--a seventeenth-century spelling--of dispense), Howard means not "do away with," as it seems, but, rather, something opposite. To dispense with can have one of the following obsolete meanings: "To deal with indulgently; to manage with; to do with, put up with." This group of meanings (O.E.D. 16.), The O.E.D. illustrates with a number of examples, two of which are the following: "1660 Wood Life (Oxf. Hist. Soc.) I. 366 Though they lately hated a square cap, yet now they could dispense with one." and "1796 Pegge Anonym. (1809) 460, I can dispense with it, i.e. I can do with it; and, I can dispense with it, i.e. I can do without it." In Howard's day, dispense with was sometimes used in the sense of "do with"--as opposed to "do away with" or "do without"--and it is possible that Howard, in l. 22, uses dispense with in this sense. The basic meaning of ll. 18-22 would then be this: "Permit me to quide my pen and to toil on Achilles' acts, and to do with his name for

your prelude." Interpreted thus, Howard's lines are in the spirit of the Latin. "Yet wanting confidence" would still be awkwardly placed, but because it would not be trapped in a long subordinate clause, between two coordinate verbs stating two phases of the same future activity, it might stand a better chance of being taken with "permit me . . . To guide . . . And . . . to toy!"; this, according to the spirit of the Latin, is the syntactical sequence with which the participial phrase belongs. One of the weaknesses of Howard's translation is that he has often misplaced his participial phrases, and thus often misleads the reader. It is interesting that in the French translation of 1658, the construction corresponding to "yet wanting confidence" is also misplaced, at least according to the Latin--" . . . donnez nous congé de parler, & permettez à vn homme timide de suer tant soit peu dans cette plorieuse poussiere. Nous faisons dessein de parler de vous seul dans vn grand ourage: mais ne ponant [i.e., pouvant] encore nous fier à nos forces, trouuez bon que ie n'exerce avec le grand Achile pour essayer nostre courage & nostre adresse deuant vous." The construction in question, like "nec dum fidente" ("nor yet confident"--literally, nore yet trusting), in l.18 of the Latin, and like Howard's "yet wanting confidence," is an participial construction, "ponant," like the corresponding words, being a present participle. The problem, different from that in Howard's translation, is that "ponant" seems to modify the subject of "trouuez," that is, "you" (understood)--Domitian.

I, 30-- The word "clear" is probably a translation of the Latin word "vitreo" (glassy), which was, in the editon of 1658, omitted from l. 26. With "vittreo" added, the Latin, in ll. 25-28, gives the following: "When

Thetis (alas! never empty are the prophecies of parents) was greatly frightened, beneath the glassy flood, at the Idaean [i.e., Trojan, Phrygian] oars. And there was no delay. And she sprang forth from her billowy chamber [or marriage-bed], the throng of her sisters accompanying her." "Vitreo" is present in the edition of 1653, and what we find at this point in the French translation of 1658 is interesting: ". . . quand Thetis fut effrayée des rames apportées du mont Ida, qu'elle vit à fleur d'eau (hélas, les augures de ceux à qui l'on doit sa naissance, ne sont jamais trompeurs.) Elle ne perdit point de temps, & sortit de son lict ondoyant, accompagnée de ses Soeurs." "A fleur d'eau" (at water-level) might reflect the word "vitreo," although "vitreo" is absent in the parallel Latin text; and it is possible that it is from the wording of the French translation that Howard got the idea of "clearness." But, of course, since this idea is necessary--although not expressed--even in the Latin text of 1658, Howard might not have been influenced, with respect to the word "clear," by any second text. Similarly, "effrayee . . . vit," in the French, might have suggested Howard's "affrighted saw," and, then again, it might not have suggested it.

I, 41--"The Atrides," meaning "the sons of Atreus (i.e., Agamemnon and Menelaus)," is interesting. In Latin--and this discussion is concerned mainly with the nominative case--Ātrīdes is singular, the plural being Ātrīdae. These forms come from the Greek, where Ἄτρειδης is the singular and Ἄτρειδαί the plural. The correct Latin nominative forms should be used in English. But Howard has "Atrides" as his plural form. He perhaps looked at "Atridis" (to the Artidae or the sons of Atreus), in l. 36 of the Latin text, and, on the basis of this dative (or, perhaps,

ablative) plural, thought that the nominative plural should be "Atrides." He was perhaps confusing the masculine patronymics with the feminine. They all (those of the type represented by Atrides) have d in the stem, but the masculine forms end in -es in the nominative singular and -ae in the plural; and the feminine forms, in -s in the singular and -es in the plural. Another possibility, which may at first sight seem to be the answer to the problem, is that Howard took the stem of "Atridis" and treated it as an English word, tacking on an English plural suffix in order to indicate both Agamemnon and Menelaus. In the same way, we have Nereid and Nereids from the feminine patronymic Nērēis-Nērēides (Νηρηΐς-Νηρηΐδες in the Greek), of which the stem is Nereid-. The possibility that Howard wanted to make an English plural noun is supported by the fact that in the note on l. 41 he has "the Atrides . . . i.e. Menelaus and Agamemnon, called Atridae, from Atreus, their supposed father." But when Howard wrote the annotations, he perhaps had forgotten that, in translating, he had tried for a Latin, not an English, plural form, and thus was able to write "Atrides . . . Atridae." Intrinsically, "Atrides" does not seem to have a strong claim to being English. Howard may have wanted to make an English plural noun. He did not want, it seems, to have English pronunciation. If he did Anglicize the word, he used the plural suffix -es instead of -s, which one would expect on the analogy of such words as Nereids. He thus got three syllables out of the word rather than only two. Also, he seems to stress the word on the second syllable, instead of on the first, where, in English, the accent would most naturally fall--cf., again, the word Nereids. The result is that if Howard's "Atrides" is an English plural noun, it is a very strange one. Besides seeming not to be analogical, it not only looks like, but also

seems to be scanned like, the corresponding Latin singular. The real answer to the problem may involve the French translation of 1658. It is possible that Howard simply transferred the spelling used in the French-- " . . . ll [i.e., il] ne suffit pas que toute la Grece soit coniu^rée aux les glorieux Atrides" But since A-t-r-i-d-e-s would be disyllabic in French, Howard, if he did get the spelling from the French, must have thought of it as the proper Latin spelling, introduced into the French; thus he would have been able to introduce it into his own translation as a trisyllabic word. Or perhaps he did not transfer the French spelling but, rather, was influenced by it to convert "Atridis" to the nominative plural incorrectly. In III, 77, Howard uses the proper Latin nominative plural, Atridae. Here, however, he had the proper form before him, in l. 72 of the Latin text. The French spelling at this point is the same as it is earlier--" . . . bien que les deux Atrides entreprennent la guerre qui se fait principalement à leur sujet"

I, 45--"Lapithites," meaning "Lapiths," and, with "the," representing "Lapitharum" (of the Lapiths), in l. 40, is not a Latin plural. Notice that it is tri-, not tetra-, syllabic. Also, the formation "Lapithit-" is not sanctioned by any ancient author, at least of the classical period. In V, 131, in order to translate "Lapithas" (Lapiths), which is in l. 112, Howard used "Lapithae"--the proper Latin (nominative) plural. This word too, of course, is trisyllabic. In fact, both words occupy the same metrical position in their respective lines. Howard could have used the correct form in I, 45.

I, 56--"Tethys" comes from the correct reading for the penultimate word of

l. 49 in the Latin--"Tethyos" (of Tethys). The form "Thetios," which would mean "of Thetis" or "Thetian," does not properly exist in classical Latin. The edition of 1653 has the correct reading. Of course, Howard would perhaps have known without the use of another edition that "Thetios" is an error and the "Tethyos" is the correct reading.

I, 77-78--See the note on III, 290.

I, 79--"Return" seems to be a translation not of "manus" (the hand), in l. 70, but of "munus" (the duty, gift), the correct reading. With "munus," the Latin, in ll. 69-70, gives the following: "Thus do we pay for the reward of the Phrygian victory. Are these the morals of Venus, in this the duty of the grateful foster-child?" The edition of 1653 has "munus." The French translation of 1658 has the following: "C'est ainsi que nous recompensons les Phrygiens qui nous ont si bien payez. Ne sont-ce pas des tours de Venus? Et ne reconnoist-elle pas bien les soins que nous auons eus de l'auoir éleuée?" The French differs from the interpretation of Howard (and of Mozley and Dilke) in taking "Phrygiae . . . palmae" as a reference not to the judgment of Paris, but to the time when, as a marginal note says, ". . . Neptune . . . batit les murs de Troye." But the French does seem to reflect the reading "munus," which, as has been said, Howard seems to have used, and the import of the French would have given rise to Howard's "return" more easily than the reading "manus," or would at least have suggested that "manus" is a corruption of "munus." Here again, however, Howard did not have to consult a second text in order to know that an error had been made in the Latin: "manus" is not satis-

factorily understandable; "hoc" (this) cannot agree in gender with "manus," while it can agree with munus, which is invitingly close to "manus"; and a footnote in the edition of 1658, on the word "alumnae" (of the foster-child)--"In mari natae & educatae." (Born and brought up in the sea.)--increases the likelihood that munus is the correct reading. ("Hoc" does not have to agree in gender with its predicate nominative, but in "Hi Veneris mores," which is important here because of its parallel basic structure and its position, there is such agreement.) Whether Howard was influenced by the French on the present occasion is not clear. "Des tours," which is, presumably, a translation of "mores" (the morals), might, however, have suggested Howard's "return," which, as has been said, seems to be a translation of "munus."

I, 88--Affected seems to be one of Howard's favorite words. He uses this past passive participle six times in his translation of The Achilleis: in I, 88; II, 98; III, 58; III, 214; V, 27; and V, 84. In I, 226, he uses the corresponding present participle, affecting. In only two out of all of these places is a word in the Latin accurately translated--III, 58 and V, 27. In each of these places, "affected" represents the Latin perfect passive participle dilectus, -a, -um, which means "beloved." Affected, in one of its obsolete senses (O.E.D. I.3.), means the very same thing, and thus the word is, both semantically and grammatically, a faithful translation for dilectus. In fact, affecting seems to have the sense of "beloved" in every place in his translation in which Howard has used it, and in I, 226, affecting seems to have the corresponding sense, "loving"--also obsolete (O.E.D. 1.). In I, 88 and V, 84, "affected" can represent no word in the Latin; in II, 98, it can represent only "superbo" (proud),

and in III, 214, only "securae" (untroubled); in I, 226, the relationship between the translation and the Latin, with respect to the present question, is less strained: here, "affecting" seems to represent the word "fida" (faithful). Howard seems not to have been influenced by the French translation of 1658 in his use of affected and affecting. In his translation of Aeneid IV, which, like his translation of The Achilleis, was published in Poems and Poems on Several Occasions, and which is the only other translation published under these titles, Howard uses "affect" once, in l. 12 of p. 155 (L6r); "affecting" once, in l. 6 of p. 162 (M1v); and "affected" once, in l. 20 of p. 167 (M4r): "affect" seems to represent-- with reversal of subject and object-- "detinet" (hold back--Mozley has "charm") and seems to mean "love" (O.E.D. v.¹ 2.b.--archaic; or, perhaps, c.); "affecting" seems to represent no word in the Latin and seems to mean "loving"; and "affected" seems to represent no word in the Latin and seems to mean "seized or possessed" (O.E.D. III.1.b.--obsolete) or, perhaps, "acted upon" (O.E.D. III.4.).

I, 108--In a number of places, a hyphen is used, seemingly without good reason, between an adjective and the noun which it modifies. In I. 108, we have "joynt-revenge"; in the lemma to the note on I, 220, "fam'd-Theseus"; in II, 7, "Fam'd-Athens"; in III, 20, "Nemaeian-shades"; in III, 112, "either-Ajax"; in IV, 123, "attempting-spirits"; and in IV, 211, "doubting-Army." The seemingly unnecessary hyphens do not come either from the Latin or from the French translation of 1658. In Howard's translation of Aeneid IV are other examples: "Sidonian-treasure," in l. 18 of p. 144 (K8v); "expostulating-pray'rs," in l. 15 of p. 150 (L3v); "Trojan-Sails," in l. 8 of p. 167 (M4r); and, perhaps, "Marble-bed," in

1. 4 of p. 157 (L7r).

The next note is also on I, 108.

I, 108--That there is a semicolon at the end of this line seems odd, but the same mark of punctuation is used at the end of a speech in IV, 64; IV, 124; IV, 148; IV, 214; and IV, 304. In I, 159, a colon is used at the end of a speech; in I, 181, a comma accompanied by a dash; and in V, 19, a mere comma. Usually, in the translation, a full stop (a period, question mark, or exclamation mark) is used at the end of a speech. In I, 144; I, 162; II, 136; II, 158; III, 105; IV, 37; V, 32; and V, 110, a semicolon is used at the beginning of a speech. In this kind of place in the translation, a comma is the usual mark of punctuation; sometimes however, even a period is used. The only good evidence that either the Latin text of 1658 or the French translation of 1658 had anything to do with the semicolons in question, is from the French translation, concerns the use of a semicolon at the beginning of a speech, and is as follows:

Thetis parcourut toutes choses de la vuë sans dire mot: mais ne pouuant s'abstenir longtemps du luy tesmoigner son impatience; Chiron, luy dit-elle, où sont les gages de mon affection que ie vous ay confiez?--for the semicolon in I, 144--

La mere qui auoit ourdy cette trame, prenant l'occasion à propos; Mon fils, luy dit-elle, auriez-vous tant de peine de vous trauestir en si bonne compagnie, & de prester vos mains à vn si doux exercice?--for the semicolon in II, 136--

. . . Protesilas menacant avec vne estrange tumulte le Prophete Calchas (car il auoit plus d'impatience de combatre qu'aucun autre de l'armée, deuant estre la premiere victime de la guerre) luy dit; O fils de Thestor qui vous souenez peu des oracles d'Apollon, que vous auez receus de ses diuins Trepieds, quand est-ce que vous pourrez plus iustement qu'aujourd'huy rendre les réponses diuines?--for the semicolon in III, 105.

It will be noticed that only the semicolon in the third passage is used

in a way really parallel to that in the English. In the Latin text of 1653, it should be added, the line which is numbered as V, 31 in the parallel text, is terminated by a semicolon, not a colon, and this semicolon, at the beginning of a speech, is in the same position as that in V, 32 of Howard's translation.

The fact that in the printed text of Howard's translation, all but one of the instances in which a semicolon is used at the end of a speech are found in a single book, Book IV, suggests that if one were going to look into the compositorial background of the printed text of Howard's translation, this particular use of the semicolon--which seems particularly strange--would perhaps be helpful as a distinguishing characteristic. In Howard's translation of Aeneis IV a semicolon is found at the end of a speech only once, in l. 20 of p. 145 [L1r]. A colon is found in this kind of place in l. 23 of p. 163 [M2r]. In The Blind Lady, A Comedy, which was also published in Poems and Poems on Several Occasions, a semicolon is found at the end of a speech at least seven times; a colon is found in this kind of place at least three times; and a comma, at least seventeen times. Indeed, a whole poem in Poems and Poems on Several Occasions ends with a semicolon - Sir Robert's "Panegyrick to Generall Monck," which is the last poem in each volume. H.J. Oliver, on p. 17, says, "and the poem and the volume [Poems] do thus end, not with a bang but with a semicolon." (Actually, the end of the poem is followed by the word "FINIS" and this word, the last in the volume, ends with a period.) It would seem that we should hold some inexperienced compositor responsible for all this strange punctuation. But, on p. 278, H.J. Oliver provides a transcript of a letter from Howard to the King, and one notices that two of the five paragraphs end with a semicolon.

Just as there are, in Howard's translation of The Achilleis, several ways in which the beginning and the end of passages of direct discourse are punctuated, so there are several ways in which the passages themselves are typographically presented. In the printed text of Howard's translation, and in the text of the present edition, there are no examples of the modern way in which quotation marks are used for direct discourse. Some passages of direct discourse are not typographically distinguished in any way from the surrounding text; these passages are the following: I, 36-56; I, 69-88; I, 93-108; I, 145-159; I, 163-181; and II, 159-162. Most passages of direct discourse are set off by the use of italic type, which in the present edition is represented by underlining--II, 64-92; II, 136-140; II, 171-184; II, 205-218; III, 105-126; III, 141-152; III, 156-164; III, 165-172; III, 278-290; IV, 37-42; IV, 43-52; IV, 55-64; IV, 65-68; IV, 103-113; IV, 115-124; IV, 127-134; IV, 140-144; IV, 145-148; IV, 208-214; IV, 232-253; IV, 277-304; V, 17-19; V, 33-44; V, 45-52; V, 53-97; V, 102-109; and V, 111-191. In III, 249-266, italic type is used for some parts and roman for others, the latter not being typographically distinguished in any way as belonging to direct discourse. In III, 87-92, quotation marks are used at the beginning of each line.

I, 110--"To raise" is a translation not of "exire" (to go beyond), in l. 96, but, probably, of "excire" (to rouse, excite), a reading which is found in the edition of 1653, and which seems to be indicated in the French translation of 1658: ". . . Thetis qui se voyant refusée baissoit le visage, apres s'estre preparée à émouuoir la mer, & faire la querre aux vaisseaux de Troye, chercha d'autres inuentions . . ." With "excire" instead of "exire," the Latin, in ll. 96-97, has that Thetis "was

preparing to rouse the sea and wage war against the Ilian boats."

I, 113--Like "Laetantur" (rejoice, are glad), in l. 101, of which word it is here the translation, "joy" is an intransitive verb and means "rejoice" (O.E.D. 2.). Howard thus uses the word joy also in II, 134 and III, 94 (for which places, however, the proper reference is O.E.D. 2.b., since in these places joy is used with at). In I, 116, Howard seems to use the word as a transitive verb; "delighted" seems to be the meaning (O.E.D. 3.c. --obsolete; see also 3.b. and "Joyed . . . pp1. a."). In I, 117, he uses joy as a noun. Thus, Howard uses the word joy three times in ll. 113-117. It is, therefore, interesting that in the corresponding part of the French translation of 1658, the word *rejouir* is used twice: "Les Montagnes du pays s'en resiouyrent, les Antres où ses nopces furent celebrées avec Pelée, ourirent leur sein, & le fleuve Sperchie fit paroistre son abondance, venant au deuant de la Deesse, & entourra ses pas de la douceur de ses eaux. Elle ne se resiouyt pourtant pas beaucoup de se voir en ces beaux lieux;" "Joy" in l. 113 of Howard's translation represents "Laetantur," as has been said, and corresponds to "se . . . resiouyrent"; "joyed," in l. 116, represents no word in the Latin and corresponds to no word in the French; and "joy" in l. 117, with "took," represents "gausa [est]" ([she] delighted or rejoiced), in l. 104 of the Latin, and corresponds to "se resiouyt."

I, 122--"So wrought by Art and Time" seems to modify "Pelion," and it seems, in the translation, that Statius is talking about a large part of the external appearance of the whole mountain, "bent bow" referring to the

outline of this part. In the Latin, in ll. 106-108, it is fairly clear that it is "Chirons den" that is "wrought by Art and Time," and Statius seems to be thinking of the ceiling of the den, "arcu"--from which Howard gets his "bent bow"--meaning "a vault": "His lofty home bores through the mountain, and Pelion supports it in a long vault. Part had been emptied out by hand, part its own age had broken down."

I, 125-130--H.J. Oliver, in his Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography, on p. 29, in a note, comments on the punctuation of I, 125-130 is presumably the printer's." Oliver does not similarly comment on any punctuation in the rest of the printed text of the translation. Why he has singled out I, 125-130 is not easy to understand. The punctuation in this passage is not particularly bad, and the meaning of the passage is fairly clear--the passage does not seem to be nonsense, although it is not without some awkwardness. The comma at the end of l. 124 marks the beginning of a relative clause, which seems to modify "beds," although the syntax of the Latin suggests that neither the "beds" nor "the immortal guests" "stood" "in the stables of the Centaur." The comma at the end of l. 125 marks the beginning of an adjectival prepositional phrase. The word which the phrase modifies seems to be "Centaur," i.e., Chiron, but according to the Latin, which uses the rhetorical device of comparatio compendiaria, the word being modified is really "stables": l. 126 would thus mean "not like those [the stables] of the rest of the prodigious brood." The period at the end of l. 126 is proper; it corresponds to the one in l. 112 of the Latin. It is possible that Oliver did not pay careful attention to the Latin here, and thought that the phrase in l. 126 should modify "he," in l. 128. Or perhaps he thought that the nominative absolute

in l. 127 should go with the material in l. 126, not with that in ll. 128-129. The comma at the end of l. 127 marks the end of the absolute phrase and--properly--connects it with the following two lines. At the end of l. 128, there is a period in the copy-text. This is "wrong punctuation," but it is only one instance of a problem which is found throughout the printed text of the translation proper. (See the "Statement of Editorial Method.") The period was editorially replaced with a comma, instead of being simply removed, not only for the sake of punctuative consistency, but also because it seemed that it was intended, by someone, that there should be some mark of punctuation after "trees." The comma after "bowls," in l. 129, either helps to set off the first three words of l. 129--a job begun by the punctuation after "trees"--or is intended to indicate that "bowls" is not the subject of "disturb," or both. The comma at the end of l. 129 joins the clause or sentence in l. 130 with the preceding clause or sentence. We have here, then, a comma splice; but this is something very common in the punctuation of seventeenth-century texts. (The comma at the end of l. 129 might have been caused by the comma at the end of l. 114 in the Latin, to which it corresponds.) The comma after "Beasts," in l. 130, sets off a short prepositional phrase and its adverb, and the period at the end of l. 130 is proper, corresponding to the period at the end of l. 115 in the Latin. Ll. 123-130 in the translation represent ll. 109-115 in the Latin, and these lines read thus:

"Nevertheless, the signs and couches of the gods are shown, and the place which each had sanctified with his reclining and his divinity. Then within extend the lofty stalls of the Centaur, not equal to [those of] his impious brethren. Here are javelins that have experienced no blood of men, and [here are] no mountain-ashes that have been broken in nuptial war,

or wine-bowls that have been shattered against kindred enemies, but guiltless quivers and empty hides of wild beasts."

It is tempting to think that "Which in," in l. 125 of the translation, should actually be "Within." "Within," which would accurately represent the word "intra," would make ll. 124-125 a basically accurate translation of the Latin, and since Howard, like his contemporaries, occasionally wrote which as "w^{ch}" and with as "wth," it is not difficult to see how a compositor could have erred. (In at least one surviving letter, Howard has "wthout" for without; see pp. 41, 124, and 239 of Oliver's Sir Robert Howard.) But "Which in" is possible in the English, apart from the Latin, and the Latin can conceivably be translated as follows: "At least, they are accessible in [or within or inside] the lofty stalls of the Centaur . . . "--for the personal pronoun in which Howard could have substituted a relative pronoun. The problem in translating is with the Latin word "intra," which could be an adverb or a preposition; the syntax suggests, and Mozley indicates, that it is the former, but it could well be the latter. The French translation of 1658, however, takes it as an adverb, not a preposition: "Mais au dedans, sont les estables exhausées du Centaure" Notwithstanding, there are insufficient grounds for alteration.

I, 127--The word dart, which seems to be very frequently used in translations of classical epics, does not by itself signify a single, particular kind of weapon. For dart in the present basic sense, The O.E.D. gives the following definition: "A pointed missile weapon thrown by the hand; a light spear or javelin; also applied to pointed missiles in general, including arrows, etc." (O.E.D. 1). The word dart, with its annoying

vagueness, is quite appropriate in I, 127, for the Latin word which Howard here uses it to translate, "Spicula," in l. 113, is almost equally imprecise: Lewis and Short say that spiculum, of which "Spicula," is the nominative plural, was used, in the present sense, "of a javelin," "of an arrow," and "for the pilum" which was a heavy military javelin, used by the Roman infantry. In the French translation of 1658, in that part which corresponds to Howard's I, 127, we find the following: "Là, les darts ne s'estoient point encore rougis du sang des hommes" Notice not only "les darts" and "His darts," but also "ne s'estoient point . . . rougis du" and "unstain'd with." The Latin, in ll. 112-113, reads as follows: "Here are javelins that have experienced no blood of men" Howard's "cruelties," which does not seem to be used in any obscure sense, but which seems to be put rhetorically for "blood shed as a result of cruelties," was perhaps inspired by the fact that the word cruelty, which comes from the Latin word crudelitas (cruelty), is etymologically related to the Latin word cruor (blood), of which "cruores," in l. 112, is the accusative plural.

I, 129--"Geniall" seems to mean either "nuptial" (O.E.D. 1.: "Of or pertaining to marriage, nuptial; also, pertaining to generation, generative. Of an angel or deity: Presiding over marriage or generation. Genial bed = L. lectus genialis. Now rare.") or "festive" (O.E.D. 2: "Of or pertaining to a feast; festive. Obs."). An example from The O.E.D. in which the word genial is used in the first sense in this: "1566 Nuce tr. Seneca's Octavia I. iii. B 2 b Neroes dreaded visage . . Doth fear me that I dare not weepe . . Ne suffers me this geniall face To dash with teares." An example for the second sense is this: "1644 Milton

Areop. (Arb.) 49 Buried . . in the genial cups of an Académick night-sitting." It is probable that "geniall" is used in the first of the two senses, for Howard seems to have gotten the idea for the word from "genialibus," in l. 113 of the Latin, and the proper sense of this word is "nuptial." The English word genial is derived from the Latin word of which genialibus is the dative and ablative (here, ablative) plural--genialis. Although genialis can mean "jovial" or "pleasant" or "joyful" or "festive," its basic meanings are "of or belonging to generation or birth" and, accordingly, "nuptial," the word being from the same root from which comes the verb gigno, gignere, genui, genitum, meaning "to beget, bear." Ll. 113-114 of the Latin both refer to the famous wedding of Pirithous, king of the Lapithae, and Hippodamia, at which the Centauri, who were half-brothers of Pirithous and had been invited by him to the wedding, became intoxicated and attempted to carry off the bride herself and the other women, the result of which attempt was a bloody conflict, in which the Centaurs were defeated by the Lapiths. Thus, as Dilke, on p. 93, and Lewis and Short, under genialis, indicate, the proper translation for the word "genialibus" is "nuptial." Ll. 113-114 properly read thus: "and [here are] no mountain-ashes broken in nuptial war, or wine-bowls shattered against kindred enemies." (That the two lines go together thematically is suggested in their grammatical, lexical, and rhetorical parallelism. "Nuptial war" and "kindred enemies" are both examples of oxymoron.) Moreover, in the French translation of 1658, "genialibus" is rendered by means of "nuptiales." But just as the Centaurs forgot that they were at a wedding and became carried away with feasting, so a translator who is working on ll. 113-114 can have uppermost in his mind the idea of feasting and thus take "genialibus" in the sense of "festive."

Mozley (see the next note) renders "genialibus" by means of the English word festal. Similarly, Howard may have taken "genialibus" in the sense of "festive" and used the derivative genial in the same sense, which is the second of the two senses which are given above. One might think, in spite of what has been said, that since both genialis and genial can mean "jovial" (O.E.D. 5.), Howard might have intended "geniall" to have this meaning, which is certainly a more common meaning of the word genial than either "nuptial" or "festive"; but the earliest example in The O.E.D. in which genial can be used in the sense of "jovial" is from 1746. Would that the case of "geniall" could now be closed. Unfortunately, however, there is a further complication. In the note that Howard has written on the words "disturb the geniall crue," he does not say what he means by "geniall," but he begins talking about the word from which genialis is derived--genius (the tutelar deity or genius of a person, place, etc.; guardian spirit; etc.). This fact suggests that he might have used genial in the sense of "presiding [as deities or spirits] over [the] marriage" (O.E.D. 1--See above.). A parallel example from The O.E.D. is, perhaps, the following: "1652 Gaule Magastrom. xviii. 149 So many Geniall or Genitall Gods and Goddesses." Howard could have been influenced by the Latin of ll. 109-110--"Nevertheless, the signs and couches of the gods are shown, and the place which each had sanctified with his reclining and his divinity." This passage is separated by only two lines from the two lines in which we are chiefly interested; it too refers to a wedding--that of Peleus and Thetis; and in it is used the word genius, which, according to Dilke, on p. 93, is here to be taken almost in the sense of numen (divinity).

I, 131--The word "now" perhaps indicates that Howard used, instead of

"tunc" (then), in l. 116, the reading "nunc" (now), which is found in the edition of 1653. But even a translator who takes "tunc" as the correct reading will probably want to say "now," not "then." Thus, Mozley, who uses "tunc," translates ll. 112-118 as follows: "Here are no spears that have tasted human blood, nor ashen clubs broken in festal conflict, nor mixing-bowls shattered upon kindred foemen, but innocent quivers and mighty hides of beasts. These did he take while yet in the prime of age; but now, a warrior no more, his only toil was to learn the herbs that bring health to creatures doubting of their lives, or to describe to his pupil upon his lyre the heroes of old time." (Dilke is correct in expressing shock, on p. 93, at Mozley's "mighty hides." As Dilke suggests, Mozley perhaps translated "inania" [empty], in l. 115, as if it were "immania" [enormous].) The French translation of 1658 has this: "Là, les darts ne s'estoient point encore rougis du sang des hommes, ny les fresnes sauvages ne s'estoient point rompus dans les guerres nuptiales, ny les boucliers d'ozier ne s'estoient point mis en pieces en combatant contre des ennemis alliez: mais les carquois s'y portoient innocemment, & les peaux des bestes farouches y estoient inutiles dans l'vsage qu'on leur donnoit ailleurs. C'est à quoy le Centaure s'occupoit estant ieune: car depuis ayant quitté les armes, son seul labour fut de connoistre les herbes salutaires aux Animaux pour guerir les maladies dangereuses, ou d'enseigner à son Pupile l'art de toucher agreablement la lyre pour y chanter dessus les actions memorables des anciens Heros" If one were translating this passage into English and were going to insert either a "then" or a "now" at some appropriate point after the conjunction "car," one would use the latter. Also, it is possible that ll. 133-134 of Howard's translation owe something to "pour y chanter dessus les actions

memorables des anciens Heros."

I, 145--"Why" probably indicates the word "cur" (why), which was omitted from l. 128 in the edition of 1658, but which appears in the edition of 1653 and is probably indicated by the French translation of 1658: "Ou pourquoy mon fils employe-t-il du temps hors de vostre presence?" With "cur," the Latin, in ll. 128-129, gives this: "Or why does my boy [or child] now spend any time without you?" If "cur" is not present in the sentence, the sentence asks for an answer only of "yes" or "no": "Or does my boy now spend any time without you?"

Also, see the note on III, 290.

I, 160--The presence of the word "aged" seems to indicate that Howard saw in l. 143 of the Latin the word "seni" (to the old man or the old or aged one). In the edition of 1653, as in the chief modern editions, "seni" is used instead of "foret," which we find in the edition of 1658. ("Foret" is the third person singular of the alternative form of the imperfect subjunctive of the verb esse [to be], and with "aussa"--properly, "ausa"--forms the third person singular of the pluperfect subjunctive of the verb audere--[if] she had dared [to confess . . .]). But "foret" is not necessary for the reader to understand that it is the pluperfect subjunctive that is here intended, the verb in the apodosis clearly indicating the type of the conditional sentence. In Latin poetry, the verb to be is often omitted.) With "foret," the sentence in ll. 141-143 of the Latin reads thus: "And, indeed, that one [Chiron] would not have given him [Achilles] up if she had dared to confess the soft garments

and disgraceful coverings." (There should be a period after "foret.")
 With "seni," the sentence reads in this way: "And, indeed, that one would not have given him up if she had dared to confess to the aged one the soft garments and disgraceful coverings."

I, 170--See the note on III, 34.

I, 174--"Feather'd rain" means simply "snow." The poetic diction here does not come from the Latin, which has only "niues" (snows), in l. 152. Howard seems to be the source. Moreover, there seems to be no example of the combination "feathered rain" in The O.E.D. Between the beginning of the entry for "Feather . . . sb." and the end of that for "Feathery," the only relevant examples are as follows: "1884 Browning Ferishtah (1885) 122 Snow, *feather-thick, is falling while I feast."; "1877 N.W. Linc. Gloss., When it snows we say 't'owd woman is shackin' her feather-poke'."; "1797 G. Colman Br. Grins, Maid of Moor iii, The snow came feathering down."; "1580 C'tess Pembroke Ps. cxlviii, Yon feathery snowes from wynters nests. 1650 Sir T. Browne Pseud. Ep. II. 1. (ed. 2) 55 Which seems to be some feathery particle of snow. 1791 Cowper Iliad XII.336 As the feathery snows Fall frequent." The last three examples come under the following definition: "3. Resembling feathers or plumes. a. in appearance: Feather-like, plume-like, esp. of snow." Under "Rain . . . sb.¹" and "Rain . . . v.," there is but one relevant example: "1388 Wyclif Ecclus. xliiii. 20 An herte dredith on the reyn therof [snow]."

I, 176--"Heards" means "herds." It represents "armenta" (herds), in

l. 154, and, as one sees in The O.E.D., "heard: is a seventeenth-century spelling for herd. The spelling "shepheard" appears at least once in the present work.

I, 179--The fact that the word, or name, "Alcides" is the direct object of "saw" makes it clear that Howard did not use the corresponding reading in the Latin text of the edition of 1658. "Alcides," in l. 157 of the Latin, is in the nominative case and, because the name cannot logically be used in the nominative case in this sentence, is an obvious error. If a translator wanted to retain the reading "Alcides," he would have to translate "iuuenem Alcides, & Thesea vidi" thus: "I, Alcides [i.e., Hercules], saw the youth and Theseus." This translation makes no sense. Howard did not have to consult a second printed source to know that the correct reading is "Alciden," which is in the accusative case, and which enables the translator to say "I saw young Alcides and Theseus," using the name as a direct object. If Howard did consult the edition of 1653 on the present point, he saw that it has "Alciden," the correct reading. If he glanced at the French translation of 1658, he saw that there too the name is used as a direct object--"Je me souviens d'auoir veu le ieune Alcide & Thesée . . ."

I, 197-198--This note too concerns a situation in which Howard could easily have corrected an obvious error by himself but in which he could theoretically have gotten the correction from the edition of 1653. Howard's "the lov'd prey, / . . . he threw away" seems to indicate that he knew that "Quas," in l. 171, should be "Quos," which is the correct read-

ing, and which is present in the edition of 1653. Both "Quas" and "Quos" are relative pronouns, can mean "which," and could function as the direct object of "Abijcit," meaning "to throw down, etc."; but the former is feminine and the latter masculine. "Catulos," meaning "cubs"--the young ones, "the lov'd prey"--is masculine, and, therefore, if the idea of the relative clause, or sentence, in ll. 171-172 of the Latin is that Achilles threw down the cubs, the relative pronoun must be masculine. Since this is the idea, the pronoun must be "Quos," not "Quas." "Quas" cannot agree with anything, and cannot, therefore, represent anything, in the previous sentence, although it might incorrectly be taken as agreeing with "vngues" (claws), which too is masculine, but which is not, as is "catulos," obviously masculine. With "Quos," the Latin in ll. 167-172 reads thus: "And by chance he comes in a joyful [or pleased] mood (Oh, how much joy adds to beauty!). Beneath a cliff of Pholoe he had stricken with his sword a lioness newly delivered, and had left her herself behind in the empty cave, but he bears away the cubs and excites their claws. Which [the cubs], nevertheless, when his mother has been seen by him on the faithful threshold, he throws from him [or away], and, after she has been taken up by him he binds her with his eager arms." With "Quas," the third sentence probably would have the relative pronoun referring to "claws" and would have "gives up" or "leaves alone" or something else of this nature, instead of "throws from him." Howard has not translated "Quos" as "which," but has used, instead of the relative pronoun, a noun-phrase, "the lov'd prey," thus making what is really a relative clause into a full-fledged sentence. In the French translation of 1658, a personal pronoun is used, with the same result--"Il parut aussi dauanture ce iour là d'vn air merueilleux, avec le visage le plus agreable & le plus content

qu'il eut iamais (ô combien la ioye adjouste-t-elle de graces à la beauté.!) ayant tué de l'espée vne Lyonne qui auoit mis bas au dessous de la roche de Pholoé. Il l'auoit laissée seule dans sa cauerne, & en apportoit les petits lyonceaux, dont il escartoit les ongles.

Toutesfois, dés qu'il vit sa mere sur le seuil du logis fidelle, il les jetta par terre, & courut l'embrasser, . . ." Notice that neither in the Latin nor in the French does Chiron embrace Achilles, while Howard, in l. 199, has "By Chiron now embrac'd." Howard probably translated "exceptamque" (and after she has been taken up [i.e., embraced, welcomed] by him--literally, and having been taken up), in l. 172, as if it were "exceptusque" (after he [Achilles] has been taken up [by Chiron].

I, 202-203--Assay (which, except in its metallurgical use, is now an archaic form of essay) seems to be used here with one of the following meanings: "To set oneself (to do something), to address or apply oneself." (O.E.D. 17--obsolete); "To make the attempt, to endeavour (the issue being conceived as uncertain); to do one's best." (O.E.D. 17.b.); "To venture, make bold." (O.E.D. 17.c.--obsolete). "Generous" means "Appropriate or natural to one of noble birth or spirit," i.e., "gallant" (obsolete), "courageous" (obsolete), or "magnanimous" (O.E.D. 2.). "The same" seems to mean "the aforesaid person" or "he" (O.E.D. B.4 --now rare in literary use). That same could be used in this way in the seventeenth century is shown by one of The O.E.D.'s examples: "1611 Bible Matt. xxiv. 13 But he that shall endure vnto the end, the same shall be saved." "The same" probably refers to Achilles, not Patroclus, but in either way the use of the two words is awkward. The Latin, in ll. 174-177, gives the following: "Patroclus, tied to him even then by a

great love, follows him, and as a rival exerts himself in deeds so great. He was equal in the inclinations [or affection] and ways of their age, but unequal in strength, and nevertheless about to see Pergamum [i.e., Troy] with an equal fate." The French translation of 1658 has the following: " . . . & Patrocle qui le suiuoit, luy estoit desia ioint d'vne affection toute particuliere, s'encourageant par l'exemple de ses actions genereuses. Il luy estoit égal d'âge & d'estude, mais non pas de force, & deuoit neanmoins voir vn iour les Pergames avec vne pareille destinée." Notice especially the word "genereuses": the Latin has only "tantis" (so great), in l. 175.

I, 207--"Eurota," or--the usual Greek and Latin spelling--Eurotas, is the name that was used for the principal river of Laconia, the river on whose banks Sparta was built. Castor, being the son of Leda, wife of Tyndareus, king of Sparta--and, possibly, the son of Tyndareus himself--was, of course, Spartan, and would, logically, bathe in Sparta's river, the Eurota. Howard's word "Eurota's" represents "Eurotae" (of Eurotas or Eurota), in l. 180 of the Latin.

I, 211-212--These lines seem to reflect the Latin word "libare" (to taste, or to pour as a libation), which is the correct reading for the second word of l. 184. With "libare" instead of "libera" (free, unrestricted), the Latin reads thus: "Then Chiron begs her to taste the banquet and the gifts of Bacchus" With "libera," it reads thus: "Then there is an unrestricted banquet, and Chiron begs the gifts of Bacchus" The edition of 1653 has "libare," and the French trans-

lation of 1658, like Howard's translation, seems to reflect it--"Chiron l'inuite à prendre son repas, & luy presente les dons de Bacchus" This French resembles Howard's lines in more than just one way.

See the next note, which is on I, 212.

I, 212--The word "troubled" and the fact that it modifies the word "guest," which must be taken as referring to Thetis, seem to indicate that Howard used "attonitam" instead of "attonitum," which is in l. 185, and which is rather clearly an error. Both can mean "thunderstruck, amazed, terrified, or frantic," but the former is feminine and would refer to Thetis, who is troubled, and the latter is masculine and would refer to Achilles, who is not troubled, but who, one might think, is amazed at the presence of his mother. With "attonitam," the Latin in ll. 185-188 would read thus: "and, soothing her in her troubles [literally, terrified or troubled] with various delight, he at last brings out his lyre, moves the strings that comfort cares, and, after those pieces of catgut have been lightly tried by him with his thumb, gives them to the boy. With "attonitum," we get "and, delighting him in his amazement [literally, amazed]" The edition of 1653 perhaps used this reading certainly not the other--"& pour n'obmettre rien de ce qui pouuoit seruir au diuertissement de la Nereide estonnée de toutes les choses qu'elle voyoit, il prit enfin sa lyre, dont il toucha les cordes melodieuses qui soulagent les ennuis, & les ayant mises d'accord, apres en auoir esproué l'harmonie d'une main adroite & legere, il l'a donna au ieune Disciple." Here, however, Thetis is amazed, not troubled. On the other hand, there are the following additional parallels: 1) "pour n'obmettre rien de ce qui pouuoit seruir au diuertissement de la Nereide" and the infinitive of

purpose in l. 213 of Howard's translation--"to welcome Thetis"; 2) "les cordes melodieuses" and "the warbling strings"; and 3) "soulagent les ennuis" and "lessen the weight of cares."

I, 226--See the note on I, 88.

II, 4--"Sons" seems to indict the Latin word "nato" (son), which is the correct reading for the second word of l. 2. With "nato" instead of "nota" (known), the Latin gives the following: "But Thetis, standing through the night on the wave-sounding rocks, turns over, hither and thither, in her conflicting mind, what hiding-place she should wish for her son, in what land she resolves to shut him." With "nota," the Latin gives this: ". . . what known hiding-place she should wish, in what land she resolves to shut him." "Nato" is present in the edition of 1653, and it seems to be indicated in the French translation of 1658: "Thetis qui s'estoit retirée pour passer la nuict sous des roches battués par les vagues de la mer, rouloit en son esprit des pensées diuerses, & estoit en peine de scauoir en quelles terres elle choisiroit vn lieu à l'escart, où elle mettroit son fils pour y estre en seureté . . ."

