

# MILTON'S HELLENISM

by

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TO MY PARENTS,  
SUE AND PETER

*æqua merentibus ut non  
posse referre datur, nec dona rependere factis,  
sit memorâsse satis, repetitaque munera grato  
percensere animo, fidæque reponere menti.*

*Since I cannot repay what you both deserve,  
Nor do anything that could ever equal your gifts to me,  
Let it suffice that I remember and recall your countless gifts  
With gratitude, and store them in a devoted heart.*

## Abstract

This thesis investigates the Hellenism of the English poet John Milton from his student writings at Cambridge through to *Paradise Lost*. It explores Milton's engagement with classical, Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Early Modern Greek texts and it considers Milton's reading of Greek scholarship and interactions with Greek scholars and Hellenic scholarship. Chapter 1, 'Milton's Cambridge Greek', consists of two sections: 'Protestant Hellenism at Milton's Cambridge: A Case Study of James Duport's Greek Paraphrase of the Book of Job, *Threnothriambos* (1637)' and 'Greek and the "Lady of Christ's College": Latin-Greek Code-Switching in Milton 'Prolusion VI''. Chapter 2, 'Milton Among the Hellenists in England and Italy' considers the role that Greek played in Milton's correspondence and poetic exchanges with Charles Diodati and Lucas Holstenius; it also considers the nature of Milton's own Hellenic research at libraries in Rome and Florence during his travels in Italy from 1638–39. Chapter 3 considers the political and polemical roles that Greek texts played for Milton from the mid-1640s to 1660 and consists of three sections: 'Marshall's Ignorant Hand: Milton's Greek Epigram and the 1645 *Poems* Frontispiece and the First Edition of Langbaine's *Longinus* (1636)'; 'O Soul of Sir *John Cheek*: Milton and the Legacy of Sixteenth-Century Greek Humanism'; and 'John Milton, Leonard Philaras, and Early Modern Advocacy for Greece's Liberation from the Ottoman Empire'. The final, fourth chapter explores the influence of Greek texts—ranging from the Homeric epics and the fragmentary Epic Cycle through to Byzantine and Early Modern Greek texts—upon Milton's design of Books 1 and 2 of *Paradise Lost*.

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One of the greatest pleasures of the PhD has been becoming a member of the international community of Milton scholars, and I greatly look forward to the 13<sup>th</sup> International Milton Symposium in Toronto in July 2023. I have relished keeping company with other people who are just as passionate about the life and writings of Milton as I am. The 2022 Conference on John Milton at Saint Louis University in June 2022 was one of the highlights of my experiences as a PhD student and I was honoured to have won the Kevin Donovan Award for the Best Paper by a Graduate Student at this conference. It was at this conference that one *felix culpa* occurred. After accidentally missing the last train back to Chicago, Jeffrey Gore and I then spent the rest of the evening in riveting conversation about the peculiar

circumstances of Milton's being sent down from Cambridge while enjoying St Louis BBQ. The fruit of this happy accident is a roundtable titled 'John Milton and William Chappell: Education, Homosociality, and Violence' which Jeffrey and I have organised for the upcoming Toronto IMS. Among this global group of Milton scholars, I would like to pay particular thanks to: Alison Chapman; Hannah Crawforth; Tania Demetriou; Stephen Dobranski; Phillip Donnelly; Karen Edwards; JD Eynard; Moti Feingold; James Grantham Turner; Stephen Guy-Bray; Jeffrey Alan Miller; Ryan Netzley; Miklós Péti; Namratha Rao; Eric Song; Andrea Walkden; Anthony Welch; and Thomas Vozar. In 2014, during the second year of my undergraduate studies, Christopher Ricks gave me some very generous encouragement for my work on Milton which played a significant role in making me feel that I was on the right track pursuing Miltonic research.

Like Milton (and at approximately the same age) I too spent a joyous period of time in Rome, as well as in Florence and Parma, from January to March 2023. I am deeply grateful to the staff and fellows at the British School at Rome for making me feel so welcome. Two highlights of my time in Rome was the Burns Night Dinner at the British Embassy and celebrating my 29<sup>th</sup> birthday with friends and family in Rome. I am grateful to the staff at the Parma State Archives who were incredibly helpful in helping me locate separate archives across different sites.

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My experiences with Milton began at the University of Bristol when I took the course on *Paradise Lost* by Tom Mason and Ian Calvert. I am grateful to the English Department for allowing me to spend 2013–14 as an Erasmus Student at the Université Paris-Sorbonne (IV) when I first really began to sink my teeth into all things Early Modern. I was also fortunate to have made some of my closest friendships during my time at Bristol, and I would like to

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At Birkbeck, I would like to thank Catherine Edwards who supervised a MA dissertation on Apollonius's *Argonautica* and to the family of Eric Hobsbawm for having supported my postgraduate studies at Birkbeck through the Eric Hobsbawm Postgraduate Scholarship. Without this full-fee waiver, I could not have undertaken the MA in Classics. I am thankful to Birkbeck's Department of History, Classics, and Archaeology for having given me the game-changing opportunity to pursue a second Master's degree while working full-time.

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Finally, it is an honour to dedicate this thesis to my parents, Sue and Peter, and I want to thank my sisters Rosie and Amy, my brother-in-law Dorian, and my nephew Milo, for all of their love.

## Conventions

### *Latin and Greek Orthography*

Since this thesis deals substantially with Latin and Greek texts from the Early Modern period, the following conventions are followed in transcribing Latin and Greek for the sake of clarity and consistency.

Abbreviations and brevirgraphs (including tildes for n/m) are silently expanded. I retain superscript characters. The enclitic ‘q;’ (and ‘q’ + cedilla) is given as ‘q[ue]’, such as in my transcription from Barb.Lat.2181. I replace ‘j’ with ‘i’ and regularize u/v where the consonantal ‘u’ is changed to ‘v’. The medial ‘s’ is restored and the ligature ‘æ’ is regularized to ‘ae’. The ligature ‘œ’ is expanded to ‘oe’. Ampersands are replaced with *et*. I have retained accents which denote the ablative case (â) and adverb (è) in Early Modern Latin texts.

However, since Haan and Lewalski retain the ligatures ‘œ’ and ‘æ’ in their transcriptions of Milton’s Latin poetry—as do the Columbia editors of Milton’s Latin prose—I have retained these ligatures when they appear in quotations from Milton’s Latin texts.

All Greek ligatures are expanded. Transcriptions of Greek manuscripts and printed texts from the late-Medieval and Early Modern periods follow the conventions presented in Gordon Campbell, ‘Appendix 4: Ligatures and Contractions in Renaissance Greek’, in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 857–862.

However, when necessary, I have also consulted the following guides: Nicolas Clenard, *Graecae Linguae Institutiones* (London: 1612), 29–31; William Wallace, ‘An Index of Greek Ligatures and Contractions’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 43 (1923), 183–93; and William H.



