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Joseph Parker Norris.

CRITICAL
OBSERVATIONS
ON
SHAKESPEARE.

By JOHN UPTON
Prebendary of *Rocheſter*.

Ne forte pudori
Sit tibi Muſa lyrae ſolers, & cantor Apollo:
Hor.



L O N D O N :

Printed for G. HAWKINS, in *Fleet-ſtreet*.

M,DCC,XLVI.

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TO THE
CRITICAL

RIGHT HONOURABLE
OBSERVATIONS
THE

EARL OF GRANVILLE
SHAKESPEARE

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS
BY JOHN ON UPTON

Richardson of Roxbury
~~SHAKESPEARE~~

The Four Books
All with all decent humility

And the highest esteem

Inscribed and dedicated

to the
Honourable

LONDON:

Printed by G. Hawkins in Fleet Street
M.DCC.LXXV. 1775

TO THE
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EARL of GRANVILLE

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ON
SHAKESPEARE

ARE WITH ALL DECENT HUMILITY

AND THE HIGHEST ESTEEM

INSCRIBED AND DEDICATED

By

THE AUTHOR.

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ON THE
TO THE
some hints to read the following
RIGHT HONORABLE
mark post may assist for the good of
and many things
EARRS OF GRANVILLE

THESE
CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

ON
SHAKESPEARE

ARE WITH AN DECENT HUMILITY
BY THE HIGHEST ARTIST
THE AUTHOR
AND DEDICATED
TO THE
BY

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Critical Observations

ON

SHAKESPEARE.

BOOK I.

SECT. I.

1923

20

Dawson

TIS a common observation, and therefore perhaps not altogether untrue, that critics generally set out with these two maxims; the one, that the author must always dictate what is *best*; the other, that the critic is to determine what that *best* is. There is an assertion not very unlike this, that Dr. Bentley has made in his late edition of Milton: "I have
" such

1. See his first note on Milton's *Paradise lost*. However to do the Dr. justice, there are some errors which he has undoubtedly mended, of which two are most remarkable. B. VII, 321. *The smelling gourd*, which should be *swelling*. and y. 451. *fowl living*, which ought to have been printed, *soul living*. In most of the other places, if he cannot find errors, he will make them. But methinks an author should

B

bear

“ such an esteem for our poet, that which of the
 “ two words is the better, *that I say* was dictated

bear his share, as well as the transcriber: and though the context is a sacred thing, and ought not to be disturbed, yet in a note a better reading may be proposed. In B. IX *l.* 670. there is the following beautiful description.

*As when of old some orator renown
 In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
 Flourish'd, since mute, to some great cause address'd,
 Stood in himself collected, while each part,
 Motion, each act won audience, ere the tongue.*

In descriptions particularly the words ought to be neither embarrassed, nor ambiguous. But here, is *motion* the accusative or nominative case? If the accusative; how far fetch'd is the meaning, *each part won motion*? If the nominative; Milton should have given it, *each part, each motion, each act*: or rather thus, in a great measure according to Dr. Bentley's reading,

*Stood in himself collected whole, while each
 Motion, each act won audience, ere the tongue.*

Collected whole: *In seipso totus teres, atque rotundus.* Hor. L. II. *l.* 7. A person must have no feeling of poetry not to allow this the *better* reading; but allowing this, no rules of criticism will suffer him to alter, what the transcriber, or printer has not first altered. In Shakespeare the editors have proposed many *better* readings, which they should have mention'd only in their notes; and they would thus have deserved that praise for their ingenuity, which they seem to forfeit, by going out of their province to correct the author, when they should only have corrected the faulty copy.

“ by

“ by Milton.” And from a similar cast of reasoning, in his preface to Horace, he says, ² that those emendations of his are for the most part more certain, which are made from conjectures, than those from ancient copies, and manuscripts.

’Twas never my intention to call in question the skill, and abilities of one, whose reputation in learning is so deservedly established: but there was a good piece of ³ advice, (which I cannot so easily pass over, because of universal use to critics,) offered him, when first he made his design known of publishing his Horace; which was, to admit into the context all those better readings, for which he had the authority of ancient manuscripts; but as to meer conjectural corrections, to place them in his notes. His reply to this advice was, as might be expected, “ No, for then who will regard ’em?”

Our great critic was too well guarded by his learning, to have his own reply turned as a sarcasm against himself; which might so justly

2. *Plura igitur in Horatianis his curis ex conjectura exhibemus, quàm ex codicum subsidio; et, nisi me omnia fallunt, plerumque certiora.*

3. Of this particular circumstance I was informed by the late learned Mr. Wals of Aynoe. I will add here a rule of Graevius, in his preface to Cicero’s offices: *A priscis libris non recedendum, nisi aut librarii, aut scioli peccatum sit testamentum, ut ab omnibus, qui non caligent in sole, videri possit.*

be turned against many dealers in the critical craft, who with little, or no stock in trade, set up for correctors, and successors of Aristarchus. There is one part of their cunning, that I cannot help here mentioning, which is, their intruding their own guesses, and reveries into the context, which first meeting the reader's eye, naturally prepossess his judgment: mean while the author's words are either removed entirely out of the way, or permitted a place in some remote note, loaden with misrepresentations and abuse, according to the great

4. Dr. Bentley's foul play in this respect is most notorious; who, in order to make way for his emendations, will often drop the only, and true construction: the reader is mistaken if he thinks this done through ignorance. I will instance in a correction of a passage of Virgil, Aen. IV, 256. which, among many other corrections, I chiefly make choice of, because some have been deceiv'd into an opinion of its superior excellency: and I will give it in his own words, from a note on Horace, Lib. I. od. 34.

*Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
 Constitit: hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas
 Misit, avi similis, quae circum litora, circum
 Piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora juxta.
 Haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat;
 Litus arenosum Libyae ventosque secabat,
 Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.*

“ ubi quam multa merito vituperanda sint vides. *Volat, et*
 “ *mox volabat*: deinde in continuatis versibus ingratum
 “ auribus

great goodness of the most gracious critic ; who
with

“ auribus ὁμοιοτέλειον, *volabat, secabat* : ad quod evitandum
“ vetustissimi aliquot codices apud Pierium mutato ordine
“ sic versus collocant,

*Haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat
Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles,
Litus arenosum et Libyae ventosque secabat.*

“ Sed nihil omnino proficiunt, aut locum adjuvant : adhuc
“ enim relinquitur vitium omnium deterrimum, *secabat littus*
“ *ventosque*. Quid enim est *littus secare*, nisi littus arare
“ et effodere ? Quid autem hoc ad Mercurium volantem ?
“ Nullus dubito quin sic scripserit princeps poetarum :

*Haud aliter, terras inter caelumque, legebat
Litus arenosum Libyae, ventosque secabat
Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.*

The first fault he finds is with *volabat* coming so quick
after *volat*. But this repetition is so far from a fault, that
it has a peculiar beauty here ; for 'tis in the application of
the simile ; so Milton IV, 189.

Or as a thief, &c.

*In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles :
So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold ;
So since into his Church lew'd hirelings climb.*

More instances might be added from Homer, and Milton,
and Virgil. The next fault is the rime *volabat, secabat* :
If there was any stop after *volabat* and *secabat*, some
answer or apology should be made. But there is actually
no more jingle in those verses of Virgil, than in these of
Milton,

with his dagger of lath on his own stage, like the old
old

II, 220. *This horror will grow mild, this darkness light ;
Besides what hope the newer-ending flight.*

VI, 34. *Far worse to bear
Than violence : for this was all thy care.*

VI, 79. *By sacred unction, thy deserved right.
Go then, thou mightiest in thy father's might.*

For if the reader will turn to the places cited, he will find, that all this jingling sound of like endings is avoided by the verses running one into the other : and I have cited them here in this unfair manner, as a parallel instance of Dr. Bentley's misrepresentation : for the Dr. knew well enough, if he had given you the poet's verses, (as in his trials to correct them he must himself have turn'd, and varied the pointing several ways) in the following manner,

*Haud aliter, terras inter coelumque, volabat
Littus arenosum Libyae, ventosque secabat
Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.*

i. e. *fled to the coast of Libya ; he could not have made way for his own correction : or if he had told you, that nothing was more common than for the best authors, to apply the verb properly to one substantive, and improperly often to the other : (see the schol. on Sophocl. Elect. v. 437. Edit. Steph. p. 101. and Homer Il, v. 327.) he could not have abus'd that phrase, littus et ventos secabat, which he misrepresenting cites, littus secabat ventosque. So that whether you keep the old pointing, or change it, the Dr. cannot get one jot forward towards an emendation : not tho' you allowed him, which I somewhat question, the propriety of legebat littus, apply'd to Mercury flying directly from
mount*

old Vice, or modern Harlequin, belabours the poor Devil of his own raising.

Who

mount Atlas to the coast of Libya. This whole passage of Virgil, Milton has finely imitated in his 5th book. *ψ.* 265. &c. where the Dr. is at his old work, hacking and hewing. Were I to give an instance of Bentley's critical skill, I should not forget that place in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, *ψ.* 1010. which puzzled the Grecian critics, being an old inveterate evil, just glossed over, 'till Bentley probed it to the bottom, and recovered it's pristine beauty. No one did better than the Dr. when he met with a corrupt place; but the mischief was, he would be meddling with sound places. The emendation is printed in a letter to Kuster, inserted at the end of his edition of Aristophanes: to which I rather refer the reader, than lengthen this note, too long already.

5. THE VICE was a droll character in our old plays, accoutred with a long coat, a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a dagger of lath. Shakespeare alludes to his buffoon appearance in *Twelfth-Night*, Act. IV.

In a trice, like to the old Vice;

Who with dagger of lath, in his rage, and his wrath

Cries, ah, ha! to the Devil.

In the second part of *K. Henry IV.* Act. III. Falstaff compares Shallow to VICE's dagger of lath. In *Hamlet* Act III. Hamlet calls his uncle, *A VICE of Kings: i. e.* a ridiculous representation of majesty. These passages the editors have very rightly expounded. I will now mention some others, which seem to have escaped their notice, the allusions being not quite so obvious.

THE INIQUITY was often the VICE in our old Moralities; and is introduced in Ben Johnson's play call'd *the*

Who is there but will allow greater liberty for altering authors, who wrote before the invention of printing, than since? Blunders upon blunders of

Devil's an ass: and likewise mention'd in his Epigr. CXV.

*Being no vitious person, but the Vice
About the town.*

*Acts old Iniquity, and in the fit
Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit.*

But a passage cited from his play will make the following observations more plain. Act. I. Pug asks the Devil
“ to lend him a *Vice*.

“ Satan. What *Vice*?

“ What kind wouldst thou have it of?

“ Pug. Why, any *Fraud*,

“ Or *Covetousness*, or *Lady Vanity*,

“ Or old *Iniquity*: I'll call him hither.

“ Enter *Iniquity*, the *Vice*.

“ Ini. What is he calls upon me, and would seem to lack
“ a *Vice*?

“ Ere his words be half spoken, I am with him in a trice.”

And in his *Staple of News* Act. II. “ *Mirth*. How like
“ you *the Vice* i' the play? *Expectation*. Which is he?

“ *Mirth*. Three or four, *old Covetousness*, the sordid *Peniboy*,
“ the *Money-bawd*, who is a *flesh-bawd* too they say.

“ *Tattle*. But here is never a *Fiend* to carry him away.

“ Besides, he has never a *wooden-dagger*! I'd not give a

“ ruff for a *VICE*, that has not a *wooden-dagger* to snap

“ at every body he meets. *Mirth*. That was the old

“ way, *Gossip*, when *Iniquity* came in like *hokos pokos*,

in

of transcribers — interpolations — glosses — omissions — various readings — and what not? But to try these experiments, without great caution, on
Milton

“ in a juglers jerkin, &c.” Some places of Shakespeare will from hence appear more easy : as in the 1st part of Henry IV. Act II. where Hal, humourously characterizing Falstaff, calls him, *That reverend VICE, that grey INIQUITY, that father ruffian, that VANITY in years*, in allusion to this buffoon character. In K. Richard III. Act III.

*Thus like the formal Vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.*

INIQUITY is the formal Vice. Some correct the passage,

*Thus, like the formal wise Antiquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.*

Which correction is out of all rule of criticism. In Hamlet Act I. there is an allusion, still more distant, to THE VICE ; which will not be obvious at first, and therefore is to be introduced with a short explanation. This buffoon character was used to make fun with the Devil ; and he had several trite expressions, as, *I'll be with you in a trice : Ah, ha, boy, are you there, &c.* And this was great entertainment to the audience, to see their old enemy so belabour'd in effigy. In K. Henry V. Act IV. a boy characterizing Pistol says, *Bardolph and Nim had ten times more valour, than this roaring Devil i' th' old play ; every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger.* Now Hamlet, having been instructed by his father's ghost, is resolv'd to break the subject of the discourse to none but Horatio ; and to all others his intention is to appear as a sort of madman ;
when

Milton or Shakespeare, tho' it may be sport to you, as the pelted frogs cried out in the fable, yet,

when therefore the oath of secrecy is given to the centinels, and the Ghost unseen calls out *swear*; Hamlet speaks to it as THE VICE does to the Devil. *Ah, ha boy, sayst thou so? Art thou there, trupenny?* Hamlet had a mind that the centinels should imagine this was a shape that the Devil had put on; and in Act III. he is somewhat of this opinion himself,

*The Spirit that I have seen
May be the Devil.*

This manner of speech therefore to the Devil was what all the audience were well acquainted with; [and it takes off in some measure from the horror of the scene.] Perhaps too the poet was willing to inculcate, that good humour is the best weapon to deal with the Devil. *True penny* is either by way of irony, or literally from the Greek *τεύπανον*, *veterator*. Which word the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Clouds *γ.* 447. explains, *τεύμη, ὁ περιβιβημμένος ἐν τοῖς προόγμισσιν, ὃν ἡμεῖς ΤΡΥΠΑΝΟΝ καλεῖμεν.* Several have tried to find a derivation of THE VICE; if I should not hit on the right, I shall only err with others. THE VICE is either a quality personalized as *BIH* and *KAPTOΣ* in Hesiod and Aeschylus, *SIN* and *DEATH* in Milton; and indeed *VICE* itself is a person. B. XI, 517.

And took HIS image whom they serv'd, a brutish VICE.

his image, i. e. a brutish Vice's image: the *Vice* Gluttony; not without some allusion to the *VICE* of the old plays. Or *VICE* may be in the abstract, as in Martial,

yet, Gentlemen, 'tis death and destruction to the little tast remaining among us.

Non Vitiosus homo es, Zoile, sed VITIUM.

But rather, I think, 'tis an abbreviation of *Vice-Devil*, as Vice-roy, Vice-doge &c. and therefore properly called THE VICE. He makes very free with his master, like most other Vice-roys, or prime-ministers. So that he is the Devil's *Vice*, and prime minister; and 'tis this, that makes him so sawcy.

The other old droll characters, are the Fool, and the Clown, which we have in Shakespeare's plays. The Romans in their Atellan interludes, and Mimes, had their buffoons, called *Maccus*, Μᾶκος, from whence the English word, *MOCKER*; and *Sannio*, from whence the Italian *Zanni*, and *ZANY*. See Cicer. de Orat. L. 2. c. 61. and *Bucco*, ὁ φυσίγναθος, quod buccas inflaret ad risum movendum: from whence is derived a *BUFFOON*.

S E C T. II.

I HAVE often wonder'd with what kind of reasoning any one could be so far imposed on, as to imagine that Shakespeare had no learning; when it must at the same time be acknowledged, that without learning, he cannot be read with any degree of understanding, or tast. At this time of day he will hardly be allowed that 'inspiration, which

1 Cicero pro Arch. Poet. *A summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus — Poetam naturâ ipsâ valere — et quasi divina*

which his brother bards formerly claim'd, and which claim, if the pretensions were any ways answerable, was generally granted them. However we are well assured from the histories of his times, that he was early initiated into the sacred company of the Muses, and tho' he might have small avocations, yet he soon returned again with greater eagerness to his beloved studies. Hence he was possessed of sufficient helps, either from abroad, or at home, to midwife into the world his great and beautiful conceptions, and to give them birth, and being. That a contrary opinion has ever prevailed, is owing partly to ² Ben Johnson's jealousy, and partly to the pride and pertness of dunces, who, under the umbrage of such a name as Shakespeare's, would gladly shelter their own idleness and ignorance.

divino quodam spiritu inflari. De Nat. Deor. II. 66. *Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit.* In Plato's *Io*, there is a great deal to the same purpose concerning this poetic rapture and enthusiasm; where a certain poet is mention'd, who having made a number of very bad verses, wrote one poem which he himself said was *εὐρημά τι Μυσῶν*: the poem happened to be a very extraordinary one; and the people took the poet's word, thinking it impossible, without inspiration, that so bad a poet should write such fine verses.

² *And though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek.*

'Tis true Johnson says very handsome things of him presently after: for people will allow others any qualities, but those which they highly value themselves for.

He

He was bred in a learned age, when even the court ladies learnt Greek, and the Queen of England among scholars had the reputation of being a scholar. Whether her successor had equal learning and sense, is not material to be at

3. See what Ascham writes of Lady Jane Grey, (who lived some time before Shakespeare) in his Scholemaster p. 37. Edit. Lond. 1743. and afterwards p. 67. of Queen Elizabeth. "It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England) that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning, and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together shew not so much good will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the Queen's majesty her self. Yea I believe that beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day, than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week." Sir H. Savil in his latin speech at Oxford thus compliments her; *Illa commemorabo, quæ vulgè minus nota, non minus certe mirabilia ad laudem: te, cum tot literis legendis, tot dictandis, tot manu tua scribendis sufficias* * * * *te magnam diei partem in gravissimorum autorum scriptis legendis, audiendisque ponere: neminem nisi sua lingua tecum loqui; te cum nemine nisi ipsorum, aut omnium communibus Latina, Graecaque. Omitto plebeios philosophos, quos raro in manus sumis. Quoties divinum Platonem animadverti tuis interpretationibus diviniorem effectum! quoties Aristotelis obscuritates principis philosophorum, à principe foeminarum evolutas atque explicatas!*

present enquir'd into; but thus far is certain, that letters, even then, stood in some rank of praise.

Happy for us, that our poet, and Johnson, came into life so early; that they lived not in an age, when not only their art, but every thing else that had wit, and elegance, began to be despised: 'till the minds of the people came to be disposed for all that hypocrisy, nonsense, and superstitious fanaticism, which soon after like a deluge overwhelmed this nation. 'Twere to be wished, that with our restored king, some of that taste of literature had been restored, which we enjoyed in the days of Queen Elizabeth. But when we brought home our frenchified king, we did then, and have even to this day continued to bring from France our models, not only of letters, but (O shame to free born Englishmen!) of morals and manners. Hence every thing, unless of French extraction, appears aukward and antiquated. Our poets write to the humour of the age; and when their own little stock is spent, they set themselves to work on new-modelling⁴ Shakespeare's plays,

4 Sir William Davenant, and Dryden, began this just after the restoration. They were succeeded by Shadwell, Rymer, the Duke of Buckingham, and others. The D. of B. made choice of Julius Caesar: which puts me in mind of a painter I knew, who told his customer, he had a picture of Claudio of Lorain, "and Sir (says he) "when I have touched up *the sky* a little, 'twill make a most "excellent piece."

and adapting them to the taste of their audience; by stripping off their antique and proper tragic dress, and by introducing in these mock-tragedies, not only gallantry to women; but an endeavour to raise a serious distress from the disappointment of lovers; not considering that the passion of love, which one would think they should understand something of, is a 'comic passion.]

5 Love is a passion, in which the great and the little, the earthly and the heavenly, (to speak a little mysteriously) is so blended and mixed together, as to make it the fittest subject in the world for ridicule. *Totus verò iste, qui vulgo appellatur Amor, (nec hercule invenio, quo nomine alio possit appellari) tantae levitatis est, ut nihil videam, quod putem conferendum. ** O praeclaram emendationem vitae, Poeticam! quae Amorem, flagiti et levitatis auctorem, in concilio deorum collocandum putet: DE COMOEDIA loquor: quae, si haec flagitia non probarem, nulla esset omnino.* Cicero Tuscul. disp. iv, 32. Romeo and Juliet is a story of real distress; so is that, in Otway's Venice preserv'd, between Jaffier and his wife. In Shakespeare you have nothing of what we call gallantry; nothing of that whining love introduced, (as in Addison's Cato, in the Siege of Damascus by Hughes, and in Rymer's Edgar, a play stolen, or murdered from Shakespeare) which, one would think, by the dignity of the stories, ought to have been excluded. But Dryden, in his epilogue to the second part of the conquest of Granada, speaks out.

If LOVE and HONOUR now are higher rais'd,

'Tis not the poet, but the AGE is prais'd.

* * *

Our LADIES and our men now speak more wit

In conversation, than THOSE POETS writ.

meaning Shakespeare and Johnson. Very gallant truly, Mr. Bays!

In

In short they make up a poet of shreds and patches; so that the ancient robe of our tragedian, by this miserable darning, and threadbare patchwork, resembles the long motley coat of the Fool, in our old plays, introduced to raise the laughter of the spectators. And I am afraid, if the matter was minutely examined into, we should find, that many passages, in some late editions of our poet, have been altered, or added, or lopped off, entirely thro' modern, and French refinement.

S E C T. III.

THE misfortune seems to be, that scarcely any one pays a regard to what Shakespeare *does* write, but they are allways guessing at what he *should* write; nor in any other light is he look'd on, than as a poor mechanic; a fellow, 'tis true, of genius, who says, now and then, very good things, but wild and uncultivated; and as one by no means proper company for lords, and ladies, maids of honour, and court-pages, 'till some poet or other, who knows the world better, takes him in hand, and introduces him in this modern dress to *good company*.

Whatever be the opinion of the vulgar, whether the great vulgar or the small, is of no great concern-

concernment; but indeed it was a matter of some surprize to read the following account in a noble writer of a better tast: "Our old dramatick poet may witness for our good ear and manly relish [*notwithstanding his natural rudeness, his unpolish'd stile, his antiquated phrase and wit, his want of method and coherence, and his deficiency in almost all the graces and ornaments of this kind of writing;*] yet by the justness of his moral, the aptness of many of his descriptions, and the plain and natural turn of several of his characters; he pleases his audience, and often gains their ear, without a single bribe from luxury or vice." Those lines, that I have placed between two hooks, ought certainly to have been omitted, as they carry with them reflections false in every particular. Or shall we play the critic, and suppose them some marginal observation, not written by the learned Antony Ashley Cooper; and from hence by the blundering transcriber foisted into the context?

'Twas thro' such [wrong notions of refinement,] that ² bishop Burnet was led into no less mistakes

1. Characteristicks, vol. I. Advice to an author. p. 275.

2. Burnet's history of his own times. vol. I. p. 163. Mr. Richardson tells us, that Sir William Davenant procured Milton's pardon. See his remarks, p. LXXXIX.

mistakes concerning Milton. “ He was not
 “ excepted out of the act of indemnity; and
 “ afterwards he came out of his concealment,
 “ and lived many years, much visited by all
 “ strangers, and much admired by all at home
 “ for the poems he writ, tho’ he was then blind,
 “ chiefly that of Paradise lost, in which there is
 “ a nobleness both of contrivance and execution,
 “ that [*tho he affected to write in blank verse with-*
 “ *out rhyme, and made many new and rough words*]
 “ yet it was esteemed the beautifullest and per-
 “ fectest poem that ever was writ, at least in our
 “ language.” This censure falls equally on
 Shakespeare; for he too wrote *in blank verse with-*
out rhyme, and made many new and rough words.
 But let Milton speak for himself and his admired
 Shakespeare, for doubtless he means him, in his
 apology prefixed to the Paradise lost. “ The
 “ measure is English heroic verse without rime,
 “ as that of Homer in Greek and Virgil in
 “ Latin; rime being no necessary adjunct or
 “ true

Perhaps bishop Burnet took his censure from Dryden’s
 dedication before the translation of Juvenal; where he says,
 that Milton “ runs into a flat of thought sometimes for
 “ a hundred lines together: that he was transported too,
 “ far in the use of obsolete words: and that he can by
 “ no means approve of his choice of blank verse.” Dry-
 den might be willing the world should think this true, in order
 that his own wares might go off the better. The folly is

“ true ornament of poem or good verse, in long
 “ works especially, but the invention of a bar-
 “ barous age, to set off wretched matter and
 “ lame metre ; grac’d indeed since by the use
 “ of some famous modern poets, carried away
 “ by custom, but much to their own vexation,
 “ hindrance, and constraint to express many
 “ things otherwise, and for the most part worse
 “ than else they would have express’d them. Not
 “ without cause therefore some both Italian and

to be caught. But Burnet was not particular in his opi-
 nion, ’twas the reigning tast of the age : to comply with
 which, Dryden turned the Paradise lost into rime, calling
 it, The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man. For which
 he received the complements of his poetical brothers :
 hear one of them.

*For Milton did the wealthy mine disclose
 And RUDELY cast what you cou’d well dispose.
 He ROUGHLY drew, on an OLD FASHION’D ground
 A Chaos, for no perfect world was found,
 Till thro’ the heap, your mighty genius shin’d,
 He was the golden ore which you refin’d.
 He first beheld the beauteous rustic maid,
 And to a place of strength the prize convey’d ;
 You took her thence : To court this virgin brought,
 Drest her with gems, new wear’d her HARD-SPUN thought,
 And softest language, sweetest manners taught.*

There spoke the courtiers and poets of Charles’s reign ;
 this was their tast : and exactly so did they serve, and
 judge of Shakespeare.

“ Spanish poets of prime note have rejected
 “ rime both in longer and shorter works, as
 “ have also long since OUR BEST ENGLISH
 “ TRAGEDIES, as a thing of itself, to all ju-
 “ dicious ears, trivial and of no true musical
 “ delight; which consists only in apt numbers,
 “ fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously
 “ drawn out from one verse into another, not
 “ in the ³ jingling sound of like endings, a fault
 “ avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry
 “ and all good oratory. This neglect then of
 “ rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though
 “ it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers,
 “ that it rather is to be esteem’d an example set,
 “ the first in English, of ancient liberty, reco-
 “ vered

3. Ὁμοιοτέλευτα. See Quintil. l. IX. c. 3. To the
 same purpose Mr. Ascham, in his Scholemaster, p. 194.
 “ They wish’d, as Virgil and Horace were not wedded to
 “ follow the faults of former fathers, (a shrewd marriage
 “ in greater matters) but by right imitation of the perfect
 “ Grecians, had brought poetry to perfectness also in the
 “ Latin tongue; that we Englishmen likewise would ac-
 “ knowledge and understand rightfully our rude beggarly
 “ riming, brought first into Italy by Goths and Huns, when
 “ all good verses, and all good learning too were destroyed
 “ by them; and after carried into France and Germany,
 “ and at last received into England by men of excellent
 “ wit indeed, but of small learning, and less judgment in
 “ that behalf. But now when men know the difference,
 “ and have the examples both of the best and of the worst;
 “ surely

“vered to heroic poem from the troublesome
 “and modern bondage of riming.” With re-
 spect to the latter part of the censure, of making
many new and rough words ⁴, it may be very justly
 observed,

“surely to follow rather the Goths in riming, than the
 “Greeks in true versifying, were even to eat acorns with
 “swine, when we may freely eat wheat bread among
 “men.” These chiming terminations were so industriously
 avoided by Virgil, that in his whole poem 'tis difficult to
 find one: for in Aen. IX, 634.

Cava tempora ferro

Trajicit. I, verbis virtutem illude superbis.

This play on the words is properly enough put in the
 mouth of young Ascanius. But these verses have no jingle
 (at all:

Hic labor extremus, longar' haec meta viarum.

Cornua velatar' obvertimus antennarum.

Indeed Homer has, here and there, these similar sounds
 and cadences.

Il. ε. 865. *Καύματι ἐξ ἀνέμοιο δυσαιὸν ἠρημένιοιο.*

Il. υ. 392. *Ἔλλω ἱπ' ἰχθυόεντι, καὶ Ἐρμῶ δινῆεντι.*

But the scarcity of them in so long a poem plainly shews,
 that Homer thought they added no kind of beauty to his
 verses. The same letters repeated fall not under this
 censure; as,

Et premere, et laxas sciret dare jussus habénas.

4. See what Horace writes to this purpose of coining
 new words and of making current the old in his art of

observed, that this liberty, managed with discretion and learning, adds a peculiar dignity to the diction: for things are often despised for
no

poetry, *ψ.* 406, &c. &c. And Aristotle in his rhetoric III, 2. says, that changing our common idiom for foreign and borrowed terms, often gives grace and dignity to a language: τὸ ἐξαλλάξαι ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι σεμνοτέρην ὥσπερ γὰρ πρὸς τὰς ξένους οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολίτας τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχασι καὶ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν: and in his poetics, *Κέφ. κβ.* Λέξεως δὲ ἀρετὴ * * * σεμνὴ δὲ καὶ ἐξαλλάττουσα τὸ ἰδιωτικόν, ἢ τοῖς ξενικοῖς κεκρημένη. The words καὶ and ἢ should change places, and the passage is thus to be read; σεμνὴ δὲ, ἢ ἐξαλλάττουσα τὸ ἰδιωτικόν, καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς κεκρημένη. *That expression has grace and dignity, which differs from the common idiom, and uses borrowed terms.* I will here add a specimen of Milton's words (however new they may seem, or rough) illustrated with some of Shakespeare's, and they will be found to have all the grace and dignity, which the above-mention'd critics require.

Adamantine chains, I, 48. Aeschyl. Prometh. *ψ.* 6. Ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν.

Amber stream, III, 359. and in *Parad. Reg.* III, 288.

Callim. hym. in Cer. *ψ.* 29. Ἀλέκτρινον ὕδωρ.

Ambrosial odors, I, 245. Spenc. B. 2. c. 3. §. 22. *The which ambrosial odours from them threw.* Virg. Aen. I, 403. Hom. II. *α.* 529. Ἀμβροσίαι χαῖται. Milt. V, 56. *His dewy locks distill'd Ambrosia.* *Ambrosial Night*, V, 642. Hom. II. *ε.* 57. Ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα.

Assessor of his throne, VI, 679. Irenaeus L. 1. c. 14.

Ω πάριδες Θεῶν, O Dei assessor. Nonnus in his paraphr. of St. John, in the beginning, Ἀτίεμονι σύνθερον ἴδεν.

Sophocles

no other reason than being common. Nor are rough words to be avoided, if the subject be harsh and rough. The musicians and painters can inform

Sophocles in Oed. col. p. 316. Edit. Steph. speaks of Justice, as *The assessor of Jove*: Δίκη ξύνδεσ Ζηνός. So Arrian in Exped. Alex. IV, 9. οἱ πάσαι σοφῶς ἄνδρες τὴν Δίκης πάριτρον τῷ Διὶ ἰποίνουσαι. Pindar calls Rhadamanthus, *Saturn's assessor*, and Callimachus the poets, *Apollo's assessors*.

A bevy of fair women, XI, 582. The sportsman's phrase, speaking of quails. Spencer uses it very frequent, B. 2. c. 8. f. 34. and B. 4. c. 10. f. 4. and B. 5. c. 9. f. 31. And Shakesp. in Hen. VIII. A& 1.

None here be hopes

In all this noble bevy, has brought with her

One care abroad.

Arms on armor clashing bray'd horrible discord, VI, 209. à gr.

βράχων, clamare. Hom. II. μ'. 396. βράχε τρύχια, sonitum dedere arma. II. φ'. 387. βράχε δ' εὐρέϊα χθῶν. remugit verò lata tellus. Shakesp. in K. John A& III.

Braying trumpets. In Hamlet A& I. *The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out The triumph of his pledge*. Spencer, B. 4. c. 4. f. 48. *Then shrilling trumpets loudly gan to bray*.

Sings darkling, III, 39. Sidney's Arcad. p. 684. edit. quart. *He came darkling into his chamber*. Shakesp. in Midf. A& II. *O wilt thou darkling leave me?* In K. Lear, A& I. *we were left darkling*. In Ant. and Cleop. A& IV. *darkling stand The varying shore of the world*.

Dulcet Symphonies, I, 712. Shakesp. in Taming of a shrew. *To make a dulcet and a heavenly sound*. à Lat. dulcis. Ital. dolce, dolciato.

form us, what effect discords have in music, and shades in pictures. Even in prospects (Nature's landskips) how beautifully do rough rocks

Or HEARST thou rather pure ethereal stream, III, 7. Hor. f. II. 6. 20.

Matutine pater, seu JANE libentius AUDIS.

Ye birds That singing up to heaven-gate ascend, V, 198. Shakefp. in Cymb. Act I. Hark, the lark at heaven's gate sings.

Horrent arms, II, 513. Virg. Aen. I. Horrentia Martis Arma virumque cano. and Aen. X, 178. horrentibus hastis. Met. from the bristles of animals standing erect. So B. VI, y. 82. Bristled with upright beams of rigid spears. And Virg. XII. Strictisque seges mucronibus horret ferrea, i. e. an iron crop bristles with unsheathed swords. This metaphor Milton has lengthened out into a similitude, B. IV. y. 979, &c.

Hyacinthin locks, IV, 301. Hom. od. ζ.

Κάδδε κέρηθ.

Ούλας ἦκε κόμας ὑακινθίων ἀνθει ὁμοίως.

When Vapours fir'd IMPRESS THE AIR, IV, 558. Shakefp. in Macbeth, Act V.

As easy may'st thou the intrenchant AIR

With thy keen sword IMPRESS.

In K. Rich. II. Act. III. He uses the subst. *impress*: from the Ital. *impresa*; *ab imprimendo*. i. e. a device with a motto; an achievement.

From my own windows torn my houshold coat;

Rax'd out my IMPRESS.

rocks and ragged hills set off the more cultivated scenes? But however you find fault, in the name of

Not with indented wave Prone on the ground, as since,
IX, 496. Shakesp. in *As you like it*, Act. IV. speaking of a snake,

And with indented glides did slip away.

Liquid fire, I, 229. Shakesp. in *Othello*. Act. V. has the same expression; so has Virg. *Ecl.* VI, 33. *Et liquidi simul ignis.* *Liquid air*, VII, 264. Spencer, B. I. c. 1. f. 45. Virgil. *Georg.* I, 404. *Liquid light*, VII, 362. and Lucret. V, 282.

The pure marble air, III, 564. Shakesp. in *Othello*, Act III. *Now by yond marble heav'n.* In *Timon*, Act IV. *The marbled mansion all above.* à *Græc.* μαρμαίρειν, *resplendere*, μαρμαίρειν, *marmor.* Hom. II. ξ'. 275. ἀλα μαρμαίρειν: which the scholiast interprets, λευκήν. Hence Virg. *Aen.* VI, 729. *Aequor marmoreum.* Shining, resplendent like marble. Horat. I, 19.

Urit me Glycceræ nitor

Splendentis Pario marmore purius.

Minims of nature, VII, 482. Proverb. XXX, 24. *Quatuor ista sunt minima terræ*, according to the Vulgate. Spencer, B. 6. c. 10. f. 28.

To make one minime of thy poor handmaid.

There is an order of Monks, who took the name of *Minims* thro' affected humility. Shakesp. in *Midsum.* Act III. *Lysander to Hermia,*

Get you gone, you dwarf,

You minimus.

Mr. Theobald reads, *you minim you.*

Miscreated, II, 683. Spencer, B. 1. c. 2. f. 3. *that miscreated fair.* B. 2. c. 7. f. 42. *bis miscreated mold.* Shakesp. *Hen.* V. Act I,

of the Muses keep your hands from the context ;
be cautious how you pluck up what you may think
excrefcencies,

*Or nicely charge your understanding soul
With open titles miscreate.*

O FOR that warning VOICE, IV, 1. Shakesp. in Romeo
and Juliet. Act II.

O FOR a faulkner's VOICE,
To lure this tassel gentle back again.

Prolog. to K. Henry V. O FOR a muse of fire &c.

In arms they stood Of golden PANOPLY, VI, 527. In celestial
PANOPLY all armed, VI, 760. In allusion to St.

Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, VI, 11. *ἰνδύσαθε τὴν
ΠΑΝΟΠΙΑΙΑΝ τοῦ Θεοῦ.* i. e. Armor covering the whole
soldier: what the Latins called *Armatura gravis.*

Herodian, L. 2. *Ἀναλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς ΠΑΝΟΠΙΑΙΑΣ καὶ
φραξάσας αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται κ. τ. λ.*

Now let us PLAY, As meet is, after such delicious fare; IX,
1027. The whole passage seems an imitation of Hom.
Il. γ'. 441. Il. ζ'. 514. The word *play*, is used in
the same sense as the Latins use *Ludere*, and the Greeks
παίζω.

Fis anus, et tamen

Vis formosa videri

LUDISQUE et bibis inprudens. Hor. IV. 13.

LUSISTI satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti. L. 2. 2. 214.

Turba Menandreae fuerat nec Thaidos olim

Tanta, in quâ populus LUSIT Erichthonius. Propertius.

Natives and sons of heav'n, POSSESS'D before By none,
V. 790. i. e. Slaves to none. So the Athenians called
the slaves, *κλήματα*, *possessions*, *things possessed*: The
master, *ὁ κεικλιμένον*. See Aristoph. Plut. ψ. 4.

The

excrefcencies, left with these you tear in pieces the poet himself.

*Jam parce sepulto,
Parce pias scelerare manus.*

*The morn — begins Her rosy PROGRESS smiling, XI. 175.
Shakesp. in K. Henry IV. Act III.*

The heavenly-barnes'd team

Begins his golden PROGRESS in the east.

Sceptred King, II, 43. Hom. Il. á. 279. Σκηπίου βασιλεύς.

*Thou my SHADE Inseperable, must with me along, X, 249.
Hor. L. 2. 8. speaking of those who attended Maecenas as unbidden guests.*

Quos Maecenas adduxerat UMBRAS.

And L. 1. Ep. 5. Locus est et pluribus UMBRIS.

'Tis a pretty allusion of constant attendants in the sunshine of fortune, and who cannot then be easily shaken off.

SHAVES with level wing the deep, II, 634. Virgil, V, 217.

RADIT iter liquidum celeres neque commovet alas.

Now morn her roste steps in th' eastern clime

Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl, V, 1.

In Aristot. poet. κεφ. κα. Σπείρων δεοκτίσαν φλόγα.

Lucretius, Et lumine conferit arva. Virgil, Et jam prima novo spargebat lumine terras.

The violence of Ramiel, VI, 371. Virgil, XI, 376. Violentia Turni. i. e. the violent Turnus himself.

S E C T. IV.

IT seems no wonder, that the masculine and nervous Shakespeare, and Milton, should so little please our effeminate taste. And the more I consider our studies and amusements, the greater is the wonder they should ever please at all. The childish fancy and love of false ornaments follow us thro' life; nothing being so displeasing to us, as nature and simplicity. This admiration of false ornaments is visibly seen even in our relish of books. After such examples, can we still admire, that rattle of the Muses, a jingling sound of like endings tag'd to every line? Whilst we have still preserved some noble remains of antiquity, and are not entirely void of true genius's among our own nation, what taste must it shew, to fly for amusements to the crude productions of an enslaved nation? Yet this is our reigning taste: from hence our law-givers are taught to form their lives and conduct, with a thorough contempt of ancient learning, and all those, whose inclinations lead them thro' such untrodden paths.

But this perhaps will not appear so surprising, when 'tis considered, that the more liberal sciences and humane letters, are not the natural growth of these Gothic and northern regions,

We

We are little better than sons and successors of the Goths, ever and anon in danger of relapsing into our original barbarity. And how far the corruption of even our ' public diversions may contribute

1. Because these may be abused, some, contrary to all rules of logic, have argued therefore they should entirely be abolish'd; as if, because my little finger pain'd me, I should have my whole arm cut off. Prynne, with the whole tribe of puritans, reason'd after this manner. What then shall we think of St. Paul, who cites the plays of the Athenian stage in his gravest epistles? He has a whole line from the Thais of Menander in his first epistle to the Corinthians, XV, 33.

Φθείρουσιν ἡθῆν χερῶσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακάι.

'Tis well known the Jews had many dramatic pieces among them, (tho' not perhaps design'd for the stage) taken from stories out of their own chronicles; such seems the book of Job. To me it appears almost evident, that St. Jude alludes to a kind of dramatic poem; [*yet Michael the archangel when contending with the Devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, the Lord rebuke thee. ψ. 7.*] where Michael and the Devil were introduced disputing about the burial of Moses. The story might be taken from some old Rabbinical comment upon the last chapter in Deuteronomy, and the subject might be, *The death of Moses*. But not play-books only, but all books of elegance have these, worse than Goths and Vandals, attacked: and these indeed must be first destroyed, before their own barbarity can take place. How contrary a character was that of the Apostle Paul? How politely does he address the Athenians with

citations

contribute to the corruption of our manners, may be an inquiry not unworthy the civil magistrate :

citations from their own Poets? How learnedly does he characterize the Cretans, with humour quoting a verse from a prophet, as he there calls the religious poet Epimenides?

Κρήτες αἰὲ ψεύσαι, κατὰ θηρία, γαστέρις ἀργαί.

[not ἀργαί.] Nor should the elegant address of the Apostle to the Corinthian women be passed over. 1 Cor. XI. 10. Διὰ τὸτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥΣ. There were books in vogue among them (a sort of romances) that told them tales of angels falling in love with women. This is alluded to by Josephus in his antiquities, L. I. c. IV. "Ἄγγελοι θεῶ γυναιξὶ συμμιγνύμενοι ἕβριτας ἐγένησαν παῖδας, from a mistaken text in Gen. c. vi. 4. which Milton has rightly explained Par. Lost, XI. 621. &c. And hinted at the other opinion. V, 446.

If ever, then,

*Then had the Sons of God excuse t' have been
Enamour'd at that sight.*

Some of the Rabbins say Eve was so beautiful, that the prince of angels fell in love with her, which occasioned his fall. Now these stories were believed by the women in the Apostle's time; he puts them in mind therefore of these received opinions, and condescends to reason on their own hypothesis: for the angels sake then veil your faces, &c. From a like hypothesis the Apostle, Ephes. ii. 2. calls Satan *a prince of the air*. But above all will be seen the learned elegance of Paul, when he came to Mars's court

strate : lawgivers of old did not deem it beneath their care and caution. You may see what a stress is laid

court at Athens ; for even then, tho' their fortune was changed, the Athenians were renowned for arts and sciences : Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς διουσιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεῶν. *Ye men of Athens, I see that in all things you are very religious.* There is great art in the Apostle's using a word of a middle signification : διουσιδαιμονεστέρους. This the Athenians took as a complement ; and for this zeal in religion they were praised by their orators and poets. Then mentioning the inscription he saw on an altar, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD, [see Pausan. in Eliasis, Lucian in Philop. Philostrat. de vitâ Apoll. VI, 2.] he takes occasion to speak to them of God ; and he speaks to them in such a manner, that they imagined one of their own philosophers discoursing to them. Οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ. *God dwells not in temples made by the hands of men.* This was what Zeno had often said, whose opinion is just hinted at in Laertius VII, 33. and in Plutarch's treatise concerning the contradictions of the Stoics. So the Stoic in Lucan IX.

*Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et caelum, et virtus ?*

[i. e. *nisi τὸ Πᾶν, et sapientis animus*] and Hierocles, p. 24. edit. Needh. Ὑψηλὸς καθαρεῖς τόπον οικειότερον ἐπὶ γῆς θεὸς ἔχει. Milton I, 17.

*And chiefly thou, O Spirit ! that dost prefer,
Before all temples, th' upright heart and pure.*

See 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. 1 Cor. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16. — The apostle goes on, Ἐποίησέ τε ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἕθνος. This common relationship between mankind was a constant topic of

laid on musical entertainments alone, in Plato's republic. Nor did the statesman Cicero, in his laws, think Plato's an idle notion. ² *Quamobrem ille quidem sapientissimus Graeciae vir, longeque doctissimus, valde hanc labem veretur: negat enim mutari posse musicas leges sine immutatione legum publicarum. Ego autem nec tam valde id timendum, nec plane contemnendum puto.* Matters of these con-

of the academy and porch. Hence the Emperor Marcus Anton. XII, 26. ὅση ἡ συγγένεια ἀνθρώπου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γίνεται· εἰ γὰρ αἱματίνῃ καὶ σπέρματινῃ, ἀλλὰ ἢ κοινοῦν. [where εἰ is for εἰ μόνον] Even Lucretius could say,

*Denique caelesti sumus omnes semine oriundi;
Omnibus ille idem pater est.*

The apostle however does not cite the philosophers, but even a poet to witness this truth, Aratus. So far they listened and acquiesced. But when he began to introduce his grand doctrine, of one, not only being sent into the world to teach mankind the will of God, but of this divine person's being raised from the dead: this ἀνάστασις they could not bear; their old poet Aeschylus had told them,

Ἄπαξ θανάσιον ἔστις εἶς ἀνάστασις. Eumen. 651.

The hubbub began, and the Apostle was obliged *abruptly* to break off his discourse. — 'Tis a subject deserving consideration, how blind zeal and superstition on one hand, and open profligacy and contempt of religion on the other, tend equally alike to lead us the same road to ignorance.

2. Cicero de Leg. II, 15. Plato's words are, εἶδον γὰρ ΚΑΙΝΟΝ [lego, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ] μουσικῆς μετὰ θάλλειν εὐλαστέρως, ὡς

concernments are now left to the management of our women of fashion: and even our poets, whose end is *profit* and *delight*, are exceeding cautious how they incur the censure of these fair umpires and critics. Hence what we call honor, love, and gallantry, make up the chief parts of modern tragedies; and our Wicherlys and Congreves, well knowing their audience, took the surest way to please them.

A corruption of taste easily makes way for a corruption of morals and manners; and these once depraved soon fit us for the grossest servitude both of body and mind. They who can read history somewhat beyond the common chronologer's and antiquarian's observation; and can trace the progress of national manners, are very sensible of the reciprocal dependence and mutual connexion between civil liberty and polite literature. However half-seeing critics may extol

ἐν ὄλῳ κινδυνεύουσα. Οὐδαμῶ γὰρ κινῆσαι μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων, ὡς φησί τε Δάμαν, καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι. De Repub. L. IV. p. 424. Edit. Steph. To the same purpose the philologist Dio, Orat. 33: p. 411. Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πρότερον δεῖν εἶδέναι τὸ μέλακινεῖν τὴν μουσικὴν, καὶ καλεῖσθαι πάντες τῶν ῥυθμῶν εἰσαγόμενον ἕτερον, καὶ τὰ μέλη ποικιλώτερα ποιῆσαι, ὡς διαφθειρομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν τοῖς θεατροῖς. Οὕτω σφόδρα τὰ ὄντα ἐφύλαττον, καὶ τηλικαύτην ἠγέοντο δύναμιν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἔχειν, ὥστε θηλύνειν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης, εἰ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνδῶν τὸ τῆς ἀρμονίας.

the golden age of Augustus, yet all that blaze of wit was kindled during the struggle for liberty: 'twas then indeed they had leisure to exert their faculties, when their country had a little respite from civil commotions. But this was the last effort of expiring politeness and literature. Barbarism, with gigantic strides, began to advance; and to check its progress there was but one effectual way; and that was, to alter the whole constitution of affairs. Thus they went on from bad to worse, 'till the finishing stroke was given by St. Gregory the Great, who in a pious fury set fire to the ³ Palatine library. In the eastern empire, by the influence of the ⁴ Greek fathers of the church, all reading of the Attic writers was not only discouraged,

3. *Sapientissimus ille Gregorius — non modo matresin jussit ab aula recedere, sed ut traditur à majoribus incendio dedit probatæ lectionis*

Scripta, Palatinus quæcunque tenebat Apollo. Joannes Saresberienſis de nugis curial. l. 2. c. 26. Fertur tamen beatus Gregorius bibliothecam combuſſiſſe gentilem, quo divinæ paginæ gratior eſſet locus, et major autoritas, et diligentia studioſior. Idem l. 8. c. 19.

4. *Audiebam etiam puer ex Demetrio Chalcondyla Graecarum rerum peritiſſimo, ſacerdotes Graecos tanta floruiſſe auctoritate apud Caesares Byzantinos, ut integra (illorum gratia) complura de veteribus Graecis poemata combuſſerint, inprimisque ea ubi amores, turpes luſus et nequitiae amantiſſimum continebantur, atque ita Menandri, Diphili, Apollodori, Philemonis, Alexis fabellas*

couraged, but the originals were burnt and destroyed. If any survived this religious massacre, 'twas partly owing to some particular attachment to a favourite author, and partly to meer accidental causes. About the same time the northern nations dismantled the empire, and at length left it an easy prey to the Turk.

If we turn our eyes to our own country, we cannot go farther than the invasion of Julius Caesar, without being immersed in legends and romances. But even in that late period of arts and sciences, our British barbarity was so very notorious, that our ^s inhospitality to strangers, our poverty and meanness, and our ignorance of every

fabellas, et Sapphus, Erinnae, Anacreontis, Minermimi, [Mimnermi] Bionis, Alcmanis, Alcaci carmina intercidisse, tum pro his substituta Nazianzeni nostri poemata; quae, etsi excitant animos nostrorum hominum ad flagrantiorē religionis cultum, non tamen verborum Atticorum proprietatem et Graecae linguae elegantiam edocent. Turpiter quidem sacerdotes isti in veteres Graecos malevoli fuerunt, sed integritatis, probitatis et religionis maximum dedere testimonium. Petrus Alcyonius de Exil. p. 29. edit. Basil.

5. Horace, Lib. III. Ode 4. *Visam Britannos hospitibus feros.* See Caesar's description of Britain (if 'tis Caesar's, and not inserted by a later hand) de bello Gallic. V, 12. &c. Cicero ad Attic. Epist. IV, 16. *Illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem praedae, nisi ex mancipiis.* If Caesar did not thoroughly conquer us, the reason was, because we were not worth

every polite art, made us as contemptible to the Romans, as the lowest of the Indian clans can possibly at this day appear to us. And even when we were beaten into a better behaviour, and taught by our conquerors a little more civility, yet we always relish'd the Gothic, more than the Roman manners. Our reading, if we could read at all, was such as the ⁶ Monks were pleased to allow us, either pious tales of their own forging, or lying histories of adventurous knight-errants. Our heroes were of a piece with our learning, formed from the Gothic and Moorish models.

A pleasant picture of our ancient chivalry may be seen in Shakespeare's *K. Richard II.* where Bolingbroke, son to John of Gaunt, appeals the duke of Norfolk, on an accusation of high treason. He would have been thought a most irreligious person, who should have dared to question the immediate interposition of hea-

conquering. He had other designs than spending his time in such a miserable country; which Rome soon began to be sensible of.

6. " In our forefathers time, when papistry, as a standing pool, covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of chivalry, as they said for pastime and pleasure; which, as some say, were made in monasteries by idle Monks or wanton Canons." *Ascham's Scholemaster*, p. 86.

ven in defending the right cause. The judge therefore allowing the appeal, the accused person threw down his gage, whether glove or gauntlet, which was taken up formally by the accuser; and both were taken into safe custody till battle was to decide the truth. The champions arms being ceremoniously blessed, each took an oath, that he used no charmed weapons. ⁷ Macbeth, according to the law of arms, tells Macduff,

*I bear a charmed life, which must not yield
To one of woman born.*

To this Posthumus alludes in Cymbeline, Act V.

*I, in my own woe charm'd
Could not find death.*

The action began with giving one another the lye in the most reproachful terms,

*Then, Bolingbroke, as low as to thy heart,
Thro' the false passage of thy throat, thou lyeest!*

The vanquished were always deem'd guilty, and deserving their punishment. In the second part of K. Henry VI. there is exactly such a duel fought, as, ⁸ in Don Quixote, the squire of the knight of the wood proposes between himself

7. Macbeth, Act V.

8. Don Quixote, vol. 2. chap. 14.

and Sancho. For the plebeians, not being allowed the use of the sword or lance, fought with wooden staves, at the end of which they tied a bag filled with sand and pebbles. When poor Peter is killed with this weapon by his master, K. Henry makes this reflection,

*Go take hence that traitor from our sight,
For by his death we do perceive his guilt.*

When our judges now a days ask the accused person, how he will be tryed; they would hardly I believe allow his appealing to his sword or his sandbag to prove his innocency.