Notice that Howard's "leaving the caves," which does not really correspond to anything in the Latin, may have come from "qui s'estoit retirée" and that, similarly, his word "safe," which is not necessarily called for by any word in the Latin, may have come from "en seureté." A note on the French translation, in "Remarques sur L'Achilleide de Stace," reads thus: "Thetis qui s'estoit retirée, le poete ioint bien à propos le commencement de ce liure à la fin du precedent: & tandis qu'Achile repose, sa mere

est inquiete."

The next note is also on II, 4.

II, 4--"Convey'd" may indicate the Latin word "abdere," which is different in signification from "obdere," in l. 2, a competing reading. The verb abdere means "to hide or to remove"; the verb obdere, "to shut or to expose." The sense of "convey'd" is closer to the second sense of the former than to the first sense of the latter, which is the only sense of obdere indicated by the context. If "abdere" is used instead of "obdere" and if it is translated as "to remove," the clause "quibus . . . destinat," in ll. 2-3 must be translated thus: "to what land she resolves to remove him." (Because "quibus" (what) and "terris" (land [literally, lands]) are either in the dative or in the ablative case, it is unlikely, however, that "abdere" should be translated as "to remove"; "to hide" is indicated by the grammar.) See the preceding note. "Abdere," which is used in the chief modern editions, is present in the edition of 1653, along with "nato," which is in the same line, and which is dealt with in the preceding explanatory note. The French translation of 1658 seems to reflect the other reading. See the preceding note.

II, 15--"Sent" seems to indicate that Howard used, in l. 13 of the Latin, the reading "Missa" (having been sent) instead of "Iussa" (having been ordered), an MS. variant. With "Missa," the sentence in ll. 10-13 of the Latin, which corresponds to the sentence in ll. 13-16 of Howard's translation, reads thus: "Recently she had heard virgin bands in the unwarlike court of Lycomedes, and the shores resounding with their play, when she

had been sent [literally, having been sent] to follow Aegaeon, who was loosening his hard bonds, and to number the hundred fetters of the god." With "Iussa," the sentence has the following: ". . . when she had been ordered to follow Aegaeon" The edition of 1653, like the chief modern editions, has "Missa."

II, 27--With respect to "waftage," one may want to consider the following definitions: 1) "Conveyance across water by ship or boat" (O.E.D. I.2.), 2) "Passage through the air or through space" (O.E.D. I.3.), 3) "The action or power of propulsion which the wind or breeze has; also, conveyance by such propulsion" (O.E.D. I.4.). "Waftage" does not really represent any word in the Latin: ll. 23-28 of Howard's translation represent ll. 20-23 in the Latin, and these lines read thus: "Another care remains for deliberation and troubles the sad goddess. Should she carry her son through the waves having herself embraced him in her bosom, or by means of great Triton, and should she summon the winged winds or Thaumantias [i.e., Iris], accustomed to feed on the sea."

II, 34--"Least" is probably lest. Lest is a direct translation of the Latin word "ne," in l. 30, and, according to The O.E.D., lest could be spelled "least" in the seventeenth century. "Least injur'd by the Land" is probably intended to mean "lest they should be injured by the land," which is a fairly faithful translation of "ne nudaе noceant contagia terrae"--"lest the contact of the naked land should injure them." The strained use of past participle with a connecting word and without a subject and a form of the verb to be is found often in Howard's translation.

II, 56--"Chariot" seems to indicate that Howard used, as the second word of l. 47 in the Latin, the word "curru" (by his chariot), instead of "cursu" (in his or their course). With "curru," the sentence in ll. 45-47 of the Latin, to which correspond ll. 53-56 of Howard's translation, reads thus: "Now day presses the stars, and the Titan, low, rolls out from the ocean his dew-scattering horses, and the sea-water carried up by his chariot falls from the great sky." With "cursu," it has this: ". . . and the sea-water carried up in their course" The edition of 1653 has "curru," which is used in the chief modern editions, and it seems that the author of the French translation of 1658 used this reading --"Desia le iour chasse les Astres de las nuict, & le Soleil se leuant de l'Ocean, déuoloppe ses cheueux dégoustants la rosée: & la marine enleuée par la rapidité du char qui monte, retombe de la haute Region de l'air." Of course, "curru" does not have to be present for the idea of the chariot to be present

II, 83--In the edition of 1653, as in the chief modern editions, the word "ego" (I) appears, between "per" and "hoc," in the line which in the parallel Latin text is designated as II, 70. As in the chief modern editions, there is no verb for which this pronoun can serve as subject, and the reader is to understand the verb oro (I beg) and the pronoun te (you), as Dilke points out, on p. 103, with respect to his own edition. With "ego," the sentence in ll. 70-74 of the Latin begins thus: "I [beg you] by this beauty of yours, and of youth the joys about to come [or by this glory, and the joys about to come, of youth], if" For a translation without "ego"--a translation of the whole sentence--see the next note. Howard's "I do conjure thee now," in l. 83, may indicate that

he used the edition of 1653 at this point. It is more likely, however, that he used the French translation of 1658, for the French sentence corresponding to the Latin sentence under consideration begins as follows: "Ie vous coniuere par cét ornement, & par les ioyes futures de vostre ieunesse, . . ."

II, 84--The corresponding Latin lacks a verb. The verb should be "experta [sum]" (I experienced), and should appear in l. 71, between "humilemque" and "maritum." With "experta" added, the whole Latin sentence, translated, goes as follows: "By this beauty of yours, and of youth the joys about to come [or by this glory, and the joys about to come, of youth], if on account of you I experienced the land and a lowly husband, if I armed you, having been begotten, with [or in] the grim river of Styx (and would that I had armed all of you), take for a little while these safe coverings, which are not about to harm your courage [or mind]." Howard's "I . . . / Shar'd . . . my Divinty [with]" seems to reflect "experta." This verb is present in the edition of 1653, as in the chief modern editions, and seems to be indicated in the French translation of 1658: "Ie vous coniuere par cét ornement, & par les ioyes futures de vostre ieunesse, de prendre pour vn peu de temps des habits qui mettront vostre vie en seureté sans nuire à vostre grand coeur, si pour l'amour de vous i'ay esprouue la terre, & i'ay pris vn mary de moindre condition que moy, si apres vous auoir mis au monde, ie vous ay armé de la force seure des eaux de Styx (plust à Dieu, que ce fust de vous tout entier.)"

II, 98--See the note on I, 88.

II, 109--"All wondrous fair" describes the "fair daughters" of the king, and is probably an elliptical nominative absolute construction, in which the present participle being is left out and is to be understood--"all [of the daughters] being wondrous [= wondrously] fair." The phrase represents the sentence located in l. 93 of the Latin, of which sentence a literal translation is this: "The beauty of form to all [i.e., possessed by all of them] [was] exceptional." The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Elles estoient toutes fort belles . . ." Notice at least the similarity between "toutes fort belles" and "All wondrous fair."

II, 114--Here and in III, 232, which are parts of two similar passages, Howard uses the expression to challenge from. It seems to have the same meaning in both places, and this meaning seems to be one of the following:

1) "To assert one's title to, lay claim to, demand as a right, claim for, arrogate (to obs.) oneself" (O.E.D. 5--archaic or obsolete). The O.E.D. seems to have no example in which challenge is used in this sense with from, but the construction with from is suggested in this example: "c 1386 Chaucer Frankl. T. 596 Nat that I chalenge eny thing of right Of yow, my soverayn lady, but youre grace" (under 5.a.). 2) "fig. To have a natural right or claim to; to demand, to call for" (O.E.D. 6--archaic). The construction with from is exemplified in this: "1648 Evelyn Corr. (1857) III. 10 Yours of the 6th and 9th of May received, challenges this account from me." 3) "To claim (some responsive action or recognition on the part of others, e.g. attention, regard, respect, approbation, admiration)" (O.E.D. 6.b.). The construction with from is exemplified in this: "1766 Anstey Bath Guide viii. 42 Men . . . That challenge Respect from all Persons of Birth."

The part of the Latin text which is represented in Howard's II, 114 is part of the sentence in ll. 96-99, and this sentence reads thus: "But as much as Venus, having been brought into comparison, overwhelms the green nymphs of the sea, or as much as at the shoulders Diana [Cynthia] leaves behind the Naiads [nymphs of brooks, among other things], so much Deidamia, the queen of the beautiful choir, shines out and stands before her fair sisters." The English sentence of which Howard's III, 232 is part represents the Latin sentence in ll. 210-212 and part of the sentence in ll. 207-210; these two sentences read as follows: "As he leads forth the standards of the virgin band and releases his great arms in a difficult movement (and his sex and the lies of his mother become him equally), his companions wonder at him. And Deidamia is not now the most beautiful of her own company, and as much as she herself surpasses her sisters, so much she, having been brought into comparison, is excelled by proud Aeacides." (This passage corresponds to ll. 227-232 in Howard's translation.)

II, 121--"Insulting" may have two separate meanings. Ll. 104-109 in the Latin, which ll. 119-122 of Howard's translation represent, read as follows: "When, far off, he saw this one leading her associated train, the youth, fierce though he was, and though he had been disgraced as to his breast by no passion, became fixed, and drank the new flames in all his bones. Nor does the imbibed love [or passion] lie concealed. But the fire shaken in his marrow returns to his face and his expression, and colors the light of his cheeks [or eyes], and, with a light sweat, roams over him, excited." Howard's "insulting" should be, but is not, a translation of "haustus" (imbibed), in l. 107. It is possible that Howard got the idea of "insulting" from "temeratus" (disgraced), in the phrase

"nullo temeratus pectora motu" (though he had been disgraced as to his breast by no passion), in l. 105; the word "passion," which is modified by "insulting," might also have come from this phrase. "Insulting," then, may have the usual meaning, the idea being that for a young warrior of Achilles' background and destiny, passion for a female was a disgraceful and insulting weakness, which it would be best for Achilles to conceal. But "insulting" seems to have another meaning--that of "leaping," which is its etymological meaning, the verb insult being derived from Latin insultare (to spring or leap at or upon a thing, to leap, bound, jump; to insult), which is ultimately from salio (to leap). The picture that we get in ll. 121-122 is of flames of passion leaping within Achilles' body and becoming visible through the youth's eyes. "Insulting" in the phrase "fax vibrata medullis" (the fire [properly torch] shaken in his marrow), in l. 107: the shaking of the fire would cause it to leap. Howard omits mention of Achilles' bones and marrow, and portrays Achilles as "a Statue," and thus allows the picture of flames leaping within the cavity of his abdomen and thorax, the tips of the flames becoming visible through his eyes and causing his eyes to sparkle. It seems quite natural, therefore, to take "th'insulting passion" to mean not only "the disgraceful or dishonorable passion" but also "the leaping passion." Howard occasionally used adopted words in their etymological sense, like other writers educated in the classics. This kind of use of adopted words is something that one expects in reading the works of writers who lived and wrote in earlier and more culturally enlightened times. For an unquestionable example of the use of insulting in the sense of "leaping," look at the following passage, which is from Dryden's translation of Book IV of Virgil's Georgics--

First, for thy Bees a quiet Station find,
 And lodge 'em under Covert of the Wind:
 For Winds, when homeward they return, will drive
 The loaded Carriers from their Ev'ning Hive.
 Far from the Cows and Goats insulting Crew,
 That trample down the Flow'rs, and brush the Dew:

--ll. 10-15 (taken from
 Kinsley's edition of
 Dryden's poetry, Vol. II).

The last two lines represent the following:

. . . neque oves haedique petulci
 floribus insultent, aut errans bucula campo
 decutiat rorem et surgentis atterat herbas.

These lines may be translated thus: ". . . nor may sheep and butting kids leap upon the flowers, or straying heifer brush off the dew from the field and wear away the rising plants." Dryden's use of the word insulting in the above passage is cited as an example by The O.E.D., under "Insulting, ppl a." The O.E.D. says that the use of the verb to insult in the sense of "to leap" is obsolete and rare (O.E.D. 5, where the definition is "to leap wantonly . . ."). However rare this use of the verb may be, another good example of it is to be seen in another of the works published in Howard's Poems and Poems on Several Occasions. In Act II, Scene 4 of The Blind Lady, A Comedy, on p. 73 (F5^r), one finds the following:

Besides thou mayest be much deceived: the shipwrack past,
 The calmest waters may conceal the fate,
 As well as the insulting waves, . . .

II, 133--"Whilest," which does not represent any word in the Latin, is a seventeenth-century spelling for whilst. Notice that it is disyllabic--as the word whilst should be, since it is formed from whiles (the genitive singular of while), which was itself originally disyllabic. In

III, 239, we find "whil'st"--representing "vbi" (when), in l. 219, and corresponding to "quand"--another common seventeenth-century spelling for whilst; here, the two syllables have been contracted into one, but the fact that the word is properly disyllabic is still indicated.

II, 134--See the note on I, 113.

II, 142--To constrain seems to be employed here in its usual sense, but it is employed absolutely. In its usual sense, it is normally transitive, but it has, in this sense, occasionally been employed without a direct object, as we see under O.E.D. l.d., where the following example is given--"1717 Pope Ep. to Jervas 67 Led by some rule, that guides, but not constrains." "Constrain'd" is a translation of "cogit" (compels), which is in l. 128, and which is transitive and is used with a direct object. The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Sa mere qui le voit balancer, le contrain't de luy obeyr, puisque sa volonte est desia engagee, & luy attache vne veste flotant." Howard may have gotten his translation for "cogit" from the French, where, however, the verb in question has a direct object. It is possible, too, that Howard had in mind another sense of the verb to constrain: he perhaps intended the sense of "to confine forcibly . . ." (O.E.D. 8). He could have intended this either exclusively or in addition to the usual sense of the verb. At any rate, "cogit" can mean "contracts or confines," and the idea of confining Achilles physically is repeated a number of times in the Latin, in the immediate context. The same idea is repeated in Howard's translation, in the words "enclose," "compose," "confined," and, perhaps, "reserved." The line which immediately follows the verb "constrain'd" is particularly suggestive

of the meaning proposed here as possible. Also, this meaning is very close to the etymological meaning of the verb to constrain, which comes from Latin constringo (to bind, tie up; to restrain, restrict), which is from stringo (to draw together, draw tight). As a classicist, Howard probably at least felt the etymological meaning when he used the verb to constrain. Notice, however, that in the French translation, contraindre does not have the sense of "to confine forcibly," but rather the usual sense. Furthermore, The O.E.D. has no example in which to constrain in the sense in question is used absolutely. But it is well to remember that many, or most, transitive verbs can be used absolutely, simply by the tradition of the English language. The following example (given under O.E.D. 8) illustrates the use of to constrain in the sense in question--"1697 Dryden Virg. Georg. IV. 634 He binds in Chains The drowzy Prophet, and his Limbs constrains."

II, 162--"Cous'nage" is a seventeenth-century spelling, or a contraction of a seventeenth-century spelling, for cozenage, here meaning "an act of cozening; a deception, a fraud; a result or embodiment of cozening, a piece of deception" (O.E.D. b.). "Our cous'nage" represents "incepti . . . mendacia furti" (the lies of our undertaken trick), in l. 145 of the Latin.

II, 178--"Incident" seems to mean "liable or apt to befall or occur to; likely to happen . . ." (O.E.D. [adj.] I.1.), for which an example is the following: "1773 Reid Aristotle's Log. V. 3 (1806) 119 The fallacies incident to categorical syllogisms" (under O.E.D. I.1.a.). The word

"incident" does not represent any word in the Latin; in fact, ll. 277-278 in Howard's text are not an accurate translation of the corresponding Latin, which is in ll. 158-160: these lines read as follows: "By thy governing, break thou her, indocile as she is, and maintain her sex, until her age is nubile and her modesty is to be relaxed."

II, 193--"Idalian," which Howard uses to render the Latin adjective "Idaliae," in l. 175, basically means, as does the Latin word, "of Idalium." Idalium was, and, under the name of Dalin, still is, a mountain-city on Cyprus. It was sacred to Venus, who had a shrine there. Hence, the Latin adjective Idalius, -a, -um, derived from the name of the city, was used to mean "of Venus," and this is the intended meaning both of Statius's "Idaliae" and of Howard's adjective "Idalian." "The Idalian birds"--"Idaliae volucres"--are doves, "the birds of Venus."

III, Arg. 2--"Took" is a seventeenth-century past participle of to take and modifies "Oath." That part of the Latin text which corresponds to the first sentence of "The Argument" reads as follows: "Avenging indignation arms the Greeks against the Hectorean people. It [an oath] is sworn to the son of Atreus at Aulis."

III, 1--In the seventeenth century, the word meanwhile could still be written as two words, which it properly is, the word being composed of mean and while, and, as a noun, which it is in III, 1, signifying "intermediate time." In IV, 70, we see "mean time," which is very similar to

"mean while." In l. 9 of p. 153 (L5^r) of Howard's translation of Aeneid IV (as it appears in Poems), we find "mean space":

In the mean space (whilst Dido little thought
Their loves were to so near a period brought)
He pays his visits, and neglects no time,
All his addresses fits for his designe,
. . . .

Both "mean while," in III, 1, and "mean time," in IV, 70 represent the Latin word interea (in the meantime). in III, 1 and IV, 68. "Mean space," in the translation of Aeneid IV, seems also to represent interea.

III, 34--Show seems to be another of Howard's favorite words, and at least in his translation of The Achilleis, he seems to like to use it as an intransitive verb and in the sense of "to seem: or "to look"--the sense in which, it seems, it is used in III, 34 (O.E.D. 30: "To look, seem, appear"--archaic). When he uses show in this sense in this translation of The Achilleis, Howard always used the word with an adjective, using it as it is in the following example for The O.E.D.--"1671 tr. Marten's Voy. Spitzbergen in Acc. Sev. Late Voy. II. (1694) 19 These Snow-Mountains show very strange to those that never saw them before." Howard seems thus to use the word show in III, 34; III, 52; III, 103; IV, 119; and perhaps, I, 170. In the last place, the sense may be "to be or become visible; [or] to make an appearance" (O.E.D. 28), as in the following example: "1607 Shaks, Timon I. i. 23 The fire i'th Flint Shewes not, till it be strooke." (In the use of show which is treated in O.E.D. 28, the word is used "of persons and things," and the proper reference for the instance in I, 170 may be O.E.D. 28.c., under which, in the examples, show is used "of immaterial things," as in this: "1585 T. Washington tr. Nicholay's Voy. IV. xxxvi. 158 b,

True religion . . began to shew and take root.") In l.29 of p. 159 (L8^r) of his translation of Aeneid IV (as it appears in Poems), Howard seems to use show in the sense of "seem," but he uses it with a noun--

So Pentheus saw with his distracted sight,
Furies in troops, at once two Suns gave light
One Thebes two Cities shew'd . . .

--11.27-29.

The O.E.D. says that the use of show in the way that is here apparent is obsolete; the latest example given there of this use has the date of 1592--" . . . Timme Ten. Eng. Lepers E 3 A Woolfe in a sheepes skinne sheweth a dead sheepe." In l. 11 of p. 163 (M2^r) of the translation of Aeneid IV, we find another kind of construction--

Sleep then did on the Trojan Prince prevail,
Who in his tall ship lay prepar'd to sail
To whom, Jove's messenger appears once more,
Repeats the warnings that he gave before;
(In voice and every thing like Hermes show'd,
His youth the same, his shining hair so flow'd.)

--11. 7-12

Show is here used in the sense of "to look like" (O.E.D. 30.c.--archaic), and example for The O.E.D. being the following: "1697 Dryden Virg. Georg. IV. 805 Like a large Cluster of Black Grapes they show."

"Show" in III, 34 does not really represent any word in the Latin but "viderunt (saw)," in l. 31, might have suggested to Howard the corresponding passive form, "visi sunt," which would mean "seemed," and the fact that in l. 30 a form of the verb esse (to be) is to be understood twice, might have suggested to Howard the idea of a copulative verb. "Show" in III, 52 represents no word in the Latin, but, here again, a form of the verb esse is to be understood, in l. 47 or 48. "Show'd" in III, 103 does not really represent any word in the Latin, but a form of the verb esse is to be understood in l. 98 or 99. "Show"

in IV, 119 does not really represent any word in the Latin. "Shews," in I, 170, does not really represent any Latin word, but "early," in l. 170, seems to represent the adjective "festina" (hasty, quick), in l. 148, and this fact suggests that "early" is an adjective, not an adverb, and that "shews" means "seems," not "become visible." In the French translation of 1658, "festina" seems to be represented by "auancee," which is adjectival. The French translation of 1658 seems to offer no other evidence that is significant with respect to the present subject. "Shew'd," in l. 29 of p. 159 of Howard's translation of Aeneid IV, strongly seems to have been suggested by the Latin. The above-quoted passage from p. 159 corresponds to the following lines in the Loeb edition:

.
 Eumenidum veluti demens videt egmina Pentheus,
 et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas,
 . . .

--ll. 469-470

These lines may be translated thus: ". . . just as Pentheus, mad, sees the troop of the Furies, and twin suns, and Thebes to show itself double . . ." "Shew'd," in Howard's translation, represents "se ostendere" (to show itself). "Show'd like," in l. 11 of p. 163 of the translation of Aeneid IV, may have been suggested by the Latin. The above-quoted passage from p. 163 corresponds to the following lines in the Loeb edition:

Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,
 carpebat somnos, rebus iam rite paratis.
 huic se forma dei voltu redeuntis eodem
 obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,
 omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque
 et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa:
 . . .

--ll. 554-559

These lines read thus: "Aeneas, now certain of going, was snatching sleep on his lofty stern, things having been duly prepared now. To him in sleep showed itself a vision of the god, returning with the same appearance, and

seemed to warn him again thus--like to Mercury in all things, both in voice and in hue, and in its golden hair and in its limbs, beautiful in youth." Notice "showed itself" ("se . . . ostendit"), "seemed" ("visa . . . est"), and "like" ("similis").

In I, 191 of the translation of The Achilleis, show seems to be used in the sense of "to present an appearance" (O.E.D. 30.b.: "With adv. or advb. phrase: To present an appearance (specified by the Adv.); to make a (good, bad, etc.) show or display.") A parallel example from The O.E.D. may be this: "1602 Marston Ant. & Mel. II, Wks, 1856 I. 27 They showe as well as if they were new." Ll. 191-192 represent ll. 165-166 in the Latin, and these lines may be translated thus: "Such as the hunter Apollo [is] when he returns from Lycia [or Even as when the hunter Apollo returns from Lycia] and exchanges his fierce quiver for the lyre." "Such as . . . [is] . . ." is favored by a footnote in the edition of 1658.

III, 39-40--By "Nails" Howard perhaps means to convey the idea of thin metal studs resembling nail-heads. "Arming-coats," it is clear are protective coats for military use; for one of its definitions under "Arming . . . vbl. sb.," The O.E.D. has the following: "esp. quasi-adj. in attrib. uses: = Forming part of arms or armour, used in military accoutrement; as in arming-dagger, -gauntlet, -girdle," etc. (l.b.--obsolete), one of the examples being this: "1577 Harrison Engl. I. II. xxiv. 359 An arming girdle, harnessed with pure gold." The O.E.D. seems not to mention the combination "arming-coat," but "arming-girdle" is sufficiently close to enable us to be confident that we understand Howard's "arming-coats." The protection provided by these coats would come, one would think, mainly from the "Nails"; why else would the "Nails" be "like to fishes scales"? (It is

true that the participle "set" could modify "arming-coats," not "Nails": nevertheless "fishes scales" seems to refer to the "Nails.") The "Nails" seem, that is, not to be merely decorative. This much about the "Nails"--their purpose--seems clear. The exact nature of the "Nails," unfortunately, is not clear. The suggestion given above is, perhaps, the most likely of those that could be made; but to provide bodily protection by means of thousands of metal resembling nail-heads and positioned "like to fishes scales" seems impractical, and The O.E.D., under "Nail . . . sb.," seems not to offer any definition or example which supports the use of the word nail to indicate this kind of protection. The only relevant example seems to be this: "c 1483 Caxton Dialogues 21 Gyrdellis with nayles of silver." Here, the nails seem to be decorative, being made of silver; and the definition under which the example is given (II.4.) says that a nail, in the sense of "a small spike or piece of metal . . . ," is "used . . . occasionally also as an ornament." Under "Nail . . . v." (I.2.c) is a corresponding example, from the same source--" c 1483 Caxton Dialogues 31 A gyrdle nayled With silver weyeng xl pens." Of course, these girdles could be "arming-girdles" and the nails could be both decorative and protective, but The O.E.D. does not seem to say anything which that nails of any kind were ever used for military protection. Perhaps Howard had in mind the kind of mail that used metal scales or small metal plates, and perhaps he simply went astray in trying to express himself. Or perhaps by "Nails" he means the rivets with which some other kind of "arming-coat" was held together; perhaps he is trying to emphasize, by hyperbole, the care with which the "arming-coats" were made. In the corresponding part of the Latin text, in ll. 35-36, the reference is clearly to chain mail--" . . . for weaving rough tunics by

a thousand chains . . ." Thus, there is, in the Latin, no mention of "Nails" or "fishes scales." (For those who doubt that chain mail existed when Statius wrote the Achilleis, it may be added here that the editors of the Oxford Latin Dictionary [Oxford, England, 1969 (Fascicle II)] begin their treatment of caterna - the word used by Statius for "chains"-- as follows: "1 A chain. b. (forming chain-mail). . . ." The editors refer specifically to "LUC. 7.498." and "STAT. Theb. 12.775.")

III, 43-46--Should "pieces" be "places"? Ll. 43-46 can be interpreted in at least three ways: 1) "Some [people] bring pieces [of wood] in forms for bows, some prepare bullets for the sling, some harden stakes, some gave to helmets places where the advanced plumes should wave." 2) "Some places bring in forms for bows, some prepare bullets for the sling, some harden stakes, some gave to helmets places where the advanced plumes should wave." 3) "Some places bring in forms for bows, some prepare bullets for the sling, some harden stakes, some places gave to helmets [the part] where the advanced plumes should wave." The use of "pieces" without a prepositional phrase denoting the material of the pieces, seems awkward, and "places" could have been read by a compositor as "pieces"; but "pieces" is not a totally impossible reading, and so it is allowed to stand. The Latin, in ll. 40-41, is of no help in this matter--"And there is no limit either to the bending of bows or to the casting of bullets or to the charring of stakes or to the heightening of helmets with cones." The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Il n'y auoit pas aussi vne seule maniere, ou de bander les Arcs, ou de pousser des Bombes, ou de brusler des pieux, & d'eleuer des crestes & des panaches sur le haut de l'armet." Notice that while the Latin has only "conis" (cones or apices

or helmets), the French has "panaches" and Howard has "Plumes." See the note on III, 48, where it is suggested that "alone" in l. 48 of Howard's translation may indicate that "pieces" should be "places."

III, 48--"Alone" seems to indicate the reading "una" (one, single, alone), an MS. variant for the position occupied by "ora" (probably country), in l. 42 of the Latin text. "Una" is the reading used in modern texts.

With "una" instead of "ora," the Latin, in ll. 42-44, reads as follows:

"During this commotion, the Thessalian alone laments a slow quiet, and accuses the Fates with twin complaints, that Peleus is rather old, and Achilles not as yet mature." With "ora," it reads thus: "During this

commotion, the Thessalian country laments a slow quiet, and" The edition of 1653 has "ora". The French translation of 1658 might reflect

"una" in the adversative "mais"--"Mais parmy tous ces mouuements, la Thessalie plaignoit la paresse de son repos, & accusoit les Destinées par vne double plainte, & de ce que Pelée estoit vieux, & qu'Achile estoit encore bien ieune." Notice, however, that the French has "la Thessalie," which seems to be a translation of "ora . . . / Thessalis" (the Thessalian country). But the same MS. that has "una" has "thessalia" (Thessaly), and the French could derive here ultimately from the readings of this MS.

Notice that Howard's translation, like the French, has "Thessalie"--and notice the spelling. Howard may have been influenced, in the sentence under consideration, by the French of 1658--notice also "young" and "ieune"--but the verbal parallels could certainly have been brought about coincidentally by the mere context of the Latin of 1658. "Alone" does not have to derive from a second printed source. Also, Howard may have used it to help provide a logical transition from the preceding passage,

where he may, in a departure from the Latin, be talking about geographical "places." The presence of "alone" may, under the circumstances, be a good reason for an editor to change "pieces," in l. 43, to "places." See the note on III, 43-46.

III, 50--"Throng"--here we seem to have an instance of constructio ad sensum. The Latin, in ll. 45-47, reads as follows: "Already the Bellipotent One had drained of the land of Pelops and the Grecian world, madly throwing men and horses headlong into the ships." (Cf. V, 51-52.) In III, 69-73, we find a case that is similar to that of "throng"--

So the wild multitude that shades enjoys,
Enclos'd with toils, frighted with fire and noise,
Fly to imprisoning valleys, and admire
To see their Mountain lessen by the fire.
There the wild multitude know equall fear.

"Multitude" is first considered singular and then, like "Greece," plural. The Latin, in ll. 63-67, reads thus: "So the grim hunting-net encloses the hiding beasts, and, the toils having been moved up, gradually compresses them. They are frightened by the fire and the noise. And they leave the spreadout wilderness, and marvel that their own mountain is lessening, until they fall from every side into a narrow valley. The herds are astonished in turn, and they grow tame from common fear." In ll. 27-28 of p. 142 (K7^V) of Howard's translation of Aeneis IV (as it appears in Poems), we find a case that is somewhat similar to those already noted-- "This said, a shower of falling tears appear./ Anna replies, Dear sister, and more dear/ . . ." Here, however, the number of the verb seems to have been determined, falsely, by a prepositional phrase, dependent from the true subject. In ll. 145-147 of Book IV of the translations of The Achilleis, we find a case that is more clearly to the point:

"The King replies, If now their looks invites, / What would it do at Bacchanalian rites, / Or circling Pallas shrines?" The corresponding Latin, in ll. 138-139, reads thus: "What if you could see them performing the rites of Bacchus or around the altars of Pallas?" Another interesting case of disagreement is found in ll. 11-16 of p. 165 (M3^F) of the translation of Aeneis IV:

Thou Sun that seest all things, that mortalls do!
 Thou Juno, conscious of my passions too:
 And Hecate, whose howls fills night and wayes,
 You furies too, hear what Eliza pray's
 The last her dying lips ever designs!
 Let your revenge be great, as are their crimes.

What we have here is simply bad grammar, and, unfortunately, it seems that in Howard's writings in general, instances of bad grammar are not infrequent. In The Blind Lady, for example, errors in agreement between subject and verb are numerous. (There are at least twenty-seven of them.) Indeed, this particular kind of error might be called a characteristic of Howard's literary style.

III, 52--See the note on III, 34.

III, 58--"The much affected shore" seems to indicate the reading "dilecta," and not "dilectae," for the second word of l. 54 in the Latin. Both mean "affected," i.e. (here), "beloved," but the former must modify "littora" (shores or shore), and the latter, "montiuagae deae" (by the mountain-roving goddess--Cynthia). The 1653 edition has "dilecta," and the French translation of 1658 reflects this reading, not the other--"L'Isle d'Aulide sous la protection d'Hecate fut le premier lieu à l'abry de ses grands rochers, où s'assemblerent les Nauires des Grecs le long des costes

Euboiques si cheries de la Deesse qui frequente les monts & les bois . . ."

See the note on I, 88.

III, 59--What is meant by "Proteus" is a mystery. Surely Howard, who for I, 37 has a note on Proteus and for I, 107, a note on Caphareus, could not have intended to say that the two were the same. There seems to be nothing in the edition of 1658 which would cause such confusion as is apparent here. Perhaps some mistake was made with regard to Aeneis XI, 260-262, where Caphareus and Proteus are mentioned in close proximity; in his note on I, 37, Howard quotes part of these lines and refers to the note on Proteus which Servius wrote for l. 262. It is possible, of course, that the marginal notes which are found in the published form of Howard's translation were not written by Howard.

III, 69--Here and in V, 122, the word shade seems to be used in the sense of "a piece of ground overshadowed by trees" (O.E.D. 9--"Now rare exc. in collective plural, with poetical colouring."). This sense of the word can be seen in the following two examples from The O.E.D.: "1577 B. Googe Heresbach's Husb. III. (1586) 150 b, In the noone time . . you must driue them to the valleies and shades. 1646 Crashaw Delights Wks. (1904) 126 No lone shade, but rings With chatting Birds delicious murmurings." "That shades enjoys," in III, 69, does not accurately represent anything in the Latin; the idea for it seems to have come from the Latin word "latentes" (hiding), in l. 63, to which word the clause loosely corresponds, and, perhaps, from "diffusa . . . / Auia" (the spread-out wilderness), in ll. 65-66, which words Howard otherwise seems not to

translate. "Th'horrid silence of a shade," in V, 122, represents "vastae . . . silentia syluae" (the silence of the vast forest), in l. 105 of the Latin. The corresponding words in the French translation are "l'affreux silence d'une vaste forest." "L'affreux" may have suggested Howard's "th'horrid." In V, 40 the word shade is used with a more accessible meaning. "In a shade" represents "tacita . . . in vmbra" (in a silent shadow or shade), in l. 38 of the Latin. Shade is conventionally used also in IV, 75, for which line there is an explanatory note. See III, 27 and the textual note on that line.

III, 69-73--See the note on III, 50. For III, 71, see the note immediately below.

III, 71--"Admire" means "marvel" (O.E.D. 1). According to The O.E.D., the use of admire with an infinitive is obsolete or dialectal (l.d.). An example from The O.E.D. in which admire is used as it is in III, 71-72, is this: "1676 Hobbes Iliad XXIV. 386 You would admire to see him look so fresh." "Admire" represents "mirantur" (they marvel at), in l. 66 of the Latin. It is from mirari, of which mirantur is the third person plural in the present indicative, that the word admire is derived. See the note on III, 50, which deals in part with III, 69-73.

III, 88--"Thorough" is a preposition. In the seventeenth century, the preposition through could be spelled in this way. When the preposition is so spelled, it is to be pronounced in the same way as thorough the adjective, which represents an adaptation of the preposition. Howard's

"thorough" does not correspond to a separate word in the Latin; Howard uses it in translating "effosa . . . niue" (in or on dug out snow), in l. 81, and in this phrase the idea of a prepositional relationship is expressed merely by the fact that the words are in the ablative case.

III, 90--"Heav'n" must be pronounced as two syllables and therefore should, ideally, be written "Heaven." In the translation of The Achilleis, the syllables in Howard's lines are very consistently well-counted: it seems that there is only one line in the whole translation that is clearly wrong metrically--V, 179, which is hypometrical even if "toils" is pronounced as two syllables (cf. V, 29, where "fire" must be considered disyllabic). Furthermore, the use of the apostrophe, in the translation, to distinguish past participles where the termination is not to be pronounced as a separate syllable, from those where it is, is surprisingly consistent. "Heav'n" then, is probably a compositorial error. On the other hand, it may accurately represent what was found in Howard's MS. After all, in seventeenth-century poetry, "heaven" is often, or usually, monosyllabic, as in I, 78 of Howard's translation. If, in the case of the word heaven, the absence of typographical contraction is not significant, is the presence of it where it is not needed, to be taken as a serious problem? (For other examples of words that should have been contracted and were not, see "power" in IV, 260 and "Thessaly" in IV, 265). Also, it is possible that Howard, used to employing the word heaven as a monosyllabic word, slipped in III, 90 and used an apostrophe unconsciously. If he did do this, and if an editor were able to know that he did this, "Heav'n" would have to be considered unintentional and, in a critical edition, would have to be corrected. The possibility that, even though

it is misleading, it was intentional, or, at least, acceptable, must, however, be recognized.

III, 94--See the note on I, 113.

III, 121-122--"If ever, now let thy desires/ Wish for Prophetick breast-inspiring fires" might indicate that Howard made use of the edition of 1653 with respect to the last word of l. 113 in the Latin. Instead of "haurit," which is a verb in the indicative mood, and which means "drinks," the edition of 1653 has "hauri," which is in the imperative mood, and which means "drink." With "hauri," which is the correct reading, the Latin, in ll. 112-113, reads thus: "Come on, interrupt this delay, and release the fates that lie hidden, and drink most eagerly [or desirously], if ever [you do], your laurel-decked flames [or fire]."

(The altar of Apollo, who was the god of prophecy, and of whom Calchas was a prophet, was decked with laurel, which was sacred to Apollo. Mozley perhaps suggests, in his note on his translation of I, 521-522 [III, 125-126 in this edition], that "hauri" refers to the practice known as *καπνομαντεία*, or divination by the smoke of the altar-fire--see Howard's translation of the lines, in III, 135-136; but Dilke, in his note on I, 509 [III, 113 in this edition], says that "ignes" [flames] is not literal, and does not look ahead to l. 521, but denotes prophetic frenzy.) With "haurit," the Latin reads in this way: "Come on, interrupt this delay, and release the fates that lie hidden, and the laurel-decked flames [or fire], if ever a most eager [or desirous] person drinks them." Ll. 121-122 in Howard's version are similar to the translation that uses

"hauri." "Let thy desires/ Wish" is, like "drink," in the imperative mood; "fires," like "flames," is the object of an action to be performed by Calchas; and, as in the translation, the clause beginning with "if" is elliptical. The sense which results from the use of "haurit" is, admittedly, awkward, but Howard could have twisted it around to produce something plausible. On the other hand, this awkwardness could have led Howard either to make his own emendation or to consult another printed source.

III, 193--"Repeating looks" applies to Achilles, not to Deidamia. The Latin sentence in ll. 172-173, which is the sentence to which the phrase must be referred, appears in Mozley's translation thus: ". . . her he follows, and persistently besets, toward her he ever and again directs his gaze."

The next note is also on III, 193.

III, 193--"Useth" seems to mean "is accustomed" (O.E.D. 20., where we find the following note concerning to use in this sense and with the infinitive: "In very frequent use from c 1400, but now only in pa. t. used to . . ."). An example from The O.E.D. in which to use is employed in the way in which it seems to be in III, 193 is this: "1612 Webster White Devil l. ii. 202 Your silke-worme useth to fast every third day." Ll. 193-194 in Howard's translation represent l. 174 in the Latin, and this line reads thus: "Now he clings excessively to the side of her, not avoiding him." The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Tantost il ne se tenoit que trop assidu auprès d'elle qui ne s'en

deffendoit pas beaucoup" "Trop assidu" seems more suggestive of the idea of "being accustomed" than does "nimius" (excessively [literally, excessive]).

III, 211--"Now going to reveal his flame" applies to Achilles: the Latin, in ll. 190-191, reads thus: "From him as he prepares to reveal any moment now his trick, she flees with virgin lightness, and prevents him from confessing." The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Quelques fois luy voulant découvrir toutes ses ruses, elle en éuitoit le discours par vne legereté de fille, & luy deffendóit d'en parler." We have in the French the same kind of problem that we have in Howard's translation: "Quelques fois luy voulant découvrir toutes ses ruses" seems, at least initially, to go gramatically with "elle," and there is no word signifying Achilles, and lying outside the participial phrase, until near the end of the sentence. Both the sentence in the French translation and that in Howard's translation parallel the structure of the Latin sentence, which also begins with a participial phrase: "iam iamque dolos aperire parantem," which, on account of the inadequacy of the English language, is translated above with a subordinate clause: "as he prepares to reveal any moment now his trick." (The punctuation of the Latin text is incorrect here, as in many other places: there should be a comma, not a period, at the end of l. 190.) In the Latin, however, it is clear immediately, from the ending of the participle, "parantem" (preparing), that the participle and its phrase cannot modify the subject of the finite verb which must follow.

III, 214--See the note on I, 88.

III, 220--"Trieterick"--ultimately from **τρι-** (three) and **ετος** (year)--means "taking place every third, i.e. (because of the ancient manner of reckoning), alternate, year"--as did the festival of Bacchus. Howard, who used the word in rendering "Trieterica" (the festival of Bacchus), in l. 199, was not the first to use it. The O.E.D. places its first use in 1592, when, however, the word was used as a noun. Its first use as an adjective was much closer to the time of Howard's translation--1656, according to The O.E.D. "Trieterical" (obsolete) had been used in 1646.

III, 224--In translating "sacerdos," which is in l. 204 of the Latin; which, regarded simply as a word, could be translated either as "priest" or as "priestess"; and which appears as "Priest" in Howard's translation, Howard might have committed a personal blunder. Both the context and the feminine ending of "metuenda" (to be feared, venerable), which modifies "sacerdos," make it clear that the proper translation is "priestess," and there seems to be nothing in the edition of 1658 which would have led Howard astray. The French translation has "Vne Prestresse venerable." But Howard's "Priest" may, in fact, mean "priestess." According to The O.E.D., priest in the sense of "an official minister of a pagan or non-Christian religion . . ." (O.E.D. 5.) can be, or has been, "applied to a Priestess" (5.b.--obsolete and rare). The latest example given by The O.E.D. of this application of the word priest is this: "1614 Chapman Masque Mid. Temple ii. A iij b, A little more eleuate, sate Eunomia, the Virgine Priest of the Goddess Honor."