Ingram, 'The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 7 (1966), 371–89.

### *Texts*

All references to Milton's shorter poems, and to their translations, are to the *Oxford Complete Works of John Milton. Volume III: The Shorter Poems*, ed. by Barbara Kiefer Lewalski and Estelle Haan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; corrected impression, 2014), unless otherwise stated, and are incorporated into the text by line numbers. All quotations from *Paradise Lost* are taken from Alastair Fowler's second, revised edition (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007) and all quotations from *1671 Poems* are from Laura Knoppers's edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). I give the English titles to each of Milton's poems in the *Elegiarum liber*, such as 'Elegy 6' for 'Elegia Sexta' and 'Elegy 3' for 'Elegia Tertia'. Unless otherwise stated, all quotations and translations from classical Latin and Greek texts are from the editions of the Loeb Classical Library. I specify in the footnotes when I have quoted from another edition and/or translation of a classical Latin or Greek text. When it is necessary to quote a classical Latin or Greek author from a specific Early Modern edition or commentary, I state when this is the case in the footnotes.

### *Translation Methodology*

This thesis engages frequently with primary and secondary sources in Latin, Greek (ranging from Homeric Greek to Modern Greek), Italian, French, and German. All of my own translations aim to be accurate, accessible, and historically informed. Transcriptions from languages other than Early Modern English are preceded by translations into modern

English. Individual words or short passages in Latin and Greek quotations are enclosed by () brackets and provided in italics. This is not the case for other, modern languages which are quoted in regular script. Latin spelling has been normalized in accordance with the forms recommended in Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*.

In translating Latin and Greek texts from the Early Modern period, my translations have been informed by using Early Modern dictionaries and lexicons including Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne) and his *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Paris, 1580) and the *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon, 1688) of Charles Du Cange (1610–1688). When required, I include the reference to which specific dictionary I am consulting. For example, in Chapter 2.2., I specify that I am referencing Stephanus’s definition of the verb *ζητεῖν* and, elsewhere, I specify that I am consulting a definition provided specifically in the Liddell, Scott, Jones (*LSJ*) Ancient Greek Lexicon. However, my translations are, of course, always informed by my use of modern dictionaries, including the new *Cambridge Greek Lexicon* (2021). I have also consulted the online databases of Latin and Greek dictionaries, specifically Logeion, Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (TLL) Online and Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) Online. Whenever I have modified a translation, I specify in the footnotes exactly which words from the translation I have changed.

### *Editorial Rationale*

In my transcription of manuscript and archival resources, the following signs are used in the text:

[letters]       inferred text

[...]           illegible text

~~word~~ deletion

### *Referencing*

This thesis follows the MHRA referencing style based on the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the MHRA guide and uses the short-title system for referencing throughout. All of my own emphases to quotations are in bold and underlined.

### *Biblical References*

All biblical references are to the King James Version (KJV) (London: Penguin, 2006).

### **Abbreviations**

Allen	<i>Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami</i> , ed. P. S. Allen et al., 12 vols (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1906–58)
ASD	<i>Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami</i> (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1960–)
Campbell and Corns	Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, <i>John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)
CPW	<i>Complete Prose Works of John Milton</i> , gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953–82)
CR	Philip Melanchthon, <i>Corpus Reformatorum. Philippi Melanthonis Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia</i> , ed. by C. G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindseil, 28 vols, vol 11 (Halle: Schwetschke, 1843)
CW	<i>The Works of John Milton</i> , ed. by Frank Allen Patterson, 18 vols with two index vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931–8)
CWE	<i>Collected Works of Erasmus</i> (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1974– )
EF	<i>John Milton: Epistolarum Familiarum Liber Unus and Uncollected Letters</i> , ed. by Estelle Haan, Supplementa

	Humanistica Lovaniensia, 44 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019)
<i>Cambridge Latin</i>	John K. Hale, <i>Milton's Cambridge Latin: Performing in the Genres, 1625–1632</i> (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005)
KJV	King James Version (London: Penguin, 2006)
LSJ	The Online Liddell–Scott–Jones Greek-English Lexicon, < <a href="https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/">https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/</a> >
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , 60 vols (Oxford, 2004)
<i>OW</i>	<i>Complete Works of John Milton</i> , gen. eds. Thomas N Corns and Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008– )
<i>PL</i>	John Milton, <i>Paradise Lost</i> , ed. by Alastair Fowler, 2 <sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007)
<i>TLG</i>	Henricus Stephanus, <i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> , 5 vols (Geneva, 1572)

### List of Figures

1. An example of Robert Creighton's extensive use of Eustathius in his annotations to Homer (Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk, NT 3000890.1). Creighton was the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1625–1639). Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.
2. An example of Creighton's use of Stephanus's Lycophron in his annotations to Homer (Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk, NT 3000890.1). Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.
3. Commonplace Book (c.1648) of Isaac Barrow (1630–77) containing 'Dr Barrows Sentences Collected out of the Old Greek Tragedians and Comedians' (Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 9. 40, fol.25<sup>v</sup>). Barrow was the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1660–1663). By permission from the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.
4. Engraving with the caption 'Pluto rapit Proserpinam' by Virgil Solis (1514–1562) in Johannes Sprengius, *Metamorphoses Ovidii* (Frankfurt, 1563), p. 64 (Cambridge, Trinity College, Z.8.168). By permission from the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

5. Engraving with the caption 'PLVTO RAPIT PROSERPINAM' by Pierre van der Brocht (1545–1608) in Jan Moretus and Jeanne Rivière, *Metamorphoses: Argumentis brevioribus ex Luctatio Grammatico collectis expositae: una cum cuius singularum Transformationum iconibus* (Antwerp: 1591), p. 133 (Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois Library, MINI01042). By permission of the University of Illinois.
6. BL Add MS 5016\* fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Second undated letter from Charles Diodati to John Milton in Greek. By permission of the British Library Board.
7. Detail of Fig. 6.
8. Detail of Infrared Reflected (IR) image of BL Add MS 5016\* fol.5<sup>v</sup>. By permission of the British Library Board.
9. Comparison of Diodati's deleted -εῖ ligature with other examples of the ligature in the same manuscript.
10. Comparison of Diodati's deleted ζ with other examples in the same manuscript.
11. Comparison of the discernible upstroke beneath Diodati's deletion with examples of the long upstroke of Diodati's τ in the same manuscript.
12. Comparison of the deleted vowel following ζ with examples of Diodati's η in the same manuscript.
13. The title '*Longini de sublimi genere dicendi*' written in red ink in Holstenius's hand in a Longinian manuscript (BML, Plut.28.30, fol.2<sup>v</sup>). With permission of the Laurentian Library, Florence.
14. Portrait Frontispiece of *Poems* (1645) (Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, M2160 Copy 1). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
15. William Marshall's engraved title page for the first edition (1636) of Gerard Langbaine's edition of *On the Sublime* (Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 16788). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
16. Detail of Fig.16 showing Marshall's error.
17. Lower half of the second edition (1638) of Langbaine's *Longinus* (Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 16789). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
18. Detail of Fig.17.
19. Marshall's title page in a first edition of Langbaine's *Longinus* (Urbana-Champaign, The Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Illinois, 881 L5s.1a). By permission of the University of Illinois.