Our Gothic chivalry Shakespeare has likewise touched on, in his K. Henry VIII. Hall and Holingshed, whom our poet has followed, tells us, that in the year 1520 a king of arms from France came to the English court, with a solemn proclamation, declaring, that in June ensuing, the two kings, Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would in a camp, between Ardres and Guisnes, answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt, tourney and barriers. The like proclamation was made by Clarendieux in the French court: and these defiances were sent likewise into Germany, Spain and Italy. Knights and squires accordingly assembled, *All clinquant, all in gold*, as our poet has it: And the two kings, especially our sturdy Henry, performed wonders
equal

equal to any knight-errant in fairy land. The ladies were not only spectators of these knightly jousts, and fierce encounters, but often the chief occasion of them: for to vindicate their unspotted honors and beauty, what warrior would refuse to enter the lists? The witty earl of Surry, in Henry the eighth's reign, like another Don Quixote, travelled to Florence, and there, in honor of a fair Florentine, challenged all nations at single combat in defence of his Dulcinea's beauty. The more witty and wise Sir Philip Sydney,

9 *Clad in mightie arms and sylver shield,*

in honor of his royal mistress, shew'd his knight-errant chivalry before the French nobles, who came here on an embassy about the marriage of Elizabeth with the duke of Anjou.

Would it not be unjust to ridicule our forefathers, for their awkward manners, and at the same time have no other test of ridicule but mode or fashion? For we, of a modern date, may possibly appear, in many respects, equally ridiculous to a critical and philosophical inquirer, who takes no other criterion and standard to

9. Spencer in his Fairy Queen, of Prince Arthur. This Arthur represents his patron, Sir Philip Sydney. And every one of his knight-errants represented some hero in the court of Elizabeth.

judge from, than truth and nature. We want natural and rightly improved manners: for these our poets must go abroad; and from the Attic and Roman flowers collect their honey; and they should give a new fashion and dress, not contradicting however probability and fame, to whatever is meerly of a British and barbarous growth, agreeable to their imagination and creative fancy. [Shakespeare never writes so below himself, as when he keeps closest to our most authentic chronicles, and fights over the battles between the houses of York and Lancaster. Not that he is to blame for following fame in known characters, but in the ill^o choice of his subject; for

10. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ποιητικῆς διτλὴ ἡ ἀμαρτία. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ καθ' αὐτήν, ἢ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ προεἴλετο μιμησασθαι ἀδυναμίαν αὐτῆς, ἢ ἀμαρτία. Ἡ δὲ τὸ προεἰλέσθαι μὴ ὀρθῶς, κατὰ συμβεβηκός. After ἡ ἀμαρτία, by the transcriber's negligence, καθ' αὐτήν is omitted. The passage I would thus read, Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ποιητικῆς διτλὴ ἡ ἀμαρτία· ἢ μὲν καθ' αὐτήν, ἢ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ προεἴλετο μιμησασθαι κατ' ἀδυναμίαν αὐτῆς, ἢ ἀμαρτία καθ' αὐτήν· ἢ δὲ τὸ προεἰλέσθαι μὴ ὀρθῶς, κατὰ συμβεβηκός. Aristot. περὶ ποιητ. κεφ. κε. In poetry there are two defects, the one arises from itself, [per se,] the other is accidental: [per accidens:] for if it chuses subjects for imitation, out of its power and reach, the fault is from itself; [per se,] but when it chuses ignorantly, the fault is accidental [per accidens.] To illustrate from Shakespeare. The ἀμαρτία καθ' αὐτήν, is the historical transactions of York and Lancaster: the making

for he should have rejected what was incapable of embellishment.] But in those stories where his imagination has greater scope, and where he can "lye without being contradicted, there he reigns without a rival.

making choice of such a story as the *Winter's Tale*, &c. The *ἀμαρτία κατὰ συμβεβηκός*, is where Shakespear, not heeding geography, calls Delphi an isle, in the *Winter's Tale*, Act III. Not knowing physic says *pleurisie*, instead of *plethory*, in *Hamlet*, Act IV. With others of the like nature.

11. Homer knew the whole art of *lying*, and has taught other poets the way. *Δεδίδαχε δὲ μάλις Ὀμηροῦ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ψευδῆ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ.* Aristot. *περὶ ποιητ. κεφ. κδ.* Horace has given this an elegant turn in his art of poetry, *ψ. 151.*

*Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum.*

S E C T. V.

BUT perhaps our poet's art will appear to greater advantage, if we enter into a detail, and a minuter examination of his plays. There are many who, never having read one word of Aristotle, gravely cite his rules, and talk of the unities of time and place, at the very mentioning Shakespear's name; they don't seem ever to have given themselves the trouble of considering, whether or no his story does not hang together,

together, and the incidents follow each other naturally and in order; in short whether or no he has not a beginning, middle and end. If you will not allow that he wrote strictly tragedies; yet it may be granted that he wrote dramatic heroic poems; in which, is there not an imitation of one action, serious, entire, and of a just length, and which, without the help of narration, raises pity and terror in the beholders breast, and refines the perturbed passions? So that he fully answers "1 that end, which both at " the first and now, was and is, to hold as 'twere " the mirror up to nature; to shew virtue her " own feature, scorn her own image, and the " very age and body of the time, his form " and pressure."

Let us suppose Shakespeare has a mind to paint the fatal effects of ambition. For this purpose he makes choice of a hero, well known from the British chronicles, and as the story had a particular relation to the king then reigning, 'twas an interesting story; and though full of machinery, yet 2 probable, because the wonderful

1. Hamlet, Act III. he seems to have had in his mind what Donatus in his life of Terence cites from Cicero, *Comœdia est imitatio vitæ, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis.*

2. For 'tis probable sometimes that things should happen contrary to probability. "Ὅσπερ γὰρ Ἀγαθὸν λέγει, εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι πολλὰ

derful tales there related were not only mention'd in history, but vulgarly believed. This hero had conduct and courage, and was universally courted and carefs'd; but his master-passion was ambition. What pity, that such a one should fall off from the ways of virtue! It happened that he and his friend, (from whom descended the Stewart family) one day, travelling thro' a forest, met ³ three witches, who foretold his fu-
ture

πολλὰ κ' παρὰ τὸ εἰκός. So the place should be corrected. Aristot. περὶ ποιητ. κειφ. 17. See his rhetoric, l. 2. c. 24. Poetry, whether epic or dramatic, is founded on probability, and admits rather a probable lye, than an improbable truth, It proposes to shew, not what a person did say or act, but what 'tis probable ought to have been said or acted upon that or the like occasion. So that poetry is of a philosophical nature, much more than history. See Aristot. κειφ. §.

3. Maccabaeo Banquhonique Forres (ubi tum rex agebat) proficiscentibus, ac in itinere lusus gratià per campos sylvasque errantibus, medio repente campo tres apparuere muliebri specie, insolita vestitus facie ad ipsos accedentes; quas cum appropinquentes diligentius intuerentur admirarenturque, salve, inquit prima, Maccabaeæ Thane Glammiss (nam eum magistratum defuncto paulo ante patre Synele acceperat) Altera verò, salve, inquit, Caldariae Thane. At tertia, salve, inquit, Maccabaeæ olim Scotorum rex future. Hect. Boeth. Scot. hist. L. 12. And afterwards he adds, *Parcas aut nymphas aliquas fatidicas diabolico asu praeditas.* Which Holingshed, in his hist. of Scotland, p. 171. renders, *These women were either the weird sisters, that is, as ye would say, the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs*

ture royalty. This struck his ambitious fancy; crowns, sceptres and titles danced before his dazzled eyes, and all his visionary dreams of happiness are to be compleated in the possession of a kingdom. The prediction of the witches he makes known by letter to his ⁴ wife, who,

nymphs or feiries. And the old Scottish chron. fol. c. LXXIII. *Be aventure Makbeth and Banquo wer passand to Fores, quhair kyng Duncane hapnit to be for the tyme, and met be ye gait thre women clothit in elrage and uncouth weid. They wer jugit be the pepill to be weird systeris.* From the Anglo-Sax. *wyrd, fatum, comes, weïrd sifers, parcae.* So Douglass in his translation of Virgil, Aen. III.

Prohibent nam caetera parcae

Scire.

The weird systeris defendis that suld be wit.

And hence comes wizard. Buchanan rer. Scot. L. 7. gives the story a more historical turn. *Macbethus, qui consobrini ignavia semper spreta regni spem occultam in animo alebat, creditur somno quodam ad eam confirmatus. Quadam enim nocte, cum longiuscule abesset à rege, visas est sibi tres feminas forma augustiore quàm humana vidisse; quarum una Angustiae thanum, altera Moraviae, tertia regem eum salutasset.*

4. Instigabat quoque uxor ejus cupida nominis regii, impotentissimaque morae ut est mulierum genus proclive ad rem aliquam concipiendam, & ubi conceperint nimio affectu prosequendam. Hector Boeth. Scot. hist. L. 12. p. 249. Animus etiam per se ferox, prope quotidianis convitiis uxoris (quae omnium consiliorum ei erat conscia) stimulabatur. Buch. rer. Scot. l. 7.

ten times prouder than himself, knew there was one speedy and certain way to the crown, by treason and murder. This pitch of ⁵ cruelty a human creature may be work'd up to, who is prompted by self-love, (that narrow circle of love, beginning and ending in itself,) and by ambitious views. Beside cruelty is most notorious in weak and womanish natures. As 'twas ⁶ customary for the king to visit his nobles, he came one day to our hero's castle at Inverness; where time and place conspiring, he is murdered; and thus the so much desired crown is obtained.

Who does not see that had Shakespeare broken off the story here, it would have been incomplete? For his design being to shew the effects of ambition, and having made choice of

5. Sophocles is blamed by Aristotle for drawing Hemon cruel without necessity. Perhaps Aristotle's remark will appear over refined, if it be considered what a small circumstance this intended cruelty of Hemon's is in the play; and that Creon, Hemon's father, had put to death his son's espoused wife, Antigone. No wonder therefore the son should draw his sword, surprized as he was, against his father, and afterwards plunge it in his own breast. The cruelty of Hemon, as well as this of Macbeth's wife, seem to have both necessity and passion.

6. *Inerat ei [Duncan] laudabilis consuetudo, regni pertransire regiones semel in anno &c.* Johan. de Fordun Scotichron. l. 4. c. 44. *Singulis annis ad inopum querelas audiendas perlustrabat provincias.* Buchan. rer. Scot. l. 7.

one passion, of one hero, he is to carry it through-
out in all its consequences. I mentioned above
that the story was interesting, as a British story;
and 'tis equally so, as Macbeth, the hero of
the tragedy, is drawn a man, not a monster;
a man of virtue, 'till he hearken'd to the lures
of ambition: then how is his mind agitated and
convulsed, now virtue, now vice prevailing;
'till reason, as is usual, gives way to inclination?
And how beautifully, from such a wavering
character, does the poet let you into the know-
ledge of the secret springs and motives of hu-
man actions? In the soliloquy before the mur-
der, all the aggravating circumstances attending
such a horrid deed, appear in their full view be-
fore him.

He's here in double trust :

*First as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed: then, as his host,
Who should against his murk'rer shut the door,
Not bear the knife myself. Besides, this Duncan
Hath born his faculties so meek, &c.*

When

7. A stronger reason against the murder than any other.
Hospitality was always sacred. This is according to an-
tiquity. Homer, Od. §. 55.

Ξεῖν' ἔ' μοι θέμις ἔσ' ἂδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοις,
Ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Δίος εἰσιεῖ ἀπαρῆτες
Ξεῖνοί τε πῶλοί τε.

Hence

When his wife enters, he tells her he is resolved to proceed no further in this fatal affair; and upon her calling him coward, he makes this fine reflection,

*I dare do all that may become a man;
Who dares do more is none.*

But what is will and resolution, when people's opinions are what the philosopher calls ⁸ ΚΗΡΙΝΑΙ ΤΠΟΛΗΥΕΙΣ? How does every honest suggestion vanish, and resolution melt like wax before the sun, coming in competition with his ambition? For her sake (powerful phantom!) honor, honesty, all is sacrificed.

Macbeth is now king, and his wife a queen, in enjoyment of their utmost wishes. How dear the purchase, will soon appear. When he murders his royal host, he comes out with the bloody daggers. This circumstance, little as it seems, paints the hurry and agitation of his

Hence among the Greeks, Ζεὺς ἑπιτιμῶν, and the Latins, *Jupiter hospitalis*. Virg. Aen. I, 735.

Jupiter hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

'Tis very fine in Shakespeare to give this cast of antiquity to his poem; whatever the inhospitable character of our island-nation happens to be.

8. Epict. L. III. c. XVI.

mind,

mind, stronger than a thousand verses. But Shakespeare is full of these true touches of nature.

*Metbought I heard a voice cry, Sleep no more,
Macbeth doth murder sleep.*

Again, looking on his hands,
*What bands are here? bah! they pluck out mine eyes.
Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? ?*

9. Shakespeare had this from his brother tragedians. So Hercules in Seneca :

Arctoum licet

*Maeotis in me gelida transfundet mare,
Et tota Tethys per meas currat manus,
Haerebit altum facinus. Hercul. Fur. Act V.*

'Tis said of Oedipus, in Sophocles, *that neither the waters of the Danube, or Phasis can wash him and his house clean.*

Οἶμαι γὰρ ἄτ' ἂν Ἴστρον ἔτε Φᾶσι βῶν
Νίψαι καθαρεῖν τήνδε τὴν γένην.

In allusion to their expiatory washings in the sea or rivers. Various were the ceremonies of washing among the Jews, as well as Gentiles; particularly that of the hands. Homer, II. ζ'. 266.

Χερσὶ δ' ἀπίοισιν Διὶ λείπειν αἰδοπα Φοῖνον
Ἄζομαι.

Hence came the proverb of doing things *with unwashed hands*; i. e. impudently, without any regard to decency or religion. Henry IV. Act III.

Falst. *Rob me the exchequer the first thing thou dost, and do it with unwashed hands too.*

'Tis

'Tis much happier for a man never to have known what honesty is, than once knowing it, after to forsake it. Macbeth begins now to see, at a distance, that virtue which he had forsaken; he sees the beauty of it, and repines at its loss. Jealousie, mistrust, and all the tyrannic passions now wholly possess him. He grows chiefly jealous of Banquo, because his posterity had been promised the crown.

For Banquo's issue have I fil'd my mind :

For them, the gracious Duncan have I murth'rd.

* * * *

To make them kings : ¹⁰ the seed of Banquo kings :

Rather than so, come Fate into the list,

And champion me to th' utterance ¹¹ !

And

10. The place should thus be pointed,

To make them kings. The seed of Banquo kings !

to be spoken with irony and contempt, which gives a spirit to the sentence.

11. Alluding to the words of the champion at the coronation. So Holingshed : " Whoever shall say, that king " Richard is not lawful king, I will fight with him at the " UTTERANCE." *i. e.* to the uttermost, to the last extremity. Douglafs in his translation of Virgil. Aen. V, 197.

Olli certamine summo

Procumbunt.

With all thare force than at the utterance.

And Aen. X, 430.

Et vos, O Graii imperdita corpora, Tencri.

E

And

And to have any virtue is cause sufficient of a tyrant's hatred; hence vengeance is vowed against Macduff.

I am in blood

*Stept in so far, that should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as ¹² go o'er.*

This is one of the great morals inculcated in the play, that wickedness draws on wickedness, such is it's deceitful nature. [And how poetically is the whole managed, to make all the incidents produce each the other necessarily and in order; till the measure of their iniquity being full, they both miserably perish? And thus the fatal effects of ambition are described, and the story is *one*.]

The episodes, or under-actions, are so interwoven with the fabric of the story, that they are really parts of it, though seemingly but

And ye also fell bodyis of Trojanis,
That war not put by Greikis to utterance.

The glossary thus explains it: "Uterance. Chauc. "Outrance, destruction: to the uttermost of their power. a F. "Oultrance, extremity, excess; *combatre a oultrance*, to fight it out, or to the uttermost, not to spare one another in fighting: and that from the adv. *oultre*, ultra. q. d. "ultrantia."

12. i. e. *as to go o'er*. 'Tis very common for our poet and his contemporaries to omit [*to*] the sign of the infinitive mood.

adornings.

adornings. Thus, for instance, it being proper to shew the terrors of Macbeth for his murder of Banquo; the poet makes him haunted with ¹³ his apparition. And as wicked men are often superstitious, as well as inquisitive and jealous, to draw this character in him more strongly, he sends him to enquire his destiny of the three witches. But every thing falls out to encrease his misfortunes. There is such a cast of ¹⁴ an-
tiquity,

13. The Greek rhetoricians call this, *φαιλασία* and *εἰδωλοποιία*. One of the finest instances of this kind is in the Orestes of Euripides.

14. If the reader has a mind to compare Shakespeare with the ancients, I would refer him to Ovid's Circe: and Medaea, Met. VII. where the boiling and bubbling of the cauldron is prettily exprest:

*Interea validum posito medicamen abeno
Fervet et exultat, spumisque tumentibus albet.*

among the ingredients in her charms, are mentioned *the owl's wing, and fillet of a fenny snake.*

*Et strigis infames ipsis cum carnibus alas
Nec defuit illic
Squamea Cinyphii tenuis membrana Chelydri.*

See likewise the Medaea of Seneca:

*Mortifera carpit gramina, ac serpentium
Saniem exprimit; miscetque et obscenas aves
Maestique cor bubonis, et raucae strigis
Exsecta vivae viscera.*

tiquity, and something so horridly solemn in this infernal ceremony of the witches, that I never consider it without admiring our poet's improvement of every hint he receives from the ancients,

And the priestess in Virgil, Aen. IV, 509, &c. And the witch Erichtho in Lucan, B. VI. where she mixes for her ingredients every thing of the ill-ominous kind.

*Huc quicquid foetu genuit natura sinistro
Miscetur, &c.*

And Canidia in Horace, Epod. V.

*Jubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
Jubet cupressus funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine,
Plumamque nocturnae strigis,
Herbasque, &c.*

Before the witches call up the apparitions, they pour into the cauldron sow's blood. So the witches in Horace, L. I. sat. 8. pour out the blood of a black ram into a pit digged for that purpose.

*Cruor in fossam confusus, ut in inde
Manes elicerent, animas responsa daturas.*

The ghost of Darius is conjur'd up in the Persae of Aeschylus, and foretells to queen Atossa her calamities. Sextus Pompeius, in Lucan, enquired of Erichtho the forcerefs the event of the civil wars, and she raised up a dead body by her magic art, to answer his demands. Homer ought not to be passed over; in his Odyss. B. XI. Ulysses calls up Tiresias. Our poet will bear comparison with any of these.

being

or ¹⁵ moderns. Then again those apparitions, being ¹⁶ symbolical representations of what shall happen to him, are introduced paltering with him in a double sense, and leading him on, according to the common notions of diabolical oracles, to his confusion. And when the kings appear, we have a piece of machinery, that neither the ancients or moderns can exceed. I know nothing

15. See a masque of Johnson's at Whitehall, Feb. 2. 1609. which seems to have preceded this play. For Johnson's pride would not suffer him to borrow from Shakespeare, tho' he stole from the ancients: a theft excusable enough. Both these poets made this entertainment of the witches to please king James, who then had written his book of Demonology. Johnson, in the introduction of the masque says, "The part of the *scene* which first presented itself was an ugly *Hell*, which flaming beneath, smoked unto the top of the roofe. And in respect all *evils* are *morally* said to come from *hell*; as also from that observation of *Torrentius* upon *Horace* his *Canidia*, *quae tot instructa venenis, ex orci faucibus, profecta videri possit*: these witches, with a hollow and infernal musick came forth from thence." He tells us, Jones invented the architecture of the whole scene and machine. Perhaps Shakespeare made use of the same scenes.

16. The armed head, represents symbolically Macbeth's head cut off and brought to Malcolm by Macduff. The bloody child, is Macduff untimely ripp'd from his mother's womb. The child with a crown on his head, and a bough in his hand, is the royal Malcolme; who ordered his soldiers to hew them down a bough, and bear it before them to Dunfinane.

any where can parallel it, but that most sublime passage in Virgil, where the great successors of Aeneas pass in review before the hero's eyes. Our poet's closing with a compliment to James the first upon the union, equals Virgil's compliment to Augustus.

The variety of characters with their different manners ought not to be passed over in silence. Banquo was as deep in the murder of the king, as some of the 17 Scottish writers inform us, as Macbeth. But Shakespear, with great art and address, deviates from the history. By these means his characters have the greater variety; and he at the same time pays a compliment to king James, who was lineally descended from Banquo. There is a thorough honesty, and a love of his country in Macduff, that distinguishes him from all the rest. The characters of the two kings, Duncan and Macbeth, are finely contrasted; so are those of the two women, lady Macbeth and lady Macduff.

17. *Igitur re cum intimis amicorum, in quibus erat BANQUO, communicatâ, regem opportunum insidiis ad Envernessum nactus, septimum jam regnantem annum, obtruncat.* Buchan. rer. Scot. L. 7. *Consilia igitur cum proximis amicis communicata ac in primis cum BANQUONE; qui ubi omnia polliciti fuissent, per occasionem regem septimum jam annum regnantem ad Envernes (alii dicunt ad Botgofuanæ) obtruncat.* Heft. Boeth. p. 250.

In whatever light this play is viewed, it will shew beautiful in all. The emperor ¹⁸ Marcus Antoninus speaks in commendation of tragedy, as not only exhibiting the various events of life, but teaching us wise and moral observations. What tragedian equals Shakespeare? When news was brought to Macbeth that the queen was dead, he wishes she had not then died; *to morrow*, or any other time would have pleased him better. This is the concatenation of ideas, and hence is introduced the observation that follows.

*To morrow, and to morrow, and to morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time:
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to ¹⁹ study death. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more! It is a tale,
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing!*

And

18. Marc. Ant. XI, 6.

19. The first folio edition reads *dusty death*: i. e. death which reduces us to dust and ashes; as Mr. Theobald explains it, an espouser of this reading. It might be further strengthened from a similar expression in the psalms, xxii. 15. *thou hast brought me to the dust of death*: the dust of death, i. e. dusty death. I don't doubt but *dusty death* was

And somewhat before, when the doctor gives Macbeth an account of the troubled state of the queen, he asks,

*Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
And, with some sweet²⁰ oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?*

It might be likewise deserving notice, how finely Shakespear observes that rule of tragedy, to paint

Shakespear's own reading; but 'twas his first reading; and he afterwards altered it himself into *study death*, which the players finding in some other copy, gave it us in their second edition. *Study* then seems the authentic word. — To die is a lesson so easily learnt, that *even* fools can study it: even the motley fool, in *As you like it*, could reason on the time.

*'Tis but an hour ago since it was nine,
And after one hour more 'twill be eleven;
And so from hour to hour we ripe and ripe,
And then from hour to hour we rot and rot,
And thereby hangs a tale.*

20. Alluding to the *Nepenthe*: a certain mixture, of which perhaps opium was one of the ingredients. Homer, *Od.* 8. 221.

Νηπενθίς τ' ἀχολόν τε, κακῶν ἰπίληθον ἀπάλω.

paint the miseries of the ²¹ great: almost all the persons in the play, more or less, are involved in calamity. The lesson to be learnt by the lower people is, acquiescence in the ease of a private station, not obnoxious to those disorders, which attend greatness in the stage of the world.

i. e. the oblivious antidote, causing the forgetfulness of all the evils of life. What is remarkable, had Shakespeare understood Greek as well as Johnson, he could not more closely have expressed the meaning of the old bard.

21. Ἐν τοῖς πλοῦσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις αἱ τραγωδίαι τόπον ἔχουσιν, ὑδαὶς δὲ πίνης τραγωδίαν συμπληροῖ, εἰ μὴ ὡς χορευτής· οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀρχοῦνται μὲν ἀπ' ἀγαθῶν,

Στέψατε δώματα.

ἢ ἴτα περι τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον μέρος,

Ἰὼ Κιθαιρῶν, τί μ' ἰδέχου;

Arian. L. 1. c. 25. p. 124. Marc. Anton. XI, 16.

S E C T. VI.

A G A I N, let us suppose the poet had a mind to inculcate this moral, *that villany, tho' for a time successful, will meet it's certain ruin.*

ἘΠΕΡ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΙΚ' ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ ΟΥΚ
ΕΤΕΛΕΣΣΕΝ
ΕΚ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΕ ΤΕΛΕΙ.

1. Hom. Il. 8. 160. &c. Agamemnon soon after suggests he shall return back to Argos with ignominy; *to his much-injur'd Argos*, so he calls it; this expression carries passion with it, ΠΟΛΤΡΗΠΗΣΙΟΝ ΑΡΓΟΣ. Which the transcriber has alter'd into πολυδίψιον Ἄργος, mistaking the Aeolic digamma for a Δ.

What,

*What, tho' the hand of heav'n withhold its stroke?
 At length, tho' late, more dreadful 'twill descend
 Down, on the author's head, his wife and offspring.
 For well I ween the fatal day draws near,
 When Troy's curst walls, and Priam with his people
 Shall perish all. High o'er their impious heads
 Jove shakes his gloomy Aegis, fully fraught
 With vengeance 'gainst their frauds and perjuries.
 Thus Fate ordains irrevocably fixt.*

Thus is Hamlet made an instrument by providence to work the downfall of his uncle; and the punishment being compleated, the play ends. Were one to enter into a detail of the fable, to what advantage would the poet's art appear? The former king of Denmark being secretly murdered by the possessor of the crown, the fact could not be brought to light, but by the ² intervention of a supernatural power. The ghost of

2. Aristotle having observed that the unravelling of the plot, or the solution of the fable, should proceed from the fable itself, and not from any *machine*, adds, Ἀλλὰ μηχανῆ χρησίω ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῷ δράματι, ἢ ὅσα πρὸ τῆ γένοιτο, (ἃ ἔχουσιν αἰὲν οἱ ἀνθρώποι εἰδέναι,) ἢ ὅσα ὕστερον, ἃ δεῖται προαγαγεῖσθαι ἐκ ἀγγυλίας, πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον. κ.φ. 11. *But a machine may be used out of the action of the drama, either to explain some things that have already happened, (which 'tis impossible otherwise for a man to be acquainted with) or that may happen hereafter, concerning which we want to be informed.* The murder of the

of the murdered king was usually seen to walk on a platform before the palace, where the centinels kept guard. There was a soldier, who doubting this tale, came on the platform out of curiosity,

the king is a fact of this sort, which could not be known but by a machine. Machines thus introduced add surprize and majesty to the incidents: nor are they improbable, if according to the received and vulgarly-believed opinions; as the ghost in Hamlet, the witches in Macbeth, &c. The epic poet has greater latitude: his *speciosa miracula* are received more easily; he tells you stories; the tragedian represents them, and brings them before your eyes.

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*

Hor. art. poet. 180.

Now what is marvellous, and out of the vulgar road, is highly pleasing. What Aristotle says to this purpose is worth our notice. I will give his words as they seem to me they should be printed and corrected. Δεῖ μὲν ἔν ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις ποιεῖν τὸ θαυμαστόν. Μᾶλλον δ' ἐνδέχεται ἐν τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ τὸ ἄλογον, (δι' ὃ συμβαίνει μάλιχα τὸ θαυμαστόν,) διὰ τὸ μὴ ὄρεᾶν εἰς τὸν πρῶτον λόγον. Ἐπειτα [lege Ἐπεὶ τοι] τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἐκτοῦ διώξιν ἐπὶ σκηῆς ὄντα, γελοῖα ἀν φανείη, οἱ μὲν ἐσῶτες καὶ ἐδιώκοντες, ὁ δὲ ἀνανύων. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔπαισι λαμβάνει. Τὸ δὲ θαυμαστόν, ἢ δὴ σημεῖον δέ· πάντες γὰρ πρὸς θεοὺς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὡς χαριζόμενοι. *The marvellous ought to be in tragedy; but rather in the Epopea is admitted what even transgresses the bounds of reason, (by which the marvellous is chiefly raised) because the actors are not seen. So that which Homer writes of Hector, pursued by Achilles, would be ridiculous on the stage; for here the soldiers must be*

curiosity, and desired to hear a particular account of this apparition. The centinel begins:

Last night of all

*When yon same star, that's westward from the pole,
Had made his course t'illumine that part of heav'n
Where now it burns, Marcellus and myself,
The bell then beating one——*

Mar. *Peace, break thee off;* Enter the ghost.
Look, where it comes.

With what art does the poet break off, just as he raises the curiosity of the audience; and thus avoids a long circumstantial narration? Let any one compare the scornful silence of Dido's ghost to Aeneas, the fullen silence of Ajax to Ulysses, with the majestic silence of Hamlet's ghost, which occasions so much terror and wonder; tho' all are highly beautiful, yet considering time and circumstances, our poet will appear to the greatest advantage. The centinels break the matter with all it's particularities, to give it an air of probability to the prince, who resolves to

*standing still, and not pursuing the flying Hector; there one person only following and beckoning the rest to stand off. But all this is not discernable in the Epopea. Now the marvellous is likewise pleasant: a proof of it is, that those, who relate any thing, generally add something or other of their own invention, to make their narration more diverting. ωεὶ ῥοιῶν.
κτ. 2d.*

watch

watch upon the platform. At the usual hour the ghost enters, and draws Hamlet apart to tell him his dreadful tale, which was improper for the rest to be acquainted with. Our hero determines upon his behaviour, and ³ swears the centinels to secrecy. However, upon second thoughts, he does not know but the apparition might be the ⁴ devil, that assumed his father's shape: he will therefore have surer foundations to proceed on, before he puts his intended revenge in execution; and an expedient offers itself: for certain players arriving at court, are instructed by him to play

3. He swears them on his sword, very soldier-like, and agreeable to the ancient custom of his country. Nor is this less scholar-like in our poet. Jordanes in his Gothic history mentions this custom, *Sacer [gladius] apud Scytharum reges semper habitus*. Ammianus Marcellinus relates the same ceremony among the Hunns. L. 31. c. 2. Hence our learned Spencer, B. 5. c. 8. ft. 14.

And swearing faith to either on his blade.

The spear was held equally sacred. *Ab origine rerum pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere*. Justin. L. 43. c. 2. The spears, they called scepters, so Pausanias informs us: and this explains to us that passage in Homer, where Achilles swears by his scepter, which he hurls to the ground. *i. e.* his spear. Il. *α.* 234. and 245.

4. Orestes, in Euripides, *Electr.* *ψ.* 979, has the very same doubt, that Hamlet has.

Orestes. Ἄρ' αὐτ' ἀλάστωρ εἶπ' ἀπεικασθεὶς θεῶν;

Elect. Ἴσρὸν καθίζων τρίποδ' ; ἰγὼ μὲν εἰδοκῶ.

some-

somewhat before the king like the murder of his father.

*I'll observe his looks,
I'll tent him to the quick; if he but blench,
I know my course.*

And here our poet takes an opportunity to pay a fine compliment to his own art,

*I've heard that guilty creatures at a play,
Have by the very cunning of the scene
Been struck so to the soul, that presently
They have proclaimed their malefactions.*

This making of a play within a play, besides introducing some strokes of satire on former tragedians, shews, by the comparifon, [to what perfection our poet brought tragedy, which after him made no further progress.] There was usually in the beginning of every act a dumb shew, being a symbolical representation of what the au-

5. 'Tis plain Shakespear alludes to a story told of Alexander the cruel tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, who seeing a famous tragedian act the Troades of Euripides, was so sensibly touch'd, that he left the theatre before the play was ended; being ashamed, as he owned, that he, who never pitied those he murdered, should weep at the sufferings of HECUBA and Andromache. See Plutarch in the life of Pelopidas.

*What's HECUBA to him, or he to HECUBA,
That he should weep for her?*

dience

dience were to expect; who were well dealt with, if after all they could guess at the poet's meaning inveloped in a figurative and bombast stile.— But why do I enter into a detail of particular beauties, where the whole is beautiful? Divine justice at length overtakes the tyrant in his securest hours, and the poet is true to the cause of virtue.

The Electra of Sophocles, in many instances, is not very unlike the Hamlet of Shakespear. Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, having murdered the former king, were in possession of the crown, when Orestes returned from Phocis, where he had been privately sent by his sister Electra. These two contrive, and soon after effect the punishment of the murtherers. Electra is a Grecian woman, of a masculine and generous disposition of mind; she had been a witness of the wickedness of those two miscreants, who had barbarously plotted the death of her father, the renowned Agamemnon: his ghost called for justice; and she herself, rather than they shall escape, will be the instrument of vengeance. Thus when Clytemnestra calls out to Orestes,

O son, O son, have mercy on thy mother!

[from within.

Electra replys,

For thee she felt no mercy, or thy father.

Clyt. *Oh, I'm wounded.*

[from within.

Elect. *Double the blow, Orestes.*

There

✓ There is a vast affectation of lenity in mankind: and I am inclin'd to believe that an English audience would scarcely bear this Grecian character. Soon after Orestes kills Aegyſthus, and, that this piece of justice may be a greater expiation to the manes of the murdered king, he kills him in the same place where Aegyſthus had killed Agamemnon.

S E C T. VII.

TH^O' people in a lower station of life take a peculiar satisfaction in seeing wickedness in high places brought to punishment; yet are they no less pleased, when the poet condescends to bring matters home to themselves, by painting the passions of a more domestic nature. Such a passion is *Jealousie*; to the fatal effects of which, the peasant is equally subject as the prince.

1 An unhappy young woman (for so her name signifies) falls in love with a commander in the Venetian service, who had entertain'd her with a romantic account of his own exploits; and hearken- ing to no advice, but her own misplaced incli- nations,

1. Dido's case seems exactly like that of Desdemona. The *Dux Trojanus* told her his wonderful adventures by sea and land, of enchantments, monsters, &c. *These to bear did Dido seriously incline.*

Haerent

nations, she marries him. There was an officer under him, cunning and hypocritical, with an appearance of great honesty: he thought he had been wronged by his captain both in his bed, and in having another preferred before him. This

Haerent infixi pectore VULTUS

VERBAQUE.

She consults her sister,

Quis NOVUS hic nostris successit sedibus hospes!

Quem sese ore ferens! quàm forti pectore et armis!

— *Heu quibus ille*

Factatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!

If indeed she could harbour any notions of a second lover, Aeneas was the man; but that was far from her thoughts, “No, if I ever think of another lover, may —” The sister, a fine lady, knew what advice she would follow, viz. what her inclinations persuaded her to,

Solane perpetuâ maerens carpere juventâ?

Nec dulces natos, Veneris nec praemia noris?

Id cinerem, aut manes credis curare sepultos!

In short the hero, by chance, soon after meets his mistress in a cave: a sort of a match is huddled up between 'em: and he, having gain'd his ends, watches an opportunity, and leaves her to despair and death. That even a religious lawgiver, and a founder of an empire should be caught with love, is no great wonder; but that he should complicate his crime with cruelty and treachery, is not this somewhat out of character? And has not the poet a hard task to bring him fairly off, by the help of even his pagan deities?

to him seem'd sufficient reason for revenge; and casting how to put his revenge in execution, no readier way offered itself, than to stir up Othello to jealousy, whose temper naturally led him to that fatal passion. Jealousy often arises from an opinion of our own defects to please; and Othello had too much reason to be apprehensive of such defects in himself; as he was by complexion a Moor, and declined in years.

The art of the poet is beyond all praise, where he makes Iago kindle by degrees the flames of Othello's jealous temper, which bursting out into rage and fury, occasions first the destruction of his wife, and soon after his own.

S E C T. VIII.

THESE three plays, of which I have above given a short sketch, end with an unhappy catastrophe; and all the stories are finely calculated to raise the tragical passions, grief, pity, and terror. 'Tis somewhat strange, at the first thought, that people should take any kind of delight to see scenes of distress: yet even shipwrecks and storms

1. Lucretius II, 1. &c. This is said of the vulgar. The philosopher receives no pleasure from such objects, but prevents the passion of grief, by considering the necessary and natural connexion, and relation of things. Storms and

storms at sea, when beheld from the shore; and embattled armies viewed with safety from afar, raise a mixed kind of pleasure in the spectator, partly from novelty, and partly from a pity of the misfortunes of other men, not without a recollection of his own security. Now if the tragic muse can raise the passions, and refine them too, is she not the hand-maid of philosophy?

But however it must be confessed, that if any of Shakespeare's plays be plainly proved to have variety of fables and actions, independent each of the other, with no necessary or probable connexion, then must these plays be faulty, and according to the common expression, without head or tail; like the picture described by ² Horace, a mixture of incoherent and monstrous parts. Whereas in every poem there should be a natural union, as in a well proportion'd human body, where all is homogeneal, united, and compact together, so as to form a ³ whole.

It

and tempests, the violent effects of the perturbed passions, &c. have no beauty considered by themselves; yet they are

¹Επιγινήματα τῶν καλῶν.

2. Horace in his art of poetry, §. 1. &c.

3. *A whole is that which has a beginning, middle and end. The beginning supposes nothing wanting before itself; and requires something after it: the middle supposes something that went before, and requires something to follow after: the end requires nothing after itself, but supposes something*

It does not follow, because a hero is one man, that the fable is therefore *one*; for one ⁴ man might

that goes before. Aristot. chap. vii. The ghost informs Hamlet he had been murder'd: this is an exact beginning; no one wants to know any thing antecedent, but only the consequences; which are the middle: the murderer being destroyed, the story ends, and nothing is required after. Othello privately marries Desdemona; this is the beginning: his jealousy is the middle: the effects of his jealousy are the end. Macbeth's ambition is roused by the prediction of the witches; this is the beginning: his procuring the crown by murder is the middle: his punishment, being the effects of his ambition, is the end. And these stories are such, as the memory can easily comprehend and retain, as a whole; *εὐμνήμονεῦλον*. Just as beautiful objects, being neither vast, nor diminutive, can easily be measured by one united view of the eye; *εὐσύνοπλον*. Aristot. πεφ. ζ'. Thus in all things that are beautiful unity is evident; by this, relations and proportions are discovered: but where there is no idea of a whole, there is no idea of order; and consequently no beauty.

4. The unity of the hero alone does not preserve the unity of the fable: nor is the poet to give a historical recital of the acts of Theseus, or Hercules; nor, like Statius, to describe the whole hero,

*Nos ire per omnem,
Sic amor est, heroa velis.*

By this means the unity of the action is destroyed, as well as the simplicity.

Denique sit quodvis simplex duntaxat et unum.

Hor. art. p. γ. 23.

To

might be employed in variety of actions, and fables. So that to describe the whole hero, or the life and death of kings, and to make a histo-

To this purpose Aristotle in his poetics, chap. viii. *Κεῖν ἔν, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις μιμητικαῖς ἢ μία μίμησις ἐνός ἐστιν, μιᾶς τε εἶναι, καὶ ταύτης ὅλης, καὶ τὰ μέρη συνεισάγει τῶν πραγμάτων ἕτως ὥστε μετὰ τὸ μέρους ἢ ἀφαιρουμένον, διαφέρεισθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ ὅλον. ὁ γὰρ προσὸν ἢ μὴ προσὸν μηδὲν ποιεῖ* ΕΠΙΔΗΛΟΝ, [lege ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΟΛΟΝ,] *ἢ δὲ μόνον ΤΟΥΤΟ* [scribe ΤΟΥΤΟΥ] *ἔστι. As in other imitations, that which a man imitates is one single thing; so the fable, being the imitation of an action, ought to be one, and that too a whole; and the parts should so correspond, that one cannot be removed, transposed or retrenched, without making a change in the whole. For whatever can be added or left out, yet so as to make nothing for the whole, cannot be any part of that whole.* Again in chap. xxiii. *Ταύτη θεοπέσιον ἂν φανείη Ὅμηρον παρὰ τὸς ἄλλους, τῷ μηδὲ τὸν πόλεμον καίπερ ἔχοντα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος, ἐπιχειρῆσαι ποιεῖν ὅλον· λίαν γὰρ ἂν μέγας, καὶ ἔκ τῷ σύνοπτον ἔμελλεν εἶσθαι· ἢ τῷ μεγέθει μετριάζοντα καταπεπλεγμένοι τῇ ποιικιλίᾳ. Νῦν δ' ἐν μέρει ἀπολαβῶν, ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται αὐτῶν πολλοῖς.* The latter part is corrupted, αὐτῶν is got out of it's place, and should be changed into αὐτῷ; viz. πολέμου, and placed after μέρος, thus; *Νῦν δ' ἐν μέρει αὐτῷ ἀπολαβῶν, ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται πολλοῖς.* Homer, in respect to other poets, herein appears divine, in that he treats not of the whole war, tho' it has a beginning, and an end: for it would be too great, and not to be comprehended at one view: or suppose he could have reduced it to a just extent, yet he would have been perplexed with such a variety of incidents. But now taking one part only of the war, he introduces a great number of episodes.

rical detail of particular facts, is writing chronicles, not poems.

But has not Shakespeare been guilty of this very fault? Are not several of his plays called historical plays—The life and death of King John—The life of K. Henry VIII. — with many more of the like nature? And did not he think, that the unity of the hero constituted the unity of the action? 'Tis true indeed, that the editors of Shakespeare have given a play of his the title of *The life and death of King John*. But whoever will consider this tragedy, will see the title should be, *The troubles and death of King John*. For John having unjustly seized the crown, and excluded the rightful heir, his nephew Arthur Plantagenet; the king of France espouses the interest of the young prince. Hence arise king John's troubles, his punishment and death. *The life of K. Henry VIII.* would not improperly be entitled, *The fall of cardinal Woolsey*. The cardinal is shewn in the summit of his power and pride; and his fall was in a good measure owing to the king's marriage with Anna Bullen. Here therefore the play should have ended; but flattery to princes has hurt the best poems: and of this, I shall speak⁵ hereafter. Other plays of our poet are called, *First and second parts*, as *The first and second parts of king Henry IV.* But these

5. See below sect. XIV.

plays are independent each of the other. *The first part*, as 'tis named, ends with the settlement in the throne of king Henry IV. when he had gained a compleat victory over his rebellious subjects. *The second part* contains king Henry's death; shewing his son, afterwards Henry V, in the various lights of a good-natured rake, 'till he comes to the crown; when 'twas necessary for him to assume a more manlike character, and princely dignity. To call these two plays, *first and second parts*, is as injurious to the author-character of Shakespeare, as it would be to Sophocles, to call his two plays on Oedipus, *first and second parts of King Oedipus*. Whereas the one is *Oedipus King of Thebes*, the other, *Oedipus at Athens*.

Julius Caesar is as much a *whole*, as the *Ajax* of Sophocles: which does not end at the death of Ajax, but when the spectators are made acquainted with some consequences, that might be expected after his death; as the reconciliation between Teucer and the Grecian chieftains, and the honourable interment of Ajax. Nor does our poet's play end, at the death of Julius Caesar, but when the audience are let into the know-

6. Οἰδίπυς τύραν. Οἰδίπυς ἐπὶ κολωνῶν. viz. a hillock near Athens, where his daughter Antigone conducted him after his expulsion from Thebes.

ledge of what befel the conspirators, being the consequences of the murder of the hero of the play. The story hangs together as in a heroic poem.

The fable is one in *The Tempest*, viz. the restoration of Prospero to the dukedom of Milan: and the poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting the usurping duke shipwrecked on the enchanted island, where Prospero had long resided.

The unity of action is very visible in *Measure for Measure*. That reflection of Horace,

*Quid leges sine moribus
Vanæ proficiunt?*

is the chief moral of the play. [How knowing in the characters of men is our poet, to make the severe and inexorable Angelo incur the penalty of that sanguinary law, which he was so forward to revive?]

The three plays containing several historical transactions in the reign of K. Henry VI. (if entirely written by Shakespeare, which I somewhat suspect) are only rude and rough draughts; and tho' they have in them many fine passages, yet I shall not undertake to justify them according to the strict rules of criticism.

S E C T. IX.

FROM what has been already observed, it becomes less difficult to see into the art and design of Shakespeare, in forming and planning his dramatic poems. The unity of action he seems to have thought himself obliged to regard; but not at all the unities of time and place; no more, than if he were writing an epic poem. Aristotle (our chief authority, because he drew his observations from the most perfect models) tells us, that the epic poem has no determined time, but the dramatic he fixes to a single day: the former is to be *red*, the latter to be *seen*. Now a man cannot easily impose on himself, that what he sees represented in a continued action, at a certain period of time, and in a certain place, should take up several years, and be transacted in several places. But dramatic poetry is the art of imposing; and he is the best poet, who can best impose on his audience; and he is the wisest man, who is easiest imposed on.

I. Ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπὸ μίαν περίοδον ἢ λίαν εἶναι, ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττειν ἢ δὲ ἐποποιίᾳ, ἀόριστος τῷ χρόνῳ. *Tragedy as much as possible tries to confine itself to one period of the sun, [speaking with respect to it's supposed diurnal motion] or to exceed it as little as may be: the epopœia is unlimited as to time.* Arist. περὶ ποιητ. κεφ. ε.

The

✓ The story therefore (which is the principal part, and as it were the very soul of tragedy) being made a *whole*, with natural dependance and connexion; the spectator seldom considers the² length of time necessary to produce all these incidents, but passes all that over; as in *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and in other plays of our poet.

To impose on the audience, with respect to the unity of place, there is an artificial contrivance of scenes. For my own part, I see no great harm likely to accrue to the understanding, in thus accompanying the poet in his magical operations, and in helping on an innocent deceit; while he not only raises or soothes the passions, but transports me from place to place, just as it

2. The real length of time in *Julius Caesar*, is as follows, A. U. C. 709. a frantic festival of Luperci was held in honor of Caesar, about the middle of february, when the regal crown was offer'd him by Antony: March 15, he was slain. A. U. C. 710. Nov. 27. the triumvirs met at a small island, formed by the river Rhenus, near Bononia, and there adjusted their cruel proscription. A. U. C. 711. Brutus and Cassius were defeated near Philippi.—*Macbeth* reigned seventeen years. So Johan. de Fordin Scoticron. L. iv. c. 45. *Machabeus malignorum vallatus turmis et opibus praepotens regali dignitate potitus an. dom. MXL. regnavit annis XVII.* — But the time is so artfully passed over, and the incidents so connected, that the spectator
 ✓ imagines all continued, and without interruption.

pleases

pleases him, and carries on the thread of his story.]

This perpetual varying and shifting the Scene, is a constant cause of offence to many who set up for admirers of the ancients. ³ Johnson, who thought

3. In his prologue to Every man in his humour. Sir Philip Sydney, in his defence of poeſie, has the following no bad remark. “ Our tragedies and comedies, not without cause cried out againſt, obſerving rules neither of honeſt civilitie, nor ſkilful poetrie. Excepting Gorboducke (againe I ſay of thoſe that I have ſcene) which notwithstanding, as it is full of ſtately ſpeeches, and well founding phraſes, climbing to the height of Seneca his ſtile, and as full of notable moralitie, which it doth moſt delightfully teach, and ſo obtaine the very end of poeſie. Yet in truth it is very defectuous in the circumſtances, which grieves me, becauſe it might not remaine as an exact modell of all tragedies. For it is faultie both in place and time, the two neceſſarie companions of all corporal actions. For where the ſtage ſhould alway repreſent but one place; and the uttermoſt time preſuppoſed in it ſhould bee, both by Ariſtotele’s precept, and common reaſon, but one day; there are both many days, and many places inartificially imagined. But if it be ſo in Gorboducke, how much more in all the reſt? where you ſhall have Aſia of the one ſide and Affricke on the other, and ſo many other under-kingdoms, that the plaier when he comes in, muſt ever begin with telling where he is, or elſe the tale will not be conceived. Now ſhall you have three ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we muſt beleve the ſtage to bee a garden. By and by we heare
“ news

thought it a poetical sin to transgress the rules of the Grecians, and old Romans, has this glance at his friend Shakespeare.

*To make a child now swaddled to proceed
Man, and then shoote up in one beard and weed*

“ news of shipwracke in the same place, then wee are to
 “ blame if we accept it not for a rocke. Upon the backe of
 “ that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke,
 “ and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for
 “ a cave: while in the mean time two armies flie in, repre-
 “ sented with foure swordes and bucklers, and then what
 “ hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field? Now of
 “ time they are much more liberal: for ordinarie it is, that
 “ two young princes fall in love; after many traverses shee
 “ is got with childe, delivered of a faire boy, hee is lost,
 “ groweth a man, falleth in love, and is ready to get another
 “ childe; and all this in two houres space: which how
 “ absurd it is in sense, even sense may imagine. * * * But
 “ besides these grosse absurdities, how all their playes bee
 “ neither right tragedies, nor right comedies, mingling
 “ kings and clownes, not because the matter so carrieth it,
 “ but thrust in the clowne by head and shoulders to play a
 “ part in majestick matters, with neither decency nor dis-
 “ cretion: so as neither the admiration and commiseration,
 “ nor the right sportfulnesse, is by their mongrell tragi-
 “ comedy obtained. * * * I know the ancients have one
 “ or two examples of tragicomedies, as Plautus hath
 “ Amphitruo. But if we marke them well, we shall finde
 “ that they never, or very daintily match horne-pipes and
 “ funerals. * * * The whole tract of a comedie should be
 “ full of delight, as the tragedie should be still maintained
 “ in a well raised admiration.”

Past

*Past threescore years, or with three rusty swords,
And help of some few 4 foot-and-half-foote words*

⁵ Fight over Yorke and Lancaster's long jarres,

And in the tyring-house bring wounds to scarres.

He rather prays you will be pleas'd to see

One such, to day, as other plays should be.

⁶ Where neither chorus wafts you o're the seas &c.

And again in his play, Every man out of his humour :

Mit. *How comes it then, that in some one play we see so many seas, countryes and kingdoms, past over with such admirable dexteritie ?*

Cor. *O, that but shews how well the authours can travaile in their vocation, and out-runne the apprehension of their auditory.*

Whether the unity of time and place is so necessary to the drama, as some are pleased to require, I cannot determine; but this is certain, the duration should seem uninterrupted, and the story ought to be one.

4. *Sesquipedalia verba.* Hor. Art. Poet. §. 97.

5. Those three plays relating the history of K. Henry VI. are much the worst of Shakespeare's plays.

6. In Shakespeare's K. Henry V.

S E C T. X.

AS dramatic poetry is the imitation of an action, and as there can be no action but what proceeds from the manners and the sentiments; manners and sentiments are its essential parts; and the former come next to be considered, as the source and cause of action. 'Tis action that makes us happy or miserable, and 'tis manners, whereby the characters, the various inclinations, and genius of the persons are marked and distinguished. There are four things to be observed in manners.

I. That they be *good*. Not only strongly marked and distinguished, but *good* in a moral sense, as far forth as the character will allow. A Thais of Menander was as moral, as you could suppose a courtesan to be; and so were all Menander's characters, as we may judge from his translator Terence. They were *good* in a moral, common, and ordinary acceptance of the word, not in a high philosophical sense. In Homer, the parent of all poetry, the angry, the inexorable Achilles has valour, friendship, and a contempt of death. In Virgil, the truest of

1. Ἐν μὲν κ' ἡρώτων ὅπως χρῆσθαι ἤ. Aristot. περὶ ποιητ.
κεφ. 11.

his copyers, even Mezentius, the cruel and atheistical tyrant, finely opposed to the pious Aeneas, when he resolves not to survive his beloved son Lausus, raises some kind of pity in the reader's breast,

² *Aestuat ingens*

Imo in corde PUDOR, mistoque insania luctu,

Et furiis agitatus AMOR, et CONSCIA VIRTUS.

Milton would not paint the Devil without some moral virtues; he has not only valour and conduct, but even compassionate concern,

³ *Thrice be assay'd, and thrice in spight of scorn
Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth.*

and prefers the general cause, to his own safety and ease.

⁴ *Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
That for the general safety he despis'd
His own.*

So that the Devil's character has every thing agreeable to the modern notions of a hero; but nothing of those christian characters, humility and resignation to the will of God; the great and characteristic virtues of christianity, which our divine epic poet would chiefly inculcate.

2. Virgil. Aen. X, 870.

3. Milt. Par. 1. I, 619.

4. Milt. II, 480.

But what shall we say then of such characters, as a Polyphemus, Cacus, Caliban, the Harpies, and the like monstrous, and out of nature productions? They seem to be in the poetical world, what in the natural are called *lufus naturae*; so these are *lufus poetici*, the sportive creations of a fertile imagination, introduced, by the bye, to raise the passions of admiration and abhorrence; and indeed they are so far under-parts, as to be lost in the grand action.