III, 228--"Bestows" seems to mean "employs" (O.E.D. 5: "To apply, to

employ (in an occupation); to devote (to, of obs.) for a specific purpose."). The following two examples from The O.E.D. are helpful: "1530 Palsgr. Introd. 2 Many . . shall also herafter bestowe theyr thyme in such lyke exercise. . . . 1655 Fuller Ch. Hist. VI. 279 These . . onely bestowed themselves in prayer." In each of these examples, to bestow seems to be used in the sense of "to employ." Howard, in III, 228, uses to bestow to represent "soluentem" (releasing), in l. 208 of the Latin. See the note on II, 114, where there is a translation of the Latin represented by the sentence in III, 227-230 of Howard's translation. (In the translation provided in the note, "soluentem" is translated by means of a finite verb--"he . . . releases.")

III, 232--See the note on II, 114.

III, 267--Achilles, not Deidamia, is "pleas'd with the concealing time/ Of night." The Latin sentence in ll. 244-247, to which Edward's phrase must be referred, appears in Mozley's translation as follows: ". . . and in the thick darkness of the night, rejoicing that the unstirring silence gives timely aid to his secret deeds, he gains by force his desire, and with all his vigour strains her in a real embrace . . ." The French translation of 1658 goes as follows: ". . . & voulant profiter des occasions de la nuict, & de silence qui luy offroit toutes choses fauorables pour le dessein amoureux qu'il s'estoit proposé, il iouyt de ses souhaits par la violence, & s'abandonna tout entier dans les veritables embrassements où il auoit tant aspiré." Notice "dessein" and Howard's "designe."

III, 290--Earlier, at least, in the seventeenth century, the mark of interrogation could be used not only for a question, but also for an exclamation. (Whether it could be used with any exclamation seems to be uncertain.) The sentence in l. 290 is clearly not a question. Perhaps the question mark at its end is supposed to show that it is exclamatory. The corresponding sentence in the Latin, in ll. 265-266, (which actually corresponds to l. 290 and l. 291 in Howard's translation) does not have a question mark, nor is it interrogative--"Go, but let thee say nothing about, and let thee conceal, thy ravished modesty, the princess [or queen], affrighted, was amazed at such great marvels." The French in the translation of 1658 is similar: "Allez, & ne dittes rien de la pudeur qui vous a esté rauie. La Princesse fut estonnée de tant de prodiges," In the Latin, in the French, and in the English, there is a command, and an exclamation mark of some kind would not be inappropriate. The modern exclamation mark is used frequently in Howard's translation, and could have been used in the place here under discussion. In the seventeenth century, however, consistency in punctuation was not something to which one gave much thought.

In Howard's translation of The Achilleis there seems to be only one other case in which a question mark may represent an exclamation mark. The question mark at the end of V, 42 does not indicate a question--

Her fears were much too great in all she did,
Should so much virtue in a shade be hid.
Which at the Trumpet's summons, freed thy breast
From thought of friends, and thy lov'd flames suppress'd?

Here, however, the question mark might be due to the corresponding Latin, in ll. 37-40, which reads as follows: "O too anxious, and too much a mother, surely this valor [or virtue] would not be numb in a silent shade? which, the noise of the trumpet having scarcely been heard, ran away from

both Thetis, and companions, and the flames which it had suppressed." If this translation were from the Latin text of 1653, there would be an exclamation mark after "mother," a comma after "shade," and a question mark after "suppressed." Thus, the text of 1653 might well have been the source of the question mark under consideration. In the corresponding part of the French translation of 1658, although there is not a question mark, there is a question--"O, sans mentir, Thetis, vous estiez trop irresolué! vous estiez trop peureuse & trop sensible, vous estiez trop mere. Vne si grande valeur dueoit-elle demeurer paresseuse sous lombre d'un morne silence, qui n'a pas plustost ouy le bruit de las Trompette, qu'elle a rejeuté les tendresses de Thetis & de ses compagnes, & mesmes estouffé les feux qui estoient allumez dans le coeur." It is possible, then, that the question mark under consideration is to some extent a reflection of the French, not to mention other similarities between the passages in the two translations.

In Howard's translation of Aeneis IV, we find a number of cases in which the mark of interrogation is used with a sentence which is not clearly interrogative:

Th'ensuing day, when Phoebus newly spread
 His beams, and moist shades from Aurora fled;
 The Love-sick Queen thus to her Sister said:
 My Anna, of what dreams am I afraid?
 What guest is this with unaccustom'd charms?
 How noble in his Soul? how brave in Arms?
 I think (nor vainly) he's of heavenly kind;
 'Tis fear that argues a degenerate mind.
 What various fates he told, with Battles mixt!
 Were it not in my breast for ever fix'd,
 Never the Marriage Fetters more to prove,
 Since so deceiv'd by fate of my first Love;
 Did I not loath those Rites a second time;
 I might perhaps yield to this tempting crime.

The Phrygians next advance, and before these
Ascanius came, whom youthfull hopes did please.
 Of promis'd sport; with these Aeneas joyns,
 And all the troop in charming looks out-shines.
 As when cold Lycia, and where Xanthus flowes,
Apollo leav's, his visits now bestowes
 Upon his native Delos, where again,
 The Driopes and Cretans fill his train.
 With Agathyrrians, whom strange colours dye,
 And in wild motions round the Altars flye,
 Whilst he upon the top of Cynthus goes,
 His flowing hair, soft laurell-wreaths inclose;
 Through which the weaved gold its lustre flung,
 And at his back, his ratling Quiver hung.
 "Nor did Aeneas looks admit an odds,
 "But with his lustre equalled the gods?
 When new these troops unto the hills arrive,
 And beat the unfrequented shades, the drive
 Wild goats from their high holds, and wing'd with fear,
 On t'other side rush down vast herds of Deer.

--11. 9-28 of p. 147 (L2^r)

Perfidious man! Nor Darden could begin
 Thy race, or couldst thou from a goddess spring;
 But bred on rocky Caucasus, thou first
 Wast by Hircanian Tygers udders nurst.
 For why should I dissemble? should belief
 Betray me to more woe? See if my grief
 Has rais'd one sigh, or does his eyes encline
 To be o're-come in tears to pittie mine.
 Where should I first complain? my miseries,
 Nor Jove nor Juno sees with equall eyes.
 Faith is unstedfast still, fond woman's haste!
 In want I found what I in plenty plac'd.
 His Friends and Navy did by me return
 From death to Life, Ah in what flames I burn?
 Now Lot's, Apollo now, now from above
Cyllenius brings the harsh commands of Jove.

--11. 1-16 of p. 156 (L6^v)

The Priests before had threatned sad extrems,
 The cruell Prince still visits her in dreams.
 Alwayes she seems alone, and wandring straves,
 Seeking her subjects in forsaken wayes.
 So Pentheus saw with his distracted sight,
 Furies in troops, at once two Suns gave light.
 One Thebes two Cities shew'd, or on the stage,
 As wild Orestes flyes his mothers rage.
 With blazing brands, and with black serpents arm'd.
 Whilst in the gate, revenging furies swarm'd?
 Vanquish't with grief and passion . . .

--11. 23-30 of p. 159 (L8^r) and
 11. 1-3 of p. 160 (L8^v),

Now on the earth, the first bright message fled
 Of fair Aurora's leaving Tithons's bed.
 When first the Queen saw the approaching light,
 With it the empty port, the ships in flight:
 Her breast, where yet so many beauties were,
 She fills with stroaks; and tears her shining hair.
 Then cries, O Jupiter, shall he thus flye,
 And fix on us so great a mockery?
 Are none yet arm'd, no Ships yet thrust from shores?
 Pursue with flames, bring sails, employ your oars;
 What do I talk of, or where am I now:
 What rage, and impious fancies I allow?
 Unhappy Queen, these thoughts should have born sway,
 Before thy Scepter thou hadst it flung away.
 Behold his faith, who yet they say before,
 His Countries gods through all his travails bore!
 Who on his shoulders bore his fathers weight,
 Prest too with age, declining to his fate.

--11. 13-28 of p. 164 (M2^V)

In each of these passages, there is at least one question mark which may represent an exclamation mark. The question marks of this kind are located in the sixth line of the first passage, the sixteenth line of the second, the fourteenth line of the third, the tenth line of the fourth, and the twelfth line of the fifth. The two in the sixth line of the first, that in the fourteenth line of the third, and that in the twelfth line of the fifth are used with a sentence which is possibly interrogative but which seems to be exclamatory. (The question mark in the fifth line of the first passage might represent an exclamation mark and might be used with such a sentence.) Cf. the exclamatory sentence in the ninth line of the first passage. The question mark in the sixteenth line of the second passage and that in the tenth line of the fourth are used with a sentence which, although it is not clearly exclamatory, is clearly not interrogative. And any declarative sentence can be made exclamatory merely by the addition of an exclamation mark. Cf. the last four lines of the fifth passage. In Howard's play The Blind Lady, there are at least eight instances in which the mark of interrogation seems to be used instead of

the mark of exclamation.

It is interesting, and, perhaps, significant, that in at least one place in the translation of The Achilleis, an exclamation mark is used where one would expect to find a question mark. In I, 77-78, we have this: "Ah me! what mournings shall this cause to be/ In heaven and earth! and what, alas, to me!" These two lines are followed by these: "Is this a Foster-child's return! This way/ Will Venus for her Phrygian Garland pay?" The second and third exclamation marks in ll. 77-78 could be replaced with question marks. But the clauses with which the exclamation marks are used could, although they may at first appear to be interrogative, very well be exclamatory, like certain of the sentences noted above. In the Latin, in ll. 68-69, one of the marks is a question mark and the other an exclamation mark--"Alas what lamentations is he about to give to the earth and to heaven? What to me!" In the Latin text of 1653, the first of the two marks is an exclamation mark and the second a question mark. In the French translation of 1658, both marks are exclamation marks--"Ha! quels soupairs & quelles plaintes portera-t-il au Ciel & à la Terre! Combien me'en doit-il causer de regrets!" Notice the similarities between this French and Howard's English. The French alone would be sufficient to make one think that the exclamation marks in ll. 77-78 are all likely to be both authorial and intentional. One cannot think so well of the exclamation mark in I, 145-146--"Where is my pledge! or why do you thus trust,/ My child alone? Are my sad dreams then just?" "Where is my pledge" is clearly interrogative, and in both the Latin and the French, a question mark is used. The Latin, in ll. 127-129, reads as follows: "Where, in fact, is my pledge Chiron? Tell me she says. Or does my child now spend any time without you? Is my sleep restless

deservedly?" The French translation has the following:" . . . Chiron, luy dit-elle, où sont les gages de mon affection que ie vous ay confiez? Ou pourquoy mon fils employe-t-il du temps hors de vostre presence? Fait-il quelque chose sans que vous le scachiez? Est-il endormy?" The exclamation mark after "Where is my pledge" cannot be defended so easily as the other two. It is more likely than those exclamation marks to represent a compositorial slip. The fact that in Howard's translation of Aeneis IV there seems to be no instance in which an exclamation mark is used for a question mark, and the fact that there seems to be no other instances in the translation of The Achilleis, make it even more likely that this exclamation mark is not authorial. But in view of the general nature of seventeenth-century punctuation, and of the frequency with which the question mark seems to be used for the exclamation mark, and of the fact that in The Blind Lady there are two cases in which the exclamation mark seems to be used instead of the question mark, the mark of punctuation here under consideration is allowed to stand. As Giles Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skipton point out in their Elizabethan Handwriting: 1500-1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts (London, 1968), the exclamation mark was almost unknown before 1650 (p. 18). It is possible that writers of Howard's day were somewhat confused about the new mark of punctuation, and that they occasionally used it for the question mark just as they occasionally used the question mark instead of it.

IV, 38--Alway--which was originally an accusative of extent of space--properly means "perpetually" (O.E.D. 1.), and always--which is an adverbial genitive--"on all occasions" (O.E.D. 1.). The words became confused, how-

ever, and each ended up with both meanings. Now, alway survives only in poetry or as an archaism. In l. 38 of Howard's translation, the word is not used to represent a separate word or phrase in the Latin, but the relatively short length of time involved in the context, the frequentative aspect of "verso" (I keep turning), in l. 40 of the Latin, and the progressive aspect of "is . . . running," with which phrase Howard translates "verso," suggest that her alway means "perpetually."

IV, 75--Molossia, of which Molossian is the adjective, was a country in Epirus, and was famous for its dogs. The Molossian hound was a kind of mastiff, and was known, and highly valued, for its strength and its great ability at hunting. Dilke says that the Molossian hound was "A species of wolf-dog" and "was more commonly employed as a watch-dog . . . than for hunting," adding that, as hunting-dogs, "they were among the hounds trained not to bark on discovering their quarry . . . (p. 132)." Howard uses the word "Molossian" in rendering "Molosso" (Molossian hound), in l.73 of the Latin--in Latin epic, dogs are usually, it seems, "Molossian."

The next note is also on IV, 75.

IV, 75--"The shade" is a translation not of "frontibus" (forehead, brow), in l. 74, but, almost certainly, of "frondibus" (the leaves, foliage). With "frondibus," the Latin, in ll. 74-75, reads thus: ". . . till he see the foe spread out in sleep beneath the leaves, and his teeth laid on the turf." With "frontibus," it reads in this way: ". . . till he see the foe spread out in sleep beneath his brow, and his teeth laid on

the turf." "Fronribus" is found in the edition of 1653 and is reflected in the French translation of 1658: "Tout ainsi qu'un Chasseur estant bien asseuré d'auoir trouué le repaire de la beste qu'il cherche, se promeine encore avec son limier dans tous les lieux d'alentour, pour voir s'il ne surprendra point sa proye endormie au pied d'un arbre, ou mordant quelque gazon." Of course, the alteration of "frontibus" to "fronribus" is of the kind that a reader can easily enough make by himself.

IV, 76--Why is the penultimate word in the plural? The sense here should be simply "grass" (O.E.D. 2.--"collect. sing. The covering of grass and other plants, with its matted roots, forming the surface of grass land: the greensward; growing grass. Also fig."). "On cool Turfs" represents "in cespite [i.e., caespite]" (on the sod or turf), in l. 75; and it is very difficult to see how, in IV, 76, turf could be used in some other sense than "grass." But by using the word in the plural, Howard seems to suggest another meaning, for turf in the sense of "grass" must be used in the singular--The O.E.D. has no example in which turf in this sense is used in the plural. Howard seems to suggest that the beast has his head laid on "slabs pared from the surface of the soil with the grass and herbage growing on them" (O.E.D. 1., where the preceding definition appears in the singular). This meaning, however, does not seem to fit the context. On the other hand, if "Turfs" were a compositorial error for "Turf," there would probably be an article, probably the definite article, in front of "cool." In view of this probability, the benefit of the doubt is given to the copy-text and "Turfs" is allowed to stand. (Actually, "in cespite" could mean "on a turf in the sense of 'a slab pared from the surface of the soil . . . '"; but this meaning makes almost no sense. Mozley has "on the

turf.")

IV, 79--"Besides" is a preposition and means "except" (O.E.D. B.3.). Besides is now used in this sense only or mainly in negative and interrogative sentences. The Latin, in ll. 79-80, reads thus: "The others are, rightly, afraid, but Pelides scarcely hides his new joy, . . ." ("Caelat" [engraves, carves, or composes], in l. 79, is obviously a misspelling or variant of "celat" [hides].)

IV, 82--By "Beds" Howard means "couches." The sentence in question here represents the Latin sentence which, in the parallel Latin text, appears in ll. 81-82, and Mozley, whose text has "auro" (on gold) instead of "ostro" (on purple), translates the Latin sentence as follows: "Already the noise of princely trains fills the palace, and the guests are reclining on gold-embroidered couches, . . ." Actually, even the word couches is not really called for by the Latin, for what the sentence in ll. 81-82 really says is this: "And already the halls bustle with royal noise, and it is reclined at table on embroidered purple." The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Les sales du Palais fremissent du bruit de la Cour. On se met à table sur des tapis de pourpre figurez: . . ." Thus, there is no indication of "beds" either in the Latin or in the French. Moreover, The O.E.D. seems to have nothing on the use of the word bed for "couch." It is true that "discumbitur," in l. 82 of the Latin, can be translated as "it is gone to bed," but the context makes it clear that Lycomedes, his court, and his guests are not going to bed, but, rather, beginning a banquet. Cf. I, 124, where it seems that Howard has used "beds" in order to

render the word "tori" (the couches or beds), in l. 109. "Tori" probably, but not necessarily, refers to couches. The French translation of 1658, however, has "les lits." According to the Dictionnaire de la Langue Francaise (Paris, 1881), the word lit, of which "lict" is an archaic spelling, can be, or has been, used as the "nom de la couche sur laquelle les anciens se mettaient pour prendre leur repas dans la salle à manger." But lit is normally translated as "bed," and Howard may have gotten the idea of using the word bed from the French translation. Of course, the Greeks, used the same kind of piece of furniture--the κλῖνη--both for dining and for sleeping, and the κλῖνη, although it resembled more a couch, is said in the Greek dictionary to have been a couch or bed. Nevertheless, in English, a couch and a bed are two separate things, and the word bed does not convey the proper image and idea when it is a couch or couch-like piece of furniture that is meant.

IV, 91--"Heros" is singular. In the seventeenth century, the spelling of Latin heros or Greek ἥρωας (which is transliterated as "heros") was, unchanged, an acceptable spelling for the word hero, which is the English translation of the classical words, or word, and, of course, a derivative. Howard's "Heros" is not taken from the Latin text, which, in ll. 88-89, reads thus: "But night and the brought-in lamps deceive him [Ulysses], and the stature of him [Achilles] lying down was immediately concealed." The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Mais la nuict & les flambeaux qu'on auoit apportez le firent m'éprendre, & il ne luy eust pas esté bien aisé de reconnoistre à la taille la personne qu'il cherchoit, parce qu'elle fut incontinent assise." In l. 3 of p. 159 (L8^F) of Howard's translation of Aeneid IV, (as it appears in Poems), we find the

modern spelling of the word hero. It may be significant that the French word for hero is héros, for this word appears at least twice in the French translation of 1658 prior to Book IV--in fact, it appears in the first paragraph of "Le Premier Livre," where it is used to translate the Latin word "Heroa" (the hero), in l. 5, and where, like "Heroa" and like Howard's "Heros," it is capitalized: "Heros." In "Le Second Livre," it is used to translate "puer" (the youth) in l. 105, and is, again, capitalized.

IV, 92--"Boord" is a seventeenth-century spelling of board--here meaning "dinner-table." (Board in the sense of "a table used for meals" [O.E.D. 6.] is, according to The O.E.D., "chiefly poetical, exc. in certain phrases, esp. in association with bed to denote domestic relations . . .") Howard's "boord" represents no word in the Latin. For a translation of the appropriate part of the Latin, see the note on IV, 91.

IV, 93--The antecedent of the first "his" is "Ulysses"; of "he," "Ulysses": of the second "his," "the Heros," i.e., Achilles. The Latin, in ll. 90-92, reads as follows: "But ["et" (and) being a mistake for "at" (but)], nevertheless, with his sight he [Ulysses] firmly fixes him [Achilles], both erect as to his [Achilles'] face and wandering with his eyes and preserving no sign of virgin modesty, and with sidelong glance he [Ulysses] shows him [Achilles] to his [Ulysses'] companion [Diomede]."

IV, 119--See the note on III, 34.

IV, 123--"Attempting" probably means "endeavouring, enterprising, [or] venturous" (O.E.D., under "Attempting, ppl. a."). The word attempting, as a participial adjective, seems to be used similarly in the one example provided by The O.E.D.: "c 1630 Risdon Surv. Devon 144 (1810) 158 Sir Humphry Gilbert . . . was of an high attempting spirit." "For attempting-spirits" represents "Fortibus" (to the brave), in l. 119 of the Latin. The French translation of 1658 has "aux ames genereuses." "Ames" may have suggested Howard's "spirits."

IV, 145-147--See the note on III, 50.

IV, 149-150--The Latin, in l. 141, reads thus: "They receive this eagerly, and hope has been added to their silent wishes." The French translation of 1658 goes as follows: "Ils reçoivent avec ioye vne offre si obligeante, qui faisoit croistre leur esperance."

IV, 164--"Evian," with which Howard renders "Euia," which is in l. 154 of the Latin, means, as does the Latin word, "Bacchic." "Euhoe" or "euoe," whence, it seems, came evoe, which is less correct, was the traditional shout of joy at the festivals of Bacchus. From this interjection (Greek εὐοῖ), it seems, came the surname of cult-title Euhius or Euius--less correctly, Euius--and this was then, it seems, used as an adjective meaning "of or belonging to Bacchus, Bacchic." Lewis and Short exemplify this use only with Achilleid IV, 154-155 (which they, following a different way of dividing the work, cite as "2, 15," i.e., 2, 154), and Statius may have been the only writer thus to use the word.

It is like Evius in the sense of "Bacchic" that the word "Evian," in IV, 164 of Howard's translation, is used. The French translation of 1658 goes as follows: "Par quatre fois, elles ont frappé la peau des petits tambours Bacchiques . . ."

IV, 169--"Side" seems to mean "move or turn sideways" (O.E.D. 12). An example from The O.E.D. in which to side is used in the same sense in which it seems to be used here, is this: "1668 Etheredge She wou'd if she cou'd v. i, We'll foot it, and side, my pretty little miss." Howard seems to have gotten the idea of to side from the perfect passive participle "versae" (turned), in l. 158 of the Latin. The girls dance now in the manner of the Curetes and in that of the pious Samothracians, "now" (in ll. 158-159) "turned opposite in the Amazonian comb," . . . "The Amazonian comb" is explained by Mozley thus: "'pecten' [the comb] was the name of a dance in which, one may gather, two opposing lines met and passed through each other." The french translation of 1658 goes as follows: "Elles ont . . . multiplié leurs pas de la mesme sorte que dancent les Curetes ou les Samothraces dans les agitations pieuses qui les transportent, tantost en se tournant les vnes vers les autres, à la façon des Amazones . . ."

IV, 170--If one knows that "Lacaenas," which is in l. 159 of the Latin, means "'Laconian' or, perhaps, Spartan women," one can see that "Lacaenian," which owes to "Lacaenas" its existence in Howard's text, must mean "of or belonging to the Laconian or Spartan women," or, perhaps, simply "Laconian or Spartan." It is likely that Howard created "Lacaenian" for the nonce, forming it directly upon "Lacaenas."

IV, 183--"To find" seems to mean "to find out" (O.E.D. 8--obsolete), and, moreover, it may mean this in two different senses, one for each of its two direct objects, "The Greeks" and "what Ulysses had design'd." To find out has the following senses: "to detect in an offence; to detect, discover (a fraud, etc.); to penetrate the disguise of, discover the identity or true character of" (O.E.D. 20.c.). "To find the Greeks" seems to mean "to discover the true character of the Greeks." Unfortunately, The O.E.D. does not have an example in which to find is used in the sense in which it seems to be used here; the closest example is this: "1741-3 Wesley Extract of Jrnl. (1749) 83 0, I find you, I find you! I know where you are. Is not your name Wesley?" Here, to find seems to be used in the sense of "to discover the identity of." For the second of the abovementioned direct objects, it seems to mean "to detect or discover"-- "to detect or discover what Ulysses had designed." To find seems to be used here in the way in which it is in the following example from The O.E.D.: "1611 Heywood Golden Age 1. Wks. 1874 III. 19 This imposture neuer shall be found." "To find/ The Greeks, and what Ulysses had design'd" may, then, be an instance of zeugma. (It may be of interest that in discussing Howard's translation of Aeneid IV, in his Dryden's Aeneid and Its Seventeenth Century Predecessors, L. Proudfoot [on pp. 155-156] calls attention to the use of zeugma in that translation: "Here and there a mild zeugma is essayed; then we have lines like these

Now the late-rising towers neglected stand
The youth and fortresses alike unman'd.
(p. 145, 1 and 2)

Or these:

Of Troy's great Prince she quickly did report,
How entertain'd in Dido's breast and court.
(p. 149, 13-14)"

Proudfoot does not say that the use of zeugma is a characteristic of Howard's translation of Aeneid IV, and it would be wrong to suggest that it is a characteristic of his translation of The Achilleis.) "Too innocent to find/ The Greeks, and what Ulysses had design'd represents 11. 172-173 of the Latin, and these lines may be translated thus: "Alas, simple and excessively inexperienced is he, who knows not the crafty gifts, and the tricks of the Greeks, and the various Ulysses!"

IV, 193--"His brows in furrows knit" could be a nominative absolute construction, with "knit" as a past passive participle, or it could be a clause, with "knit" as an intransitive finite verb. That the verb to knit can be used intransitively of the brows can be seen in the following examples from The O.E.D.: "1862 J. Grant Capt. of Guard xx, His brows knit and his eyes loured." (under O.E.D. 4.b.); "1815 Byron Parisina x, With downcast eyes and knitting brow." (under "Knitting . . . ppl. a."). "His brows in furrows knit" does not accurately represent anything in the Latin. The idea for it seems to have come from ". . . torsitque genas, & fronte relicta . . .," in l. 181--" . . . and he twists [or turns] his cheeks [or eyes], and, his forehead [or brow] having been left behind, . . ." See the next note.

IV, 193--"Staring" means "standing on end." (The sense is that of O.E.D. 5.: "Of hair, a horse's coat, feathers, fibres of any kind: To stand on end. [So mod. G. starren.] Now chiefly technical. Also, to spread out." The verb to stare, meaning "to gaze fixedly . . ." (O.E.D. 1), "to stand on end," etc., comes from OE. starian [which,

according to Bosworth and Toller's An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Oxford, England, 1973), means "to stare, look fixedly, gaze"] and starian corresponds to OHG. starên and MHG. starn. "In mod. Ger.," The O.E.D. adds, "the vb. has disappeared, being merged in the cognate vb. starren (OHG. starren) to be rigid; the sense 'to look fixedly, stare' being capable of being regarded as a particular application of the general meaning.") An example from The O.E.D. of the use of the verb to stare in the sense in which Howard uses it in IV, 193, is this: "1621 Burton Anat. Mel. I. ii. 195 There was such an hideous noyse . . . that their haire stared for feare." "His staring hairs/ Grew stiffe," in ll. 193-194 of Howard's translation, represents "& fronte relicta/ Surrexere comae" (and, his forehead having been left behind, his hair stood up), in ll. 181-182 in the Latin.

IV, 219-220--It was not Achilles' robes that snatched the spear and shield. The Latin, in ll. 204-205, reads as follows: "His robes, untouched, fell from his breast. Already the shield and the little spear are consumed in his hand, . . ."

IV, 230--It is the king who was "amaz'd," as we see in ll. 215-217 of the Latin: "He lets go the shield, and, having turned himself towards the eyes of the king, just as he was, amidst the arms, he speaks to Lycomedes, who is amazed at fate and terrified at the unexpected prodigies."

IV, 252-253--The Latin, in ll. 235-236, reads thus: "How often will the inexorable sword be swung, we are a throng [or troop]." Mozley, who uses "quotiens" (also how often) and "iterabitur" (will be repeated), provides

a helpful explanatory note: "i.e., there was not only Achilles for Lycomedes to slay, but his daughter and his grandson also." The French translation of 1658 goes as follows: "Toutes les fois qu'on se vouldra seruir contre nous de l'espée, nous serons plusiers pour y resister."

IV, 259-260--"His" refers to Achilles; "he," to Lycomedes. The Latin, in ll. 242-243, reads as follows: "Let that he [Lycomedes] should wish it ['to go in the way of so many destinies and to delay the Argive war'], Achilles would have spurned his [Achilles'] mother herself there. He [Lycomedes] could not, nevertheless, refuse to join himself to such a son-in-law: he [Lycomedes] is vanquished."

IV, 268--In its treatment of the verb to blame, The O.E.D. seems to have no example that parallels what we have here. The line seems to mean "and blames his power as being short for such affairs." The corresponding words in the Latin, which are in l. 250, read thus: ". . . and he apologizes for his power to the Achaeans." Mozley has the following: ". . . and makes excuse to the Achaeans for so poor a show of strength."

IV, 276--One may be tempted to change "shed" to "said," but "to shed words" is not a totally impossible combination--The O.E.D. has an example with a similar combination, and Howard may have been trying to emphasize the tearfulness of Deidamia's speech, and may have been influenced by "solut" (she releases), in l. 256--and in his translation of The Achilleis, Howard always (six times) rimes "said" with a word like "delay'd," the same being true (two times) in his translation of Aeneid IV. In IV, 276,

to shed may be used in the sense which is presented by the following definition: "fig. To 'pour out' (one's heart, feelings, prayers, etc.). Obs." (O.E.D. 6.d.). The examples given by The O.E.D. under this definition are as follows: "c 1420 Prymer (1895) 67 [ps. xlii. 4], I bi ou te of ese ingis, & y schedde out in me my soule. 1526 Pilgr. Perf. (W. de W. 1531) 137 Ronne to our lorde, & shede forth your herte before hym. 1596 Dalrymple tr. Leslie's Hist. Scot. I. 111 And throuch thair prayers, quhilkes ydenly w^t al diligence thay sched for thair cuntrey, appeir to mitigat the ire of God." "To shed prayers," which we find in the third of these examples, is not far from the combination under discussion here. But it is a possibility that a hurried or semi-literate compositor, perhaps unable to make out the last word of l. 276, was thinking of the word "tears" and, having glanced at "spred," the rime-word in l. 275, was drawn to set "said" as "shed." The Latin, in ll. 255-256, does not have the word said or any word like it--"Having spread herself about the dear neck of her new husband, she now releases her tears and clasps his limbs." The French translation of 1658 has "said"--"Elle embrassoit tendrement son nouuel espoux: & tenant sa teste panchée sur luy, pleurant amerement, elle luy dit." All the circumstances having been considered, however, "shed" is allowed to stand.

IV, 286--"What we have leave to love"--these words seem to indicate, for l. 256 of the Latin, "permissus" (permitted or having been permitted), not "promissus" (promised or having been promised), and "Achilles" (Achilles--in the nominative case), not "Achillis" (of Achilles--in the genitive case). With "promissus" and "Achillis"--with the readings, that is, which are found in the parallel text--ll. 264-265 of the Latin, to which corre-

spond 11. 285-286 of Howard's translation, read thus: "Is this free Hymen [i.e., wedlock, the name of the god of marriage being used by antonomasia]? O sweet thefts, and trick, O fear. The promise of Achilles is snatched away from wretched me." With "permissus" and "Achillis," the lines read as follows: "The permission of Achilles is snatched away from wretched me." With "promissus" and "Achilles," they go thus: "Promised Achilles is snatched away from wretched me [or Having been promised, Achilles . . . or When or Although he has been promised to me, Achilles . . .].]" With "permissus" and "Achilles"--the readings that Howard seems to have used--the lines again read differently: "Permitted Achilles [or When he has been permitted to me, Achilles] is snatched away from wretched me." "What we have leave to love" seems to be a translation of "permissus Achilles"--"permitted Achilles." "Permissus" and "Achilles," which are used in the chief modern editions, are found in the edition of 1653. They are, indeed, the best of the above combinations. "Promissus Achillis," in which "promissus" must be a noun, is highly unlikely, because promissus is said to have been used as a noun only once, by Manilius--thus being a hapax legomenon. "Permissus Achillis," in which "permissus" is a noun, is rather difficult, because one is at a loss to say to what "permission" the phrase refers. "Promissus Achilles" is not so good as "Permissus Achilles" because "Permissus" creates a neat ironic contrast with "furta" (thefts), "dolique" (and tricks), and "timor" (fear), which are in contrast with "Hicne" (this?) and "liber Hymen" (free Hymen), and because "permissus" picks up and explains the idea of "liber Hymen." In his translation, Howard seems to stress the contrasts, and the couplet in which he does this is rather effective. The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Est-ce icy la liberte que ie m'en deuois promettre? O doux larcins,

douces tromperies, ^o crainte! Mal-heureuse que ie suis, on m'oste Achile, quand on me le donne." Here, there is not a clear contrast between love by theft and love by permission, and emphasis is given to the irony of Achilles' being simultaneously given and taken. In fact, it would be difficult to say concerning "promissus" and "permissus" which of the two was used here. (Note, however, "promettre," in the first sentence.

IV, 295-296--According to the Latin, in ll. 273-274, the sense of Howard's English should be this: "While I shall never be mentioned to be yours or shall be made the theme [of the story] of your youthful crime." The Latin itself reads as follows: "But I, perhaps, shall be mentioned to you servants as the story of a first youthful fault, or, having been concealed, shall remain unknown." It is possible, however, that Howard used the word "subject" not in the sense of "theme" (O.E.D. 14.), but in the sense of "recipient" (O.E.D. 12.: "That which is or may be acted or operated upon; a person or thing towards which action or influence is directed, or that is the recipient of some treatment."). He may have used the word as it is used in the following example from The O.E.D. (12.b.): "1634 Sir T. Herbert Trav. 117 [The Turks] haue made this Citie, a subject of their bloody cruelty." If by "subject" Howard meant "recipient," the sense of ll. 295-296 is something like this: "While I shall never be mentioned to be yours or shall [in talk or story-telling] be made [i.e., presented as, or something of this nature] the recipient of your youthful crime."

V, Arg. 2-3--To know, both in l. 2 and in l. 3, seems to be used in the

sense of "to . . . learn through information or inquiry" (O.E.D. 8: "To have cognizance of (something), through observation, inquiry, or information; to be aware or apprised of . . . ; to become cognizant of, learn through information or inquiry, ascertain, find out (obs.)."). The O.E.D. seems not to have an example which clearly illustrates the use of to know in this sense. "Knows," in l. 2, represents, with a reversal of action, the verb "memorat" ([Ithacus, i.e., Ulysses] relates), in l. 2 of the "ARGUMENTVM." "Having known," in l. 3, does not really represent anything in the Latin.

"Originall," in l. 2, can mean either "cause" (O.E.D. 2: "The thing (or person) from which something else arises or proceeds; a source, cause; = ORIGIN sb. 2; an originator, author. Now rare or arch. in general sense . . .") or "beginning" (O.E.D. 1.d.: "Beginning, commencement, earliest stage (without reference to source or derivation). Obs."). "Cause" seems to be the more natural sense intrinsically, and in V, 51 of Howard's translation, just before the passage in which Achilles "knows/ The Wars originall," we find the hero asking Ulysses to "Relate, why Greece thus for revenge prepares . . ." An example from The O.E.D. in which original seems to be used similarly to the way in which it may be used in Howard's translation, is this: "1535 Coverdale Ecclus. x. 13 Pryde is the originall of all synne." But "originall" represents "primordia," in l. 2 of the "ARGUMENTVM," and this Latin word means basically "the first beginnings." The French translation of 1658 has "les commencements." An example from The O.E.D. for the sense of "beginning" is as follows: "1570-6 Lambarde Peramb. Kent (1826) 247 Touching the originall, proceeding, and event of these wars, I willingly spare to speake muche." Ultimately, of course, it is impossible to distinguish between the sense of "beginning"

and the sense of "cause."

V, 5--Howard seems not to have used "nodatum" (knotted), in l. 5 of the Latin; he seems to have used "nudatum" (bared), an MS. variant. With "nudatum," l. 5 of the Latin reads thus: "And now [Aeacides], bared as to his breast of the reddish feminine robe" With "nodatum," it reads in this way: "And now [Aeacides], knotted as to his breast with a reddish feminine robe" "Nudatum" is not found in the edition of 1653, but it seems to be indicated in the French translation of 1658--
 " . . . Achile . . . guerrier dépoüillé de son habit de fille"

V, 6--The verb to court seems to be used here in the sense of "to show oneself desirous of, [or] to seek to win . . . (a thing)" (O.E.D. 6.). An example from The O.E.D. in which the verb seems to be used similarly is this: "1639 Fuller Holy War IV. viii. (1840) 192 Never would he have had the face to have courted the crown imperial." But perhaps the meaning of to court has been extended by Howard, in V, 6, to be equivalent to "sought and won." The Latin words, in l. 6, corresponding to "in his first courted arms" read as follows: "in the very arms which he had seized first."

V, 27--See the note on I, 88.

V, 29--See the note on III, 90.

V, 40--Here and in V, 105, the word virtue has the sense of "valor" (O.E.D. 7.--"The possession or display of manly qualities; manly excellence, manliness, courage, valour."). An example from The O.E.D. in which virtue seems to be used in the sense of "valor" is this: "1579 Fenton Guicciard. II. 104 The bastard of Burbon was made prisoner, not withstanding he fought with great vertue." In using the word virtue in the sense of "valor," Howard was once again thinking etymologically: virtue is derived, through French, from Latin virtus, virtutis, and the fundamental sense of this Latin word, which is derived from the word vir, vir (man), is "manliness," and hence virtus very often means "strength, courage, or valor." Furthermore, in each case Howard had the Latin word virtus, in the sense of "valor," before him in the Latin text. "Virtue" in V, 40 represents "virtus," in l. 38 of the Latin, and "virtue" in V, 105, with "to," represents "Virtutis," in l. 90. For both occurrences of the Latin word, Mozley, in his translation, uses the word valour. In the French translation of 1658, "virtus" is translated by means of "valeur"--and instead of the French word for "haec" (this), we find "Vne si grande," which might have suggested Howard's "so much"--and "Virtutis" is rendered by means of "de la vertu."

V, 41-42--See the note on III, 290.

V, 43--In the seventeenth century, ourselves could still be written as two words, as it originally was. Howard used "our selves" in order to translate "nostrum" (ours), in l. 41 of the Latin.

V, 48--"Though't were the guilt of Fate" refers to "my disguise" or, perhaps, to "me and my disguise." In the Latin, in the sentence in ll. 44-45, "fatorum crimina" (the crime or crimes of fate) is in apposition with "indecores . . . cultus" (disgraceful attire) or with "Scyros" ([the island of] Scyros) and "indecores . . . cultus"--"By this sword, Scyros will be excused, and my disgraceful attire, the crime [or crimes] of fate." Howard has changed "Scyros" to "me," and thus has either "my disguise" or "me and my disguise" as "the guilt of Fate." The pronoun in "though't" strongly indicates a single guilt, but "me" and "my disguise" can be considered together as a single episode in Achilles' life. The French translation of 1658 has the following: "Cette espée fera les excuses de ce qui s'est passé dans l'Isle de Scyre. Ces habits mal-seants que i'ay portez, sont crimes des Destinées:" The author of the French translation read the Latin sentence differently from Howard, taking "indecores . . . cultus" not as the second subject of "excusabitur" (will be excused), but as the subject of an unexpressed form of the verb esse (to be), and taking "fatorum crimina" not as an appositive, but as a predicate nominative.

V, 52--The O.E.D. says that the use of resent as a noun is obsolete and rare. The word here means "resentment" (O.E.D. c.), representing "iras" (anger), in l. 48.

V, 59--"Sowre" probably means "sour": The O.E.D. lists "Sowre" as a seventeenth-century spelling for sour, and under what seems to be the next possibility, sore as a commonly used adjective, lists no such spelling.

"Sowre" seems to represent the Latin adjective "torua" (grim, fierce), which describes not the goddess herself, but her face, "torua Mineruae/ Ora," in ll. 52-53, meaning "the grim or fierce face of Minerva"--Mozley has "Minerva's frowning countenance." The word sour is not defined as meaning specifically "grim" or "fierce" or "frowning," but it is used with meanings that are close to these: "Having a harsh, morose, or peevish disposition; sullen, austere; gloomy, discontented, embittered" (O.E.D. 5.). An example from The O.E.D. is as follows: "1709 Steele Tatler No. 89 P8 Don't think me a sour Man, for I love Conversation and my Friends." For "torua Mineruae/ Ora," the French translation of 1658 has "la fiere Minerue," in which the adjective modifies the goddess's name, as in Howard's rendering of the Latin. (It should be pointed out that "sowre" is given by The O.E.D. as a spelling under "Sore . . . sb.²," "Sore . . . sb.³," and "Sore, a.²" [not, however, under any of these, for the seventeenth century] and that the commonly used adjective sore ["Sore . . . a.¹"] can be used of persons to mean "severe, stern, hard, or harsh" [O.E.D. 5.b.-- "Now dial. (Common in 16th c.)"] or "of a strong, severe, or violent character in respect of operation or effect" [O.E.D. 6.c.])

V, 61--To incline seems to have here the sense of "to bend (the mind . . .) towards some course or action" (O.E.D. 3.). According to The O.E.D., when the verb is used in this sense, it is normally accompanied by the preposition to, with its object, or by an infinitive, but The O.E.D. does have an example in which, as in V, 61, the verb is used alone: "1642 Rogers Naaman 441 Not whether the heart would of itselfe encline, but whether God enclines it." The way in which the verb to encline is used in the second clause here is similar to the way in which Howard seems to use

it in V, 61. "Onely fair Venus looks his mind inclin'd" represents "Fertur . . . pastor . . . solam nimium vidisse Dionen" (A shepherd is said to have looked very much only at Dione [here, Venus]), in ll. 50-54 of the Latin.

V, 65--The verb to fire can be intransitive, and "fires" might not have a direct object. But the Latin, in l. 58--"Anger shakes the vanquished."--suggests that "fires" is transitive, with "The vanquish'd Goddesses" as its direct object.

"Hid," also in l. 65, is a past participle of the verb to hide. As can be seen above, it does not really represent anything in the Latin.