20. Detail of Fig.19 showing a reader's correction in ink of Marshall's error.
21. Trinity Manuscript (Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.4. fol.43v). By permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.
22. An annotation by Henry Howard, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Northampton, to Bishop Stephen Gardiner's letter to Sir John Cheke in Cheke's *De pronuntiatione graecae* (Basel, 1555), p. 12 (Chicago, Newberry Library, X 6435 . 16). With permission of the Newberry Library.
23. An annotation by Henry Howard, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Northampton, to Sir John Cheke's response to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in Cheke's *De pronuntiatione graecae* (Basel, 1555), p. 29 (Chicago, Newberry Library, X 6435 . 16). With permission of the Newberry Library.
24. A letter showing Philaras's efforts to galvanise an uprising in Greece. Parma State Archives, *Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia*, 618.28/2–3. By permission of Parma State Archives.
25. A letter detailing Philaras's reading of the Edward Sexby's tyrannicide treatise, *Killing No Murder* (1657). Parma State Archives, *Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia*, 618.166/2–3. With permission of the Parma State Archives.
26. Philaras's signature in Greek beneath the first of five poems enclosed in a (lost) letter from Philaras to Huygens (The Hague, KB National Library of the Hague, 1900 A 235.01 fol.1<sup>v</sup>). By permission of the KB National Library of the Hague.
27. 'Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum' (The Hague, KB National Library of the Hague, 1900 A 235.01 fol.4<sup>v</sup>). By permission of the KB National Library of the Hague.
28. John Selden's annotations of *Arg.*4.552–6 and its corresponding scholia concerning Ausonia in his heavily annotated copy of Stephanus' edition (Geneva, 1574) of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 4<sup>o</sup> A 54 Art. Seld.), p. 196. By permission of the Bodleian Libraries.
29. Annotations of the same passage referencing the same point made in the scholia by an unknown, mid-seventeenth-century annotator of Jacobus Lectius' *Poetæ Græci veteres carminis heroici scriptores* (Geneva, 1606), in which Apollonius' epic is heavily annotated (London, British Library, 653.g.1), p. 69. By permission of the British Library Board.

# Contents

*Dedication*

*Acknowledgements*

*Conventions*

*Abbreviations*

*List of Figures*

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Milton's Cambridge Greek</b>	<b>15</b>
1.1: Protestant Hellenism at Milton's Cambridge: A Case Study of James Duport's Greek Paraphrase of the Book of Job, <i>Threnothriambos</i> (1637).	
1.2: Greek and "The Lady of Christ's College": Latin–Greek Code-Switching in 'Prolusion VI' (c.1631).	
<b>Chapter 2: Milton Among the Hellenists in England and Italy: Charles Diodati and Lucas Holstenius</b>	<b>88</b>
2.1: Milton's Diodatian Poetics: Hellenism, Platonism, and Imitation.	
2.2: Milton and Holstenius: <i>EF 9</i> , Hellenic Scholarship, and Greek Scholars in Italy.	
<b>Chapter 3: Polemic, Politics, and Greek Texts (1645–1660)</b>	<b>180</b>
3.1: Marshall's Ignorant Hand: Milton's Greek Epigram in the <i>1645 Poems</i> Frontispiece and the First Edition of Langbaine's Longinus (1636).	
3.2: 'O Soul of Sir <i>John Cheek</i> ': Milton and the Legacy of Sixteenth-Century Greek Humanism.	
3.3: John Milton, Leonard Philaras, and Early Modern Advocacy for Greece's Liberation from the Ottoman Empire.	
<b>Chapter 4: Milton as Scholar-Poet: Imitation, Origination, and Homeric Problems in Books 1 and 2 of <i>Paradise Lost</i></b>	<b>244</b>
4.1 The Fall of Mulciber and Anachronism in <i>Paradise Lost</i> Book 1.	
4.2 Origination and Satanic Imitation in <i>Paradise Lost</i> Book 2.	
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>301</b>
<b>Appendix A:</b> Text and Translation of Diodati's 'Second Greek Letter' to Milton (British Library, Add MS 5016*, fol.5 <sup>v</sup> )	<b>304</b>
<b>Appendix B:</b> Text and Translation of ll.35–83 of Leo Allatius's Leonora Poem in <i>Applausi Poetichi alle Glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni</i> , ed. by Francesco Ronconi (Bracciano: Giovanni Battista Cavario, 1639),	<b>305</b>

pp. 197–200.

**Appendix C:** Text and Translation of ‘Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum’ (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, National Library of the Netherlands, 1900 A 235.01 fol.4’) compared with Bibliothèque National de France, MS Baluze 95 fol. 50<sup>v</sup>. **307**

**Works Cited** **308**



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## Introduction

*sim a pueritia totius Graeci nominis tuarumque in primis Athenarum cultor*

Since my boyhood, I have been a worshipper of everything pertaining to the name of Greece, and your Athens above all.

(John Milton to Leonard Philaras, 28 September 1654)<sup>1</sup>

In the beginning of *The Poetry of John Milton* (2015), Gordon Teskey reflects upon the Victorian critic and poet Matthew Arnold's view that reading Milton is the 'closest you can come in English to the experience of reading poetry in Greek', in response to which Teskey asks: 'what does this mean?'<sup>2</sup> *Milton's Hellenism* ultimately seeks to answer this question through exploring John Milton's intensive, creative, and scholarly engagement with Greek from the 1620s as a student at St Paul's School and Cambridge through to the publication of *Paradise Lost* in 1667. In recent years, there have been a number of studies on the Hellenism of specific authors as well as studies on Hellenism in the Early Modern period.<sup>3</sup> This thesis investigates the Hellenism of John Milton by exploring his interactions with Greek scholars and skilled Hellenists; his attitudes to classical, Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Early Modern Greece and Greek literature; the "Greekness" of his own poetry; and the influence of Greek texts—ranging from the Homeric epics and the fragmentary Epic Cycle through to Byzantine and Early Modern Greek texts—upon Milton's writings and ideas.

Like Teskey's *The Poetry of John Milton*, the only monograph-length study which explores Milton and Hellenism—Jeffrey Shoulson's *Milton and the Rabbis: Hebraism, Hellenism, and Christianity* (2001)—also begins with a quotation from Matthew Arnold.