Upon these principles I cannot defend such a character as Richard III. as proper for the stage. But much more faulty is the Jew's character, in *The Merchant of Venice*; who is cruel without necessity. These are not pictures of human creatures, and are beheld with horror and detestation.

In this poetical painting of the manners of men, it ought to be remember'd, that 'tis the human creature in general should be drawn, not any one in particular. Now *man* is of a mixed nature, virtue and vice alternately prevailing; it being as difficult to find a person thoroughly vicious, as thoroughly virtuous. Thus Philosophers who make human nature their study speak of it; and thus the ⁵ greatest of all philosophers, having touched upon the character of the misan-

5. Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo*. p. 89, 90. edit. H. Steph.

thrope, adds, Δῆλον ὅτι ἄνευ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὁ τοιοῦτος χρηστὸς ἐπιχειρεῖ τοῖς ἀνθρωπέοις· εἰ γὰρ πρὸς μὲν τῆς τέχνης ἐχρηστο, ὡσπερ ἔχει, ἔτις ἀνὴρ ἠγύσαιο, τὰς μὲν χρηστὰς καὶ πονηρὰς σφόδρα ὀλίγας εἶναι ἐκατέρωθεν, τὰς δὲ μείζονα πλείους. Those who profess a hatred of mankind and society; and would paint human nature ill, want *art*, and are but bunglers in the science they profess. For it must be by long habit, and unnatural practice, that a *man* can become void of *humanity* and *human* affections: since, as our ⁶ masters in this *man-science* have observed, even public robbers are not often without social and generous principles. Whenever, therefore, a human creature is made to deviate from what is fair and good, the poet is unpardonable if he does not shew the motives which led him astray, and dazzled his judgment with false appearances of happiness. Mean while how beautiful is it to

6. Plato in rep. l. 1. p. 351. edit. Steph. Δοκεῖς ἂν ἢ πόλιν ἢ στρατόπεδον ἢ λησῆας, ἢ κλίπιας, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἔθνος, ὅσα κοινῇ ἐπὶ τι ἐρχόμενοι ἀδίκως, πρᾶξαι ἂν τι δύνασθαι, εἰ ἀδικοῦν ἀλλήλους; Cicero in Off. II. 11. Cujus [justitiae] tanta vis est, ut nec illi quidem, qui maleficio et scelere nascuntur, possint sine ulla particulâ justitiae vivere. Epict. l. 2. c. 20. Οὕτως ἰσχυρόν τι καὶ ἀκίνητόν ἐστιν ἢ φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπικὴ. Πῶς γὰρ δύνασθαι ἀμπελοῦ μὴ ἀμπελικῶς κινεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἰλαϊκῶς; ἢ ἰλαία πάλιν μὴ ἰλαϊκῶς, ἀλλ' ἀμπελικῶς; ἀμύχανον, ἀδιασπαστόν. Οὐ τοίνυν εἰδὲν ἀνθρώπων οἶόν τι παντελῶς ἀπολίσσαι τὰς κινήσεις τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς.

see the struggles of the mind, and the passions at variance; which are wanting in the steady villain, or steady philosopher? and these are characters that seldom appear on the stage of the world. But what is tragic poetry without passion? In a word, 'tis ourselves, and our own passions, that we love to see pictured; and in these representations we seek for delight and instruction.

II. The manners ought to be *'suitable*. When the poet has formed his character, the person is to act up to it. And here the age, the sex, and condition, are to be considered: thus what is commendable in one, may be faulty in another. An instance of the suitability of character we have in Milton, where Eve withdraws when she finds her husband and the angel entering on studious thoughts abstruse.

*Her husband the relater she prefer'd
Before the angel; and of him to ask
Chose rather: He, she knew, would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal caresses.*

When he gave these suitable manners to Eve, he had in his mind Plato's great art, so much com-

7. Δείκτον δὲ, τὰ ἀσφάλιστα. Arist. περὶ ποιητ. κεφ. 16.
Reddere personae scit convenientia cuique. Hor. poet. γ. 316.

8. Par. lost. VIII, 40.

mended by ⁹ Cicero, in making old Cephalus withdraw in the first book of his republic on the pretence of a sacrifice.

Shakespeare seems to me not to have known such a character as a fine lady; nor does he ever recognize their dignity. What tramontanes in love are his Hamlets, the young Percy, and K. Henry V.? Instead of the lady Bettys, and lady Fannys, who shine so much in modern comedies, he brings you on the stage plain Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page, two honest good-humoured wives of two plain country gentlemen. His tragic ladies are rather seen, than heard; such as Miranda, Desdemona, Ophelia, and Portia. So Lavinia is just shewn in Virgil, innocent, and quiet. But Juno is a Fury; Dido and her sister Anna plot together to debauch the pious prince of the Trojans. On this side they set the fleet on fire; on that, they blow the trumpet to sedition. And even a heroine

9. Cic. ad Att. l. IV. ep. 16. *Quod in iis libris, quos laudas, personam desideras scaevolae, non eam temere dimovi: sed feci idem, quod in ποδινία, deus ille noster, Plato: cum in Piraeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem; quoad primus ille sermo haberetur, adest in disputando senex: deinde cum ipse quoque commodissime locutus esset, ad rem divinam dicit se velle discedere; neque postea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse consonum fore, si hominem id aetatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinisset.*

cannot forget the inconstancy of the sex, as
 10 Boffu ingeniously observes; her eyes are
 caught

10. See Boffu of the epic poem. IV, 11. Camilla's character, the heroine, Virgil has *artfully* dashed with this tincture of vanity, and love of finery; he knew their natural inclination from stories of his own country. The mother of Coriolanus, with other Roman women, had preserved their country from fire and sword, and the resentment of that proud patrician. How could the senate reward them proportionably to their desert? Why, as Valerius Maximus tells us, l. 5. c. 2. *Sanxit uti faeminis semitâ viri cederent — permisit quoque his purpurea veste et aureis uti segmentis.* Which we may translate, *The senate ordered that the men should give the women the upper-hand, and allowed them to wear fine cloaths, and ornaments of gold.* However old Cato some time after, assisted by the tribunes, was resolved to repeal this order, but the clamors, and uproars of the ladies were so great, that he was forced to desist. Livy's account [L. 34.] of this female commotion is admirable. If we look into Milton, we shall there find this vanity in Eve, when in her innocent state; that Narcissus-like admiration of herself, which the poet paints, B. IV. *ψ.* 449, &c. far exceeds any thing in Ovid: and the glozing tempter at length catches her with flattery. B. IX, *ψ.* 532. &c. What shall we think after this of such unpoetical characters, as Marcia and Lucia in Addison's Cato? [But the less that women appear on the stage, generally the better is the story: and unmarried women are left entirely out in Shakespeare's best plays, as in Macbeth, Othello, Julius Cæsar; in Hamlet, Ophelia is necessary to carry on the plot of the pretended madness. After the Restoration women were suffered to act on the stage, and stories

caught with the gawdy dress of a Trojan; she eagerly pursues the glittering spoils, and loses her life in the attempt.

How conformable to their characters are the ambitious Macbeth, and the jealous Othello?

[Tho' Falstaff is a fardle of low vices, a liar, a coward, a thief; yet his good-humour makes him a pleasant companion.] If you laugh at the oddness of Fluellin, yet his bravery and honesty claim a laugh of love, rather than of contempt. These manners, and most others which the poet has painted, are agreeable to the character, and suitable to his design.

III. The poet should give his manners that resemblance which history, or common report has published of them. This is to be understood of known characters. Shakespeare very strictly observes this rule, and if ever he varies from it, 'tis with great art; as in the character of Banquo, mention'd above. Of those characters, which he has taken from the English chronicles,

stories were formed for them, wherein they acted the principal parts. Hence the stage began to be corrupted; and at the same time sprung up, love, honor, gallantry, and such like Gothic ornamental parts of poetry; and Shakespeare, and Johnson in proportion were despised.]

11. Aristot. κειφ. 15. τρίτον δὲ, τὸ ὁμοίον. i. e. this likeness must be drawn from history, or common report. *Aut samam sequere.* Horat. art. poet. 119.

as king John, Henry VIII, cardinal Wolsey, &c. the manners and qualities are like to what history reports of them. ¹² Breval, in his account of Verona, introducing the story of Romeo and Juliet, has the following remark, “ Shake-
 “ speare, as I have found upon a strict search
 “ into the histories of Verona, has varied very
 “ little either in his names, characters, or other
 “ circumstances from truth, and matter of fact.
 “ He observed this rule indeed in most of his
 “ tragedies, which are so much the more moving,
 “ as they are not only grounded upon nature,
 “ and history, but likewise as he keeps closer
 “ to both than any dramatic writer we ever had
 “ besides himself.”

To consider in this view some of the characters in Julius Caesar. M. Junius Brutus was a Stoic philosopher; the Stoics were of all sects the most humane and mild, and all professedly commonwealthsmen. They made every thing submit to honesty, but *that* they submitted to nothing. 'Twas therefore the tyrant Caesar, the subverter of his country and the constitution, that Brutus killed, not the friendly Caesar.

Can we stand by, and see

Our mother robb'd and bound and ravish'd be,

12. Breval's travels, p. 104.

*Yet not to her assistance stir,
 Pleas'd with the strength and beauty of the ravisher?
 Or shall we fear to kill him, if before
 The cancell'd name of friend he bore?
 Ingrateful Brutus do they call?
 Ingrateful Caesar, who could Rome enthrall!*

C. Cassius was more of an Epicurean by name, than principle. He was of an impetuous temper, could not brook the thoughts of a master, and was beside of a severe life, and manners. Seneca says of him, Ep. 547. *Cassius totâ vitâ aquam bibit.*

Cicero was by nature timorous, and vain-glorious. An improper person to be trusted with so great an enterprize. He had beside been a flatterer of Caesar.

The characters of the ¹³ conspirators were in after ages all abused, when historians and poets turn'd court-flatterers. And even the proscriptions of those three successful villains, the false and cruel Octavius, the wild and profligate Antony, the stupid Lepidus, were either palliated or excused. The cruelty of Octavius is particu-

13. Even Brutus they belied at his death; for he never was so little of a philosopher as to call virtue an empty name, and no solid good, because he missed his aim to restore the Roman liberty.

Nunquam successu crescit honestum.

larly mention'd by Suetonius, *Restitit aliquandiu collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit*. But with these and other vices he still preserved great dignity, and, what we moderns call, good-breeding; a sort of mock-virtues of a very low class. And this character of Octavius Shakespear has very justly preserved in his play.

IV. The manners ought to be ¹⁴ uniform and consistent: and, whenever a change of manners is made, care should be taken that there appear proper motives for such a change; and the audience are to be prepared before hand. There is a very fine instance of this consistent change in Terence. Demea begins to find that all his peevish severity avail'd nothing; no reformation was made by it, every one hated and avoided him as much as they loved his brother, whose manners were diametrically opposite. The old

14. Τίταστρον δὲ τὸ ὀμαλόν· καὶ γὰρ ἀνώμαλός τις ἢ ὁ τῆς μίμησιν παρέχων, καὶ τοιούτων ἢ θοῦ ὑποτιθεὶς, ὅμως ὀμαλῶς ἀνώμαλον δεῖ εἶναι. *The fourth is that the manners be equal: and should the person, who is the subject of imitation, be unequal in his manners, yet we ought to make them equally unequal.* Ὀμαλῶς ἀνώμαλον as the manners of Tigellius in Horace, *constans in levitate*.

Servetur ad imum

Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.

Hor. art. poet. 126.

man resolves to try a contrary behaviour, and takes himself roundly to task,

Ego ille agrestis, saevus, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax.

But how great is the poet's art? Having thus prepared the spectators for a change of manners, you plainly perceive how awkwardly this new assumed character fits upon the old man; his civility is all forced. 'Tis as when sinners turn saints, all is over-acted.

Who does not all along see, that when prince Henry comes to be king, he will assume a character suitable to his dignity? And this change the audience expect.

P. Henry. *I know you all, and will a while uphold
The unyok'd humour of your idleness:
Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
To smother up his beauty from the world;
That when he please again to be HIMSELF,
Being wanted, he may be more wondred at,
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapours, that did seem to strangle him.*

The uxorious and jealous Othello is easily wrought to act deeds of violence and murder. You know the haughty Coriolanus will persevere in his obstinacy and proud contempt of the commons;

mons: as well as that the resentful ¹⁵ Achilles will never be prevailed on, by any offers from Agamemnon, to return to the field. Angelo so severe against the common frailty of human nature, never turns his eye on his own character. What morose bigot, or demure hypocrite ever did? From Hamlet's filial affection, you expect what his future behaviour will be, when the ghost bids him *revenge* his murder. The philosophical character of Brutus bids you expect consistency and steadiness from his behaviour: he thought the killing of Antony, when Caesar's assassination was resolved on, would appear too bloody and unjust:

Let us be SACRIFICERS, but not butchers:

Let's carve him as a dish FIT FOR THE GODS.

The hero, therefore, full of this idea of sacrificing Caesar to his injured country, after stabbing him in the senate, tells the Romans to stoop, and besmear their hands and their swords in the blood of the sacrifice. This was agreeable to an ancient and religious custom. So in ¹⁶ Aescylus we read, that the seven captains, who came against Thebes, sacrificed a bull, and dipped their hands in the gore, invoking, at the same time, the gods of war, and binding themselves with an oath to

15. Hom. Il. IX.

16. Æn. i. 71. 76. 7. 42. &c.

revenge the cause of Eteocles. And ¹⁷ Xenophon tells us, that when the barbarians ratified their treaty with the Greeks, they made a sacrifice, and dipped their spears and swords in the blood of the victim. By this solemn action Brutus gives the assassination of Caesar a religious air and turn; and history too informs us, that he marched out of the senate house, with his bloody hands, proclaiming liberty.

As there is nothing pleases the human mind so much as order, and consistency; so when the poet has art to paint this uniformity in manners, he not only hinders confusion, but brings the audience acquainted, as it were, with the person represented; you see into his character, know how he will behave, and what part he will take on any emergency. And Shakespeare's characters are all thus strongly marked and manner'd.

practice

17. Xen. *Avac.* 6.

S E C T. XI,

A Question here arises, which I shall leave to the reader's consideration. It being proved that manners are essential to poetry, must not the poet, not only know what morals and manners are, but be himself likewise a moral and honest man? Or can there be knowledge without practice? 'Tis certain no one can express and
paint

paint manners, without knowing what manners are, how they become deformed and monstrous, how natural and beautiful. Nor can he know others without knowing himself; what he is, what constitutes his good, and what his ill. But whether such an enquiry will be attended with answerable practice, will depend on the fairness and sincerity of the enquirer. For there is not that man living, who does not act the hypocrite more with respect to himself, than to the rest of the world.—But this is a mysterious subject, too long for this place: and it may be sufficient therefore at present, if we have the authorities of a poet or two, without being at the trouble of going to the more abstruse philosophers. Let us hear Horace:

*Qui didicit patriae quid debeat, et quid amicis ;
 Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes ;
 Quod sit conscripti, quod judicis officium, quae
 Partes in bellum missi ducis ;* ILLE PROFACTO
 REDDERE PERSONAE SCIT CONVENIENTIA
 CUIQUE.

And Johnson, in his dedication of his *Volpone* to the two universities: “ It is certain, nor can
 “ it with any fore-head be opposed, that the
 “ too much license of *poetasters*, in this time,
 “ hath much deformed their mistresses; that,
 “ every day, their manifold and manifest igno-
 “ rance,

“ rance, doth stick unnatural reproaches upon
 “ her: but for their petulancy, it were an act
 “ of the greatest injustice, either to let the
 “ learned suffer; or so divine a skill (which
 “ should not indeed be attempted with unclean
 “ hands) to fall under the least contempt. For,
 “ if men will impartially, and not a-squint looke
 “ toward the offices, and sanction of a poet,
 “ they will easily conclude to themselves, the
 “ impossibility of any one man’s being the *good*
 “ *poet*, without first being a *good man*.” Our
 learned comedian being a great reader of Greek
 authors, has literally translated ¹ Strabo’s words.
 Ἡ δὲ ποιητῆ συνέζευκται τῇ τῆ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ ἔχ οἶόν τε
 ΑΓΑΘΟΝ γενέσθαι ΠΟΙΗΤΗΝ, μὴ πρότερον γενηθέντα
 ΑΝΔΡΑ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ. As to our poet, he is an un-
 doubted example for that side of the question,
 which one would wish to hold true in general.
 All his contemporaries answer for his honesty.

Look how the father’s face

Lives in his issue, even so the race

Of Shakespeare’s mind and manners brightly shines

In his ² well-torned and true-fil’d lines.

And in his Discoveries. “ I remember the
 “ players have often mention’d it as an honour

1. Strabo, l. 1. p. 33.

2. Johnson had the expression of the ancients in view,
bene tornatos, et limatos versus.

“ to Shakespeare, that in his writing, (whatso-
 “ ever he penn'd) he never blotted out a line.
 “ My answer hath been, Would he had blotted
 “ a thousand. Which they thought a malevo-
 “ lent speech. I had not told posterity this,
 “ but for their ignorance, who chose that cir-
 “ cumstance to commend their friend by,
 “ wherein he most faulted. And to justifie
 “ mine own candor, (*for I loved the Man, and*
 “ *do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as*
 “ *much as any.*) HE WAS INDEED HONEST
 “ AND OF AN OPEN AND FREE NATURE: had
 “ an excellent phantse, brave notions, and
 “ gentle expressions: wherein he flowed with
 “ that facility, that sometime it was necessary
 “ he should be stop'd: *sufflaminandus erat*; as
 “ ³ Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in
 “ his own power; would the rule of it had been
 “ so too. Many times he fell into those things,
 “ that could not escape laughter: As when he
 “ said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to
 “ him, ⁴ *Caesar, thou dost me wrong.* He re-

3. Seneca 4. declam.

4. He cites by memory, which is often treacherous. In Julius Caesar, Act III. the passage is thus,

Caesar. *Know, Caesar doth not wrong, nor without cause
 Will be be satisfied.*

The same kind of treacherous memory made Longinus censure Xenophon, for what Xenophon never wrote. See his treatise *ωρίη ἰψ. κίφ. δ.*

“ ply'd;

“ply’d; *Caesar did never wrong but with just cause*: and such like; which were ridiculous. “But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. “There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.”

If Shakespeare was this honest man, he must have felt what the charms of honesty were, and thus have express’d it, as they say, *to the life*. And I cannot help observing that the greatest beauty in poetry is moral painting; every thing else almost may be reduced to mechanical rules. Our poets therefore are to endeavour to get a view of virtue in her own shape, and admire her lovely form; and from this knowledge they should animate every image and description. As far forth as affections, causes, events, objects, &c. &c. participate of this primary and original source of perfection, they are lovely and beautiful; when lost to this, they become horrid and deformed. Some writers there are, who seek for beauty from other sources; Hobbs fairly gives us his opinion in his ⁵ *Leviathan*: “In a good poem both judgment and fancy are required: but the fancy must be more eminent; because they please for the *extravagancy*; but ought not to displease by indiscretion.” Hobbs had a strange way of expressing himself; if *extravagancy* bears such a sway in poetry, then is

Taffo a better poet than Virgil, and Ariosto than either of them. But 'tis truth, or it's resemblance, that gives the pleasure: and hence arises the chief beauty of that figure called by the rhetoricians, ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΠΟΙΙΑ. Instances of this Shakespeare abounds with: such are, the duke's reflection on LIFE, in Measure for Measure: the queen, in K. Richard II. calling HOPE a *cozening flatterer, a parasite, &c.* Wolsey, in K. Henry VIII, reflecting on the state of man:

Vain POMP and GLORY of this world, I hate ye.

Othello conscious of his misery exclaims,

Farewell CONTENT!

*And O you MORTAL ENGINES, whose rude throats
Tb' immortal Jove's dread clamors counterfeit
Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone.*

Thus every thing in poetry should have manners and passions: and the moral should shine perspicuous in whatever aims at the sublime. And thus he enriches with morals all his sublime passages; as in Prospero's reflections on the transitory state of human grandeur. Isabella's moralizing on men in power abusing their authority. Lear's reflection, when it thunders, on the ingratitude of his daughter. With many more of the like nature. [Descriptions without moral or manners, however designed by the poet

to

to raise the passion of wonder and astonishment, are not instances of the *true* sublime. The vast jumps that Juno's steeds take in ⁶ Homer, is an example of that pompous and astonishing kind of the sublime, which is calculated to raise admiration in ⁷ vulgar minds; for in poetry the vulgar are to be sometimes considered, as well as philosophers. How careful then should the poet be, to check all childish admiration in himself; tho' he may be allowed, with some reserve, to raise it in his readers?

⁸ Consider first, that great
Or bright infers not excellence.

And surely that cannot be great, which 'tis great for a man to despise. Hence the eye is to be turned from the distinctions of custom and fashion, to those of nature and truth. The dignity of Socrates and Brutus is to be recognized, before that of Caesar. With what contempt then should that distinction of *high* and *low* life, introduced by our modern comic poets, be treated? For in what other sense can this fantastical distinction be allowed, than as the monkey, that climbs to

6. Il. ε. γ. 770. See Longinus, sect. IX.

7. Τὸ δὲ ῥᾶϊστον κατὰ γινάσκειναι ἢ δὲ μὲν· διῆται γὰρ τεραλείας.
Synesius.

8. Milton, VIII, 90.

the top of the tree, is a higher creature, than the generous horse that stands grazing below? So that after all were I to shew the reader instances of the *true* sublime, I should make choice of such as these:

*Aude bospes contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
Finge deo.* Virg. Aen. VIII, 369.

And in Milton. V, 350.

“ Mean while our primitive great fire, to meet
 “ His godlike guest, walks forth : without more
 “ train
 “ Accompanied than with his own compleat
 “ Perfections ; in himself was all his state :
 “ More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
 “ On princes, when their rich retinue long
 “ Of horses led, and grooms besmear’d with gold
 “ Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all’ agape.

9. Κιχρότες. Virg. Aen. VII, 813.

*Turbaque miratur matrum, et prospectat euntem,
Attonitis INHIANS animis.*

Servius, INHIANS, *stupore quodam in ore patefacto.*

S E C T. XII.

BUT to return. What manners are to the fable, such are sentiments to manners; and ¹ sentiments properly express the manners. In the sentiments, truth, nature, probability, and likelihood, are entirely to be regarded.

² *Respicere exemplar vitae morumque jubebo*

Doctum imitatore, et veras hinc ducere voces.

Poetic truth, and likelihood, Horace means; such sentiments, as exhibit the truth of cha-

1. The persons must not only have manners, but sentiments conformable to those manners. Now *sentiments*, *διάνοια*, are the discourses by which men make known something, or discover their opinions: *διάνοιαν δὲ, ἐν ὅσοις λέγουσιν ἀποδεικνύσιν τι, ἢ καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην.* Aristot. *περὶ ποιητ. κ. φ. γ.* And presently after, *Διάνοια δὲ, ἐν ὅς ἀποδεικνύσιν τι ὡς εἶναι, ἢ ὡς ἔχει εἶναι, ἢ καθόλου τι ἀποφαίνονται.* Again, *κ. φ. δ.* "Ἐστὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ταῦτα, [lege τοιαῦτα,] ὅσα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι: μέρη δὲ τῶντων, τό, τι ἀποδεικνύειν, καὶ τὸ λύειν, καὶ τὸ πάθη παρασκευάζειν: οἷον, ἔλεος, ἢ φόβος, ἢ ὀργή, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἔτι μείλιθον καὶ μικρότητα. Now all such things belong to sentiments, which are the proper apparatus of poetic discourse: their parts are to demonstrate, to solve, and to raise the passions, as pity, fear, anger, and the like; and to encrease and diminish.

2. Hor. art. poet. 317. Dr. Bentley, not reflecting how to separate historical from poetical truth, has altered this passage in his edition; he reads,

Et vivas hinc ducere voces.

ractions, the nature and dispositions of mankind. In this light Shakespeare is most admirable. Can the ambitious, and jealous man have sentiments more expressive of their manners, than what the poet gives to Macbeth and Othello? Mark Antony, as Plutarch informs us, affected the Asiatic manner of speaking, which much resembled his own temper, being ambitious, unequal, and very rodomontade. And³ Cicero in his Brutus, mentioning the Asiatic manner, gives it the following character: *Aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum, quàm verbis volucere, atque incitatum; qualis nunc est Asia tota; nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato, et faceto genere verborum.* This style our poet has very artfully, and learnedly interspersed in Antony's speeches. He thus addresses Cleopatra,

*4 Let Rome in Tyber melt, and the wide arch
Of the rais'd empire fall, here is my space,
Kingdoms are clay, &c.*

And again,

*5 The shirt of Nessus is upon me; teach me
Alcides, thou mine ancestor, thy rage.*

3. Cic. in Brut. five de claris orator. f. 95. & f. 13. *Hinc Asiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate, nec copiâ, sed parum pressi, et nimis redundantes.*

4. Antony and Cleop. Act I.

5. Ant. and Cleop. Act IV. alluding to the story in Ovid. Met. IX, 217. Sophocles in Trachin. y. 790, &c.

*Let me lodge Lichas on the horns o' th' moon;
And with those hands, that graspt the heavieſt club,
Subdue my worthieſt ſelf.*

Nor with leſs art has Shakeſpeare expreſſed the coquetry of the wanton Cleopatra. When he deſcribes nature diſtorted and depraved, as in the characters of the Clown, the Courtier, the Fool, or Madman; how juſtly conformable are the ſentiments to the ſeveral characters? One would think it impoſſible that Falſtaff ſhould talk otherwiſe, than Shakeſpeare has made him talk: and what not a little ſhews the genius of our poet, he has kept up the ſpirit of his humour through three plays, one of which he wrote at the requeſt of queen Elizabeth. For which reaſon, if 'tis true what ⁶ Dryden tells us, ſpeaking of Mercutio's character in Romeo and Juliet, that Shakeſpeare ſaid himſelf, he was forced to kill him in the third act, to prevent being killed by him: it muſt be his diffidence and modeſty that made him ſay this; for it never could be thro' barrenneſs of invention, that Mercutio's ſprightly wit was ended in the third act; but becauſe there was no need of him, or his wit any longer. The variety of humour, exhibited in the ſeveral characters, deſerves no leſs our ad-

⁶ Dryden's defence of the epilogue: or an eſſay on the dramatic poetry of the laſt age.

miration; and whenever he forms a different person, he forms a different kind of man. But when he exercises his creative art, and makes a new creature, a *bag-born whelp, not honoured with a human shape*; he gives him manners, as *disproportion'd, as his shape*, and sentiments proper for such manners. If on the contrary nature is to be pictured in more beautiful colours; if the hero, the friend, the patriot, or prince appears, the thoughts and sentiments alone give an air of majesty to the poetry, without considering even the lofty expressions and sublimity of the diction. What can be more affecting and passionate than king Lear? How does the ghost in Hamlet raise and terrify the imagination of the audience? In a word, the sentiments are so agreeable to the characters, so just and natural, yet so animated and transported, that one would think no other could be possibly used, more proper to the ends he proposes, whether it be to approve or disapprove, to magnify or diminish, to stir or to calm the passions.

Ut sibi quisvis

*Speret idem; sudet multum, frustra que laboret
Ausus idem.*

THE last and lowest is the *diction* or *expression*, which should indeed be suitable to

7. Caliban, in the Tempest.

the

the subject and character; and every affection of the human mind ought to speak in its proper tone and language. Shakespeare's expression is so various, so flowing and metaphorical, and has so many peculiarities in it, that a more minute examination must be reserved for another place. Mean while it may be sufficient to observe, that for a ⁸ poet to labour in these meer ornamental parts of poetry; to make his diction swelling and splendid, so as to overlook his plan, and obscure his manners and sentiments; is just as absurd, as if a painter should only attend to his colouring and drapery, and never regard *the human face divine*. ⁹ Painting and poetry are two sister arts; each of them has it's shades and lights, and each requires it's proper points of view: each has it's *design*, as well as *colouring*; if the former is defective, the latter is ridiculous. An ugly woman, tricked out in a tawdry dress, renders herself more notoriously contemptible by her useles ornaments.

8. Τῇ δὲ λέξει δεῖ διαποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἀρβοῖς μέρεσι, καὶ μὴτε ἠθικαῖς μὴτε διανοητικαῖς. Ἀποκρύπτει γὰρ πάλιν ἢ λίαν λαμπρὰ λέξις τὰ ἠθῆ καὶ τὰς διανοίας. *The poet should labour in his diction in those places where there is no action; not where there are manners and sentiments; for both these are obscured where the diction is splendid and glowing.* Aristot. περὶ ποιητ. κ.ι.φ. κδ.

9. *Ut pictura poesis erit, &c.* Hor. art. poet. 361.

*Interdum speciosa locis, morataque recte
 Fabula, nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
 Valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur,
 Quàm versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.*

S E C T. XIII.

IF we will consider Shakespeare's tragedies, as dramatic heroic poems, some ending with a happy, others with an unhappy catastrophe; why then, if Homer introduces a buffoon character, both among his ¹ gods and ² heroes in his Iliad, and a ridiculous monster ³ Polypheme in his

1. A limping Vulcan takes upon him the office of Ganymede. Il. *α*. He advises the gods not to trouble their heads about wretched mortals. I wonder some of the commentators, who are fond of fetching every thing from Homer, never thought of making Epicurus steal his philosophy from Vulcan.

2. Thersites. Il. *ε*. Where Eustathius has this remark, "The tragic poets aim at what is grave and serious, and treat sublimely the events of things. The comedians on the contrary treat things ludicrously, and lessen them. In Homer these tragic and comic characters are found mixed; for he plainly acts the comedian when he lessens and brings down from its heroic station, the character of Thersites."

3. The character of Polyphemus appear'd to Euripides so proper for farce; that from hence he form'd his satyric play,

his Odyſſey, might not Shakeſpeare in his heroic drama exhibit a Falſtaff, a Caliban, or clown? Here is no mixture of various fables: tho' the incidents are many, the ſtory is one. 'Tis true, there is a mixture of characters, not all proper to excite thoſe tragic paſſions, pity and terror;

not done
plots

play, The Cyclops. Ulyſſes told the monster his name was ΟΥΤΙΣ, or Noman. Polyphemus' eye being put out, he calls to his friends,

Ω φίλοι ΟΥΤΙΣ με κτείνει δόλῳ, εὐδὲ βίηφι.
Οἱ δ' ἀπαμειβόμενοι Εἴπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόμενον·
Εἰ μὲν δὴ μήτις σε βιάζεσθαι οἶον ἴοντα
Νῆσόν' γ' ἔπως ἐστὶ Διὸς μεγάλης Φαλῆασθαι.

In Euripides the ſcene is as follows,

ΚΥΚ. ΟΥΤΙΣ μ' ἀπόλωσεν.
ΧΟ. Οὐκ ἄρ' εὐδεις ἠδίκηι.
ΚΥΚ. ΟΥΤΙΣ με τυφλοῖ βλήφαρον.
ΧΟ. Οὐκ ἄρ' εἶ τυφλός.
ΚΥΚ. Ως δὴ σύ.
ΧΟ. Καὶ πῶς σ' ἔτις ἂν θείη τυφλόν;
ΚΥΚ. Σκώπεις, ὅδ' ΟΥΤΙΣ πῦρ εἶν;
ΧΟ. Οὐδαμῶ, Κυκλωψ.

Cyc. Noman hath killed me.
Cho. Then no one hath hurt thee.
Cyc. Noman puts out my eye.
Cho. Then thou'rt not blind.
Cyc. Would thou waſt ſo.
Cho. Can no man make thee blind?
Cyc. You mock me; where is Noman?
Cho. No where, Cyclops.

the

the serious and comic being so blended, as to form in some measure what Plautus calls ⁴ tragicomedy; [where, not two different stories, the one tragic, the other comic, are preposterously jumbled together, as in the Spanish Fryar, and Oroonoko: but the unity of the fable being preserved, several ludicrous characters are interspersed, as in a heroic poem.] Nor does the mind from hence suffer any violence, being only accidentally called off from the serious story, to which it soon returns again, and perhaps better prepared by this little refreshment. The ⁵ tragic episode of Dido is followed by the sports in honor of old Anchises. Immediately after the ⁶ quarrel among the heroes, and the wrathful debates arising in heaven, the deformed Vulcan assumes the office of cup-bearer, and raises a laugh among the heavenly synod. Milton has introduced a piece of mirth in his battle of the gods; where the evil spirits, elevated with a little

4. In his prologue to Amphitryo.

Faciam ut commissa sit tragicomoedia:

Nam me perpetuè facere ut sit comodia,

Reges quo veniant et Dii, non par arbitrator.

Quid igitur? quoniam hic servus partes quoque habet

Faciam proinde, ut dixi, tragicomoediam.

5. Virg. Aen. IV. and V.

6. Hom. Il. 6.

success,

success, 'stand scoffing and punning in pleasant vein. But these are masterly strokes, and touches of great artists, not to be imitated by poets who creep on the ground, but by those only who soar with the eagle wings of Homer, Milton, or Shakespeare.

But so far at least must be acknowledged true of our dramatic poet, that he is always a strict observer of *decorum*; and constantly a friend to the cause of virtue: hence he shews, in it's proper light, into what miseries mankind are led by indulging wrong opinions. (No philosopher seems ever to have more minutely examined into the different manners, passions, and inclinations of mankind; nor is there known a character, perhaps that of Socrates only excepted, where refined ridicule, raillery, wit, and humour, were so mixed and united with what is most grave and serious in morals and philosophy. This is the magic with which he works such wonders.

*Pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus; et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.*

IT seems to me, that this philosophical mixture of character is scarce at all attended to by the moderns. Our grave writers are dully grave;

7. The speeches which Satan and Belial make in derision, are after the cast of Homer. Il. v. 374. and Il. v. 745.

and

and our men of wit are lost to all sense of gravity. 'Tis all formality, or all buffoonery. However this mixture is visible in the writings of Shakespeare; he knew the pleasing force of humour, and the dignity of gravity. And he is the best instance, that can be cited, to countenance that famous passage in ⁸ Plato's banquet, where the philosopher makes a tragic and a comic poet both allow, against their inclinations, that he who according to the best rules of art was a writer of tragedy, must be likewise a good writer of comedy.

8. The Banquet was held in Agatho's house, a tragic poet. The person, who relates, concludes with saying, that having drunken a little too much, and fallen fast asleep, he waked just about break of day, when he found Agatho the tragedian, and Aristophanes the comedian disputing with Socrates. Socrates had brought both these poets to confess what is mention'd above. And yet it is observable that, among the ancient dramatic writers, the sock and buskin perhaps never interfered: Sophocles and Euripides never wrote comedies: Aristophanes and Menander never attempted tragedies.

S E C T. XIV.

IT is surprizing how, in so short a time, Shakespeare and Johnson could bring the stage to such perfection, that after them it received no farther improvement. But what cannot men of genius effect, when, in an age of liberty, they have power to exert their faculties? ² Popish *mysteries,*

1. This is Aristotle's observation on the Grecian stage, speaking of the perfection it was brought to by Sophocles, and Euripides. Καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλῶσα ἡ τραγωδία ἐπαύσατο ἐπὶ ἴσχει τὴν ἰαυτῆς φύσιν. κ. φ. δ. *It stopp after it received τὴν ἰαυτῆς φύσιν, what was agreeable to it's nature.* He does not say it arrived to it's fullest perfection; that is a question he artfully waves. Τὸ μὲν ἔν ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἰ ἄρα ἔχει ἤδη ἡ τραγωδία τοῖς εἰδεῖσι ικαῶς, ἢ ἔ, αὐτό τε καθ' αὐτὸ κρινόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ θέατρα, ἄλλος λόγος. *The examination, whether tragedy has received every form sufficiently, or not; considered either in respect to itself or the theatre, is another consideration.* 'Tis the nature of all arts and sciences, that after once arriving at their seeming perfection, they decline: one reason may be want of emulation. To be first in the race is the great spur and incitement.

2. Ludovicus Vives, in his notes on Augustin de Civit. Dei. l. 8. c. 27. mentions these. "*Ibi ridetur Judas, quàm potest ineptissima jactans dum Christum prodit. Ibi discipulum fugiunt militibus persequentibus, nec sine cacbinnis actorum et spectatorum. Ibi Petrus auriculam rescindit Malcho, applaudente pullata turba, ceu ita vindicetur Christi captivitas. Et post paulum qui tam strenue modo*"
" dimi-

mysteries, and *moralities* were the public entertainments, and encouraged by the Romish priests, however in themselves ridiculous or blasphemous. But no sooner did the dawn of liberty arise, but critics began to exercise their art. Sydney and Ascham drew their observations from the best models of antiquity. Spencer moralized his song; Fairfax translated; and the stage had it's Shake-

“ *dimicarat, rogationibus unius ancillulae territus abnegat*
 “ *magistrum, ridente multitudine ancillam interrogantem, et*
 “ *exhibilante Petrum negantem, &c.*” Polydore Vergil,
 l. 5. c. 2. “ *Solemus vel more priscorum spectacula edere*
 “ *populo, ut ludos, &c. &c. item in templis vitas divorum*
 “ *ac martyria repraesentare, in quibus ut cunctis par sit volup-*
 “ *tas, qui recitant vernaculam linguam tantum usurpant.*”
 See Rabelais, book IV. ch. xiii. In the late edition of Stow's
 survey, &c. Vol. I. p. 247. is the following account. “ But
 “ London for the shows upon theatres, and comical pastimes,
 “ hath holy plays, representations of miracles, which holy
 “ confessors have wrought; or representations of torments,
 “ wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared.” From
 Fitzstephen. And again, “ These or the like exercises,
 “ have been continued till our time, namely in stage plays,
 “ whereof we may read, in anno 1391. a play to be play'd
 “ by the parish clerks of London at the Skinners well
 “ besides Smithfield; which play continued three days to-
 “ gether, the king, queen and nobles of the realm being
 “ present. And of another played in the year 1409, which
 “ lasted eight days, and was of matter from the creation of
 “ the world; whereat was present most part of the nobility
 “ and gentry of England.”

peare and Johnson. When Nature meets no check, she works instantaneously almost, 'till she arrives at perfection.

Thus in the more free states of Greece it being usual, at the times of vintage, to sing³ extemporal songs in praise of Bacchus, Thespis taking the hint made a portable stage, and acted a kind of plays, made up entirely of singing and dancing, with a chorus of satyrs. As this invention of Thespis preserved still the original superstitious institution, what poet would be so bold as to vary from so sacred a model? Yet some time after Aeschylus ventured to bring his⁴ heroes, and

3. ἄσματα ἄδοντες αὐτοσχέδια. Max. Tyr. diff. 37. f. 4. p. 437. edit. Lond. γενομένης ἐν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς κ. τ. λ. Arist. περὶ ποιητ. κεφ. δ. Virgil. Georg. II, 380, &c. Tibullus eleg. 1. l. 1.

Agricola adsiduo primum cessatus aratro

Cantavit certo rustica verba pede.

Et satur arenti primum est modulatus avenâ

Carmen, ut ornatos duceret ante deos.

Agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti,

Primus inexpertâ duxit ab arte choros.

4. Εἰς μῦθος κ' πάθη γεοργίων. Plut. Symp. 1. c. 1. He is speaking of Phrynichus and Aeschylus. So that before these the drama was satiric. Aeschylus exhibited his first play at olymp. LXX. Thespis flourish'd in the times of Solon. When Phrynichus and Aeschylus brought their plays on the stage, the people ask'd, "What's all this to Bacchus?"

and heroic stories on the stage, without one word concerning Bacchus or his satyrs.

This great man is truly called, the ^s father and author of tragedy, notwithstanding any hints that he might take from others. For he first formed

“Bacchus?” To content the people, they superadded a satiric drama, a farce with satyrs, formed upon some story of Bacchus or Silenus.

*Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum
Mox etiam agrestes satyros nudavit.*

Horat. art. poet. p. 220. The poet spends a great number of verses about these satyrs. But the subject itself is unworthy his pen. He who could not bear the elegant mimes of Laberius, [L. 1. f. 10. y. 6. See Macrob. Saturn. l. 2. A. Gell. l. 11. c. 9.] that he should think this farcical, and obscene trash worth his particular notice, is somewhat strange. We have but one of all the satiric plays now remaining, and that is the Cyclops of Euripides: where heroes, and satyrs are promiscuously introduced just as serves to carry on the thread of the fable. Diomedes, l. 3. p. 488. *Satyrice est apud Graecos fabula, in qua item tragici poetae non reges aut heroas [i. e. non modo r.] sed satyros induxerunt ludendi causâ jocandique, simul ut spectator inter res tragicas seriasque, satyrorum quoque jocos et luribus delectaretur.*

5. *Tragoedias primus in lucem Aeschylus protulit, sublimis et gravis et grandiloquus saepe usque ad vitium.* Quint. l. 10. c. 1. Philostratus, in the life of Apollonius, VI, 6. p. 258. speaking of his several inventions, adds, “Οὐδὲν

ἄθνηαιος

formed his story into a regular and tragic fable; and ⁶ introduced dialogue between the actors, omitting the tedious narration of single persons.

His

Ἀθηναῖοι ΠΑΤΕΡΑ μὲν τῆς τραγῳδίας αὐτὸν ἠγῶντο. See Athenaeus, l. 1. p. 121. Horace speaking of him says, in art. poet. 280.

Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cotburno.

And Aristophanes,

Ἄλλ' ὃ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιγῶσας ἐρήματα σμιναὶ
Καὶ κοσμῆσας τραγικοῦ λῆρον.

This will explain what Aristotle says in his poetics, chap. iv. Ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων, καὶ λέξεως γελοίας, διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικῆ μεταβαλεῖν, ὅψι ἀπεισιμνῶθη. *But however 'twas late* [ὅψι so he calls it, from the times of Thespis to Aeschylus, or rather to Sophocles] *e'er it had its proper gravity and grandeur, by getting rid of trifling fables* [stories of Bacchus and Silenus] *and the burlesque stile, which it received from those satirical pieces.*

6. Καὶ τότε τῶν ὑποκριῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἐνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Ἀισχύλος ἤγαγε, καὶ τὰ τῆ χορῆ ἠλάττωσε, καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστὴν παρεσκεύασε· τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς. Arist. περὶ ποιητ. κεφ. δ. 'Tis said here that Sophocles invented the scenes, and decorations for the stage. But that is not true. Horace's verses of Aeschylus prove the contrary in his art of poetry, y. 278, &c. and Athenaeus, l. 1. p. 121. and Philostratus, l. 6. c. 6. And we know from Vitruvius, that Agatharcus helped Aeschylus in the contrivance of his scenes, and other decorations. But the blunder is easily removed by reducing the words to their

I

proper

His actors were dressed and decorated proper for their parts; and the stage was furnished with sumptuous scenes, and machines. The^r mask likewise,

proper places thus, καὶ τὸν λόγον περ. παρεσκευάσει καὶ σκηνογραφίαν τρεῖς δὲ Σοφοκλῆς. And this is their meaning, *Aeschylus first increased the number of the actors, bringing two on the stage, instead of one; and shortened the songs of the chorus; and invented principal parts, [or chief characters, as the chief part, is Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, in the plays called after their names] and scenes with their proper decorations: But Sophocles brought a third actor on the stage.*

7. Horace, art. poet. ψ. 278. Platonius, in a fragment of his, still preserved, concerning the three kinds of Greek comedy, tells us, that the masks in the old comedy were made so nearly to resemble the persons to be satirized, that they were known before the actor spoke. But in the new comedy, the masks were only formed to move laughter. Ὅρωμαι γὰρ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐν τοῖς προσώποις τῆς Μενάνδρου κωμῳδίας ὁμοίως ἔχει, καὶ ὅπως ἐξεστραμμένον τὸ ΣΩΜΑ καὶ ἔδὲ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν. *We see therefore what strange eyebrows there are to the masks used in Menander's comedies; and how the BODY is distorted, and unlike any human creature.* Mr. Theobald, in his preface to Shakespeare, has cited this passage, and thus corrected it, καὶ ὅπως ἐξεστραμμένον τὸ ὄμμα, i. e. *and how the eyes were goggled and distorted.* But surely, instead of ΣΩΜΑ, with little or no variation, it should be ΣΤΟΜΑ. And this is plain from the representations we have of the comic masks, which may be seen in Madam Dacier's Terence; and are likewise in an old MS. Terence in the Bodley library at Oxford; in which masks the *mouth* is hideously, and ridiculously distorted: and the chief reason of the mouth being thus formed was, to help the actor to
throw

likewise, which they suited to the character to be represented, was the invention of Aeschylus: and doubtless much more becoming it was, than those ridiculous countenances, which the actors gave themselves, by besmearing their faces with wine-lees: these masks were of some use to those who were spectators at a distance, as well in helping to distinguish the several characters, as in assisting the voice. But however they must hide all the various changes of the countenance, so necessary in a good actor, and more expressive of passion than any gesture whatever. Notwithstanding the improvements made in tragedy by Aeschylus, yet he lived to see himself excelled by ^{*} Sophocles. With what rapidity did the tragic muse thus advance to perfection?

But

throw his voice to a greater distance. This is plain from A. Gellius, lib. 5. c. 7. *Persona, a personando dicta est: nam caput et os cooperimento personae tectum undique, unaque tantum vocis emittendae via pervium, quod non vaga neque diffusa est, in unum tantummodo exitum collectam coactamque vocem, et magis claros canorosque sonitus facit.*

8. Sophocles was the first that did not act his own plays, having but a weak and unharmonious voice. He added a third actor, which critics imagine sufficient to be brought together in conversation in one scene, for more they suppose would occasion embarrassment and confusion.

Nec quarta loqui persona laboret.

But what must appear most strange to us moderns, is the inexhaustible invention of these Attic poets, who could write so correct, yet so quick and almost extemporal. The lowest account of the plays of Aeschylus amounts to above seventy; Sophocles and Euripides wrote a greater number. The genius of our Shakespeare seems to equal any of the ancients, and his invention was scarce to be exhausted. [Dryden did not come far short, but he wanted steady and honest principles, and that love for his art, which is always requisite to make a compleat artist. For when the mind is filled with great and noble ideas, 'tis no such difficult matter to give them a tone and utterance.] Or as our Platonic⁹ Spencer expresses it;

*The noble heart that harbours virtuous thoughts
And is with child of glorious great intent,*

There is another piece of art of Sophocles' worth notice, and that is, his consulting the genius and abilities of his chief actors, and fitting the parts to them. See Triclinius, or whoever else was the writer of this poet's life. [Sophocles undoubtedly wrote better plays than Aeschylus: but who has excelled Shakespeare? 'Tis remarkable, that the Athenians gave leave to the poets to revise the plays of their old bard, and then to bring them on the stage. So Quintilian informs us, l. 10. c. 1. We have had several poets too that have attempted the same with Shakespeare.]

9. In his Fairy Queen, B. 2. c. 12. f. 47.

*Can never rest until it forth have brought
Th' eternal brood of glory excellent.*

THERE is a passage in ¹⁰ Plato's Minos, that at first sight contradicts this account of the original of tragedy, which is there said to be of a much ancients date, than the times of Theſpis. ¹¹ Dr. Bentley, in his very learned diſſertation on the epiſtles of Phalaris, thinks that Plato was miſtaken. But this can hardly be allowed in a piece of hiſtorical learning, relating to his own country; if it be conſidered too, that Plato was a critic, as well as a philoſopher. There are others again who will literally interpret Plato's words, in contradiction to all other authorities. However, if he be here underſtood, as often he ſhould, with ſome latitude, perhaps the whole difficulty will diſappear. Socrates is defending the character of Minos, which had been abuſed: "How comes it then (ſays ſome one) that " Minos has been ſo aſperſed for a barbarous and " cruel prince? Why, replies Socrates, if you " have any inclination to have a good name, " keep fair with the poets, which was not the " caſe of Minos; for he waged war with this " city, which abounds with arts and ſciences, " and with all other ſorts of poets, as well as

10. Plat. in Min. p. 320, 321, edit. Steph. vol. 2.

11, Bentl. diſſert. &c. p. 235, 278.

“ tragic writers. For here tragedy is of ancient
 “ date, not, as men think, beginning from
 “ Thespis or Phrynichus; but if you’ll examine,
 “ you’ll find it an old invention of this state.
 “ For tragedy is a kind of poetry most proper
 “ to please the people, and to work upon their
 “ affections.” Ἡ δὲ τραγωδία ἐστὶ παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε,
 ἐχὼς ὡς οἶοντα ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος ἀρξαμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ
 Φρυγίχου· ἀλλ’ εἰ θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι πᾶν παλαιὸν αὐτὸ
 εὐρήσεις ὅν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως εὐρημα· ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως
 δημοσχεπέσιον τε καὶ ψυχαστικώτατον ἢ τραγωδία. It
 seems to me very plain, that ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ is here
 to be taken in it’s larger extent and signification.
 Thus if I should say the book of Job is a tragedy
 with a happy catastrophe, I should not mean
 ’twas ever acted on a stage. There were no
 stage-plays, ’till the times of Thespis and Phry-
 nichus, and in this sense no tragedies. But yet
 there were stories, of a dramatic kind, formed
 into dialogue, and characters drawn, as of Minos,
 a cruel king: and this manner of writing was of
 ancient date at Athens, not the invention of
 Thespis or Phrynichus, as people generally
 thought, confounding the stage with the cha-
 racteristic and dialogue manner of writing: so
 that the thing itself was older than the name.

And this explanation of Plato will lead us to
 another of Horace.

*Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camaenæ
Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse¹² poemata Thespis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.*

Thespis is said to have invented a new kind of tragic poetry, and to have carried his plays with all their apparatus about in a cart, which were to be

12. HOR. art. poet. 275. In this passage of Horace *poemata* is not strictly *his written plays*; but in a larger signification *his plays with their whole apparatus*: so Diogenes Laertius in the life of Solon uses τραγωδίας, *tragedies with their apparatus*, Θέσπιν ἐκέλευσε τραγωδίας ἄγειν τε, καὶ διδάσκειν. l. 1. s. 59. *Solon forbid Thespis to carry his tragedies about in carts, and to act them*; which I mention, because Dr. Bentley will take the word *poemata* in a limited and strict sense, on purpose to make way for his emendation. “*Quale tamen obsecro illud est, vexisse plaustris poemata?*” “*hoc est ut enarrat Acron, tam multa scripsisse quæ posset plaustris advehere. Mirum hoc profecto, &c.*” The Dr. however saw the true meaning, but that he hurries over, and corrects,

*Et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis
QUI canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.*

id est, vexisse plaustris eos qui canerent, &c. But that Horace is to be understood in this expression, [*poemata*] according to its utmost latitude, I have a witness beyond all exception, the learned author of the dissertation upon the epistles of Phalaris, to oppose to the editor of Horace; who citing these words, p. 207. *plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis*, thus translates them, *That in the beginning the PLAYS were carried about the villages in carts.*

acted by strolers, whose faces were daubed with the lees of wine. Horace does not say the tragic muse had no existence, in any shape whatever, before Thespis; but only that he invented a new kind, unknown before: for he first made his stories entirely dramatic, and brought them on the stage.

¹³ AFTER tragedy, the old comedy succeeded: which took it's first hint from an obscene song, which they sung in the festivals of Bacchus, called hence the ¹⁴ Phallic. Comedy lay neglected, and

13. Hor. art. poet. 281. *Successit vetus his Comoedia.* Marc. Anton. XI, 6. *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τραγωδίαν ἡ ἀρχαία κωμῳδία παρῆχθη, παιδαγωγικὴν παρῆρσιαν ἔχουσα, καὶ τῆς ἀτυφίας ἐκ ἀχρήσως δι' αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυζήμοσύνης ὑπομιμνήσκουσα.* *After tragedy the old comedy succeeded, using an instructive liberty of inveighing against personal vices, and by this direct freedom of speech was of great use to humble pride and arrogance.* What Aristotle says, is worth our notice: *Ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔλαθεν καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὅψι ποιεῖ ὁ ἀρχων ἰδῶκεν, ἀλλ' ἰθελονταὶ ἦσαν.* *We don't know the several changes of comedy so well, because it has not been improved since it's beginning as much as tragedy. For 'twas late e're the archon gave the comic chorus: but the actors play'd voluntarily.* Arist. κ.φ. ε.