V, 72-76--The sense of this awkward passage seems to be this: "Alas! Paris's crime left its injury on potent Europe [i.e., Greece]. The stained marriage-bed of Menelaus was the first place to receive the injury. It received it when Paris bore his ravished joy, Helen, to Troy." "With captive Argos" seems to be nothing more than a confusing duplication of the idea of "Helen.: The phrase is a translation of "captos Argos" (captured or captive Argos), in l. 65 of the Latin, but, in the Latin, "captos Argos" makes sense. That part of the Latin text with which the passage in question, ll. 72-76, must be compared, belongs to a lengthy sentence, of which Howard has translated approximately half in the passage: this sentence, in ll. 60-65, reads as follows: "He fells the Phrygian groves, the sanctuary of the turreted [literally, turret-wearing] mother [i.e., Cybele], and throws down the pines forbidden to fall to the earth, and, having been carried on the ocean to the Achaian land, he

plunders the marriage-bed of his host, the son of Atreus (alas, shame and pity on potent Europe); and exulting in Helen, he puts to sea, and bears captive Argos to Pergama [i.e., Troy]." The French translation of 1658 goes as follows: "Il abbatit sur lees monts Phrygiens les bois sacrez de la merr Deesse couronnée de Tours, fit tomber par terre les pins deffendus, en fabriqua des vaisseaux pour passer en Grece. Il fut bien recen dans la Prouince d'Achéé (certes i'ay honte de le dire, & ie plains l'estat de l'Europe avec toute sa puissance) il enleua le tresor de la maison du fils d'Atrée, qui l'auoit bien receu, s'en alla tout glorieux avec la belle Helene, & emmena toute la Grece captiue en son pays."

V, 84--See the note on I, 88.

V, 85--"Fact" has the sense of "deed" (O.E.D. l.a.--obsolete) or of "evil deed" or "crime" (O.E.D. l.c.--"in the 16th and 17th c. the commonest sense; now Obs. exc. in to confess the fact and after, before the fact . . . "). An example from The O.E.D. of the use of the word fact in the first sense is this: "1708 Swift Sent. Ch. Eng. Man, A history of facts done a thousand years ago." An example for the second sense is this: "a 1715 Burnet Own Time (1766) I. 21 All who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned." The second sense seems to fit the context better. Both senses, but particularly the first, are etymological: the word fact comes from Latin factum--the neuter perfect participle, used substantively, of the verb facere (to do)--"a thing having been done." "Fact" does not represent any word in the Latin text.

V, 87-90--The punctuation of the copy-text, with the syntax which it seems to indicate, is not totally impossible and should perhaps be allowed to stand--

Aeetes so follow'd his child's escape,
Though Semi-gods were guilty of the rape;
Yet he pursu'd the ravishers with War,
And that fam'd ship, in Heaven now a Star.

In fact, the punctuation of the copy-text is better poetically than that offered in the new text, for, with the original punctuation, the line ending in "rape" seems to go grammatically with that ending in "escape" and the two lines form a closed couplet, the next two lines doing the same. But "though . . . yet . . ." is a standard construction, or formula, in English, one that Howard used in other places in his translation, and it is rhetorically better, as Howard probably knew, to have "he pursu'd the ravishers with War . . ." in opposition to a connected subordinate clause than to have it in opposition to a subordinate clause belonging to another main clause. The Latin, in ll. 75-77, has the following: "And Aeetes did not brook the ravishing of his child from the Scythian shore, and with sword and fleet he followed [or pursued] the half-divine kings [or the kings, though half-divine], and the ship which was about to go into the stars." See, in Howard's translation, II, 142; III, 77-84; and IV, 255-258, where "though" and "yet" are used together in the traditional manner.

V, 105--See the note on V, 40.

V, 117--Cheer, of which "chear" is a seventeenth-century spelling (See I, 59.), is used here in the sense of "food" (O.E.D. 6.: "concr. What is

provided by way of entertainment: fare, provisions, viands, food."), an example from The O.E.D. being this: "1656 H. More Antid. Ath. III. X. (1712) 119 This stranger not relishing his chear without salt." "This was my first chear" represents half or all of l. 101 in the Latin, which reads thus: "These things were the first Ceres to me, these the gifts of cheerful Bacchus." Using the rhetorical device of antonomasia, Statius has here employed the name Ceres to mean "bread." It is the word Ceres that Howard's "chear" represents. Under the old (Italian) system of Latin pronunciation, Ceres would have been pronounced as if it began with the sound represented by English ch, and it is possible that the word Ceres directly suggested to Howard the word "chear."

V, 119--"Without amaze" not only applies to Achilles, but also belongs properly with "to gaze"; the Latin, in ll. 102-105, reads as follows: "Soon he was teaching me to go with him through the untrodden wild country, drawing me along with his greater pace, and to laugh at the sight of the wild beasts, and not to tremble at [or fear] the breaking of rocks by rushing billows, nor at the silence of the vast forest." The French translation of 1658 goes as follows: "Il me menoit avec luy en des lieux inaccessibles parmy les forests & les buissons, me portant sur sa croupe pour aller plus viste, parce qu'autrement il ne m'eust pas esté facile de le suiure, & m'enseignoit à n'auoir point de peur, & mesmes à s¹ourire de ioye, quand les animaux sauvages se presentoient deuant nous, à ne craindre point les cailloux qui rouloient dans les precipices, ny l'affreux silence d'vne vaste forest." Notice the following: "menoit" and "led," "les forests" and "th'Woods," and "l'affreux" and "th'horrid."

V, 122--See the note on III, 69.

V, 134--"Tired with my pains." should modify "me." The Latin, in ll. 113-116, reads as follows: "Often Chiron himself, whilst his age was quick, would with swift step, having set himself at a gallop, chase me over all the plains, and when I was exhausted from my wandering pace through the grassy fields, he would, with delight, praise me and lift me upon his neck."

V, 150--Pile here means "javelin"--from Latin pilum (the heavy javelin of the Roman infantry). (The O.E.D., in "Pile . . . sb.¹ . . . l.," has, as a definition for this missile kind of pile, "a dart; a shaft; (?) an arrow," and says that the use of pile in one of these senses is obsolete. Its latest example here is from "c 1400." For dart, see the note on I, 127.) Howard uses "pile" to render "gesa"--in l. 132--i.e., gaesa, the accusative plural of gaesum, a word derived from Celtic, meaning "a long, heavy javelin of the Gauls." This is the original meaning of the word gaesum. It seems, however, that during the Silver Age, the word was often employed by Roman poets to mean simply "javelin": in V, 132 of The Achilleis, the gasesum is used by the Macedonians; in IV, 64 of The Thebais, Statius has it being used by some of the followers of Adrastus; in l. 111 of Hippolytus, Seneca has it being used by Phaedra; and in II, 444 of The Punica, Silius has it being used by an African. The original meaning of gaesum had not, during the Silver Age, been quite forgotten, as is shown by Punica I, 629--"Alpinaque gaesa" (Alpine gaesa); but, even in a prose translation, Howard would not have done well if he had added such a

qualifier as "Alpine" or "Gallic." (It should, perhaps, be said that for one of the lines cited above, that in The Thebais, the word gaesum has been rendered as "pike.") In the French translation of 1658, "gesa" is rendered with the word "Zagayes," which is the plural of modern French zagaie, which, according to Harrap's Modern College French and English Dictionary, is the same as sagaie and means "assegai," which, according to The Random House Dictionary of the English Language: College Edition (New York, 1968), means "a slender javelin or spear of the Bantu of southern Africa." (The O.E.D. gives this definition: "A kind of slender spear or lance of hard wood, usually pointed with iron, used in battle. Originally, the native name of a Berber weapon adopted by the Moors; but extended by the Portuguese to the light javelins of African savages generally, and most commonly applied by Englishmen to the missile weapons of the South African tribes." The O.E.D. gives no example in which it can be seen that the word is employed with respect to a non-African people.) Thus--as the result of a geographical turnabout--while Statius has the Macedonians using a Gallic javelin, the author of the French translation has them using one from Africa. Perhaps the above-cited line in The Punica had something to do with the choice of "Zagayes." Of course, Howard, in rendering "gesa" with the word pile, has done virtually the same sort of thing as Statius and the author of the French translation, for pile is derived from Latin pilum, and the Latin word signifies a distinctively Roman weapon--one that was not in reality used by the Macedonians during the Heroic Age. In using the word pile, Howard perhaps even intended that it should bring to mind the word pilum, rather than simply javelin. (In fact, this use would be more in line with the examples in The O.E.D. As has been pointed out, the latest example under

O.E.D. 1, which deals with the use of pile to mean "a dart . . . ," is from "c 1400." Under O.E.D. 1.c., which deals with the use of pile "to render L. pilum, the heavy javelin of the ancient Roman foot-soldier," the examples start at "c 1620" and go up to the middle of the nineteenth century. It is not clear that in these examples pile is always used only "to render L. pilum." It seems that it can be used simply to mean L. pilum.)

V, 151--Howard did not, in l. 132 of the Latin, use "caestum" (boxing-glove), which could not, one must think, be translated as "spears," but seems to have used "contum" (pole or pike), which is the reading used in the chief modern editions. The edition of 1653 has "caestum," but in the notes Gronovius makes it clear that "contum" is the correct reading. The French translation of 1658 seems to reflect "caestum":
 ". . . avec quelle vehemence les Sauromates déchargent leurs massues . . .
 .." In a marginal note, located at this point in the French translation, we find the following: "Pannoniens. Poussent leurs masses ou leurs suirons ." This note seems to indicate some confusion.

V, 152--"Semitar" is a seventeenth-century spelling of scimitar. Howard uses "semitars" to render "falcem" (sickle--Mozley has "falchion"), in l. 133 of the Latin.

V, 177--"Oebalian," with which Howard has rendered "Oebalios," in l. 154 of the Latin, basically means, as does the Latin word, "of Oebalus."
 Oebalus was a king of Sparta; he was the father of Tyndareus. Hence, in

Latin, the adjectival form of his name was used to mean "Spartan," and this is the meaning that Statius and Howard intend here.

V, 179--See the note on III, 90.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE FOOTNOTES TO THE LATIN TEXT OF THE EDITION OF 1658

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
I, 7	a <u>deducere</u>	<u>a</u> Per totam Troiam, per totum excidium Troianu quod Homerus non fecit. G.
I, 8	b <u>depleuimus</u>	<u>b</u> i Exhaustimus frustra hic Interp. & omnium infoelicissime Bernartius. P.
I, 9	c <u>secunda</u>	<u>c</u> Prima coronapro Thebaide, secunda pro Achileide. G.
I, 12	d <u>Sit</u>	[No footnote.]
I, 14	e <u>tu</u>	<u>e</u> Domitiane. G.
I, 14	f <u>Itala</u>	<u>f</u> Ad certamen a Domitiano institutum respexit. G.
I, 16	g <u>altera</u>	<u>g</u> Literaria Poetica scil.
I, 22	h <u>Plenaque</u>	<u>h</u> Adimpleta. G.
I, 22	i <u>somni</u>	<u>i</u> Insomni. G.
I, 27	k <u>&</u>	K al. Ab.
I, 29	l <u>Littora</u>	<u>l</u> Deas Nymphas. G.
I, 29	m <u>dominas</u>	[No footnote.]
I, 31	m <u>minatur</u>	<u>m</u> al. paratur.
I, 33	n <u>facibus</u>	<u>n</u> Vt fieri solet in nuptiis. G.
I, 38	o <u>cunabula</u>	<u>o</u> Pro paruum commissum antris. G.
I, 43	p <u>Non</u>	<u>p</u> al. Num.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
I, 47	^q <u>Nunc</u>	Subaudi id facere possum. G.
I, 48	^r <u>secundi</u>	<u>r</u> Neptuni. G.
I, 51	^s <u>regem</u>	Neptunum. G.
I, 55	^t <u>Armigeri</u>	<u>t</u> Propter Tridentem armigeri Neptuni sc.
I, 61	^u <u>Rector</u>	<u>u</u> Neptunus. G.
I, 69	^x <u>pensamus</u>	<u>x</u> i. Pandimus. G.
I, 70	^y <u>alumnae</u>	<u>y</u> In mari natae & educatae G.
I, 71	^z <u>Semideos</u>	<u>z</u> Argonautas. C.
I, 73	^a <u>permitte</u>	<u>a</u> Sub mihi vt possim illud concitare, G.
I, 76	^b <u>habitare</u>	<u>b</u> Desidere, vbi in continuis er lachrymis ad tumulum Achillis. G.
I, 81	^c <u>deis</u>	<u>c</u> al. Deum.
I, 82	^d <u>consultaque</u>	<u>d</u> Destinata, decreta.
I, 83	^e <u>annos</u>	<u>e</u> Decem sc. G.
I, 87	^f <u>Vndabit</u>	<u>f</u> Inundabit G.
I, 101	^g <u>conubialia</u>	<u>g</u> Nuptiis eius celebrata. G.
I, 108	^h <u>exhausta</u>	<u>h</u> Excauata. G.
I, 110	ⁱ <u>locus</u>	<u>i</u> al. Locum monstrantur quod placet G.
I, 112	^k <u>Hic</u>	<u>k</u> In primo atrio bvi Dij conuiuati sunt Thetidis nuptiis. G.
I, 114	^l <u>consanguineos</u>	<u>l</u> Erant Lapithis consanguinei Centauri.
I, 118	^m <u>alumno</u>	<u>m</u> Achilli. G.
I, 120	ⁿ <u>serenat</u>	<u>n</u> Exsiccata. G.
I, 122	^o <u>erumpit</u>	<u>o</u> Chiron.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
I, 123	^p <u>desueto</u>	<u>p</u> i. Quamuis desueto. P.
I, 129	^q <u>merito</u>	<u>q</u> An non? G.
I, 136	^r <u>axe</u>	<u>r</u> Climate. G.
I, 141	^s <u>magis</u>	<u>s</u> i. Sed. Virg. non equidem inuideo, miror magis. G.
I, 142	^t <u>molles</u>	<u>t</u> Muliebres. G.
I, 145	^u <u>superant</u>	<u>u</u> Quasi pater esset Achilli. G.
I, 147	^x <u>patria</u>	<u>x</u> i. Achilles. Liberi vota pare parentum. P.
I, 158	^y <u>taceo</u>	<u>y</u> Praestantior visus est, voluit dicere. G.
I, 159	^z <u>maior</u>	<u>z</u> Amplior, grauior. G.
I, 161	^a <u>natat</u>	<u>a</u> al. Vacat, i diffunditur O.
I, 163	^b <u>vertitur</u>	<u>b</u> Ad solis perodum respexit. G.
I, 165	^c <u>qualis</u>	<u>c</u> Qualis est, sc. G.
I, 173	^d <u>grauis</u>	<u>d</u> Grandis & robustus G.
I, 175	^e <u>extenditur</u>	<u>e</u> An accenditur? G.
I, 176	^f <u>sed</u>	<u>f</u> Aduersatiua facit vt contrarium supplici debeat, nempe dispar quam notauit Britannicus, sed non satis plane. P.
I, 178	^g <u>ille</u>	<u>g</u> Achilles. G.
I, 179	^h <u>nouatur</u>	<u>h</u> al. Nouauit.
I, 181	ⁱ <u>excitat</u>	<u>i</u> Innouat splendorem & pulchritudinem, intelligitur autem de Castore Deo iam facto, G.
I, 185	^k <u>attonitum</u>	<u>k</u> Stupidam tum gaudio tum dolore Thetin.
I, 186	^l <u>Elicit</u>	<u>l</u> i. Promit. G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
I, 196	^m <u>innectit</u>	<u>m</u> Accumbit magistro. G.
II, 4	^a <u>studiis</u>	<u>a</u> Bellicis, sc. ordo, sed Thraca proxima non placet ob studi bellica. G.
II, 7	^b <u>altas</u>	<u>b</u> Ob montes. an alte repostas i. remotas? G.
II, 12	^c <u>Aegaeona</u>	<u>c</u> Ergo ad scopulos Aegei mais religatus fuit. G.
II, 15	^d <u>sedula</u>	<u>d</u> Diligens assidua, proprie hic anxia, sollicita. G.
II, 29	^e <u>Pectoris</u>	<u>e</u> i Affectus. P.
II, 30	^f <u>contagia</u>	<u>f</u> Pisces enim extra aquas inuiti retinentur, diuque in terris consistere renuunt. P.
II, 34	^g <u>monstrat</u>	<u>g</u> Haec Parenthesi includenda, & corr. toto quae. P.
II, 34	^h <u>effulserat</u>	<u>h</u> al. Effulgurat Ber. ex vett. Cod. G.
II, 37	ⁱ <u>subito</u>	<u>i</u> al. Oculis.
II, 43	^k <u>quaerunt</u>	K Desiderant. G.
II, 52	^l <u>versat</u>	<u>l</u> al. Versa.
II, 56	^m <u>dabat</u>	<u>m</u> Lege & decreto fatorum destinabat. G.
II, 60	ⁿ <u>matre</u>	<u>n</u> Ex sola matris parte.
II, 63	^o <u>meos</u>	[No footnote.]
II, 66	^p <u>virgineos</u>	<u>p</u> Muliebres.
II, 68	^q <u>exire</u>	<u>q</u> Dianae forma sumpta vt deciperetur Calisto, G.
II, 71	^r <u>maritum</u>	<u>r</u> Muliebrem vestem, G.
II, 74	^s <u>Tegmina</u>	<u>s</u> Videntur enim lugere velle, G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
II, 74	t <u>reducis</u>	[No footnote.]
II, 75	u <u>oculi</u>	[No footnote.]
II, 78	x <u>roganti</u>	<u>x</u> Matri Thetidi. G.
II, 81	y <u>tentet</u>	<u>y</u> al. Captat.
II, 87	z <u>detraxit</u>	<u>z</u> Dimouit ab ingenio feroci, deduxit ad mansuetudinem. G.
II, 95	a <u>animique</u>	<u>a</u> Annique Bern.
II, 97	b <u>relinquit</u>	<u>b</u> Eminet ac toto vertice supra est, vt Virg. G.
II, 99	c <u>sororibus</u>	<u>c</u> Pulchritudine sua sorores obscurat, G.
II, 101	d <u>lux</u>	<u>d</u> De oculis & capillis intelligendum. G.
II, 102	e <u>deae</u>	<u>e</u> Cod. Lang. & blandior auro, Bern. P.
II, 114	f <u>aeui</u>	<u>f</u> Aetatis puerilis. G.
II, 122	g <u>simulare</u>	<u>g</u> Te esse foeminam. G.
II, 124	h <u>iungere</u>	<u>h</u> Easdem habere curas quas ego, <u>i.</u> vxorem ducere, G.
II, 126	i <u>Mulcetur</u>	<u>i</u> Achilles.
II, 127	k <u>vestesque</u>	<u>k</u> Muliebres, G.
II, 129	l <u>sinus</u>	<u>l</u> Vestem amplam & sinuosam, G.
II, 131	m <u>impexos</u>	<u>m</u> Implexos crono. ex MS. P.
II, 139	n <u>Inuicta</u>	<u>n</u> Non victa aut diminuta virtute, G. al. inuita, P.
II, 141	o <u>rursumque</u>	<u>o</u> al. Iteru quod praefert Bern G.
II, 150	p <u>latentes</u>	<u>p</u> Subductas more venantium, G. videntur enim latere dum subductae & succinctae sunt. P.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
II, 151	^q <u>Diducit</u>	<u>q</u> i. Explicat, euoluit. P.
II, 158	^r <u>ferat</u>	<u>r</u> Opera exerceat muliebria, & ferat sacra, vt Pallado & Iunonis. G.
II, 161	^s <u>Gymnadas</u>	<u>s</u> Ludos Palaestricos, G.
II, 166	^t <u>dictis</u>	<u>t</u> Assentitur, G.
II, 166	^u <u>ingenioque</u>	<u>u</u> Id astu, P.
II, 167	^x <u>quis</u>	<u>x</u> Epiphonema quale illud Virg. quis fallere posit amantem? P.
II, 169	^y <u>grates</u>	<u>y</u> Thetidi Deae. G.
II, 172	^z <u>pectora</u>	<u>z</u> al. A pectore, sed non plcet, G.
II, 174	^a <u>loco</u>	<u>a</u> al. Locum.
II, 177	^b <u>diuersoque</u>	<u>b</u> al. Diuersaque.
II, 177	^c <u>tractu</u>	<u>c</u> al. Parte.
II, 183	^d <u>monitus</u>	<u>d</u> Achilli. G.
II, 186	^e <u>votis</u>	<u>e</u> al. Verbis.
III, 3	^a <u>mouet</u>	<u>a</u> Concitat. G.
III, 4	^b <u>nupta</u>	Clytemnestra. G.
III, 9	^c <u>populos</u>	<u>c</u> Graecos sc. G.
III, 12	^d <u>vmbo</u>	<u>d</u> Caput Promontoriu. G.
III, 15	^e <u>Abydeno</u>	<u>e</u> Ad Orientem exclusiue na Abydos est in Asia. G.
III, 16	^f <u>erigit</u>	<u>f</u> Corr. egerit. P.
III, 17	^g <u>Temesae</u>	<u>g</u> Vrbs Graeciae Maturantio, in qua bonum ferrum nascitur. G.
III, 17	^h <u>naualibus</u>	<u>h</u> Innaualibus. G.
III, 19	ⁱ <u>ferarum</u>	<u>i</u> Leonum, Vrsorum. G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
III, 21	^k <u>Lerna</u>	<u>k</u> Armentosa Paulus. G.
III, 26	^l <u>tradunt</u>	<u>l</u> Vet MS. tendunt Ber. P.
III, 29	^m <u>efferat</u>	<u>m</u> Asperum terribile facit. G. propter varias figuras ferarum quae effingebantur in Scutis & Galeis perperam Ber. P.
III, 37	ⁿ <u>conspirante</u>	<u>n</u> Ad sagittas. G.
III, 39	^o <u>iras</u>	<u>o</u> Aciem. G.
III, 40	^p <u>fundere</u>	<u>p</u> Ex plumbo soluto facere. G.
III, 48	^q <u>hyemes</u>	<u>q</u> Tumide nimis Statius hic hyemes posuit, modestius postea dixit suos fluctus. P.
III, 53	^s <u>Aulis</u>	<u>s</u> Appositivae. G.
III, 55	^t <u>Latratum</u>	<u>t</u> Fluctibus pulsatum G.
III, 59	^u <u>annuus</u>	<u>u</u> Nam annum Graeci in Aulide manserunt. G.
III, 62	^x <u>voltumque</u>	<u>x</u> Satis improprie pro capite, sed quia in vultu potior corporis forma. P.
III, 65	^y <u>ignem</u>	<u>y</u> Quae faciunt venatores. G.
III, 66	^z <u>miranturque</u>	<u>z</u> Propter indaginem qua pressi conguntur in vnum. G.
III, 73	^a <u>Sthenelusque</u>	<u>a</u> Filius Capanei, G.
III, 75	^b <u>greges</u>	<u>b</u> al. Reges, i. pelles taurorum principum, praecipuorum, G. immoderate nimis & hyperbolice. Hic Statio modestior longe Virg. P.
III, 84	^c <u>ad</u>	<u>c</u> Maturantius hic legit praestruxerit, & exponit, praemunierit. G.
III, 85	^d <u>perstrinxerit</u>	<u>d</u> Dele <u>ad.</u> vide Ber. quod & Britan. vidit P.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
III, 88	e <u>pallentes</u>	<u>e</u> al. Palantes.
III, 90	f <u>lybicos</u>	<u>f</u> Medusaeos. G.
III, 93	g <u>quando</u>	<u>g</u> Forte rectius quas, P.
III, 94	h <u>fulmina</u>	<u>h</u> Prima an accunda? G.
III, 105	i <u>Aiaxque</u>	<u>i</u> Ajax Telamonius & Oileus C.
III, 109	k <u>mutus</u>	<u>k</u> Ber. tutus, sed placet mutus, <u>i.</u> no officio suo fungens. G.
III, 112	l <u>irrumpe</u>	<u>l</u> al. Rupe moras quod placet <u>legitur</u> & rumpe Deos quod esset Deorum oracula prome. G.
III, 113	m <u>ignes</u>	<u>m</u> Hic versus adulterinus videtur. G.
	[None.]	<u>n</u> Manifestas, ducis in apertum, patefacis, per te. l. est sponte tua, non coactus tua opera. G.
III, 117	n <u>portendis</u>	<u>n</u> Oculos, sic multis in locis genas pro oculis vsurpat G.
III, 120	o <u>genas</u>	[No footnote.]
III, 123	p <u>sagas</u>	<u>p</u> i. Praesagas. G.
III, 126	q <u>exiliunt</u>	<u>q</u> Virg. non comptae mansero comae. G.
III, 129	r <u>oppositum</u>	<u>r</u> Cuius vehementai & oppositu vox impediabatur. G.
III, 135	s <u>furto</u>	<u>s</u> Occultatione ignominiosa. G.
III, 139	t <u>raptus</u>	<u>t</u> Amore illectus. G.
III, 144	u <u>te</u>	<u>u</u> al. Tua.
III, 147	x <u>fecundumque</u>	<u>x</u> Virg fecundum concute pectus. G.
III, 151	y <u>tardat</u>	<u>y</u> al. Versat.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
III, 155	^a <u>aderit</u>	<u>a</u> Veniet, G.
III, 163	^b <u>iuuentus</u>	<u>b</u> Collectiue. P.
III, 165	^c <u>furto</u>	<u>c</u> Furtiuo concubitu. G.
III, 168	^d <u>grege</u>	<u>d</u> al. Agmine.
III, 173	^e <u>resumit</u>	<u>e</u> Respicit saepe. G.
III, 174	^f <u>inhaeret</u>	<u>f</u> al. Adhaeret.
III, 175	^g <u>lapis</u>	<u>g</u> Tanquam casu lapsi essent. G.
III, 181	^h <u>vertice</u>	<u>h</u> Quam sit altus mons Pelion. G.
III, 183	ⁱ <u>cantat</u>	<u>i</u> al. Laudat.
III, 185	^k <u>tenuare</u>	K Subtilius filare. Maturantius interpretatur quas disturbabat. G.
III, 186	^l <u>perdita</u>	<u>l</u> Corrupta. vexata.
III, 190	^m <u>aperire</u>	<u>m</u> Volentem comprimere
III, 191	ⁿ <u>leuitate</u>	<u>n</u> Lasciua puellari, simplicitate. G.
III, 194	^o <u>Frater</u>	<u>o</u> i. Tantum frater, & non coniux. G.
III, 195	^p <u>versos</u>	<u>p</u> Veros germana Bern. ex codd vet. G.
III, 203	^q <u>Ductor</u>	<u>q</u> Lycomides. G.
III, 208	^r <u>difficili</u>	<u>r</u> Tardo pudico vt virgo, G.
III, 209	^s <u>decet</u>	<u>s</u> al. Docet. P.
III, 209	^t <u>mendacia</u>	<u>t</u> Vestis muliebris; ornatus gestus, ex praeceptis matri.s G.
III, 218	^u <u>pronosque</u>	<u>u</u> Demissos vt virgineos. G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
III, 220	x <u>patrio</u>	<u>x</u> al. Multo.
III, 228	y <u>Quonam</u>	<u>y</u> Quonam vsque. G.
III, 233	z <u>Promissasque</u>	<u>z</u> Quas promiserat Peleus Sperchio Hom.
III, 234	a <u>vmbras</u>	<u>a</u> Al. vndas
III, 241	b <u>Aequaeuamque</u>	<u>b</u> Aequalis ante sc. virgines. G.
III, 243	c <u>probabis</u>	<u>c</u> al. Probari.
III, 247	d <u>risit</u>	<u>d</u> Virg. sed faciles Nymphae risere. P.
III, 248	e <u>Lunae</u>	<u>e</u> De Luna quae & Diana decenter dixit rubuerunt propter Virginitatem illius intemertam. P.
III, 262	f <u>tumidas</u>	<u>f</u> Inundatione maris peribunt. G.
III, 263	g <u>connubia</u>	<u>g</u> Poena enim Virginitatis violatae mors. P.
III, 264	h <u>Funere</u>	<u>h</u> Morte affecta a patre G.
III, 266	i <u>regina</u>	<u>i</u> Deidamia. G.
III, 268	k <u>mutata</u>	<u>k</u> Longe alia visa est facies fatentis se virum, quanquam olim suspectus erat, G.
III, 269	l <u>ferat</u>	<u>l</u> Deferat G.
III, 271	m <u>Hausurum</u>	<u>m</u> Passurum. G.
III, 272	n <u>amor</u>	<u>n</u> Quo Achillem tanquam puellam amauerat. G.
III, 278	o <u>index</u>	<u>o</u> Quod manifestat vterum celatum diu. G.
IV, 2	a <u>innumerae</u>	<u>a</u> Multae, modo hanc modo illam ostendebant.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
IV, 6	b <u>ibi</u>	<u>b</u> al, Vbi excelsa.
IV, 7	c <u>Responsique</u>	<u>c</u> Vt id praestet quod Calchas praedixerat, ita ut Calchas sit viridicus, G.
IV, 11	d <u>euertere</u>	<u>d</u> Al. vertere Bern.
IV, 16	e <u>penetrabile</u>	<u>e</u> Accessibile ipsis equis. G.
IV, 18	f <u>totos</u>	<u>f</u> Ad hanc totis velis contendens. Metaphorice ab equis quibus habenae remittuntur, G.
IV, 22	g <u>superat</u>	<u>g</u> Supra Palladi littoreae, super quod templum Palladis esset in loco eminenti. G.
IV, 44	h <u>remisso</u>	<u>h</u> Fronte explicata, relaxata sed ni fallor remisso hic, & demisso, <u>baissant vn peu la</u> <u>teste.</u> G.
IV, 50	i <u>Haec</u>	<u>i</u> al. Hoc sat erit.
IV, 53	k <u>praefatur</u>	<u>K</u> al. Profatur.
IV, 57	l <u>praelata</u>	<u>l</u> Ante lata, i. fama audita. G.
IV, 59	m <u>ductor</u>	<u>m</u> al. Dicor.
IV, 74	n <u>hostem</u>	<u>n</u> Aprum. G.
IV, 77	o <u>fida</u>	<u>o</u> In Gynaceo. G.
IV, 78	p <u>sociosque</u>	<u>p</u> A Lycomede. G.
IV, 81	q <u>talis</u>	<u>q</u> Etiam veste muliebri, G.
IV, 83	r <u>ire</u>	<u>r</u> i. Venire, G.
IV, 84	s <u>subeunt</u>	<u>s</u> Illae sup. G.
IV, 97	t <u>crinale</u>	<u>t</u> Faciam qua crine s religantur. G.
IV, 99	u <u>repostis</u>	<u>u</u> <u>A trois serucies</u> G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
IV, 104	u <u>quae</u>	[No footnote.]
IV, 106	x <u>soboles</u>	<u>s</u> Pro quorum signa i. cuius victoriae. G.
IV, 114	y <u>meritos</u>	<u>y</u> Si soboles esset. G.
	[None.]	<u>z</u> al. Iunctos. Troia norum. G.
IV, 119	a <u>maiore</u>	<u>a</u> al. Meliore.
IV, 126	b <u>steriles</u>	<u>b</u> Inutiles. G.
IV, 136	c <u>Fors</u>	<u>c</u> al. Sors.
IV, 137	d <u>est</u>	<u>d</u> al. Et.
IV, 140	e <u>Et</u>	<u>e</u> al. At.
IV, 141	f <u>cupide</u>	<u>f</u> al. Cuspidi, vel Auidi.
IV, 143	g <u>pace</u>	<u>g</u> al. Nocte.
IV, 155	h <u>Terga</u>	<u>h</u> Tympana. G.
IV, 157	i <u>gradum</u>	<u>i</u> al, Gradus.
IV, 158	k <u>obuia</u>	K Obuie aduerb.
IV, 159	l <u>Pectine</u>	<u>l</u> Pectinis figura, pectem Amazonium. G.
IV, 177	m <u>magnoque</u>	<u>m</u> Lycomedi G.
IV, 179	n <u>pugnis</u>	<u>n</u> Praeliis. G.
IV, 181	o <u>genas</u>	<u>o</u> Oculos. G.
IV, 188	p <u>It</u>	<u>p</u> .iAbit. G.
IV, 188	q <u>inimicus</u>	<u>q</u> Sup.sit. G.
IV, 190	r <u>aemula</u>	<u>r</u> Imitatrix. G.
IV, 196	s <u>suspensis</u>	<u>s</u> Quae vltorius non procedunt dum Achillem expectant. G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
IV, 200	t <u>pectus</u>	<u>t</u> Vestem muliebrem deponebat. G.
IV, 204	u <u>intactae</u>	<u>u</u> per se lapsae. G.
IV, 221	x <u>&</u>	<u>x</u> al. Es. G.
IV, 234	y <u>proiecit</u>	<u>y</u> Produxit Pyrrhum Achillis qui hactenus occultus fuerat. G.
IV, 242	z <u>velit</u>	<u>z</u> Obuius ire. G.
IV, 250	a <u>viresque</u>	<u>a</u> Impotentiam suam. G.
IV, 252	b <u>Foedus</u>	<u>b</u> Connubii. G.
IV, 253	c <u>Illius</u>	<u>c</u> Achillis. G.
IV, 254	d <u>haec</u>	<u>d</u> Deidamia. G.
IV, 258	e <u>dignabere</u>	<u>e</u> Pyrrhum inuisis. G.
IV, 261	f <u>timeamne</u>	<u>f</u> An quid precer heu, timeamue prius. G.
IV, 264	g <u>liber</u>	<u>g</u> Liberum matrimonium furtiuis amoribus. G.
IV, 268	h <u>improba</u>	<u>h</u> Importuna.
IV, 273	i <u>vel</u>	<u>i</u> al. Tune.
V, 9	a <u>meminisse</u>	<u>a</u> Foemineas latebras. G.
V, 10	b <u>passus</u>	<u>b</u> Quod ibi virum dissimulauerit. G.
V, 13	c <u>fluctuque</u>	<u>c</u> Qua fluctus alluit. G.
V, 21	d <u>nubes</u>	<u>d</u> Quae e mari eleuantur, G.
V, 24	e <u>Confessumque</u>	<u>e</u> Quae iam confitebatur, G.
V, 26	f <u>sola</u>	<u>f</u> Quod altae recessissent post discessum Achillis, G.
V, 30	g <u>Datque</u>	<u>g</u> Remittitur. G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
V, 34	h <u>limine</u>	<u>h</u> Stantem in limine, nec procedentem sinere. respexit autem ad Romanorum consuetudinem qui indicto bello Ianum reserabant, G.
V, 38	i <u>Mater</u>	<u>i</u> Sollicita de filio. G.
V, 39	k <u>Quae</u>	K Virtus.
V, 39	l <u>refugit</u>	<u>l</u> Thetidis respectum. G.
V, 40	m <u>Thetin</u>	[No footnote]
V, 45	n <u>Scyros</u>	<u>n</u> Ignauia sub veste muliebri, G.
V, 48	u <u>libet</u>	<u>o</u> al. Licet.
V, 51	p <u>soluere</u>	<u>p</u> Adsoluendum, G.
V, 52	q <u>Sollicitas</u>	<u>q</u> Expectantes exitum iudicii. G.
V, 55	r <u>tuis</u>	<u>r</u> In Thessalia nuptiis Pelei patris tui. G.
V, 58	s <u>exitialia</u>	<u>s</u> Helenam. G.
V, 67	t <u>inexciti</u>	<u>t</u> i. Non euocati, G.
V, 75	u <u>generum</u>	<u>u</u> An vi generum, G. Vi. Idem error alibi vbi de Asops fluuio. P.
V, 85	x <u>Impulit</u>	<u>x</u> Eum inflammasse sc. G
V, 91	y <u>sociis</u>	<u>y</u> Nobis.
V, 92	z <u>pretium</u>	<u>z</u> Hoc supple, & hoc sit operae nostrae pretium. G.
V, 96	a <u>Dicor</u>	<u>a</u> Quia non recordor. G.
V, 99	b <u>spissa</u>	<u>b</u> Non liquida vt Lact.
V, 104	c <u>Arridere</u>	<u>c</u> Et non formidare, G.

Book Number and Line Number in the Present Edition	Alphabetical Symbol of Reference and Its Location in the Line	Footnote
V, 113	d <u>sequi</u>	<u>d</u> Assequi vel sequi vt assequerer. G.
V, 114	e <u>campis</u>	<u>e</u> <u>Courant a toute bride</u> , admittere equum, <u>pousser vn</u> <u>cheual</u> , Ouid. hic lacer admissos terrui Hector equos. G.
V, 120	f <u>vacuos</u>	<u>f</u> Exhaustos feris rudentibus, rugientibus. G.
V, 125	g <u>subducta</u>	<u>g</u> Seducta exhibet Maturantius. G.
V, 126	h <u>expectabat</u>	<u>h</u> Spectabat, speculabatur. G.
V, 128	i <u>telis</u>	<u>i</u> An sanguine ferarum obliti. G.
V, 136	k <u>gyro</u>	<u>k</u> Circumactione fundae agitaret inclusum, i. circum scriptum. G.
V, 137	l <u>modo</u>	<u>l</u> Paulo ante. G.
V, 139	m <u>prendere</u>	<u>m</u> al. Pendere, non placet, G.
V, 142	n <u>Ardentesque</u>	<u>n</u> Igne seu incendio contempto. G.
V, 148	o <u>obstante</u>	<u>o</u> i. Quadrupedante G.
V, 149	p <u>nec</u>	<u>p</u> Corr. sed. P.
V, 155	q <u>spargere</u>	<u>q</u> Ictus caestuum. G.
V, 165	r <u>biformes</u>	<u>r</u> al. Bimembres. G.
V, 167	s <u>scit</u>	<u>s</u> Quae in Scyro acta sunt. G.

APPENDIX B

THE VARIANTS FOUND IN A COLLATION OF A COPY OF THE LATIN TEXT OF 1658 AND A COPY OF THAT OF 1653

For each particular instance of variance, the reading or readings in the text of 1658 (that given in parallel in the present edition) appear to the left of the brackets, after the number of the proper book and that of the proper line in the text of 1658, and the corresponding reading or readings in the text of 1653 appear to the right of the brackets. The line-numbers used for the text of 1658 are in accordance with the numbering in the present edition. Since the two texts are divided differently (the text of 1658 being divided into five books and that of 1653 into two), the location of the reading or readings in the text of 1653 is also given, appearing, in parentheses, to the left of that reading or those readings. For a small number of situations, it seemed best to change the format as it has thus far been set forth, but the entries recording these situations should not give the reader any difficulty. All uncovered cases of variance in wording, text-division, spelling, initial capitalization, and punctuation are recorded, except the cases involving only the use of j for i, the use of i for j, the use of u for v, or the use of v for u, or a combination of these uses, and cases involving only the use of an accent mark, of the title, or of the abbreviating mark ;, are not recorded. Each entry recording an instance of variance in wording or text-division, is underlined. If the readings in such an entry involve also an instance of some other kind of variance, the readings are repeated in the next entry--which is not underlined--the idea being to have separate entries for separate, or

separable, instances of separate kinds of variance. If a reading which is from the text of 1653 and which is given in an underlined entry, is provided as a variant in the footnotes to the text of 1658, the fact that it is so provided is indicated, in parentheses, after the number of the book and that of the line, in the text of 1653, in which the reading appears. If, in any case of variance which is recorded in an underlined entry, it seems that Howard used the text of 1653, an asterisk will be found at the end of the entry. If it seems that he used the text of 1658, a hyphen will be found at the beginning of the entry. Further information on each case of variance which is recorded in an entry marked with an asterisk will be found in the explanatory notes to this edition, under the numbers indicating the line or lines in Howard's translation in which there is evidence that Howard used the text of 1653. Each underlined entry which is not marked by either an asterisk or a hyphen involves either a variant which was available to Howard in the footnotes to the text of 1658 or a case of variance in which the editor of the present edition could not say which of the two texts Howard probably used. Some of the entries marked with an asterisk concern errors which Howard himself, without the use of a second printed source, would probably have recognized as such. The following variants were obtained from a single collation, which was performed by the editor without the aid of any machine. In this collation a "hard copy" of a microfilm of the text of The Achilleis which appears in the copy of the edition of 1653 owned by the library of Princeton University was compared with a photographic copy of the text of The Achilleis which appears in the copy of the edition of 1658 owned by the library of The University of Chicago, this photographic copy being the same that was used as the copy-text for the parallel Latin text in the present edition. Because of problems with the copy of the exemplar of

the text of 1653, the following lines were checked in or collated by means of a photographic copy of the text of The Achilleis which appears in the copy of the edition of 1653 owned by the library of Washington University, in St. Louis, Missouri: I, 93, 232, 310, 320, 396, 403, 433, 434, 439, 441, 442, 443, 444, 446, 447, 461, 469, 475, 483, 521, 523, 525, 527, 535, 539, 543, 552, 564, 566; II, 74, 75, 85, 160, 166. In the entries, plain roman letters are used both for the roman letters and for the italics of the text of 1658; the digraphs ae and oe are typed as separate letters; and only the first letter of these digraphs is ever capitalized.

The argument of the whole epic is absent in the text of 1653. *

-The argument of the first book is absent in the text of 1653.