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<sup>1</sup> *EF*, pp. 236–7.

<sup>2</sup> Teskey, *The Poetry of John Milton*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See in particular Koulouris, *Hellenism and Loss in the Work of Virginia Woolf; H.D. and Hellenism*.

Arnold's essay 'Hellenism and Hebraism' leads Shoulson to reflect upon 'how inextricably intertwined the discourses of Hebraism, Hellenism, and Christianity' eventually became for Milton by the time he came to composing *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*.<sup>4</sup> The scope of this thesis examines each of the stages of the development of Milton's Hellenism up to the *1671 Poems*. Recent scholarship on Milton and Greek texts has greatly enhanced our understanding of Milton's approaches to Greek drama and his study of Greek antiquity, especially Tania Demetriou and Tanya Pollard's edited volume *Milton, Drama, and Greek Texts*, and Hannah Crawford's reassessment of Milton's annotated copy of Euripides reveals Milton's close study of Protestant Greek scholars' commentaries and the number of ways in which they informed the design and politics of *Samson Agonistes*.<sup>5</sup> William Poole has recently underscored the importance of Apollonius of Rhodes' Hellenistic epic, the *Argonautica*, for Milton's poetics, stating that 'Milton as an epic poet is Hellenistic' and that 'Milton's strongly technical interests in literature have a Hellenistic feel to them'.<sup>6</sup> And Hugh Adlington has demonstrated how Milton's early editors and commentators scrutinised the ways that 'Milton's practice imitates or derives from classical models, especially Greek' ones.<sup>7</sup> Thus, *Milton's Hellenism* builds on the recent scholarship on Milton and Greek which reflects the growing appreciation for the centrality of Greek for Milton. This thesis also deals with a number of Greek texts composed in the Early Modern period. The very recent scholarly developments led by scholars such as Raf van Rooy, Lucy Nicholas, Stefan Weise, Fillipomaria Pontani and William Barton on the phenomenon of Early Modern literary

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<sup>4</sup> Shoulson, *Milton and the Rabbis*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Demetriou and Pollard (eds), *Milton, Drama, and Greek Texts*; and Crawford, 'Milton and the Politics of Greek Drama'. See also Crawford, "'Doubtful Feet" and "Healing Words": Greek Tragic Prosody in *Samson Agonistes*'.

<sup>6</sup> Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, pp. 194–5.

<sup>7</sup> Adlington, "Formed on y<sup>e</sup> Gr. Language", p. 225.

composition in Ancient Greek (variously called ‘New Ancient Greek’, ‘Humanist Greek’, or ‘Neo-Greek’) have illuminated the significance of such texts for the study of Early Modern Hellenism.

Throughout Shoulson’s *Milton and the Rabbis*, Hellenism is never discussed in isolation, but always in relation to Hebraism. According to Shoulson, Hellenism can be defined as ‘classical learning within the context of the earliest stages of Christianity’.<sup>8</sup> This thesis examines Hellenism exclusively and the term can be understood beyond the Pauline and Patristic contexts discussed by Shoulson as the engagement with Greek literature, culture, language, and thought. Since the earliest recorded instance of the word *Hellenismus* appears in the 1740s when it is first defined by the Swiss scholar Antoine Birr (1693–1762) solely in terms of Greek learning and erudition, it is unlikely that Milton and his seventeenth-century contemporaries would have described their own engagement with Greek as ‘Hellenism’.<sup>9</sup> However, recent work on Early Modern Hellenism by scholars such as Natasha Constantinidou, Haan Lamers, and Raf van Rooy demonstrates the usefulness and appropriateness of the term ‘Hellenism’ when discussing the ways that Humanists engaged with Greek.<sup>10</sup>

In this thesis, I have established a pleiad of key categories of Milton’s Hellenism. I have formulated the following definitions for each of these categories, highlighting the sections of the thesis in which they are particularly prominent:

### 1) **Philhellenism**

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<sup>8</sup> Shoulson, *Milton Among the Rabbis*, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> Lamers, ‘Constructing Hellenism’, pp. 201–2.

<sup>10</sup> See Lamers and Constantinidou (eds), *Receptions of Hellenism in Early Modern Europe: 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. For an expansive, recent overview of the different meanings of “Hellenism” in the Early Modern period, see Lamers, ‘Constructing Hellenism’. On Hellenism in later eras, see Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*; and Burke and Gauntlett, *Neohellenism*.

- i) **Literary Philhellenism:** the love for the study of Ancient Greek literature as well as a form of literary and scholarly elitism based on Greek erudition (1.2; 2.1; 2.2).
  - ii) **Political Philhellenism:** the advocacy for the liberation of Ottoman-ruled Greece and the sympathy for the plight of contemporary Greeks (3.3).
- 2) **Protestant Hellenism:** the confessional context of the study of Greek texts in the Early Modern period and the Protestant (and especially Calvinist) lens through which Greek texts are read and interpreted (1.1).
- 3) **Alexandrianism:** the style, language, techniques, and scholarly interests typical of Alexandrian (or Hellenistic) authors such as Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes (2.2; 4.1).<sup>11</sup>
- 4) **Greekness**
- i) **Linguistic Greekness:** the strong evocation of aspects of the Greek language within a Latin or vernacular text, including Latin–Greek code-switching (1.2; 2.1; 4.1).
  - ii) **Cultural Greekness:** the extent to which a person or group’s language or identity can be considered Greek (3.2; 3.3).<sup>12</sup>
- 5) **Atticism:** the correctness and integrity of the Greek language textually and orally, especially the Greek of fifth-century Athens; the opposition to all forms of linguistic and stylistic barbarism; and witticisms and *bon mots* in a Greek context (2.1; 3.2).<sup>13</sup>
- 6) **Platonism:** an intense engagement with the ideas of Plato’s writings and thought (2.1).<sup>14</sup>
- 7) **Virtuoso Greek Scholarship:** expertise in and deep knowledge of arcane, rare, and difficult sources of Greek scholarship such as rare Greek manuscripts and Byzantine commentaries (2.2; 3.1; 4.1; 4.2).

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<sup>11</sup> See also the four key qualities shared between Hellenistic (or Alexandrian) poets and John Milton identified by William Poole: ‘first, a penchant for technical matters, particularly lists (geographical, astronomical, zoological); second, an antiquarian interest in etiology and comparative mythology, often displaying virtuosic scholarship; next, a lexicographical and rhetorical passion for etymology and verbal experimentation; and finally, a resultant self-conscious poetic voice’ (Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, p. 195).

<sup>12</sup> On the distinction and tensions between ‘cultural’ and ‘ethnic’ Greekness, see Richter, *Cosmopolis*.

<sup>13</sup> Atticism is close in meaning to the classical understanding of Hellenism (*ἑλληνισμός*) as the use of a pure Greek style and idiom. See LSJ, s.v. ‘ἑλληνισμός’, II.