14. *Ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά, ἃ εἶτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα.* Arist. κ.φ. δ'. And Aristophanes, Acarn. γ. 260. *Ἐφ' ὃ ἀκολουθῶν ἄσομαι τὸ φαλλικόν.* Schol. *ἄσματ' αὖτε λέγονται φαλλικά, τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ φαλλῷ ἀδόμενα μέλη.* *Ἔτι δὲ εἰς Διόνυσον, ἢ ἄλλοτε εἰς Πρίαπον.* See the schol. on the

and remained, according to it's etymology, a *song in country towns*, when tragedy was publicly acted at the expence of the magistrate. These village songs were either abusive and scurrilous, exposing the follies and failings of the neighbourhood; or they were of the obscene kind, as more agreeable to the ridiculous figure carried in the processions of the festival. It had another name, *τρυσωδία*, the *wine-song*; as *τρασωδία*, is the *goat-song*: a vessel of wine being the prize of comedy, and a goat of tragedy. Aristophanes calls the old comedians ¹⁵ *τρυσωδαίμονες*, in that passage, rather from their diabolical faces be-daubed with the lees of wine, than from their prize.

the same play, *γ.* 242. where the story there told has a near resemblance to what the priests and diviners advised the Philistines, being afflicted with emerods: viz. to make them images. And they accordingly made them images of the *emerods*. 1 Sam. vi. 4 & 17. But another word should be used, not *emerods*.

15. Aristoph. nub. *γ.* 295. εἰ μὴ σκώψης, μηδὲ ποιήσης, ἄπειρ οἱ τρυσωδαίμονες ἔσσι.

Schol. οἱ τρυσωδαίμονες, οἱ ποιηταί. [lege οἱ κωμικοὶ ποιηταί.] ἐπειδὴ τὴν τρῦσα χερίμενοι, ἵνα μὴ γνώριμοι γίνωσιναι, ἔτω τὰ αὐτῶν ἦδον ποιήματα κατὰ τὰς ὁδὸς ἀμάξης ἐπικαθήμενοι. διὸ καὶ παροιμία, Ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαλεῖ ἦγεν ἀναισχύτως ὑβρίζει. τὸτο δὲ ἐποίησεν οἱ κωμικοὶ ποιηταί. From this passage of Aristophanes and the scholiast, a most certain correction offers itself, of a corrupted place in Xenophon's memoirs of Socrates, where the young man complains to his father of his mother Xanthippe's cross temper, "What, (says

" Socrates)

prize. Such ¹⁶ Epicharmus found comedy, when he preserved it's original name, but altered the form and nature of it; and took, for the subject of his ¹⁷ imitation, those follies and vices of mankind,

“ Socrates) do you think it more difficult for you to hear what your mother says, than for the players when they abuse one another ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις.” So I would undoubtedly read, not τραγωδίαις, as the present copies have it. Xen. ἀπομ. 66. 6. κεφ. 6.

16. Τὸ δὲ μῦθος ποιεῖν, Ἐπίχαρμῳ καὶ Φόρμις ἤρξαν. *Epicharmus and Phormis were the first who made a fable or plot in their comedies.*

17. Aristot. chap. 2. speaking of the subjects of imitation, observes, that men must be represented, either as they are, or better, or worse; and instances of painters, then of poets. Homer, he says, has made men better, other poets worse, others again as they are. *In this very thing lies the difference between tragedy and comedy; for comedy endeavours to represent men worse, and tragedy better than they are.* Ἐν αὐτῇ [leg. Ἐν ταύτῃ] δὲ τῇ διαφορᾷ, καὶ ἡ τραγωδία πρὸς τὴν κωμωδίαν διέστηκεν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ χεῖρες, ἡ δὲ βελτίως μιμεῖσθαι βέλειαί τῶν νῦν. Again in chap. v. Ἡδὲ κωμωδία ἐστίν, ὡςπερ εἶπομεν, μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μὲν, ἢ μέντοι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ τῆ ἀίσχρῃ ἐστὶ τὸ γελοῖον μόνον· τὸ γὰρ γελοῖον, ἐστὶν ἀμάρτημά τι καὶ αἴσχρῳ ἀνώδυνον καὶ ἢ φθαρτικόν· οἷον εὐθύς, τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἴσχρὸν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἀνευ ὀδύνης. *Comedy is, as I have said, an imitation of the worst, but not worst in all sort of vice, [for some vices raise indignation, horror, or pity, which are tragic passions] but only what has a ridiculous share of what is base: for the ridiculous is a sort of defect and baseness, neither causing pain nor destruction*

mankind, which render them ridiculous. Theocritus says of his ¹⁸ countryman,

Ἄ τε φωνὰ Δώριον, χώνηρ ὁ τὰν κωμῶδιαν
Ἐυρῶν Ἐπίχαρμον.

And presently after,

Πολλὰ γὰρ ποτὶ τὴν ζῶαν τοῖς ΠΑΙΣΙΝ εἶπε χεῖσιμα.
Μεγάλα χάρις αὐτῷ.

There is a small corruption in the last line but one, ΠΑΙΣΙΝ, *children*, instead of ΠΑΣΙΝ, *all mankind*. The philosophic comedian spoke what
was

to the subject in which it exists. As for example [εὐθὺς, ex. gr.] a deformed and distorted countenance, without any pain to the person, is a ridiculous countenance. Proper subjects of comic mirth are the vices which make men mean, contemptible and ridiculous; such are lovers, drunkards, the vain-glorious, the covetous, the coward, fops, fine ladies, and fine gentlemen, &c. &c. These have no feeling of their own baseness; their deformity is ἀνώδυον, as the philosopher says; and they are therefore ridiculous characters.

18. He came to Sicily when an infant from the island Cos, and is therefore called a Sicilian. Laert. VIII, 78. Cicero in epist. ad Attic. I. 19. *Ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus insufurrat Epicbarmus cantilenam illam suam,*

Νᾶφι κ' μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρεσῶν.

And in his Tusculan questions, I, 8. *Sed tu mihi videris Epicbarmi, acuti nec insulsi hominis, ut Siculi sententiam sequi.* ***

Emori

was useful for all mankind to know, and fitting for common life. 'Twas usual for him to make one person enter into a dialogue with himself, and sustain the parts of two persons. So¹⁹ Plato teaches us in his Gorgias, ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῷ Ἐπιχάρμῳ γένηται, ἃ πρότερον δύο ἄνδρες ἔλεγον, εἷς ὧν ἱκανὸς γένομαι. An instance of this Plato gives²⁰ soon

Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil aestumo.

The Greek trochaic we have in some sort, but very corrupted, remaining in Sextus Empiricus, p. 54. ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τεθνᾶσαι ἐ μοι διαφέρειν. Omitting the guesses of others, I think it may easily be thus restored,

Μεῦ γ' ἀπὸ θανάτου ὅμως δὲ τεθνᾶν' ἐχὶ διαφέρει.

which exactly answers to Cicero's version. The philosophers Plato and Xenophon were very fond of Epicharmus. The latter cites him in his Socratic memoirs, L. II. c. 1. where the verses are thus to be ordered,

Τῶν πόνων πολλῶσι ἀμὴν πάντα τέρσασθ' οἱ θεοί.

Ὡς ποικίλ' ἐστί,

Μὴ μοι τὰ μαλακὰ μέγιστον, μὴ τὰ σκληρὰ ἔχθιστον.

'Twas usual for him to inculcate the precepts of Pythagoras, as Jamblicus tells us, c. 36. So Theodoret Therap. I. p. 15. Κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἐπιχάρμῳ τὸν Πυθαγόρειον λέγω,

Νῆς ὀρεῖ, καὶ νῆς ἀκέραι· τὰλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά.

From these and many other instances, the reader may see the propriety of the change in Theocritus of ΠΑΙΣΙΝ into ΠΑΣΙΝ.

19. Plato in Gorg. p. 505. edit. Steph.

20. Ibid. p. 506.

after, according to his elegant manner. The Stoic philosophers were highly fond of this way of writing; and thus the discourses of Epictetus are for the most part written. Neither are instances of this kind wanting in Shakespeare. As in the first part of K. Hen. IV. Act V. just before the battle Falstaff has this dialogue with himself.

“ What need I be so forward with him that calls
 “ not on me? Well, 'tis no matter, honour pricks
 “ me on: but how if honour pricks me off,
 “ when I come on? How then? Can honour
 “ set to a leg! No. Or an arm? No.
 “ Or take away the grief of a wound? No.
 “ Honour hath no skill in surgery then? No.
 “ What is honour? A word. What is
 “ that word honour? Air. A trim reckon-
 “ ing! Who hath it? He that dyed a wed-
 “ nesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth
 “ he hear it? No. Is it insensible then?
 “ Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with
 “ the living? No. Why? Detraction
 “ will not suffer it. Therefore, I'll none of it:
 “ honour is a meer scutcheon, and so ends my
 “ catechism.”

I will mention one instance more of this old comedian's manner, which was sometimes to repeat the same thing in almost the same words; and this in proper characters seems to have an air of wit: you expect something, and you find nothing.

21 Τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνοις ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοις ἔβην.
Tunc quidem inter illos ego eram, tunc autem apud illos.

Plautus was a great imitator of Epicharmus, as Horace informs us in that well-known verse,

*Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi
 Dicitur.*

In his *Curculio*, Act V. Scene IV. He has this imitation of his Sicilian master,

Quoi homini dii sunt propitii, ei non esse iratos puto.

Again in his *Stichus*,

22 *E malis multis, malum quod minimum est, id minimum est malum.*

Sir Hugh Evans, in the merry wives of Windsor, is full of these elegant tautologies so proper to his character; in Act I. Sc. I. Ev. " Shall I tell you a lie? I do despise a liar as I do despise one that is false; or as I despise one that is not true."

So Hamlet, in a jocosè vein, says,

*For if the king like not the comedy;
 Why then, belike, he likes it not, perdy.*

21. Aristot. rhet. l. 3. c. ix. Demetrius περὶ Ἐξμ.
 πεφ. κδ.

There

There is no reason to tire the reader with more instances, for a hint of this nature is sufficient.

Xenophon in his treatise of the Athenian republic takes notice of the excessive scurrilities of the old comedians. But the emperor Marcus Antoninus speaks more favourable of them; and says this freedom of speech had an air of discipline and instruction, and by inveighing against personal vices was of use to humble the pride and arrogance of the great. What a reflection to come from a great man!

The ²² old comedy, without any scruple, exposed real persons, and brought real stories on the stage, sparing neither magistrates or philosophers, a Cleo, Hyperbolus, or Socrates.

*Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetae,
Atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,
Quod moechus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioquin
Famosus; multa cum libertate notabant.*

While the people kept the power in their own hands, they had full scope of indulging this li-

22. Concerning the difference of comedy, see Platonius, and the other writers of comedy prefixed to Kuster's edition of Aristophanes. Of the *old* comedy were written in all 365 plays; of the *middle*, 617; Athenaeus says he had read above 800: of the *new*, there were 64 poets. Menander alone wrote 108 plays. We have only now preserved a few of the plays of Aristophanes; and these perhaps chiefly by the care of St. Chrysostom.

centious spirit; but when the tyranny of a few at Athens prevailed, the poets were obliged to be more circumspect. Socrates might laugh with the laughers; but a jest upon a corrupt magistrate was felt to the quick. Hence arose another species of comedy, called *the middle comedy*, in which the names were feigned, but the story was real: the chorus too was dropped, because here the poet more particularly indulged his ridiculing vein.

*23 Sed in vitium libertas excidit, et vim
Dignam lege regi: lex est accepta: chorusque
Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.*

23. Horat. art. poet. §. 282. [It was likewise no uncommon thing in the chorus of the old comedy for the poet to speak to the audience in his own proper person.] This was called Παράβασις. So the scholiast on the clouds of Aristophanes, §. 518. informs us, Η παράβασις δοκεῖ μὲν ἐκ τῶ χορῶ λίσσθαι. εἰσάσει δὲ τὸ ἰαυτῷ πρόσωπον ὁ ποιήτης. παράβασις δὲ ἐστίν, ὅταν ἐκ τῆς προλέρας γάσιως ὁ χορὸς μεταβάς, ἀπαγγείλη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀφορᾶν. This same sort of παράβασις Shakespear uses at the end of every act in his Henry the Fifth. In the fourth, he pays a handsome complement to queen Elizabeth and the earl of Essex.

*Were now the general of our gracious empress
(As in good time he may) from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broached on his sword;
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him?*

After the same manner the conclusion of *As you like it*, and of *Troilus and Cressida*, is to be considered.

When

When the middle comedy took place, and the chorus was repressed, and the poets not allowed to name the persons; yet by relating of real facts, the dullest of the audience could not be ignorant at whom the jest was pointed. All the writers of the middle comedy are lost. We have among the comedies of our own country, the Rehearsal, written after this model: for here Bays stands for Dryden; the two kings, for Charles and his brother James; and the ²⁴ parodies have all the cast of this ancient humour. But we can
 now

24. Parodies were invented by Hegemon of Thafos, as Aristotle says; or at least he highly excelled in them, and brought them on the stage. Horace has an elegant parody on a verse of Furius, who in a poem wrote,

Jupiter hybèrnas cana nive conspuit Alpes.

He turns it thus,

Furius hybèrnas cana nive conspuit Alpes.

Aristophanes is full of these parodies, the bombast tragedians, and Euripides, being the constant objects of his ridicule. So Pistol in our poet talks in a fustian style, in scraps of verses from the older tragedians: and the whole play introduced in Hamlet, is to be considered in this light. Sometimes parodies are used not to ridicule the verses thus changed, but they have an air of pleasantry and imitation; such are many passages from Homer and Euripides parodized by Plato: and by Julian in his Caesars. I wonder the following should escape the commentators, where Silenus applies

now have no more such instances; the government here, as formerly at Athens, putting a stop to this licentious spirit. And to their thus interfering was owing the rise of the new comedy, and of a Menander. Happy for us, would the same causes produce the same effects, and new Menanders arise! But I am afraid we want some Attic manners. We attempt to paint the characters of others, without having any character ourselves: and our men of wit have been so lost to whatever is decent and grave, that their vicious principles appear thro' all the cobweb sophistry, in which they try to envelope them. What Menander was, may be partly guessed from some few remaining fragments of his plays,

the verse used by Homer concerning a gay Trojan to Gallicus.

Ὅς κ' ἔχουσιν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἴεν, ἥύτε κέρη.

Hom. Il. 6. 872.

Ὅς κ' ἔχουσιν ἔχων πάντη τρυφῆ, ἥύτε κέρη.

Julian.

There are parodies still more elegant, when a discourse has a quite different turn given it; as in the *Adelphi*, where Demea full of his own praises tells Syrus, how he educates his son; and Syrus afterwards repeats Demea's own words, giving him an account how he instructs his inferior servants. *Adelp.* Act III. sc. 4. and in the first part of *K. Henry the fourth*, Act 2. where Hal humourously imitating Falstaff's manner, turns his own speech against him.

and

and from his translator Terence. But does it not look like want of invention in Terence, that he made use of Athenian manners and characters, when he brought Menander's plays upon the Roman stage? 'Tis the humours and customs of their own times, that people love to see represented; not being over solicitous or interested in what is transacted in other countries. Hence 'twas wisely judged by Steele, in his imitation of the *Andria*, to work it into an English story. And 'twas barrenness of invention that made the Latin stage-writers meerly translators. Indeed the Romans had few authors that can be called originals. Their government was military, and the soldier had the chief praise; the scholar stood only in a second rank. And just as Virgil and Horace began to flourish, a young tyrant sprung up, and riveted on the Romans by degrees such shackles of servitude, that they have never even to this day been able to shake them off. And should it ever be the misfortune of this island to feel the effects of tyranny, we must bid farewell to our Miltons and Shakespeares, and take up contentedly again with popish *mysteries* and *moralities*.

S E C T. XV.

IT was finely and truly observed by a certain philosopher, whom the rhetorician 'Longinus praises, that popular government (where the publick good alone, in contradistinction to all private interest and selfish systems, prevails) is the only nurse of great genius's. For while the laws, which know no foolish compassion, correct the greater vices, men are left to be either persuaded or laughed out of their lesser follies. Hence will necessarily arise orators, poets, philosophers, critics, &c. Wit will polish and refine wit; and he, whom nature has marked for a slave, will ever continue in his proper sphere. In tyrannic forms of government, the whole is reversed; the people are well dealt with, if they are amused with even mock-virtues and mock-sciences. This is visible in a neighbouring nation, where modern honor is substituted in the room of ancient honesty; hypocritical address, instead of morals and manners; flattery and subordinate homage is introduced, and easily swallowed, that every one in his turn might play the petty tyrant on his inferior.

In such a state, where nature is so distorted and debased, what poet, if he dared, can imitate

1. Longin. Περὶ ῥητ. sect. XLIV.

naturally men and manners? And should accidentally a genius arise, yet he'll soon find it necessary to flatter despotic power. For perfect writers we must therefore go to Athens; not even to Rome; nor seek it in Virgil or Horace. For who, I would ask, can bear the reading such a blasphemous piece of flattery as this?

O Melibae, Deus nobis haec otia fecit.

Namque erit ille mihi ² semper-deus.

All the beautiful lines in that eclogue, cannot atone for the vileness of these. Or what can we think of the following?

Sive mutata juvenem figura

Ales in terris imitatis almae

Filium Majae, PATIENS VOCARI

CAESARIS ULTOR.

Horace certainly had forgotten his patron³ Brutus, and all the doctrines he learnt at Athens, when

2. *Semper-deus*, a perpetual deity: ὑπὲρ, as the grammarians say. So Callimachus in his hymn to Jupiter,

— Θεὸν αὐτὸν, αἰὶ-μίσην, αἰὲν-ἀνακτα :

For so the verse is to be written.

3. Horace was early patronized by Brutus. When he was at Athens he imbibed the principles of the Stoic philosophy: at the breaking out of the civil wars he joined

when he praised this young tyrant for his bloody prosecutions of the Romans, who attempted the recovery of their ancient liberties and free constitution. But you have none of these abandoned principles in the Athenian writers; none in old Homer, or in our modern Milton. One could wish that Shakespeare was as free from flattery, as Sophocles and Euripides. But our liberty was then in it's dawn; so that some pieces of flattery, which we find in Shakespeare, must be ascribed to the times. To omit some of his rants about kings, which border on ⁴ blasphemy; how

himself to Brutus, who gave him the command of a Roman legion. His fortune being ruin'd, he went to the court of Augustus, turned rake, atheist, and poet. Afterwards he grew sober, and a Stoic philosopher again. — Virgil had not those private obligations to Brutus: his ruin'd circumstances sent him to court. An emperor, and such a minister as Maccenas could easily debauch a poor poet. But at length Virgil, as well as Horace, was willing to retreat: and at last he ordered his divine poem to be burnt, not because it wanted perfection as an epic poem, but because it flattered the subverter of the constitution.

4. In Macbeth Act II.

*Macd. Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope
The Lord's anointed temple, and stole thence
The life o' th' building.*

In K. John Act V. Hubert is speaking of the monk who poison'd K. John.

how abruptly has he introduced, in his Macbeth, a physician giving Malcolm an account of Edward's touching for the king's evil? And this, to pay a servile homage to king James, who highly valued himself for a miraculous power, (as he and his credulous subjects really believed,) of curing a kind of scrophulous humours, which frequently are known to go away of themselves in either sex, when they arrive at a certain age. In his K. Henry VIII. the story which should have ended at the marriage of Anna Bullen, is lengthened out on purpose to make a christening of Elizabeth; and to introduce by way of prophecy a complement to her royal person and dignity: and what is still worse, when the play was some time after acted before K. James, another prophetic patch of flattery was tacked to it. If a subject is taken from the Roman history, he seems afraid to do justice to the citizens. The patricians were the few in conspiracy against the many. And the struggles of the people were an honest struggle for that share of power, which

A resolved villain

Whose bowels suddenly burst out.

So 'tis written of Judas, Acts I, 18. *He fell headlong and burst asunder:* *ἐλάκησε μίση.* You see he has Christ in view whenever he speaks of kings, and this was the court-language: — I wish it never went farther.

was kept unjustly from them. No wonder the historians have represented the tribunes factious, and the people rebellious, when most of that sort now remaining wrote after the subversion of their constitution, and under the fear or favour of the Cæsars. One would think our poet had been bred in the court of Nero, when we see in what colours he paints the tribunes, or the people: he seems to have no other idea of them, than as a mob of Wat Tylers and Jack Cades. Hence he has spoiled, one of the finest subjects of tragedy from the Roman history, his Coriolanus. But if this be the fault of Shakespeare, 'twas no less the fault of Virgil and Horace; he errs in good company. Yet this is a poor apology, for the poet ought never to submit his art to wrong opinions, and prevailing fashion.

AND now I am considering the faulty side of our poet, I cannot pass over his ever and anon confounding the manners of the age which he is describing, with those in which he lived: for if these are at all introduced, it should be done with great art and delicacy; and with such an antique cast, as Virgil has given to his Roman customs and manners. Much less can many of his anacronisms be defended. Other kind of errors (if they may be so called) are properly the

the errors of great genius's; such are inaccuracies of language, and a faulty sublime, which is surely preferable to a faultless mediocrity. Shakspeare labouring with a multiplicity of sublime ideas often gives himself not time to be delivered of them by the rules of *slow-endavouring art*: hence he ^s crowds various figures together, and metaphor upon metaphor; and runs the hazard of far-fetched expressions, whilst intent on nobler

5. The crowding and mixing together heterogeneous metaphors is doing a sort of violence to the mind; for each new metaphor calls it too soon off from the idea which the former has rais'd: 'tis a fault doubtless, and not to be apologized for; and instances are very numerous in Shakspeare. The poet is to take his share of the faults, and the critic is to keep his hands from the context. Yet 'tis strange to see how many passages the editors have corrected, meerly for the sake of consonance of metaphor: breaking thro' that golden rule of criticism; *mend only the faults of transcribers*. Bentley shew'd the way to critics, and gave a specimen, in his notes on Callimachus, of his emendations of Horace by correcting the following verse,

Et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.

Hor. art. poet. 441.

where he reads *ter natos*, for consonance of metaphor. But pray take notice, *ter natos*, is a metaphorical expression; for *nascor*, *natus*, signifies to be born: and are things born brought to the anvil? Is not here dissonance of metaphor with a witness?

ideas

ideas he condescends not to grammatical niceties: here the audience are to accompany the poet in his conceptions, and to supply what he has sketched out for them. I will mention an instance or two of this sort. Hamlet is speaking to his father's ghost,

Oh! answer me,

*Let me not burst in ignorance; but tell
Why thy canoniz'd bones, ⁶ hearsed in death,
Have burst their cearments? &c.*

Again, Macbeth in a soliloquy before he murders Duncan,

Besides, this Duncan

*Hath born his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead, like angels, trumpet-tongu'd against
The deep damnation of his taking off:
And Pity, like a naked new-born babe,
Striding the blast, or heav'n's cherubim hors'd
Upon the fightless couriers of the air,
Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye;
That tears shall drown the wind.*

Many other passages of this kind might be mention'd, which pass off tolerably well in the

6. Such expressions, Longinus sect. 32. calls prettily enough, *ωραξινοδυνευλικώτερα.*

mouth of the actor, while the imagination of the spectator helps and supplies every seeming inaccuracy; but they will by no means bear a close view, more than some designedly unfinished and rough sketches of a masterly hand.

JUST after I had transcribed for the press the above remarks, a circumstance so very strange in itself happened to me, that I cannot help acquainting the reader with it. There is a vanity, we too often indulge, in relating trifles, which we ourselves are concerned in, not considering how little the rest of the world interest themselves in our affairs. And some there are, who, rather than not talk of themselves, will relate their reveries and idlest dreams. If our dreams came from Jove, as the 7 poet has it, perhaps they might be worth relating; but when our waking ideas are little better than fumes and vapors, what can be expected when we revert to a world of our own forming, but there that mimic fancy will produce the most monstrous and ill-joined resemblances? After this frank declaration, what regard or credit may I expect to my own vision? which, however, as it has a particular relation to the subject in hand, and from the usual liberty allowed to us miscellaneous authors,

7. Hom. Il. á. 63. *Kai yáq t' órag ix Διός ístiv.*
Milton XII, 611. *For God is also in sleep.*

I cannot

I cannot help introducing; and, as Herodotus adds after relating any strange or fabulous account, the candid reader may believe just as much as likes him best.

Methought Apollo appeared to me; in his left hand he held his silver bow, and on his resplendent shoulders hung his graceful quiver; and taking me in his right hand, which felt colder than snow on mount Caucasus, he led me (as Milton expresses it) *smooth sliding without step*, to the summit of a high hill, and there graciously presented me with a glass of a most miraculous nature; for it would shew every object in it's proper light, and discover it's beauty or deformity, however glossed over by subtlety or sophistry. But to my misfortune, thro' my confusion and surprize, down it dropped, and brake in ten thousand pieces. Being ten times more afraid of the anger of the god, than regretting my loss, I was about making my apologies, when Apollo smiling interrupted me, "Know, said he, that the gods are never angry with mankind; their own follies are to them punishments sufficient."

I fancied to myself that I rejoiced extremely, that this affair was so well ended; tho' I could not but perceive I was bewildered in a multiplicity of various objects, which surrounded me. The god seeing my confusion anointed my
visual

visual nerve with a balsam of sovereign virtue to remove all films and mortal mists. Immediately the high hill and extended prospects vanished; and I found myself on a plain together with my celestial guide. We were methought entering a large court, which was terminated with a most magnificent gate, built after the model of a triumphal arch, on the top of which was inscribed in letters of gold ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ ΟΙΚΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

At the approach of the god, the folding doors of burnished Corinthian brass flew spontaneously open, and discovered a prospect beautiful beyond even a poet's imagination. The first object, that struck my admiring eyes, was a verdant hillock, whose sides were covered with flowering shrubs and myrtles; thro' these there ran down in a rapid current a silver stream, and watered all the valleys beneath. This was the chief mansion of the muses with Hercules, who was accounted with his all-subduing club and lion's skin. I was somewhat surpris'd to find one of these divine personages absent; but soon learnt that Melpomene was gone to be umpire between Sophocles and Euripides: for Homer, it seems, had given a golden tripod, as a prize to the poet who should be declared conqueror. My impatience glowed in my face to be present at this trial of skill; which the god perceiving complied

complied with my curiosity, but at the same time hinted, how much better it were for such an earthly being to submit every concern to heavenly direction.

Sooner than he spake I arrived at a spacious square inhabited by tragic poets; where directly fronting the entrance stood a most superb structure supported by a hundred pillars of the Corinthian order. This was the palace of Sophocles. After passing thro' the most sumptuous apartments, we arrived at the theatre, which was of a semicircular form, and capable of holding ten thousand spectators. Apollo took his seat on the right hand of the stage, and Melpomene sat on the left: for the gods never give the upper hand to the goddesses. The play to be acted was king Oedipus. I was admiring all around the elegant profusion of ornaments, when the scene opening discovered in the most beautiful painting a wide court before a royal palace; in the center was placed an altar smoaking with incense, and at proper distances temples and groves. Around the altar the Theban youth prostrated themselves; and the chief priest stood eminently conspicuous in his pontifical robes. Immediately comes out of the palace king Oedipus, and most majestically stalked across the stage to the prostrate Thebans. Had not Apollo assisted me, I should never have understood

understood a tenth part of any one scene; for it seem'd to me a language I never heard before: I am certain 'twas not the least adapted to our barbarous and northern mouths. The pronounciation was both according to quantity and accent, which makes the language naturally a less kind of recitativo. The reader may have some notion of what a Grecian play was, if ever he heard the famous Italian Senesino, in recitative music, pronounce any of Mr. Handel's finest operas; for queen Jocasta had exactly his tone and accent. But the voice of Oedipus was fuller and more masculine: his mask did not offend me in the least; it assisted his voice, and seem'd to give a dignity to the character. 'Tis impossible for me to express, the propriety, the solemnity and graceful music of the chorus; whether they sung alternately, or together, the lyric poetry, which was worthy to be heard with the most sacred silence. 'Twas an entertainment religiously solemn: for the Grecians to their most chearful amusements allways joined religion, which they thought was given them by the gods to exhilarate mankind, not to add to their common calamities of life new disquietude and despair.

When the play was over, the audience went directly to the palace of Euripides. The front was raised on Ionic pillars, and the whole structure

ture appeared elegantly plain in the exactest neatness. The transition of dreams is sudden and unaccountable; and so it happened to me, for I found myself at once in the theatre of Euripides, where the play to be acted was Orestes, and the chief part was performed by the poet himself, who appeared without a mask. Nor was the mask, as I was inform'd, always used either by the comic or tragic poets. I remember particularly that scene, which pass'd between Electra and her brother, where he is discovered reclining on a couch, and just awaked. The care of the sister to her distempered brother was pathetically moving: upon her mentioning the name of Helen, Orestes started, and seem'd to recollect a thousand dismal ideas, and his murdered mother came into his thoughts: his face grew paler, and his voice hollow and trembling; at the same time the accompanying music chang'd to the cromatic style. What must the effect be of the united force of music and poetry! However upon the whole I lik'd the Oedipus of Sophocles better; and was not a little surpris'd to find that Euripides made choice of his Orestes; for surely it does not exceed the rest of his plays. The most surpris'ing of all was, that Melpomene adjudg'd the Prize to Euripides: but upon enquiry I found, that Socrates was seen in private that very morning with this tragic muse; and

'twas

'twas whisper'd, that he had influenced her determination. But this I looked upon entirely as a scandalous reflection; for who can imagine such an ugly old fellow should have any influence on a beautiful female? Homer did not seem well pleas'd with this determination; for he sent to Sophocles a golden tripod of double value, the workmanship of which far surpass'd the rich materials.

While I was musing on these things I cast my eyes forward, and beheld, at some distance, a castle on the top of a hill built pretty much after the Gothic model, which I found was the mansion of Shakespeare. I went immediately in company with my celestial guide to visit this magnificent palace. When I had ascended the hill, I stopp'd and looked around to take a view of the extensive country; and seeing from afar the prettiest seat imaginable in ruins, I could not help inquiring the causes of such destruction. "That
 " was, said Apollo, once the seat of Menander.
 " But these happy regions are not entirely free
 " from havoc and spoil. Two most ravaging
 " monsters are here ever and anon making de-
 " predations; one of them is called ZEAL; a
 " monster that has neither ears nor eyes, but a
 " thousand tongues and ten thousand hands;
 " and every hand is armed with a poniard be-
 " smeared with gore: the other is a Gothic
 " form

“ form of a man, with a regal crown on his
 “ head, and in his hands he carrieth shackles of
 “ iron ; in himself alone is the strength of a
 “ whole army ; but what is wonderful, if you
 “ strip him of the charm, which furrounds his
 “ brows, he is scarce a match for a single per-
 “ son : his name is TYRANNY, but his flatterers
 “ call him KINGLY POWER. Nought could with-
 “ stand these wide-wasting monsters, were it not
 “ that Hercules guards the eastern gate, and a
 “ certain Amazonian nymph with her attendants
 “ marches round the plain in warlike parade.”

Soon as the god had spoken I beheld at a distance
 a beautiful virgin ; in her right hand she grasped
 a spear ; a present from Pallas of that ⁸ spear,
 which is the terror of tyrants, and of those, who
 bely the sacred name of heroes ; in her left she
 held a cap. Among the attendants of the god-
 dess LIBERTY (for so she was named) I perceived
 ARTS and SCIENCES, with the emblems and en-
 signs of their virtues : here I saw ELOQUENCE ;
 in her right she carried a three-forked ⁹ thun-
 derbolt with wings, and in her left a scroll : and

8. Hom. Il. é. 745.

9. In allusion to what the comedian said of Pericles.
 Αχαρ. γ. 530.

Ἐπιϋθει ὄργῃ Περικλῆος Οὐλύμπι©.

Ἦτραπτεν, ἐβρόλα, ξυκεύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

See Cicer. in orat. ad Brut. 29.

PUBLIC LAWS with engraven tables of brass in one hand, and a curb in the other: nor was PLENTY wanting with her inverted horn; nor the GRACES, who virtue-proof needed no veil.

The guardians of this sacred place being now marched out of sight, I turned to contemplate the magnificent palace of Shakespeare: when on a sudden my ears were peal'd with a confused and hideous noise. Just as if a flock of frightened geese should interrupt a man in attention to the melodious voice of a nightingale: such, and even worse, seem'd to me, after the Grecian assemblies, the hubbub of a riotous mob of Goths and Vandals, who were ascending the hill in a tumultuous manner. Some were decorated with ribbons, others scarce covered their nakedness with rags; these had wreaths of withered bays round their brows, others were dressed in sable robes, or scarlet coats. They all came resolved to destroy the edifice, and to build the poet another; but upon what model not one of them was agreed. Apollo called aloud, "Rash mortals, said he; forbear, nor daringly tempt your fate." When the heavenly power perceived these illstarr'd poets and critics to disobey his celestial voice, he bent his brandished bow, and let fly full at the foremost his sounding shaft. Nought availed the embroider'd star that cover'd his breast, or the azure ribbon that crossed his shoulders; swift

thro' his hollow heart flew the whizzing arrow, and forcing it's way thro' his back, struck full in the forehead the miscreant who sculked behind him, and first blasphemed the god: home to the very feathers entered the fatal shaft; tho' his forehead was armed with triple-fold brass, and surrounded with bays, and his skull only not impenetrably thick. Down the steep ascent the miscreated bards together tumble, and their bodies remain a prey to ravenous dogs, and the fowls of the air. The rest pressed forward not dismayed by the death of these chieftans: which Apollo discerning took from his quiver another arrow, and fitting it to the stretched string, drew the bending silver to an arch, till the two ends almost joined; away flies the feathered mischief impatient and thirsting after revenge, and dreadful was the clangor of the silver bow. — I started at the sound, and awaked. When to my no small regret I found, that from talking with gods and heroes I was returning again to the common intercourses of meer mortals.

B O O K II.

S E C T. I.

HAVING spoken of the poet's province, I return to the subject of critics and criticism; and shall consider not what they *have been*, but what their assumed character requires them *to be*. If a critic, as the original word imports, can truly judge of authors, he must have formed his judgment from the perfectest models. ¹ Horace sends you to Grecian writers to gain a right relish of literature.

1. Hor. art. poet. 323. and 268. Horace does not seem to have any great opinion of his countrymen, as to their learned capacity. Plautus and Terence are copies of the Grecian stage; the latter, Caesar called, *dimidiate Menander*. If their tragic poets were no better than Seneca, 'tis no great loss that they are all perished. It might not be displeasing to the reader to know Virgil's opinion; and he might be pretty certain 'twas the same as Horace's, had not he left us his testimony, which is as follows, even where he is celebrating the Roman worthies: Aen. VI, 842.

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem, et vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt causas melius, &c.*

'Tis truly observed by Mr. Ascham in his Scholemaster, p. 55. That Athens within the memory of one man's life bred greater men, than Rome in the compass of those seven hundred years when it flourished most.

“ Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo

“ Musa loqui.

“ Vos exemplaria Graeca

“ Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.

When a taste and relish is well modeled and formed, and our general science of what is fair and good improved; 'tis no very difficult matter to apply this knowledge to particulars. But if I have no standard of right and wrong, no criterion of foul and fair; if I cannot give a reason for my liking or disliking, how much more becoming is modesty and silence?

I would beg leave to know, what ideas can he be supposed to have of a real sublime in manners and sentiments, who has never gone further for his instruction, than what a puffy rhetorician, who wrote in a barbarous age, can teach? Or what admirer of monkish sophists and casuists, can ever have any relish at all?

The human mind naturally and necessarily pursues truth, it's second self; and, if not rightly set to work, will soon fix on some false appearance and borrowed representations of what is fair and good: here it will endeavour to acquiesce, disingenuously imposing on itself, and maintaining it's ground with deceitful arguments. This will account for that seeming contradiction in many critical characters, who so acutely can see the faults

faults of others, but at the same time are blind to the follies of their own espoused sentiments and opinions.

There is moreover in every person a particular bent and turn of mind, which, whenever forced a different way than what nature intended, grows aukward. Thus Bentley, the greatest scholar of the age, took a strange kind of resolution to follow the muses: but whatever skill and sagacity he might discover in other authors, yet his Horace and Milton will testify to the world as much his want of elegance and a poetic taste, as his epistle to Dr. Mills and his dissertations on Phalaris will witness for his being, in other respects, the best critic that ever appeared in the learned world.

Aristarchus seem'd very much to resemble Bentley. ² Cicero tells us in his epistles, that whatever displeas'd him he would by no means believe was Homer's: and I don't doubt but he found editors, whose backs were broad enough to bear whatever loads of reproaches he was pleas'd to lay on them. ³ The old rhapsodists,

2. Cicer. epist. ad famil. III, 2. *Sed si, ut scribis, eas literae non fuerunt disertae, scito meas non fuisse. Ut enim Aristarchus Homeri versum negat quem non probat; sic tu (libet enim mihi jocari) quod disertum non erit, ne putetis meum.*

3. Aelian. Var. Hist. XIII, 14.

the Spartan lawgiver, or Athenian tyrant, might have served his turn much better than such a ghost of an editor, the very coinage of his brain, as was lately raised up by the Dr. when he so miserably mangled Milton.

However this unbridled spirit of criticism should by all means be restrained. For these trifles, as they appear, will lead to things of a more serious consequence. By these means even the credit of all books must sink in proportion to the number of critical, as well as uncritical hands thro' which they pass.

There is one thing, I think, should always be remember'd in settling and adjusting the context of authors; and that is, if they are worthy of criticism, they are worthy of so much regard as to be presumed to be in the right, 'till there are very good grounds to suppose them wrong. A critic should come with abilities to defend, not with arrogance at once to start up a corrector. Is this less finished? Is it not so intended to set off what is principal, and requires a higher finishing? Is this less numerous? Perhaps the poet so designed it, to raise the imagination still higher, when we come to sublimer and more sonorous subjects. Does not even variety, which goes so far to constitute what is beautiful, carry with it a supposal of inferiority and subordination? Nay, where no other consideration can be presumed,

fumed, some allowances surely are to be given to the infirmity of human nature.

'Tis the artift of a lower clafs who finishes all alike. If you examine the designs of a masterly hand, you'll perceive how rough these colours are laid on, how slightly that is touched, in order to carry on your view to what is principal, and deserves the chief attention: for by this correspondence and relation, and by thus making each part subservient to the other, a *whole* is formed.

And were it not a degree of prophanation, I might here mention the great Designer, who has flung some things into such strong shades, that 'tis no wonder so much gloominess and melancholy is raised in rude and undisciplined minds: the sublime Maker, ⁴ who has set this universe before us as a book; yet what superficial readers are we in this volume of nature? Here I am certain we must become good men, before we become good critics, and the first step to wisdom is humility.

In a word, the most judicious critics, as well as the most approved authors are fallible; the former therefore should have some modesty, the latter some allowances. But modesty is of the highest importance, when a critical inquirer is examining writings which are truly originals;

4. Milton VIII, 67.

such as Homer among the ancients, Milton and Shakespear among the moderns. Here we are to proceed with caution, with doubt and hesitation. Such authors are really *Makers*, as the original word *Poet* imports. In their extensive minds the forms and species of things lie in embryo, 'till call'd forth into being by expressions answering their great idea.

6 “ The poet’s eye in a fine frenzy rowling,
 “ Doth glance from heav’n to earth, from earth
 “ to heav’n:

5. Sir Philip Sydney in his defence of pœsie, “ The
 “ Greekes named him ΠΟΙΗΤΗΝ, which name hath, as the
 “ most excellent, gone through other languages: it com-
 “ meth of this word ΠΟΙΕΙΝ, which is to make: wherein
 “ I know not whether by lucke or wisdome wee Englishmen
 “ have met with the Greekes in calling him a *Maker*.”
 Johnson in his Discoveries, “ A poet is that which by the
 “ Greeks is called κατ’ ἐξοχήν, Ο ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ, a maker, or
 “ a feigner, &c.” So Spencer uses the word in his Fairy
 Queen, B. 3. c. 2. ft. 3.

“ But ah! my rhimes too rude and rugged are,
 “ When in so high an Object they do light,
 “ And striving fit to make, I fear do mar.

Ποιεῖν, *versus facere*. Julian in his *Caesars*, “Ὡσπερ Ὀμηροῦ ὁρθῶς ΠΟΙΩΝ ἔφη. Xenophon. in *Sympos*. “Ἰτε γὰρ δήπου ὅτι Ὀμηροῦ ὁ σοφώτατος ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΕ σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. Plato in *Ione*, Ἄλλὰ θεία μοίρα τῆτο μόνον εἶός τε ἕκαστος ΠΟΙΕΙΝ καλῶς, ἐφ’ ὃ ἡ μῦσα αὐτὸν ἔρμησαν.

6. A Midsummer-Night’s Dream, Act. V.

“ And,

“ And, as imagination bodies forth
 “ The forms of things unknown, the poet’s pen
 “ Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing
 “ A local habitation, and a name.”

’Twere well therefore if a careful and critical reader would first form to himself some plan, when he enters upon an author deserving a stricter inquiry : if he would consider that originals have a manner allways peculiar to themselves ; and not only a manner, but a language : if he would compare one passage with another ; for such authors are the best interpreters of their own meaning : and would reflect, not only what allowances may be given for obsolete modes of speech, but what a venerable cast this alone often gives a writer. I omit the previous knowledge in ancient customs and manners, in grammar and construction ; the knowledge of these is presupposed ; to be caught tripping here is an ominous stumble at the very threshold and entrance upon criticism ; ’tis ignorance, which no gûess-work, no divining faculty, however ingenious, can atone and commute for.

A learned ⁷ wit of France mentions a certain giant, who could easily swallow windmills, but was at last choak’d with a lump of fresh butter. Was not this exactly the case of Bentley, that giant in criticism, who having at one mouthful

7. Rabelais, B. IV. c. xvii.

swallowed

swallowed his learned antagonists, yet could not digest an English author, but exposed himself to the censure of boys and girls? Indeed 'tis but a silly figure the best make, when they get beyond their sphere; or when with no settled scheme in view, with no compass or card to direct their little skiff, they launch forth on the immense ocean of criticism.

S E C T. II.

OF all the various tribes of critics and commentators, there are none who are so apt to be led into errors, as those who, quitting the plain road of common sense, will be continually hunting after paradoxes, and spinning cobwebs out of their own brains. To pass over the cabalistic doctors, and the profound Jacob Behmen with his successors; how in a trivial instance did both Scaliger and Vossius fling away a deal of pains in misinterpreting a line of Martial, that would not puzzle a school-boy tolerably taught? Among the ancients 'twas customary to swear by what they esteemed most dear; to this custom the poet alludes, not without some malicious wit, in an epigram, where a Jew swears by the temple of the Thunderer; (the word Jehovah did not suit a Roman mouth;) "I don't believe you, says Martial, swear by your pathic, your
 1 " boy

“ boy Anchialus, who is dearer to you, than the
“ God you pretend to adore.”

“¹ Ecce negas, jurasque mihi per templa tonantis:
“ Non credo: jura, verpe, per Anchialum.

I knew an ingenious man who, having thoroughly persuaded himself that Virgil's Aeneid was a history of the times, apply'd the several characters there drawn to persons of the Augustan age. Who could Drances represent but Cicero?

“² Lingua melior, sed frigida bello
“ Dexterâ.

“ Genus huic materna superbum
“ Nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat.”

Nor could any thing be more like, than Sergesthus and Catiline of the Sergian family. In the description of the games, he dashes his ship thro' over eagerness against the rock. And the rock that Catiline split on was his unbridled, licentious temper.

1. Mart. ep. XI, 95. vid. Scalig. in prolegom. ad libros de emendatione temporum. Et Voss. in notis ad Catullum. And our learned Spencer, who has examin'd the corrections of these critics.

2. Virg. Aen. XI, 358. &c. What he adds — *incertum de patre ferebat*, is exactly agreeable to what Plutarch relates of the accounts of Cicero's father. His mother's name was Helvia, one of the most honorable families of Rome.

These

These and some other observations, too numerous to be mention'd here, pass'd off very well; they carried an air of ingenuity with them, if not of truth. But when Iopas was Virgil, Dido Cleopatra, Achates Maecenas or Agrippa, Iapis Antonius Musâ, &c. what was this but playing the Procrustes with historical facts?

SUPPOSE, in like manner, one had a mind to try the same experiment on Milton, and to imagine that frequently he hinted at those times, in which he himself had so great a share both as a writer, and an actor. Thus, for instance, Abdiel may be the poet himself:

“ Nor number nor example with him wrought
 “ To swerve from truth, or change his constant
 “ mind
 “ Tho' single.
 “ This was all thy care,
 “ To stand approv'd in sight of God, tho'
 “ worlds
 “ Judg'd thee perverse.

'Tis not to be suppos'd that the commonwealthsman Milton could bear to see an earthly monarch idolized, deified, called the lord, the anointed, the representative of God: no, that sight he endured not; he drew his pen, and answer'd himself the royal writer,

ὩΣ ΕἶΠΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΤΟΡΑ ΘΥΜΟΝ,

thus exploring his own undaunted heart,

“ O heav'n, that such resemblance of the highest
 “ Should yet remain, where faith and realty
 “ Remain not ! ”

Who cannot see whom he meant, and what particular facts he pointed at in these lines ?

“ So spake the fiend, and with *Necessity*
 “ *The Tyrant's plea*, excus'd his devilish deeds.

Nor can any one want an interpretation for Nimrod, on whose character he dwells so long.

“ Till one shall rise
 “ Of proud ambitious heart, who (not content
 “ With fair equality, fraternal state)
 “ Will arrogate dominion undeserv'd
 “ Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
 “ Concord, and law of nature from the earth :
 “ Hunting, (and men, not beasts shall be his game)
 “ With war and hostile snare, such as refuse
 “ Subjection to his empire tyrannous.
 “ A mighty hunter thence he shall be stil'd
 “ Before the Lord, as in despite of heav'n
 “ Or of heav'n claiming second sov'reignty :
 “ And from rebellion shall derive his name,
 “ *Tho' of rebellion others be accuse.*

3. Hom. Il. λ. 403.

Could

Could the character of Charles the second, with his rabble rout of riotous courtiers, or the cavalier spirit and party just after the restoration be mark'd stronger and plainer, than in the beginning of the seventh book?

“ But drive far off the barbarous dissonance

“ *Of Bacchus and his revellers, &c.*

It needs not be told what nation he points at in the twelfth book.

“ Yet sometimes nations will decline so low

“ From virtue (which is reason) that no wrong,

“ But justice, and some fatal curse annex'd,

“ Deprives them of their outward liberty,

“ Their inward lost.

Again, how plain are the civil wars imagined in the sixth book? The Michaels and Gabriels, &c. would have lengthen'd out the battles endless, nor would any solution been found; had not Cromwell, putting on celestial armour, ΤΗΝ ΠΑΝΟΠΛΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, for this was 4 Milton's opinion) like the Messiah all armed in

4. Milton points out this allegory himself, in his defence of Smectym. p. 180. fol. edit. “ Then (that I may have
 “ leave to soare awhile as the poets use) then ZEAL,
 “ whose substance is ethereal, arming in compleat diamond,
 “ ascends his fiery chariot drawn with two blazing meteors,
 “ figured

in heavenly panoply, and ascending his fiery chariot, driven over the malignant heads of those who would maintain tyrannic sway.

“figured like beasts, but of a higher breed, than any the zodiack yields, resembling two of those four which Ezechiel and St. John saw, the one visaged like a lion, to express a power, high authority and indignation; the other of count'nance like a man, to cast derision and scorn upon perverse and fraudulent seducers: with these the invincible warrior ZEAL shaking loosely the slack reins drives over the heads of scarlet prelates and such as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels.” I have often thought that Milton plan'd his poem long before he was blind, and had written many passages. There is now extant the first book written in his own hand. He let the world know he was about an epic poem; but designedly kept the subject a secret. In his essay on church government, p. 222. fol. edit. speaking of epic poems, “If to the instinct of nature and the imboldning of art ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing *advers in our climat or the fate of this age*, it haply would be no rashness from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our ancient stories.” How near is this to what he writes? IX, 44.

*Unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Deprest.*

'Tis easy to shew from other places in his prose works many the like allusions to his epic poem; which in his blindness and retreat from the noisie world, he completed and brought to a perfection perhaps equal with Homer's or Virgil's.

Let us consider his tragedy in this allegorical view. Sampson imprison'd and blind, and the captive state of Israel, lively represents our blind poet with the republican party after the restoration, afflicted and persecuted. But these reveling idolators will soon pull an old house on their heads; and God will send his people a deliverer. How would it have rejoiced the heart of the blind seer, had he lived to have seen, with his mind's eye, the accomplishment of his prophetic predictions? when a deliverer came and rescued us from the Philistine oppressors. And had he known the sobriety, the toleration and decency of the church, with a Tillotson at it's head; our laws, our liberties, and our constitution ascertain'd; and had considered too the wildness of fanaticism and enthusiasm; doubtless he would never have been an enemy to such a church, and such a king.

However these mystical and allegorical reveries have more amusement in them, than solid truth; and favour but little of cool criticism, where the head is required to be free from fumes and vapours, and rather sceptical than dogmatical.

*5 Veri speciem dignoscere calles,
Ne qua subaerato mendosum tinniat auro?*

5. Perseus. V, 105.

S E C T. III.

THE editors of Shakespeare are not without many instances of this over-refining humour upon very plain passages. In the comedy of Errors, Act III. (the plot of which play is taken from the Menaechmi of Plautus) Dromio of Syracuse is giving his master a ludicrous description of an ugly woman, that laid claim to him as his wife.

“ S. Dro. I could find out countries in her.

“ S. Ant. In what part of her body stands
“ Ireland ?

“ S. Dro. Marry, Sir, in her buttocks ; I
“ found it out by the bogs.

“ S. Ant. Where Scotland ?

“ S. Dro. I found it out by the barrenness,
“ hard in the palm of her hand.

“ S. Ant. Where *France* ?

“ S. Dro. *In her forehead ; arm'd and reverted,*
“ *making war against her ' hair.*

Shakespeare had the hint from ² Rabelais, where friar John is humourously mapping, as it were, Panurge :

1. The editors would have it, *making war against her hair* : i. e. making war against Henry IV. of Navarre ; whom the French resisted, on account of his being a protestant.

2. Rabelais B. III. chap. 28.

“ Behold there Asia, here are Tygris and
 “ Euprates; lo here Afric—on this side lieth
 “ Europe.”

But our poet improves every hint, and with comic fatyre ridicules the countries, as he goes along; Ireland for it's bogs, Scotland for it's barren soil, and France for a disease that is well known there,

“ 3 Nomenque à gente receipt.”

In her forehead, making war against her hair, is an allusion to a certain stage of the distemper, when it breaks out in crusty scabs in the forehead and hairy scalp; hence called *corona veneris*, the venereal crown: *armed and reverted*, are terms borrowed from heraldry. And this allusion, obvious to the audience, frequently occurs in Johnson, as well as elsewhere in our author, upon mentioning a *French crown*.

Mercutio likewise in *Romeo and Juliet* Act II. ridiculing the frenchified coxcombs, has an allusion to another stage of this disease, when it gets into the bones. “ Why is not this a lamentable
 “ thing, grandfire, that we should be thus
 “ afflicted with these strange flies, these fashion-
 “ mongers, these *pardonnez-moy's*, who stand so
 “ much on their new *forms*, that they cannot

3. Fracastorii Siphylis. I, 6.

“ sit at ease on the old bench? † O their bones!
 “ their bones!”

In

4. They have altered this into, *O their bons! their bons!*
 But the same allusion Pandarus makes, or rather (in the
 Παράθεσις) the poet in the conclusion of Troilus and
 Cressida.

*As many as be here of Pandar's hall,
 Your eyes half out, weep out at Pandar's fall;
 Or if you cannot weep, yet give some groans,
 Though not for me, yet for your aking bones.
 Brethren and sisters of the hold-door trade,
 Some two months hence my will shall here be made;
 It should be now; but that my fear is this,
 Some galled goose of Winchester would hiss;
 Till then, I'll sweat, and seek about for eases,
 And at that time bequeath you my diseases.*

In the first part of King Henry VI. Act I. The Duke of
 Gloucester upbraiding the bishop of Winchester says,

Thou that giv'st whores indulgencies to sin.