I, 3 viri,] viri (I, 3)

I, 3 cantu.] cantu (I, 3)

I, 4 Meonio] Maeonio (I, 4)

I, 6 tuba,] tuba. (I,6)

I, 7 Sistere?] Sistere, (I, 7)

I, 9 mihi] mihi, (I, 9)

I, 10 comas.] comas: (I, 10)

I, 12 Sit] Scit (I, 12)

I, 12 dircaeus] Dircaeus (I, 12)

I, 12 ager.] ager: (I, 12)

- I, 13 memorant] numerant (I, 13)

I, 14 tu] tu, (I, 14)

I, 15 vatumque] vatumque, (I, 15)

I, 17 parumpper] parumper (I, 17)

I, 18 Puluere] Pulvere. (I, 18)

I, 21 Dardanus.] Dardanus, (I, 21)

I, 23 iter.] iter, (I, 23)

I, 25 Thetis,] Thetis (I, 25)

I, 26 expauit sub] expavit vitreo sub (I, 26) *

I, 27 mora.] mora: (I, 27)

- I, 29 equor] aequor (I, 19)
 I, 30 ponto,] ponto: (I, 30)
 I, 31 petit,] petit (I, 31)
 I, 31 haec] haec, (I, 31)
 I, 31 minatur.] minatur: (I, 31)
 I, 32 locutum] locutum. (I, 32)
 I, 33 leuatis.] levatis, (I, 33)
 I, 35 Ionium,] Ionium (I, 35)
 I, 44 atollere] attollere (I, 44)
 I, 47 quoque.] quoq;: (I, 47)
I, 49 Thetios] Ththyos (I, 49) *
 I, 49 annos.] annos (I, 49)
I, 50 Grandeuum] Grandaevumque (I, 50)
 I, 53 Letus] Laetus (I, 53)
 I, 53 vultum] vultus (I, 53)
 I, 55 Cete] cete (I, 55)
 I, 59 fluctus] fluctus. (I, 59)
 I, 61 Rector] rector (I, 61)
I, 61 Gemitorque] genitorque (I, 61)
 I, 65 pagasaea] Pagasaea (I, 65)
 I, 65 rapina.] rapina (I, 65)
 - I, 68 caeloque] pelagoque (I, 68)
 I, 68 daturus?] daturus! (I, 68)
 I, 69 mihi!] mihi? (I, 69)
I, 70 manus] munus (I, 70) *
 I, 71 saltem, non] saltem (non (I, 71)
 I, 72 Thesea,] Thesea) (I, 72)
 I, 73 inclementia] inclementia: (I, 73)
 I, 76 sepulchri.] sepulchri, (I, 76)
 I, 78 Tunc] tunc (I, 78)
 - I, 78 Rector] ductor (I, 78)
 I, 78 Rector] ductor (I, 78)
 I, 79 amicis.] amicis: (I, 79)
 I, 80 frustra] frustra, (I, 80)
 I, 80 Theti] Theti, (I, 80)
 I, 81 vetant.] vetant: (I, 81)
 I, 83 Iupiter] Iuppiter (I, 83)

- I, 86 trepidos] tepido (I, 86)
 I, 90 thalamosque] thalamosque (I, 90)
 I, 94 Exeret] Exeret, (I, 90)
 I, 94 Vlisse] Vlysse (I, 94)
I, 96 exire] excire (I, 96) *
 I, 98 terras] terras. (I, 98)
 I, 100 Repulit] Reppulit (I, 100)
 I, 101 montes.] montes, (I, 101)
 I, 101 conubialia] connubialia (I, 101)
 I, 105 consiia] consilia, (I, 105)
 I, 105 magistra] magistra, (I, 105)
I, 110 monstratur] monstrantur (I, 110)
 I, 110 monstratur.] monstrantur: (I, 110)
 I, 113 Orni] orni (I, 113)
 I, 114 hostes,[hostes. (I, 114)
 I, 115 infontes] insontes (I, 115)
 I, 116 viridis,] viridis; (I, 116)
I, 116 tunc] nunc (I, 116) *
 I, 116 vnus] unus, (I, 116)
 I, 117 herbas?] herbas, (I, 117)
 I, 118 lyta] lyra (I, 118)
 I, 118 Heroas] heroas (I, 118)
I, 119 Et] At (I, 119)
I, 119 cum] tunc (I, 119)
 I, 121 domum.] domum, (I, 121)
I, 121 Tum] cum (I, 121)
 I, 122 Nereis,] Nereis: (I, 122)
 I, 122 vires] vires, (I, 122)
 I, 127 moras.] moras: (I, 127)
 I, 128 Dic] Dic, (I, 128)
 I, 128 ait.] ait, (I, 128)
I, 128 aut vila] aut cur ulla (I, 128) *
I, 129 sine? merito] sine? num merito (I, 129)
 I, 131 enses.] enses, (I, 131)
 I, 134 fontes.] fontes, (I, 134)
 I, 137 littore] littora (I, 137)

- I, 140 Donaque.] Donaque: (I, 140)
 I, 140 vectorque] vectorque, (I, 140)
 I, 141 magis] magis. (I, 141)
 I, 141 parens.] parens: (I, 141)
 I, 143 Aussa] Ausa (I, 143)
I, 143 Aussa foret tunc] Ausa seni. tunc (I, 143) *
 I, 143 foret tunc] seni. tunc (I, 143)
 I, 143 refert.] refert: (I, 143)
 I, 145 placandaque,] placandaq; (I, 145)
 - I, 146 addo] adde (I, 146)
 I, 147 fallunt] fallunt) (I, 147)
I, 149 Olim & ferre] Olim ferre (I, 149)
 I, 151 ingens] ingens, (I, 151)
 I, 152 Thessalicaeue] Thessaliaeve (I, 152)
 - I, 155 tumidique] timidique (I, 155)
 I, 155 minantur] minantur (I, 155)
 I, 156 Argoos] Argoos, (I, 156)
 I, 156 Pinus] pinus I(, 156)
I, 157 Huc] Hac (I, 157)
I, 157 Alcides] Alciden (I, 157) *
 I, 161 visu.] visu, (I, 161)
 I, 162 Purpureus.] Purpureus, (I, 162)
 - I, 170 asportat] apportat (I, 170)
I, 171 Quas] Quos (I, 171) *
I, 176 dispar] longe (I, 176)
 I, 178 rapido] rapido, (I, 178)
 I, 178 proxima] proxima, (I, 178)
 I, 179 novatur.] novatur (I, 179)
 I, 180 Fontibus] Fontibus. (I, 180)
 I, 183 humeros.] humeros: (I, 183)
I, 184 libera] libare (I, 184) *
 I, 184 bacchaeaque] Bacchaeaque (I, 184)
I, 185 attonitum] attonitam (I, 185) *
 I, 185 mulcens,] mulcens. (I, 185)
I, 186 chelyn, solantia] chelyn, & solantia (I, 186)
 I, 190 Amphitryoniades,] Amphitryoniades: (I, 190)
 I, 190 crudo] crudum (I, 190)

- I, 191 Pollux.] Pollux: (I, 191)
 I, 193 toros] toros, (I, 193)
 I, 194 Pelion.] Pelion: (I, 194)
 I, 194 Hic] hic (I, 194)
 I, 195 somnos.] somnos: (I, 195)
 I, 196 Achilles.] Achilles, (I, 196)
 I, 197 mauult,] mavult. (I, 197)

- The argument of the second book is absent in the text of 1653.

- In the text of 1653, there is, at this point, no division, and the first book continues.

- II, 1 astans] astans, (I, 198)
II, 2 nota] nato (I, 199) *
II, 2 obdere] abdere (I, 199) *
II, 3 Destinat] Destinet (I, 200) *
 II, 4 Proxima] Proxima, (I, 201)
 II, 4 Mauortia] Mavortia, (I, 201)
 II, 7 sinus.] sinus, (I, 204)
II, 13 Iussa] Missa (I, 210) *
 II, 18 homines,] homines: (I, 215)
 II, 21 deam.] deam, (I, 218)
 II, 21 complexa,] complexa (I, 218)
 II, 21 vndas] undas, (I, 218)
II, 23 pelaga] pelago (I, 220)
-II, 25 Tethys] Thetis (I, 222)
 II, 27 Nutrierat,] Nutrierat. (I, 224)
 II, 29 humani.] humani (I, 226)
 II, 29 iubet] jubet. (I, 226)
 II, 37 subito,] subito (I, 234)
 II, 38 equo.] equo, (I, 238)
 II, 41 Othrys.] Othrys, (I, 238)
 II, 43 Fauni] Fauni, (I, 240)
 II, 44 nymphae] Nymphae (I, 241)
II, 47 cursu] curru (I, 244) *
 II, 51 diem,] diem. (I, 248)
 II, 51 primo.] primo, (I, 248)
II, 52 versat] versa (I, 249) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)

- II, 53 ignoto] ignota (I, 250)
 II, 55 mihi] mihi, (I, 252)
 II, 55 puer] puer, (I, 252)
II, 55 equo] aequa (I, 252)
 II, 56 dabat] dabat, (I, 253)
 II, 57 Sydus] Sidus (I, 254)
 II, 57 coeli] caeli (I, 254)
 II, 58 vererer,] vererer. (I, 255)
 II, 59 tibi] tibi, (I, 256)
 II, 59 nate] nate, (I, 256)
 II, 59 praehasaque] praeclosaque (I, 256)
 II, 60 est,] est. (I, 257)
 II, 60 Quin] quin (I, 257)
 II, 62 summite] summitte (I, 259)
 II, 68 malignum,] malignum. (I, 265)
II, 70 per hoc] per ego hoc (I, 267)*
II, 71 humilemque maritum] humilemque experta maritum (I, 268)*
 II, 72 Stygis] Stygos (I, 269)
II, 77 hos] hoc (I, 274)
 II, 78 mulcens.] mulcens, (I, 275)
II, 79 Nutriorque] Nutritorque (I, 276)
 II, 79 ingens,] ingens (I, 276)
II, 80 infrenae] effrenae (I, 277)
II, 84 fremit] gemit (I, 281)
 II, 88 Paladi] Palladi (I, 285)
 II, 91 opes] opes. (I, 288)
 II, 92 comas,] comas. (I, 289)
 II, 93 decus.] decus: (I, 290)
 II, 94 Cultus.] Cultus, (I, 291)
 II, 95 toris,] toris: (I, 292)
II, 95 animique] annique (I, 292) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)
 II, 99 chori:] chori, (I, 296)
II, 100 è] & (I, 297)
II, 103 Ponat, exempta] Ponat, & exempta (I, 300)
 II, 105 motu,] motu; (I, 302)
 II, 107 amor.] amor, (I, 304)
 II, 107 medullis] medullis, (I, 304)

- II, 111 ostro,] ostro: (I, 308)
 II, 121 mater.] mater: (I, 318)
 II, 125 Achillem.] Achillem! (I, 322)
II, 126 laetusque] laetumque (I, 323)
II, 129 Innectitque] Injecitque (I, 326)
 II, 135 caerae] cerae (I, 332)
 II, 138 diu.] diu: (I, 335)
 II, 139 decor.] decor, (I, 336)
 II, 141 Procedunt,] Procedunt (I, 338)
 II, 142 Thetis,] Thetis: (I, 339)
 II, 143 Nate] Nate, (I, 340)
 II, 149 velat,] velat. (I, 346)
II, 151 Diducit] Deducit (I, 348)
 II, 152 regem,] regem: (I, 349)
 II, 152 testibu] testibus (I, 349)
 II, 153 Hanc] Hanc, (I, 349)
 II, 153 ait] ait, (I, 350)
II, 153 Achilli] Achilles (I, 350)
 II, 155 Tradimus.] Tradimus, (I, 352)
II, 155 animosi] animosa (I, 352)
 II, 167 obstet] obstet? (I, 364)
 II, 171 nouae] novae. (I, 368)
 II, 174 loco] loco, (I, 371)
 II, 176 domoque] domoque, (I, 373)
 II, 176 gregatae.] gregatae (I, 373)
 II, 178 auis] avis, (I, 375)
II, 179 Mox propiusque] Mox propius propiusque (I, 376)
II, 179 volant, sociam iamque aëre] volant, atque aëre (I, 376)
II, 186 votis] verbis (I, 383) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)
 II, 186 votis.] verbis: (I, 383)
 II, 188 ingens] ingens, (I, 385)
 II, 195 carinas.] carinas, (I, 392)
 II, 196 precor] precor. (I, 393)

- The argument of the third book is absent in the text of 1653.
- In the text of 1653, there is, at this point, no division, and the first book continues.

- III, 6 caeli] coeli (I, 402)
 III, 6 alumnarum.] alumnarum: (I, 402)
 III, 8 terrarum.] terrarum? (I, 404)
 III, 10 aetas.] aetas: (I, 406)
 III, 11 exciti] exciti, (I, 407)
 III, 11 Isthmia] Isthmia (I, 407)
 III, 12 Malearum.] Malearum, (I, 408)
III, 13 admoti] amotae (I, 409)
 III, 13 Phrygi] Phrygi (I, 409)
 III, 14 Europamque] Europamque, (I, 410)
 III, 14 vetat.] vetat, (I, 410)
 III, 17 Temesae.] Temesae: (I, 413)
 III, 18 Mycenarum.] Mycenarum: (I, 414)
 III, 19 currus.] currus: (I, 415)
 III, 19 ferarum.] ferarum: (I, 415)
 III, 20 Cirrha] Cyrrha (I, 416)
 III, 20 pharetras.] pharetras: (I, 416)
 III, 21 iuuenis] iuuenis (I, 417)
 III, 22 Etolus] Etholus (I, 418)
 III, 22 Acarnanum.] Acarnanum: (I, 418)
 III, 24 Arcadiae,] Arcadiae: (I, 420)
 III, 24 alumnos.] alumnos: (I, 420)
III, 26 tradunt] tendunt (I, 422) (In fronte. in ed. of 1658.)
 III, 26 tradunt.] tendunt: (I, 422)
 III, 27 humus.] humus, (I, 423)
 III, 29 deum.] deum: (I, 425)
III, 29 deum. & raptum] deum: raptum (I, 425)
 III, 29 superis] Superis (I, 425)
 III, 30 veteres] veteres: (I, 426)
 III, 32 nemus.] nemus; (I, 428)
 III, 32 classi.] classi: (I, 428)
 III, 33 Sylva] Silva (I, 429)
 III, 33 remis,] remis. (I, 429)
 III, 34 Innumeros.] Innumeros: (I, 430)
 III, 34 arma] arma, (I, 430)
III, 39 pigris] nigris (I, 435)

- III, 43 querelis,] querelis: (I, 439)
- III, 44 adhuc,] adhunc (I, 440)
- III, 47 portus.] portus, (I, 443)
- III, 48 Stagna.] Stagna, (I, 444)
- III, 50 Deficit] Deficit, (I, 446)
- III, 51 Aulis] Aulis, (I, 447)
- III, 52 expositis.] expositis, (I, 448)
- III, 53 mare.] mare: (I, 449)
- III, 54 dilectae] dilecta (I, 450) *
- III, 54 deae,] deae. (I, 450)
- III, 54 caphareus] Caphareus (I, 450)
- III, 55 pelasgas] Pelasgas (I, 451)
- III, 56 vndis.] undis, (I, 452)
- III, 58 armorum,] armorum (I, 454)
- III, 58 fatalis,] fatalis: (I, 454)
- III, 59 bellum.] bellum, (I, 455)
- III, 60 metas,] metas. (I, 456)
- III, 61 suas.] suas: (I, 457)
- III, 62 coit.] coit, (I, 458)
- III, 63 torua] curva (I, 459)
- III, 65 pauent.] pavent, (I, 461)
- III, 66 montem.] montem, (I, 462)
- III, 67 vallem.] vallem, (I, 463)
- III, 70 Cogitur] Cogitur, (I, 466)
- III, 71 quamquam] quanquam (I, 467)
- III, 74 Antilochus.] Antilochus, (I, 470)
- III, 75 greges] reges (I, 471) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658)
- III, 75 montibus] moenibus (I, 471)
- III, 76 Vlysses:] Vlysses; (I, 472)
- III, 77 Achillem.] Achillem: (I, 473)
- III, 81 effosa] effossa (I, 477)
- III, 83 caeli] coeli (I, 479)
- III, 84 alium ad stygios] alium Stygios (I, 480)
- III, 84 stygios] Stygios (I, 480)
- III, 88 pallentes] bellantes (I, 484)
- III, 89 hastnm] hastam (I, 485)
- III, 90 lybicos] Libycos (I, 486)

- III, 90 lybicos] Libycos (I, 486)
 III, 91 arcum,] arcum; (I, 487)
 III, 98 ait] ait: (I, 494)
 III, 99 mortis.] mortis, (I, 495)
III, 103 vt] in (I, 499)
 III, 106 quoque] quoque: (I, 502)
III, 106 & Troia abrepta] arreptaque Troja (I, 502)
III, 106 abrepta] arreptaque (I, 502)
 III, 106 probabunt,] probabunt. (I, 502)
III, 109 mutus] mitis (I, 505)
 III, 108 honos] honos? (I, 505)
 III, 111 aula.] aula, (I, 507)
III, 112 moras] deos (I, 508)
 III, 112 laxa,] laxa. (I, 508)
 III, 113 ignes,] ignes; (I, 509)
 III, 113 quando] quando, (I, 509)
III, 113 haurit] hauri (I, 509) *
 III, 113 haurit] hauri: (I, 509)
 III, 115 Numquam] Nunquam (I, 511)
 III, 116 omni,] omni. (I. 512)
 III, 119 Deum] deum (I, 515)
III, 123 dura] dira (I, 519)
 III, 125 rapit,] rait (I, 521)
 III, 126 rigidtsque] rigidisque (I, 522)
 III, 129 est.] est: (I, 525)
 III, 131 Foemineis] Foemineis, (I, 527)
 III, 131 Nerei] Nerei, (I, 527)
 III, 131 mitte.] mitte: (I, 527)
 III, 132 patiar,] patiar: (I, 528)
 III, 132 iste] iste, (I, 528)
 III, 132 meus,] meus. (I, 528)
 III, 132 profundi,] profundi, (I, 528)
 III, 136 Occidimus,] Occidimus: (I, 532)
 III, 137 scelus,] scelus! (I, 533)
 III, 140 stetit,] stetit. (I, 536)
 - III, 140 amissisque] amissique (I, 536)
 III, 147 fecundumque] faecundumq; (I, 543)

III, 147 pectus,] pectus. (I, 543)

III, 148 te] mihi (I, 544)

III, 150 omnipotens,] omnipotens (I, 546)

III, 150 sic annuat, illaque firmet] firmet, sic annuat illa (I, 546)

There are here a number of differences in wording.

III, 152 armatum est castris] armatum castris (I, 548)

III, 153 reuerti.] reverti? (I, 549)

III, 157 volentes.] volentes: (I, 553)

III, 160 aues] apes (I, 556)

III, 160 aues.] apes, (I, 556)

III, 162 mora] mora, (I, 558)

III, 162 Ithaceia] Ithacesia (I, 558)

III, 165 Aeaciden] Aeacidem (I, 561)

III, 168 stetit in grege clarus] stetit agmine clarus (I, 564) (In a ftnte. in the ed. of 1658, "agmine" is indicated as a possible substitute for "grege.")

III, 171 blandaeque] blandeque (I, 567)

III, 173 Improbis,] Improbis (I, 569)

III, 174 inhaeret] adhaeret (I, 570) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)

III, 179 cytharae] citharae (I, 575)

III, 181 Pelion,] Pelion. (I, 577)

III, 182 Aeacides.] Aeacides, (I, 578)

III, 190 parantem.] parantem, (I, 586)

III, 191 fateri.] fateri, (I, 587)

III, 195 versos] veros (I, 591) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)

III, 195 germanae] germana (I, 591) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)

III, 198 caelo] coelo (I, 594)

III, 198 vmbra] umbra, (I, 594)

III, 204 est.] est: (I, 600)

III, 205 aditus.] aditus, (I, 601)

III, 206 foemineo,] foemineo: (I, 602)

III, 208 motu,] motu. (I, 604)

III, 210 turba] turbae (I, 606)

III, 219 vultumque] vultumqne (I, 615)

III, 220 luxu.] luxu: (I, 616)

III, 221 thirsumque] thyrsumque (I, 617)

- III, 222 inuasit] invisit (I, 618)
 III, 223 caeli] coeli (I, 619)
 III, 224 iugo.] jugo, (I, 620)
 III, 225 orbem:] orbem; (I, 621)
 III, 228 secum.] secum? (I, 624)
 III, 230 dextra?] dextra, (I, 626)
 III, 231 campus?] campus (I, 627)
 III, 232 meos] meos, (I, 628)
 III, 232 Sperchie] Sperchie, (I, 628)
 III, 232 natatus?] natatus, (I, 628)
 III, 234 stygiasque] Stygiasque (I, 630)
 III, 234 vmbras,] umbras (I, 630)
 III, 237 scandis] scandis, (I, 633)
 III, 237 Patrocle] Patrocle, (I, 633)
 III, 241 facem] facem, (I, 637)
 III, 241 captus] captus, (I, 637)
 III, 244 ait.] ait, (I, 640)
 III, 247 amplexus.] amplexus: (I, 643)
 III, 249 nemus,] nemus (I, 645)
 III, 250 comites] comites, (I, 646)
 III, 253 amicis.] amicis: (I, 649)
 III, 255 Pelliacis] Peliacis (I, 651)
 III, 255 syluis] silvis (I, 651)
 III, 256 Thessalicis,] Thessalicis. (I, 652)
 III, 257 littore.] littore: (I, 653)
 III, 258 proprer] propter (I, 654)
 III, 258 proprer.] propter: (I, 654)
 III, 260 caelo] coelo (I, 656)
 III, 265 pudorem,] pudorem. (I, 661)
 III, 266 monstribus.] monstribus, (I, 662)
 III, 267 Quanquam] Quamquam (I, 663)
 III, 267 cominus] cominus (I, 663)
 III, 271 poenas?] poenas, (I, 667)
 III, 272 amor,] amor. (I, 668)
 III, 274 sociam] sociam, (I, 670)
 III, 274 praecibus] precibus (I, 670)

III, 274 quo] quae (I, 670)

- The argument of the fourth book is absent in the text of 1653.
- The second book of the text of 1653 begins where the fourth book of the text of 1658 begins.
- IV, 1 Aegeos] Aegaeos (II, 1)
- IV, 4 Naxos] Narox (II, 4)
- IV, 4 Naxos.] Narox, (II, 5)
- IV, 6 ibi] ubi (II, 6) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658)
- IV 10 tonantis] Tonantis (II, 10)
- IV, 11 euertere] vertere (II, 11) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658)
- IV, 11 leges,] leges (II, 11)
- IV, 12 gementem:] gementem, (II, 12)
- IV, 17 equis,] equis: (II, 17)
- IV, 19 parentum] pontum (II, 19)
- IV, 22 erat.] erat, (II, 22)
- IV, 22 superat] super (II, 22)
- IV, 24 Aetholusque] Aetolusque (II, 24)
- IV, 24 Aetholusque,] Aetolusque (II, 24)
- IV, 24 Ithacusque,] Ithacusque (II, 24)
- IV, 25 coetu.] coetu, (II, 25)
- IV, 26 suos,] suos. (II, 26)
- IV, 35 Heroes] heroes (II, 35)
- IV, 38 Tydides.] Tydides: (II, 38)
- IV, 39 quiddam] quondam (II, 39)
- IV, 42 tuleris?] tuleris, (II, 42)
- IV, 44 remisso,] remisso: (II, 44)
- IV, 50 erunt,] erunt: (II, 50)
- IV, 50 bonus] bonus, (II, 50)
- IV, 55 belli] belli, (II, 55)
- IV, 57 praelata] perlata (II, 57)
- IV, 57 Atrides] Atrides, (II, 57)
- IV, 63 medio] Medio (II, 63)
- IV, 63 ille.] ille: (II, 63)
- IV, 64 Fortuna] Fortuna, (II, 64)
- IV, 64 precor.] precor, (II, 64)
- IV, 65 me] mea (II, 65)

- IV, 65 me,] mea (II, 65)
 IV, 69 domum.] domum, (II, 69)
IV, 69 magna] magnae (II, 69)
IV, 74 frontibus] frondibus (II, 74) *
 IV, 76 aula] aula, (II, 76)
IV, 77 Pelasgos] Pelasgum (II, 77)
 IV, 80 Heroas] heroas (II, 80)
 IV, 84 Meotide] Maeotide (II, 84)
 IV, 86 subpositis] suppositis (II, 86)
IV, 87 Tunc] Tum (II, 87)
 IV, 90 tamen] tamen, (II, 90)
 IV, 97 aurum.] aurum; (II, 97)
 IV, 98 Achilles,] Achilles. (II, 98)
 IV, 100 alloquitur.] alloquitur, (II, 100)
 - IV, 100 inuitat] hortatur (II, 100)
 IV, 100 Achiuos.] Achivos: (II, 100)
 IV, 101 fateor decora] fateor) decora (II, 101)
 IV, 102 Argolicae) coeptis] Argolicae, coeptis (II, 102)
 IV, 102 coeptis] coeptis: (IV, 102)
 IV, 103 fuit] fuit, (II, 103)
 IV, 103 Dolopas,] Dolopas (II, 103)
 IV, 103 adortos] adortos, (II, 103)
 IV, 104 triumphi] triumphi, (II, 104)
 IV, 106 soboles] soboles, (II, 106)
IV, 106 aptam] aptum (II, 106)
 IV, 106 bello] bello. (II, 106)
 - IV, 107 Possem, plena forent mihi gaudia. namque iuuarem.] This
line is absent in the text of 1653.
 IV, 110 Vlysses,] Vlysses:)II, 109)
 IV, 112 regum,] regum (II, 111)
 IV, 115 vacat.] vacant: (II, 114)
IV, 119 haud] aut (II, 118)
IV, 120 trahentem] bibentem (II, 119)
 IV, 120 trahentem] bibentem, (II, 119)
 IV, 122 iterat.] iterat: (II, 121)
 IV, 124 illic.] illic: (II, 123)

- IV, 132 remisit,] remisit (II, 131)
 IV, 133 iungens] jungens: (II, 132)
 IV, 133 at] At (II, 132)
 IV, 135 sydereis] sidereis (II, 134)
IV, 136 Fors] Sors (II, 135) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658)
 IV, 136 tangit?] tangit! (II, 135)
IV, 137 His] Is (II, 136)
 IV, 137 est] est. (II, 136)
 IV, 137 formae,] formae (II, 136)
 IV, 138 genitor.] genitor: (II, 137)
 IV, 139 Orgia,] Orgia. (II, 138)
 IV, 140 auster] Auster (II, 139)
IV, 141 cupide] cupidi (II, 140)
 IV, 141 cupide] cupidi. (II, 140)
 IV, 143 silet.] silet, (II, 142)
IV, 145 exhorta] exorta (II, 144)
IV, 145 Agyrte] Agyrta (II, 144)
 IV, 147 Scyriades] Scyrëides (II, 146)
 IV, 149 regina,] regina (II, 148)
 IV, 151 Aetnaeas] Aetneas (II, 150)
 IV, 153 gressus.] gressus: (II, 152)
IV, 153 thyasis] thyasisque (II, 152)
 IV, 157 gradum] gradum, (II, 156)
 IV, 157 actu,] actu (II, 156)
IV, 161 Tunc quoque praecipue] Tunc vero tunc praecipue (II, 160)
IV, 161 praecipue iam iam manifestus] praecipue manifestus (II, 160)
 IV, 161 Achilles.] Achilles, (II, 160)
IV, 164 soluto] solito (II, 163)
 IV, 166 Tympana] Tympana, (II, 165)
 IV, 166 tristes,] tristes (II, 165)
 IV, 168 Limina.] Limina, (II, 165)
 IV, 170 Tydides,] Tydides: (II, 169)
 IV, 171. Rex] rex (II, 170)
IV, 174 quà] quas (II, 173)
 IV, 174 iners] iners, (II, 173)
 IV, 174 ducit,] ducit (II, 173)
 IV, 176 limbis.] limbis, (II, 175)

- IV, 178 radientem] radiantem (II, 177)
 IV, 178 cominus] cominus (II, 177)
 IV, 179 Coelatum] Caelatum (II, 178)
 IV, 180 hastam,] hastam: (II, 179)
IV, 186 rapi] ruit (II, 185)
 - IV, 188 It iurata] Ejurata (II, 187)
 IV, 188 inimicus] inimicus, (II, 187)
IV, 191 simili] similem (II, 190)
 IV, 191 auro] auro, (II, 190)
 IV, 193 voce.] voce: (II, 192)
 IV, 194 Scimus] Scimus, (II, 193)
 IV, 194 alumnus.] alumnus, (II, 193)
 IV, 195 caeli] coeli (II, 194)
 IV, 195 nepos,] nepos: (II, 194)
 IV, 196 signis,] signis. (II, 195)
 IV, 198 age] age, (II, 197)
 IV, 198 moras] moras: (II, 197)
 IV, 198 Ida] Ide (II, 197)
 IV, 199 patrem.] patrem, (II, 198)
 IV, 201 Laxabat.] Laxabat, (II, 200)
 IV, 210 tuba (sic] tuba, (sic (II, 200)
 IV, 201 iussus Agirtes] jussus) Agyrtes (II, 200)
 IV, 201 Agirtes)/Insonuit] Agyrtes/ Insonuit (II, 200)
 IV, 201 Agirtes] Agyrtes (II, 200)
 IV, 204 ceciderunt] cecidere (II, 203)
IV, 204 ceciderunt pectore] cecidere a pectore (II, 203)
 IV, 204 vestes.] vestes, (II, 203)
 IV, 206 Mira] (Mira (II, 205)
 IV, 206 fides,] fides) (II, 205)
 IV, 206 yisus,] visus. (II, 205)
 IV, 207 ducem.] ducem: (II, 206)
 IV, 208 Martius,] Martius. (II, 207)
 - IV, 208 perfudit] confundit (II, 207)
 IV, 212 dolos.] dolos, (II, 211)
 IV, 217 erat] erat, (II, 216)
 IV, 217 armis.] armis: (II, 216)
 IV, 220 Gloria,] Gloria. (II, 219)
 IV, 228 Num] Non (ii, 227)

IV, 228 remuis] renuis (II, 227)
 IV, 228 remuis?] renuis. (II, 227)
IV, 229 nam] jam (II, 228)
 IV, 232 iube.] jube: (II, 231)
 IV, 234 proiecit.] projecit, (II, 233)
IV, 238 & si] etsi (II, 237)
 IV, 242 velit,] velit: (II, 241)
 IV, 243 tali:] tali; (II, 242)
 IV, 245 Deiadamia] Deidamia (II, 244)
 IV, 245 gradum.] gradum, (II, 244)
IV, 247 magnis] magni (II, 246)
 IV, 247 facti.] facti (II, 246)
 IV, 248 praelia] proelia (II, 247)
 IV, 253 Ida] Ide (II, 252)
 IV, 254 rates.] rates: (II, 253)
 IV, 259 lares] lares, (II, 258)
 IV, 261 precer?] precer, (II, 260)
 IV, 261 heu] heu, (II, 260)
 IV, 261 timeamne] timeamve (II, 260)
 IV, 263 mihi] mihi. (II, 262)
 IV, 265 timor.] timor! (II, 264)
IV, 265 abripitur] eripitur (II, 264)
IV, 265 promissus] permissus (II, 264) *
IV, 265 Achillis] Achilles (II, 264) *
 IV, 265 Achillis,] Achilles. (II, 264)
 IV, 268 redi.] redi: (II, 267)
 IV, 272 incaesta] incesta (II, 271)
 IV, 275 comitem.] comitem: (II, 274)
 IV, 276 Bacchaeaque] Baccheaque (II, 275)
 IV, 279 tene,] tene. (II, 278)
 IV, 283 fidem.] fidem: (II, 282)

- The argument of the fifth book is absent in the text of 1653.

- In the text of 1653, there is, at this point, no division, and the second book continues.

V, 3 Lucis] Lucis, (II, 288)

V, 3 nocte] nocte, (II, 288)

- V, 3 Leuabat] levabat, (II, 288)
V, 4 A] Et (II, 289)
V, 10 rediit.] rediit, (II, 295)
V, 13 austrisque] Austrisque (II, 298)
V, 13 litat.] litat, (II, 298)
V, 14 Regem] regem (II, 199)
V, 16 profatur.] profatur: (II, 301)
V, 17 quanquam] quamquam (II, 302)
V, 20 noto] Noto (II, 305)
V, 21 terris,] terris: (II, 306)
V, 21 & iam] jamque (II, 306)
V, 25 coniux.] conjux, (II, 310)
V, 29 Cogitat.] Cogitat: (II, 314)
V, 31 dictis:] dictis; (II, 316)
V, 33 Danaum] Danaae (II, 318)
V, 34 reserato in limine] reserato limine (II, 319)
V, 38 Mater,] Mater! (II, 323)
V, 38 vmbra?] umbra, (II, 323)
V, 39 clangore] clangore, (II, 324)
V, 40 ignes.] ignes? (II, 325)
V, 41 venis,] venis. (II, 326)
V, 41 precantes.] precantes, (II, 326)
V, 42 Heros] heros (II, 327)
V, 43 Aeacides] Aeacides: (II, 328)
V, 45 indecores] indecores, (II, 330)
V, 45 crimina] crimina, (II, 330)
V, 46 fruuntur] feruntur (II, 331)
V, 49 orsu,] orsu: (II, 334)
V, 53 Rectoris] rectoris (II, 338)
V, 58 victa.] victas: (II, 343)
V, 59 Amyclae.] Amyclae, (II, 344)
V, 60 Phryges] Phrygas (II, 345)
V, 60 matris] matris. (II, 345)
V, 63 pudei] pudet (II, 348)
V, 64 thalamos;] thalamos, (II, 349)
V, 68 enim inlicitis genialia rumpi] enim genialia foedera rumpi (II, 353)

- V, 68 enim inlicitis genialia rumpi] enim genialia foedera rumpi (II, 353)
- V, 69 Pacta] Capta (II, 354)
- V, 70 armentumque] armentumve (II, 355)
- V, 71 haec etiam fortes] haec & non fortes (II, 356)
- V, 75 Vt] Vi (II, 360 (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.))
- V, 77 reges,] reges. (II, 362)
- V, 77 sydera] sidera (II, 362)
- V, 79 Argolica] Argolica, (II, 364)
- V, 79 incaesta] incesta (II, 364)
- V, 80 Grais] Grajis (II, 365)
- V, 82 patriaque] viduaque (II, 367)
- V, 85 Vlysses.] Vlysses, (II, 370)
- V, 86 Oenides,] Oenides: (II, 371)
- V, 86 caeli] coeli (II, 371)
- V, 91 ede.] ede, (II, 376)
- V, 94 tunc] tamen (II, 379)
- V, 95 coacto.] coacto: (II, 380)
- V, 97 recepit] recepit, (II, 382)
- V, 98 villos] ullas (II, 383)
- V, 98 cibos] dapes (II, 383)
- V, 100 lupae] libens (II, 385)
- V, 101 Bacchi.] Bacchi, (II, 386)
- V, 103 Lustra,] Lustra (II, 388)
- V, 104 feris.] feris, (II, 389)
- V, 105 syluae] silvae (II, 390)
- V, 108 fluxa] flexa (II, 393)
- V, 111 rudis] rudis, (II, 396)
- V, 112 equo.] equo, (II, 397)
- V, 113 sequi.] sequi, (II, 398)
- V, 113 Chiron,] Chiron. (II, 398)
- V, 114 aetas] aetas, (II, 399)
- V, 116 meque] atque (II, 401)
- V, 118 planta] planta. (II, 403)
- V, 120 Syluarum] Silvarum (II, 405)
- V, 121 Lynces] lynces (II, 406)
- V, 122 Damas] damas (II, 407)

- V, 123 tutbare] turbare (II, 408)
 V, 123 Vrsas] ursas (II, 408)
 V, 123 Vrsas.] ursas, (II, 408)
 V, 124 Tigris] tigris (II, 409)
V, 125 subducta] seducta (II, 410) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)
 V, 125 Leaenae] leaenae (II, 410)
 V, 126 antro,[antro. (II, 411)
 V, 127 remearum] remearem (II, 412)
 V, 131 rotatu.] rotatu, (II, 419)
 V, 134 balearicus] Balearicus (II, 419)
V, 135 tractu] tortu (II, 420)
 V, 137 &] et (II, 422)
 V, 137 gessimus actus] gessimus) actus (II, 422)
 V, 137 actus)/ Nunc] actus/ Nunc (II, 422)
 V, 138 fossas,] fossas? (II, 423)
 V, 140 gradu,] gradu: (II, 425)
 V, 140 pugnae] pugnae, (II, 425)
 V, 146 soeuior] saevior (II, 431)
 V, 149 amnis,] amnis. (II, 434)
 V, 152 abijl] abii, (II, 437)
V, 154 Iam] Nam (II, 439)
V, 155 nudare] nodare (II, 440)
 V, 155 caestus] cestus (II, 440)
V, 165 placare] pacare (II, 450)
V, 165 biformes] bimembres (II, 450) (In ftnte. in ed. of 1658.)
 - V, 168 Aura silet, puppis currens ad littora venit.] This line is absent
 in the text of 1653.

APPENDIX C

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SIR ROBERT HOWARD¹

Sir Robert Howard was born in January 1626, the sixth son of Thomas Howard, the Earl of Berkshire. Sir Robert's father, who, before becoming an earl, had been Baron Howard of Charlton and Viscount Andover, was the second son of Thomas, Lord Howard of Walden and First Earl of Suffolk, Earl Marshal of England, and Lord High Treasurer from 1624 to 1619. Sir Robert's mother, Elizabeth, was daughter to William, Lord Burleigh. The Earl of Berkshire, Sir Robert's father, seems to have been an amateur scientist, and, before the civil wars, was a man of wealth. In these wars, he, like almost all the members of the Howard family, supported the cause of the King: he was involved in some of the earliest fighting, was captured, and was committed to the Tower, and his estates were confiscated. After his release from the Tower, and even after the Restoration, when financially he was almost entirely dependent upon royal gratitude, the earl, as a result of his devotion to the Royalist cause, was not a wealthy man, and, in fact, suffered rather great financial hardship. His eldest son, Charles, who had become Lord Howard of Charlton and Viscount Andover when his father became Earl of Berkshire, suffered similarly. In 1642, Charles I had chosen him as the next Ambassador to Venice; impeachment was preferred against him; and, upon the outbreak of the war, he followed the King. After the Restoration, he was in dependence upon the gratitude of the Stuarts; he was in real financial need, however, even after becoming Earl of Berkshire, and when he died, it was in

poverty, in the Parisian hospital of La Charité. Since none of his sons survived him, his title passed to his brother Thomas. Another brother, Henry, the third son, distinguished himself in the wars by the gallantry with which he commanded the garrison of Malmesbury after it had been recaptured from the Parliamentary forces. Another brother, Edward, the fifth son, fought on the Royalist side in the West in 1643. Like Sir Robert, he later became a minor dramatist of the late seventeenth century, as did also James, the ninth son. One of the daughters of the family, Lady Mary Howard, was arrested in 1659, by order of the Council of State, on suspicion of being involved in a plot to restore Charles immediately to the throne: she was held in the Tower for at least two weeks. On the day of her arrest, the President of the Council ordered that the house of the Countess of Berkshire, her mother, be searched for arms and papers, and added that if any papers of importance were found, the Countess herself should be sent to the Council. Philip, another son in the Earl of Berkshire's very large family, was also arrested, and was released only on a bond of £1,000.

Sir Robert too stood on the side of the King. At the time of the outbreak of the hostilities, he was probably at Oxford--although there exists reason to think that his university may have been Cambridge. It is certain that he did not graduate, and it seems that this failure was due directly to the outbreak of the fighting, in which Sir Robert involved himself personally. On June 29, 1644, in the words of a contemporary diarist, "neare Banbury in y^e feild," "M^r Robt. Howard son to y^e Earle of Berks, & Leiften^t Colonel to his brother of horse was knighted for his gallant service ag^t y^e rebels [when] we came over y^e passe." The Parliamentary leader had sent a body of cavalry, 1,500 strong, to cross the River Cherwell and attack the Royalist rear guard. Howard saw what

was happening and with a successful charge, forced the enemy back across the river. He also rescued Lord Wilmot, who had been hit in the arm. It is thus that he became Sir Robert Howard. Soon after the gallant action for which he was knighted, Howard's active participation in the warfare seems, however, to have ended.

In 1645, Sir Robert married Anne Kingsmyll, the second daughter of Sir Richard Kingsmyll. By 1646, he had a son, Robert; by 1647, another son, William; by 1649, a daughter, Dorothy; and by 1651, another son, Thomas. In 1653, Dorothy died, but in 1654, another daughter was born, and she too was given the name Dorothy. In 1656 died Elizabeth, another daughter, the date of whose birth seems to be unknown. Of all the children, Thomas was the only one to survive his father. Sir Robert's wife, Anne, seems to have died around 1657. She seems also to have brought Sir Robert considerable wealth. At least, Sir Robert did not share the poverty of other members of his family: soon after his marriage, we find him lending money to his own father. His wealth was considerably increased by his obtaining from the government, in 1657, with his father, the lease of the Post Fines, by which lease his father had profited for some time. But in the same year in which the lucrative arrangement was made, or one year afterwards, Sir Robert was arrested and was imprisoned in Windsor Castle, his Royalist background and Royalist views being the reason.

While he was in prison, Sir Robert was able to write some poetry and at least some of what he then wrote was published in 1660, in his Poems, in which Sir Robert appeared in print for the first time. In this book was published a variety of literary pieces, as is shown in the table of contents, on the title page:

viz.

1. A PANEGYRICK to the KING.
2. SONGS and SONNETS.
3. THE BLIND LADY, a COMEDY
4. The Fourth Book of VIRGIL,
5. STATIUS his ACHILLEIS,
with ANNOTATIONS.
6. A PANEGYRICK to GENERALL MONCH.