<sup>14</sup> On the distinction between Neoplatonism as a philosophical school from Platonism, see Wildbert, ‘Neoplatonism’ in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

Although I have established two categories based on the writings of Plato and the poetry of the Alexandrian poets, I have not included a similar term for Homer's epics like 'Homericism'. Milton's earliest commentator, Peter Hume, frequently identifies what he labelled 'Homericisms' in his *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1695), and monographs on the Greek aspect of Milton's writings have predominantly tended to explore echoes to or stylistic imitations of the language and syntax of Homer's epics or Greek tragedies.<sup>15</sup>

Although Chapter 4 is focused on *Paradise Lost* and Homer's epics, Milton's engagement with Homer is discussed in the light of Milton's extraordinary and pervasive knowledge of Homeric scholarship and the lessons he learnt about imitating Homer from the Hellenistic poets, namely from Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*. The Greek texts discussed in *Milton's Hellenism* span from Homer and the fragmentary Epic Cycle through to Byzantine (or Medieval) Greek and Early Modern Greek texts. A key argument of this thesis is that Milton's Hellenism is not only indebted to his reading of classical Greek authors like Homer and Sophocles, but also to much later—even contemporary—Greek texts including the Greek writings of Charles Diodati and those of the Greek scholar and diplomat, Leonard Philaras.

In Chapter 1, 'Milton's Cambridge Greek', I explore two markedly different sides to Milton's Hellenism as an undergraduate and postgraduate student at Cambridge. On the one hand, we can identify the key traits of Milton's Protestant Hellenism through the confessional lenses which Milton would have read Homer and other Greek authors at Cambridge and, on the other hand, the transgressive role that the Greek language plays rhetorically in Milton's 'Prolusion VI' where Milton's linguistic Latin-Greek code-switching in the section which publicly addresses his college nickname as the "Lady of Christ's College"

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<sup>15</sup> See, for example, Machacek, *Milton and Homer*; and Parker, *Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in Samson Agonistes*.

demonstrates how Greek (especially in an explicitly Latinate and oral context) is linked to issues surrounding gender, masculinity, and sexuality for Milton. In Section 1.1, 'Protestant Hellenism at Milton's Cambridge: A Case Study of James Duport's Greek Paraphrase of the Book of Job, *Threnothriambos* (1637)', I explore both the unions and tensions between Hellenism and Christianity in contextualising Milton's immersion in Greek scholarship and texts as an undergraduate and postgraduate student at Christ's College, Cambridge, by investigating the hallmarks of Greek teaching and learning at early-seventeenth-century Cambridge. I demonstrate that Milton's experiences at Cambridge left an indelible influence upon his attitudes towards Greek texts as a result of the pervasive confessional readings and the rigorously Christianizing frameworks established by Protestant Hellenists both within and beyond the University of Cambridge in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My methodology for this section is largely comparative and builds on the scholarship of Jessica Wolfe who identifies many interpretational sympathies between Milton and his exact contemporary at the University of Cambridge, James Duport. This is, of course, not to read Duport as though he were Milton, but rather to gain a greater sense of what learning and studying Greek in 1620s and 1630s Cambridge might have been like for the young Milton.

This section offers the first study of James Duport's cento-paraphrase into Homeric Greek hexameters of the Book of Job. Far from being an isolated, academic exercise, Duport's *Threnothriambos* is closely connected with Protestant Biblical and Hellenic scholarship. It engages directly with questions about biblical translation and Reformation debates concerning how to reconcile Christian teaching with classical learning which Milton too would continue to grapple with throughout his lifetime in reading and responding to Greek texts. In my study of the reception of *Threnothriambos* at the University of Cambridge in the 1630s, I explore what the appeal and popularity of Duport's attempt to unify the

Homeric epics with biblical scripture could suggest about Milton's own early experience of the teaching and study of Greek authors—and especially Homer. This section also explores the pervasive influence of John Calvin and Calvinist commentators upon Duport, Milton, and their contemporaries' ways of reading the Homeric poems and, by examining Duport's use of cento and paraphrase as instruments for biblical exegesis, this section show how Protestant Hellenism at Milton's Cambridge was deeply invested in the key theological problems raised by Reformation thinkers in their reading of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the Book of Job. I mark out the denominational differences within different phases of the development of Milton's Protestant Hellenism. The denominational and confessional contexts for Milton's Hellenism become especially important in Chapter 3.3 in which the religious background to Milton's advocacy for and efforts to support the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire are demonstrated.

Although the momentousness of *what* Milton says in 'Prolusion VI' is widely acknowledged by Miltonists, Milton's peculiar use of Greek within his expression of perhaps one of the most significant autobiographical revelations that he makes in all of his writings has not been an object of study before. In Section 1.2, 'Greek and the "Lady of Christ's College": Latin–Greek Code-Switching in 'Prolusion VI'', Milton's virtuoso use of Greek in the college oration is examined in detail. This comparative methodology employed in Section 1.1 is also employed in this section in order to identify shared stylistic and thematic uses of Greek in in other examples of Cambridge orations from the 1620s and 1630s.

Lively accounts of the great enthusiasm both for the study of Greek and its orality during the period that Milton was a student at Cambridge are found in the letters from February 1629 of Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), who arrived at Cambridge in November 1628, in which he claims that students and fellows often 'used more Greek than



Latin in their conversation’ and that Greek lectures of the Regius Professor of Greek ‘always had audiences of more than a hundred’.<sup>16</sup> At Milton’s Cambridge, immersion in Greek was of central importance for training students for careers in the clergy (eight out of the fifteen other students admitted to Christ’s at the same time Milton matriculated all entered the clergy), yet Greek could, conversely, also serve its own ludic and even subversive role.<sup>17</sup> I will demonstrate in my comparison of Milton’s Latin–Greek code-switching with samples of college orations both in print and in manuscript by Milton’s contemporaries at Cambridge, Section 1.2 shows that, in contrast to the study of Greek at Cambridge, the spoken use of Greek in a highly Latinate context could serve comical and even transgressive purposes.

In Chapter 2, ‘Milton Among the Hellenists in England and Italy: Charles Diodati and Lucas Holstenius’, the ‘Greekness’ of Milton poetry and the growth of Milton’s Hellenism in terms of his Greek erudition is examined through comprehensive reassessments of two of Milton’s friendships. With respect to Diodati, we find the two friends develop their interests in Platonism and the myth of Pluto’s rape of Proserpina in tandem and the potential influence that Diodati potentially had as a Greek author in his own right is examined in detail. In Section 2.1, ‘Milton’s Diodatian Poetics: Hellenism, Platonism, and Imitation’, I provide new readings of the Greek of the Milton–Diodati correspondence—Diodati’s two surviving Greek letters to Milton from the 1620s and, in turn, the highly Hellenic letters from September 1637 Milton sent to Diodati—and my linguistic and textual reassessment of Diodati’s ‘Second Greek Letter’ reveals its skilful interweaving of Platonic language and

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<sup>16</sup> Wickenden, ‘A Dutchman at Cambridge’, p. 97. Creighton’s predecessor, Andrew Downes (c.1549–1628), was described by Simonds D’Ewes in a diary entry from 1620 after attending his lectures on Demosthenes’ *De Corona* as being ‘at this time accounted the ablest Grecian of Christendom, being no native of Greece’ (D’Ewes, qt. by Sandys, vol. 2, p. 336).