And presently after calls him, *Winchester goose*. There is
 now extant an old manuscript (formerly the office-book of
 the court-leet held under the jurisdiction of the bishop of
 Winchester in Southwark) in which are mention'd the several
 fees arising from the brothel-houses allow'd to be kept in
 the bishop's manour, with the customs and regulations of
 them. One of the articles is,

De his, qui custodiunt mulieres, habentes nefandam infirmitatem.

*Item, That no steward keep any woman within his
 house, that hath any sickness of bzenning, but that she
 be put out upon pain of making a fyne unto the Lord
 of C shillings.*

In Henry V. Act III. The French king and his nobles are speaking contemptibly of Henry the fifth and the English army.

“ Duke of Bourb. If thus they march along
 “ Unfought withal, but I will fell my dukedom,
 “ To buy a foggy and a dirty farm
 “ In that *short nooky isle* of Albion.

There is a figure in rhetoric named *meiosis*, which is not unelegantly used when we extenuate and undervalue any thing. The Frenchman therefore calls our island *short nooky*, according to the ^s figure it made in the maps, and according to the comparison of it to the great ideas, which Frenchman-like he conceived of his own country. How much more poetical is this, than the alteration of the editors into *nook-shotten isle*?

This sickness of brenning, and the antiquity of the disease is mention'd in two letters printed in the philosophical transactions, No. 357 and 365. This might vindicate Shakespeare from an anacronism, in mentioning a disease in the reign of K. Henry VI. which some think never existed in the world till the reign of Henry VII. about the year 1494. after Columbus and his crew returned from the famous expedition to the Indies. And the swelling in the groin occasion'd by this filthy disease was call'd a *Winchester goose*. But Shakespeare, as a poet might claim priviledges which a historian cannot, be the state of the controversie how it will.

Famam sequere et sibi convenientia fuge.

5. *Insula naturâ triquetra.* Caes. de bell. Gall. L. V.

In

In the first part of K. Henry VI. Act I.

“ Daup. Thy promises are like Adonis’ garden,
 “ That one day bloom’d and fruitful were the
 “ next.

A poet can create: what signifies it then if the grotto of Calypso, or the gardens of Alcinous and Adonis, had not any existence but in poetical imagination? ⁶ Pliny says, *That antiquity had nothing in greater admiration than the gardens of the Hesperides and of the kings Adonis and Alcinous.* i. e. as they existed in the descriptions of the poets. Spencer describes the gardens of Adonis in his *Fairy Queen* B. III. c. 6. l. 42. and copies ⁷ Homer’s description of the gardens of Alcinous. Shakespeare had his eye on both these poets. To omit what Johnson writes, in *Every man out of his humour*, Act IV. sc. 8. I shall cite Milton. IX, 439: *blow will*

“ Spot more delicious than those gardens feign’d
 “ Or of ⁸ *reviv’d Adonis*, or renown’d
 “ Alcinous, host of old Laertes’ son.

6. Pliny L. XIX. c. iv.

7. Hom. Od. *ν*. 117.

8. The story is frequently alluded to. See Sandys’ travels p. 209. Maundrell p. 34, 35. Milton himself I, 446. &c. Dr. Bentley has taken notice of this [*seeming*] mistake of Milton; but never gave himself any trouble to examine into the meaning of it. *Those gardens feign’d*, i. e. by the

If this place of Milton is not understood with great latitude, there will be a confusion of the poetical descriptions of Adonis' gardens, with those little portable gardens in earthen pots which they exhibited at the festival of revived Adonis. Arfinoe in Theocritus Idyl. XV. in honor of Adonis has these gardens in sylver baskets; but this festival was celebrated by a queen.

ΠΑΡ Δ' ΑΠΑΛΟΙ ΚΑΠΟΙ ΠΕΦΥΛΛΑΓΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΝ
ΤΑΛΑΡΙΣΚΟΙΣ
ΑΡΓΥΡΕΟΙΣ.

However the gardens of revived Adonis became a proverb for things of shew without substance, as well as for what was of little value and perishable. In the Caesars of Julian, Constantine, having spoken his speech, is thus taken up short by Silenus, “ But would you then, Constantine,

poets: so that he distinguishes them from those earthen pots planted with herbs and flowers, and exhibited at his festival.

9. Καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἄλλ' ἢ τὰς Ἀδάμιδος κήπους ὡς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ἃ Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἑαυτῷ προσφέρει; [lege cum Voss. cod. προσφέρει;] τί δὲ, εἶπεν, εἰσὶν ἕς λίβεις Ἀδάμιδος κήπους; [Ὅς terone, absorpt. à prior. Syllab.] αἱ γυναῖκες, ἔφη, τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν, ὅτρακίοις ἰπαμησάμινοι γῆν λαχανίαν, χλωρήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀντίκα ἀπομαραίνονται.

“ put

“ put off your *gardens of Adonis* upon us for
 “ things of worth and substance? ” “ What,
 “ replies Constantine, do you mean by Adonis’
 “ gardens? ” “ Those (says Silenus) which
 “ the women plant with herbs in honor of that
 “ minion of Venus in little earthen pots filled
 “ with dirt, which as soon almost as they begin
 “ to flourish immediately wither and decay
 “ away.” These are *properly* the gardens of re-
 vived Adonis; Milton therefore might have
 avoided this ambiguity by leaving out *revived*,
 as thus.

“ Spot more delicious than those gardens feign’d
 “ Or of Adonis, or Alcinous
 “ Renowned host of old Laertes’ son.

Our Shakespeare’s expression is beyond all ex-
 ception and censure.

In Macbeth Act III. Macbeth having mur-
 dered Duncan, resolves now not to stop short,
 but to destroy, root and branch, all those whom
 he imagined to stand in his way, or his posterity’s
 to the crown.

“ We have ¹⁰ *scorb’d* the snake, not kill’d it,
 “ She’ll close and be herself.

10. They have changed this reading into, *scorb’d the
 snake.*

The allusion is to the story of the Hydra. *We have scorb'd the snake*, we have indeed Hercules-like cut off one of it's heads, and *scorb'd* it, as it were, as he did assisted by Iolaus, hindering that one head thus scorb'd from sprouting again: but such a wound will close and cure; our Hydra-Snake has other heads still, which to me are as dangerous as Duncan's; particularly that of Banquo, Fleance, &c. The allusion is learned and elegant.

In Macbeth Act IV.

“ 1. Witch. Thrice the brinded Cat has mew'd.

“ 2. Witch. *Thrice and once* the hedge-pig whin'd.

“ 3. Witch. “ Harper cries 'tis time, 'tis time.

“ 1. Witch. Round about the cauldron go,

“ In the poison'd entrails throw.

Thrice

11. Harper, a dog's name; one of their familiars. So one of Acteon's hounds was named. Ovid. Met. III, 222. *Harpalos, ab ἀρῶλω rapio*. Our poet shews his great knowledge in antiquity in making the dog give the signal. Hecate's dogs are mention'd in all the poets almost, Virg. Aen. VI, 257.

*Visaque canes ululare per urbem
Adventante deâ.*

Theoc. II, 35.

Θίτυλι, τὰ κύνες ἄμμιν ἀπὸ πτόλιον ἠφύονται,

Ἄ θιὸς ἐν τριόδοισι.

Hecatem

Thrice the cat—four times the hedge-hog, &c. have given signals for us to begin our incantations. *Thrice and four times*, i. e. frequently; *terque quaterque*. As yet no incantation is begun; nor is there any reason to alter the context into *twice and once*, (which some have done,) tho' three be a magical number, as Virgil says,

“¹² Numero deus impare gaudet.

But suppose the incantation was begun, the numbers *three* and *nine* are not always used. The witch Circe, in Ovid, in her magical operations is thus described,

“¹³ Tum *bis* ad occasum, *bis* se convertit ad ortus.”

And Statius in the infernal sacrifice.

Theb. IV, 545.

“ Lacte *quater* sparsas.

Hecaten vocat altera, saevam

Altera Tisiphonen. Serpentes atque videres

INFERNAS errare CANES. Hor. f. 1. 8.

Apollon. 1. 3. 1216.

Ὅζειν ὑλακῆ ΧΘΟΝΙΟΙ ΚΥΝΕΣ ἰφοέγλονο.

It should be *χθόνιας κύνας*, in the feminine gender, as Horace has it: and so Homer, when speaking of any thing infamous, contemptible, &c.

12. Virg. ecl. VIII, 75.

13. Ovid. Met. XIV, 386.

In Julius Caesar Act II. Porcia says to Brutus,
 “To keep with you at meals, *comfort* your bed
 “And talk to you sometimes?
 “This is but an odd phrase, and gives as odd
 “an idea,” says Mr. Theobald. He therefore
 substitutes, *confort*. But this good old word,
 however disused thro’ modern refinement, was
 not so discarded by Shakespeare. Henry VIII.
 as we read in Cavendish’s life of Woolsey, in
 commendation of queen Katherine, in public
 said, “She hath bene to me a true obedient
 “wife, and as *comfortable* as I could wish.”
 And our marriage service Mr. Theobald might
 as well quarrel with, as using as odd a phrase,
 and giving as odd an idea.

In the Midsummer-Night’s Dream, Act IV.

“Oberon. Then, my queen, in ¹⁴ silence *sad*,
 “Trip we after the night’s shade.

In silence sad, i. e. still, sober. As Milton de-
 scribes the evening, IV, 598.

“Now came *still* evening on, and twilight gray
 “Had in her *sober* livery all things clad.
 “Silence accompany’d.

That *sad* and *sober* are synonymous words, and so
 used formerly, is plain from many passages in our
 author.

14. They have printed it, *In silence fade*.

In Much ado about Nothing, Act II.

“ Benedick. This can be no trick, the conference was *sadly* born.

And in Milton VI, 540.

“ He comes, and settled in his face I see

“ *Sad* resolution and secure.

Sad, i. e. sober, sedate.

Spencer in his Fairy Queen. B. I. c. 10. ft. 7.

“ Right cleanly clad in comely *sad* attire.

i. e. sober, grave.

And B. 2. c. 2. ft. 14.

“ A sober *sad* and comely courteous dame.

These few instances, among many others that may easily be given, are sufficient to shew how ingenious commentators may be led into mistakes, when once they indulge their over-refining taste, and pay greater complements to their own guesses; than to the expressions of the author.

S E C T. IV.

THERE is no small elegance in the use of a figure which the rhetoricians call the *apostrophe*; when in threatening, or in the expression of any other passion, the sentence is broken, and something is left to be supplied.

'Tis

'Tis a figure well known from that common passage in Virg. Aen. I, 138.

“ Quos ego — sed motos praestat componere
“ fluctus.

And Aen. III, 340.

“ Quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aurâ?
“ Quem tibi jam Troja —

So in king Lear, Act II.

“ Lear. No, you unnatural hags,
“ I will have such revenges on you both,
“ That all the world shall — I will do such things,
“ What they are yet I know not.

I mention these well-known places to introduce others less known. And here I beg leave to explain a passage in Horace, who uses this figure with the utmost elegance in his ode to Galatea. Venus is introduced jesting on Europe,

*Mox ubi lufit fatis, Abftineto
Dixit irarum calidaeque rixae:
Cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet
Cornua taurus —*

1. Hor. L. II. Od. 27. The Dr. would thus alter the passage.

*JAM tibi INJUSSUS laceranda reddet
Cornua taurus.*

What

What then? Why then treat this odious creature as cruelly or — as kindly as you please. 'Tis an elegance not to be supplied in words. Immediately Venus begins soothing her vanity with the dignity of her lover, and with her giving a name to a part of the world. Whether any commentator has taken notice of this beauty in Horace, I don't know: Dr. Bentley is at his old work, altering what he could not taste.

This figure has a very near resemblance to another called by the Greeks, τὸ σχῆμα παρ' ὑπόνοιαν, *figura praeter expectationem*: when the sentence is in some measure broken, and somewhat added otherwise than you expected. Aristophanes in Plut. §. 26.

Χρ. Ἄλλ' εἴ σε κρύψω τῶν ἐμῶν γὰρ οἰκίῳν
Πισότατον ἠγῶμαι σε ἢ — κλεπίστατον.

Well, I'll not conceal it from thee: for of all my domestics

I think thee to be the most trusty and — the greatest knave.

'Twas expected he should have added, *and the honestest.*

I come now to our author, and shall cite a few places, which, as far as I find, have escaped notice, and on that account, have been mended or mangled.

In the Merry Wives of Windfor, Act II.

“ Ford. Tho’ Page be a secure fool, and stand
 “ so firmly on his wife’s —— *Frailty*; yet I
 “ cannot put off my opinion so easily.” He was
 going to say *bonesty*; but corrects himself, and
 adds unexpectedly, *frailty*, with an emphasis,
 as in Hamlet, Act I.

Frailty, thy name is woman.

This well spoken gives surprize to the audience;
 and surprize is no small part of wit.

In Othello, Act I.

“ Brab. Thou art a villain.

“ Iago. Thou art a —— senator.

A senator is added beyond expectation; any one
 would think Iago was going to call him as bad
 names, as he himself was called by the senator
 Brabantio.

First part of Henry IV. Act I.

“ Hotsp. Revolted Mortimer!

“ He never did fall off, my sovereign liege.

“ But by the chance of war—To prove that true,

“ Needs no more but one tongue.

So this passage should be pointed; but not a syl-
 lable altered. Hotspur is going to speak only
 not treason; but corrects himself by a beautiful
 aposiopesis.

2. They would read, *Faalty*.

In

In Coriolanus, Act II. Menenius speaking of Coriolanus,

“ Where is he wounded? Vol. I’th’ shoulder,
 “ and i’th’ left arm: there will be large cicatrices
 “ to shew the people, when he shall stand for
 “ his place. He received in the repulse of
 “ Tarquin seven hurts i’th’ body. Men. One
 “ i’th’ neck, and ⁴ two i’th’ thigh — there’s
 “ nine that I know.

The old man, agreeable to his character, is minutely particular: *Seven wounds? let me see; one in the neck, two in the thigh——Nay I am sure there are more; there are nine that I know of.*

In Macbeth, Act II.

“ Macb. To know my deed——’twere best
 “ not know myself.

To know my deed! No, rather than so, ’twere best not know myself.

In Othello, Act V.

“ Put out the light, and then—put out the light!
 “ If I quench thee, &c.

Othello enters with a taper (not with a sword, for he intended all along to strangle his wife in her bed) and in the utmost agony of mind says, he has a cause for his cruelty, a cause not to be named to the chaste stars: ’tis fit therefore Desde-

4. They have printed it, *And one too i’th’ thigh.*

mona should die. *I'll put out the light and then—* strangle her, he was going to say : but this recalls a thousand tender ideas in his troubled soul : he stops short—*If I quench the taper, how easy 'tis to restore its former light ; but, ô Desdemona, if once I put out thy light, &c.*

S E C T. V.

I HAVE often thought, in examining the various corrections of critics, that if they had taken more care of commas and points, and had been less fond of their own whims and conceits, they might oftener have retrieved the author's words and sense. As trifling as this may appear, yet trifles should not be always over-look'd. Supposing some passages in Horace and Milton had been better pointed and less changed, would Dr. Bentley's editions have been less learned ? For instance, the lyric poet in ridicule of the vulgar opinion of the transmigration of souls, as well as to shew the inhumanity of sailors, feigns a dialogue between the ghost of Archytas and a mariner, who finds Archytas' body on the shore. The mariner tauntingly asks him what availed all his astrology and geometry, since he was to die so shortly ; [MORITURO : on this word depends most of what follows] The ghost replies,
 " Occidit

“ Occidit & Pelopis genitor, &c. *What wonder, since demigods and heroes have died? Ay, answers the mariner quickly, and your Pythagoras too, for all his ridiculous talk of the transmigration of souls.*

“ Naut. Habentque

“ Tartara Panthoiden, &c.

Archytas takes him up with great gravity,

“ Judice te, non fordidus auctor

“ Naturae verique.

Then he goes on, letting him know how all mankind must come to their long home by various ways; and gives his trade a touch of satire,

“ Exitio est avidis mare nautis.

Dr. Bentley here by reading *avidum* destroys the poinancy. However the inhuman sailor leaves the body unburied on the shore, deaf to the intreaties of Archytas.

Of all the odes in Horace the thirteenth of the second book seems to be written in the truest spirit. It must be supposed to be uttered immediately, when he just escaped the fall of a tree: he scarcely recovers himself, but pours out this imprecation,

“ Ille et nefasto te posuit die,

1. *Illum, ó, nefasto te posuit die*

Quicumque primum, &c.

Ille venena Colcha,

Et quicquid, &c. So Dr. Bentley corrects.

“ (Quicumque primùm) et sacrilega manu

“ Produxit, Arbos, &c.

“ Ille venena colchica,

“ Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas

“ Tractavit.

The sentence is designedly embarrassed, and the verses are broken, and run one into the other with great art, *Ille venena colchica et quicquid*, &c. All is contrived to shew the hurry and confusion of the poet. As soon as he gets breath, the first reflection is very natural upon the dangers constantly threatning human life.

“ Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini fatis

“ Cautum est in horas. Navita Bosphorum

“ Poenas perhorrescit; neque ultra

“ *Caeca timent aliunde fata.*

I should like this reading *timent* better, if authorized by any book: for the transition, from the singular to the plural, is not only an elegant variety, but even the verse seems to require it.— The poet next begins to think how near he was visiting the regions below, and seeing his lyric friends; at the very mentioning of whom, he starts out into enthusiastic rapture, and forgets every misfortune of human life. This is the true spirit and genius of lyric poetry.

In the seventh epode a slight pointing sets to right the following verses,

² *Fugit juventas, et verecundus color
Reliquit ; ossa pelle amicta luridâ.*

*My youth is fled, and my blooming colour has forsaken me :
my bones are covered with skin all wan and pale.*

And in the secular poem :

³ *Vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
(Quod semel dictum est stabilisque rerum
Terminus servet!) bona jam peractis
Jungite fata.*

And ye, O weird sisters, ever true in your prophetic verses, (and, oh, may a stable period of these

2. *Fugit Juventas, et verecundus color
Reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida.*

“ Quibus verbis olim offensus vir magnus Julius Scaliger,
“ *Quis, inquit, dicat colorem reliquisse ossa? non igitur debuit
“ dicere ossa amicta pelle, sed reliquisse pellem amicientem ossa.*
“ *Nihil hac censura justius clariusve dici potest.*” So far
Bentley ; he alters therefore the passage thus ;

*Fugit juventas ; et verecundus color
Reliquit ORA, pelle amicta lurida.*

3. Thus printed in Dr. Bentley's edition,

*Vosque veraces cecinisse Parcae,
Quod semel dictum STABILIS PER AEVUM
Terminus servet, bona jam peractis
Jungite fata.*

things preserve what ye have once declared!) add happy destinies to those already past.

'TIS time now to return to our dramatic poet; and I shall here lay before the reader some few passages, where not a word is changed, but only the pointing; and shall submit to his judgment whether or no any further alteration is required.

In Measure for Measure, Act IV.

“ Aug. But that her tender shame
 “ Will not proclaim against her maiden loss,
 “ How might she tongue me? + Yet reason
 “ dares her. No :
 “ For my authority bears a credent bulk,
 “ That no particular scandal once can touch ;
 “ But it confounds the breather.

Were it not for her maiden modesty, how might the Lady proclaim my guilt? Yet (you'll say) she has reason on her side, and that will make her dare to do it. I think not; for my authority is of such weight, &c.

In Cymbeline, Act V.

“ Posthumus. Must I repent?
 “ I cannot do it better than in gyves,

4. *Yet reason dares her :*

“ The old folio impressions read, *yet reason dares her no : —*
 “ perhaps, *dares her note : i. e. stifles her voice : frights*
 “ *her from speaking.*” Mr. Theobald.

“ Desir'd,

“ Desir’d, more than constrain’d. ‘ To satisfie,
 “ (If of my freedom ’tis the main part) take
 “ No stricter tender of me, than my all.

Must I repent? (says Posthumus in prison) I cannot repent better than now in gyves; desir’d, more than constrain’d. To make what satisfaction I can for my offences, (if this be, as really ’tis, the main part left of my freedom,) take no stricter surrender of me than my all, my life and fortune.

In Othello, Act I.

The Moor is asking leave for Desdemona to go with him to Cyprus,

“ I therefore beg it not,
 “ To please the palate of my appetite,
 “ Nor to comply with heat, (the young affects,)
 “ In my ‘ defunct and proper satisfaction :
 “ But to be free and bounteous to her mind.

*I don’t beg it meerly to please my appetite, nor to comply with lustful heat, (which are youthful affecti-
 ons) in my own satisfaction, which is, as it were,
 defunct, and proper to my age, being declined into*

5. ’Tis printed in Mr. Theobald’s edition, by conjecture,

*To satisfie,
 I d’off my freedom.*

6. They read, *distinct.*

the vale of years: But I beg it in compliance to Desdemona's mind. The word *defunct* is not to be taken strictly here as signifying absolutely dead; but almost so; or from the lat. *defunctus*, it might mean, discharged from youthful appetite, and proper to his age and character. So afterwards, Act II. Iago says, "When the blood
 " is made dull with the act of sport, there should
 " be (again to inflame it, and to give satiety a
 " fresh appetite) loveliness in favour, sympathy
 " in years, manners and beauties: all which the
 " Moor is *defective* in." Now if any alteration were to be proposed, instead of *defunct* the properest word seems *defect*,

" In my *defect* and proper satisfaction.

In which sense the Latins use *defectus*; and 'tis well known how frequently in Shakespeare's time they made Latin words English. Tacitus in Annal. L. IV. c. 29. *Lentulus senectutis extremæ, Tubero defecto corpore.* And Martial, L. 13. Ep. 77.

" *Dulcia defectâ modulatur carmina linguâ*

" *Cantator cygnus funeris ipse sui.*

Or what if, with a slighter variation still, we read?

" I therefore beg it not

" To please the palate of my appetite,

" Nor

“ Nor to comply with heat, (the young affects
 “ In *me* defunct) and proper satisfaction :
 “ But to be free and bounteous to her mind.

i. e. The youthful affections being in *me* defunct,
 &c.

In K. John, Act I. Philip Faulconbridge has
 been just knighted.

“ Phil. James Gurney, wilt thou give us leave a
 “ while?

“ Gurn. Good leave, good Philip.

“ Phil. Philip, *Sparrow*, James.

“ There’s toys abroad ; anon I’ll tell thee more.

Mr. Pope thus explains it, “ Call me Philip ?

“ You may as well call me *sparrow* ; Philip being

“ a common name for a tame ’ *sparrow*.” ’Tis

not to be wonder’d that Mr. Theobald should

turn a deaf ear to whatever Mr. Pope offers by

way of criticism : he therefore alters the place

thus. *Philip! spare me James*. Without changing

a word, why should we not read, taking the

whole in Mr. Pope’s sense ?

“ Gurn. Good leave, good Philip.

“ Phil. Philip? *Sparrow!* James,

“ There’s toys abroad ; anon I’ll tell thee more.

7. So Prior in his poem intituled, *The Sparrow and Dove* :

S. *I woo’d my cousin PHILLY Sparrow.*

S E C T. VI.

BUT are there no errors at all crept into the copies of Shakespeare? Perhaps more than into any one book, published since the invention of printing. But these errors may often be accounted for, and the cause once known, the cure will follow of course.

Not only the words in all languages are ever fleeting, but likewise the manner of spelling those words is so very vague and indeterminate, that almost every one varies it according to his own whim and fancy. This is not only true of the more barbarous countries, but was likewise the case of the more polite languages of the Greeks and Romans. The spelling of Virgil differ'd from that of Ennius; and later Romans ventured to vary from even the ¹ Augustan age: Nor were the ² alterations less in the Grecian language;

1. Augustus himself had little regard to strict orthography, as appears in Suetonius's life of Aug. sect. 88.

2. Some letters were added by Epicharmus and Simonides. A specimen of the manner in which Homer's earliest copies were written, is as follows:

ΜΕΝΙΝ ΑΕΔΕ ΤΗΒΑ ΠΕΛΕΙΑΔΕΟ ΑΚΗΙΛΕΟΣ
 ΟΛΟΜΕΝΕΝ Ε ΜΥΡΙ ΑΚΗΕΟΙΣ ΑΛΓΕΑ ΤΗΚΕΝ
 ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΔΙΠΗΤΗΜΟΣ ΠΣΥΚΗΑΣ ΑΙΔΙ ΠΡΟΙΑΠΣΕΝ
 ΕΡΟΟΝ

language; and every country followed their own pronounciation, and spelt in a great measure accordingly.

It may be proper, in order to ascertain some readings in our author, just to observe, that in the reign of queen Elizabeth the scholars wrote *cuncient, tauk, chaunce, &c.* keeping to the broader manner of pronounciation; and added a letter often to the end of words, as *sunne, restlesse, &c.* sometimes to give them a stronger tone as, *doe, wee, mee, &c.* the *y* they expressed by *ie*, as, *anie, bodie, &c.* Tho' many other instances may be given, yet the generality of those writers paid very little regard either to etymology or pronounciation, or the peculiar genius of our language; all which ought to be considered. As to Shakespeare, he did not seem to take much care about the printing of those plays, which were published in his life, but left it to the printers and players; and those plays, which were published after his death, were liable to even more blunders. So that his spelling being often faulty, he should thence be explained by some happy guessing or divining faculty. This

ΕΡΟΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΦΕΛΟΡΙΑ ΤΕΥΚΗ ΚΥΝΕΣΣΙΝ
 ΟΙΟΝΟΙΣΙ ΤΕ ΠΑΣΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΕΛΕΕΤΟ ΒΟΛΗ
 ΕΚΕ Ο ΔΕ ΤΑΠΡΟΤΑ ΔΙΑΣΤΕΤΕΝ ΕΡΙΣΑΝΤΕ
 ΑΤΡΕΔΕΣ ΤΕ ΦΑΝΑΚΕ ΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΚΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΚΗΙΛΛΕΥΣ

seems one of the easiest pieces of criticism; and what English reader thinks himself not master of so trifling a science? When he receives a letter from his friend, errors of this kind are no impediment to his reading: and the reason is, because he generally knows his friend's drift and design, and accompanies him in his thoughts and expressions. And could we thus accompany the diviner poets and philosophers, we should commence criticks of course. However I will mention an instance or two of wrong spelling in our poet, and leave it to the reader to judge, whether such trifling blunders have been sufficiently restored.

In Hamlet, Act III. in Mr. Theobald's edition, p. 301. the place is thus printed:

“ Hamlet. For thou dost know, oh Damon
“ dear,

“ This realm dismantled was

“ Of Jove himself, and now reigns here

“ A very, very *Paddock*.

“ Hor. You might have rhim'd.

The old copies read, *Paicock*, *Paiocke* and *Pajocke*. Mr. Theobald substitutes *Paddock*, as nearest the traces of the corrupt spelling: Mr. Pope, *Peacock*; (much nearer surely to *Paicock*, than Mr. Theobald's *Paddock*) thinking a fable is alluded

alluded to, of the birds chusing a king, instead of the eagle, the peacock. And this reading of Mr. Pope's seems to me exceding right. Hamlet, very elegantly alluding to the friendship between Pythias and his school-fellow Damon, calls Horatio, his school-fellow, *Damon dear*; and says, this realm was dismantled *of Jove himself*, (he does not say of Jove's bird, but heightning the compliment to his father, *of Jove himself*,) *and now reigns here, a very Peacock*; meer shew, but no worth and substance. Horatio answers,

“ You might have rhim'd :
i. e. you might have very justly said,

“ A very, very *Afs*.

Now Horatio's reply would have lost it's poinancy, had Hamlet called his uncle, *a paddock*; for surely a toad or paddock is a much viler animal than an afs.

Again, in that well-known place where the ghost speaks to Hamlet, nothing, as it seems to me, should be altered but a trifling spelling :

“ 3 Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,

“ Unhouzzled, disappoointed, unaneal'd.

3. Mr. Theobald has very rightly explain'd this passage; but why instead of *disappoointed* he substitutes *unappointed*, I can't find any reason; nor does he himself give any. In some editions, without any authority or critical skill, they have printed,

Unhouzel'd, unanoointed, unanneal'd.

UN-

UNHOUSEL'D, i. e. not having received the sacrament. *Housel*, is the eucharist or sacrament. Sax. *husl*. Lat. *hostiola*: to *houfel*, is to give the sacrament to one on his death-bed: *And certes oncs a year at lest it is lawoful to be hourseled*. Chaucer in the parson's tale, p. 212. DISAPPOINTED, having missed of my appointment by the priest; not confessed and been absolved. *Appointment* is so used in Measure for Measure, Act. III. *Your best appointment make with speed*; i. e. what reconciliation for your sins, what penance is appointed you. UNANNEIL'D, not having the last *anneylng*e, extreme unction: *aneled*, *anoyled*, from the Lat. *oleo inunctus*.

In Othello, Act V.

“ I've rubb'd this young *Quat* almost to the sense
 “ And he grows angry.

Iago is speaking of Roderigo, a quarrelsome and lewd young fellow. Now of all birds a *Quail* is the most quarrelsome and lewd, a fit emblem of this rake. The Romans fought them as we fight our cocks. Ovid. Amor. L. II. eleg. VI.

Ecce coturnices inter sua praelia vivunt.

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act. II. Antony says of Octavius, *His quails ever beat mine*. The lewdness of this bird is mention'd by Xenophon in his memoirs of Socrates, L. II. c. I. Οὐκᾶν

ἢ ἄλλα ὑπὸ λαβείας, ὅσον οἴτε ΟΡΤΥΓΕΣ ἢ οἱ πέρδικες
 πρὸς τὴν τῆς Θηλείας φωνὴν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἢ τῇ ἐλπίδι
 τῶν ἀφροδισίων φερόμενοι, ἢ ἐξισάμενοι τῷ τὰ δαυὰ
 ἀναλογίζεσθαι, τοῖς θηράτοισι ἐμπίπτεσιν; *Are there
 not other creatures that by reason of their wantonness,
 as quails and partridges, which thro' a lascivious
 desire of their females run to their call, void of all
 sense of danger, and thus fall into the sportsmen's
 snares?* Hence it seems no bad etymology
 which some give of this word *quail*, deriving
 it from the Greek *καλεῖν*, in allusion to it's calling
 for it's mate. In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act V.
 young wanton wenches are metaphorically named
quails. Therfites calls Agamemnon, *An honest
 fellow and one that loves quails*. The *quail* there-
 fore, male or female, is a just emblem of the
 followers of Venus in either sex. But consider-
 ing it too as a fighting bird, how properly is it
 apply'd to Roderigo, who foolishly followed
 Desdemona, and at last, quarreling with Cassio,
 was killed in the fray? Can we doubt then, but
 that Shakespeare originally intended to write,

“ I've rubb'd this young *quail* almost to the sense,
 “ And he grows angry?

He intended, I say, to write, as he perhaps then
 spelt it, *quale*, and omitting the last letter, the
 transcriber gave us a strange kind of word,
 which some of the editors have alter'd into

knot and *quab*: the meaning of which words, as applicable to this place, is not in my power to explain.

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act II.

“ Antony. Say to me, whose fortune shall
“ rise higher,

“ Caesar’s or mine?

Soothsayer. Caesar’s. Therefore, O Antony,
“ stay not by his side.

“ Thy Daemon (that’s thy spirit which keeps
“ thee) is

“ Noble, couragious, high, unmatchable,

“ Where Caesar’s is not. But near him thy
“ Angel

“ Becomes A FEAR, as being o’erpower’d ; and
“ therefore

“ Make space enough between you.

A letter is here omitted, and we must read *afear’d*. So the word is spelt in Spencer, B. VI. c. 1. ft. 19.

“ Against him stoutly ran, as nought AFEARD.

’Tis often used by Shakespeare. Merry Wives of Windsor, Act III. Slend. *I care not for that, but that I am affeard*. Macbeth, Act IV. *Wear thou thy wrongs, His title is affeard*. And elsewhere. There is indeed a passage in Spencer’s Fairy Queen. B. V. c. 3. ft. 22. That may seem to vindicate the received reading, which is as follows.

*As for this lady which he sheweth here,
Is not (I wager) Florimel at all;
But some fair fransion, fit for such a fear
That by misfortune in his hand did fall.*

Fit for such a fear, i. e. fit for such a fearful person, such a coward; as perhaps some might think it should be interpreted. But this place in Spencer is wrongly spelt, and it should be thus written,

But some fair frannion, fit for such a fere.

But some loose creature fit for such a companion. *Fere* is so used by Spencer and Chaucer. So that Spencer and Shakespeare should both be corrected. The story is taken from Plutarch in his life of Antony. λέγων τὴν τύχην αὐτῆ, λαμπροτάτην ἔσαν ἢ μεγίστην, ὑπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀμαυροῦσθαι. The Latin translator is wrong here, *τυχή* is his Genius, not chance or fortune.—ὁ γὰρ σὸς Δαίμων ἢ τέτι φοβεῖται ἢ γαῦρον ὦν ἢ ὑψηλὸς ὅταν ἢ καθ' αὐτὸν, ὑπ' ἐκείνου γίνεσθαι ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΤΕΡΟΣ ἐγγίσασι, ἢ ΑΓΕΝΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΣ. Plut. p. 930. E. Which passage strongly confirms my emendation. The allusion is to that belief of the ancients, which Menander so finely expresses,

Ἀπαντὶ Δαίμων ἀνδρῶν συμπαρασάλει
Εὐθὺς γενομένῳ μυσάτωγός τῷ βίῳ.

The philosophical meaning the emperor Marcus Antoninus lets us into. L. V. f. 27. ὁ Δαίμων, ὃν ἐκάσῳ προσάτην ἢ ἡγεμόνα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν ἀπόσπασμα ἑαυτῆ· ἔτ' δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκάσῳ νῆς ἢ λόγ'.

And our learned Spencer. B. 2. c. 12. ft. 47.

*They in that place him GENIUS did call:
Not that celestial power, to whom the care
Of life, and generation of all
That lives, pertains, in charge particular;
Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,
And strange phantoms doth let us oft foresee,
And oft of secret ills bids us beware:
That is our SELF; who [r. whom] tho' we do not
see,
Yet each doth in himself it well perceive to be.*

The same story is alluded to in Macbeth, Act III.

*There is none but he
Whose being I do fear: and under him
My genius is rebuk'd; as it is said,
Antony's was by Caesar.*

These passages a little considered will shew in a fine light that dialogue between Octavius and Antony, in Julius Caesar, Act V. where Octavius uses his controuling and checking genius:

“ Ant. Octavius, lead your battle softly on,

“ Upon the left hand of the even field.

“ Oct.

“ Oct. Upon the right hand I, keep *thou* the left.

“ Ant. Why do you cross me in this exigent?

“ Oct. I do not cross you, *but I will do so.*

’Twas a common opinion likewise among the ancients, that, when any great evil befel them, they were forsaken by their guardian Gods. How beautiful is this represented in Homer and Virgil? The heavenly power, that usually protected the hero, deserts him just before his ruin. Plutarch tells us in his life of Antony, that, before he killed himself, a great noise of all manner of instruments were heard in the air, such as was usually made at the feasts of Bacchus; it seemed to enter at one gate of the city, and, traversing it quite through, to go out at the gate which the enemy lay before: this signified, as ’twas interpreted, that Bacchus his guardian God had forsaken him. This circumstance our poet has introduced in Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV.

“ 2. Sold. Peace, what noise?

“ 1. Sold. Lift, lift!

“ 2. Sold. Hark!

“ 1. Sold. Musick i’th’ air—

“ 3. Sold. Under the earth—

“ It signes well, do’s it not?

“ 2. Sold. No.

“ 1. Sold. Peace, I say: what should this mean?

“ 2. Sold. 'Tis the God *Hercules*, who loved Antony.

“ Now leaves him.

Here is, *Hercules*, instead of *Bacchus*. There was a tradition that the Antonies were descended from *Hercules*, by a son of his called *Anteon*; and of this descent Antony was not a little vain. This might be the reason why Shakespeare varied from *Plutarch*. But *Bacchus* was his tutelary God; and he made choice of him, perhaps, following the example of his master *Julius Caesar*; who, had he not been killed, designed, as *Suetonius* informs us, *Partbis inferre bellum per Armeniam minorem*, &c. c. 44. and to imitate *Bacchus*, who had formerly conquered these parts, taking him for his tutelary God. Which passage of *Suetonius* and the above comment will shew in no bad light, what *Virgil* in *Ecl. V.* says of *Daphnis*, by whom he plainly means *Julius Caesar*.

Daphnis & *Armenias curru subjungere tigris*
Instituit; *Daphnis thiasos inducere BACCHO*,
Et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.

Not only heroes, but cities and states had their tutelar deities, who removed likewise before their destruction. *Virg. II. 351.*

1. He was called the *new Bacchus*. Διόνυσος νέος. *Plut.* p. 944. A. and so *Velleius Paterculus*, L. II. c. 82. and *Seneca suavor*, l. 1.

Excessere

*Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat.*

What a fine turn has Milton given this in his sacred poem? B. XII. 106.

*'Till God at last,
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
His presence from among them, and avert
His holy eyes.*

But I am commencing commentator, when my province is only criticism: to return therefore—If the omission of a single letter occasions such confusion in modern languages, what will it not do in the Greek and Latin? I will just mention an instance of this sort. In Ovid. Amor. III. XII. 21.

“ Per nos Scylla, patri *canos* furata capillos,
“ Pube premit rabidos inguinibusque canes.

But some copies read *caros*, from which word a letter is omitted, and it should be written *claros*.

“——Patri *claros* furata capillos.

For thus the hair of Nifus is described in Ovid Met. VIII, 8.

“ ——CUI SPLENDIDUS OSTRO
“ Inter honoratos medio de vertice canos
“ CRINIS inhaerebat, magni fiducia regni.

Virg. Georg. I. 405.

Et pro PURPUREO poenas dat Scylla capillo,

Tibullus, I, 4.

Carmine PURPUREA est Nisi coma.

Ovid. art. amat. l. 1.

Filia PURPUREOS Nisi furata capillos.

Here *purpureos capillos* is exactly the same as the above *claros capillos*: i. e. splendid, shining bright, &c. It follows therefore according to all critical rules, that instead of *canos* or *caros*, we should read,

— *Patri CLAROS furata capillos.*

Again: Plutarch in the life of Caesar, p. 717. E. tells us that the Belgae, a people of old Gaul, were conquered by the Romans, and that they fought like cowards, ΑΙΣΧΡΩΣ ἀγωνισαμένους. But Caesar himself, from whom Plutarch has the story, says quite otherwise, L. II. c. x. ACRI-
TER in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi, magnum eorum numerum occiderunt: per eorum corpora reliquos AUDACIS-
SIME transire conantes, multitudine telorum repulerunt. Who can doubt then but some of the oldest books having ΙΣΧΡΩΣ, a careless transcriber, trusting to his conjectures, wrote ΑΙΣΧΡΩΣ, whereas he ought to have written ΙΣΧΥΡΩΣ, a letter only being negligently omitted: ισχυρῶς ἀγωνισαμένους, audacissime, naviter praeliantes. By this,
which

which scarce deserves the name of an alteration in words, but a very great one as to the sense, is Plutarch and Caesar reconciled.

S E C T. VII.

IN transcribing not only single letters are omitted, but often parts of words, and sometimes whole words. A letter is omitted in the following passages of Spencer. In the Fairy Queen, B. I. c. I. st. 43.

*Hither (quoth he) me Archimago SENT
He that the stubborn sprites can wisely tame,
He bids thee to him send, for his intent,*

1. In the same life, p. 718. A. Plutarch attributes that to the twelfth legion, which Caesar gives to the tenth. Caesar says, L. II. c. xxvi. *T. Labienus, castris hostium potitus et ex loco superiore, quæ res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus, DECIMAM LEGIONEM subsidio nostris misit.* But between *δωδέκαλον* and *τὸ δέκαλον*, how slight is the change? Again to reconcile Plutarch to himself, in Julius Caesar, instead of Brutus Albinus we must read Trebonius, for it was he detained Antony without, whilst they assassinated Caesar in the Senate. So Plutarch relates the story in the life of Brutus, and Cicero in his second Philippic; *cum interficeretur Caesar, tum te à TREBONIO vidimus sevocari.* Shakespeare in Jul. Caes. Act III.

*Caes. Trebonius knows his time; for look you, Brutus,
He draws Mark Antony out of the way.*

A fit false dream, that can delude the SLEEPERS
SENT,

read, *the sleepers shent*, i. e. ill treated, brought to shame. A word commonly used by Spencer; and by our poet, in Hamlet, Act III.

“ Ham. How in my words soever she be *shent*.
And a whole word is omitted in the following
passage of Shakespear.

Othello, Act III.

“ Iago. Let him command,

“ And to obey shall be in me remorse,

“ What bloody business ever.

A negative particle has slipped out here, which might be as well owing to the printer's ignorance of the metre, as to hasty transcribing. For we must read,

‘ *And to obey shall be in me no remorse,*

In Milton B. VI. 681.

Son! in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by Deity I am.

1. Mr. Theobald reads with greater variation,

Not, *to obey, shall be in me remorse.*

How came the transcriber to change *nor* into *and*? but to omit a particle in hasty writing is no unusual mistake.

It should be *th' invisible*: TO AOPATON, κατ' ἐξοχὴν. Coloss. I, 15. *Who is the image of THE INVISIBLE God.* So in B. III. 385.

*In whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud
Made visible, TH' ALMIGHTY FATHER SHINES.*

Several passages in Shakespeare are corrupted thro' these sort of omissions.

In Macbeth, Act I.

Lady Macbeth reading a letter,—" And re-
ferred me to the coming on of time, with,
" Hail king that shalt be!

'Tis very plain it should be, *Hail king that
shalt be* HEREAFTER! for this word she uses em-
phatically, when she greets Macbeth at first meet-
ing him,

" Greater than both by the *All-hail hereafter!*

Being the words of the witch,

" All-hail, Macbeth! that shalt be king *hereafter.*

Instances of parts of words omitted we have in Timon, Act IV. Sc. IV. Timon is speaking to the two courtisans,

" Crack the lawyer's voice,

" That he may never more false title plead,

" Nor sound his quilllets shrilly. HOAR the

" Flamen,

" That

“ That *scolds* against the quality of flesh,
 “ And not believes himself.

Read; HOARSE, i. e. make hoarse. For to be hoary is a mark of dignity. We read of reverence due to the hoary head, not only in poets, but in scripture, Levit. xix, 32. *Thou shalt rise up before the HOARY head.* Add to this, that HOARSE is here most proper, as opposed to SCOLDS.

In King Lear, Act V.

“ Lear. Ha! Gonerill! hah, Regan! they
 “ flattered me — when the rain came to wet
 “ me — There I found ’em. — Go to, they
 “ are not MEN o’ their words; they told me
 “ I was every thing; ’tis a lie, I am not ague
 “ proof.

Read, *they are not WOMEN o’ their words.*

And to add one instance more. In the Tempest, Act II.

“ Ten consciences, that stand ’twixt me and
 “ Milan
 “ Candy’d be they, and melt, e’er they molest!

We must read,

Discandy’d be they, and melt e’er they molest!

Discandy’d. i. e. dissolved. *Discandy* and *melt*
 are

are used as synonomous terms in Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV.

“ The hearts

“ That pannell’d me at heels, to whom I gave
 “ Their wishes, do *discandy*, *melt* their sweets
 “ On blossoming Caesar.

By the bye, what a strange phrase is this, *The hearts that pannell’d me at heels?* And how justly has Mr. Theobald flung it out of the context? But whether he has placed in it’s room a Shakespearean expression, may admit of a doubt.

“ The hearts

“ That pantler’d me at heels.

Now ’tis contrary to all rules of criticism to coin a word for an author, which word, supposing it to have been the author’s own, would appear far fetched and improper. In such a case therefore we should seek for remedy from the author himself: and here opportunely a passage occurs in Timon, Act IV.

“ Apem. Will these moist trees

“ That have outliv’d the eagle, *page thy heels*

“ And skip when thou point’st out?

From hence I would in the above-mention’d verses correct,

“ The

“ The hearts
 “ That *pag'd* me at the heels, to whom I gave
 “ Their wishes, &c.

But to return to the place in the *Tempest*: The
 verse is to be flurr'd in scansion, thus:

Discandy'd be they' and melt | e'er they | mölest.

The printers thought the verse too long, and
 gave it,

Candy'd be they and melt.

But *candy'd*, is that which is grown into a con-
 sistency, as some sorts of confectionary ware:
 Fr. *candir*. Ital. *candire*. Hence us'd for con-
 geal'd, fixt as in a frost. So in *Timon*.

Will the cold brook, CANDIED with ice, &c.

Discandy'd therefore seems our poet's own word.

We have many instances of words omit-
 ted in the books of the ancients. In the last
 verse of *Ariphro* the *Sicyonian*, in a poem upon
 health cited by ² *Stobaeus*; the present reading
 is,

Σίβην δὲ χερσὶς ἔδεις εὐδαίμων.

Which is thus to be filled up,

Σίβην δὲ χερσὶς ἔτις εὐδαίμων ἔφου.

2. In *Stobaei* excerpt. p. 117.

Marcus Antoninus, B. IV. sect. 23. cites a piece of a verse from ³ Aristophanes, ὦ πόλι φάλη Κέρρον. But the modern books are a little defective. With this passage translated I shall end this section.

“ Every thing is expedient to me, which to
 “ thee is expedient, ô World: Nothing to me
 “ comes or before, or after it’s time, which to
 “ thee is seasonable. Every thing to me is fruit,
 “ which thy seasons bear. ô Nature, from thee
 “ are all things, in thee they subsist, and to
 “ thee they tend. The comedian says, ô lovely
 “ city of Cecrops! And wilt not thou say, ô lovely
 “ city of Jove?

S E C T. VIII.

IF any one will consider how nearly alike in sound the following words are, *Wreake, Wreakless, Reckless, Rack, Wrack*, &c. and at the same time that the meaning of some of these words is scarcely ascertain’d and fixed, he will not wonder that hence some confusion should necessarily arise. I will examine some passages in which these words are used.

3. Aristophanes ἐν Γεωροῖς, as cited by Hephaestion in his Enchirid. de metris.

In Coriolanus, Act IV.

- “ Cor. If thou hast
 “ A heart of *wreake* in thee, thou wilt revenge
 “ Thine own particular wrongs.

i. e. any resentment, revenge. A Saxon word used by Chaucer and Spencer.

In Coriolanus, Act. III.

- “ Cor. You grave but *wreakless* fenators.

i. e. without any notions of revenge or resentment. But if the context be examined, you'll plainly perceive it should be, '*reckless*, i. e. thoughtless, careless.

In Hamlet, Act I.

- “ Whilst like a puffed and *reckless* libertine
 “ Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
 “ And *recks* not his own reed.

i. e. *And minds not his own doctrine*: From the Sax. *keoc, cura. keccan, curare.*

In As you like it, Act II.

- “ Corin. My master is of churlish disposition,
 “ And little *wrecks* to find the way to heaven.

Read, *recks*, i. e. takes care: *little recks*, little heeds.

i. And thus I found, upon examination, 'twas corrected in the elegant edition printed at Oxford.

In

In the Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act IV.

“ Egl. *Recking* as little what betideth me.

i. e. reckoning, regarding. So Milton II, 50.

Of God, or Hell, or worse,

He reck'd not.

IX, 173. *Let it; I reck not.*

In the Third part of Henry VI. Act II.

“ Rich. Three glorious suns, each one a perfect

“ sun;

“ Not separated with the *racking* clouds,

“ But sever'd in a pale clear-shining sky.

I once red, *wracking* clouds: Met. tossing them like waves of the sea, and, as it were, shipwracking them. From the Greek word *ρήσσω*, *ρήξω*, *frango*: comes to *break*, and to *wracke*. For the letters *b* and *w* are prefixed to words by us, as the ² Æolians formerly prefix'd the *Ϸ*,

2. Eustath. p. 222. Προσιθέασιν οἱ Ἀιολεῖς τὸ Ϸ τῷ *β* ἢ *κ* αἰ ἢ ἐφεξῆς συλλαβῇ ἔχει ἢ τὸ *κ*, οἷον *ῥάκ* βράχ. κ. τ. λ. See too Pausanias p. 149. ἠδὺ, ἀδὺ, ἑαδὺ. And Hesychius, in B. Βά[ι]ς. ἠλικιώτης, θαλικιώτης. κ. τ. λ. Instances in English of the *B* prefixed, are *ῥάμω*, *Bramble*: *ῥήσσω*, *ῥήξω*, to *break*: *ἑλκῆς*, a *hulke* or *bulke*: *rabula*, a *brawler*: *ruscum*, a *bush*: *rutilus*, *bright*: &c. Concerning the Æol. digamma see Dionys. Antiq. p. 16. Instances from hence of the *W* prefixed, are *ῥῶδες*, *Ῥόδωρ*, *water*: *Αἰθῆρ*, *Φαιθῆρ*, *weather*: *Οἶν*, *Φοῖν*, *wine*: *Ἔργον*, *Φίργον*, *wozh*: *ἑτᾶν*, *Φητᾶν*, to *wound*. *Hinnitus*, *whinnying*: *β*, [in Plaut. & Terence] *hiss*, *whiff*, a *game of cards*, to be *plaid with silence and attention*, &c. &c.

and the digamma F. But Milton uses the same expression: II, 182.

“ The sport and prey of *racking* whirlwinds.

Our author in Hamlet, Act II.

“ The *rack* stand still.

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act. IV.

“ That which is now a horse, &c. The *rack*
“ dislimns.

Milton in Par. regain'd, IV, 451.

“ I heard the *rack*,

“ As earth and sky would mingle.

Douglafs in his translation of Virgil spells it rak: the glossary thus explains it: “ *Καά*, a mist or
“ fog, or rain, *Scot. and Ang. Bor. Rack*, or
“ *Καωκ*: ab AS. *Καυ*, Cimbris *Κοκία*,
“ *pluvia, unda, humor*. Ang. Bor. *the rack rides*,
“ i. e. *nimbus vento pellitur: aetheris omen fere-*
“ *nioris.*”

Again, to *racke*, is to torture and torment: from the Teutonic *Racken*, Anglo-Sax. *Raccan*, *extendere*. à Gr. *ῥάσειν*, or *ρήσειν*, *frangere*. And hence the instrument of punishment is named a *rack*: or from *τροχός*, *rota poenalis, quâ in quaestionibus et fontibus torquendis utebantur*: the *r* omitted, as in the Latin word, *rota*.

In Hamlet, Act II. Polonias speaks to Ophelia,

“ I fear’d he trifled,
 “ And meant to *wrack* thee.

Read, *rack thee*, i. e. vex and grieve thee. So Milton in Par. regained, III, 203.

“ To whom the tempter inly *rack’d* reply’d.
 Again in Coriolanus, Act V.

“ Men. A pair of Tribunes, that have *rack’d*
 “ for Rome

“ To make coals cheap.

i. e. have stretched things to the utmost, and all for meer trifles.

In Much Adoe about Nothing, Act IV.

“ Friar. Being *lack’d* and lost,
 “ Why then we *rack* the value.

i. e. over-stretch its value. So we say, to *rack* a tenant, and *rack* rent, &c. when it is strain’d to the utmost.

In the Tempest, the word has another signification, Act IV.

“ The great globe itself
 “ Yea, all which it inhabits shall dissolve
 “ And like this insubstantial pageant’ faded
 “ Leave not a *rack* behind.

3. *Faded*, i. e. *vanish’d*, à Lat. *vadere*. Hamlet Act I.

It faded on the crowing of the cock.

Spencer, B. I. c. 5. st. 15.

He stands amazed how he thence should fade.

i. e. no track, or path. So used in the northern parts; à Graec. *ροχιά*, *rotae vestigium*; item, *via semita*, unde a track *et abjecta* lit. t. a rack. The learned glossary at the end of Douglafs's translation of Virgil, has " *Raik*, swift pace, much way. " Thus Scot. we say, a long raik, i. e. a great " journey: to raik home, i. e. go home speedily. " *Rakand*, Scot. raking, making much way, " going at large: ab AS. *Kecth*, *incedit*, *recone*, " *recone*, *confestim*, *cito*.

S E C T. IX.