As can be seen, it is in Poems that Sir Robert's translation of the Achilleis was first published. Prefixed to Sir Robert's offerings in the book are commendatory verses by John Dryden, "To my Honored Friend, S^r Robert Howard, On his Excellent Poems." The book was published by Henry Herringman, with whom Dryden was probably living at the time, and who, in 1660; brought out also Dryden's Astraea Redux, having printed his Heroique Stanzas in the previous year. (Herringman would subsequently publish many works by Sir Robert and by Dryden.) Of the six sections of Sir Robert's Poems, the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth require no additional attention in this treatment of Sir Robert's life and works. The second section consists of fifteen love lyrics in the manner of the Cavalier poets. A number of these are "songs" in the narrower sense of the word, and at least two of them are found in contemporary song books, with their musical settings, one of them having been set by Henry Lawes. Sir Robert seems to have continued to write songs for music until near the end of his life. The Blind Lady, Sir Robert's first offering in the drama, the genre in which he was to be most successful, is a comedy or tragi-comedy and has fairly strong resemblances to the drama of the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods. The play is an undistinguished one and seems never to

have been performed. Sir Walter Scott, in his edition of Dryden, expressed an unfavorable opinion of Poems in general: he described the book's contents as "productions of a most freezing mediocrity."

The fears of those who had Sir Robert imprisoned in Windsor Castle were not unfounded. Sir Robert seems to have been one of a trusted inner group that worked behind the scenes to bring about the Restoration. After that momentous event, Sir Robert rapidly rose to financial prosperity and public prominence. In June 1660, he obtained "the office of Serjeant Painter of all the King's works, palaces, barges, coaches, etc." He held this office until 1663. In the same month in which he was granted this office, he was made Clerk of the Patents in Chancery. The second grant, which was probably the more profitable of the two, and which was subsequently made to him for life, Sir Robert held until 1664. In October 1660, he was appointed, with Sir John Grenville and five others, to help deal with one of the greatest administrative problems of the Restoration-- what the royal government should do in the cases of all those who had taken ownership of royal lands, money, jewels, etc. during the Interregnum. Sir Robert's appointment to the commission which was to deal with such people shows that Charles had great confidence in him, and probably enabled him to add great additional amounts of money to his growing personal fortune. Of course, Sir Robert himself had the enjoyment of something received of Cromwell's government--his lease of the Post Fines, which was one of his principal sources of income. Accordingly, he and his father took steps to have a new lease granted, and in April 1661 they got their wish, the lease being granted for forty-eight years. In the meantime, in November 1660, Sir Robert was commissioned as colonel of a regiment of infantry in the Hampshire militia. Somewhat later, he was elected Member of Parliament for Stockbridge in Hampshire, for the parliament to begin in May 1661.

After his election to this parliament, Sir Robert sat in every parliament until his death, except that of 1685, which was called by James II. From 1679, he represented Castle Rising, in Norfolk. Under an act of May 1662, Sir Robert was appointed as one of twenty-one commissioners for reforming the streets and buildings of London and for supplementing existing service. John Evelyn was another of these commissioners.

In this course of advancement, Sir Robert did not, however, manage to avoid suffering a setback. In August 1661, the Secretary of State issued to the Lieutenant of the Tower warrants "for the imprisonment of Sir Rob. Howard, knt, James and Philip Howard, esqs., Sir Rob. Killigrew, knt., and Henry Killigrew, esq." The five were duly incarcerated, but after only about a week they were released. Exactly how Sir Robert and two of his brothers were connected with Sir Robert Killigrew--father of Thomas--and his son Henry is not known, but it seems almost certain that the affair had something to do with the theater.

It is certain that soon after the affair with Sir Robert Killigrew, Howard was involved with Thomas Killigrew in a venture which is very important in the history of the theater. In December 1661, a financial agreement was made by the Earl of Bedford, Thomas Killigrew, Sir Robert Howard, the actors Hart, Burt, Lacy, Mohun, Robert Shatterell, Clun, Cartwright, and Wintershall, and William Hewett and Robert Clayton. The Earl leased to Hewett and Clayton, in trust for the others, and for the erection of a theater, a plot of land between Bridges Street and Drury Lane. Then, in another agreement, in January 1662, Hewett and Clayton made the land over to Killigrew, Sir Robert, and the actors, as a theater company. Thirty-six shares were created, of which Killigrew and Sir Robert got nine each, Lacy four, and the other actors two each. The eight actors agreed, to Killigrew and Sir Robert, that they would play only at

the proposed theater. This theater was occupied in May 1663 and was known as the Theatre Royal in Bridges Street. It stood until January 1672, when it burned down; it was replaced, in 1674, by the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. The most important thing about the theater in Bridges Street, of one quarter of which Sir Robert was the owner, is that it permitted elaborate scenery and thus provided dramatists with an opportunity for gorgeous spectacle. Sir Robert himself, along with Dryden, soon took advantage of this opportunity; The Indian Queen, which has been called the first English heroic play, and which seems to have succeeded largely by virtue of its lavish scenery and costumes, was performed at the new theater in 1674. More on the subject of this very important play will be said presently.

Before the new theater was built, Sir Robert wrote and saw produced two new plays, The Surprisal and The Committee. Both were first performed in the "first" Theatre Royal, in Vere Street, which was probably rather like an Elizabethan "public" theater and did not allow the kind of stage effects that would soon be so popular. (The Blind Lady and the two new plays, it is significant, demand no scenery.) The Surprisal, Sir Robert's second play, is a comedy and was first acted, by the King's Company, in April 1662. It had some success, as is shown by the fact that it was revived in 1667, 1668, and 1715, but critics have generally agreed with Pepys, who saw the play at least five times and, after what was apparently his first seeing of it in its entirety, called it "a very mean play . . . or else it was because I was out of humor"--he was more interested in the news that Orange Moll had for him, that Lord Buckhurst and Nell Gwyn had parted company.² The Committee, however, Sir Robert's third play, another comedy, was hugely popular. It was first performed in October or November 1662, and it was revived countless times during

the rest of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century. In an adaptation, entitled The Honest Thieves, by Thomas Knight, it was revived, again, in 1797 and repeatedly performed into the nineteenth century. One reason for the success of The Committee was its guaranteed appeal to a Royalist audience: the play is about the Puritan Committee for Sequestrations and the smug hypocrisy with which, according to Sir Robert, its members went about their work. (Part I of Butler's Hudibras was published shortly after the first performance of The Committee.)

The King himself attended two, special performances of the play, in 1667 and 1669, and, over forty years later, Steele or Addison referred to it as a play that had won the approval even of Sir Roger de Coverley: "My friend. . . told me that he had a great Mind to see the new Tragedy with me, assuring me at the same Time, that he had not been at a Play these twenty Years. The last I saw, says Sir Roger, was the Committee, which I should not have gone to neither, had not I been told before hand that it was a good Church of England Comedy." It is clear, however, that one does not have to be a Sir Roger de Coverley to find The Committee an appealing play. It is inherently amusing: perhaps the chief reason for its great success is one of its minor characters, Teg or Teague--an Irish footman, whose simple honesty and complete literal-mindedness continually get him into difficulty, as when, in order to "take the [Presbyterian] Covenant," he steals a copy of it from a bookseller. Pepys wrote that The Committee was "a merry but indifferent play," then added this: "only Lacy's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination." After seeing it again, he wrote as follows: "Sir W. Pen and I to the King's house, and there saw 'The Committee', which I went to with some prejudice, not liking it before, but I do now find it a very good play, and a great deal of good invention in it; but Lacy's part is so well performed that it would set off anything."

Family tradition has it that the character of Teg was based on one of Sir Robert's own servants. Far more important is the fact that this very amusing and highly popular comedy preceded by two years the play which is generally said to have begun the great Restoration revival of the drama, Etherege's The Comical Revenge. Indeed, The Committee is probably the first good play written after the Restoration.

In 1663 appeared Dr. Walter Charleton's "Chorea Gigantum, or, The Most Famous Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly called Stone-Heng, Standing on Salisbury Plain, Restored to the Danes." and prefixed to this were commendatory verses both by Sir Robert and by Dryden. Since the imprimatur of this work is dated September 11, 1662, Sir Robert probably composed his verses at some time between the first performance of The Surprisal and that of The Committee. His verses have the following title: "To my worthy Friend, D^r. Charleton, on his clear Discovery of Stone-Heng to have been a DANISH Court-Royal, for the Election of Kings, and not a Roman Temple, as supposed by M^r. Inigo Jones."

Towards the end of the year in which Dr. Charleton set the world straight on the subject of Stonehenge, that is, 1663, Sir Robert and Dryden were living in the same house. The anonymous author (probably Shadwell) of The Medal of John Bayes (1682) refers to this period when, after telling how Dryden became a "Journey-man" to Henry Herringman, the bookseller, he says

Then by th'assistance of a Noble Knight
Th'hadst plenty, ease and liberty to write
First like a Gentleman he made thee live;
And on his Bounty thou didst amply thrive.

A footnote has this: "Sir R.H. who kept him generously, at his own House." On December 1 of 1663 Dryden and Sir Robert became even more connected: Dryden married Sir Robert's sister Elizabeth. In the next

month, January 1664, was revealed another--and a far more important--result of the two men's friendship.

The Indian Queen, which was written partly by Sir Robert and partly by Dryden, but which seems to have been considered in the seventeenth century to be all or mainly Sir Robert's, was first acted, in January 1664, at the Theatre Royal in Bridges Street. It was an overnight sensation and established the vogue for one of the two kinds of drama most characteristic of the Restoration period--the heroic play. On January 27, 1664, Pepys wrote the following: "to Convent Garden, to buy a maske at the French House, Madame Charett's, for my wife; in the way observing the streets full of coaches at the new play, 'The Indian Queene'; which for show, they say, exceeds 'Henry the Eighth.'" On February 5, Evelyn wrote as follows: "I saw acted the Indian Queene a Tragedia well written, but so beautified with rich Scenes as the like had never ben seene here as happily (except rarely any where else) on a mercenarie Theater." As these quotations suggest, what most impressed the audiences at The Indian Queen was the spectacle--the lavish costumes and elaborate scenery. To these audiences, used, for the most part, to the unlocalized bareness of the Elizabethan type of production, the spectacle must, indeed, have been overwhelming. Act V, for example, begins thus:

The Scene opens, and discovers the Temple of the Sun
all of Gold, and four Priests in habits of white and
red Feathers, attending by a bloody Altar, as ready for
Sacrifice. Then Enter the Guards, and Zempoalla, and
Trazalla; Ynca, Orazia, and Montezuma bound; as soon as
they are plac'd, the Priest sings.

Mrs. Behn contributed to the production a set of feathers, presented to her in Surinam, and they seem to have been used in this act. The scenery was so successful that it was often called for afterwards in other plays--for example, Dryden's Indian Emperor, the sequel to The

Indian Queen. Although there had, in England, been masques, although Italian opera was not unknown, although Davenant had done some (rather superficial) experimentation with scenery, The Indian Queen was something new to the "mercenary Theater." Ultimately, The Indian Queen itself became an opera, Henry Purcell doing the adaptation.

It is not, however, simply for its gorgeous spectacle that The Indian Queen is sometimes called the first English heroic play. It seems to have been the first popular play to have all the elements of this important kind of drama--the unbelievably idealized hero, the dilemmas of Love and Honor, the bombastic, declamatory speeches, the backdrop of warfare and impending conquest, the surprising reversals of action, the exotic geographical setting, and the use of the heroic couplet, in addition to impressive costumes and scenery. One can go on about precedents, and talk about Corneille, English Cavalier drama, Fletcher, Massinger, Davenant, George Cartwright, and the Earl of Orrery, but it is a fact that it was The Indian Queen that established the vogue for the heroic play, creating the demand for such masterpieces as The Conquest of Granada and Aureng-Zebe. It is, however, very interesting that Roger Boyle, the Earl of Orrery, who is one of the most important of Howard and Dryden's precursors, had, in 1641, married Sir Robert's cousin Margaret, daughter of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, brother of Sir Robert's father. The General, Orrery's first play, was written in 1661, subsequently known in manuscript at Court, first performed, under the title of Altemera and in Dublin, in October 1662, and first performed in London in September 1664. His Henry V, his second play, was written between 1661 and 1663 and first performed, in London, in August 1664. Both plays are rimed and heroic. It is well to remember that Part I of Davenant's Siege of Rhodes, the earliest attempt at English opera, and

another very important work in the genesis of the heroic play, was first performed in 1656 and that Part II appeared in 1662.

How much of the credit for The Indian Queen belongs to Sir Robert is a very difficult problem. Some modern scholars have behaved as if the play were entirely or almost entirely Dryden's, but the factual evidence that is available indicates that it is for the most part Sir Robert's. The main facts in the case are these: The Indian Queen was published in Sir Robert's Four New Plays, in 1665, and the title-page describes all four plays as "Written by the Honourable Sir Robert Howard"; it was republished, in 1692, in his Five New Plays, which was reissued in 1700; Dryden, on the first night of his Indian Emperor, which was a sequel to The Indian Queen, and which was first acted in 1665, distributed to the audience an "argument" and in it, having referred to the earlier play, had added in a parenthesis "part of which poem was wrote by me"; Dryden did not include The Indian Queen in the list of his plays to be published with his King Arthur, in 1691, although he did include The Tempest, which he had adapted with Davenant; and The Indian Queen was not included in 1701 in the Collected Edition of Dryden's plays. It is interesting that at the time of the composition of The Indian Queen, Sir Robert--the author of The Committee and The Surprisal--was both the more experienced and the more famous of the two men as playwrights: the only play by Dryden that had been produced was The Wild Gallant, and that play had been a failure.

Sir Robert had not, for some reason, tried to follow up the success of The Committee with another satirical comedy. After the success of The Indian Queen, he was not similarly inactive. There soon appeared on the boards The Vestal Virgin, Or, The Roman Ladies. A Tragedy, which can be said to be essentially another heroic play. Again, spectacle was

part of the dramatic offering: at the beginning of Act III, "The Scene appears a Burning-house"-- that of a Roman senator--the fire having been set in order that the occupants might be driven out and one of the senator's daughters carried off. But The Vestal Virgin is not nearly so spectacular as The Indian Queen--to begin with, its setting is not really exotic. And there are other differences. Although The Indian Queen too is, in the first edition, called a tragedy, and there are in it the deaths of some noble personages, the hero and the heroine are, at the end, left alive; at the end of The Vestal Virgin, nearly all the main characters are dead and two more are about to die. Perhaps in repentance at having created such a thoroughgoing tragedy, Sir Robert provided the play with an alternative comic, or happy, ending, in which all the characters except one are saved. The Vestal Virgin, which, in its alternative endings, is like Suckling's Aglaura (first acted in 1637 and first published in 1638; unusual--perhaps significantly--also for its scenery and expensive costumes), could thus be acted, presumably on successive days, in two different forms. The comic version has a separate epilogue, "Spoken by M^r Lacy, who is suppos'd to enter as intending to speak the Epilogue for the Tragedy."

By your leave, Gentlem--How! what do I see!
How! all alive! Then there's no use for me. . . ."³

The Vestal Virgin differs from The Indian Queen also in prosody. In The Indian Queen, variety is provided, amongst the heroic couplets, by means of quatrains, half-lines, and unrimed incomplete lines. In The Vestal Virgin, there is far more such variety, Sir Robert having reverted, to some extent, to the loose and free blank verse of his earlier plays. The Vestal Virgin is, in general, inferior to The Indian Queen, and it seems not to have been successful. Neither Evelyn nor Pepys mentions it, and, although we are certain that it was acted, the date or dates of its per-

formance seem to be unknown. It was first published in 1665, in Sir Robert's Four New Plays. After The Vestal Virgin, Sir Robert did not attempt another heroic play.

Four New Plays (1665) is a rather important book. Not only did The Committee and The Indian Queen, along with The Surprisal and The Vestal Virgin, first appear in print therein, but in writing the preface to it, Sir Robert began what is now the thing for which he is chiefly remembered--his public controversy with Dryden over the question whether English plays ought to be written in rime. Actually, as Dryden later said, in "A Defence of an Essay of Dramatique Poesie," the debate with Sir Robert began with the "Epistle Dedicatory" to Dryden's Rival Ladies (1664), in which epistle Dryden, addressing the Earl of Orrery, to whom he dedicated his play, "said somewhat in behalf of Verse [i.e., rime]." Sir Robert, who, following Cavalier models, had written his first three plays in a loose and free style of blank verse, who had tried out rime in his fourth, and who had begun to abandon it in his fifth, entered the field as the champion of blank verse, replying to Dryden in the preface to Four New Plays. That there was, at this point in the debate, no personal hostility between Sir Robert and Dryden, is made clear by signs of continuing friendship between the two, as well as by the fact that nothing had yet been said which could cause resentment. In 1666, Dryden prefixed a letter to Sir Robert before his Annus Mirabilis, which poem he had composed at the estate of the Earl of Berkshire, having been driven thither from London, with Lady Elizabeth, his wife (the Earl's daughter and Sir Robert's sister), by the plague of 1665, and in the letter, which is addressed from the Earl's estate, Dryden not only, with great flattery, expresses gratitude to Sir Robert for his past behavior, but leaves to him the final correction of the new poem. At around the same time, Sir

Robert sided with Dryden and Lady Elizabeth against the Earl of Berkshire in a difference of opinion. In 1662, Charles II had granted to the impecunious earl £8,000, 3,000 of which were to be used for Lady Elizabeth's dowry. The earl had both mortgaged the grant for cash and been unable to collect the grant. He seems to have proposed, around 1666, after steps had been taken to collect the grant, that Elizabeth's share also should be used to pay off the mortgage. Dryden and Lady Elizabeth were, it seems, upset with the earl, but they were helped by Sir Robert, and they eventually got all the money that was due to them. Sir Robert and Dryden, then, were still friends. Therefore, when, at the earl's seat, Dryden wrote his Essay of Dramatic Poesy, which constitutes the third step in the whole affair concerning rime, he certainly did not think of Sir Robert as his enemy. The two were simply participating in a general controversy, and, in fact, they were in agreement as to at least one part of the controversy--they both rejected the idea that French drama was superior to English. It is in the spirit of a friendly discussion of literary principles that the Essay of Dramatic Poesy is written. The Essay is, of course, supposedly a report of a literary discussion amongst four friends: Eugenius, Crites, Lisideius, and Neander, representing, respectively, the Moderns, the Ancients, the French, and the English. Dryden himself, in the "Epistle Dedicatory," says that three of the characters are really "persons" of "witt and Quality" "known to all the Town," whom he has hidden under "borrowed names." Crites, who speaks for the Ancients, is usually identified as Sir Robert, although the evidence for identification here is conflicting--Sir Robert, in his preface to Four New Plays, had written in support of contemporary playwrights, not the ancient dramatists, and when Crites does give Sir Robert's arguments against rime, he specifically says that he is quoting somebody else. It

has been suggested that Crites is really the Earl of Roscommon. At any rate, although Crites seems to be portrayed as the most captious of the group--he is "a person of a sharp judgment, and somewhat too delicate a taste in wit, which the world have mistaken in him for ill nature"-- and although it is suggested that he loses his argument with Eugenius, over the dramatic merits of the Ancients and the Moderns, the picture of him is not one that would ordinarily be taken as injurious or offensive. Indeed, in part of the discussion dealing with the question of rime as opposed to blank verse, although Neander--Dryden himself--has the advantage of stating the case for rime after Crites has stated that for blank verse, it seems that Crites' argument is, in general, inherently stronger than that of Neander. In the "Epistle Dedicatory," however, which was composed about two years after the Essay proper, there is a remark which could not have failed to give offence to Sir Robert: "none are very violent against . . . [rime], but those who either have not attempted it, or who have succeeded ill in their attempt." Whether or not Dryden intended this or any other part of the Essay to be a negative comment on his brother-in-law, Sir Robert was hurt, at least by the remark in the "Epistle Dedicatory," to which he specifically refers in his reply. This reply appeared in the "Preface" to his latest play, The Great Favourite, or, The Duke of Lerma, published in the same year as the Essay, 1668. In the reply, which--odd for Crites--includes an attack on the three Unities, we distinctly see an escalation of the emotional level of the debate, Sir Robert ill concealing his pique by a somewhat conventional pose. Sir Walter Scott said, "The Preface to The Duke of Lerma is written in the tone of a man of quality and importance, who is conscious of stooping beneath his own dignity, and neglecting his graver avocation, by engaging in a literary disput."⁴

Dryden replied to Sir Robert in the "Defence of 'An Essay of Dramatic

Poesy,'" which appeared, in 1668, as a preface to the second edition of The Indian Emperor, but which was omitted from later editions. The alleged reason for its omission, and some idea of the nature of the reply, can be gained from the following lines from "The Medal of John Bayes" (which come directly after those quoted earlier):

But soon thy [Dryden's] Native swelling Venom rose,
 And thou didst him [Howard], who gave thee Bread, expose.
 'Gainst him a scandalous Preface didst thou write,
 Which thou didst soon expunge, rather than fight.
 (When turn'd away by him in some small time)
 You in the Peoples ears began to chime,
 And please the Town with your successful Rime.

The "Defence of 'An Essay'" is highly personal and unforgettably cutting. Of it, Sir Walter Scott said, "It would be difficult to point out deeper contempt and irony, couched under language so temperate, cold, and outwardly respectful." At the end of the essay, Dryden's respectfulness seems to be sincere. He says that he honors Sir Robert and must acknowledge his many obligations to him; he concludes as follows: "But as I was the last who took up arms, I will be the first to lay them down. For what I have here written, I submit it wholly to him; and if I do not hereafter answer what may be objected against this Paper, I hope the World will not impute it to any other reason, than only the due respect which I have for so noble an Opponent." After this, both Dryden and Sir Robert let the matter rest. When, of necessity, Dryden turned to the question of rime in his "Of Heroique Plays. An Essay," which he would prefix to The Conquest of Granada (first published in 1672), he treated the question very briefly. That Dryden and Sir Robert had ended their exchange of replies did not, however, mean that they were about to begin to resume their former relationship: the evidence indicates that the two did not become close again until the 1690's, when they were both old men. Nor were they the only participants in the debate: it seems that many others joined in. It has been

shown that Milton, for example, of whom, it appears, Sir Robert was a close personal friend, had in mind not only the arguments of Dryden and Sir Robert but even many of their phrases when, in 1668 or early in 1669, he added to Paradise Lost his famous statement against rime. Richard Flecknoe seems to have been another contributor to the debate: Sir Robert's brother Edward put in a word against rime in the "Preface" to his play The Usurper (published in 1668), and this prompted one "R.F.," who has been identified as Flecknoe, to write A Letter from a Gentleman To the Honourable Ed. Howard Esq; Occasioned by a Civilized Epistle of Mr. Dryden's, Before his Second Edition of his 'Indian Emperour' (1668). In this "letter," we find Sir Robert defended and Dryden attacked. It has been said that it was probably this act of intervention into the dispute with Sir Robert that caused Dryden to satirized Flecknoe in MacFlecknoe, where he is presented as the prince of dullness in poetry, and as the father of the even duller Shadwell. Ultimately, of course, Dryden himself went over to the side of blank verse. All along, his arguments for the use of rime were rather weak and not really convincing, and in the "Prologue" to Aureng-Zebe, which was acted in 1675 and published in 1676, and which is written in rime, he made a confession:

Our Author by experience finds it true,
 'Tis much more hard to please himself than you;
 And out of no feign'd Modesty, this day,
 Damns his laborious Trifle of a Play:
 Not that its worse than what before he writ,
 But he has now another taste of Wit;
 And to confess a truth (though out of time)
 Grows weary of his long-lov'd Mistris, Rhyme.
 Passion's too fierce to be in Fetters bound,
 And Nature flies him like Enchanted Ground.

During the years 1664-1668, there was, of course, more to Sir Robert's life than his debate with Dryden. His financial condition continued to flourish, and, as if intending not to miss any opportunity of

improving it, on August 10, 1665, he married a rich widow--one at least ten years older than himself--Lady Honoria O'Brien, daughter of the late Earl of Thomond and widow of Sir Francis Englefield, who, indeed, had been dead only a few months. This was Sir Robert's second marriage, his first wife having died about seven years before. The King himself had recommended Sir Robert to Lady Honoria. Among other things, the new marriage brought Sir Robert the manor of Wootton Bassett, near Swindon, in Wiltshire, and, with the manor, the manor house, the beautiful and historic Vasterne. Sir Robert lived here for some time after his marriage, but his relationship with his wife was not happy for long. A newsletter of March 1667 has this entry: "Lady Honoria O'Brien, relict of Sir Francis Englefield, has petitioned the King for relief from the ill usage of her husband, Sir Robert Howard, son of the Earl of Berkshire." It is possible that the deterioration of Sir Robert's second marriage may be partially explained by a passage in Evelyn's Diary, under the year 1666: complaining of the indecency of the public theaters of the Restoration, and, in particular, of actresses who, "inflaming severall young noble-men & gallants, became their whores, & to some their Wives," Evelyn says, "Witnesse the Earle of Oxford, Sir R: Howard, Pr: Rupert, the E. of Dorset, & another greater person than any of these, who fell into their snares, to the reproch of their noble families, & ruine both of body & Soule." Whatever the reasons for its failure, Sir Robert's second marriage ended in a separation, in which, in 1670, Sir Robert made a rather generous financial arrangement with Lady Honoria. She died in 1676. In her will, she had made many liberal bequests, but none to her husband, whose share of her estate is given thus: "Item unto S^r Robert Howard one shilling."

At the same time at which Sir Robert was experiencing marital

problems, he was beginning to take a leading part in the Parliamentary proceedings of the day. He first came into political prominence in December 1666, when, in the House of Commons, he supported a piece of legislation that would empower a parliamentary committee to examine the receipt and expenditure of public money raised for the war. The House of Lords thought the measure to be an infringement of the royal prerogative. Charles II, says Pepys, ordered the Lord Chamberlain to round up supporters "from the playhouses and bawdy houses" in order to defeat the bill, but it easily passed. Pepys wrote that its passage was said to have been "mightily ill taken by all the Court party as a mortal blow," and that he himself wondered at Sir Robert's support of it, since Sir Robert was "one of the King's servants, at least hath a great office, and hath got, they say, 20,000l. since the King came in." Shortly afterwards, Sir Robert left the Country party and joined the Court party. One reason for his temporary adherence to the Country party, in which he distinguished himself by his outspokenness, may be that he had become a close associate of the Duke of Buckingham. Whatever the reasons, there was never any real doubt about his loyalty. In June 1667, after the Dutch had made their famous raid up the Medway, a commission was issued for raising 10,000 foot and 2,500 horse, and Sir Robert was appointed as one of three colonels. Later in the same year he was nominated as one of the deputy-lieutenants of Hampshire. Shortly before this nomination, he eagerly played a leading role in the impeachment, in Parliament, of Clarendon. The enthusiasm of his participation in this famous case, the defendant in which he personally disliked, can be seen in the way in which he behaved after the Lords sent to the Commons a message which they hoped would to some extent pacify them: the message mentioned a long petition from Clarendon and intimated that he had "withdrawn"; Sir Robert scornfully denounced the petition as

not a petition but "a scandalous, seditious, and malicious paper," maintained that all its facts were wrong, and successfully moved that it be burned by the public hangman. It was perhaps Sir Robert's behavior in this case that caused Andrew Marvell to satirize him, along with some other members of the House, in his "Last Instructions to a Painter":

Of Birth, State, Wit, Strength, Courage, How'rd presumes,
And in his Breast wears many Montezumes.
These and some more with single Valour stay
The adverse Troops, and hold them all at Bay.
Each thinks his Person represents the whole,
And with that thought does multiply his Soul:
Believes himself an Army, theirs one Man,
As eas'ly Conquer'd, and believing can.
With Heart of Bees so full, and Head of Mites,
That each, tho' Duelling, a Battel fights.
Such once Orlando, famous in Romance,
Broach'd whole Brigades like Larks upon his Lance.

(Montezuma is the hero of The Indian Queen.) At any rate, one gets from these lines an idea of the image that Sir Robert was projecting as a politician.

In the years 1667 and 1668, Sir Robert's reputation as a writer was also growing, apart from his escalating debate on the question of rime vs. blank verse. The public was given numerous revivals of his early plays--between April 1667 and May 1668, Pepys saw The Surprisal at least five times and The Committee twice. In addition, Sir Robert produced new material. He contributed a song to the revised version, by his friend the Duke of Buckingham, of Fletcher's play The Chances. The Duke's adaptation was produced in January 1667. Sir Robert's song, which was sung with music written by John Eccles, is another example of Sir Robert's ability to write for music. In February 1665 appeared at the theater Sir Robert's The Great Favourite, Or, The Duke of Lerma, which when it came out in print, around the middle of 1668, was accompanied by Sir Robert's reply to Dryden's Essay of Dramatic Poesy. Pepys, after seeing

the new play, for the first time, on February 20, wrote thus:

Dined, and by one o'clock to the King's house: a new play, The Duke of Lerma, of Sir Robert Howard's: where the King and Court was; and Knepp and Nell spoke the prologue most excellently, especially Knepp, who spoke beyond any creature I ever heard. The play designed to reproach our King with his mistresses, that I was troubled for it, and expected it should be interrupted; but it ended all well, which salved all. The play a well-writ and good play, only its design I did not like of reproaching the King, but altogether a very good and most serious play.

Indeed, the play has been said to be easily the best of Sir Robert's serious dramas, and even to be one of the best serious plays of the Restoration.⁵ Pepys was wrong, however--unless the play was changed before publication--in his saying that it was designed to reproach the King with his mistresses, although the play is about the attempt of a rejected courtier, the Duke of Lerma, to regain favor by prostituting his own daughter to a king--an attempt which fails and ends in the prospect of an honorable marriage. The major question about the play is not whether it is a good play or whether it was intended to reproach the King, but how much of the credit for it can be given to Sir Robert, for, as he promptly admits in the preface, it is the result of a re-writing of a play authored by another, which was brought to the King's Company and handed over to Sir Robert first for his opinion and then, by Hart, for improvement. The fact that Sir Robert did not personally write the whole play was used as a weapon by his enemies. Dryden thus uses it in his "Defence of 'An Essay'": his attack was answered by his own enemy Langbaine, who, in The English Dramatick Poets, asserts, somewhat overenthusiastically, "that this Admirable Poet [Howard] has too great a Stock of Wit of his own, to be necessitated to borrow from others." As has been said, Sir Robert himself stated his indebtedness. The original play which he reworked is thought to have been Jacobean, and it has been

suggested that the author was Ford, James Shirley, or Henry Shirley. The play as we have it seems Jacobean or Elizabethan in a number of ways, the protagonist, for example, being in the tradition of the villain-hero of the earlier periods. The "happy ending" seems to be an addition--a characteristic one, perhaps--by Sir Robert. It is especially interesting that a considerable percentage of the play is in rime; indeed, it has been said that most of Sir Robert's additions are probably rimed. In the preface, Sir Robert claims that he wrote some scenes in blank verse and some in rime for no other reason than "Chance, which waited upon my present Fancy." The prosodic variety which Sir Robert provided certainly did not meet with rejection or disapproval in the theater. The play was another success. In 1669, the very year after Dryden very artfully and effectively attacked The Duke of Lerma in his "A Defence of 'An Essay'"--in fact, as will be seen, it was the year after a number of memorable literary attacks were made upon Sir Robert--Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, in his Compendiosa Enumeratio Poetarum, included Sir Robert in his list of the three most distinguished living dramatists, and, what is more, Sir Robert appears, although after Orrery, yet before Dryden.

Under the year 1668 we find Pepys writing of Sir Robert as one of the members of the political group known as "the Undertakers"--men of the House of Commons "that are brought over to the Court, and did undertake to get the King money." Sir Robert was continuing at this time to play an important role in the activities of the House. He usually sided with the Court, as when he opposed the House's decision to ask for stricter enforcement of the laws against Nonconformity. Sometimes, however, he took the other side, as during the impeachment of Sir William Penn, in which Sir Robert was one of the leading figures. Penn was accused, in Evelyn's words, of "breaking bulk, & taking a way rich goods

out of the E[ast] India Prizes formerly taken by my L[ord] San[d]wich." Pepys tells us that "W. Coventry's being for . . . [Penn], provoked Sir R. Howard and his party." Sir Robert entered into the case enthusiastically and cut through all attempts at delay and defence. Penn was suspended and "disprivileged," and Sir Robert was chosen by the House to carry the impeachment to the Lords. Only three days after he was chosen to do this, however, there was presented to the House his second wife's petition against him, and, moreover, the impeachment of Penn was ultimately allowed to drop. Nor were these things the only sources of disappointment and embarrassment for Sir Robert in the year 1668.

It was in 1668 that Dryden's "A Defence of 'An Essay'" appeared. This cutting reply to Sir Robert was actually anti-climactic in the embarrassment which it caused him. For in May had appeared, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Shadwell's comedy The Sullen Lovers, or, The Impertinents, with its hilarious and devastating caricature of Sir Robert, under the name Sir Positive At-All. In the "Dramatis Personae" of this very amusing play, Sir Positive is described thus: "A foolish Knight, that pretends to understand every thing in the world, and will suffer no man to understand any thing in his Company; so foolishly Positive, that he will never be convinced of an Error, though never so grosse." Along with Sir Robert are satirized his brother Edward, who was also an author, and, perhaps, Mary Uphill, who was at first Sir Robert's mistress and then his third wife. Edward appears as Sir Positive's friend Ninny: "A conceited Poet, always troubling men with impertinent Discourses of Poetry, and the repetition of his own Verses; in all his Discourse he uses such affected Words, that 'tis as bad as the Canting of a Gypsie." Lady Vaine, Sir Positive's mistress, whom in the end he marries, not knowing that she is a harlot--mother of one child and pregnant again--is "A Whore, that

takes upon her the name of a Lady, very talkative and impetuously affected in her Language, always pretending to Vertue and Honour." (It is difficult to restrain oneself from quoting numerous long sections of Shadwell's play but a limit of three short excerpts must here be imposed.) Among the innumerable subjects upon which Sir Positive claims to be an expert is that of mankind itself:

I'll tell thee, I will give Dogs leave to piss upon me,
if any Man understands Mankind better then my self, now
you talk of that. I have consider'd all Mankind, I
have thought of nothing else but Mankind this Moneth;
and I find you may be a Poet, a Musitian, a Painter,
a Divine, a Mathematician, a States-man; but betwixt you
and I, let me tell you, we are all Mortal.

The last two clauses are an allusion to Sir Robert's short but regrettable poem "Against the Fear of Death," based upon Lucretius, in which we are philosophically advised that "We always should remember, Death is sure." Later in the plot, a play by Sir Positive, The Lady in the Lobster, has failed, and he is incensed at a lowly clerk, who had the audacity to comment on the failure. With sullen Stanford as his unwilling second, he goes to fight a duel with the man, really intending to force him to sign a prepared endorsement of the play, and of Sir Positive's all-encompassing claims to knowledge and expertise:

'I do acknowledge and firmly believe that the Play of Sir Positive Att-All Knight, called the Lady in the Lobster, notwithstanding it was damn'd by the Malice of the Age, shall not onely read, but it shall act with any of Ben Johnson's, and Beaumont's and Fletcher's Plays.'

Sir Positive. Hold, hold! I'll have Shakespeares in, 'slife I had like to have forgot that.

Clerk. With all my heart. 'I do likewise hereby attest that he is no purloiner of other mens Work, the general fame and opinion notwithstanding, and that he is a Poet, Mathematician, Divine, Statesman, Lawyer, Phisitian, Geographer, Musician, and indeed a Unus in Omnibus through all Arts and Sciences, and hereunto I have set my hand. . . .'

After the signing of the statement, it is revealed that the signatory

is not the audacious clerk, but an innocent man, come into the fields to play trapball with his friends. Sir Positive, of course, proceeds to show them all how the game should really be played. Near the end of Shadwell's comedy, having married Lady Vaine, Sir Positive exclaims, "For my own part, if I understand any thing in the world, I am happy in this Lady." He then learns, by means of a letter, that Lady Vaine is a whore, with one illegitimate child and another on the way. Sir Positive's handling of this problem concludes the play:

Well! this is the first thing in the World that I have met with which I did not understand: but I am resolv'd, I'll not acknowledge that" Master Lovell, I knew well enough what I did when I marry'd her, He's a wise man that marry's a harlot, he's on the surest side, who but an Ass would marry at uncertainty?

As if this sort of treatment were not enough, Shadwell composed a more serious, though more general, attack for the preface to the play.

Ostensibly justifying his satire, he says,

Perhaps you may think me as impertinent as any one I represent; that, having so many faults of my own, shou'd take the liberty to judge of others, to impeach my fellow Criminalls: I must confess it is very ungenerous to accuse those that modestly confess their own Errors; but positive Men, that justifie all their faults, are Common Enemies, that no man ought to spare, prejudicial to all Societies they live in, destructive to all Communication, always endeavoring Magisterially to impose upon our Understandings, against the Freedome of Mankind: These ought no more to be suffer'd amongst us, then wild beasts: for no corrections that can be laid upon 'em are of power to reforme 'em; and certainly it was a positive Foole that Salomon spoke of, when he said, bray him in a Mortar, and yet he will retain his folly.

It is thought by some that Shadwell got the idea for his caricature of Sir Robert from Dryden, who later, of course, destroyed Shadwell's own reputation. But the image which most people seem to have had of Sir Robert undoubtedly could have recommended itself as a suitable subject

for satire. Pepys, who saw The Sullen Lovers at least six times, wrote, a few days after it opened, as follows:

Lord, to see how this play of Sir Positive At-All' in abuse of Sir Robert Howard, do take, all the Duke's [i.e., the Duke of York's] and everybody's talk being of that, and telling more stories of him, of the like nature, that it is now the town and country talk, and, they say, is most exactly true. The Duke of York himself said that of his playing at trapball is true, and told several other stories of him.

That people said the portrait of Sir Robert to be "most exactly true" is very important. Some favorable opinions of Sir Robert were expressed towards the end of his life and shortly afterwards: John Toland, for example, in his Life of John Milton (1698), called him "a Gentleman of great Generosity, a Patron of Letters, and a hearty Friend to the Liberty of his Country," and Charles Gildon, in his edition of Langbaine's The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets . . . (1712), said, "I have not the Honour to say much of my own knowledge of him, but I am told, that it is no small Part of his Character, to be a Patron and Encourager of Learning." But during the main part of his life, Sir Robert seems to have been regarded by most people as he was by Shadwell. Evelyn, who was not an enemy of Sir Robert, and who knew him well enough to visit him, called him "that universal pretender" and "a Gent: pretending to all manner of Arts & Sciences for which he had ben the subject of Comedy, under the name of Sir Positive; not ill-natur'd, but unsufferably boosting."

Only two or three months after the first performance of The Sullen Lovers, Sir Robert had the misfortune to lay himself open to further ridicule: he published a short narrative poem of manifestly poor literary quality, and this was greeted, by a society whose risibility was already aroused, with roaring laughter and cruel delight, and was soon made the subject of a very clever and very indelicate parody. The poem was "The

Duel of the Stags," which begins thus:

In Windsor Forest, before Warr destroy'd,
 The harmless Pleasures which soft Peace enjoy'd;
 A mighty Stagg grew Monarch of the Heard,
 By all his savage Slaves obey'd, and fear'd:
 And while the Troops about their Sovereign fed,
 They watch't the awfull nodding of his head.

In the course of the narrative, a rival stag emerges, begins to move in on the "Monarch's" harem, fights the "Monarch" for the kingdom, loses, flees, recuperates, returns, fights again, wins, and then assumes leadership of the herd. The poem, which is flatteringly dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham, was taken by many as an allegorical comment on the current political situation--an interpretation that Sir Robert denied. What Sir Robert could not deny was that he had once again made a literary target of himself. Shortly after the appearance of the poem, was composed a witty parody of it. This was evidently circulated in manuscript. It was not published until 1694, and even then the printed parody was incomplete. The title in 1694 was "The Duel. By Henry Savil, Esquire. Written soon after the Duel of the Staggs." The complete version was printed a few years later, with the title of "The Duel of the Crabs"; and at this time Dorset was given as the author. The parody survives not only in the two printed forms, but also in a manuscript version, where it is attributed to "L^d Dorset and H. Savile." The MS. title is this: "A Duell Between two Monsters upon my Lady Be—ts C—t with their change of Government from Monarchial to Democraticall." The basic idea of the parody should now be clear. The opening lines (in the MS. version) are as follows: "In Milford Lane neer to S^t. Clement's Steeple/ There liv'd a Nymph kind to all Christian People"--the reference being to Mistress Bennett, a notorious bawd and prostitute. In the parody, "two mighty Monsters," infesting the "happy Grove," come into ambitious conflict and, having

decided to fight in single combat--rather than to have their armies pursue each other around the "Briny Lake"--confront each other, fight, fall into the "Lake," and are drowned. And the parody makes fun of Sir Robert's poem not simply with respect to its plot.

It is significant that after the year 1668--the year of "A Defence of 'An Essay,'" of The Sullen Lovers, and of "The Duel of the Crabs"--Sir Robert did not complete a single major poem or play. It was an unforgettable year for Sir Robert. In addition to the disappointments and troubles which have already been given, there were others. Sir Robert had been given reason to believe that he would be appointed as Governor of Barbados or made Secretary of State. His hopes were dashed. Also, his son Thomas, after recovering from the dreaded smallpox, had another long and serious illness, and his daughter died.

Before the end of 1668, Sir Robert seems to have at least begun two plays which were never acted or published. One of these is The Country Gentleman, a comedy. It seems that this play, including an additional satirical portrait, of Sir William Coventry, one of the Treasury Commissioners, was supposed to be produced in February 1669. The King, however, forbade the presentation of it. The reason for his action had to do with the satirical portrait of Coventry, whose support of Penn, it may be remembered, had caused Sir Robert to be so eager for Penn's impeachment. This portrait was in a separate scene, and the scene had been written not by Sir Robert, but by Sir Robert's friend Buckingham. Coventry, after learning of the addition to the play, was furious. Pepys conversed with him on the subject and wrote as follows:

He told me the matter of the play that was intended for his abuse, wherein they foolishly and sillily bring in two tables like that which he hath made, with a round hole in the middle, in his closet, to turn himself in; and he is to be in one of them as master, and Sir J.