<sup>17</sup> McDowell, *Poet of Revolution*, p. 97. On the role of Greek as both the source of theological scholarship and the source for Lucianic satire in the sixteenth century, see Rhodes, *Common*.

allusions to Hellenistic poetry and, through the use of Multispectral Imaging, recovers erased words from the manuscript of Diodati's Greek manuscripts. In his lament for the tragic loss of Diodati, *Epitaphium Damonis*, Milton praises his deceased friend's 'Attic wit' (*cecropiosque sales. ED 56*) and my study of *Epitaphium Damonis* and 'Elegy 6' explore the role that Milton's philhellenic friend, Diodati, played in these poems. As shown in Section 3.2, Diodati plays an important role in understanding other aspects of Milton's Hellenism, especially Milton's attitude towards Early Modern Greece.

In Section 2.2, 'Milton and Holstenius: *EF 9*, Hellenic Scholarship, and Greek Scholars in Italy', I show that Milton's Hellenism in Italy was particularly centred around innovative Greek scholarship and this section examines the Greek scholarship of Milton's network during his time in Italy from 1638 to 1639. In *EF 9*, Milton expresses his gratitude to Lucas Holstenius for having shown him several Greek manuscripts at the Vatican Library and, later in the letter, Milton reports to Holstenius that he has been unable to transcribe a Greek manuscript from the Laurentian Library in Florence due to its strict rules. But what Greek manuscripts might Holstenius have shown Milton at the Vatican, and what text did Holstenius request Milton to transcribe for him?

The experience of beholding unedited, hidden away Greek manuscripts filled the young Milton with awe, especially manuscripts which 'had not yet been seen in our times' (*partim nostro saeculo nondum visi*).<sup>18</sup> Although the thousands of Greek manuscripts and codices held at the Vatican Library make the task of identifying which texts specifically Milton could have been shown by Holstenius necessarily speculative, through reviewing Holstenius's especial interests in specific areas of Hellenic scholarship and considering the

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<sup>18</sup> *EF*, pp. 146–7.

unpublished, unedited Greek manuscripts he makes particular mention of in his editorial works and in his correspondence, this section narrows down the possible Greek manuscripts Milton could have been exposed to in Italy.

In his letter to Holstenius, Milton is deeply moved by his encounters with such Greek manuscripts. The reason for investigating Milton's own Greek research in Italy is in order to assess the valuable sources of ancient Homeric scholarship that he could have accessed; even though some of the texts were published as late as the nineteenth century, they were nevertheless accessible and being read by close associates of Milton's such as Holstenius and Carlo Dati. It is also postulated that Milton could have potentially been familiar with another eminent Hellenic scholar in Rome, the *scriptor graecus* of the Vatican Library, Leo Allatius. Allatius was an innovative scholar on Longinus and at the end of Section 2.2 I discuss Allatius's Longinian scholarship, his Greek poem in the collection *Applausi* (Rome, 1639) for the Roman singer Leonora Barnoi for whom Milton also penned three Latin poems in praise of her singing. I speculate whether Milton may have been aware of such avant-garde scholarship on the Longinian sublime during his time in Rome through his participation in the academies of Rome.

Throughout Chapter 3, the version of Milton's Hellenism which emerges is one which is more rooted in the ancient and linguistic sense of 'Hellenism' (*Ἑλληνισμός*) and 'Atticism' (*Ἀττικισμός*) as referring to the correct use of Greek and the aversion against any forms of linguistic 'Barbarism' (*βαρβαρισμός*) rather than the understanding of Hellenism in terms of a general, humanistic appreciation for Greek culture and literature.<sup>19</sup> In Section 3.1 and Section 3.2, we see Milton's surprisingly charged—if not unsparing—reactions towards

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<sup>19</sup> Lamers, 'Contesting Hellenism', p. 203.

linguistic faults or deviations. In Section 3.1, ‘Marshall’s Ignorant Hand: the *1645 Poems* Frontispiece and the Title Page of Gerard Langbaine’s First Edition of Longinus (1636)’, I explore Milton’s Greek epigram about Marshall who does not only produce an unflattering engraved portrait of the poet, but who also incorrectly spells the Greek title of Gerard Langbaine’s first edition of Longinus’s *On the Sublime*. This section provides a new reading of Milton’s Greek epigram which is engraved beneath his portrait in William Marshall’s frontispiece to Milton’s *1645 Poems*. The Greek epigram mocks the ‘ignorant hand’ of the engraver and criticises the unflattering engraved portrait of Milton. In his engraved title page to the first edition of Gerard Langbaine’s Longinus, Marshall has mistakenly misspelled the Greek title of Longinus’ treatise, and this (hitherto unnoticed) blunder plays a crucial role in Milton’s choice to denigrate the ‘ignorant’ engraver in an overtly Greek context. Linked to Marshall’s error in Langbaine’s Longinus, Milton’s criticism of Marshall in the Greek epigram appears to follow a Longinian rationale concerning specifically poor sculpture and imperfect engraving. Lastly, it is argued that Milton’s weaponised philology in the Greek epigram pre-empted rhetorical strategies that Milton employs in his *Defences* in the 1650s.

In Section 3.2, ‘“O Soul of Sir *John Cheek*”: Milton and the Legacy of Sixteenth-Century Greek Humanism’, begins with an exploration of the soundscape of Milton’s ‘Sonnet 11’ in which barbaric mispronunciation of the Greek title of his divorce tract, *Tetrachordon*, spills over into multiple other areas of political and moral debasement. The legacy of Milton’s Greek studies at both St Paul’s School in London and at Cambridge can be felt particularly in ‘Sonnet 11’ which valorizes Cambridge’s first Regius Professor of Greek, Sir John Cheke, for his efforts to restore what he considers to be the original pronunciation of Greek in Ancient Athens. I argue that more of the original meaning and significance of ‘Sonnet 11’ (c.1647) can be recovered by reading the sonnet in the context of linguistic

controversies (as well as political and confessional debates) of the 1640s. In my reading of ‘Sonnet 11’, which ends with Milton’s invocation of Cambridge’s first Regius Professor of Greek, I link Milton’s sonnet to the controversy between the first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, Sir John Cheke, and the University’s Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, surrounding the reformation of Greek pronunciation from a Byzantine to an Erasmian, classicising pronunciation of Greek. In this section, there is a particularly strong continuity between Milton’s Hellenism at Cambridge and his attitudes towards Early Modern Greece since the wider ramifications of the Greek Pronunciation Dispute appear to influence Milton’s attitudes regarding who he considered to be *real* Greeks and where he considered the boundaries of ‘Greekness’ lies.