TIS a common expression in the western counties to call an ill-natured, sour person, VINNID. For *vinewed*, *vinowed*, *vinny* or *vinew* (the word is variously written) signifies mouldy. In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act II. Ajax speaks to Therfites, *thou vinnidst leaven*, i. e. thou most mouldy sour dough. Let this phrase be transplanted from the west into Kent, and they will pronounce it, *Whinidst leaven*. So that it seems to me 'twas some Kentish person who occasioned this mistake, either player or transcriber, who could not bring his mouth to pronounce the V consonant; as 'tis remarkable the Kentish men cannot at this day. And this accounts for many

1. Mr. Theobald reads, *you unwinnow'd't leaven*. Others, *you unfalted leaven*.

of the Latin words, which begin with V, being turned into w, as *Vidua*, *widua*, *Widow*; *Ventus*, *wentus*, *Wind*; *Vallum*, *Wallum*, *Wall*, *Via*, *Wia*, *Way*, &c. &c. In the same play, Act V. Therfites is called by Achilles, *thou crusty² batch of nature*, i. e. thou crusty batch of bread of nature's baking: the very same ludicrous image, as when elsewhere he is nick-named, from his deformity, *Cobloaf*. The word *Leaven* above-mentioned is a scriptural expression. Leaven is four and salted dough, prepared to ferment a whole mass and to give it a relish: and in this sense used in *Measure for Measure*, Act I.

Duke. *Come no more evasion:*
We have with a prepared and leavened choice
Proceeded to you.

i. e. before hand prepared and rightly season'd, as they prepare leaven. But in Scripture 'tis figurately used for the pharisaical doctrines and manners, being like leaven, of a sour, corrupting and infectious nature: so the Apostle, *a little leaven leaveneth the lump*, 1 Cor. v. 6.

This explains the passage above, and another in *Cymbeline*, Act III.

“ So thou, Posthumus,
 “ Wilt lay the leaven to all proper men;

2. Mr. Theob. substitutes, *thou crusty batch of nature*.

“ Goodly and gallant shall be false and perjur’d
 “ From thy great fall.

i. e. will infect and corrupt their good names, like sour dough that leaveneth the whole mass, and will render them suspected. The last line I would read,

“ From thy great *fall*.

Because this reading is more poetical and scriptural; and more agreeable to our author’s manner. So in a similar place. K. Henry V. Act II.

“ And thus thy *fall* hath left a kind of blot,
 “ To make the full-fraught man, the best, en-
 “ dued
 “ With some suspicion. I will weep for thee:
 “ For this revolt of thine, methinks is like
 “ Another *fall* of man.

Shakespeare was a great reader of the scriptures, and from the bold figures and metaphors he found there³ enriched his own elsewhere unmatched

3. I could easily shew in many places of Milton, how finely he has enriched his verses with scriptural expressions and thoughts, even where he seems most closely to have copied Virgil or Homer. For example, B. I, 84.

*Thou beest he—But o how fallen! how changed
 From him, who in the happy realms of light
 Cloth’d with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
 Myriads tho’ bright!*

Tho’

matched ideas. If a passage or two of this sort is pointed out, the hint may easily be improved.

In

Tho' this seems closely followed from Virgil, *Aen.* II. 274.

*Hei mihi qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore, qui, &c.*

Yet what additional beauty does it receive from *Isaiah* xiv, 12. *How art thou fallen from heaven, o Lucifer, son of the morning! &c.*

Neither the mythological account of Pallas being born from the brain of Jupiter, nor the poetical description of Error by Spencer in his *fairy Queen*, would have been sufficient authority for our divine poet's episode in his second book of *SIN* and *DEATH*: had not scripture told us, *James* i, 14. *Then when LUST hath conceived, it bringeth forth SIN; and SIN when it is finished, bringeth forth DEATH.*

In *B.* IV, 996, &c. Tho' it is plain the poet had strongly in his mind the golden scales of Jupiter, mentioned both by *Homer* and *Virgil*; yet he is entirely governed by scripture; for Satan only is weigh'd, viz. his parting and his fight, *Dan.* v, 27. *TEKEL, THOU art weigh'd in the balances, and art found wanting.* And before, *†* 998. *His stature reach'd the sky.* Our poet has better authorities to follow than *Homer's* description of *Discord*, II. IV, 440. and *Virgil's* of *Fame*, IV, 177. For so the destroying angel is described in the *Wisdom of Solomon.* xviii, 16. *It touched the heaven, but it stood upon the earth.*

In *B.* V, 254.

*The gate self open'd wide
On golden hinges turning.*

In the first part of Henry VI. Act V.

“ You speedy helpers, that are substitutes
 “ Under the lordly monarch of *the North*.

The monarch of the North, i. e. Satan. In allusion to Isaiah xiv, 13. *I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation in the sides of the NORTH.* Jer. i, 15. *Out of the NORTH an evil shall break forth,* &c. iv, 1. *Evil appeareth out of the NORTH.* Hence Milton, V, 688.

“ Where we possess
 “ The quarters of the *North*.

And B. V, 754.

“ At length into the limits of *the North*

So again, B. VII, 205. This has its sanction more from Pf. xxiv, 7. than from Hom. Il. é. 749. *Αυτόμαλαι δὲ πύλαι μύκον ἕραινῃ.*

In B. XII, 370.

He shall ascend

The throne *hereditary*, and bound his reign
 With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the heav'ns!

Virgil says Aen. I. 291.

Imperium oceano famam qui terminat astris.

But the prophets ought rather here to be cited. Pſal. ii. 8. Ifai. ix, 7. Zech. ix, 9. The like instances I could give from Spencer: which ſhews how minutely the ſcriptures were formerly ſtudied by our beſt poets.

“ They

“ They came ; and Satan to his royal seat
 “ High on a hill, &c.

But this was a notion of the Persians. To which learnedly alludes the author of Leonidas, III, 36.

“ When streight beyond the golden verge of day
 “ Night shew’d the horrors of her distant reign,
 “ Whence black and hateful Arimanius sprung,
 “ The author foul of evil.

In Measure for Measure, Act III.

“ Claud. Ay, but to die, and go we know not
 “ where :
 “ To lye in cold obstruction, and to rot :
 “ This sensible warm motion to become
 “ A kneaded clod ; *and the delighted spirit*
 “ To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
 “ In thrilling regions of thick-ribb’d ice,
 “ To be imprison’d in the viewless winds
 “ And blown with restless violence round about
 “ The pendant world ; or to be worse than worst
 “ Of those, that lawless and incertain thoughts
 “ Imagine howling :——’tis too horrible !

Instead of *the delighted spirit*, I would read *the delinquent spirit*: the unheeding printer did not see the impropriety of a spirit delighted in fiery floods, &c. So he gave a word he was acquainted with, and omitted a most proper one which

he less understood, *delinquent*. Milton has something very like this, B. II, 596.

- “ Thither by harpy-footed furies hal’d
 “ At certain revolutions all the damn’d
 “ Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter
 “ change
 “ Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more
 “ fierce!
 “ From beds of raging fire to starve in ice
 “ Their soft ethereal warmth, &c.

Hierom in his comment on Matt. x, 28, writes, *Duplicem esse gehennam, nimirum ignis et frigoris in Job plenissime legimus. viz. Job xxiv, 19.* But let us hear our Milton again, B. II, 180.

- “ While we perhaps,
 “ Desiging or exhorting glorious war,
 “ Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl’d
 “ Each on his rock transfix’d, the sport and
 “ prey
 “ Of racking whirlwinds, &c.

These passages of Shakespeare and Milton will bear comparison with what Virgil has written of the punishment of the damned, from Plato’s *Phaedo*,

4. So Bede on Matt. c. xxiv. *Quod dicit illic esse fletum et fridorem gentium, duplicem poenam gehennae exprimit, ignis et frigoris: and afterwards cites the words of Job as rendered by the ancient interpreter, Ad calorem ignis transit ab aquis nivium.*

and from the verses of Orpheus, who brought these doctrines from ^s Aegypt. That part of the

5. And from hence Empedocles in Plutarch's *Ifis and Osiris*; which I shall cite from the late learned editor, and his translation. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ καὶ Δίκας φησὶ διδόναι τὰς Δαίμονας ὧν ἂν ἐξαμαρτήσωσι καὶ πηλημιλήσωσιν,

Αἰθήριον μὲν γὰρ σφε μὲν πύλονδε διώκει,
Πόλι δ' ἐς χθονὸς ἕδας ἀπέπιλυσε· Γαῖα δ' ἘΣ ΑΥΤΑΣ
Ἥλιος ἀκάμαντι, ὃ δ' αἰθέρι ἔμβαλε δίναις·
Ἄλλο δ' ἐξ ἄλλο δέχεται, συγέμισσι δὲ πάντας·

ἄχρισ ἔκκολασθίβις ἔτω καὶ καθαρθίβις, αὐθις τὴν κατὰ φύσιν
χώραν καὶ τάξιν ἀπολάβωσι. “ It was moreover the opinion
“ of Empedocles, that these Genii are obnoxious to punish-
“ ment for whatever offences they may commit, for what-
“ ever crimes they may be guilty of,

“ One while the air pursues them to the sea,
“ The sea again tosses them upon land,
“ The land propels them on the scorching sun,
“ The sun returns them to the whirling air:
“ Thus are they tossed about objects of common hate,

“ ’till having undergone the destin'd punishment, and
“ thereby become pure, they are again placed in their pri-
“ mitive situation, in that region where nature originally
“ designed them.” I cannot help proposing a correction
of these verses of Empedocles; instead of ἘΣ ΑΥΤΑΣ, most
of the editions have ἘΣ ΑΥΘΙΣ; which with a trifling
alteration I would read ἘΣ ΑΝΘΟΣ. And this is an ex-
pression used by old Homer and Aeschylus.

the punishment of *being blown with restless violence round about the pendant world, the sport and prey of racking whirlwinds*, is more poetical than Virgil's, *Inanes suspensae ad ventos*. Beside St. Hierome in his comment on the epistle to the Ephesians mentions it as the opinion of the Jewish and Christian divines, that evil spirits have their residence in the space between the firmament and the earth; to which Jewish opinion St. Paul alludes, calling Satan *the prince of the air*. This is sufficient for a poet to give what allegorical turn he pleases to such opinions.

In king Lear, Act V.

“ He that parts us, shall bring a brand from
 “ heav'n,
 “ And fire us hence, *like foxes*.

Alluding to the scriptural account of Samson's tying foxes, two and two together by the tail, and fastening a firebrand to the cord, thus letting them loose among the standing corn of the Philistines. Judges xv, 4.

Τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἈΝΘΟΣ, παύλιχρον πυρὸς σείλας,

Θηλοῖσι κλίψας ἄπασιν. Prom. γ. 7.

Ἄβτὰρ ἐπεὶ ΠΥΡΟΣ ἈΝΘΟΣ ἀπέπιαλο, παύσαλο δὲ φλόξ. . .

So Homer as cited by the Scholiast. and Lucretius: I, 899.

Donec flammæ fulserunt FLORE coorto.

In

In the second part of K. Henry IV. Act IV.

“ And therefore will he wipe *his* ⁶ *tables* clean.

In Hamlet, Act I.

“ Yea from the *table* of my memory

“ I'll wipe away all trivial fond records.

Prov. iii, 3. *Write them upon the table of thine heart.* So Aeschylus in suppl. 187. *Αἰνῶ φυλάξαι τὰ μὲν ἔπη δειλόμενα.* *I advise thee to keep my words written on the tables of thy memory.* And in Prometh. 788. *ἐγγραφεῖν δέλοις φρενῶν,* which Mr. Theobald has cited.

In Othello, Act IV.

“ If to preserve this *vessel* for my Lord.

I Theff. iv. 4. *To possess his vessel in sanctification.*

So Lucret. V, 138.

Tandem in eodem homine, atque in eodem vase maneret.

6. The *Pugillares* of the ancients were made of wood, ivory, and skins, and covered over with wax. They consisted sometimes of two, three, five or more pages, and thence were called *duplices*, *triplices*, *quintuplices*, and *multiplices*: and by the Greeks *διπλοχα*, *τριπλοχα*, &c. The instrument, with which they wrote, they called *stilus*; at first made of iron, but afterwards that was forbidden at Rome, and they used styles of bone: it was sharp at one end to cut the letters, and flat at the other to deface them; from whence the phrase, *stylum vertere*.

In Cymbeline, Act I.

“ He sits ’mongst men, like a *descended God*.”

There is no less learning than elegance in this expression. The Greeks call these *descended Gods*, ΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΑΣ, and Jupiter was peculiarly worshipped as such, as more frequently descending in thunder and lightning to punish guilty mortals: among whose titles and inscriptions you frequently meet with, ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΟΥ. Agreeable to this opinion Paul and Barnabas were thought by the people of Lycaonia to be *descended Gods*. Οἱ θεοὶ ὁμοιωθέντες ἀνθρώποις ἢ ΚΑΤΕΒΗΣΑΝ πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

In

6. Acts xiv. 2. And here give me leave to set in a better light a passage in the discourses of Epictetus. L. I. c. 29. Ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου κύριος ἐκ ἑστίν, ἀλλὰ θάνατος καὶ ζωὴ, καὶ ἡδονὴ καὶ πόνος ἰστί, χωρὶς τούτων, ἀγαγέ μοι τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ὄψει πῶς εὐσταθῶ· ὅταν δὲ μὲν τούτων ΕΛΘῃ, βροσιῶν καὶ ἀερέπλων, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα φοβῆμαι, τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐπίγινωκα τὸν κύριον, ὡς ὁ δραπετίτης; “ Man is not the master of man, but life and death, pleasure and pain; for, exclusive of these, bring me Caesar, and you shall see how I preserve my tranquillity: but when he, with these, comes like a DESCENDED GOD in thunder and lightening, and I too fear such things as these; what do I, but, like a fugitive slave, recognise my master?” Nor can I pass over another of the like nature in Homer. Il. π. 668. Jupiter speaks to Apollo,

“Εἶδ’ ἄγε νῦν, φίλι Φοῖβε, κελαινεφεῖς αἶμα κάθηρον
ΕΛΘΩΝ ἐκ βελίων Σαρπηδόνα.

Eia

In the Tempest, Act IV.

- “ Prosper. The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous
 “ palaces,
 “ The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
 “ Yea, all, which it inherit, shall *dissolve*.

This is exactly from Scripture. Pet. ep. 2. iii, 10.
 σοιχεῖα — ΛΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ. and ψ. 111. τέτων ἐν πάν-
 των ΛΤΟΜΕΝΩΝ. *Seeing then that all these things*
shall be DISSOLVED. and ψ. 12. Ουρανοὶ πυρέμενοι
 ΛΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ἢ σοιχεῖα καυσόμενα ΤΗΚΕΤΑΙ.
The heavens being on fire shall be DISSOLVED, and
the elements shall melt with fervent heat. Isaiah
 xxxiv, 4. *And all the host of heaven shall be*
 DISSOLVED. ΤΑΚΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις
 τῶν οὐρανῶν. LXX.

The scripture uses frequently HAND, *for power*
and might: and the HAND OF GOD signifies his
 power and providence.

In K. Henry V. Act I.

- “ Let us deliver
 “ Our puissance into the hand of God.

Eia age nunc, dilecte Phaebe, nigro sanguine purga
Profectus è telorum aceruo sublato sarpedonem.

This is the Latin translation: but *profectus*, is jejune and
 poor, in comparison to the force of the Greek; ΕΛΘΩΝ,
descending as a god.

In Macbeth, Act II.

“ In the great hand of God I stand.
And in other passages. Pindar Ol. 10. 25. has the same expression, Θεῶν σὺν παλάμῃ. In the Ajax of Sophocles χεὶρ signifies *power and strength*: ψ. 130.

Ἡ χεὶρ βεβήεις.

i. e. *δυνάμει*, according to the interpretation of the scholiast.

And thus the verse, as it seems to me, in Homer Il. α. should be understood.

Οὐδ' ὄγε πρὶν λοιμοῦτο βαρείας ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ἀφείξει.

Nor will he restrain the violent force and strength of the plague before, &c. the common translation is,

Neque hic prius à peste graves manus abstinebit, which has neither the sense nor beauty of the former interpretation.

In the Tempest, Act I.

“ To *run* upon the sharp wind of the north.

I would rather read,

“ To *ride* upon the sharp wind of the north.

This is the scripture expression, *Thou causest me to ride upon the wind*, Job xxx. 22. *The Lord rideth on the swift cloud*, Is. xix. 1. *Extol him that rideth upon the heavens*, Pf. lxviii. 4.

So Milton II, 540.

“ And *ride* the air

“ In whirlwind.

And again, X, 475.

“ Forc'd *to ride*

“ Th' untractable abyfs.

And II, 930.

“ As in a cloudy chair, ascending *rides*

“ Audacious.

And Shakespeare himself in Macbeth, Act IV.

“ Infected be the air whereon they *ride*.

But perhaps that expression of the psalmist, civ. 3.

Who walketh upon the wings of the wind: will vindicate Shakespeare in saying,

“ To *run* upon the sharp wind of the north.

S E C T. X.

THE editors often change the author's words, (if they happen, which may often be the case, not to understand them) into others more frequently used. In the foregoing section I have shewed how *delinquent* was changed into *delighted*: and here I shall add some other instances. Mr. Theobald has very learnedly proved that Shakespeare uses the word *notion*, in the same

same sense as Cicero does, for *idea*, *conception of things*, &c. See his note in Antony and Cleopatra, Vol. VI. p. 244. and in Othello, Vol. VII. p. 384. Methinks he should have alter'd some other passages: as in Julius Caesar, Act III.

“ Yet in the number, I do know but one,
 “ That unassailable holds on his rank
 “ Unshak'd of *motion*.

Read, *Unshak'd of notion*. i. e. *animi et propositi tenax*.

In All's well that ends well, Act II.

“ 2. Lord. The reasons of our state I cannot
 “ yield,
 “ But like a common and an outward man,
 “ That the great figure of a council frames
 “ By self unable *motion*.

Read, *notion*. i. e. from his own ideas, and conception of things..

In Measure for Measure, Act III. Lucio is speaking of Angelo to the Duke.

“ He is a *motion* generative.

Read, *notion*: “ though he has the organs of
 “ generation, yet he is meer idea; all spirit,
 “ no flesh and blood.” The same word I would restore to Milton. B. II, 151.

“ Who

“ Who would lose
 “ Tho’ full of pain, this *intellectual being*;
 “ Those *thoughts* that wander thro’ eternity;
 “ To perish, rather, swallow’d up and lost
 “ In the wide womb of uncreated night,
 “ Devoid of sense and *motion*?

Read, *notion*, i. e. devoid of all external and internal sense.

In King Lear, Act III.

“ Edg. Fraterretto calls me and tells me
 “ that Nero is an angler in the lake of darkness.

Nero was a fidler in hell, as Rabelais tells us, B. 2. c. 30. And Trajan was an angler. Shakespeare was a reader of Rabelais, as may be proved from many imitations of him; and here plainly he has that facetious Frenchman in his view. Trajan might have this office given him in hell,

1. Who, says he, would be annihilated, lose his intellectual being and all his thoughts? *Motion* therefore is an improper word here, that’s no part of *thought*, nor abstracted has any excellence in it. I am persuaded, he gave it,

Devoid of sense and ACTION.

“ Deprived of our faculties, to perceive and to act.”
 Dr. Bentley. A printer might easily mistake *motion*, for *notion*; but hardly for *action*.

Q

not

not only because he was a persecutor of the Christians, but as he was a great drinker, and that he might have liquor enough in the next world, he was made a fisherman: Rabelais has as trifling reasons as this, for many of his witticisms: but whatever was Rabelais' reason is another question: this however was not Nero's office. But the players and editors, not willing that so good a prince as Trajan should have such a vile employment, substituted *Nero* in his room, without any sense or allusion at all. From Rabelais therefore the passage should be thus corrected, *Trajan is an angler in the lake of darkness*. For one cannot say with any propriety,

Nero is a fidler in the lake of darkness.

I cannot pass over a most true correction, printed in the Oxford edition, of a faulty passage in Antony and Cleopatra, Act III. which was originally corrupted by this change of the first editors.

“ Cleop. What shall we do, Enobarbus ?

“ Eno. *Think*, and die.

Drink and die; This emendation is undoubtedly true. 'Tis spoken by Enobarbus, in allusion to the society of the ΣΤΝΑΠΙΟΘΑΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ, mention'd in Plutarch, p. 949. D. The hint was

taken from a comedy of Diphilus, mention'd by Terence in his prologue to the Adelphi,

“ ΣΤΝΑΠΙΟΘΝΗΣΚΟΝΤΕΣ Diphili comoedia est:
“ Eam *commorientes* Plautus fecit fabulam.

The same kind of blunders we have frequent in ancient books: I will mention one in those verses of Tyrtaeus, which Stobaeus has preserved.

Ξυγὸν δ' ἰσθλὸν τῆτο πόληί τε πάντῃ τε δήμῳ,
“Οσις ANHP διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένη.

The old reading, instead of ANHP, was AN ET, which the transcriber changed into ANHP.

“Οσις ἀν εὖ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένη.

This was an expression that Tyrtaeus was fond of, and he repeats it again,

Ἄλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω, ποσὶν ἀμφοτέρωσι
Στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὀδῶσι δακῶν.

εὖ διαβὰς, *standing firm, one leg advanced before the other: the legs being severed and set asunder, each from the other.* But he took the expression from Homer, Il. μ'. 458.

Στῆ δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰῶν, ἢ ἐρεισάμεν⊖ εἴλε μέσας,
εὖ διαβὰς.

Which the translator renders, *firmiter divaricatis cruribus stans*: and the scholiast interprets by

ἰσχυρῶς σάς. which interpretation Milton follows:

“² *Stand firm*, for in his look defiance lours.

Notwithstanding Tyrtaeus borrowed this from Homer, yet by laying so much stress on this posture of fighting, and by his often repeating it, Plato in his first book of laws makes no scruple of calling it Tyrtaeus' own expression. Διαβάντες

δ' εὖ καὶ μαχόμενοι, ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ (Φράζει Τύρταιος) τῶν μισθοφόρων εἰς πάμπολλοι.

“ There are many mercenaries, who firmly standing their ground with one foot boldly advanced before the other, (for so Tyrtaeus expresses it) would gladly die fighting in battle.”

S E C T. XI.

NOTHING is more common than for words to be transposed in hasty writing, and to change their places. This has happen'd in Timon, Act III.

2. Par. L. IV, 873. Milton, in this whole episode, keeps close to his master Homer, who sends out Ulysses and Diomedes into the Trojan camp as spies. Il. x. 533. ὦ φίλοι, κ. τ. λ.

Ἰππων μὲ ἀκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κλύπος ἕαλα θάλλει.

O friends! I hear the tread of nimble feet, ψ. 866.

“Οὐπω πάντ' ἐρηγῆτο ἔπος, ὅτ' ἄρ' ἤλυθον αὐτοί. Il. x. 540.

He scarce had ended when these two approach'd. ψ. 874.

“ I. Strang.

“ I. Strang. Why this is the world’s *soul* ;
 “ Of the same piece is every flatterer’s *sport* .

Let these two words *soul* and *sport* change places,
 and we have this very good reading,

“ I. Strang. Why, this is the world’s *sport* ;
 “ Of the same piece is every flatterer’s *soul* .

In the II part of K. Henry IV, Act II.

P. Henry. “ From a God to a bull? a heavy
 “ *declension* ; it was Jove’s case. From a prince
 “ to a prentice, a low *transformation* ; that shall
 be mine: for in every thing, the purpose must
 weigh with the folly.”

It would be more accurate if the words were trans-
 posed, and we should read,

P. Henry. “ From a God to a bull? a heavy
 “ *transformation* ; it was Jove’s case. From a
 “ prince to a prentice a low *declension* ; that shall
 “ be mine. &c.

In Cymbeline, Act II. Jachimo is describing to
 the husband his wife’s bedchamber :

“ Jach. The roof o’ th’ chamber
 “ With golden cherubims is fretted, &c.

Posthumus replies :

“ *This is her honour* :
 “ Let it be granted you have seen all this, &c.

1. Mr. Theobald reads *spirit*. But in my change not one
 word is altered.

Mr. Theobald saw the absurdity of the reading and corrects

“—*What’s this t’* her honour.

But why may it not be red, without altering one word, only by an easy transposition,

Is this her honour?

Is this any way relating to the honor of my wife, which is the thing in question? or perhaps he speaks ironically,

“ This is her honour!

There is a passage in ² Marcus Antoninus, the sense of which is quite perverted by a word being got out of its proper place. The passage requires a little explanation. The Stoics by no means admitted prayers for external goods: this prayer therefore of the Athenians, “ Rain, rain, O Jupiter, upon the Athenian fields”, is condemned by the emperor: for instead of ἡτοι εἰ δει εὐχεσθαι, ἢ ἄτως ἀπλῶς ἢ ἐλευθέρως, we must undoubtedly read ἡτοι εἰ δει ἄτως εὐχεσθαι, ἢ ΑΠΛΩΣ ἢ ἐλευθέρως. “ This is the Athenian prayer, *Rain, rain, O propitious Jupiter, upon the tilled grounds and pastures of the Athenians.* Indeed we should not pray thus; or if we pray at all, it should be with simplicity and liberality.” Of this

2. Anton. L. 5. sect. 7.

Athenian prayer there is a fly ridicule in Aristophanes' clouds, *ψ.* 1116.

Ἔσομεν πρώτοισιν ὑμῖν, ποῖσι δ' ἄλλοις ὕσερον.

Plato did not dare openly to blame his countrymen for their ill-directed and ill-composed prayers; but yet in his second Alcibiades he plainly intimates his own opinion, and there praises these verses of an anonymous poet,

Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ ἢ εὐχομένοις ἢ ἀνεύκτοις
Ἄμμι δίδε, τὰ δὲ δεινὰ ἢ εὐχομένων ἀπερύκοις.

And the Lacedemonian form of prayer, τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ ποῖς ἀίθαθις τὴς θεῆς δίδοναι. which words Mr. Addison in his *spectator*, Vol. III. No. 207. renders, *to give them all good things as long as they are virtuous*. But this is neither the construction, nor the meaning: for τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ ποῖς ἀίθαθις, is the same as τὰ καλακάθατα, *whatever things are fair, honest, good, and becoming*: as opposed, to the servile, deformed, dishonest. Xenophon, in his memoirs of Socrates, has an allusion to this prayer of the Lacedemonians; speaking of Socrates, he says, εὐχέτο πρὸς τὴς θεῆς ἀπλῶς τὰ ἀθὰ δίδοναι. And our Milton in his most divine hymn, where the only petition is *ψ.* 205. B. V.

“ Be bounteous still

“ To give us *only* good.

The compilers of our liturgy did not forget this beautiful prayer. We humbly beseech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us those things which be profitable for us. Trin. Sund. Coll. 8. And in that truly divine prayer in the communion service, Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, &c. &c. The second Alcibiades of Plato Shakespeare seems to have red; for in his Antony and Cleopatra, Act II. he has the following plain allusion, to what the philosopher endeavours so much to inculcate, viz. How little we know of our real good; and that silly mortals would be ruin'd by their petitions, did the Gods but hearken to them:

“ Men. We, ignorant of our selves,
 “ Beg often our own harms, which the wise
 “ powers
 “ Deny us for our good; so find we profit
 “ By losing of our prayers.

Mr. Theobald has very pertinently cited here these lines of Juvenal

“ Quid enim ratione timemus
 “ Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis
 “ ut te
 “ Conatûs non poeniteat, votique peracti?
 “ Evertere domus totas optantibus ipsis
 “ Dii faciles.

“ Nam

“ Nam pro jucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt

“ dii:

“ Carior est illis homo, quàm sibi. Nos animo-

“ rum

“ Impulsu, *et caeca* magnaue cupidine ducti, &c.

I cannot help proposing a most certain correction, as I think, of this last cited verse of Juvenal: for the poet, following his master Plato, is condemning what is done by the blind impulse of the mind and the covetous fancy; beside the verse will be more harmonious if we read,

“ Nos animorum

“ Impulsu *caeco*, magnaue cupidine ducti,

“ Conjugium petimus.

S E C T. XII.

AUTHORS are not careful enough of their copies, when they give them into the printer's hand; which, often being blotted or ill written, must be help'd out by meer guess-work. Printers are not the best calculated for this critical work, I think, since the times of Aldus and the Stephens's. What wonder therefore if in such a case we meet, now and then, with strange and monstrous words, or highly improper expressions, and often contradictory to the author's design and meaning? We have taken

taken notice in a former section of *pannelled* being placed in the context instead of *paged*. Of the like sort is the following passage in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II.

“ Young *Abrabam* Cupid, he that shot so true,
 “ When king Cophetua lov'd the beggar maid.

Shakespeare wrote, *Young Adam Cupid*, &c. The printer or transcriber, gave us this *Abram*, mistaking the *d* for *br*: and thus made a passage
 direct

1. A letter blotted, or a stroke of the pen, might easily occasion the corruption. And hence many blunders arise. In *Spencer*, B. I. c. 7. ft. 33.

“ His warlike shield, &c.

“ But all of diamond perfect pure and *clean*:

We must read, *shoen*. See B. 2. c. 1. ft. 10. and B. 4. c. 5. ft. 11. Again, B. 3. c. 4. ft. 49.

“ Like as a fearful dove, which thro' the *rain*

“ Of the wide air her way does cut amain.

Read, *reign*: i. e. realm, or region: in which sense *Spencer* often uses it, and *Milton*, B. I. 543. *The reign of chaos*.

In B. 5. c. 7. ft. 31.

“ Full fiercely laid the Amazon about,

“ And dealt her blows, &c.

“ Which Britomart withstood with courage stout,

“ And them repaid again with double *more*.

Read, *store*: See c. 8. ft. 34.

direct nonsense, which was understood in Shakespeare's time by all his audience: for this *Adam* was a most notable *archer*; and for his skill became a proverb. In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act I. "And he that hits me, let him be clapt " on the shoulder, and called ADAM." Where Mr. Theobald's ingenious note is worth reading.

His

In B. 6. c. 5. ft. 4.

"Now wringing both his wretched hands *in one*."

Read, *atone*: i. e. together: frequently so used by Spencer. These blunders seem entirely owing to the wrong guesses of the printer, or transcriber. Some stroke of the pen occasion'd the following corrupt reading in the *Medæa* of Euripides, ψ . 459.

"Ὀμῶς δὲ καὶ τῶνδ' ἐκ ἀπειρηκῶς ΦΙΛΟΙΣ

ἤκω, τὸ σὸν γὰρ προσποπέμει, γυναίκα."

"Ego tamen ne propter haec quidem defessus *amicorum* " *gratiâ* venio, prospecturus tibi, o mulier." What construction is this? Φίλοις ἤκω beside ἀπειρηκίαι is, *animo concidisse, animum despondisse, &c.* I imagine the poet gave it, Φίλοις ἤκω, *I come your friend*: as we say in English. But printers can blunder, as well as transcribers in copy after copy. In Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, ψ . 1650. the Messenger is describing Samson's pulling the temple on the Philistines.

"Those two massie pillars

"With horrible confusion to and fro

"He tugg'd, he took, 'till down they came, and drew

"The whole roof after them.

We

His name was Adam Bell. So that here, *Young Adam Cupid*, &c. is the same as, *Young Cupid that notable archer*, &c. The story of king Cophetua and the beggar maid is elsewhere alluded to by Shakespear; and by Johnson, in *Every Man in his Humour*, Act III. sc. IV. "I have not the heart to devoure you, an' I might be made as rich as king Cophetua."

In Julius Caesar, Act. I.

"Cassius. Tell me, good Brutus, can you
" see your *face*?

"Brutus. No, Cassius; for the *eye sees not*
" *itself*,

"But by reflection from some other things.

"Cass. 'Tis just

"And it is very much lamented, Brutus,

"That you have no such mirrors, as will turn

"Your hidden worthiness into *your eye*,

"That you might see your shadow.

We must correct, *he shook*. Again, in his elegant sonnet to the soldier to spare his house:

"The great Emathian conqueror *did spare*

"The house of Pindarus.

We must read, *bid spare*. As Mr. Theobald and Dr. Bentley often tells us, that they had the happiness to make many corrections, which they find afterwards supported by the authority of better copies; so with the same *vanity*, I can assure the reader, I made the above emendations in Milton, and found, after all, the passages corrupted by one J. Tonson.

'Tis

'Tis plain from the reply of Brutus, and the whole tenor of the reasoning, that Cassius should say,

“ Tell me, good Brutus, can you see your eye?”

The analogy is no less beautiful, than philosophical, of the rational faculty (the internal eye) to the corporeal organ of sight: and in the first Alcibiades of Plato, p. 132, 133. of Stephens' edition, there is exactly a parallel instance. Cassius tells Brutus that he will be his mirror, and shew *him* to *himself*.

In Julius Caesar, Act IV.

Antony. *These many then shall die, their names are prickt.*

Octavius. *Your brother too must die: consent you Lepidus?*

Lepidus. *I do consent.*

Octavius. *Prick him down, Antony.*

Lepidus. *Upon condition, PUBLIUS shall not live; Who is your sister's son, Mark Antony.*

The triumvirs, A. U. 710. met at a small island formed by the river Labinius; (now Lavino,) near Mantua; as Appian de bell. civil. writes. Others say in an island formed by the river Rhenus, now Reno: and there came to a resolution of cutting off all their enemies, in which number they
included

included the old republican party. Antony set down Cicero's name in the list of the proscribed: Octavius insisted on Antony's sacrificing *Lucius*, *his uncle by the mother's side*: And Lepidus gave up his own brother, L. Æmilius Paulus. As 'tis not uncommon to blunder in proper names, I make no doubt but in the room of *Publius* we should place *Lucius*, Antony's uncle by his mother's side: and then a trifling correction sets right the other line.

Lepidus. *Upon condition Lucius shall not live.*
You are his sister's son, Mark Antony.

In Antony and Cleopatra Act III. Caesar is speaking of the vassal kings, who attended Antony in his expedition against him.

“ He hath assembled
 “ Bocchus the king of Lybia, Archelaus
 “ Of Cappadocia, Philadelphos king
 “ Of Paphlagonia; the Thracian king ² *Adullas*,
 “ King ³ *Malchus* of Arabia, king of Pont,
 “ Herod of Jewry, Mithridates king
 “ Of Comagene, *Polemon and Amintas*,
 “ *The king of Mede, and Lycaonia*,
 “ *With a more larger list of scepters.*

2. Plut. p. 944. B. Ἀδάλλας δὲ Θράκης.

3. Plut. ibid. Μάλχος ἰξ Ἀραβίας. Shakespeare very rightly writes, *Malchus*: and so Hirtius de bell. Alex.

This muster-roll is taken from Plutarch in his life of Antony: the translation is as follows,
 “ His land-forces were composed of a hundred-
 “ thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse.
 “ He had of vassal kings attending, Bocchus of
 “ Libya, [Tarcondemus of the upper Cilicia,]
 “ Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of
 “ Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagena, and
 “ Adallas king of Thracia; all these attended
 “ him in the war. Many others who could not
 “ serve in person, sent him their contributions
 “ of forces, *Polemon of Pontus*, *Malchus* of Ara-
 “ bia, Herod of Jury, and *Amyntas* ⁴ still king
 “ of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*; and even the king
 “ of *Media* sent him a very considerable rein-
 “ forcement.” To omit Adullas, for Adallas,
 who is the king of Pont, but Polemo? and who
 of Lycaonia, but Amintas? First then the king
 of Pont is to be stricken off the list. And I make
 no doubt but in the original writing it was so:
 and what the poet blotted out, the printer gave
 us, because he saw it filled up the verse:

4. Ἔτι δὲ Ἀμύντας ὁ Λυκαόνων καὶ Γαλατῶν. *And moreover,*
 &c. The words in Plutarch should be transposed, for
 Amyntas was not king both of Lycaonia, and Galatia:
 thus, ἔτι δὲ Ἀμύντας ὁ Λυκαόνων, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Γαλατῶν.
And moreover, Amyntas of Lycaonia, and the king of Galatia.
 And 'tis remarkable, this blunder of the translator's is
 avoided by the easy change I make of Shakespeare's words.

“ King

“ King Malchus of Arabia.

Having gotten rid of the king of Pont : how shall we reconcile to Plutarch ?

“ Polemon and Amintas,

“ The king of Mede, and Lycaonia.

This may be done by an easy transposition of the words,

“ Polemon, and Amintas

“ Of Lycaonia ; and the king of Mede.

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act. IV.

“ Caesar. My messenger,

“ He’ hath whipt with rods, dares me *to personal*

“ *combat,*

“ Caesar to Antony. Let the old ruffian know,

“ *I have many other ways to die : mean time*

“ Laugh at his challenge.

What a reply is this to Antony’s challenge ? ’tis acknowledging he should fall under the unequal combat. But if we read,

“ Let the old ruffian know,

“ He’ hath many other ways to die : mean time

“ *I laugh at his challenge.*

By this reading we have poinancy, and the very repartee of Caesar. Let us hear Plutarch. “ After
 “ this Antony sent a challenge to Caesar to fight
 “ him

“ him hand to hand, and received for answer,
 “ *That HE [viz. Antony] might find several other*
 “ *ways to end HIS LIFE.*”

To these may be added several other corrections of faulty passages, which seem to have proceeded from the same cause.

In the *Tempest*, Act I.

“ Alon. Good boatswain, have care : where’s
 “ the master? *Play* the men.

It should be *ply the men* : keep them to their business. *Ply your oars*, is a seaman’s phrase.

In a *Midsummer Night’s-Dream*, Act IV.

“ Queen. Sleep thou, and I will wind thee
 “ in my arms.

“ Fairies, begone, and be ^s *always away*.

Read, “ Fairies begone and be *away*.—*Away*.

[Seeing them loiter.

The fairies being gone, the queen turns to her new lover,

“ So doth the ⁶ *woodbine the sweet honey-suckle*
 “ Gently

5. Mr. Theobald thinks the poet meant
 — and be all ways *away*.

i. e. disperse yourselves, and scout out severally, in your watch.

6. Mr. Theobald has printed it,

“ So doth the woodbine, the sweet honey-suckle,

“ Gently entwist the *maple* ; Ivy so, &c.

R

This

“ Gently entwist; the female Ivy so
 “ Enrings the barky fingers of the elm.

Read, *wood rine*, i. e. the honey-suckle entwists the rind or bark of the trees:

“ So doth the *wood rine* the sweet honey-suckle
 “ Gently entwist.

In Shakespeare's time this was the manner of spelling; so Spencer in the Shepherd's Calendar, eclog. 2.

“ But now the gray moss marred his *rine*.

In Troilus and Cressida, Act IV.

“ Par. You told, how Diomedé a whole week,
 “ by days,
 “ Did *haunt* you in the field.

Presently after Diomedé says to Aeneas,

“ By Jove I'll play the *bunter* for thy life.
 “ Aen. And thou shalt *bunt* a ? lion that will
 “ flie
 “ With his face back.

How

This is too great a variation from the received reading: and how jejune is it to tell us, that the woodbine and the honey-suckle is the same thing?

7. Homer has the same comparison of Ajax retreating from the Trojans. Il. x'. 547. and of Menelaus. Il. g'. 109. And Virgil of Turnus, Aen. IX, 792.

How can we doubt then but Paris says,

Did *bunt* you in the field?

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act III.

“ Caesar. Unto her^s

“ He gave the ’stablishment of Egypt, made
“ her

“ Of lower Syria, Cyprus, *Lydia*

“ Absolute queen.

Ceu saevum turba leonem

Cum telis premit infensis, at territus ille,

Asper, acerba tuens, retro redit; et neque terga

Ira dare aut virtus patitur, &c.

8. He is speaking of Cleopatra, whom presently after he describes (following the historian) dressed in the habit of the Aegyptian Goddess Isis: whose name she took, *Ἴσις ἰχθυόδρακος*. Plut in Anton. p. 941. Which is thus rendered, *novae Isidis nomine responsa dabat populis*: it should be, *novae Isidis nomen sibi acquirebat*. The poet has too faithfully followed the translators.

“ She

“ In the habiliments of the goddess Isis

“ That day appear’d, and oft before gave audience,

“ As ’tis reported, *so*.

This circumstance is prettily alluded to by Virgil. Aen. VIII, 696. describing Cleopatra in the naval fight at Actium.

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina fistro.

Read *Lybia*: as is plain from Plutarch in his life of Antony. Πρώτην μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασίλισσαν Ἀιγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ, καὶ κοίτης Συρίας, κ. τ. λ. Plut. p. 941. B.

'TIS pleafant enough to confider, how the change of one fingle letter has often led learned commentators into miftakes. And a Π being accidentally altered into Β, in a Greek rhetorician, gave occafion to one of the beft pieces of fatyre, that was ever written in the Englifh language. viz. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ, *a treatife concerning the art of finking in poetry*. The blunder I mean is in the fecond fection of Longinus, ΕΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΥΦΟΥΣ ΤΙΣ Η ΒΑΘΟΥΣ ΤΕΧΝΗ, inftead of ΠΑΘΟΥΣ. A moft ridiculous blunder, which has occafion'd as ridiculous criticifms.

That the Δ fhould be written for a Π is no wonder, fince Dionyfius in his Roman antiquities, p. 54. has the following remark, Κεῖνται τῶν τρωικῶν θεῶν εἰκόνες ἅπασιν ὄραν ΔΕΝΑΣ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαι δηλῶσαν τὰς ΠΕΝΑΤΑΣ. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι, τῷ Π μήπω γράμματι εὐρημένῳ τῷ Δ δηλῶν τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν τὰς παλαιάς. The old Greek word for wine, they wrote ΔΕΛΟΣ, but when the Greek alphabet was compleated, ΠΗΛΟΣ: this word grown antiquated, they ufed ΟΙΝΟΣ. In Theocritus, Id. i. γ'. 13. we muft read,

Ἐκ πίθῳ αἰνιλεῖς ΠΗΛΟΝ· ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω ἔδ' ἄλις ὄξυς.

Where

Where thus the schol. Παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ ζώντων—ὁ γὰρ ΟΙΝΟΥ κεραυνόμυθος πρὸς ἀφροδίσεια ἐκκαίεται, ἄτε ἀργία συζῶν· ὁ δὲ μηδ' ΟΞΟΥΣ ἔχων πικρὴν ἢ τῷ πόνῳ μαχόμενος, ἔκ ἐραῖ. The copies of Theocritus have ΔΗΛΟΝ, which the editors render *scilicet*. But the scholiast gives an easy interpretation, and helps forward the correction.

IT seems that some puns, and quibbling wit, have been changed in our author, thro' some such causes, as mention'd in the beginning of this section. For instance, in *As you like it*, Act II.

“ Rosalind. Well, this is the forest of Arden.

“ Clown. Ay; now I am in *Arden*; the more fool I: when I was at home, I was in a better place.

The Clown, agreeable to his character, is in a punning vein, and replies thus,

“ Ay; now I am in *a den*; the more fool I: when I was at home, I was in a better place.

He is full of this quibbling wit through the whole play. In Act III. he says,

“ I am here with thee, and thy *goats*; as the most *capricious* honest Ovid was among the *Goths*.

“ Jaq. O knowledge ill-inhabited, worfe than
 “ Jove in a thatch'd house.

Capricious, is not here humourfome, fantaftical, &c. but lascivious: Hor. Epod. 10. *Libidinosus immolabitur caper*. *The Goths*, are the Getae: Ovid. Trift. V, 7. *The thatch'd house*, is that of Baucis and Philemon, Ovid. Met. VIII, 630.

Stipulis et cannâ tefta paluſtri.

But to explain puns is almoſt as unpardonable as to make them: however I will venture to correct one paſſage more: which is in Julius Caefar, Act III.

“ Ant. Here is a mourning Rome, a dan-
 “ gerous Rome:
 “ No *Rome* of fafety for Octavius yet.

I make no queſtion, but Shakeſpeare intended it,

“ No *room* of fafety for Octavius yet.

So in Act I.

“ Now is it *Rome* indeed; and *room* enough
 “ When there is in it but one only man.

To play with words which have an alluſion to proper names, is common with Shakeſpeare and the 2 ancients. Ajax in Sophocles, applying his name to his miſfortunes, ſays,

9. See Ariſtot. Rhet. L. 2. c. 25. “ Ἄλλο ἀπὸ τῆς ὀνόματι
 κ. τ. λ.

ΑΙ, ΑΙ· τίς ἄν ποτ' ὦθε ᾧδ' ἐπ' αὐνοῦ μὲν
Τέμνον ζυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;

Philoctetes, speaking to Pyrrhus, has this quibble not inferior to any in Shakespeare — for badness.

Ω Πῦρ σὺ, ἢ πᾶν δαῖμα.

In the Orestes of Euripides there is a pun on the name *Eleetra*; a very unfortunate name for a young woman.

Ω παῖ Κλυταιμνήστρας τε καΐταμένονθ',
Παρθένε, μακρὸν δὴ μῆκθ' Ἠλέκτρα χρόνα.

And Aeschylus, in Agam. ψ. 1089. the father of tragedy, gives this kind of wit a sanction.

* Ἀπολλον, * Ἀπολλον,
Αγυιεύ τ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός,
Ἄπώλεσας γὰρ εἰ μόλις τὸν δεύτερον.

Ovid has many of these: I don't find the following taken any notice of in Burman's edition.

- “ Rettulit et ferro Rhesiumque Dolonaque caesos,
“ Utque sit hic somno proditus, ille *dolo*.
“ Ausus es, o nimium, nimiumque oblite tuorum,
“ Thracia nocturno tangere castra *dolo*.

That there is a play upon the words *Dolona* and *dolo*, is not to be question'd, I think; but the *dolo* in the fourth verse is the transcriber's blunder,

which was occasion'd by his casting his eyes on the line above. Perhaps the poet gave it with an interrogation,

“ Aufus es, ô nimium, nimiumque oblite tuorum,
 “ Thracia nocturno tangere castra pede ?

Those who read the Socratic authors know that Socrates did not disdain to pun, when proper occasions offered: a corrupted passage of this nature, in so pure and elegant a writer as Xenophon, I shall take occasion here to illustrate and correct. The Clouds of Aristophanes were acted a very considerable time before Socrates was condemned. According to the manner of the old comedy the real Socrates is there introduced, and his philosophy burlesqued. Thus he addresses the Clouds, §. 265.

“ Ἀφθίη, Φάνητ', ὧ δέσποιναι, τῷ Φρονισῆ μελέωροι,

O Clouds, my goddesses, be ye lifted up, and appear all sublimely suspended to your contemplating scholar.

In another place, §. 94. The school of Socrates is called Φρονιστήριον, *the school of careful contemplation*. And themselves, §. 101. are called, με-

εμνοφρονήσαι, *the sad and solemn contemplators*.

Plato in his apology alludes to these passages of Aristophanes, and speaks of this buffoonery, ὡς ἔστι τις Σωκράτους σοφός τὰ τε μελέωροι Φρονισῆς.

'Tis frequently hinted too, that he taught his
 scholars

scholars direct atheism, and a contempt for the religion of his country. And in the second scene Socrates and his scholars, like a society of natural philosophers, are employed about many curious enquiries, as whether a gnat sings thro' it's mouth or fundament, with others of the like important nature.

Ἄνθρωπε ἄρι ΧαίρεΦῶντα Σωκράτης,

Ψύλλαν ὅπως ἄλλοῖο τῆς αὐτῆς πόδας.

Δακῦσα γὰρ τῆ ΧαίρεΦῶντι τὴν ὀφρῦν,

Ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆ Σωκράτους ἀφῆλατο.

Στρεψ. Πῶς δῆτα τῆτ' ἐμέτρησε; ΜΑ. Δεξιότατα.

“ Socrates lately inquired of Chaerepho concern-
 “ ing the nature of fleas, for instance, how many
 “ of it's own feet a flea could go at one leap:
 “ for having bitten the eyebrow of Chaerepho, it
 “ leaped upon the bald pate of Socrates. Strep.
 “ Well, and how did he measure it? Schol.
 “ Most dextrously.” These passages of Ari-
 stophanes will be sufficient to make way for my
 correction of Xenophon in his Banquet, p. 176,
 177, edit. Oxon. which I would thus read,

Τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ὄντων, ὡς εἶρα ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν
 μὲν αὐτῆ ἀποδειγμάτων ἀμελεῖντας, ἀλλήλοις δὲ
 ἠδαμένους, φθονῶν τῷ Σωκράτει εἶπεν, Ἄρα σὺ, ὦ
 Σωκράτες, ὁ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΤΗΣ ἐπικαλέμην; Οὐκᾶν
 κάλλιον, ἔφη, ἢ εἰ ΑΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΤΟΣ ἐκαλέμην; εἰ
 μή γε ἐδόκει, ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΕΩΡΩΝ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΤΗΣ
 εἶναι.

εἶναι. Οἶσθα ἔν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ΜΕΤΕΩΡΟΤΕ-
 ΡΟΝ τι τῶν Θεῶν; Ἄλλ' εἰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, εἰ τέτων
 σε λείβουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ΑΝΩΦΕΛΕΣΤΑ-
 ΤΩΝ. Οὐκᾶν ἢ ἔτως ἄν, ἔφη, Θεῶν ἐπιμέλοιμην·
 ἄνωθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ΑΝΩ ΩΦΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ, ἄνωθεν δὲ
 φῶς παρέχουσιν. Εἰ δὲ ψυχρὸν λείβω, σὺ αἴτιός, ἔφη,
 πρᾶγματά μοι παρέχων. Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ἔα· ἀλλ'
 εἰπέ μοι, πόσους ψύλλας πόδας ἐμῆ ἀπέχεις· ταῦτα
 γὰρ σε φασὶ γεωμετρεῖν. As puns cannot be
 translated, so I shall not attempt to translate this.
 I have ventured to insert ΑΝΩ before ΩΦΕΛΟΥ-
 ΣΙΝ, to compleat the pun on the preceding word
 ΑΝΩΦΕΛΕΣΤΑΤΑΤΩΝ. And have likewise cor-
 rected ψύλλας and ἀπέχεις, instead of ψύλλα
 and ἀπέχει. For the sense is, "tell me how
 " many feet of a flea you are distant from me:"
 as is plain from Aristophanes: not as the words
 now are printed, void of all allusion and turn,
 "tell me how many feet a flea is distant from
 " me."

There is a kind of pun in repeating pretty
 near the same letters with the preceding word,
 to which the rhetoricians have given a particular
 name, and in making a sort of a jingling sound
 of words. Of this the sophists of old were fond,
 and they are ridiculed ingeniously in Plato's
 Banquet for this affectation. ¹⁰ ΠΑΤΣΑΝΙΟΥ δὲ

¹⁰. Plat. Symp. p. 185. edit. Steph.

ΠΑΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ, διδάσκουσι γὰρ με ἸΣΑ λείπειν ἔτι σοφοί. And again in his Gorgias "ΩΛΩΣΤΕ, ΠΩΛΕ, ἵνα προσέπω σε κατὰ σε. i. e. to address you in your own manner. Which I mention because the interpreters seem to misunderstand him. So in Terence. Andria, Act I.

“ Inceptio est amentium, haud amantium.

Nor is Homer without instances of this kind.

II. ζ'. 201.

— Ἀλήϊον οἷον αἰλᾶπο.

II. τ'. 91.

— Ἄλη ἢ πάντας αἰᾶται.

And Virgil, Aen. VII, 295. Imitating old Ennius,

*Num capti potuere capi? Num incensa cremavit
Troja viros?*

Aen. VI, 32.

*Bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,
Bis patriae cecidere manus.*

And Milton frequently, as B. I. x. 433.

“ And unfrequented left

“ His righteous altar, bowing lowly down

“ To bestial Gods; for which their heads as low

“ Bow'd down in battel.

11. Plat. Gorg. p. 467. See Aristot. Rhet. l. 3. c. 9.

I, 642.

“ Which *tempted* our *attempt*, and wrought our
 “ fall.

VI, 868.

“ And to begird th’ almighty throne
 “ *Beseeking* or *besieging*.

IX, 647.

“ Serpent! we might have spar’d our coming
 “ hither,
 “ *Fruitless* to me, though *fruit* be here t’ excess.

Instances in Shakespeare are without number;
 however I will mention one or two.

Macbeth, Act I.

“ What thou wouldst *highly*,
 “ That thou wouldst *holily*.
 “ And catch
 “ With its *surcease*, *success*.