Duncomb in the other, as his man or imitator: and their discourse in those tables, about the disposing of their books and papers, very foolish. But that, that he is offended with, is his being made so contemptible, as that any should dare to make a gentleman a subject for the mirth of the world.

Coventry told Tom Killigrew that if any actor dared to impersonate him, he would have that actor's nose cut, and also, through Henry Savile, sent a challenge to Buckingham. The King learned of the challenge, verified that it had been made, and, under an old law, declaring it a felony to conspire the death of a Privy Councillor, sent Coventry to the Tower and Savile to the Gate House. He also forbade the presentation of the play. In that the incident enabled Coventry's enemies, of whom Sir Robert was one, to bring about his downfall, which followed soon after, it was not totally bad for Sir Robert.⁶

In July 1669, the Earl of Berkshire died. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. His widow, the Countess Dowager of Berkshire, lived until August 1672. She also was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the same vault as her husband. Only one week after the death of his father, died Sir Robert's eldest son, also named Robert. Sir Robert was now left with only one child, Thomas. Around this time, more and more of Sir Robert's energies were being put into parliamentary affairs. A lover of impeachment proceedings, he took a leading part, in 1669, in the impeachment of Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy. He did not, however, join the effort to prosecute the Earl of Orrery, who, in 1669, was accused of "raising of moneys, by his own authority, upon his Majesty's subjects; [and] defrauding the King's subjects of their estates." The Earl, as we have seen, had married one of Sir Robert's cousins.

Sir Robert's power and influence were increasing all the time. In 1670 and 1671, he was one of the chief architects of a proposal for the

farming of the Customs--the most ambitious of all his financial projects. This project, which involved huge sums of money, fell through, at the last minute and because of the King's impatience, but it shows both the ability and the esteem which Sir Robert enjoyed in the realm of financial affairs. In 1671, the year in which Charles cancelled the project, Sir Robert, in addition to having planned the farming of the Customs, had frequently led the Parliamentary debates on the Supply, had acted as chairman of at least one of the House's financial committees, and had been associated for years with some of the financial giants of London. It is not surprising, then, that, in 1671, Sir Robert was appointed Secretary to the Treasury. His appointment was not just a reward for political services. The Secretaryship seems to have been worth more than £2000 a year. Sir Robert was anything but poor. Nevertheless, he continued to ask for and to receive other privileges and sources of income. One contemporary, Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, writing in his journal, mentioned the appointment of Clifford as Treasurer and the appointment of Sir Robert, "commonly called Sir Positive," as Secretary to the Treasury, and then, after an attempt to explain the appointments, and a comment on the feelings produced by them in "the old nobility," sighed, "But this is a part of the absolute power of kings to raise men from the dunghill and make them their owne companions."

In 1671 was first produced The Rehearsal, by Buckingham and, probably, other "Wits"--the first and most famous of the satires on the heroic drama, and Sir Robert, being one of those responsible for the existence of the new literary form, was, of course, one of the targets of the satirical fun. Actually, however, Sir Robert is, in The Rehearsal, satirized very little. By 1671, Sir Robert and Buckingham had become friends and, indeed, literary collaborators, and Dryden had taken hegemony

in the writing of heroic plays. The references, in The Rehearsal, to Sir Robert and his literary works are mainly, it seems, vestiges of ridicule included in the original version of the play, which was written around 1664--the year of The Indian Queen--and which was probably ready for production when, in 1665, the plague closed the theaters. It seems fairly certain that in the original version, it was Sir Robert who was represented by the main character, whose name, in that version, was Bilboa. In the version of 1671, the version which now exists, the main character, of course, has the name of Bayes and represents Dryden, although there is, perhaps, also reference to Davenant. But there are, as has been indicated, traces of the original ridicule. For example, at one point (in II, 1), Bayes boasts, "May be, Sir? I gad, I'm sure on't: Experto crede Roberto." This is the most obvious reference to Sir Robert. In a few other instances, the satire seems to refer to The Indian Queen, and such references may have been retained for their possible relevance to Dryden. An example of these is another bragging speech by Bayes (in IV, 1): "Now, Gentlemen, I will be bold to say, I'll shew you the greatest scene that ever England saw: I mean not for words, for those I do not value; but for state, shew, and magnificence." In fact, however, the version of 1671 seems to include, in addition, some new, and subtle, references to Sir Robert--possible allusions to The Duke of Lerma and mild ridicule of The Vestal Virgin. Certainly, there are in the new version hits at Sir Robert's dramatist-brothers, James, Edward, and Henry. The United Kingdoms, by Henry, written in 1663 or before, seems to have been an early source of amusement to Buckingham and his circle of satirical friends, and it, along with other literary products of the Howard family, is ridiculed in the new version of The Rehearsal, having, it seems, been so treated in the old. According to The Key to "The Rehearsal", Henry's play was a failure on the

stage. It is hardly too much to say that Sir Robert's unavoidable association with his own brothers was and is one of the reasons for his relatively low literary reputation. His brother Edward, who was caricatured as Ninny in The Sullen Lovers, and was damned on the stage afterwards, published, in the very year after Shadwell's play, one of the most widely ridiculed literary works of the period--The British Princes: an Heroick Poem. The best satires of this notorious literary mistake include Samuel Butler's "Palinode" and "Mock Encomium," Martin Clifford's "To a Person of Honour on his Incomparable Poem," and Dorset's "To Mr Edward Howard, on his incomparable, incomprehensible Poem, called The British Princes." A sample from one of these, that by Clifford, is as follows:

The language, too, intirely is thy own;
Thou leav'st as trash, below thy great pretence,
Grammar to pedants; and to plain men, sense.

But, one must add, when Edward published his "incomparable Poem," Sir Robert had already come out with "The Duel of the Stags."⁷

When Parliament met in 1673, after a break of almost two years, the third Anglo-Dutch war had begun, and the King had issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which removed the legal penalties on both Nonconformity and Roman Catholicism. Parliament decided to give Charles the money that he needed for the war, but to require that, in return for the money, he withdraw the Declaration. Sir Robert spoke not only in favor of giving Charles his money, of Supply, but also in favor of retaining the Declaration. He then opposed a motion for removing all Catholics from military positions. The motion having passed, he supported the King's power to reward those who would have to leave their positions. In subsequent debates, he continued to fight for the Supply and against fanaticism. He was and had been, he made clear, of the opinion that the

laws against dissent should be relaxed.

Sir Robert's support of the royal positions did not go unrewarded. In March 1673, Sir Robert was given the office of Writer of Tallies in the Exchequer and, more important, that of Auditor of the Receipt. In fact, the King was indebted to Sir Robert for more than parliamentary service: in 1672, when Parliament was not sitting and Charles desperately needed money for the Dutch war, Sir Robert lent him at least £9000. He later lent him £3500. The position of Auditor of the Receipt was worth £3000 a year. When Sir Robert moved to the Exchequer, he gave up his position as Secretary to the Treasury. It has been suggested that he would have liked to retain the Secretaryship, even after becoming Auditor, but that the new Treasurer, Thomas Osborne, who would soon become the Earl of Danby, and would also be a bitter enemy of Sir Robert, defeated the idea.

In 1673, Sir Robert, along with Shaftesbury, supported the idea of a divorce for the King. He opposed the marriage of James to Mary of Modena, a Catholic. Sir Robert was opposed to a general persecution of English Catholics, but he did not like the Catholic religion and tried to prevent it from having a say in the government of England. His opposition to the religion hardened as the threat of Catholic domination of English policy grew greater. The sentiments that he expressed against Catholicism in England show that he did not always take the side of the King.

In 1675, the King approved Sir Robert's appointment as Deputy Lieutenant of Wiltshire and granted him for life the office of Keeper of the Royal Game "in and about the manor of Oatlands, Surrey"--marks of continuing royal confidence and favor. Additional marks of this confidence and favor followed. In or towards the year 1677, Sir Robert was chosen, either by the King or by Nell Gwyn, to serve as a confidential agent for

the King in a personal matter of some importance--to help Nell obtain money due to her from a grant of Irish property made by the King. Sir Robert was, in Nell's own words, "her trustee in the business."

In a pamphlet of 1677 it is said of Sir Robert that "his W—— Uphill now refuses to marry him." The woman to whom reference is here made is Mary Uphill. It may be remembered that Lady Vaine, in The Sullen Lovers, is perhaps a satirical representation of Mary Uphill. It may also be remembered that Mary Uphill was at first Sir Robert's mistress and then his third wife. She did not refuse forever, that is. The evidence indicates that she married Sir Robert at some time before June 1680.

In a letter probably of 1678, formerly thought to be of 1672, Sir Robert, addressing the Earl of Rochester, talks, briefly, about "the sceen you are pleased to write." Sir Robert is referring to his own play The Conquest of China by the Tartars and to the fact that Rochester has undertaken to provide one scene for it. Although the play itself does not, it seems, survive, Rochester's contribution to it does exist: it is in manuscript, has the title "Scaen of S^T: Robert Hoard's Play," and consists of 268 lines, not including the stage direction. It seems from the evidence that Sir Robert sent Rochester a full plot. Sir Robert's work seems to have been an heroic play, and Rochester seems to be trying to write in the manner of The Indian Queen. Ultimately, another famous writer undertook to contribute to the play. In a letter of September 1697, Dryden, writing to his sons in Rome, says, "After my return to town, I intend to alter a play of Sir Robert Howards, written long since, & lately put by him into my hands: 'tis calld The Conquest of China by the Tartars. It will cost me six weeks study, with the probable benefit of an hundred pounds." In December, however, we find him saying to Tonson, "I have broken off my Studies from The Conquest of China, to review Virgil,

and have bestowed nine entire days upon him." The work that Dryden did on the play does not exist. It is unfortunate that the play was not completed and preserved: an heroic play written jointly by Sir Robert, Rochester, and Dryden would make very interesting reading. It may be remarked in passing that at the time of Dryden's letter to his sons, he and Sir Robert were, apparently, once again on friendly terms with each other. Also noteworthy is the fact that one of Settle's plays is entitled The Conquest of China, by the Tartars; it was first acted in 1675 and first published in 1676.

It is possible that, in 1678, the furor caused by Titus Oates' revelation of the Popish Plot caused Sir Robert to put The Conquest of China aside. He took part in the debate that followed a report from the committee which had examined the Duchess of York's secretary, who was one of the first to be accused by Oates, and, in order to expedite the discovery of who had murdered the magistrate Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey--Papists or others--he proposed that the reward be increased. A while later, he opposed the absurdity of prosecuting the Secretary of State simply because he had signed warrants for Popish officers to receive commissions and pay. Sir Robert thus behaved in a much more level-headed manner than many of his colleagues. Several days later, he supported a proviso exempting the Duke of York from taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Declaration. Then, about a month later, in December 1678, the Commons decided to impeach Danby, who held the office of Treasurer, thus being Sir Robert's immediate superior in the Exchequer, and who was Sir Robert's long-time--his greatest--enemy.

The trouble between Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Lord Treasurer, and Sir Robert is first heard of in a letter, from Lord Conway to the Earl of Essex, of February 1674: "Great dissention there is betweene

Treasurer and Sir Robt. Howard, too long to trouble yo^r Excel^{ce} with the Particulars. Keeper is so much concerned for Treear. and the unworthy dealing of Sir Rob^t Howard, that he told me last night he should never rest in quiet till he had gott Sir R. Howard turned out of all." Whether Danby had discovered irregularities in Sir Robert's work at the Exchequer, and whether the discovery of irregularities was the real cause of Danby's enmity are questions to which we do not have answers. There is some evidence, however, that Sir Robert was involved, along with one of his financial associates and a Rear Admiral in His Majesty's Navy, in a bit of smuggling. At any rate, Danby must have been upset when, at the end of 1674, the King gave to Sir Robert's son, Thomas, the reversion of the place of one of the four tellers in the Exchequer. Danby retaliated in less than a fortnight: he had one of his own sons given the reversion of Sir Robert's Auditorship. But in the following year, 1675, the House of Commons considered seven articles against Danby in order to decide whether on any or all of them he could be impeached. No evidence is known suggesting that Sir Robert was behind this attack on Danby, but Sir Robert was called upon during the hearings to explain to the House certain of the government's financial practices. His testimony was not that of an enemy. The House decided that none of the articles constituted a ground for impeachment, and for a few months, Danby and Sir Robert may have let their differences rest. But in the next year, 1676, there was talk that it was desired to remove Sir Robert from his office and that Sir Robert was resolved to appeal to the King if necessary. Danby was probing into the management of the Exchequer and was dissatisfied with what he found. In 1677, Danby told the King that he could not be more specific in his report "by reason of the uncertainty of Sir Robert Howard's certificate. . . ." Later in the same year Danby wrote to the King about the necessity of

having officers whom he could trust and about the possibility of replacing Sir Robert with another man. Not a month later, one of Danby's daughters was married to a grandson of the Earl of Thomond, a close kinsman of Sir Robert's estranged wife. Moreover, Danby was planning to eliminate Sir Robert by means of a charge of great wrongdoing. In September 1677, a report stated that investigation in the Exchequer had revealed a shortage in the tellers' money, that Sir Robert had allegedly known of the shortage "& concealed it," that he had used his knowledge to blackmail the tellers into lending him money and had then repaid one teller with the money borrowed from another, and that, threatened with discovery, he had tried "to cheat my L^d Treasurer wth false Baggs." Sir Robert appeared before the Council and, although ready to answer, asked for a day's postponement, that he might "have Counsell present." The Attorney-General objected, but the King postponed the investigation until the third council day after his return from Newmarket. Sir Robert and Danby, as well as the King, went to Newmarket, and Danby wrote to his Countess that "Sir Robert Howard is also com'd, and the King does not speake to him, so that I am here lookt upon as a much greater conqueror then I am." When the inquiry was resumed, Sir Robert "came in on crutches, being lately risen from the gout. The King spoke kindly to him and ordered a chair whereon he sat." It was alleged that Sir Robert had conspired with the teller Sir William D'Oyley to conceal a deficiency, in the teller's bags, of well over £7000--that, on Sir Robert's suggestion, a plumber was sent for and induced to cast pieces of lead of the size of half-crowns, so that these might be put into the bottom of the bags and covered with real coins. D'Oyley states "that what he has informed the Earl of Danby concerning Sir Robert Howard is true." In 1677, however, the only letter from D'Oyley to Sir Robert that could be produced was too vague to be of help to those prosecuting Sir

Robert. He, in his turn, admitted that he had been unwise in not revealing his knowledge of the borrowing by the tellers, but said that this was not a cause for dismissing him. He "totally" denied having made any use of the King's money himself, and he scorned D'Oyley's story that the lead had been put into the bags at his--Sir Robert's--own house. He challenged--and did so successfully--D'Oyley to bring forward the men who had brought the lead there. At this point, the King adjourned the inquiry, news having come that the Duchess of York was in labor. When the case had been resumed, the Council debated as to what decision it should make. The story of the false bags, it was agreed, "did wholly rest" on the testimony of D'Oyley, "so infamous a man" that he could not be believed. Sir Robert had, however, before Danby's inquiry, failed to impart to the Lord Treasurer his knowledge of D'Oyley's deficiency. Moreover, he had, the Council thought, borrowed four or five hundred pounds from a teller, although he "paid it justly again." In the end, the Council decided that Sir Robert was "blameable in what had passed," but that, since "no man had objected that he was to be any gainer thereby," it might be difficult to obtain a legal conviction. There was to be a punishment, however. Since "to a man of honour nothing could be more grievous than the declaration of His Majesty's displeasure," Sir Robert was to be censured by the King in person. As for Danby, the King spoke "to vindicate . . . [him] from any imputation of malice": he had acted properly in notifying the King immediately of his discovery of the default. Thus, as the Clerk of the Council put it, "the matter ends with honour to my Lord Treasurer, and without danger of suspension or loss of office to Sir Robert Howard." But this was not the ending that Danby had wanted. He himself had to suspend D'Oyley from office. There was, however, a consolation. Although Sir Robert, who believed, or pretended to believe, that he had been completely exonerated,

was soon allowed to kiss the King's hand, "withal he was commanded to go and make his submission to the Lord Treasurer."

The tables were soon to be turned, once again, and it was Danby who would have to answer charges. In Parliament, Danby and Sir Robert were at least some of the time on the same side: both, for example, endeavored to get adequate Supply for the King. But they were still personally at odds. In a list of his enemies in the Exchequer in 1678, Danby included Sir Robert with Carr, Fox, Duncombe, and others who "meet generally at Sir Robert Howard, sometimes at Sir Robert Carrs." In December 1678 it was decided, in the Commons, that Danby should be impeached. There is no evidence connecting Sir Robert with the events leading to the impeachment. The King had given orders for the seizure of the papers of his Ambassador to France, on alleged information that the ambassador had been in private conference with the Papal Nuncio there, and two letters had been found which were thought to incriminate Danby, although they had actually been written on the orders of the King, who wanted money from the French in return for an English foreign policy acceptable to France. Sir Robert, who must have known that the King would not welcome the decision to impeach Danby, did not take part in the debate on the articles of impeachment, which Sir Robert may or may not have privately helped to draw up, but he did, it seems, vote for impeachment. Danby was impeached both in the Commons and in the Lords. At least in the Lords, he was accused not only of unauthorized involvement in the area of foreign policy, but also of corrupt practices in the Exchequer. It is probable that, in actuality, Danby's main crime was to have acted as the King had directed him, but the only thing that saved him from the wrath of the Commons was the King's prorogation of Parliament. The King was trying to protect Danby. Having prorogued Parliament, he changed his

mind--on the advice of Danby, according to gossip--and dissolved it, ordering a new election. For the new Parliament, of 1679, Sir Robert was elected member for a different constituency, Castle Rising, in Norfolk, which he represented until his death, except for the year 1685. Pepys had previously been one of the members for Castle Rising and now had to transfer to Harwich. At first, he had no hard feelings about his loss. Soon after the election, however, writing to a correspondent, he said, "By a letter this day come to my hand I find they [Sir Robert and his fellow member for Castle Rising] have (between them) done all they could to revive all my old charge of being a Papist, and the new one of having a hand in the late Plot." Before Parliament sat, the King issued to Danby a pardon under the great Seal, and about two weeks later, he made him a Marquis. The Commons were enraged, and continued their attacks on Danby. Sir Robert, who seems to have been relatively quiet thus far, now came forth and participated in the debates at every opportunity. He tried both to attack Danby, who was now implicated in the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, and, as much as possible, to avoid offending the King. Danby resigned as Lord Treasurer and went into hiding. Soon afterwards, however, he gave himself up and was sent to the Tower. Then, the King's pardon of him was declared "illegal and void," and the Lords were asked to make formal judgment on him. All the while, Sir Robert urged the case forward. He spoke out against Danby's handling, or mishandling, of England's finances. Danby, who was languishing in the Tower, wrote to the King that he regretted the wrong financial advice now given the King by the new Commissioners of the Treasury but that they could hardly be blamed, since they were guided by "Sir Robert Howard's ignorance." The King, provoked not only by the impeachment of Danby but also by the passing of the Exclusion Bill through two readings, prorogued Parliament and then

dissolved it. This was in 1679. Danby, in spite of the King's favor, remained in the Tower until 1684. He did not resume his seat in the House of Lords until 1685, when the Lords had ruled that the impeachment had lapsed with the dissolution of Parliament.

In 1679, the conflict between Danby and Sir Robert was transferred to the printed page, and a pamphlet war began. In this year was published An Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby, in a Letter to a Member of the House of Commons. This pamphlet, which pretends to be a letter to a friend of the author who had asked the truth about Danby, is anonymous, but was obviously composed by Danby himself. It is a defense of Danby. The reply to this pamphlet was An Examination of the Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby. In a Letter to A Member of the House of Commons, which was published in 1680, and which, if not written by Sir Robert himself, was, probably, written by someone helped by him. This pamphlet, of course, is an attack upon Danby. He countered, in the same year, with An Answer of the Right Honourable the Earl of Danby to a Late Pamphlet, Entituled, An Examination of the Impartial State of the Case of the Earl of Danby. The publication of this pamphlet caused Sir Robert to write An Account of the State of his Majesties Revenue, As it was left by the Earl of Danby At Lady-day, 1679. In a Letter to a Friend. Occasioned by his Lordships Answer to An Examination of the State of the Case of the Earl of Danby. By the Honourable Sir Robert Howard. The title-page of this is dated 1681; the text, 1680. Danby's reply, dated 1680, was The Earl of Danby's Answer to Sr. Robert Howard's Book, Entituled An Account of the State of his Majesties Revenue; as it was Left by the Earl of Danby at Lady-Day, 1679. Then, as in his debate with Dryden, Sir Robert restrained himself from writing a reply: he knew when it was pointless to say more. He seems to have similarly practiced forbearance in the

outbreak of pamphlet warfare which occurred when Danby applied for bail, in 1682. Many other writers had participated in the earlier pamphlet war, and only those pamphlets have been mentioned which are thought to have been written by Danby and Sir Robert. In 1710, Danby republished, in book form, and with some omissions and alterations, the pamphlets by himself and Sir Robert, as Memoirs relating to the Impeachment of Thomas Earl of Danby (now Duke of Leeds) in the year 1678.

Sir Robert did not, during the controversy over Danby, incur the lasting ill-will of the King: the grants made to him by the King in 1679 and 1680 make this clear. It is not difficult to imagine that Sir Robert needed, or, at least, especially welcomed, the income brought to him by these grants, for in 1680 he bought the manor of Ashtead, in Surrey, and there he erected a somewhat magnificent new house. He had sold Wootton Bassett in 1676. Evelyn, having visited Ashtead in 1684, wrote this description:

I went to visite my Brother in Surry, caled by the Way at Ashstead where Sir Robert Howard Auditor of the Exchequer entertain'd me very civily at his newly built house, which stands in a very sweete-park upon the downe, the avenue south though downe hill to the house exceedingly pleased me: The house is not greate but with the out-houses very convenient: The staire Case is painted by Verrio with the storie of Astrea, amongst other figures is the picture of the Painter himselve, and not unlike him; The rest well don; onely the Columns did not at all please me; There is also Sir Roberts owne picture in an Oval, the whole in fresca: there is with all this one greate defect, that they have no Water save what is drawne with horses from an exceeding deepe Well. Hence I went to Wotton that night.

The house was pulled down in 1790, to be replaced by another. The fresco-paintings were at this time destroyed, and the plaster on which they were painted was scattered over the fields as a top-dressing of lime rubbish. A portrait of Sir Robert, by Kneller, which had graced the house at Ashtead, was still around in the late nineteenth century, but has since

disappeared. On his new estate, Sir Robert built an "Island Pond," to remedy the lack of water, and planted extensively. Perhaps intending to improve the approaches, he obtained a special license "to enclose the highway from Ebisham [Epsom] to Ashtead . . . and instead thereof to lay out another highway." He seems to have entertained extensively at Ashtead, and to have been visited there even by the Prince of Orange and, on another occasion, by Queen Mary. The site of Sir Robert's house is now occupied by a school.

During the summer of 1680, Sir Robert was mostly at Tunbridge-Wells, probably because of his wife's illness, and he seems to have spent his spare time in composition, composing what was for him a new kind of literary work. Late in 1680--or so it seems, although the title-page bears the date 1681--appeared The Life and Reign of King Richard the Second. By A Person of Quality. Sir Robert's authorship of this historical account was not formally acknowledged until 1690, when his name was given on the title-page of his History of the Reigns of Edward and Richard II, which incorporates the work published in 1680, revised for the second time. Why Sir Robert did not put his name on it to begin with, is not clear, but his hesitancy may have had something to do with the fact that the political situation of Richard II was paralleled fairly closely by that of Charles II. Indeed, it is not surprising that Sir Robert was interested in Richard II. Like Charles, Richard planned to rely on the help of a foreign monarch rather than on an uncooperative Parliament that accused him of wasting money granted to him. Richard's protection of Suffolk against the just anger of a legally elected Parliament was like Charles's protection of Danby. Charles was proroguing Parliament as often and for as long as he could. Richard had "used many means to dash or defer" the Parliament of 1388. The parallel is clear; and, generally speaking, Sir Robert,

wisely, allows it to speak for itself--he includes relatively little comment on the historical facts. His political views are, however, not totally concealed. In his treatment of Wat Tyler's rebellion, for example, he praises "that good man" Wyclif, who was wrongly blamed for the rebellion, and says that although "all Papists so furiously condemn him to this day as a wicked Heretick, . . . we justly own him as one of the first and most eminent Authors of the Reformation in Doctrine"; and Sir Robert sees that Richard had given provocation enough by imposing unjust taxes and by spending money on pleasure and corruption, but he brands Tyler's demands for equality as "extravagant" and has no word of blame for the revocation of the pardons granted to the peasants or for the execution of John Ball. Sir Robert's purpose in writing about Richard II is not clear. Sir Robert was a devoted adherent of Charles, but the historical parallel between Richard and Charles must have been unavoidable to the contemporary reader of Sir Robert's book. It is interesting that Sir Robert's interpretation of the story of Richard seems to have been somewhat different when he revised his account of it, in 1689 and 1690.

In the Parliamentary activity of 1680, Sir Robert expressed the opinion that the King had been ill-advised in banning Shaftesbury's petitions for the calling of Parliament. As for the Exclusion Bill, he, like others, was torn between his Royalist and his anti-Catholic sympathies. He thought it best to enact simply that all successors to the throne must be Protestant. After it was resolved that the exclusion extended only to the Duke of York, he supported the Bill, and is quoted as having said, "Whoever is for the Bill, and against the Duke's succeeding, etc. I shall believe is for the King, and whosoever is against the Bill, I shall believe is against him," and "Those that scruple the excluding the Duke would not scruple at the excluding this King." But he opposed, as a restriction on

the King, a proposal that Parliament should name a Council to rule England if the Duke should succeed.

On August 3, 1682, The London Mercury reported that "Sir Robert Howard and his Lady going to the Bath for their Healths sake, that said Lady in her passage thither was taken very sick of a Distemper her Ladship has been some time afflicted with, and being carried to the next Gentlemans House, dyed in a Convulsion." In about a year, on August 31, 1683, there was another big change in Sir Robert's family: his only surviving son, Thomas, married Diana Newport, daughter of Francis Lord Newport, later Earl of Bradford.

During the reign of James II, Sir Robert continued to hold the Auditorship, which was his for life and could not be touched by the new monarch. He continued to receive annually £200 "on the usual and accustomed allowance for extraordinary service performed in his office"--a grant given by Charles. But in the official papers of the reign, there seem to be no references to him as holding any office except that of Auditor. He was not elected to the subservient parliament which first sat in May 1685, although his son, Thomas, was elected, and for Sir Robert's own constituency, Castle Rising. A man with Sir Robert's views on Catholicism and parliamentary tradition--Sir Robert saw himself as a guardian of legal and parliamentary principles--would not have been a friend of James. In fact, a letter by Sir Robert of early December 1688, addressed to the Prince of Orange, shows that he was one of the inner circle of supporters who worked to bring about the Revolution--just as he had been one of those who worked behind the scenes for the Restoration. At the time of the letter, William, having, in November, landed in the West, was waiting patiently to see what would happen. Sir Robert's letter to him has been called, by the editor who first printed it, "the most

material" of all the letters written to William at the time. Another letter (not by Sir Robert) reveals that Sir Robert was one of "two honorable persons" who delivered to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London an important letter from William. There is evidence that Sir Robert even refused to give James money from the Exchequer before James finally fled from the capital and the kingdom.

One of Sir Robert's first recorded acts after the Revolution was to assist his son, Thomas, in becoming Teller in the Exchequer--the reversion of which office Thomas had been granted fourteen years before. Sir Robert himself, on February 13, 1689, was appointed by William to the new Privy Council. He was, of course, also a member of William's first parliament, representing, once again, Castle Rising. His son transferred to Bletchingley, which he represented from 1689 to 1698, when his father died, after which he again represented Castle Rising. Sir Robert was very active in the new parliament, speaking very frequently and very profusely. He seems to have been very influential. The first question debated by the new parliament was whether James could be said to have abdicated. Sir Robert made a long speech, in which--it is significant--he compared and contrasted the current situation with that in the time of Richard II. He said, in his speech, that when a king "acts by his Will, and not by the Laws, he is no King; for he acts by Power and Tyranny." "I am of opinion," he said, "'that James II has abdicated the Government.'" In subsequent debates, he enthusiastically supported James' successor--he praised William and reminded the House of what it and the nation owed to him, he argued to give William revenue for life and not merely for three years, and he worked for adequate Supply generally. He was still a guardian of the rights of Parliament and of the King's subjects, and was always quick to speak on questions of procedure. Also, he was very anxious that all

the wrongs of the previous reign should be righted--for example, he strongly supported the effort to have the sentence of Titus Oates declared illegal.

In 1690 appeared The History of the Reigns of Edward and Richard II. With Reflections and Characters of their Chief Ministers and Favourites. As Also, A comparison between those Princes Edward and Richard the Second, with Edward the First, and Edward the Third. Written in the Year 1685. By the Honourable S^r Robert Howard . . . This work incorporates, in revised form, The Life and Reign of King Richard the Second, which had been published as "By A Person of Quality." The statement that the new work was "Written in . . . 1685" cannot be wholly true, because of references to the reign of James II; probably, Sir Robert began the revision of the earlier work in that year. The statement was probably included to protect Sir Robert in case of any complaints about the relationship between his work and the political situation of 1689-1690, although the work is clearly intended to support William and the Glorious Revolution. In 1689 had appeared what Sir Robert said was an unauthorized edition of the new work: Historical Observations Upon the Reigns of Edward I.II.III. And Richard II. With Remarks upon their Faithful Counsellors and False Favourites. Written by a Person of Honour . . . Sir Robert called the edition of 1689 "an imperfect Copy," and, in addition to the fact that there are very substantial differences in textual material between the edition of 1690 and that of 1689, the earlier edition is very poorly printed. It was obviously not checked by Sir Robert. It seems to have been set up from an unrevised manuscript by a compositor who could not always read his copy. But it does include the Life of 1680 in a revised form. Both the edition of 1689 and that of 1690 include evidence that Sir Robert had put a new political interpretation upon some of the material in the

story of Richard. The edition of 1690 is dedicated to William, who, Sir Robert says, saved Englishmen from virtual slavery, by using his royal power for preservation and not, like "our late Princes," for destruction. That reference is here made to Charles II, in whose interests Sir Robert had done so much, is unmistakable. Even without this work, one gets the impression that Sir Robert became disenchanted with Charles during the last years of Charles's reign. In the preface of the edition of 1690, Sir Robert says that he became "very much affected with" the similarity between contemporary events (those of the last years of Charles II and of the short reign of James II) and the earlier reigns: in each period, kings, relying on favorites, tried to "subdue" the law of the land. Sir Robert "expected," he says, "to see a Revolution resembling . . . [those against the medieval kings]." Whether he is referring here to 1685 or to 1688 is unclear. That he had changed his mind about Charles is clear. His opinion had changed after he had learned of Charles's growing inclination towards Popery and France. He talks about the death of Charles, whom he, like many others, thinks to have been poisoned, thus:

When K. Charles had prepar'd things ready for Popery and Slavery, he seem'd no longer useful those that eagerly waited to assume that Power that the Papists had guided him to make ready for them; and as his Actions were like those misguided Princes [Edward and Richard], I believe, his Death as much resembled theirs, and was equally as violent.

James, of course, Sir Robert regards as having been much worse than Charles. Referring to the two parliaments that tried to pass the Exclusion Bill, he says, "I was a Member of both those Parliaments, wherein the Debates seem's to me very clear, and almost unanimous, and they were too well justified by the Popish Successor when he came to the Crown." In the conclusion of the work, there is a comparison between Edward I and Edward III, on the one hand, and Edward II and Richard II, on the other. The

former pair inherited troubled kingdoms, won great victories, gave their people security, were wise themselves, listened to good advice from others, were fair and merciful, made and abided by good laws, and gave the nation good value for the great Supply granted them. The latter pair inherited settled kingdoms, would rather have enslaved their own, than another people, were "submissive when oppos'd and fierce when submitted to," claimed to be above the law, and wasted the nation's money on favorites, who cost more than ever did any military victory. The latter pair, therefore, were finally forsaken by their subjects. It is implied that William of Orange belongs in the tradition of Edward I and Edward III, James having been like Edward II and Richard II. A major concern of the book is to defend the concept of election to the throne, for William and Mary had been elected, and some said that their election marked the introduction of a new principle into the English monarchy. Sir Robert emphasizes that the successors to Edward II and Richard II were elected. In the original treatment of Richard, Sir Robert had stressed the fact that the English people had been given sufficient cause to rise against Richard; in the second version, he had seen that there was an element of hypocrisy in Henry IV's title to the Crown; in the final version, that of 1690, he had come to feel that the hypocrisy of the title was only part of the story, in that "Parliament did not seem to proceed upon this pretended Title . . . but by way of Election,; and he thought that "This Ceremony seems to show that Right which can never be separated from the People." In the "Preface" of 1690, Sir Robert says that he will show how the people informed Edward II that if he did not abdicate, they would not elect his son as King; "nor," he adds, "has this Electing of Kings been so unusual in England, since seldome any Government has had more broken successions." Then, in the work proper, Sir Robert admires Edward's Parliament for

having deposed Edward and elected his son in his place.

In the preface to the edition of 1690, Sir Robert attacked the contemporary doctrine of "passive obedience," which held that a subject should not try to resist the government of his legitimate sovereign, even if that sovereign's religion is opposed to that of the subject. The reason for interest in this doctrine was, of course, the problem presented by James II. The controversy over the doctrine began no later than 1681, with a sermon, in favor of the doctrine, by George Hickes. In 1682 Samuel Johnson answered the sermon in his influential Julian the Apostate, in which he argued that the early Christians--not practitioners of passive obedience--tried to hinder Julian's succession. Hickes replied, anonymously, in the next year, with his Jovian. The pamphlet war spread. In 1689 Johnson brought out his Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity, which he had earlier, in 1683, suppressed. Another pamphlet written earlier by him also appeared--Remarks upon Dr. Sherlock's Book, Intituled The Case of Resistance of the Supreme Powers, Stated and Resolved, according to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. In the same year, 1689, stating the opposite case, appeared The Doctrine of Passive Obedience. By a Layman of the Church of England, probably by Hickes. This, basically, is the background of Sir Robert's attack on the doctrine of passive obedience, which he calls "the Encouragement of Destruction." Sir Robert praises Johnson and gives a detailed, and negative, examination of the doctrine, in which he denies the validity of the idea of the Divine Right of Kings. He concludes thus:

But I hope this late Happy Revolution has satisfied every undesigning Heart beyond all Arguments, and shew'd the Falseness of their Reasons, as well as prevented the Mischiefs of their Doctrine; since contrary to their Assertions, we have seen Opposition with much less expence of Blood, than Submission wou'd have suffer'd to be spilt; and Arbitrary Tyranny

chang'd into a Limited Monarchy.

There was a reply to Sir Robert's attack on the doctrine. This came in Animadversions on Mr Johnson's Answer to Jovian, in Three Letters to a Country-Friend, by William Hopkins, Prebendary of Worcester, who published his "animadversions" anonymously, seemingly in 1690. Here, Sir Robert is said to have been "misled" by Johnson and to have taken his Biblical quotations and his knowledge of Aristotle from others, without acknowledgement. Sir Robert felt that he had to issue a reply, and did so, in 1692, in A Letter to Mr. Samuel Johnson, Occasioned by a Scurrilous Pamphlet, intituled, Animadversions on Mr. Johnson's Answer to Jovian, in three Letters to a Country-Friend. At the End of which is reprinted the Preface before the History of Edward and Richard the Second, to the end every thing may appear clearly to the Reader, how little of that Preface has been answered. Both written by the Honourable Sir Robert Howard. Of course, Sir Robert here defends himself against the charges in the Animadversions. He says again that the effects of the Revolution should be sufficient proof of the falseness of the doctrine of passive obedience:

I hope by this Account I have shewed my nameless Adversary, that the Safety and Honour of this Government was procur'd and founded against his Principles of Passive Obedience, which had they been as sacredly observ'd as he would have them, our Redemption had never been effected, and perhaps he had been better pleased.

July 1690 brought additional manifestations of the confidence which William and Mary had in Sir Robert. While William was in Ireland, Mary nominated Sir Robert as one of the five members of the commission to inquire into the recent conduct of the Fleet--in particular, the virtual defeat off Beachy Head. Later in the month, after being appointed to this commission, which had great powers, Sir Robert was given the command of

all regiments and troops of militia cavalry, under the general command of Marlborough. Sir Robert's life at this time was not, however, without problems. Commissioners for Public Accounts were appointed, and, in addition to the fact that they caused Sir Robert much extra work, his own salary, fees, and perquisites were, first, examined and, then, reported on in "A list of excessive fees exacted and taken by officers that have great salaries for the execution of their places, for which no legal precedent appears to justify the same." The Commissioners not only questioned "whether any fees can be legally taken by Officers that have salaries for the execution of their offices"--and Sir Robert, they showed, was taking over £6,000 per year in extra fees--but also often had to correct accounts submitted to them by Sir Robert. Both Houses attended to the report of the Commissioners for some time, but in the end little or nothing was done about it. Sir Robert did lose a rather large pension, worth £1,500 per year, but the greater part of his income as a government official could not be touched unless there was an overhaul of the whole system of public finance. In September 1693, he was granted an additional £500 a year "for managing the business on the Million Act . . . he to reward his clerks as he thinks fit out of said 500 l. per an." Sir Robert was, however, having difficulty with his health. He had suffered for years from the gout, and early in 1691, the question of his successor as Auditor was being eagerly discussed, although Danby's son had been granted the reversion to the office. One gets the impression that more and more of Sir Robert's time may have been spent at Ashtead. A piece of information handed down by Narcissus Luttrell suggests that Sir Robert spent some of his spare hours in amateur scientific experimentation, for which his father had had a great passion: "Sir Robert Howard has tryed to destill spirits from wheat, and has brought it to great perfection, to make it as strong

as brandy it self." Sir Robert had not, however, abandoned his participation in Parliamentary debates.

In 1692 appeared Sir Robert's Five New Plays, which comprises the plays offered in Four New Plays (1665) and, in addition, The Duke of Lerma (1668). The new book was announced in the London Gazette as "the Second Edition Corrected," but the variants which it contains all seem to be compositorial--there are no signs of authorial revision or correction. The book is, however, a handsome folio, and has a portrait of Sir Robert, engraved by White, after the painting by Kneller. Yet, notwithstanding its attractiveness, the book may not have sold well, for Herringman, the publisher, reissued it in 1700, with a cancel title-leaf. In 1722, Tonson brought out, in duodecimo, a truly new edition of it--the "Third Edition."

On February 26, 1693, Sir Robert married again, for the fourth time. His new wife was Annabella Dives (or Dyve), whom Luttrell describes as "maid of honour to the princesse, aged about 18." Sir Robert was sixty-seven. Annabella's father, who had recently passed away, had been John Dives, who had been a clerk under Sir Robert in the Exchequer and who, in March 1692, had become Clerk to the Privy Council. Annabella was a woman, or girl, of culture: Henry Purcell's widow, dedicating the Orpheus Britannicus to her (in 1698), said that she had been one of Purcell's most talented pupils and that Purcell had written many of his compositions for her. (It was Annabella who erected the monument to Purcell in Westminster Abbey.) But she was not wealthy, and she was only eighteen. The marriage was, quite naturally, a source of amusement to the wits of the time. Sedley referred to it in one of his poems, which seems to have been written for the occasion, and an anonymous wit, in his satire "The Pensioners," in Poems on Affairs of State, wrote as follows:

Let noble sir Positive lead the Van,
 That only all-doing unerrable Man,
 What pity it is that his Life's but a Span?
 Which nobody can deny.

He's fain to be helped to get up and ride,
 Whene'er his fair Wife he is pleased to bestride,
 Yet he'd rule the World was it ten times as wide
 Which nobody can deny.

In spite of the obvious problems, the marriage was not, it seems, an unhappy one. There may even have been a child born. In September 1694, Sir Christopher Musgrave wrote to Robert Harley that "for Sir Robert Howard to show to the world in one year a book [The History of Religion] and a child is next a miracle, his age considered." But there is no other reference to a child, either in Sir Robert's will, in which he leaves Annabella all his property, or elsewhere.

Sir Robert was closely connected with the Million Act, of 1693, which has been described, by one historian of the period, as "the first instance of the Government borrowing money directly from the public on a long-term basis and not as a mere anticipation of revenue from a few rich men," and which authorized a kind of official lottery, in which annuities were paid on nominated lives. Both Sir Robert and his son participated in the program set up by the act; Sir Robert was officially responsible for the admisitation of the act; and in 1694, he published A Particular Accompt of the Moneys Paid into the Receipt of Exchequer, Upon the late Million Act, for the Benefit of Survivorship . . . Examined by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Howard, Kt. Auditor of the Receipt of Exchequer; And Printed by his Direction. It has already been mentioned that Sir Robert received an additional £500 per year for his work under this act. Sir Robert was not exactly inactive at this time. He got a grant of £150 a year for himself and his clerks for their responsibilities under the statute governing tonnage duties, the clerks to be rewarded at Sir Robert's

"discretion," and Sir Robert was one of the Privy Counsellors appointed, in June 1694, as "Commissioners of Appeal for prizes during the present war." Moreover, Sir Robert produced a new book.