In third section of Chapter 3, ‘Milton, Philaras, and Early Modern Advocacy for Greece’s Liberation from the Ottoman Empire’, I explore one of the most puzzling dimensions of Milton’s Hellenism: his political Philhellenism. Milton held the historically unusual position of advocating for the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire: an attitude which did not become more prevalent until the Greek Enlightenment and the Romantic period. By examining unpublished, unedited letters and poems by Leonard Philaras from the 1650s–60s which are held at the Parma State Archives and the KB National Library of the Netherlands, Section 3.3 provides new contexts surrounding the Milton–Philaras correspondence—*EF* 12 (June 1652) and *EF* 15 (28 September 1654)—as well as Philaras’s enigmatically prominent position within Milton’s *Defensio Secunda* (1654). Why *did* Milton take the historically peculiar position of advocating for the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire in the mid-seventeenth century, and what does this view tell us about Milton’s Hellenism? By learning more about Philaras himself, one can gain a greater understanding of Milton’s political Philhellenism—in contrast to passionately literary,

humanistic Philhellenism—and of his correspondence with the Athenian scholar and diplomat. As Philaras’s nineteenth-century biographer Simon Chardon de La Rochette observed in 1812, ‘we only have scant details regarding Philaras, but this is all the more reason to carefully gather all the information we have about him’ (*'nous n'avons donc que de foibles renseignements sur sa personne; mais c'est un motif de plus pour les recueillir avec soin'*).<sup>20</sup> Over two centuries on, the corpus of Philaras’s published writings has scarcely grown. Yet, by studying the unedited letters of Philaras from 1656–9 held at the Parma State Archives when he was the Duke of Parma’s ambassador in Venice and analysing a poem on the Fall of Constantinople which Philaras enclosed in a letter from 25 October 1662 to the Dutch poet and diplomat, Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), this section sheds new light on Philaras’s radical network across Europe. By contextualising Milton’s correspondence with Philaras within Philaras’s wider network of radical thinkers across Early Modern Europe and by comparing the Milton–Philaras correspondence with Philaras’s interactions with other diplomats, poets, and dignitaries from Venice to Moscow, I argue that Philaras was not peculiarly drawn to Milton out of a shared, genteel, literary philhellenism, but rather that Milton was one of many figures within Philaras’s radical network who advocated Greek liberation from the Ottoman Empire.

Proceeding from the Greek Question to the Homeric Question, ‘Milton as Scholar-Poet: Imitation, Origination, and Homeric Problems in *Paradise Lost* Books 1 and 2’ explores Milton’s Hellenistic poetics in *Paradise Lost* and positions Milton as a scholar-poet (or *doctus poeta*) who interweaves virtuoso Greek, Homeric scholarship within his infernal odyssey in *Paradise Lost* Books 1 and 2. Through an exploration of Milton’s allusions to Apollonius’s

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<sup>20</sup> La Rochette, ‘Notice sur Léonard Philaras’, p. 302.

*Argonautica*, we find in both Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Apollonius's *Argonautica* that 'the world of Homeric scholarship and interpretation is never far away'.<sup>21</sup> This chapter gives a more nuanced study of Milton's engagement with Homer than previous studies like Gregory Machacek's *Milton and Homer*. Although many influential readings of Homeric passages in *Paradise Lost* (such as Mulciber's fall in Book 1) have focused on their agonistic elements, Chapter 4 argues that Milton's emulation of Homer is not undertaken *only* in an agonistic spirit but, as both a poet and scholar, Milton tackles the difficulties and problems surrounding origination and primacy. I borrow the description of Milton as scholar-poet from William Poole's *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost* (2017) in which he persuasively argues that Milton's poetics in *Paradise Lost* resemble those of another scholar-poet: Apollonius of Rhodes. Poole demonstrates the important influence of the *Argonautica* upon *Paradise Lost* and his argument that Apollonius was central to Milton's 'antiquarian interest in etiology' is pivotal to my discussion of the role that allusions to the *Argonautica* play in Milton's design of passages explicating the grain of truth that ancient Greek myths concerning theomachy had in relation to the Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Fall of Man. I also show how these passages are informed by Milton's careful reading of ancient scholiasts of Hellenistic epics as well as of Byzantine Homeric commentators like Eustathius of Thessalonica, drawing upon the wealth of his own virtuoso Greek scholarship that he acquired at Cambridge, in Hammersmith and Horton, and finally during his travels in Italy.

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<sup>21</sup> Hunter, *The Measure of Homer: The Ancient Reception of the Iliad and the Odyssey*, p. 119.

## Chapter 1: Milton's Cambridge Greek

Until—if ever—more of Milton's annotated Greek books resurface, then one of the most constructive methods for determining how Milton may have studied Greek texts such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he undertook his BA and MA degrees from 1625 to 1632, is through examining the Greek scholarship of his university contemporaries and thereby gaining a greater understanding of the teaching and study of Greek in Early Modern Cambridge. None of Milton's Greek surviving books were acquired during his undergraduate studies at Cambridge from 1625–9. With the exception of Aratus, all of Milton's surviving Greek books are from the post-Cambridge years: Aratus (1631); Lycophron (1634); Euripides (1634); Dio of Chrysostom (1636); and Heraclides (1637).<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the remarkably astute and perceptive annotations that Milton makes in these Greek books such as his two-volume Euripides (where several of his textual emendations are still accepted in editions of Euripides' works to this day), reflects the rigorous training in Greek that Milton experienced both at St Paul's School and at Christ's. Poole has remarked on how 'striking' it is that 'most of Milton's surviving books are Greek texts, often rather difficult ones'.<sup>23</sup> Although Poole's careful analysis and extrapolation of the information contained in Milton's surviving Greek books (and of the entries sourced from Greek texts in the *Commonplace Book*) has resulted in a much more expansive understanding of which Greek texts Milton was (likely) reading during the Horton and

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<sup>22</sup> For studies of Milton's annotations in his Greek books, see Kelly and Atkins, 'Milton's Annotations of Aratus'; Kelly and Atkins, 'Milton's Annotations of Euripides'; Kelly and Atkins, 'Milton and the Harvard Pindar'; Fletcher, 'Milton's Copy of Gesner's "Heraclides", 1544'; Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, vol. 2, pp.303–4; Fletcher, 'Milton's Copy of Lycophron's "Alexandra"'; *OW* 3:11–82; and Bourne and Scott-Warren, "'thy unvalued Booke'", 22–31. There are only a handful of non-verbal annotations (chiefly brackets) in Chrysostom's 'Oration 31'.