Hamlet, Act I.

“ A little more than *kin*, and less than *kind*.

Of this jingling kind are the following verses,
 where the letters are repeated.

Homer Il. §. 526.

Χύντο Χαμαὶ Χολάδες.

12. He seems to have taken this from Gorboduc, Act I.

In kinde a father, but not in kindelyness.

Iliad

Iliad ξ. 307.

Πηνεΐα δὸς Περσέην σκαιῶν Προπάροιθε Πυλῶν.

Iliad ν. 162.

Δολικὸν Δόρυ Διήφοβον Δέ.

Iliad φ. 407.

Ἐπιτὰ δ' Ἐπέχε Πέλαθρα Περσῶν.

Our countryman Dryden was so fond of this repetition, that he thought it one of the greatest beauties in poetry; and used to repeat this verse of his own as an instance,

When MAN on MANY Multiplied his kind.

It cannot be denied that Virgil abounds with many examples of this sort, which his commentator Erythraeus terms *alliteratio*, *allusio verborum*, and *assonantia syllabarum*. And the ingenious Mr. Benson, the editor and admirer of Johnstons translation of the psalms, lays the highest stress on this alliteration. Milton, who knew the whole art and mystery of versification, has sometimes almost every word with the same letter repeated, as VI, 840.

“ Oer fields, and helms, and helmed heads be
“ rode.

IX, 901.

“ Defac'd, deflower'd, and now to death devote.

And

And so in other places, not so frequent as Virgil, or Spencer. This will appear in giving an instance from Spencer, B. I. 39.

“ And through the world of waters wide and
“ deep.

This line Milton has borrowed, III, 11.

“ The rising world of waters | dark and deep.

Where you see that Milton has changed a word, and chuses to make this alliteration on the two last words, *dark* and *deep*: rather than, following Spencer, to alliterate three words together, and drop it on the last. But whatever beauty this alliteration might have, yet the affectation of it must appear ridiculous; for poets are not made by mechanical rules: and it was ridiculed as long ago as the times of old Ennius.

¹³ O Tite tute Tati tibi tante tyranne tulisti.

And by Shakespeare in his *Midsummer-Night's dream*, Act. V.

“ Whereat with blade, with bloody blameful
“ blade,

“ He bravely broach'd his boiling bloody breast.

13. Παρόμοιον, est cum verba omnia similiter incipiunt, ut,
ὁ Τίτῃ τυτῇ Τάτῃ τῖβι τάντῃ τυραννῇ τυλίστῃ.

Sofip. Charis. instit. gram. L. IV. p. 251. Παρόμοιον, cum verba similiter incipiunt,

Machina multa minax minatur maxima muris.

Diomedes L. 2.

S E C T.

S E C T. XIII.

TH E R E are many blunders that creep into books from a compendious manner of writing; and if this happen to be blotted, the transcriber has a hard task to trace the author's words. This seems to have occasion'd a very extraordinary confusion in a passage in Othello. But before I mention my emendation, I beg leave to cite a short story from the first book of the Ethiopian romance of Heliodorus. Thyamis, an Aegyptian robber, fell in love with Chariclea; stung with jealousy, and despairing to enjoy her himself, he resolves to murder her: and thinking he had killed her, (but it happen'd to be another) he cries out, *Alas poor maid, these are the nuptial gifts I present thee.* This story is alluded to in the Twelfth-Night, Act V. Nor did the allusion escape the notice of Mr. Theobald.

“ Duke. Why should I not, had I the heart to
“ do't,

“ Like the *Egyptian thief*, at point of death

“ Kill what I love? A savage jealousy

“ That sometimes favours nobly.

And this same story seems to me hinted at in Othello, Act. V. where the Moor, speaking of his savage jealousy, adds,

“ Of

“ Of one whose hand
 “ Like th’ *base Egyptian*, threw a pearl away
 “ Richer than all his tribe.

Now this exactly agrees with the romance. ’Twas Thyamis’ own hand, and he too in a strong fit of love and jealousy, that committed this murder. When Othello robbed Brabantio of his daughter, the old man calls him in the beginning of the play,

“ O thou foul thief!

These circumstances all crowd into Othello’s mind to increase his horror: for this reason, as well as for several others, with great propriety he calls himself, *the base Egyptian*.

In Mr. Pope’s edition ’tis

“ Like the *base Indian*, &c.

which he thus interprets: “ In the first edition it is
 “ *Judian*, occasion’d probably by the word *tribe*
 “ just after, but the common reading is better;
 “ as the word *tribe* is applicable to any race of
 “ people, and the thought of an ignorant *Indian*’s
 “ casting away a pearl very natural in itself;
 “ whereas to make sense of the other, we must
 “ presuppose some particular story of a *Jew* al-
 “ luded to, which is much less obvious.” Mr.
 Theobald in his edition has plainly overthrown

Mr. Pope's explanation and reading, but whether he has established his own may be doubted; he reads,

Like the base Judian, &c.

“ i. e. (says he) the base Jew Herod, who
 “ threw away such a jewel of a wife as Mari-
 “ amne.” But first of all there is no such word
 as *Judian*, which must certainly occasion a suspi-
 cion of it's not being genuine. Again, if any
 one will consider the history of Mariamne from
 Josephus, he will find, 'tis very little applicable
 to Desdemona's case. Mariamne had an aver-
 sion to Herod, and always treated him with
 scorn and contempt; she was publicly, tho'
 falsely, accused of an attempt to poison him,
 and accordingly put to death. In the present
 circumstances, with which Othello is surrounded,
 he would never apply Herod's case to himself:
 he was a private murderer, Herod brought his
 wife to public justice; Desdemona was fond of
 the moor, the Jews hated her husband. On
 the other hand, the story of the Egyptian thief
 is very minutely applicable; and the verses, cited
 from the Twelfth Night, shew that our author
 was pleased with the allusion. It seems the cor-
 ruption was owing to some sort of ill-written
 abbreviation, that might be in the original, as
Egyptian, and which could not easily be understood
 by printer or player.

From such like abbreviations arise no small blunders in ancient books. In the Greek manuscripts we often find ἀνθρωπῶ, ἀνθρώπων, thus abbreviated, Ᾱν̄ρος, Ἀ̄ν̄ων. This abbreviation has occasion'd some confusion in many printed books. As for example, in a dissertation of Maximus Tyrius, τί ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ Πλάτωνα, *what Deity is according to Plato*. We find Plato is there called, ὁ εὐφωτότατῶ τῶν ΟΝΤΩΝ, *the most eloquent of BEINGS*. But ὁ ΩΝ, as used by Plato and his followers, is a word of sacred import, *Truth, Deity itself*, that which really is Being, in contradistinction to ever-fleeting and changing matter. A Platonist therefore, enquiring what Deity is, would never say even of his master Plato, ὁ εὐφωτότατῶ τῶν ΟΝΤΩΝ. It would be compliment sufficient to say, ὁ εὐφωτότατῶ τῶν ΑΝΩΝ; i. e. ἀνθρώπων. There is very little difference between ΟΝΤΩΝ and ΑΝΩΝ, if it be considered how easily the stroke over ἄνων might be mistaken for a τ by a transcriber: *Plato, the most eloquent of mortals*, seems the compliment intended by Maximus Tyrius.

ΑΝΩΝ is changed into ΑΥΤΩΝ in our present printed copies of Marcus Antoninus, B. IV. f. 38. τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ΑΥΤΩΝ διάβλεπε κ. τ. λ. It should be τὰ ἡγ. ἀνών: i. e. ἀνθρώπων διάβλεπε κ. τ. λ.

In St. Matthew's gospel, xxvii, 9. it has been very rightly observed, that the transcriber of this versè mistook ZPIOT̄ for IPIOT̄; but as some MSS. are extant without either reading, I should print it, τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, λέγοντι κ. τ. λ. So that I_{ριε} or Z_{ριε} was a gloss, and from the margin received into the text.

S E C T. XIV.

IT is not at all surprizing that the persons in the drama should be changed, either thro' the blunders, or wrong judgment of the transcribers and players.

In the Tempest, Act I.

“ Prospero. What is the time o' th' day?

“ Ariel. Past the mid season.

“ Prosp. At least two glasses; the time twixt

“ six and now

“ Must by us both be spent most preciously.

Who can imagine that Prospero would ask a question, and answer it himself? But a trifling distinction will make all right.

“ Prof. What is the time o' th' day?

“ Ar. Past the mid season,

“ At least two glasses.

“ Prosp. The time twixt six and now
 “ Must by us both be spent most preciously.

In As you like it, Act II. The Duke is speaking of the happiness of his retirement.

“ And this our life, exempt from publick haunt,
 “ Finds tongues in trees, books in the running
 “ brooks,

“ Sermons in stones, and good in every thing :
 “ I would not change it.

“ Am. Happy is your Grace, &c.

How much more in character is it for the Duke to say, “ I would not change it,” than for Amiens ?

In K. Henry V. Act IV.

K. Henry. *But, hark, what new alarum is this same ?*

The French have reinforc'd their scatter'd men.

Then every foldier kill his prisoners.

Give the word through.

Enter Fluellen and Gower.

Flu. *Kill the poyes and the luggage ! 'tis expressly against the law of arms, &c.*

How should the King know the French had reinforc'd their men ? It should thus be printed,

K. Henry. *But, hark, what new alarum is this same ?*

Enter

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. *The French have reinforc'd their scatter'd men.*

K. Hen. *Then every soldier kill his prisoners :
Give the word through.* [Exeunt.

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act I.

“ Cleopatra. Excellent falshood !

“ Why did he marry Fulvia, and not love her ?

“ I'll seem the fool, I am not. Antony

“ Will be himself.

“ Ant. But stirr'd by Cleopatra.

“ Now for the love of love, and his soft hours,
 &c.

I make no question but the author thus gave it,

“ Cleo. Excellent falshood !

“ Why did he marry Fulvia, and not love her ?

“ I'll seem the fool, I am not. Antony

“ Will be himself, but stirr'd by Cleopatra. [*Aside.*

“ Ant. Now for the love of love, and his soft

“ hours, &c.

S E C T. XV.

TH E R E are no ancient books now remaining, but what, more or less, have suffered from the ignorance of transcribers foisting into the text some marginal note, or gloss.

One would have imagined, that printing should have put an end to these sort of blunders; yet Mr. Theobald has with great judgment discovered a marginal direction, printed from the prompter's books, in *As you like it*, Act IV. where a song is inserted,

“ Then sing him home,
[“ *The rest shall bear this burthen.*”]

This being written in the prompter's copy, by way of direction to the players, the unattending printer mixed them with the poet's own words.

Again, in *Richard II.* Act III.

“ Bol. Thanks, gentle uncle; come, my lords,
“ away,
“ [*To fight with Glendower and his complices*]
“ A while to work and after holiday.

The intermediate verse he has rightly flung out for the same reason.

In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act V.

“ Mrs. Ford. Where is Nan now, and her
“ troop of fairies, and the Welch devil *Herne*?

There was a plot carrying on against Falstaff, which was to be acted near Herne's oak, in Windsor-Park. Mr. Theobald has printed, *the Welch devil Evans*. Thinking, *Herne* got into
the

the text by the inadvertent transcriber's casting his eyes too hastily on the succeeding line, where the word again occurs. But perhaps the occasion of the blunder might be more accurately traced. There was some little machinery necessary to be furnished out in the acting of this plot, with fairy dancing, &c. The management of this was left to Mr. Herne, then belonging to the house, who is mention'd by Johnson in his Masque at Whitehall, February 2, 1609. where speaking of the magical dances of the witches, he says, "All which were excellently
 " imitated by the maker of the dance, M.
 " Hierome Herne, whose right it is here to be
 " named." In the prompter's copy therefore the words seem to have been written after this manner,

Mrs. Ford. *Where is Nan now, and her troop of fairies, and the Welch Devil?* Herne.

i. e. Herne was to be called to order the fairy-dance, and the machinery going forward.

I cannot think I have spoken too peremptorily, in saying that there is no ancient book not corrupted, more or less, with marginal notes and glosses, unwarily often admitted into the text. For not even the sacred scriptures have escaped these blemishes. In Bentley's learned letter to Mills may be seen an instance how

a ' passage in St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, came hence to be corrupted. It would indeed be very hard for authors to be answerable for their transcribers: yet have the scriptures been on these very accounts abused, to which abuse their weak defenders have not a little contributed. Among the corrupted passages of this nature is the following in St. Luke, chap. ii.

Εγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Λυζῆς² ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκημένην. [αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντι τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίῳ.] ἢ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν.

Some one in the early ages of Christianity (for the error is of a long date) who had read Josephus,

1. Ep. Galat. iv. 25.

2. 'Tis frequently mention'd in Roman authors that Augustus was very curious and exact about a survey of all the dependant provinces of the empire. And this is not improperly called by St. Luke ἀπογράφεισθαι. See Sueton. in Octav. c. 101. et c. 27. Dio Cassius, L. LVI. p. 591. Tacit. an. l. 1. c. 11. We know from Julian, in his Caesars, that Augustus made the Danube and Euphrates the boundaries of the Roman empire, ὄρια δὲ διπλά, ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδιδομένα, "Ἰστρον καὶ Ευφράτην πωλαμὸς ἰθέμενη, says Augustus himself.—Happy had it been for other emperors, if they never had entertained ambitious thoughts of extending their victories beyond them.

but

but not attended to the chronology, wrote these words, *αὐτὴ ἡ ἀπολεξαφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡ γεμονδιότης τῆς Σουλίας Κυρηνίας*, in the margin of his copy, which some transcriber inserted into the text: and the error was propagated from copy to copy, as it seem'd to be a more accurate account, and to point out the particular time. 'Tis ridiculous enough to see, how the commentators disagree among themselves, and how perplext they are in their interpretations: never considering the perspicuity of the Greek language; and that here particularly, from the adjacent words, the construction and meaning is so ascertain'd, that the passage will admit no other sense, than what our translators, (men of no mean learning,) have given it. " And this taxing was ' first made

3. This is plain from the position of the words. But in St. John, i. 15. *πρῶτός μου*, is *first of me*, i. e. *before me*, for the construction is different. I cannot but here mention that Milton has borrowed this phrase from the Greeks. B. III, 383.

*Thee next they sung of all creation first,
Begotten Son.*

first of all creation, i. e. before all worlds, begotten not made. But if Milton dictated,

*Thee next they sung of all creation first-
Begotten Son.*

Then he alludes to St. Paul's words, Coloss. i. 15. *Πρωτότοκος* *πρῶτος κτίσιως*.

" when

“ when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.” But Cyrenius was not governor of Judea, ’till it became a Roman province and Archelaus was deposed.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, speaking of the effects of faith, has these words, chap. xi. ὕ. 36, 37. Ἴτεροι δὲ ἐμπαιγμῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ΠΕΙΡΑΝ ἔλαβον, ἔτι δὲ δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς ἐλιθάσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν, ΕΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΗΣΑΝ, ἐν φόβῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον κ. τ. λ. *And others HAD TRIALL of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, WERE TEMPTED, were slain with the sword, &c.* It has been very rightly inquired, how came here among these punishments and torments, ΕΠΕΙΡΑΣΘΗΣΑΝ. And this enquiry has set the critics a guessing, to find some word, near the traces of the original, which will tally with the sense. However I cannot but think that ἐπειράσθησαν was a marginal interpretation of πείραν ἔλαβον, i. e. *they were tempted to forsake the faith*: which the scribe removed out of it’s proper place, among those verbs which seem’d to be formed most like it. After I had made this correction, I found, upon a minuter examination, the word omitted in some ancient copies.

When lately a certain gentleman who had more ingenuity than truth on his side, putting
on

on the mask of a Jew, began to call in question the application of some prophecies in the Gospel, the properest answerer had been Dr. Bentley; who forc'd this sophist once before to quit the critical stage. But the Dr. piqued at what he thought the neglect of his merit, left all theological controversies, and even ordered his half-finished *Remarks* to be broken off in the middle of a sentence. Had our critic taken in hand this personated Hebrew, how finely would he have mingled his science of antiquity with his skill in languages? How well would he have known what to defend, how far, and where to stop?

Ακίστας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας
 ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν.
 Χρημαλιθεὶς δὲ κατ' ἕναρ, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς
 Γαλιλαίας· καὶ ἐλθὼν κατώκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην
 Ναζαρέτ.

Thus far the evangelist. Then comes a cabalistical annotator, and in imitation of the rest of the prophecies, adds, in a marginal note, the following words,

Ὅπως πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι
 Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται.

But where is it said that the Messiah should be called a Nazarene? Must not a poor pun, or
 play

play upon a word be forced on us, even to give a distant hint of such an ⁴ appellation; a quibble, in this place, unworthy the gravity of an evangelist? And to wire-draw what is said of ⁵ Sampson into a prediction of the Messiah's being born at Nazareth, is the last effort of commentators driven to their utmost shifts.

*Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.*

Sometimes authors add interpretations of difficult words for the sake of perspicuity, and these we find in Cicero, Caesar, and the correctest writers. Nor are the following any other glosses, but what were added by the evangelist himself. Mark vii, 2. Κοινᾶς χερσὶ, τῶν ἐστὶν ἀνίπτοις. xii, 42. ἔβαλε λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράνης. xiv, 36. Ἀββᾶ, ὁ πατήρ. xv, 42. ἐπεὶ ἦν παρεσκευῆ, ὃ ἐστὶ προσάββαλον.

But it is objected, that we must take all the scripture together just as we find it. What, writers for hire, and ignorant scribes to be placed in equal regard and authority with the evangelists! Weak and wicked as this objection is, yet I have heard it from foolish friends, as well as evil-minded enemies. These marginal notes carry with them no air of fraud or ill design; they are such as most critics scribble in their books,

4. Isaiah xi. 1.

5. Judg. xiii. 5.

and which printing generally hinders from being ingrafted into the body of the original work. However even the invention of printing has not kept them from getting into Shakespeare.

I don't see, without recurring to the above-mention'd expediency of emendation, what tolerable sense can be made of the following passage in Julian's Caesars, which I will cite from the folio edition of Spanheim. p. 310. τῷ Κλαυδίῳ δὲ ἐπισελθόντι, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἀρχῆ) τὸς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἄδεν ἀντὶ τῷ Δημοσθένους, κολακδῶν δῆθεν τὸ Κλαύδιον. Εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρῖνον ἀπιδῶν, Ἀδικῆς, εἶπεν, ὦ Κυρῖνε, τὸ ἀπόστονον ἄϊων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, δίχα τῶν ἀπελθόντων Ναρκίσου καὶ Πάλλαντι. *Claudio introeunte, Silenus principium comoediae Aristophanis, quae equites inscribitur, canere incepit, loco Demostenis, scilicet ipsi Claudio gratificans. Deinde conversus ad Quirinum, Injurius es, inquit, ὁ Quirine, qui hunc tuum nepotem in hoc convivium, inducas sine libertis Narcisso & Pallante.* 'Tis not easy to find the translator's meaning, κολακδῶν δῆθεν τὸ Κλαύδιον, *scilicet ipsi Claudio gratificans*; it seems as if he meant ironically, *making as if he would flatter him, but really ridiculing him*: supposing the Greek would admit this interpretation, how heavily comes in, ἀντὶ Δημοσ. Beside Silenus is said to recite the words of Aristophanes, or rather as the ⁶ original word signifies, to recite

6. ἄδω, *cantare*, the proper word for the tragedian; as *saltare*, for the comedian.

them with a tragic voice and accent, to make the ridicule appear still the stronger. But where are the verses of Aristophanes? In other places we have the citations themselves; and indeed one piece of wit, that runs thro' this treatise, consists in the parodies. In a word, I should make no scruple of altering after the following manner,

Τῷ Κλαυδίῳ δὲ ἐπισηελθόντι, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἀρχῶν
 τῶν Αἰσοφάνους Ἰππέας ἀδειν,
 Ἰατρίαιαξ τῶν κακῶν, Ἰατρίαιαι,
 Κακῶς Παφλαῖονα τ' νεώνηλον κακόν,
 Αὐταῖσι βέλαις ἀπόλεσειεν οἱ θεοί.
 Ἐξ ἧ ᾧ εἰσῆρρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,
 Πληγὰς αἰὲ προσερίβει τῆς οἰκέταις.
 Ἔτα πρὸς τ' Κυρῆνον ἀπιδῶν, Ἀδικεῖς, εἶπεν, ὦ Κυρῆνέ,
 κ. 1. τ.

Some one had written in the margin of his book, ἀντὶ τῷ Δημῶς Κολακδῶν δῆθεν τ' Κλαυδίον, this heavy interpretation was admitted, and, to make room for it, the transcriber removed those well applied verses of Aristophanes. The meaning of which the reader will understand, if he turns to a satirical treatise of Seneca written to ridicule Claudius and to flatter Nero; but not to be compared in philosophical wit and humour to this satyr of Julian.

Indeed

Indeed when these glosses are absolutely false, or very ridiculous, 'tis easy to discover them. So in Plato's laws, L. I. p. 630. edit Steph.

Ποιητὴν δὲ ἢ ἡμεῖς μάθιστα ἔχομεν, Θεόγνου, [πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων,] ὅς φησι. κ. τ. λ.

Now this gloss is not true, for Theognis was of Megara in Attica, not Sicily; as is too well known to need any proof. And therefore without further ceremony, this gloss might be re-proved.

In Cicero, de nat. D. I, 34.

Zeno quidem non eos solum, qui tum erant — sed Socratem ipsum, parentem philosophiæ, [Latino verbo utens] SCURRAM Atticum fuisse dicebat.

As the falsehood discover'd the gloss in Plato, so the ridiculousness shews it here.

There are other kind of glosses, being verbal interpretations of the more obsolete and difficult words, which have been taken into the text, to the utter extirpation of the old possessors. The Ionic dialect in Herodotus, the Attic in Plato, the Doric in Theocritus, are changed oftentimes into the more ordinary ways of writing and speaking. The true readings therefore of ancient books can never be retrieved without the assistance of manuscripts. If our modern Homers had

Ὀργὴν ἄδει Θεά, instead of Μῆνιν ἄειδε Θεά. And, ψυχὰς ἄδη προέπεμφεν, instead of ψυχὰς ἄειδε προέπεμφεν. I don't see without the citations of the ancients, or without the aid of old copies, how we should ever be able to retrieve the original words; but must have been contented with the interpretation of a scholiast. Nay perhaps half the readers of Homer would have liked the one as well as the other.

But what shall we say if Shakespear's words have been thus altered? If the original has been removed to make room for the gloss? How shall our author be restored to his pristine state, but by having recourse to the oldest books, and esteeming these alone of weight and authority? A short specimen of these glosses, which might be greatly enlarged, is as follows, Hamlet Act I. *the swaggering* upspring reels: Gloss, *upstart*. Act II. *The youth you breath of*: Gloss, *speak of*. Othello, Act I. *I take this, that you call love to be a sect or syen*: Gloss, *a slip or scyon*. Act III. *A Sybill that had number'd in the world The sun to course two hundred compasses*: Gloss, *of the sun's course*. Macbeth, Act I. *which fate and metaphysical aid*: Gloss, *Metaphysic*. Act II. *For fear thy very stones prate of my where-about*: Gloss, *of that we're about*. Julius Caesar, Act II. *Caius Ligarius doth bear Caesar hard*: Gloss, *bear Caesar be had*. Antony and Cleopatra. Act IV.

The

The band of death has raught him: Glos, caught him.

This may be sufficient to shew how, in a modern book, the scholiast has routed the author of his ancient possession. These errors are of the worst kind; they have a resemblance of truth without being the thing itself, and must necessarily impose on all, but the true critic, who will be at the trouble of going to the first exemplars.

S E C T. XVI.

BUT there are greater alterations, than any yet mention'd, still to be made. For the whole play intituled Titus Andronicus should be flung out the list of Shakespeare's works. What tho' a purple patch might here and there appear, is that sufficient reason to make our poet's name father this, or other anonymous productions of the stage? But Mr. Theobald has put the matter out of all question; for he informs us, "that Ben Johnson in the induction to his "Bartlemew-Fair (which made its first appearance in the year 1614) couples ¹ Ieronimo and
" Andronicus

1. Hieronymo, or the Spanish Tragedy. This play was the constant object of ridicule in Shakespeare's time. See Mr. Theobald's note, vol. 2. p. 271, 272. B. Jonf.

“ Andronicus together in reputation, and speaks
 “ of them as plays then of 25 or 30 years stand-
 “ ing. Consequently Andronicus must have
 “ been on the stage, before Shakespeare left
 “ Warwickshire to come and reside in London.”
 So that we have all the evidence, both internal
 and external, to vindicate our poet from this
 bastard issue; nor should his editors have printed
 it among his genuine works. There are not
 such strong external reasons for rejecting two
 other plays, called Love’s Labour’s lost, and
 the Two Gentlemen of Verona: but if any proof
 can be formed from manner and style, then

Every Man in his Humour, Act I. sc. 5. *What new book
 ha’ you there? What! Go by Hieronimo! Cynthia’s Revels,*
 in the induction. *Another prunes his mustaccio, lispes and
 swears — That the old Hieronimo (as it was first acted) was
 the only best and judiciously pen’d play of Europe.* Alchymist,
 Act V. Subt. *Here’s your Hieronimo’s cloake and hat.* Yet
 how much this play was esteemed among many, will appear
 by the following story: “ A young gentlewoman within
 “ these few yeares, who being accustomed in her health
 “ every day to see one play or other, was at last stricke
 “ with a grievous sicknesse even unto death: during which
 “ time of her sicknesse being exhorted by such Divines as
 “ were there present to call upon God, that hee would in
 “ mercy look upon her, as one deafe to their exhortation
 “ continued ever crying, *Oh Hieronimo, Hieronimo, methinks
 “ I see thee, brave Hieronimo!*” Braithwait’s English
 Gentleman. p. 195.

should

should these be sent packing, and seek for their parent elsewhere. How otherwise does the painter distinguish copies from originals? And have not authors their peculiar style and manner, from which a true critic can form as unerring a judgment as a painter? External proofs leave no room for doubt. I dare say there is not any one scholar, that now believes Phalaris' epistles to be genuine. But what if there had been no external proofs, if the sophist had been a more able chronologer, would the work have been more genuine? Hardly, I believe; tho' the scholar of taste had been equally satisfied. The best of critics might be imposed on as to half a dozen verses, or so, as ² Scaliger himself was, but never as to a whole piece: in this respect the critic and the connoisseur are upon a level.

That

2. Scaliger's case was this; Muretus, having translated some verses from Philemon, sent them in a jocular vein to Scaliger, telling him at the same time they were a choice fragment of Trabeas, an ancient comic poet: and Scaliger in his commentary on Varro (p. 212.) cites them as Trabeas' own, and as found in some old manuscript. The verses are ingenious and worth mentioning,

*Here, si querelis, ejulatu, fletibus,
Medicina feret miseris mortalium,
Auro parandae lacrimae contra forent.
Nunc haec ad minuenda mala non magis valent,*

That Anacreon was destroyed by the Greek priests we have the testimony of a learned Grecian, and this poet is mention'd as a lost author by ³ Petrus Alcyonius: so that we have nothing now remaining of Anacreon's, but some fragments, quite of a different cast and manner from those modern compositions, so much admired by minute scholars.

Θείω

Quàm nenia praefficæ ad excitandos mortuos.

Res turbidæ consilium, non fletum expetunt.

Philemon's verses want some little correction, and thus, as I think, they should be read,

Εἰ τὰ δάκρυ' ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν ἢ φάρμακον,

Ἄει θ' ὁ κλαύσας τῆ ψονεῖν ἱπαύειο,

Ἥλατλόμιθ' ἂν δάκρυα, δόνηις χεῦσιον.

Νῦν δ' εἰ προσέχει τὰ πρᾶγματ', εἰδ' ἀποβλέπει

Εἰς ταῦτα, δίσκοτ', ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν

Ἐάν τι κλαίης, ἂν τι μὴ, πορεύσειαι.

Τί εἰς πλιὸν ποιῶμεν; εἰθίν. ἢ λύπη

Ἐχει γὰρ, ὡσπερ δένδρα καρπὸν, τὰ δάκρυα.

3. See what is cited from him above, p. 34. 35, n. Several other proofs may be added; as Od. XXXI.

Εμάϊσιτ' Ἀλκμαίαν τε

Χ' ὁ λευκόπους Ορέστης.

ὁ λευκόπους Ορέστης, *the white-footed Orestes*: i. e. treading the stage in white buskins. The mentioning the name of Orestes puts the poets in mind of the stage: so Virgil,

Scenis agitated Orestes.

If

Θέλω λείπειν Ἀλκείδαν

Θέλω δὲ Κάδμον ἄδειν.

κ. τ. λ.

Ἔρως ποτ' ἐν ῥόδοισι

Κοιμωμένην μέλιτταν

κ. τ. λ.

Imitated, much for the worse, from the *Κηλο-
κλέπτης* of Theocritus.

Ἔεις ἐρωμένην.

Ἔδωκα τῇ ἑταίρα

Φίλαμ', ἔρωτ' ὄζον,

Λέγων, Φίλαμα τῷτο

Φιλίας τε καὶ ἔρωτ'

Μνημεῖου αἰὲν ἔσω.

Κόρη δὲ μειδιῶσα,

Ἔφω βραχέια μνημή

Δὲς ἄλλο, μὴ λάθωμαι.

If Virgil did not rather write *furiis*. But it happens very unluckily, that Sophocles had no play acted so early as Anacreon's writing his odes, and Sophocles was the inventor of the white shoe; as the compiler of his life informs us. So that here is an additional proof of this ode's not being genuine. I suppose Sophocles' white shoe was what Shakespeare in Hamlet, Act III. calls *rayed shoes*: i. e. with rays of silver, or tinsel. Homer's epithet of Thetis is *ἀρῖνυπέζα*, which Milton hints at in his *Mask*,

By Thetis tinsel-slipper'd feet.

“ A man may rime you so (as the clown says
 “ in Shakespeare) eight years together, dinners
 “ and suppers and sleeping hours excepted: ’tis
 “ the right butterwomen’s rank to market.”

Tho’ a few lines may pass often unsuspected, as those of Muretus’s did with Scaliger; yet when they happen to be inserted into the body of a work, and when their very features betray their bastardy, one may venture not only to mark them for not being genuine, but entirely to remove them. In K. Henry the fifth, there is a scene between Katharine and an old woman, where Mr. Pope has this remark, “ I have left
 “ this ridiculous scene as I found it; and am
 “ sorry to have no colour left, from any of the
 “ editions, to imagine it interpolated.” But with much less colour Mr. Pope has made many greater alterations; and this scene is rightly omitted in the late elegant edition printed at Oxford. But ’tis a hard matter to fix bounds to criticism.

However I will venture to make one assay on a passage of Horace, which has stood unmolested many ages. The poet, after dedicating his works to his patron Maecenas, addresses in a flattering ode the emperor. The subject is grave, and treated accordingly both with dignity and gravity. The prodigies, he says, which happen’d at the death of Caesar seem’d to be fore-
 runners

runners of no less evils than those which threatned the world in the times of Deucalion :

“ Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos

“ Visere montes.

Horace knew where to leave off, which is a difficult matter for a less cultivated genius. Had the poet a design to burlesque Deucalion's flood, he could not do it more effectually than by the choice of such trivial circumstances as follow,

“ Piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo,

“ Nota quae sedes fuerat columbis :

“ Et superjecto pavidae natarunt

“ Aequore damae.

The fishes were caught intangled on the boughs of high elms, the usual habitations of doves (but rather of crows and mag-pies, &c.) and the fearful birds swam in the sea : what is superjecto ? covering the face of the earth, the commentators tell us : but here, covering the backs of the birds. But a more trifling stanza I never read ; and the author, some monk or other, made it out of the following verses of Ovid Met. I.

“ Sylvasque tenent delphines, et altis

“ Incurfant ramis, agitataque robora pulsant :

“ Nat lupus inter oves, &c.

The monk having murdered Ovid, and rifled his luxuriant thoughts, placed them in the margin of his Horace; and the corruption, once made, was soon propagated. But how well do the verses run without this ridiculous patch?

“ Jam fatis terris nivis atque dirae

“ Grandinis misit Pater; et rubente

“ Dexterâ sacras jaculatus arces

“ Terruit Urbem:

“ Terruit gentes; grave ne rediret

“ Seculum Pyrrhae nova monstra quaestae,

“ Omne quum Proteus pecus egit altos

“ Visere montes.

“ Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis

“ Litore Etrusco, &c. &c.

Ovid himself has suffered much by these monkish interpolations and additions, nor has even Virgil escaped them. The players have in some places interpolated Shakespeare; and these interpolations, with other faults of his transcribers, are with great caution to be taken away; but if every critic will have a pull at him, and if this is left to meer unrestrained will and fancy, we may, in time, be in danger of losing the original itself; and the following fable may be but too justly apply'd to our critics.

Once upon a time a middle-aged man had courage to marry two wives together, the one young,

young, the other advanc'd in years. They were both great admirers of their husband, and no little admirers of themselves and their own dexterity: The husband, a good-natur'd man, left himself to be dressed and comb'd by these two women, who ambitiously strove, each of them, to make him as much as possible like themselves. The elder lady thought nothing so becoming as grey hairs, which she term'd *silver hairs*, all which she was very careful to preserve, but the black hairs she plucked out by handfuls. On the other hand, the young lady, thinking an old man the most unhappy thing that could befall her, was resolv'd the world should think she had married a young husband; with this view therefore she comb'd her husband's head, and on her part, pulled out all the grey hairs she could find. — But the unfortunate husband, too late, found the ill effects of trusting these CORRECTORS; for by their means he soon became almost entirely bald.

B O O K III.

WHEN one considers the various tribes of rhetoricians, grammarians, etymologists, &c. &c. of ancient Greece: and here find the wisest and best of ¹ philosophers inculcating grammatical niceties to his scholars; not so foreign to his grand design of bettering mankind, as we now perhaps may imagine: when again we consider that the Romans followed the Grecian steps; and here see a Scipio and Laelius joining with an African slave in polishing the Latin language, and translating the politest of the Attic authors; and some time after read of ² Cicero himself, that he, when his country was distracted with civil commotions, should trouble his head with such *pedantic* accuracies, as whether he should write *ad Piræea*, *Piræcum*, or in *Piræcum*. — When, I say, all this is considered, and then turn our eyes home-ward, and behold every thing the reverse; can we wonder that the ancients should have a polite language, and that we should hardly emerge out of our pristine and Gothic barbarity?

1. See Plato in Cratyl and Xen. ἀκρομ. L. III. c. 13. and L. IV. c. 6.

2. Cicero, in Epist. ad Att. VII. 3.

Amongst

Amongst many other things we want a good grammar and dictionary: we must know what is proper, before we can know what is elegant and polite: by the use of these, the meaning of words might be fixed, the Proteus-nature, if possible, of ever-shifting language might in some measure be ascertained, and vague phrases and ambiguous sentences brought under some rule and regulation. But a piece of idle wit shall laugh all such learning out of doors: and the notion of being thought a dull and pedantic fellow, has made many a man continue a blockhead all his life. Neither words nor grammar are such arbitrary and whimsical things, as some imagine: and for my own part, as I have been taught from other kind of philosophers, so I believe, that right and wrong, in the minutest subjects, have their standard in nature, not in whim, caprice or arbitrary will: so that if our grammarian or lexicographer, should by chance be a disciple of modern philosophy; should he glean from France and the court his refinements of our tongue, he would render the whole affair, bad as it is, much worse by his ill management. No one can write without some kind of rules: and for want of rules of authority, many learned men have drawn them up for themselves. Ben Johnson printed his English Grammar. If Shakespeare and Milton never published their rules,

rules, yet they are not difficult to be traced from a more accurate consideration of their writings. Milton's rules I shall omit at present; but some of Shakespeare's, which favour of peculiarity, I shall here mention: because when these are known, we shall be less liable to give a loose to fancy, in indulging the licentious spirit of criticism; nor shall we then so much presume to judge what Shakespeare *ought to* have written, as endeavour to discover and retrieve what he *did* write.

R U L E I.

Shakespeare alters proper names according to the English pronunciation.

Concerning this liberty of altering proper names, Milton thus apologizes in *Smectymnus*, “ If
 “ in dealing with an out-landish name, they
 “ thought it best not to screw the English mouth
 “ to a harsh foreign termination, so they kept
 “ the radical word, they did no more than the
 “ elegant authors among the Greeks, Romans,
 “ and at this day the Italians in scorn of such a
 “ servility use to do. Remember how they
 “ mangle our British names abroad; what tres-
 “ pass were it if we in requital should as much
 “ neglect theirs? And our learned Chaucer did
 “ not stick to do so, writing *Semyramus* for
Semiramis,

“ *Semiramis*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaraus*, K. *Seies*
 “ for K. *Ceyx* the husband of *Alcyone*, with many
 “ other names strangely metamorphis’d from
 “ true orthography, if he had made any account
 “ of that in these kind of words.” Milton’s
 observation is exceeding true; and to this affecta-
 tion of the Romans is owing the difficulty of
 antiquarians tracing the original names and places.
 Our *Caswell*, *Bowdich* and *Cotes*, in a Roman
 mouth are *Cassivellanus*, *Boadicia* and *Cotiso*. The
Portus Itius mention’d in *Caesar* was a port below
Calais called *Vitsan* or *Whitsan*. The old Ger-
 man words *Uat Awe*; i. e. fat or fruitful earth,
 the Romans called *Batavia*. When the north-
 east part of Scotland was pronounced by the
 natives *Cal dun*, i. e. a hill of hazel, the Ro-
 mans soon gave it their Latin termination, and
 called it *Caledonia*. Many other names of places
 our antiquarians and etymologists easily trace, if
 they can get but the radical word. This rule
 then is univerrally true, that all nations make
 foreign words submit to their manner of pronun-
 ciation. However our Shakespeare does not
 abuse proper names like Chaucer or Spencer,
 tho’ he has elegantly suited many of them to the
 English mouth.

In his *Midsummer-Night’s Dream*, Act II.
 he hints at a story told by *Plutarch* in the life of

2 Camden’s Brit. p. 254.

Theseus,

Theseus, of one Περικλῆνη, daughter of the famous robber *Sinis*, whom Theseus slew: he, true hero-like, killed the father and then debauched the daughter. Her he calls very poetically *Perigenia*.

Cleopatra had a son by Julius Caesar, whom Plutarch tells us was called *καίσαρῶν*, Shakespeare in *Antony and Cleopatra* very properly writes it *Cesarion*, not *Cesarion*: Πλάτων, does not make in Latin or English *Platon*, but *Plato*. And³ Priscian the Grammarian observes that the Latins omit the *n* at the latter end of proper names. So⁴ Cicero in his *Tusculan disputations*: *Hinc ille Agamemno Homericus*. And Virgil. *Aen.* VIII, 603.

“ *Haud procul hinc Tarcho, et Tyrrheni tuta*
“ *tenebant.*

From whence *Aen.* X, 290. Instead of

“ — *Speculatus litora Tarcon,*
we must write *Tarcho*.

The Jews name in the *Merchant of Venice* *Scialac*, he makes English and calls *Sbylock*. In *Romeo and Juliet*, *Montecchi* and *Capello*, are *Montague* and *Capulet*. And *Amleth*, he writes *Hamlet*; and *Cunobeline* or *Kymbeline*, he calls *Cymbeline*.

3. Prisc. l. 6. p. 690.

4. Cic. *Tusc. disp.* III, 26.

Macbeth's father is variously written in the Scottish chronicles. *Macbeth fil. Findleg* : Innes of Scotland p. 791. *Macbeth Mac-Finleg* : Ibid. p. 803. *Machabeus Filius Finele* : Johan. de Fordin Scot. L. IV. c. 44. *Salve, Maccabaeae Thane Glamis* ; *nam eum magistratum defuncto paulo ante patre Synele acceperat.* Hector Boeth. Scot. hist. L. XII.

Sinell thane of Gammis : Holinsh. p. 168.

“ By *Sinel's* death, I know, I'm thane of Glamis.
So our author, in *Macbeth*, Act I.

In Cicero's offices B. II. c. ix. is the following passage, *Itaque propter aequabilem praedae partitionem, et BARGULUS ILLYRIUS LATRO, de quo est apud Theopompum, magnas opes habuit.* Thus the editions in Shakespeare's time ; and thus I found it in two manuscripts. In the second part of *K. Henry VI.* Act IV. Suffolk says,

“ This villain here,

“ Being captain of a pinnance, threatens more

“ Than *Bargulus the strong Illyrian pirate.*

In some later editions 'tis printed in Cicero, *Bardylis Illyrius latro.* For my own part, I really imagine that Cicero gave this Illyrian name a Roman pronunciation and turn : but why the editors of Cicero print it *Bardylis*, I don't know ; Plutarch in the life of Pyrrhus writes it Βάρδουλλης.

In

In *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare has not kept strictly to the orthography of Plutarch, whom he chiefly follows in this history. Plutarch, ΣικίννιⓄ ΒέλληⓄ. Shakespeare, *Sicinius Velutus*. Plut. Ουεργιλία. Shak. *Virgilia*: other historians say, *Volumnia* was wife of *Coriolanus*, whom Plutarch calls his mother.

In *Julius Caesar*, he has some variations in proper names: Plutarch, ΜάρελλⓄ. Shakespeare, *Murellus*: And *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, he calls *Decius Brutus*. Plut. ΘάσⓄ, viz. an island near *Philippi*: Shak. *Tbarsus*. Plut. ΔάρδανⓄ. Shak. *Dardanius*.

In *Antony and Cleopatra*. Plut. ΔερχέλαϊⓄ. Shak. *Derçetas*.

The late Lord Shaftesbury, in his ⁵ Advice to an Author, fell into a mistake concerning the name of the unfortunate *Desdemona*: “But why” (says he) amongst his Greek names, he should have chosen one which denoted the Lady *superstitious*, I can’t imagine: unless, &c.” Her name is not derived from Δεισιδαίμων, but Δυσδαίμων: i. e. THE UNFORTUNATE: and Giraldi Cinthio, in his novels, making the word feminine, calls her *Difdemona*, from whom Shakespeare took the name and story.

Thus

5. Charact. vol. I. p. 348.

6. Novella VII. Deca terza. *Αφῆνε, cbe una virtuosa Dōna,*

Thus the reader may see with what elegance, as well as learning, Shakespeare familiarizes strange names to our tongue and pronunciation.

R U L E II.

He makes Latin words English, and uses them according to their original idiom and latitude.

In Hamlet, Act I. Horatio is speaking of the prodigies, which happened before Caesar's death,

“ As harbingers preceding still the fates
“ And prologue to the ¹ *omen* coming on.

The omen coming on, i. e. the event, which happened in consequence of the omens. In the very same manner Virgil, Aen. I, 349.

Dōna, di maravigliosa bellezza, Disdemona chiamata, &c. He calls her afterwards, in allusion to her name, *la infelice Disdemona*. And I make no question but Othello in his rapturous admiration, with some allusion to her name, exclaims, in Act III.

“ Excellent *wretch!* perdition catch my soul,

“ But I do love thee —

The ancient tragedians are full of these allusions; some instances I have mention'd above, p. 247.

1. They read, *the omen'd*.

“ Cui pater intactam dederat, primisque jugatet

“ *Ominibus*, as well as learning

Ominibus, i. e. *nuptiis*: viz. the event which was the consequence of the omens.

In the Taming of a Shrew, Act I.

“ Sir, I shall not be slack, in sign whereof,

“ Please you, we may ² *contrive* this afternoon;

“ And quaff carouses to our mistress' health.

Contrive this afternoon, i. e. spend this afternoon together. Terence has, *convivere diem*. Thence 'tis made English, and so used by Spenser in his Fairy Queen, B. II. c. 9. ft. 48.

“ Nor that sage Pylian fire, which did survive

“ Three ages, such as mortal men *contrive*.

Contrive, i. e. spend.

In K. Richard II. Act I.

“ Or any other ground ³ *inhabitable*,

“ Where never Englishman durst set his foot.

Inhabitable, Lat. *inhabitabilis*, that cannot be inhabited. Cicero de Nat. Deor. I. *Regiones inhabitabiles et incultae*.

2. They have corrected, *convive*.

3. In the late editions, *uninhabitable*.

In Othello, Act IV.
 " If I court more women, you'll *touch* with more
 " men.

In the same naught sense Propertius II, 25.

" Lynceu, tune meam potuisti *tangere* curam?
 Epictetus in Enchirid. xxxiii. Περὶ ἀφροδίσια, εἰς
 δύναμιν πρὸ γάμου καθαρευλιέον. ΑΠΤΟΜΕΝΩΙ δὲ, ὡς
 νόμιμόν ἐστι μελαληπλίον. Mr. Theobald's edition
 reads, — *Couch with more men*. In Measure for
 Measure, Act III. In the same sense we have
 — *their beastly touches*. And in Antony and
 Cleopatra, Act III. *The neer-touch'd vestal*. So
 Horace calls Pallas, L. I. Od. 7. *Intacta*.

In Othello, Act III.

" But in a man that's just,
 " They're cold *dilations*, working from the heart,
 " That passion cannot rule.

Dilations, à Lat. *dilationes*, delayings, pauses, à
differendo. But in Act I. *That I would all my
 pilgrimage dilate*. i. e. à *dilatando*, enlarge upon,
 exspatiate, &c.

In K. Lear, Act II.

" I tax not you, you elements —
 " You owe me no *subscription*.

Subscriptio, is a writing underneath, a registering
 our names so as to take part in any cause, suit

or service. Hence it signifies, allegiance, submission, &c. And the verb *subscribere* is not only to write under, but to aid and help, to abet and approve, &c.

Ovid Trist. L. I. El. 11.

“ Dii maris et caeli (quid enim nisi vota super-
“ sunt)

“ Solvere quassatae parcite membra ratis :

“ Neve precor magni *subscribite* Caesaris irae.

In Measure for Measure, Act II.

“ Admit no other way to save his life,

“ As I *subscribe* not that.

Milton, B. XI, 181.

“ So spoke, so wish'd much-humbled Eve ; but
“ fate

“ *Subscrib'd* not.

That is, assented not, took not her part. But Milton abounds with words thus taken from the Latin ; and uses them according to that idiom.

In

4. Such are, *religions*, i. e. superstitious ornaments : I, 372. And thus Shakesp. in Jul. Caes. Act I. uses *ceremonies*.

If you do find them deck'd with ceremonies,

Disrobe his images.

Instinct, i. e. moved forward, push'd on : II, 937. XI, 562.

Emblem, picture-work of wood, stone, or metal, inlaid in
diverse

In Julius Caesar, Act I.

“ Brutus. If it be aught toward the general

“ good,

“ Set honour in one eye, and death i' th' other,

“ And I will look on both *indifferently*.

“ For let the Gods so speed me, as I love

“ The name of honour, more than I fear death.

How agreeable to his Stoic character does Shakespeare make Brutus here speak? Cicero de Fin. III, 16. *Quod enim illi ΑΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΝ dicunt, id mihi ita occurrit, ut INDIFFERENS dicerem.* One of the great division of things, among the Stoics, was into *good, bad, indifferent*; virtue, and whatever partook of virtue, was *good*; vice, *bad*; but what partook neither of virtue nor vice, being not in our power, was *indifferent*: such as honor, wealth, death, &c. But of these *indifferent* things, some might be esteemed more than others; as here Brutus says, *I love the name of honor more than I fear death.* See Cicero de

diverse colours, as in pavements, &c. IV, 703. *Divine*, 1. foreboding: IX, 845. *Person*, i. e. character, quality, or state, part to act in: X, 156. and many more too numerous to be mention'd here; but these may suffice to vindicate our author. I ought not to say *vindicate*: for words thus used out of the common and vulgar track, add a peculiar dignity and grace to the diction of a poet.

Fin. III, 15, 16. The Stoics never destroy'd choice among *indifferent* things. Their *προημιμένα* were *indifferentia cum mediocri aestimatione*. Chrysippus us'd to say, ὅ μίχελις ἂν ἀδελφά μοι ἢ τὰ ἐξῆς, αἰεὶ τῶν δὲ φουεσερέρων ἔχομαι. *Whilst I continue ignorant of consequences, I allways hold to those things which are agreeable to my disposition.* Which saying of Chrysippus is thus further explained by Epictetus, Διατέτο καλῶς λέγεισιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ὅτι εἰ προήδει ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐσόμενα, συνήξει ἂν καὶ τῷ νοσεῖν, καὶ τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν, καὶ τῷ πηρεῖσθαι· αἰσθανόμενός γε, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ὀλοῦν διατάξεως τέτο ἀπονέμεται). Κυριώτερον δὲ τὸ Ὀλον τῆ μέρους, καὶ ἡ πόλις τῆ πολιτείας. Νῦν δ' ὅτι εἰ προγινώσκωμεν, καθήκει τῶν ΠΡΟΣ ΕΚΛΟΓΗΝ δὲ φουεσερέρων ἔχεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τέτο γεγονόναμν. *Hence the philosophers say finely and truly, that if the real good and honest man knew future events, he would cooperate with sickness, death, and loss of limbs: in as much as he would be sensible that this happen'd to him from the order and constitution of the Whole: (for the Whole is principally to be preferred before the part, and the city, to the citizen:)* but now as we are ignorant of future events, we should by a right election hold to what is agreeable to our dispositions. And this doctrine, of right election and rejection, they are full of, in all their writings. This being premised, let us see Brutus' speech.

5. Ἀρξίαν bib. 6. κεφ. 5.

“ Brutus. I do fear the people,
 “ Chuse Caesar for their king.
 “ Cassius. Ay, do you fear it?
 “ Then must I think, you would not have it so.
 “ Brut. I would not Cassius; yet I love him
 “ well:
 “ But wherefore do you hold me here so long?
 “ What is it, that you would impart to me?
 “ If it be aught toward the general good
 “ Set honour, &c. &c.

“ If it be ought toward the general good,
 “ (πρὸς τὸ ὅλον, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν) as I am a part
 “ of that whole, a citizen of that city; my prin-
 “ ciples lead me to pursue it; this is my end;
 “ my good: whatever comes in competition
 “ with the general good, will weigh nothing;
 “ death and honor are to me things of an *in-*
 “ *different* nature: but however I freely acknow-
 “ ledge that, of these *indifferent* things, honor
 “ has my greatest esteem, my choice and love;
 “ the very name of honor I love, more than I
 “ fear even death.”

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act V.

“ Cleop. Why that’s the way
 “ To fool their preparation, and to conquer
 “ Their most ⁶ *absurd* intents.

6. They correct, *assur’d*.

U 4

Absurd,

Absurd, harsh, grating. Lat. *absurdus*, ex ab et furdus, à quo aures et animum avertas. Cicer. pro Rosc. f. 7. *Fraudavit Roscius. Est hoc quidem auribus animisque absurdum. Absurdum est*, i. e. sounds harsh, grating, unpleasant.

There is a passage in this play which I cannot here pass over. Antony is speaking of Octavius Caesar, Act. III.

“ He at Philippi kept
 “ His sword e’en like a dancer, while I shook
 “ The lean and wrinkled Cassius; and ’twas I
 “ That the ⁷ *mad* Brutus ended.

I omit the epithets given to Cassius, as they are well known from Plutarch, and other passages of our poet. But why does Antony call Brutus *Mad*? — Plato seeing how extravagantly Diogenes acted the philosopher, said of him, ὄτι ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ἔτι Σωκράτους ἐστίν. *That he was Socrates run mad.* There is likewise an observation drawn from the depth of philosophy by Horace, Ep. I, 6.

“ *Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui;*
 “ *Ultra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.*

Now if this be the opinion of philosophers themselves concerning philosophy, that it may be

7. In some late editions, *sad*.

perſued with ſo much ardor and enthuſiaſm, that even the over-ſtrain'd perſuit may border on madneſs; how ageeable is it to the character of the wild, undiſciplin'd Antony, to call even Brutus *Mad*, the ſober Brutus, the philoſopher and patriot? Such as Antony look on all virtue and patriotiſm, as enthuſiaſm and madneſs.

I will here add an inſtance or two of words and manners of expreſſion from other languages, which Shakeſpeare has introduced into his plays.

In Hamlet, Act III.

“ That he, as 'twere by accident, may here
“ *Affront* Ophelia.

i. e. meet her face to face. Ital. *affrontare*.

In Macbeth, Act II.