In 1694 appeared magnificent proof that Sir Robert's positiveness had not decreased with age. In this year he published The History of Religion, and this is perhaps the most positive of all his works. Some excerpts from the "Preface" will not only show the positiveness of the new work but also give a summary of the body of the work:

There is nothing contained in it [The History proper] of a Polemical or Controversial Nature; no Dispute, or Arguments upon any Controversy; the World has been stuffed with too many (useless) Wranglings of that kind already.

The Subject of the following Discourse, arises from Matter of Fact; How Religion has (from the beginning) been managed by Priest-Craft of the Heathens, to mislead the Vulgar and Prophane (as they are pleased to term them) into a Blind Implicit Obedience, to their Inspired and Divine Authority; Teaching the Belief of many Gods, or Divine Powers, and Appointing so many various Ways of Superstitious Devotions. . . .

They [the Priests] invented two great Assistances, Mystery and Persecution: by the Mystery, to prevent the Use of Understanding; and by Persecution, to punish any that should attempt to break out of the Brutal Pound, and use their Reason. . . .

All these Practices of the Heathens I have endeavour'd, and I believe very plainly, to make appear, that they are retained and followed to this day, in what is called the Church of Rome. . . . they have made it a terrible Thing for Men to trust themselves, or their own Reason, in any thing relating to Religion; 'tis with them, an equal Crime for the Prophane Vulgar (as the Heathens also called them) not to submit their Understandings to God, and their Priests. . . .

Nothing has given a greater Blemish to the Christian Religion, than the Controversial Writings of the Learned. . . . The Consideration of this, ought (in my Opinion) to induce those that are Guides and Teachers, to make our Way plain and easy, to follow the clear and uncontested Methods of the Gospel, to win and excite People chiefly to the Love of God, and to encourage rather than distract. . . .

In short, I must publish it to the World, that I like such Sermons as Dr. Tillotson's, now Arch-bishop of Canterbury: where all are taught a plain and certain Way to Salvation; and with all the Charms of a calm and blessed Temper, and of pure Reason, are excited to the uncontroverted indubitable Duties of Religion.

The History of Religion was published as "Written by A Person of Quality," but its authorship was widely known and was soon admitted by Sir Robert, in one of his replies to his attackers. The History of Religion is really not a history at all, but, in essence, an anti-Catholic tract, in which history is brought in to support the arguments about priestcraft. The most amazing thing about it, however, is Sir Robert's thinking that the material in it is above controversy and argument and that he has done no more than to state the simple truth. He very quickly learned how controversial his material was, for, of course, another pamphlet war ensued.

The first reply was probably The Scorner Incapable of True Wisdom. A Sermon Before the Queen at White-Hall, October 28, 1694. By Francis Atterbury, Student of Christ-Church, and Chaplain in Ordinary to Their Majesties. London . . . 1694. Here, among other things, Atterbury suggests that Sir Robert suffers from "sensuality," and says that "Some Men, who Write pretended Histories of Religion, are beholding to the Real Religion of Others, that Their Histories are not written." The next pamphlet was another attack upon Sir Robert, and it connected his History with the controversy over Socinianism. The pamphlet was The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered . . . To which is Added Some Reflection upon the Second of Dr. Burnet's Four Discourses, concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ . . . To which is likewise Annexed, A Supplement upon Occasion of a History of Religion, lately Published, Supposed to be Wrote by Sir R. ——— H——d . . . By a True Son of the Church. Edinburgh . . . MDCXCV. The Socinians had claimed that Tillotson's doctrines were Socinian, others, opposed to Socinianism, had charged that they were Socinian, and Tillotson had published several sermons in which he tried to disprove his alleged connection with the heresy. The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered anonymously alleges that

Tillotson's denial is in vain and that Burnet and Sir Robert belong to the same party as Tillotson. Among its other charges, the pamphlet accuses Sir Robert of having plagiarized his History from Charles Blount's Great is Diana of the Ephesians, published, anonymously, in 1680. Another accusation is that Sir Robert attacked Catholicism not to reform religion but to "undermine Christianity it self." The pamphlet asserts also that in any truly Christian country, the punishment for such blasphemy as Sir Robert's would be death. It suggests that James II "had done more for . . . [Sir Robert] than all the Friends and Relations he had in the World." The next pamphlet, Archbishop Tillotson Vindicated from The Charge of Socinianism, which was published in 1696 and is variously attributed to Leslie and to Sherlock, took the side of Tillotson but, surprisingly, attacked Sir Robert anyway, saying that The History of Religion, "written by Sir Positive At-All, a very great Reformer, and very notable Man," ridiculed the whole Christian religion. (The two previous pamphlets also show that the nickname given to Sir Robert by Shadwell had not fallen into desuetude.) It was time for something to appear which defended and supported Sir Robert. The inevitable reply was published under the following title: A Twofold Vindication of the Late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, And of the Author of "The History of Religion." The first Part defending the said Author against the Defamations of Mr. Fr. Atterbury's Sermon, and both those eminent Persons against a Traiterous Libel, titled "The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson consider'd". In two Letters to the Honourable Sir R.H. The second containing Remarks on the said Sermon, and a Reply to the same Libel . . . By Another Hand. This was published in 1696, and must have been in preparation before Archbishop Tillotson Vindicated reached print. The work begins with a long letter by Sir Robert, written to the publisher. Here, Sir Robert expresses satis-

faction with the epistolary answers given to "two extraordinary angry Men, Mr. Atterbury and Mr. Monroe." The second of these men was Alexander Monro, former Principal of Edinburgh University, whom Sir Robert and his supporters thought--wrongly--to be the author of The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered. Along with other things, Sir Robert regrets Atterbury's improper use of the pulpit to vent "a Passion unsuitable to Christianity, or common Morality," invites Atterbury to write his, Sir Robert's, life, and owns that he wrote The History of Religion. The next section of the work is another letter to the publisher, ostensibly from the author of the "two Letters," "N.S.," who seems to have been an obsequious supporter of Sir Robert. In his letter to the publisher, N.S. begs the publisher to allow him to say that he has received from Sir Robert an answer to the libel that Sir Robert was indebted for many favors to James II, and then he gives the answer: "He avows, that His Majesty, both when he was King, and while he was only Duke of York, never did him any Favour, nor made him the Offer of any: but on the contrary, shew'd to him all the Unkindness, that Occasion and Opportunity . . . enabled him to express." N.S. follows this answer with much flattery of Sir Robert. Then come the "two Letters." The first of these, which is aimed at Atterbury, N.S. concludes by assuring Sir Robert that he, Sir Robert, who has done so much for the nation, need not be worried "at the Sawciness of an obscure Academick." In the second letter, which deals with the pamphlet supposedly by Monro, N.S. tells us that the manuscript title of Sir Robert's "history" was The History of Religion, as it has been abused by Priestcraft; that the publisher wanted the shorter title, lest the victims refuse to read the book; and that the book was published against Sir Robert's "Inclination." The second part of the pamphlet is written in a style inferior to that of the first, but like the first, is divided into two

main sections, the first answering Atterbury; the second, Monro. In the first main section, talking about Atterbury's statement that religious restraint prevented the writing of Sir Robert's life, the author-- another ready flatterer--exclaims that the life of Sir Robert would be "a noble Theme" for "a Man that had a Genius capable!"

The Roman and Grecian Orators prodigally wasted their Elequence on meaner Subjects than the unshaken Loyalty of Sir R.H. during the Troubles of K. Charles the First, and Second, his Faithfulness to his Country during the Reign of King James, his Courage and Wisdom in defending the happy Choice of the People, and the Right of our present successful Deliverer, our just and lawful King William.

The first section is followed by a letter to the publisher, in which the author says that he is not a friend of Sir Robert, who "hardly knows . . . [his] face," but "a poor Priest," who conceals his name lest he lose his curacy. He adds, however, that his manner would be sharper than it is had not the publisher intervened. The second main section now follows. The suggestion is here made that Sir Robert is one of the best models for a young man to imitate, as a happy conjunction of Christian and philosopher. The section concludes thus:

The Author of the History's share in the Revolution, is so far from belemishing, that it adds a new Lustre to his bright Honour. He that could be content in the prime vigorous Years of Life, to seek his Fortunes with an unhappy dethron'd Prince, has now evidently shown to all the World, that his Soul is devoted to serve the Crown with his private Interest, or any thing else, but the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, and the utter Ruin of his Country.—But that the late King had laid such Obligations on the Author of the History, as to do more for him than all the Friends he had in the World; the Libeller rubb'd his Forehead hard when he ventur'd on that Lie; for nothing was more known through the whole Court, than that the late King number'd him, and us'd him, as one that could not be brought to sacrifice the Religion and Laws of his Country to the Arbitrary Lust of a Priest-ridden Tyrant.

In a postscript, the author affirms his intention of placing The History of Religion next to his Bible and the Book of Homilies. On this modest note, A Twofold Vindication finally comes to an end. The pamphlet war,

however, went on. Alexander Monro was indignant at being thought to be the author of The Charge of Socinianism against Dr. Tillotson Considered. Accordingly, he published, in 1696, A Letter To the Honourable Sir Robert Howard, Occasioned by a late Book, Entituled, A Two-fold Vindication of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, And of the Author of the History of Religion. Monro explains that he wrote to Sir Robert and protested against the false attribution. He prints Sir Robert's reply, in which Sir Robert takes a conciliatory position and blames the attribution on the two authors who wrote A Twofold Vindication, whom Sir Robert claims not to know. Monro says that he can prove that another wrote the pamphlet in question, and he adds that he had not even set eyes on The History of Religion before April 1696 and that he had never heard of Sir Robert Howard until A Twofold Vindication was put into his hands, by a friend. As in the earlier controversies, Sir Robert knew when enough had been said and was content to let the other side have the last word. He refrained from further theological argument, even when, in 1696, he was goaded, by Edmund Elys, "sometime Fellow of Baliol College in Oxford," in A Letter To the Honourable Sir Robert Howard, which Elys concludes by beseeching "the only wise God" to convince Sir Robert of all his errors. Sir Robert kept his silence. The Socinian controversy rages on without him.

In 1694, Sir Robert again played an important role in the development of the English theater. Late in the year, Betterton, Mrs. Barry, Anne Bracegirdle, and other leading players, desiring to break away from Rich and the other patentees of the theater in which they had become famous, asked Sir Robert and Dorset to help them obtain a separate theater license. On December 17 the parties were told to wait on Dorset at Sir Robert's house in Westminster. Through the good offices of Sir Robert and Dorset, the King was persuaded to grant the actors their license; and

in April 1695, they opened as the "new Theatre" in Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Congreve's Love for Love.

A while later, we find Sir Robert's name connected once again with that of Dryden. A reconciliation took place, through the agency of John Dryden, junior, then resident in Rome. As Dryden explains in a preface to his son's comedy The Husband His Own Cuckold, John junior sent his play from Italy to Dryden, in the hope of having it produced; Dryden hesitated, thinking the play "not worthy of that honour"; and the son, having guessed the truth, "therefore in my absence from the Town . . . took the boldness to Dedicate his Play to that Person of Honour, whose Name you will find before his Epistle"--Sir Robert.

It was receiv'd by that Noble Gentleman with so much Candor and Generosity, as neither my Son nor I cou'd deserve from him. Then the Play was no longer in my power, the Patron demanding it in his own right, it was deliver'd to him. And he was further pleas'd, during my Sickness, to put it into that Method in which you find it; the loose scenes digested into order, and knit into a Tale. As it is, I think it may pass among the rest [[sic]] of our New Plays; I know but two Authors, and they are both my Friends, who have done better since the Revolution. . . . If it shall please God to restore him [the son] to me, I may perhaps inform him better of the Rules of Writing; and if I am not partial, he has already shewn, that a Genius is not wanting to him.

The play was acted in February 1696 and was published in the summer of the same year. In the dedication, Dryden's son says to his uncle

I am confident I cou'd not chuse a more indulgent Foster-Father; and tho' my very Name bears an accusation against me, yet I have the honour also to be related to the Muses by the Mothers side; for you your self have been guilty of Poetry, and a Family Vice is therefore the more excusable in me, who am unluckily a Poet by descent. . . .

You, Sir, have prudently known how to make the best use of your Excellent Talent in this kind, by applying it to your diversion, and the unbending your Mind. By these means, you have happily given our Country a great Poet in your Writings; and at the same time have not omitted the more necessary part of giving her a Great States-man and Heroe; to which Eminency your Birth, Courage, and Capacity have equally rais'd you. . . .

The play bears a motto from the Aeneis: "Et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector."

Subsequently, we again find Sir Robert mentioned in Dryden's letters as a friend. In a letter to Tonson, for example, written probably in November 1695, Dryden says

Meeting Sir Ro: Howard at the playhouse this morning, and asking him how he liked my Seaventh Eneid, He told me you had not brought it: He goes out of Town tomorrow, being Saturday, after dinner. I desire you not to fail of carrying my manuscript for him to read in the country. & desire him to bring it up with him, when he comes next to Town.

Even closer association is implied, by a postscript, in another letter to Tonson, written in May 1696 and concerning payment for John junior's play: "Sir Ro: Howard writt me word, that if I cou'd make any advantage by being payd in clippd money; He would change it in the Exchequer." Once renewed, the friendship continued, as can be seen by the fact that Dryden, in the dedication (to Mulgrave) of his translation of Vergil (1697), refers to Sir Robert as "that excellent person," and by the fact that Sir Robert subscribed five guineas for one of the plates in the book.

At some time after the begining of April 1695, theatergoers in London were able to see, at Drury Lane, the first production of the operatic version of The Indian Queen, with music by Henry and Daniel Purcell. Heroic drama, which had, to a great extent, grown out of the opera, particularly Davenant's Siege of Rhodes, was now disappearing back into opera. Of course, as has been pointed out, the popularity of the original Indian Queen was due mostly to those very qualities of it which can be called operatic. For the libretto of the new opera, the text of The Indian Queen was severely cut, lines and whole speeches being omitted; but the text was carefully followed where it was used. Significantly, all the elaborate stage directions and the stage "business" were

meticulously preserved. Songs and dances and further spectacle were added throughout, except that Act IV of the opera was made up almost entirely from the dialogue of the original Act IV, with only one new song, which does not, however, appear in the MS. of the opera. The words of the original songs were preserved, but Henry Purcell wrote new music for all of them. Daniel Purcell's contribution is in Act V, in the hymeneal masque, which replaces eight lines of Montezuma's final speech. The most important question concerning the operatic version of The Indian Queen is whether Dryden or Sir Robert was involved in adapting the old material or creating the new. One would particularly like to know whether either of the two men wrote the words for any of the new songs in the opera. These new songs include one of the most famous of all Purcell's songs: "I attempt from Love's sickness to fly." There seems to be no evidence that Dryden wrote any of the words, although Purcell had set to music other work by Dryden. There is a small amount of evidence to suggest that Sir Robert did some of the writing. It has already been indicated that there was a connection, through Sir Robert's wife, between Sir Robert and Henry Purcell. It has been mentioned that Purcell's widow dedicated to Sir Robert's wife the Orpheus Britannicus. A Collection of all the Choicest Songs for One, Two, and Three Voices, Compos'd by M^r Henry Purcell (1698). In the dedication, Mrs. Purcell says that the "last and best Performance in Musick" of her husband (who died on November 21, 1695) had as its "Subject" Sir Robert's "Excellent Compositions." It is certain that both in the Orpheus Britannicus and in the 1695 edition of Deliciae Musicae, there is a new song by Sir Robert: "Love thou canst hear," which is described as "a single Song. Words by Sir Robert Howard." The songs in the operatic version of The Indian Queen seem to have been first published in The Songs in the Indian Queen: As it is now Compos'd into an Opera. By

Mr. Henry Purcell, which came out in 1695, without Purcell's authority.

In the next year, 1696, Sir Robert had Poems (1660) reissued, with a cancel title-page, which uses the title Poems on Several Occasions. It has been noted that copies of this issue are rare, and suggested that possibly only a small stock of the original sheets remained. It would seem that Sir Robert's poetry was not unpopular in its own day.

It is very possible that Sir Robert wrote an anonymous pamphlet which was published in 1697--A Free Discourse Wherein the Doctrines Which make for Tyranny Are Display'd. The Title of our Rightful and Lawful King William Vindicated. And the unreasonableness and mischievous Tendency of the odious distinction of a King de Facto, and de Jure, discover'd. By a Person of Honour . . . In the early spring of 1696, Sir Robert was one of the many members of Parliament who signed "the Association of 1696," in signing which a member agreed to defend William, as "rightful and lawful King," against such enemies as the Jacobites and to revenge him should he meet death by violence. Over one hundred members of the two Houses of Parliament refused to sign, largely because of the difficulty involved in the term "lawful"; and Danby, Sir Robert's old enemy, was one who opposed the Association as unnecessary. In the anonymous pamphlet are discussed the issues arising from the Association, and the Association is supported. The pamphlet may not be by Sir Robert. Certain aspects of the style and certain historical references create doubt in one's mind that Sir Robert was the author. The pamphlet is sometimes attributed to Defoe, as in the catalogue of the Yale library and in the first edition of Wing's Short-Title Catalogue, but this attribution seems to go back to little better than a bookseller's guess. There is rather strong evidence that the pamphlet is by Sir Robert. A Free Discourse was published by John Lawrence and Richard Baldwin; of the three books advertised for sale by Baldwin at

the end of A Free Discourse, one is The History of Religion and another A Twofold Vindication (neither of which bore the name of a publisher). Two of the few surviving copies of A Free Discourse have manuscript annotations ascribing the work to Sir Robert; in one copy, the hand seems to be contemporary, and in the other, of the earlier eighteenth century. The evidence provided by the arguments, by the displayed knowledge of Parliamentary debates, and by the references to contemporary events, points strongly to Sir Robert. At one point, the author of the pamphlet says, "Old and Crazy is the Body, I cannot say, which I carry about with me, but which is carried about for me; but yet, I am in hopes, that it will hold out, till all His Majesties Subjects represented by the Commons, be taught the necessity of Subscribing the Association of the House of Commons" The appropriateness of this to Sir Robert, an aged M.P., and its inappropriateness to Defoe, should be clear. As for the content, as opposed to the authorship, of the pamphlet, it will perhaps be sufficient to say, in addition to what has already been given, that the pamphlet concludes with the affirmation that if the reluctant clergymen and others could be compelled to "associate"--"and a very little compulsion will doe, for the most backward of them, are only a little knavish, or so, not obstinate"--nobody would lift a hand against William again.

It does seem that, during this part of his life, Sir Robert was experiencing an increased interest in literary production. It was in 1697 that he gave The Conquest of China to Dryden and asked him to adapt it for performance; and it is very possible that an anonymous ode published in the same year--"Ode in Memory of Her Late Majesty Queen Mary"--came from Sir Robert's pen. When, in 1697, the Earl of Mulgrave's Essay on Poetry, first published in 1682, came out in a new edition, it was accompanied by "several other Poems." In an extraordinary example of dedicatory flattery,

the volume was dedicated, by Nahum Tate, "To the Honourable Sir Robert Howard, One of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council, &c.":

Sir,

The Collecting into One Volume Several Choice Poems that were first Printed singly, met with so kind Reception as encourag'd the Publishing of the following Pieces together. Amongst the Former your celebrated Duel of the Stags made a Principal Figure; as indeed it will always shine a fixed Star in the highest Orb of English Poetry. Great and Eminent as you are in other Stations, yet I hope, Sir, you will not disdain to be Register'd amongst the Sons of Apollo. The Off-springs of your Muse are so Beautiful, that Great Britain is proud of 'em; and if you are not equally pleas'd with 'em, 'tis the first Instance of your Indifference towards any thing that does Honour to your Country. She glories that your Genius has not been confin'd to any single Walk of Poetry, but travers'd all its Provinces, and (like Heraclès) every where erected Pillars and Trophies, to be gaz'd upon with wonder by Posterity. Nature and Art are equal sharers in all you Write; and whatever the Subject has been, Invention, Spirit, Manly Sense and Judgment are never wanting to adorn it. You are, Sir, deservedly Admir'd for the Ingenuity of your Own Works, and no less for your generous Candour to the Performances of Other Men. You are no rigid Censurer of their Faults, but their Excellencies never escape your Observation. This is the Noblest Part of Criticism, as requiring not only a discerning Apprehension, but a Goodness of Temper which is not always found in Persons of Wit.

But, Sir, besides the Honour you have done the Muses in their own Faculty, you have further advanc'd their Reputation, by shewing the World, that a Poet can likewise be a Statesman and Patriot of his Country. To your Knowledge in all the Liberal Sciences, you have acquir'd that Nobler Skill in the Constitution of our Government, and exerted it upon all Occasions in behalf of English Liberty and Property. You have not contented your self with the private Exercise of Justice and Generosity, but have shewn a Publick Spirit employing your great Sense and Sagacity in matters of National Importance. What you have written with relation thereunto, and what has been spoken by you in Debates of Vastest Consequence, had no small Influence on the Settlement of our State. These are inviting occasions for Panegyrick, but above my small Capacity: Wherefore I return to my first Design of presenting to you the following Collection of Poems; amongst which I know but One that needs any Apology. But I have atton'd for That, by procuring to be here Publish'd an Ode on her late Majesty (never before Printed) which, perhaps, is the Truest Picture of her Virtues that has been drawn. I was only permitted to know that the Author is a Person of Quality; which appears by that easy and agreeable Air, by that Justness and Decency, both in Thought and Expression, that shines through every Stanza.

Sir, I shall no farther trespass on your precious Minutes, only to beg Pardon for this Address, and Permission to Subscribe my self,

Your Honour's
most Devoted
Humble Servant,
N. TATE.

In this interesting dedicatory epistle one modern scholar has suspected "a little leg pulling . . . unless Tate was extremely dull." Tate may, indeed, have been extremely dull, but more important here is another question: whether, in his epistle, Tate is not hinting strongly that it is the addressee of the epistle, Sir Robert, who wrote the "Ode on her late Majesty." It seems likely that he is hinting this; and, moreover, the sentiments of the ode, while not unique, are identical with sentiments expressed by Sir Robert elsewhere, and the style is quite possibly his. It is certain that the ode is a dreadful literary production. It begins thus:

Long our divided State
Hung in the Ballance of a doubtful Fate,
When One bright Nymph the gath'ring Clouds dispell'd,
And all the Grievs of Albion Heal'd.
Her the United Land Obey'd,
No more to Jealousies inclin'd,
Nor fearing Pow'r with so much Virtue join'd.

The poet says that Queen Mary charmed the wind to stillness when a wind was all that France needed for an invasion of England, and suggests that the smallpox, after two hundred and fifty years of minor victories, managed, in seizing Mary, to win a major one. There is a review of the dark history of England for the past sixty years:

Unhappy Isle, for half an Age a Prey
To fierce Dissension or Despotick Sway,
Redeem'd from Anarchy to be Undone
By the mistaken Measures of the Throne;
Thy Monarch's meditating dark Designs,
Or boldly throwing off the Masque,
(Fond of the Pow'r, unequal to the Task).

From this, and worse, England was saved by "something Caelestial . . . Of matchless Form and a Majestick Mien"--Mary, of course, who has now, to England's sorrow, retired, too soon, "to her Native Heaven." Such is the poetry in which Tate found shining, "through every Stanza," an "easy and agreeable Air," and a "Justness and Decency, both in Thought and Expression." It is unfortunate that it is, perhaps, the "Ode in Memory of Her Late Majesty Queen Mary" that is the last product of Sir Robert's long and very diversified literary career.

Sir Robert's career as a government official continued, and the years 1696 and 1697 were unusually busy ones at the Exchequer. The currency was being revised--the old coinage being called in and the new issued--and an attempt was being made to put the national credit on a firm footing. After other methods of restoring credit had failed, it was decided that the Exchequer should issue "40,000 l. worth of indented bills of Credit, bearing interest at the rate of three pence a day per 100 l." "The more technical side of the operation," we are told by a modern authority on the activities of the Treasury during this period, "the form and wording of the Bills, the printing, checking, keeping of counterfoils and entry books, accounting, cancelling, reissuing etc. were outlined mainly by Sir Robert Howard . . . in conjunction with William Lowndes, Secretary of the Treasury." The plan ultimately failed, but it must have added considerably to Sir Robert's load of work. In 1696, the year in which the plan was worked out, Sir Robert was again so ill that there was speculation about his successor. In the next year was revealed another serious deficiency in the Exchequer. A shortage of between £25,000 and £27,000 was discovered in the accounts of a clerk to one of the four Tellers of the Receipt. Sir Robert was not actually incriminated as he had been in the D'Oyley scandal, but he must have been made to feel very

uncomfortable: the deficiency had come about in part from the clerk's helping his friends by replacing clipped coins with new ones--exactly what Sir Robert had offered to do for Dryden in 1696--and it was reported that the deficiency would have been revealed sooner had Sir Robert exercised the proper supervision as Auditor. He was accused even of obstructing an audit at the Exchequer. He did not, however, lose his position there. In fact, he managed to get even more money out of it. In March 1697, the same month in which he obstructed the audit, he "became a suitor to the king" for further leases in reversion. At first, the King was "disposed to gratify him," but, perhaps because of the trouble over the clerk's deficiency, Sir Robert was frustrated in his attempt. But in June, only eleven days after the report from the Treasury Lords to the Privy Council had told of his share of the blame for the deficiency, Sir Robert was asking the same Treasury Lords for "a consideration" for the "extreme laborious and difficult" work that he and his clerks had done on the orders under the Salt Act and on the Exchequer Bills, and the "consideration" was given: towards the end of the month, a money-warrant was made "for 1,400 l. to Sir Robert Howard . . . for his own and his clerks' pains and services." About a year before, his wealth had been increased far more substantially, by the death of the widow of Thomas Lord Wentworth. In her will, she had--we do not know why--named Sir Robert as one of her three executors, who were to share equally what would be left of her property after they had paid the bequests specified by her. Sir Robert's share was so considerable that it formed a significant part even of his wealth. In his own will, which he signed on May 26, 1697, he gave special treatment to this part of his assets: he gave the details of Lady Wentworth's will and left his share of that estate to his "most dear and affectionate wife dame Annabella Howard and her heirs for ever." He then

bequeathed to Annabella all the rest of his estate, except Ashtead, which he had already given to Thomas, and appointed her sole executrix.

On September 3, 1697, an insurance policy was taken out on Sir Robert's life for one year. This is one of the first life insurance policies recorded in England. On December 2, Luttrell noted that "Sir Robert Howard lyes at the point of death," but on December 13, Sir Robert was appointed one of the commissioners of appeal in Admiralty cases. In the first half of 1698, however, there are few references to him personally, and this paucity of reference suggests that he was seriously ill.

Sir Robert died on Saturday, September 3, 1698, at the age of seventy-two: He was buried, privately, early on September 8, being interred, among his ancestors, in Westminster Abbey, "in St John Baptist's Chapel, at the entrance thereof." He had died exactly one year after the one-year insurance policy had been taken out. After winning the law case which had arisen over the obvious problem of legal interpretation, Sir Robert's widow, whose financial position was already far from insecure, collected the money due under the policy. She later remarried, the Reverend Edward Marten being the lucky man. Sir Robert's son and daughter-in-law enjoyed the possession of Ashtead. As for Sir Robert's successor at the Exchequer, it was not Danby's son, who, contesting the new appointment and sensitive to the claim that Sir Robert had held the position by gift of Danby as Treasurer, said, "as to my father's admitting Sir Robert Howard, he was the last man in y^e world to have been admitted, if it were in his power."

The way in which Sir Robert is now remembered as a writer of literature is not unlike the manner in which he rests in Westminster Abbey. No memorial for him was ever erected there. A nineteenth-century grave-

stone records the names of all who are buried in St. John the Baptist's
Chapel.⁸

NOTES
TO
"THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SIR ROBERT HOWARD"

¹With a small number of exceptions which will be dealt with presently, the information in this treatment of Sir Robert Howard's life and works, and much of the wording with which this information is expressed, were taken from H.J. Oliver's Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698): A Critical Biography (Durham, North Carolina, 1963), in which is to be found the best available biography of Howard, and which is the only book-length treatment of his life and works. What the present edition offers, under "The Life and Works of Sir Robert Howard," is a condensation of Oliver's book. The material in the condensation which is indicated, sometimes by quotation marks, sometimes by indentation, as having been quoted, is material which Oliver has quoted in his book. Material indicated as having been quoted is given from Oliver's book verbatim, except that some editorial omissions and interpolations have been made, which are indicated in the conventional manner. On the other hand, no sentence which is not indicated as having been quoted has been transferred verbatim, and in material which is not indicated as having been quoted, there has been no attempt to indicate any of the different kinds of changes that have been made in condensing Oliver's book. The title of Howard's Poems on Several Occasions, a small number of details concerning his Vestal Virgin, and a small number of basic, commonly available facts concerning other writers and their works do not come from Oliver's book, but were provided by the editor of the present edition. Also, there are in the condensation some observations and inferences which are not actually found in Oliver's book; these are, however, based upon information which is found there.

²It seems that The Surprisal is another example of Sir Robert's literary leadership. In The Country Gentleman: Sir Robert Howard and George Villiers Second Duke of Buckingham: A "Lost" Play and Its Background (Philadelphia, 1976), Arthur H. Scouten and Robert D. Hume describe The Surprisal as "a competent if melodramatic tragicomedy which anticipates many of the features of the 'Spanish romance' genre which Tuke's popular The Adventures of Five Hours formally inaugurated a year later" (p. 18). In another place in the same book, Scouten and Hume say, more flatly, that Sir Robert " . . . anticipated the Spanish romance mode in The Surprisal . . ." (p. 22).

³Scouten and Hume (ibid., p. 22) say that "genuine tragedy was a rarity in the 1660s: The Vestal-Virgin in bloody-ending form is one of the few examples." Concerning the alternative endings to the play, Scouten and Hume point out the following: "Within the previous year or so, Edmund Waller had written a happy ending for Beaumont and Fletcher's The Maid's Tragedy, and young James Howard had made 'Romeo and Juliet . . . into a Tragi-comedy . . . he preserving Romeo and Juliet alive; so that when the Tragedy was Reviv'd again 'twas Play'd Alternately, Tragical one Day, and Tragicomical another.'" (P. 19, Scouten and Hume quoting from Downes' Roscius Anglicanus.)

⁴With respect to Sir Robert's criticism of the unities of place and time, and of the use of rime in serious drama, Scouten and Hume (*ibid.*, p. 21) say, "When we consider the dominance of the 'rules' through most of the eighteenth century, and the veneration bestowed on Samuel Johnson for speaking up in favor of common sense in his Preface to Shakespeare (1765), it seems strange that Howard's tough-minded originality and rationality has not found some scholarly admirers."

⁵For example, in his essay entitled "John Gay," in Pope and his Contemporaries: Essays presented to George Sherburn, ed. by James L. Clifford and Louis A. Landa (Oxford, England, 1949), James Sutherland says, "Who would guess from the histories of literature that The Duke of Lerma is almost the finest English tragedy written in the second half of the seventeenth century? But the author, Sir Robert Howard, appears to have been a pompous ass, and was generally recognized and satirized as such by his contemporaries. The character of the man prejudiced the reputation of his tragedy, and though his character is now as little known as his play, the harm had been done." (P. 204, note--cited by Scouten and Hume, *ibid.*, p. 42.)

⁶When Oliver published his book on Sir Robert Howard, The Country Gentleman was a play which had "presumably not survived" (p. 168). In March 1973, Arthur Scouten, acting on a query from Robert Hume, discovered a manuscript of the play at the Folger Shakespeare Library. This MS., "untitled, undated, anonymous," is "a complete scribal copy of the Howard and Buckingham play," and it has been used by Scouten and Hume as the copy-text for the only edition of the play: The Country Gentleman . . . A "Lost" Play and Its Background (p. ix).

Scouten and Hume note that "Howard was indeed remarkably versatile: never once in his last six plays [before The Country Gentleman] did he repeat himself in type or design." The Country Gentleman itself, they say, is "a play generically unique for its time." "One would have to call it an 'intrigue comedy,'" but it is significantly different, the two editors point out, from most works of this kind. "The one trend in which The Country Gentleman definitely does have a place is especially important--a flurry of plays 'personating' recognizable individuals. Ironically, Sir Robert Howard himself had been the principal target of the first of the group, Shadwell's The Sullen Lovers (May 1668). . . . The most famous personal satire from these years is The Rehearsal [which also uses Sir Robert as a target] . . ." "Vicious personal caricatures were starting to flood the stage early in 1669, and The Country Gentleman belongs to the movement." (*Ibid.*, pp. 21-27.)

⁷Somewhat more comprehensive treatment should be given here to Edward, James, and Henry Howard. The following information concerning Edward and James is from Volume X of The Dictionary of National Biography.

Edward (fl. 1669) was baptized on November 2, 1624, and was the author of a rather large number of works:

1. The Usurper; a Tragedy. As it was acted at the Theatre Royal by his Majesties Servants. This was published in 1668.

2. The Brittish Princes: an Heroick Pœm. "Prefixed to this worthless poem, which was ridiculed by Rochester, are commendatory verses by Lord Orrery and Sir John Denham, with a prose epistle by Thomas Hobbes."

3. Six Days' Adventure; or the New Utopia, "a poor comedy, acted without success at the Duke of York's Theatre." It was published in 1671. "Mrs. Behn, Edward Ravenscroft, and others prefixed commendatory verses."

4. The Women's Conquest, "1671, . . . a tragi-comedy, acted by the Duke of York's servants." It "has some amusing scenes, and supplied hints . . . for Mrs. Inchbald's Every One has his Fault."

5. The Man of Newmarket, "1678, . . . acted at the Theatre Royal."

6. The Change of Crowns, a play. This was not published, but it was performed. "Pepys saw . . . [it] acted before a crowded house at the Theatre Royal on 12 April 1667. He describes it as 'the best that I ever saw at that house, being a great play and serious.' Some passages in the play gave offence, and the actor Lacy was 'committed to the porter's lodge.' Lacy indignantly told Howard that 'he was more a fool than a poet.'"

7. The London Gentleman, a play, "entered in the Stationers' Register, 7 Aug. 1667." This was not published.

8. The United Kingdom, a play. This was not published. It was, however, satirized in The Rehearsal. (On the authorship of this play, see below.)

9. Poems and Essays, with a Paraphrase of Cicero's Laelius, or of Friendship. This has the date 1673.

10. Caroloiades, or the Rebellion of Forty One. In Ten Books. A Heroick Poem, "1689 . . . reissued in 1695 with a fresh title-page ('Caroloiades Redivivus') and a dedicatory epistle to the Princess of Denmark."

Edward "prefixed commendatory verses to Mrs. Behn's 'Poems,' 1685, and Dryden's 'Virgil,' 1697. There is a derisive notice of 'Ned' Howard in 'Session of the Poets,' among 'Poems on Affairs of State' (ed. 1703, i. 206)."

James (fl. 1674) was the author of two comedies and a tragi-comedy:

1. All Mistaken, or the Mad Couple, a Comedy. This was acted, at the Theatre Royal, in 1667 and published in 1672. "According to Pepys the part of the heroine Mirida was taken by Nell Gwyn, and that of Philidor by Hart . . . Langbaine says 'this play is commended by some for an excellent comedy.' Genest says the humour is 'of the lowest species.'"

2. The English Mounsiour. This comedy was acted, at the Theatre Royal, in 1666 and published in 1674. "Frenchlove, the main character, having recently returned from France, . . . affects all the habits of that country, and is amusingly drawn." "Nell Gwyn seems to have taken the part of Lady Wealthy, Lacy that of Frenchlove, and Hart of Wellbred. Pepys was present, and described the piece as 'a mighty pretty play, very witty and pleasant: and the women do all very well; but above all, little Nelly.' Pepys saw the comedy again performed on 7 April 1668 . . ." Langbaine adds: 'Whether the late Duke of Buckingham, in his character of Prince Volscius falling in love with Parthenope as he is pulling on his boots to go out of town, designed to reflect on the [*i.e.*, Howard's] characters of Comely and Elsbeth, I pretend not to determine; but I know

there is a near resemblance in the characters.'" "

3. An adaptation of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, in which the great tragedy is converted into a tragi-comedy, "'preserving both Romeo and Juliet alive.'" This play was not printed, but it was performed. "According to Downes's 'Roscius Anglicanus,' . . . [it] was acted at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields by Sir William D'Avenant's Company on alternate nights with the authentic version . . ."

Neither The D.N.B. nor any other reference work consulted has an article or (it seems) any information on Henry, and there is very little information on him in H.J. Oliver's book. According to Oliver (on pp. 121 and 160), The United Kingdoms--not . . . Kingdom--is by Henry--not Edward; it was written "in 1663 or earlier," "and the publisher Briscoe's The Key to 'The Rehearsal,' from which our only knowledge of this play comes, mentions it as a work that . . . amused the Duke of Buckingham and his circle of satirical friends, and . . . failed on the stage," Scouten and Hume (*ibid.*, p. 17) contribute the following: "Howard's initial relations with Buckingham cannot have been cordial. The Howards and Buckingham engaged in a disgraceful brawl when the Duke led a faction to disrupt Henry Howard's play, The United Kingdoms (c. 1662)."

An example of how critics have tended to consider Sir Robert in connection with his brothers is found in Lord Macaulay's great History of England:

He [Sir Robert] was one of the Berkshire branch of his noble family, a branch which enjoyed, in that age, the unenviable distinction of being wonderfully fertile of bad rhymers. The poetry of the Berkshire Howards was the jest of three generations of satirists. The mirth began with the first representation of the Rehearsal, and continued down to the last edition of the Dunciad.

Macaulay continues in a note:

Sir Robert was the original hero of the Rehearsal, and was called Bilboa. In the remodelled Dunciad, Pope inserted the lines,

"[. . . "All hail! and hail again,
My son! the promis'd land expects thy reign.
Know, Eusden thirsts no more for sack or praise;
He sleeps among the dull of ancient days;
Safe, where no Critics damn, no duns molest,
Where wretched Withers, Ward, and Gildon rest,]
And high-born Howard, more majestic sire,
With Fool of Quality completes the quire."

Pope's high-born Howard was Edward Howard, the author of the British Princes. Dorset ridiculed Edward Howard's poetry in a short satire, in which thought and wit are packed as close as in the finest passages of Hudibras.

(The six lines preceding the couplet that Macaulay quotes are taken from Vol. V. of The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, where we are told, in a note, that by "Fool of Quality" Pope means Lord Hervey--

p. 291 of Alexander Pope: The Dunciad, "Second Edition, revised," ed. by James Sutherland [London, 1953].) In the body of his history, Macaulay continues with a sentence more to the credit of Sir Robert:

But Sir Robert, in spite of his bad verses, and of some foibles and vanities which had caused him to be brought on the stage under the name of Sir Positive Atall, had in parliament the weight which a staunch party man, of ample fortune, of illustrious name, of ready utterance, and of resolute spirit, can scarcely fail to possess.

We then learn how Sir Robert, with some courage, addressed the Commons, in 1689, in an effort to have the sentence of Titus Oates declared illegal. (The History of England from the Accession of James the Second [New York, 1879], Vol. III, pp. 361-362.)

⁸Oliver's concluding paragraphs (on pp. 316-317) should be given here verbatim:

The dead man's reputation was not cherished by all, however. If there was one maxim that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not believe in, it was de mortuis nil nisi bonum. From 1699 onwards, the various volumes of Poems on Affairs of State were reprinting the "Session of the Poets" and other attacks upon Howard's literary pretensions; the publishers also had no intention of forgetting the parody on "The Duel of the Stags."

On the other hand, throughout the eighteenth century the anthologies of "the most celebrated poets" normally contained Howard's verses and he is well represented (albeit by "The Duel of the Stags" among other poems) in Nichols's Select Collection of Poems as late as 1780. Nor was he forgotten as a playwright: Robert Walker could safely include Howard's name in a prospectus of a volume of celebrated tragedies, comedies, operas and farces, in 1735, and The Committee, in particular, continued to be republished and acted throughout the eighteenth century and, in Knight's adaptation, into the nineteenth.

The custom among literary historians of referring to Howard in terms of little but contempt may be traced, I suspect--in spite of all the parodies and attacks in his own day--to Scott's 1821 description of Howard's poems as "productions of a most freezing mediocrity." Others may prefer to date it from Theophilus Cibber's 1753 statement that Howard had no greater claim to literary renown than to have been Dryden's brother-in-law. What is certain is that it is as Dryden's brother-in-law and opponent, only, that he has been known in our time to most students of literature; and to have been Dryden's opponent, it is normally implied, is to have been not merely wrong but also wrong-headed--even if in the long run Dryden admitted that it was he himself who was in error! The one greater injustice, I suggest, and it has been too often perpetrated, is to speak of "Dryden's Indian Queen" or to insinuate that since Howard by hypothesis could not write a scannable line, he cannot have had a large share in any such play.

The main aim of all the preceding pages has been to argue that the truth is different. Howard was a minor poet, to be sure, but he wrote some passable poems and translations, and Purcell, for one,

was not too proud to set his words to music. He was also a minor dramatist, but he helped to create Heroic drama; he wrote one of the best comedies of his time, in The Committee (and this before Dryden or Etherege had contributed significantly to Restoration drama); and he had some share (at least) in one of the best tragicomedies of the age, The Duke of Lerma. In religious and political controversy, he was not the ablest writer of his day, but he had to be taken seriously; and in literary controversy he did, after all, hold his own with Dryden.

Moreover, had he never written a line, the man who was one of the leaders of the Court Party in the House of Commons for something like thirty years; served as a Privy Counsellor under William and Mary; was a great power in public finance, even if he was often unscrupulous, during three reigns; played a leading role in the impeachment of Clarendon and in the first impeachment of Danby; and as one of a trusted inner group worked both for the Restoration of Charles II and for the Revolution of 1688--this man, I hope it will be agreed, has his place in history.

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