“ No, this my hand will rather
“ Thy multitudinous ſea *incarnadine*,
“ Making the green one red.

i. e. make it red, (as Shakeſpeare himſelf explains it) of the carnation colour. Ital. *colore incarnatino*.

In Henry V. Act IV.

“ And newly move
“ With caſted ſlough and freſh *legerity*.

i. e.

i. e. alacrity, lightness. Fr. *legereté*. Ital. *legerezza*. He seems to allude to that fine image in Virgil, Aen. II, 471. of Pyrrhus.

Qualis ubi in lucem coluber, mala gramina pastus,
Frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat;
Nunc positus novus exuviis, nitidusque juventâ,
Lubrica sublato convolvit pectore terga,
Arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trifulcis.

In the Tempest, Act II. Gonzalo is giving an account of his imaginary commonwealth.

“ No name of magistrate ;

“ Letters should not be known ; wealth, poverty,

“ And use of service, none ; contract, succession,

“ *Bourn*, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none.

Bourn, from the French word, *Borne*, a bound or limit : which was not known, as the poets sing, in the golden age. Perhaps from *Βυός*, *collis*, *tumulus* : these being the original boundarys. Again, in Antony and Cleopatra, Act I.

“ I'll set a *bound* how far to be below'd.

i. e. a boundary, a limit. A **Bourne**, signifies with us, a head of a fountain ; and towns, whose names end in *bound*, are situated upon springs of water : perhaps from the Greek word *Βεβύη*, *scaturire*. I cannot help observing that Shakespeare in the former passage,

“ *Bourn*,

“ Bourn, bound of land,

adds an explanation of the word, which is no unusual thing with the best writers. In *K. Lear*, Act IV. he uses it in it's original signification according to the Greek etymology,

“ Edg. From the dread summit of this chalky
“ *bourn*.

I don't remember any one passage, wherein he uses *bourn* for a spring-head.

In *Hamlet*, Act II. *The^s mobled queen*: this designedly affected expression seems to be formed from *Virg. Aen. II, 40. Magnâ comitante caterva.*

But Shakespeare has some Greek expressions. In *Coriolanus*, Act II.

“ It is held

“ That valour is the chiefest virtue, and

“ Most dignifies *the haver*.

i. e. the possessor. So *having* signifies fortune and riches. *Macbeth*, Act. I.

“ My noble partner

8. I once thought it should be *mabled*, i. carelessly dressed. The word is used in the northern parts of England; and by Sandys in his travels, p. 148; *The elder mabble their heads in linnen*, &c.

“ You

“ You greet with present grace and great pre-
“ diction

“ Of noble *having*.

Having, Gr. ἔχεια. Lat. *habentia*. In Sophocles,
Aj. v. 157.

Πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ΕΧΟΝΘ' ὁ φθόνος ἔρπει.

Πρὸς τὸν ἔχοντα, i. e. *to the HAVEN*.

In Hamlet, Act V.

“ Clown. Ay, tell me that and *unyoke*.

i. e. put an end to your labors: alluding to,
what the Greeks called by one word, βελυτὸς,
the time for unyoking. Hom. Il. ε. 779.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἠέλιος μελενείασατο βελυτάνδε.

Schol. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν· δείλης, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν οἱ βοὲς
ἀπολυόντ' τῶν ἔργων. From this one word Horace
has made a whole stanza. L. III. Od. 6.

“ Sol ubi montium

“ Mutaret umbras, et juga demeret

“ Bobus fatigatis, amicum

“ Tempus agens abeunte curru.

Hence too our Milton in his *Mask*.

“ Two such I saw, what time the labour'd ox

“ In his loose traces from the furrow came.

Our

Our English word *Orphan* comes from ὄρφανός, *ab ὄρφνός* being as it were left in darkness, left void of their greatest blessing their parents, the light and guide of their steps. ὄρφανός is spoken of one in the dark and obscurity: ὄρφανός, ὁ ἄσημος καὶ μηκέτι ἐμφανής, says an ancient grammarian on the Ajax of Sophocles. Now allowing Shakespeare to use the word *orphan*, as a Grecian would have used it, and how elegantly does he call the fairies, *the orphan heirs of destiny*: who administer in her works, acting in darkness and obscurity? The whole passage runs thus: In the Merry Wives of Windsor, Act V.

“ Fairies, black, gray, green and white,
 “ You moon-shine revellers, and shades of night,
 “ You *Orphan-heirs* of fixed destiny,
 “ Attend your office and your quality.

Had the poet written *ouphen-heirs*, he would have repeated the same thing. These *ouphs* I find in modern editions have routed the *owls* out of their old possessions: but I shall beg leave to reinstate them again, in the Comedy of Errors, Act II.

“ This is the fairy land: oh spight of spights!
 “ We talk with goblins, *owls* and elvish spights!
 “ If we obey them not, this will ensue,
 “ They’ll suck our breath, and pinch us black
 “ and blue.

These

These *owls* which the Latins called *striges*, according to vulgar superstition had power to suck children's breath and blood. Ovid. *Fast.* L. VI.

135.

“ Nocte volant, puerosque petunt nutricis egentes,

“ Et vitiant cunis corpora raptâ suis.

“ Carpere dicuntur lactantia viscera rostris,

“ Et plenum poto sanguine guttur habent.

Plin. XI, 39.

“ Fabulosum puto de strigibus, ubera infantium

“ eas labris immulgere.

NOR is Shakespeare's peculiarity in using words to be passed over.

In Richard II. Act II.

“ Why have those banish'd and *forbidden* legs,

“ Dar'd once to touch a dust of England's
“ ground?

i. e. *interdicted*. As the pope's legate told K. John,

“ He [the pope] hath wholly *interdicted* and

“ cursed you, for the wrongs you have done

“ unto the holy church.” Fox. Vol. I. p. 285.

So in Macbeth, Act I.

“ He shall live a man *forbid*.

In

In Macbeth, Act III.

“ And put a barren scepter in my gripe,
 “ Thence to be wrench’d with an *unlike* hand,
 i. e. not of my line, or descent.

In Macbeth, Act V.

“ For their *dear* causes
 “ Would to the bleeding and the grim alarm
 “ Excite the mortified man.

dear causes, i. e. dreadful.

So in Hamlet.

“ Would I had met my *dearest* foe in heav’n:
 Perhaps from the Latin *dirus*, *dire*, *dear*. In the translation of Virgil by Douglafs ’tis spelt *dere*, which the Glossary thus explains, “*Dere*, to hurt, trouble: Belg. *Decren*, *Deren*. F. Theut. *Deran*. AS. *Derian*, *nocere*. It. hurt, injury.” And should it not be thus spelt in Shakespeare? But instances of our poet’s using words contrary to the modern acceptation of them are numberless.

R U L E III.

He sometimes omits the primary and proper sense, and uses words in their secondary and improper signification.

Changes of garments, for different dresses, is a common expression: and we say, *to change*, for *to dress*: properly to change one dress and put on another. But Shakespeare uses *to change*, only for *to new dress and adorn*.

In Antony and Cleopatra, A& I.

“ Charm. Oh! that I knew this husband, which
“ you say must ¹ *change* his horns with garlands.
i. e. new dress and adorn.

In Coriolanus, A& II.

“ Cor. From whom I have receiv’d not only
“ greetings,
“ But with them, ² *change* of honours.

i. e. been newly adorned with honors; received new ornaments of honors.

Again, because the popish and heathenish mysteries are vain and whimsical, he therefore uses *mysteries*, for *vanities*, or *whimsies*.

1. They have printed it, *charge*.

2. They have likewise printed it here, *charge*.

In Henry VIII. Act I.

“ Cham. Is't possible the spells of France should

“ juggle

“ Men into such strange ³ *mysteries*.

i. e. vanities, and whimsies. He is speaking of court fashions.

R U L E IV.

He uses one part of speech for another.

For instance, *he makes verbs of adjectives*, as, *to stale*, i. e. to make stale and familiar. *To safe*, to make safe and secure, &c. &c. Antony and Cleopatra, Act I.

“ Ant. My more particular

“ And that which most with you ³ *should safe* my

“ going,

“ Is Fulvia's death.

should safe, i. e. should make safe and secure.

So again, *he uses verbs for substantives*. *Accuse*, for accusation: *Affect*, for affection: *Deem*, for a deeming, an opinion: *Dispose*, for disposition: *Prepare*, for preparation: *Vary*, for variation: &c. &c. And, *adjectives for substantives*. As *Mean*, for mediocrity or mean estate. In K. Lear, Act IV.

3. They correct, *mockeries*.

1. They correct, *salve*.

“ Glo. Full oft 'tis seen

“ Our *mean* secures us.

So *Private*, for privacy &c. Nothing is more frequent among the Latins than to use substantively, ² *ardua, invia, arvia, supera, acuta* &c. &c. In imitation of whom our poet in *Coriolanus*, Act I.

“ As if I lov'd *my little* should be dieted

“ In praises fauc'd with lies.

Again, *he makes verbs of substantives*. As, *to bench, to voice, to paper, to progress, to stage, to estate, to helm* &c. &c. *To scale*, i. e. to weigh and examine: In *Coriolanus*, Act I.

“ Men. I will venture

“ ³ *To scale* it a little more.

i. e. to consider it, to examine it.

Again, *he uses substantives adjectively*; or, *by way of apposition*. So the Greeks say, Ἑλλάδα διάλεκτον. Σκύθην οἶμον. and Homer Il. ᾠ. 58. Γυναῖκά τε θήσαλο μαζόν. Virgil Aen. XI, 405. *Amnis Aufidus*. Horace Epist. I, 12. ῥ. 20. *Sterlinium acumen*. Propertius L. 2. Eleg. 31. *Femina turba*.

2. Milton very frequently uses adjectives in this manner, if the reader thinks proper, he may turn to the following in *Paradise lost*. B. II, 97. and 278. B. IV. 927. B. VI. 78. B. VII. 368. B. XI. 4.

3. They have printed, *To stale* it.

And

And the Apostle in his first epistle to the Corinthians, II, 4. ἐν πειθοῖς λόγοις, *in perswasible*, or, *inticing words*. i. e. ἐν πιθανοῖς λόγοις. Shakespeare in Julius Caesar, Act I. *Tyber bank*. And Act V. *Philippi fields*. In Coriolanus Act II. *Corioli gates*. In Hamlet, *music rooms, neighbour room &c. &c.* And sometimes, *the substantive is to be construed adjectively when put into the genitive case*. Lucret. IV, 339.

“ Quia cum propior caliginis aer

“ Ater init oculos prior.

i. e. *the air of darknes*, for the dark air. Euripides in Hippol. ψ. 1368.

Μόχθος δ' ἄλλως τῆς εὐσεβείας

Εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπόνησα.

In vain have I exercised towards mankind the labors of piety: i. e. pious labors. St. Luke XVIII. 6. ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδικίας, *the judge of injustice*, i. e. *the unjust judge*. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia p. 2. *opening the cherry of her lips*: i. e. her cherry lips. Aristophanes in Plat. 268. ὦ χρυσοῦν ἀγλείας ἐπῶν. *thou who tellest me a gold of words*: i. e. golden words. Milton V, 212.

“ Over head the dismal hiss

“ Of fiery darts in flaming vollies flew.

the hiss of darts, i. e. the hissing darts. In the first part of K. Henry IV. Act I.

“ No more the thirsty *entrance of this soil*
 “ Shall dawb her lips with her own children’s
 “ blood.

The entrance of this soil, i. e. this thirsty and porous soil, easily to be enter’d, and gaping to receive whatever is poured into it.

He sometimes expresses one thing by two substantives; which the rhetoricians call “*Ἐν διὰ δυοῖν*.” As Virgil.

“ *Patera libamus et auro,*

i. e. *pateris aureis*. In Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV.

“ I hope well of to morrow, and will lead you
 “ Where rather I’ll expect victorious life
 “ Than *death and honour*.

i. e. than honourable death. So Spencer B. 2. c. 7. st. 42.

“ Soon as those *glitter and arms* he did espy.

i. e. *those glittering arms*.

Again, *he uses adjectives adverbially*. So Virgil. “ *Magnumque fluentem Nilum. Sole recens orto. Se matutinus agebat. Arduus infurgens, &c.* And Homer Il. β’. 147.

Ως δ’ ὅτε κινήσει ζέφυρος βαθὺ λήϊον ἐλθὼν
 ΛΑΒΡΟΣ ἐπαγίζων.

And

And Milton, VII, 305.

“ All but within those banks where rivers now
 “ Stream, and *perpetual* draw their humid train.

In Henry VIII. Act I.

“ He is *equal* rav'nous, as he is subtle.

In Hamlet, Act III.

“ I am myself *indifferent* honest.

In Henry IV. Act V. P. Henry speaking of
 Percy,

“ I do not know a braver gentleman,

“ More *active valiant*, or more *valiant young*.

i. e. more actively valiant, or more valiantly
 young: or, one more valiant with activity, and
 young with valour.

In Macbeth, Act I.

“ Your highness' part

“ Is to receive our duties; and our duties

“ Are to your throne and state, children and
 “ servants;

“ Which do but what they should, by doing
 “ every thing

“ ⁴ *Safe* toward your love and honour.

Safe, i. e. with safety, security and suretyship.

4. 'Tis corrected, *Fiefs*.

R U L E V.

He uses the active participle passively.

In King Lear.

“ Who by the art of known, and *feeling* sorrows,
“ Am pregnant to good pity.

feeling, i. e. *causing themselves to be felt*.

In Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV.

“ Cleop. Rather on Nilus’ mud
“ Lay me stark naked, and let the water-flies
“ Blow me into *abhorring*.

i. e. into being abhorred and loathed.

In Macbeth, Act V.

“ As easie mayst thou the *intrenchant* air
“ With thy keen sword impress.

Intrenchant, i. e. not suffering itself to be cut.
Fr. *trenchant*, cutting. The woundless, the invulnerable air, as he expresses it in Hamlet.

This manner of expression the Latins use.
Virgil. *Sistunt amnes* : i. e. *se sistunt*. *Accingunt operi*, i. e. *se accingunt*.

*Dives inaccessible ubi solis filia lucos
Assiduo resonat cantu.*

i. e.

i. e. *resonare facit*, as Servius explains it. And
Aen. I. 565.

Tum breviter Dido vultum demissa profatur.

i. e. *demisso vultu.*

In King Lear, Act III.

“ This night wherein the *cub-drawn*-bear would
“ couch.

the cub-drawn, i. e. having her cubs drawn from
her; being robbed of her cubs; the bear then is
most restless and furious. Prov. XVII, 12. *Let
a bear robbed of her whelps meet a man, rather than
a fool in his folly.* Spencer B. 6. c. 11. ft. 25.

“ And fared like a furious wild bear

“ Whose whelps are stol'n away.

I will mention one passage from the Acts XXVII.
15. where the active participle is used passively,
or elleptically, viz. ἐπιδούλες for ἐπιδούλες αὐτὰς, or
ἐπιδούλες τὸ πλοίου τῷ ἀνέμῳ. *when the ship could not
bear up into the wind, we let her drive: Μὴ δυναμένη
[πλοίου] ἀνοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ, ἐπιδούλες ἐφερόμεθα.* Our
sailors now say, *to sail in the wind's eye*, literally
translating the Greek phrase, ἀνοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ.

And the adjective passive actively.

In the Twelfth-Night, Act I.

“ Viol. Hollow your name to the *reverberate*
“ hills

1. 'Tis corrected, *reverberant.*

“ And make the babling gossip of the air

“ Cry out, Olivia!

reverberate, i. e. causing it to be stricken back again.

In *Macbeth*, Act I.

“ Or have we eaten of the *insane* root,

“ That takes the reason prisoner?

Insane, i. e. causing madness. *ab effectu*, as the grammarians say.

R U L E VI.

He uses the thing done, for the intention and desire to do it.

In *Measure for Measure*, Act III.

“ Reason thus with life;

“ If I do love thee, I do love a thing

“ That none but fools ¹ would keep.

i. e. would be desirous and eager to keep.

In the same manner *Milton* IV. 175.

“ The undergrowth

“ Of shrubs, and tangling bushes, had perplex'd

“ All path of man, or beast, ² that pass'd that

“ way.

i. e.

1. They print, *would reck*.

2. “ Here our poet's attention was wanting. There was

“ no

i. e. that should now or hereafter endeavour to pass that way. So Euripides in *Io*, v. 1326.

Ἠκυσσας ὡς μ' ἐκείινεν. *Audivisti quomodo me interfecit*, i. e. *interficere voluit*.

R U L E VII.

He often adds to adjectives in their comparative and superlative degrees, the signs marking the degrees.

In *King Lear*, Act II.

Corn. “ These kind of knaves I know, which in
 “ this plainness
 “ Harbour more craft and *more corrupter* ends
 “ Than twenty silly &c.

In *Henry VIII*. Act I.

“ There is no English soul
 “ *More stronger* to direct you than yourself.

Nor is this kind of pleonasm unusual among the Latins and Grecians. Virgil in *Ciris*.

“ *Quis magis* optato queat esse *beatior* aevo?

Plautus in *Aulul*.

“ *Ita mollior* sum *magis*, quàm ullus cinaedus.

“ NO MAN yet to endeavour to pass that way &c” Dr. Bentley. N. B. Many of the passages which I have above cited from Milton, tho' not taken notice of in the notes, have been altered or misunderstood.

Euripides

o Euripides in Hecuba, *ŷ.* 377.

Θαυδὸν δ' αὖ εἶναι ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΣΤΕΡΟΣ
ἢ ζῶν.

R U L E VIII.

He frequently omits the auxiliary verb, am, is, are &c. and likewise several particles, as to, that, a, as &c.

In Macbeth, Act I.

“ King. Is execution done on Cawdor yet?
“ Or not those in commission yet return'd?

i. e. Or are not &c.

In Hamlet, Act III.

“ But 'tis not so above,
“ There is no shuffling, there the action lies
“ In his true nature; *and we ourselves compelled*
“ Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults
“ To give in evidence.

In Macbeth, Act IV.

“ Malc. I'm young, but something
“ You may discern of him through me: *and*
“ *wisdom*
“ To offer up a weak, poor, innocent lamb,

i. You may see something to your advantage by betraying me. Mr. Theobald reads, instead of *discern*, *deserve*.

“ T' ap-

“ T’ appease an angry God.

i. e. and ’tis wisdom.

The particle *that* is omitted, in Macbeth Act II.

“ Go bid thy mistress, when my drink is ready

“ *She strike upon the bell.*

A omitted, in King Lear, Act III.

“ *Be simple answerer, for we know the truth.*

i. e. Be a simple answerer : answer directly.

To, the sign of the infinitive mood, omitted, in Macbeth, Act III.

“ I am in blood

“ Stept in so far, that should I wade no more,

“ Returning were as tedious *as go o’er*

i. e. *as to go o’er.*

To, the sign of the dative case, omitted, in Julius Caesar, Act IV.

“ And now, Octavius,

“ Listen great things.

As omitted, in like manner as the Latins omit *ut* and the Greeks *ως*. Shakespeare in Cymbeline, Act V.

“ Forthwith they flie

“ *Chickens*, the way which they stoop’d *eagles*.

So Horace, L. 2. Ep. 2. v. 28.

Post hoc *vehemens* lupus, et sibi et hosti
Iratu pariter.

And in his poetics,

“ Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere, *fidus*

“ *Interpres.*

i. e. like a servile translator. And Sophocles in
Oedip. Col. 138.

Μή μ' ἐκείνω προσίδη' ANOMON.

Schol. λείπει το ΩΣ, ἢ ἤ, ὡς ἀνομον.

R U L E IX.

He uses, *But*, for *otherwise than*: *Dr*, for *before*: *Once*, *once for all*, *peremptorily*: *From*, *on account of*: *Not*, for *not only*: Nor do two negatives allways make an affirmative, but deny more strongly, as is well known from the Greek, and modern French languages.

In the Tempest, Act I.

“ Mir. I should sin,

“ To think *but* nobly of my grand-mother.

i. e. otherwise than nobly. See Mr. Theobald's note. Spencer B. III. c. 3. ft. 16.

“ But this I read, that *but* if remedy

“ Thou her afford, full shortly I her dead shall see.

i. e. unless you afford her &c.

In Cymbeline. Act II.

“ Phi. And I think,
 “ He’ll grant the tribute, send the arrearages,
 “ Or look upon our Romans, whose remem-
 “ brance
 “ Is yet fresh in their grief.

Or look, i. e. before he look. So Douglass in his translation of Virgil. Aen. I, 9.

“ Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet
 “ urbem

“ Inferretque deos Latio.

Grete payne in battelles sufferit he also
 Or he his goddis brocht in Latio.

Daniel VI, 14. *And the lions — brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den.*

In Much ado about nothing, Act I.

“ Pedro. Look what will serve, is fit; ’tis *once*,
 “ thou lov’st;

“ And I will fit thee with the remedy.

In Coriolanus, Act II.

“ 1 Cit. *Once*, if he do require our voices,
 “ we ought not to deny him.

So the Greeks use ἄπαξ, *certò, omnino, plane et verè*. From whence our translators: Psalm LXXXIX, 35. *Once* have I sworn. LXX. ἄπαξ

ἄμοσα.

ἄμοσα. Pf. LXII. 11. God hath spoken *once*.
 “ Ἀπαξ ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεός, i. e. as Suidas interprets it,
 ἀποφασιτικῶς ἢ παντελῶς. i. e. once for all, perempto-
 rily. And thus the passage in the epistle to the
 Hebrews, VI. 4. is to be explained, Τοὺς ΑΠΑΞ
 φωτισθέντας, *qui verè et omnino sunt illuminati*. And
semel is used sometimes in this sense by the purest
 Latin authors. Milton, III, 233.

“ He her aid
 “ Can never seek, *once* dead in sins, and lost.
 i. e. once for all, thoroughly. Homer uses ΑΠΑΞ
 in the same sense Od. μ’.

Βάλομ’ ΑΠΑΞ πρὸς κύμα χανῶν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι.

From, on account of. In Coriolanus, Act III.

“ Com. I have been consul, and can shew *from*
 “ *Rome*

“ Her enemies marks upon me.

From Rome, on account of Rome, in her service.
 So Milton in Samson Agonistes, γ. 8.

“ O wherefore was my birth from heav’n foretold
 “ Twice by an angel——

“ And *from* some great act

“ Or benefit reveal’d to Abraham’s race ?

i. e. on account of some great act or benefit &c.

Not, for *not only*. In Coriolanus, Act III.

“ Sic. As now at last

“ *Giv’n*

“ Giv’n hostile stroaks, and that *not* in the
 “ presence
 “ Of dreaded justice, but on the ministers
 “ That do distribute it.

not in the presence, i. e. not only in the presence
 &c. So the Latins use *non*, for *non modo*: and
 the Greeks ΟΥ for ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ. In Theocritus
 Idyll. X, 19.

Τυφλὸς δ’ ΟΥΚ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλάτῳ,

Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὠφρονίσις Ἔρως.

ΟΥΚ i. e. ἔ μόνον. So Longinus τῶν Θεῶν δ’ ΟΥ τῆς
 φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ἑποίησεν αἰώνιον. *Homer*
has poetically feigned not only the nature of the
Gods, but likewise their misfortunes eternal. And
 thus ought to be interpreted St. John VII, 22.
 Διὰ τῆτο Μωσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν περιτομήν, ΟΥΧ ἕτε ἐκ
 τῆ Μωσείως ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων. where ἕχ is
 for ἔ μόνον, and it should thus be translated, *Not*
that it is of Moses only, but likewise of the fathers.

In Julius Caesar, Act III.

“ Brut. There is no harm intended to your
 “ person,
 “ Nor to no Roman else.

In Macbeth, Act II.

“ Nor tongue, nor heart, cannot conceive nor
 “ name thee.

1. See ποιεῖν above p. 154.

R U L E X.

He uses the abstract for the concrete, viz. *companies*, for companions: *youth*, for young persons: *reports*, for people who made the reports.

In Anthony and Cleopatra, Act II.

“ Ant. And have my learning from some true

“ *reports*

“ That drew their swords with me.

In King Richard II. Act I.

“ Mowb. O let my sovereign turn away his face,

“ And bid his ears a little while be deaf,

“ Till I have told *this slander* of his blood,

“ How God and good men hate so foul a liar.

this slander, i. e. this slanderer. So Terence uses *scelus* for *scelestus*. Andria Act V. *Scelus quem hic laudat*. And Virgil has this figure in a seeming intricate passage. Aen. V, 541.

“ Nec bonus Eurytio prælato invidit honori.

Nor did the good Eurytio envy him the preeminence of honor. So 'twill be construed: but *bonori*, is, the honorable person, *prælato*, which was prefer'd before him. As Milton, III, 664.

1. Some read, *reporters*. N. B. Most of the readings, which are brought as examples, have been altered in some editions or other, of our poet.

“ But

“ But chiefly man

“ His chief delight and *favour*.

i. e. his favourite. In Othello Act I. *perfection*,
i. e. one so perfect.

It is a judgment maim'd, and most imperfect,
That will confess ' *perfection* so could err
Against all rules of nature.

i. e. one so perfect as Desdemona.

R U L E XI.

To compleat the construction, there is, in the latter part of the sentence sometimes to be supplied some word, or phrase from the former part, either expressed, or tacitly signified.

In Homer, Il. ψ. 579.

Εἰ δ' ἄγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς ΔΙΚΑΣΩ, καὶ μὴ ἕτινα Φημί
“ Ἄλλον ἐπιπλήξην Δαναῶν. ΙΘΕΙΑ γ' ἔσαι.

The adjective *θεῖα*, in the latter part of the sentence, agrees with *δίκη* tacitly signified in *δικάσω*. And thus Eustathius, ὑπακυστέον ἢ δίκη, ἢ λεληθότως ἐνῶσα ἐν ῥήματι δικάσω.

In the Tempest Act IV.

“ The strongest *suggestion*

“ Our worser genius *can*.

i. e. can suggest.

1. They have corrected, *affection*.

Y

In

In Macbeth Act IV.
 " I dare not speak much further,
 " But cruel are the times, when we are traitors;
 " And do not know ourselves.
 viz. to be traitors.

R U L E XII.

He uses the Nominative case absolute; or rather elliptical.

The grammarians term this ἀνακόλουτον. Instances from the ancients are numberless, but it may be necessary to mention one or two. In Terence. Hec. Act III.

" Nam nos omnes, quibus est alicunde aliquis ob-
 " jectus labos,
 " Omne quod est interea tempus, priusquam id
 " rescitum est, lucro est.

Terence begins the sentence with a nominative case, as if he should finish it with *lucro habemus*: but yet does finish it, as if he in the beginning had written *Nobis omnibus*. Lest any one should think the sentence is to be thus supplied, *Quod attinet ad nos omnes*, or with κατὰ, I will add a similar place from Plautus in Poen. Act III. Sc. III.

" Tu,

“ *Tu, si te dii ament, agere tuam rem occasio est.*

The sentence begins as if he would end it with *occasionem nactus es*; but it ends, as if in the beginning he had said *Tibi*. And Hirtius Bell. Afr. C. 25. “ *Rex Juba, cognitis Caesaris diffi-*
 “ *cultatibus, copiarumque paucitate, non est vi-*
 “ *sum dare spatium convalescendi.*”

In Hamlet Act III.

“ *Your majesty and we, that have free souls, it*
 “ *touches us not.*

He begins with a nominative case, as if he would say, *what care we, it touches us not*: but cutting short his speech makes a solecism. Many kinds of these embarrassed sentences there are in Shakespeare. And have not the best authors their *ἀκυρόλογιαί*, as the grammarians call them, seeming inaccuracies, and departure from the common and trite grammar?

R U L E XIII.

He makes a sudden transition from the plural number to the singular.

And so likewise do the most approved writers of antiquity.

Terence in Eunuc. Act II.

“ Dii boni! quid hoc morbi est? adeon’ homi-
 “ nes immutarier

“ Ex amore, ut non cognoscas *eundem* esse?

On which passage thus Donatus, *More suo à plu-
 rali numero ad singularem se convertit.* Here *eun-
 dem* agrees with *hominem* included and understood
 in the plural *homines*. Sophocles in Elect. ν . 1415.

Ω φίλαι ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ, ἄνδρες αὐτίκα
 Τελῶσι τῆρον, ἀλλὰ σίγα ΠΡΟΣΜΕΝΕ.

Πρόσμενε for προσμένετε. As the speech is directed
 to the chorus, he considers them as one or ma-
 ny. Euripides in Phaen. ν . 403.

τί ΦΥΓΑΣΙΝ τὸ δυσυχές ;
 Πο. Ἐν μὲν μέγισον, ἔκ ΕΧΕΙ παρρησίαν.

In the second verse ὁ φυγὰς is to be supplied. St.
 Paul in his epistle to the Galatians vi, 1. ΤΜΕΙΣ
 οἱ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟὶ καθαρίζετε τοῦτον ἐν πνεύματι
 πραότητι, ΣΚΟΠΩΝ σεαυτὸν μὴ ἢ σὺ πειραθῆς.
 So Milton in a remarkable passage, IX, 1182.

“ Thus it shall befall

“ Him, who to worth in *women* over-trusting,

“ Lets *her* will rule; restraint *she* will not brook.

Cicero abounds with such transitions; I will
 mention one, because Shakespeare has exactly
 its parallel. “ Decius cum se devoveret, et equo

“ ad-

“ admissō in mediam aciem Latinorum irruebat,
 “ aliquid de *voluptatibus* suis cogitabat? nam ubi
 “ *eam* caperet. De Fin. II, 19. Here the relative *eam*
 agrees with *voluptatem*, to be supplied from *volup-*
tatibus: just as in Antony and Cleopatra Act II.
 “ *My powers* are crescent, and my auguring hope
 “ Says *it* will come to th’ full.

The relative *it* agrees, and is to be referred to
power understood in the plural *powers*. By the
 by, when Shakespeare put these words in An-
 tony’s mouth, he had a view to what Maho-
 met said in a sort of prophetic rapture, That
 he would make his crescent a full moon.

In Timon Act III.

“ Who stuck and spangled you with *flatteries*,
 “ Washes *it* off, and sprinkles in your faces
 “ Your reaking villany.

In Macbeth Act III.

“ And keep the natural ruby of your *cheeks*,
 “ When *mine is* blanch’d with fear.

In Antony and Cleopatra Act III.

“ You are abus’d
 “ Beyond the mark of thought; and the *high*
 “ *Gods*
 “ To do you justice, make *his* ministers
 “ Of us, and those that love you.

This transition is very frequent among the ancients, from singular to plural, and plural to singular, when the deity is mentioned: and one reason may be because they considered *Deity*, as one or many.

R U L E XIV.

He shortens words by striking off the first or last syllable: and sometimes lengthens them by adding a Latin termination.

'Tis very customary in our language to strike off the first syllable. Hence we say, *sample*, for *example*: *spittle*, for *hospital* &c. &c. In Shakespear among many others, *mends*, for *amends*: *file*, for *defile*: *send*, for *defend*: *force*, for *inforce*, *reinforce*: *point*, for *appointments*: *sconce*, for *ensconce* &c. &c. *Vailful*, for *availful*: In Measure for Measure Act IV.

“ He says to *vailful* purpose.

i. e. to a purpose which will fully avail. *Serving*, for *observing*: In Timon of Athens Act. I.

“ Apem. What a coil's here,

“ *Serving* of becks and jutting out of bums?

i. e. observing one another's nods and bows. So *servans* for *observans*, among the Latins.

Nor is it unusual with Shakespeare to strike off a syllable, or more, from the latter part of words. So he uses *ostent*, for *ostentation*: *intrince*, for *intrinsicate*, or *intricate*: in K. Lear Act II.

“ Like rats oft bite the holy cords atwaine,
“ Which are too’ *intrince* t’ unloose.

i. e. too intrinsicate, too perplex. Mr. Theobald prints it thus,

“ Like rats oft bite the holy cords in twain
“ Too’ *intrinsicate* t’ unloose.

And lets us fairly know the old books of authority read,

“ Like rats oft bite the holy cords atwaine
“ Which are t’ *intrince*, to unloose.

How came Mr. Theobald, who valued himself for being a critic, to give us the gloss, for the original word? *Atwain*, is an old word used by Chaucer, for *in two*, *asunder*, *in twain*. And then his other correction is too bold: he comes like an unskilful surgeon to cut and slash, when he should heal. This shortening of words is too much the genius of our language: and from hence the etymologists know how easy ’tis to trace *porpoise* from *porcus piscis*: *ostrich*, from *σραθοκάμηλον*: to *rap*, from *ραπίζην* &c. &c. and many more of the like sort, too numerous here to be mention’d.

On the other hand he lengthens words by giving them a Latin termination. In Hamlet Act III.

“ Oh, such a deed,
 “ As from the body of *contraction* plucks
 “ The very soul, and sweet religion makes
 “ A rhapsody of words.

contraction, i. e. contract.

This lengthening of words, and giving them terminations, was the first improvement of languages, which originally, perhaps chiefly, consisted of undeclined monosyllables. This seems to be the case of the politest language in the world, the Greek language. The old Greek word for a *house* was ΔΟ, afterwards they added the termination, and called it δῶμα. *Barley* was ΚΡΙ, afterwards κριθή and κρέμμον : *in vain*, ΜΑΠΣ, afterwards μαψιδίως : *again*, or *backwards*, ΑΠΣ i. e. ὀπίσω : *easily* ΡΑ i. e. ῥάδιον. ΒΠΙ, afterwards βριθὺ and βριᾶρον. ΑΛΠΗΙ i. e. ἄλφιλον. And so of many other words, which are not by any abbreviations shortened, as the grammarians tell us ; but were the old original words, brought again into fashion and use by the poets, just as our Shakespeare and Milton often chose the Saxon and obsolete words,

T O these rules many others may easily be added; but what has already been said, may lead the way to a right reading of our author. Concerning the strict propriety of all these rules, as being exactly suitable to the genius of our language, I am not at all concerned: 'tis sufficient for my purpose if they are Shakespeare's rules. But one thing more still remains of no little consequence to our poet's honor, and that is the settling and adjusting his metre and rhythm. For the not duly attending to this, has occasion'd strange alterations in his plays: now prose hobbles into verse, now again verse is degraded into prose; here verses are broken, where they should be continued; and there joined where they should be broken. And the chief reason of these alterations of his verses seems to proceed from the same cause, as the changing his words and expressions; that is, the little regard we pay to our poet's art.

¹ Dryden says that Milton acknowledged to him, that Spencer was his original: but his original in what, Mr. Dryden does not tell us: certainly he was not his original in throwing aside that Gothic bondage of jingle at the end of every line; 'twas the example of our ² BEST ENGLISH

1. Dryden's preface to his Fables.
2. Milton's preface to his Paradise lost.

TRAGEDIES here he followed; ³ HIS HONOURED SHAKESPEARE. And from him, as well as from Homer and Virgil, he saw what beauty would result from variety.

Our smoothest verses run in the iambic foot: *pes citus*, as Horace terms it; because we hasten from the first to the second syllable, that chiefly striking the ear. And our epic verse consists of five feet or measures, according to common scansion.

it fā|dēd ōn|thē crōw|ing ōf|thē cōck

1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5

Verses all of this measure would soon tire the ear, for want of variety: he therefore mixes the trochaic foot.

Nāture|sēems dēad|ānd wic|kēd drēams|ābūse

1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5

And how beautifully are trochees intermixed in the following, where lady Macbeth speaks in a hurry and agitation of mind?

Whīch gīves|thē stērneſt|gōod nīght|——|Hē's a|bōut it

1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5

The tribrac is likewise used by our poets, as equivalent in time and measure to the iambic. So Milton II, 302.

3. Milton's poem on Shakespeare, ann. 1630.

ä pillär|öf stäte|dēep on|hīs frōnt|ēngrāv'n
 1 2 3 4 5

And Shakespeare very poetically in K. Lear,
 Act IV.

Edg. Sö mā|nŷ fā|thōm dōwn|präcipitāting.

which has the same effect as that in Virgil.

——“ Procumbit humi bos.

And

——“ Ruit oceano nox.

But the great art in Milton, of placing a spondee in the fifth place, ought not here to be omitted; this occasions pause and delay, and calls for the reader's attention: so in the seventh book, where God speaks to Chaos,

Silence|yě trouē|lēd wāves|ānd thōu Dēep, peāce
 1 2 3 4 5

No spondee in the fifth place in Greek or Latin verses can equal this beauty; and no poet did ever equal it, but Shakespeare. In Macbeth.

Whät hāth|quēch'd thēm|hāth gīv'n|mē fire|--Hārk! peāce!
 1 2 3 4 5

If the spondaic foot, then the anapest, as of equal time, may likewise be admitted.

Othello. And give|thy worst.

ōf thoughts | the wōrſt | ōf wōrds | Iag. Gōōd my Lōrd | pārdōn mē.
 1 2 3 4 5

Spēak tō mē | whāt thōu ārt | th̄y ē | vill spīrit | Brūtūs
 1 2 3 4 5

This passage is in Julius Caesar, where Brutus speaks to the ghost: those anapests *spēak tō mē, whāt thōu ārt*, have a beautiful effect, as they shew a certain confusion on a surprize. *Spirit* is a monosyllable, and so constantly used in Milton.

SHAKESPEARE has several hemistiches; a poetical licence that Virgil introduced into the Latin poetry: but there have not been wanting hands, to fill these broken verses up for both the poets. It may not be displeasing to the reader to point out such kind of workmanship in Virgil. In the sixth Aeneid, the hero speaks to the Sybil.

“ Foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
 “ Ne turbata volent, rapidis ludibria ventis:
 “ Ipsa canas, oro. *Finem dedit ore loquendi.*

The river God Tyber is speaking of himself.
 Aen. VIII.

“ Ego sum, pleno quem flumine cernis
 “ Stringentem ripas, et pingua culta secantem
 “ Coeruleus Tybris. *Coelo gratissimus annis.*

Some

Some other suspected places may be pointed out: but I submit to the judgment of the reader, whether he can think these additions, any other than botches in poetry: and how much more virgilian would these verses appear, were they left as I have here marked them?

It ought not to be forgotten that Shakespeare has many words, either of admiration or exclamation, &c. out of the verse. Nor is this without example in the Greek tragedies. In the Hecuba of Euripides ψ . 863.

Φεῦ

Οὐκ ἔσι θνητῶν ὄσις ἐς' ἐλεύθερον.

Sophocles in Aj. χ . 748.

ὀὐκ ἔσι

Βραδείαν ἡμᾶς ἄρ' ὁ τήνδε τὴν ὁδὸν

Πέμπων ἐπεμψεν, ἢ Φαυην ἐγὼ βραδύς;

And again χ . 1021.

οἶμοι

ἴθ' ἐκκαίνυσεν, ὡς ἴδω τὸ πᾶν κακόν.

In Hamlet Act I.

“ Gh. So art thou to revenge, when thou shalt
“ hear.

“ Ham. What?

“ Gh. I am thy father's spirit.

And

- And presently after,
 “ Gh. If thou didst ever thy dear father love—
 “ Ham. Oh heav’n!
 “ Gh. Revenge his foul and most unnatural
 “ murther!
 “ Ham. Murther!
 “ Gh. Murther most foul, as in the best it is.

In Othello Act III.

- “ Oth. Oh, yes, and went between us very oft.
 “ Iago. Indeed!
 “ Oth. Indeed! ay, indeed. Discern’st thou ought
 “ in that?

And in many other places exactly after the cast of the ancient plays. There are some poetic liberties that our author takes, such as lengthening words in scansion, as *witnēss*, *fidēier*, *āngērŷ*, *Hēnērŷ*, *sārjēānt*, *cāptāin*, *stātūē*, *desire*, *villāin*, *firē*, *bōūr*, *grācē*, *grēāt*, &c. &c.

VOSSIUS spoke very ignorantly of our language when he asserted that our verses run all, as it were, in one measure, without distinction of members or parts, or any regard to the natural quantities of syllables. For are not these substantives as much trochees, *cōndūēt*, *cōnsort*, *cōntēst*, &c. and the verbs from these substantives, as much iambics, *condūēt*, *consort*, *contēst*, &c.

as any Latin or Greek words whatever? Again, *sinful, faithful, nature, venture, &c.* have all the first syllable long. However our position in the main determines the quantity, and a great deal is left to the ear.

But let us take any verse in Milton or Shakespeare, for example.

Say first | for heav'n | hides no | thing from | thy view.

And transpose the words,

Say first | for heav'n | nothing from | thy view | hides.

who cannot feel the difference, even supposing he could not give a reason for it?

THE greatest beauty in diction is, when it corresponds to the sense. This beauty our language, with all its disadvantages, can attain; as I could easily instance from Shakespeare and Milton. We have harsh, rough consonants, as well as the soft and melting, and these should found in the same musical key. This rule is most religiously observed by Virgil; as is likewise that of varying the pause and cesura, or as Milton expresses it, *the sense being variously drawn out from one verse into another.* For it is variety and uniformity that makes beauty; and, for want of this, our riming poets soon tire the ear:

for

for rime necessarily hinders *the sense from being variously drawn out from one verse to another*. They who avoid this Gothic bondage, are unpardonable, if they don't study this variety, when Shakespeare and Milton have so finely led them the way.

But to treat this matter, concerning his metre, somewhat more exactly: 'tis observed that when the iambic verse has its just number of syllables, 'tis called *acatalectic*; when deficient in a syllable *catalectic*; when a foot is wanting to compleat the *dipod*, according to the Greek scansion, *brachycatalectic*; when exceeding in a syllable, *hypercatalectic*.

The iambic monometer acatalectic, of two feet.

ācī, mēv ō |

1 2

Běā | tūs il

1 2

Nō it | is strūck

1 2

Lāst nīght | ōf āll

1 2

För Hēc | ūbā Haml.

1 2

Two

Two truths | are told Macb.

1 2

Iambic monometer hypercatalectic, of two feet and a semiped.

ἄεἰ, μὲν ὦ | παῖ

1 2

Bēā | tūs il | le

1 2

ānd mōre | i bēg | not

1 2

Thēn yiēld | thēe cōw | ard

1 2

Macb.

ānd prēy | ōn gār | bage

1 2

Ham.

The Iambic dimeter brachycatalectic of three feet.

ἄεἰ, μὲν ὦ | παῖ λαρ,

1 2 3

Bēā | tūs il | lē qūi

1 2 3

Till thēn | ēnoūgh | cōme frīends

1 2 3

Sō prēy | thēe gō | wīth mē Macb.

if sight | ānd shāpe | bē trūe

whŷ thēn | mŷ lōve | ādiēu, As you like it.

1 2 3

Z

The

The Iambick dimeter catalectic; better known by the anacreontic; of three feet and one femiped.

Θέλω, λέγειν | ἄτρεϊ, δας

I 2 3

Pätēr | nārū | rā bō | bus

I 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Nāy cōme | lēt's gō | tōgē | ther

I 2 3

ă kīng | ōf shrēds | ănd pāt | ches

I 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ham.

it is | ă pēer | lēs kīnf | man

I 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

ănd āll | thīngs ūn | bē cōme | ing

I 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

Hăd ī | thrēe eār | i'd hēar | thee

I 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Macbeth.

The iambic dimeter acatalectic, of four feet.

ἄει, μὲν ᾠ | παῖ λαρε, τῖς

I 2 3 4

ūt prif | cā gēns | mōrtā | līūm

I 2 3 4 Hor.

in thūn | dēr light | nīng ănd | in rāin

I 2 3 4 Macb.

The iambic dimeter hypercatalectic, the third measure in the alcaic verse, of four feet and a femiped.

ἄει,

ἄει, μὲν ὦ | παῖ λαρ, τίς | δε

Nōn rū | rā quāe | Liris | quīē | ta

1 2 3 4 Hor.

Hamlet Act III.

ἄ brō | thēr's mūr | thēr. Prāy | ī cān | not

1 2 3 4

Othello Act III.

Dāmn hēr, | lēud mīnx! | ōh! dāmn | hēr, dāmn | her!

1 2 3 4

Timon of Athens Act II.

Būt yēt | thēy cōuld | hāve wīsh | --thēy knēw | not--

The iambic trimeter brachycatalectic, of five feet, which is our common heroic verse.

ἄει, μὲν ὦ | παῖ λαρ, τίς | δέδορ

1 2 3 4 5

Sūis | ēt īp | fā Rō | mā vī | rībūs

1 2 3 4 5

if thōu | hāst ā | nŷ sōund | ōr ūse | ōf voice

1 2 3 4 5 Ham.

The iambic trimeter catalectic, of five feet and a semiped.

Ἄει, μὲν ὦ | παῖ λαρ, τίς | δέδορ, κα

1 2 3 4 5

Mēā | rēnī | dēt in | dōmō | lēcū | nar

1 2 3 4 5 Hor.

Z 2

Būc

Büttō | bēfāfē | lýtūs | oũrfēars | inBān | quo
 1 2 3 4 5 ½

Stīck dēep | ānd in | hīs rōy | āltȳ | ōf nā | ture
 1 2 3 4 5 ½

Verfes of this measure are very frequent, both in Milton and Shakespeare.

The iambic trimeter acatalectic, or senarian of six feet.

ἀεί, μὲν ὦ | παῖ λαρ, τῖς | δῆδῶρ, καὶ σέ
 1 2 3 4 5 6

Bēā | tūs il | lē qui | prōcūl | nēgō | tīs
 1 2 3 4 5 6 Hor.

Othello.

Thāt cān|thȳ light|rēlū|mīne. Whēn|i've plūck'd|thē rōse
 1 2 3 4 5 6

Antony and Cleopatra.

Thē ōs|tētā|tīōn ōf|ōur lōve| whīch lēft | ūnshēwn
 1 2 3 4 5 6

Hamlet.

Thāt fā|thēr lōft|lōft hīs | ānd thē | sūrvi | vēr bōund
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SHAKESPEARE uses not only the iambic, but the trochaic measure. As for example, the trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic, commonly

ly called the ithyphallic, consisting of three trochees.

Bācchĕ | Bācchĕ | Bācchĕ

whĕre haft | thóu been | síster. Macb.

The trochaic dimeter catalectic; a sort of verse Aristophanes was fond of, when he ridicul'd Euripides, consisting of three trochees and a semiped.

Nōn ě | bŭr nĕq' | aŭrĕ | um

1 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Hor.

Whén the | hŭrly | búrly's | done

1 2 3

Whén the | báttle's | lóft and | won. Macb.

1 2 3

Sóftly | fwéet in | Lŷdĭ'n | méasure

Sóon he | soóth'd his | sóul to | pléasure. Dryd.

The trochaic tetrameter catalectic of six feet, and closing with a trochee and a semiped, what the Greeks call *κατακλείς*.

Aristoph.

Τῆ δ'εἰ, τῆ πὸ | λεί πορῶσ, εἶναῖ | ταῦτα, μὲν τοῖ | τῆς θεῶσ,

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Ay ör | drĭnkĭng | fĕncĭng | fwĕarĭng | quărrĕllĭng

1 2 3 4 5

drăbbĭng | yôu măy gō

6 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Z 3

This

This dancing measure is very proper to the character of Polonius, a droll humourous old courtier; and the mixture of the trochaic has no bad effect. The verses are thus to be ordered. In Hamlet, Act. II.

As are companions noted and most known

To youth and liberty. R. As gaming my Lord.

P. Ay or drinking, fencing, swearing, quarrelling, drabbing, you may go

So far. R. My Lord, that would dishonour him.

Nor is Shakespeare without instances of the anapestic verse; which verses consist of anapests, spondees, dactyls; and sometimes is intermixed the *pes proceleusmaticus*; as

ὁ μὲν οἰχομένῳσ Φύγᾶς ὁ δὲ νέκυς ὦν. Eurip. Orest.

The anapestic monometer acatalectic, of two feet.

ἀρχεῖ, μὲν ἄγων |

1 2

ἄων καλλιγῶν |

1 2

ἄθλων, τᾶμῶσ |

1 2

Jul. in Caes.

ὄγερ hill | ὄβερ dāle

1 2

Through

Thróugh búsh | thróugh briär.

övä park | övä päle

Thróugh flōod | thróugh firē

i dö wändër | ëv'ry whère.

Midsummer's Night's Dream Act III.

ön thë gróund | flēep söund.

ï'll äpply | tö yöur eyē

Gëntlē lövër | rëmëdý

Whën thöu wākst | thöu tākst

Trüe dëlight | in thë sīght

öf thý förmër | lädý's eyē.

These verses are in the Midsummer Night's dream Act III. and ought to have been printed according to this measure.

These measures are all so agreeable to the genius of our language, that Shakespeare's fine ear and skill are seen in what he gives us, as well as in what he omits. Sir Philip Sydney, who was a scholar (as nobleman were in queen Elizabeth's reign) but wanted Shakespeare's ear, has dragged into our language verses, that are enough to fet one's ear an edge: thus for instance the elegiac verses,

Förtüne|nätüre|löve löng|häve cōn|tēndēd ä|boüt mē
 Which shoüld|mōst misē|riēs|cāst ön ä|wörme thät i|ām.

Sir Philip Sydney thought, like Vossius, that such a number of syllables was the only thing wanting, and that we had no long or short words in our language; but he was much mistaken. His saphics are worse, if possible, than his elegiacs:

if mīne eys cān spēak tō dö heārtý ērrānd.

So much mistaken oftentimes are learned men, when they don't sufficiently consider the peculiar genius, and distinguishing features, as it were, of one language from another.

THE reader has now a plan exhibited before him, partly intended to fix, if possible, the volatil spirit of criticism; and partly to do justice to Shakespeare, as an artist in dramatic poetry. How far I have succeeded in this attempt must be left to his judgment. But it is to be remember'd, that things are not as we judge of them, but as they exist in their own natures, independent of whim and caprice. So that I except against all such judges, as talk only from common vogue and fashion; "why, really 'tis just
 "as people like—we have different tastes now,
 "and things must be accommodated to them."
 They who are advanced to this pitch of barbarism,

rism, have much to unlearn, before they can have ears to hear. Again, I can hardly allow those for judges, who ridicule all rules in poetry; for whatever is beautiful and proper is agreeable to rule: nor those, who are for setting at variance art and nature. And here I have Shakespeare's authority, who, in the Winter's Tale, says very finely, *The art itself is nature*: for what is the office of art, but to shew nature in its perfection? Those only therefore seem to me to be judges, who knowing what is truly beautiful in general, have science and art sufficient to apply this knowledge to particulars.

If the plan likewise here proposed were followed, the world might expect a much better, at least a less altered edition from Shakespeare's own words, than has yet been published. In order for this, all the various readings of *authority* should faithfully and fairly be collated, and exhibited before the reader's eyes; and, with some little ingenuity, the best of these should be chosen, and placed in the text. As to conjectural emendations, I have said enough of these already. Nor can I but think, that a short interpretation would be not amiss, when the construction is a little embarrassed, or where words are used not strictly according to the common acceptation, or fetched from other languages:

guages: and some remarks could not but appear requisite, to explain the poet's allusions to the various customs and manners, either of our own, or foreign countries; or to point out, now and then, a hidden beauty: but this should be done sparingly; for some compliment is to be paid to the reader's judgment: and surely, if any critics are contemptible, 'tis such as, with a foolish admiration, ever and anon are crying out; "How fine! what a beautiful sentiment! what "ordonnance of figures, &c!" For to admire, without a reason for admiration, tho' in a subject truly admirable, is a kind of madness; and not to admire at all, downright stupidity.

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[N. B. The figures shew the page : the letter n, the note.]

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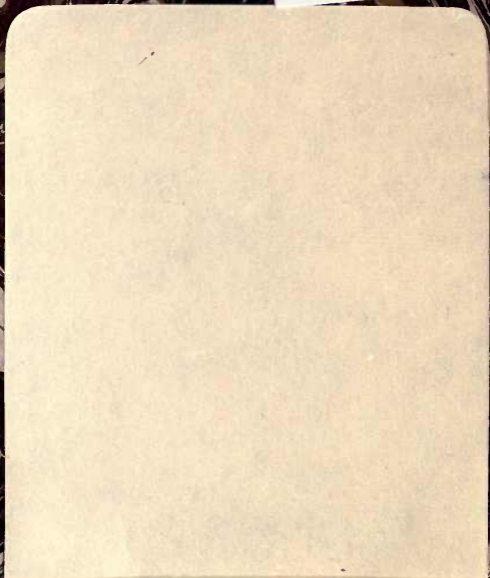
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