<sup>23</sup> *OW* 3:24. See ad loc. for details of the specific editions of Milton's Greek texts.



Hammersmith periods (1632–38), it is nevertheless still the case that the picture we have of Milton's Greek studies at Cambridge (1625–32) is very incomplete.

It has been widely proposed by Miltonists that Milton studied Eustathius carefully at Cambridge. For example, Charles Martindale states that 'Milton used the massive Byzantine commentary on Homer of Eustathius'.<sup>24</sup> Yet, Martindale does not provide any evidence to support this claim. Regarding Milton's Greek studies at Cambridge, Harris Fletcher confirms Milton's intensive study of Eustathius:

it was at Cambridge that Milton learned to amend texts, to compare different printed texts of the same author with each other, to use various classical Greek writings as well as the Biblical, to supply commentary and cross reference as he progressed through a text, and to attain a high degree of mastery of the Greek language and literature. When he left Cambridge he could read anything Greek whether classical or Byzantine; **the latter attainment is corroborated by his extended and intensive reading of Eustathius' commentaries on Homer.**<sup>25</sup>

However, the unfortunate issue with Fletcher's remarks about Milton's reading of Eustathius and other Greek authors at Cambridge is that, eight years after the publication of the first volume in 1956 of *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, Maurice Kelley and Samuel Atkins's article, 'Milton and the Pindar Harvard' (1964), would prove that the Harvard Pindar could *not* have been annotated by Milton.<sup>26</sup> It is also on the fallacious basis of the Harvard Pindar that Nathan Dane reconstructs Milton's Greek reading of Hellenistic poets like

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<sup>24</sup> Martindale, *John Milton and the Transformation of Ancient Epic*, p. 55. Martindale ought not to have stated this since Kelley and Atkins's article had already been published two decades prior. Although Boswell includes Eustathius' *In Homeri Iliades et Odysseae*, he labels it as a questionable inclusion and does not speculate on which edition(s) of Eustathius' commentaries Milton might have owned or possessed (Boswell, *Milton's Library*, p. 98). Benjamin Stillingfleet's annotations to *Paradise Lost* indicate that 'he was familiar with the same Greek allegorical exegesis of Homer used by Milton and the Byzantine commentary of Eustathius of Thessalonica' also used by Milton (Adlington, "'Formed on ye Gr. Language"', p. 230). Miklós Peti states that Milton 'certainly knew' Eustathius' commentaries and conjectures whether 'Milton might have possessed one of the Renaissance editions' ('Milton's New Hero', p. 46).

<sup>25</sup> Harris Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, 2 vols (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 286–7.

<sup>26</sup> Kelly and Atkins, 'Milton and the Pindar Harvard'.

Callimachus at Cambridge.<sup>27</sup> However, the ethical and religious readings which saturated editions of Greek poets like Callimachus could not have escaped the student Milton. This is demonstrated by the Callimachean annotations of the Lutheran Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590) throughout the Stephanus edition of Callimachus (Geneva, 1577): the edition of Callimachus which Milton most likely read at Cambridge. In his commentary to the *Hymn to Demeter*, Frischlinus offers highly ethical and didactic readings in which he implores ‘young men’ (*adolescentes*) (such as, indirectly, the teenage Milton) to learn from the terrible fate of another young man, Erysichthon:

v. 1 Ut autem alii ab impietate deterreantur, et ad amorem religionemque Cereis excitentur, Erysichthonis famem persequitur, quem impietatis causa, propter lucum violatum, severissimè a Cerere punitum esse ostendit. Qua quidem in digressione maxima pars hymni consumitur.

in order that others might be deterred from impious behaviour, and instead be roused to a religious love for Ceres, Callimachus describes the hunger of Erysichthon. Erysichthon’s hunger was caused by his impiety because he violated the sacred grove, and Callimachus shows that Erysichthon is most severely punished by Ceres. Therefore, the greatest part of the hymn is eaten up [*consumitur*] by this digression<sup>28</sup>

The Lutheran commentator establishes a connection between Adam and Eve’s impious actions in eating the apple and the fact that Erysichthon’s punishment is insatiable hunger which no amount of eating can satisfy until he resorts, horrifically, to eating himself.

Frischlin wryly states that this is why the ‘the hymn is *eaten up* [*consumitur*] by this digression’ about Erysichthon’s impiety. This is shown when the Lutheran commentator explains the consequences of Erysichthon’s impiety in terms of Adam and Eve and the Fall of

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<sup>27</sup> Dane, ‘Milton’s Callimachus’. I think that the edition of Callimachus that Milton would have most likely the Stephanus edition (Geneva, 1577) which contains ancient scholia as well as the Nicodemus Frischlinus’s commentary. Stephanus and Nicodemus Frischlinus’ underline explicitly in the edition’s paratextual material the benefit that young students (*adolescentes*) can draw from the *Hymns* – one that would have hit home for the young Milton too

<sup>28</sup> Frischlin (ed.), *Callimachi Cyrenæi hymni, cum suis scholiis græcis, & epigrammata* (Geneva, 1577), p. 62.

Man, stating that ‘the evil of the human race and the anger of God was caused by the impiety of Erysichthon’ (*impietatis Erysichthoniae causa fuit malus hominis genius, et ira dei*) and that ‘Callimachus rightly thinks that impiety is the cause of Erysichthon’s hunger and poverty’ (*impietatem famis et penuriae causam esse rectè sentit Callimachus*).<sup>29</sup> If Milton read Callimachus in the Stephanus edition at Cambridge, which seems very likely, then the young Milton would not have been able to escape the consistent framing of Homeric and Hellenistic poetry within a confessional context. Perhaps tellingly, on 30 March 1639, when Milton quotes from Callimachus’s *Hymn to Demeter* in *EF* 9 (which I discuss in detail in Chapter 2.2), Milton alludes to Erysichthon’s impiety in encroaching upon Demeter’s sacred grove which parallels the young Protestant traveller’s own invasion of the epicentre of Roman Catholicism that Haan persuasively delineates.<sup>30</sup> As I show below, Duport’s close engagement with Calvinist thought on piety in his reading of Homer conveys the influence in particular of the Huguenot Hellenist Jean de Sponde’s confessional reading of the Homeric epics at Cambridge in the 1620s and 1630s.

Kelley and Atkins conclude that ‘the nature of Milton’s Greek studies at Cambridge and his use of Eustathius’s Homer and Vulcanius’s Callimachus will have to be established on evidence other than the Pindar volume’.<sup>31</sup> Heeding Kelly and Atkins’ recommendations, Chapter 1.1, ‘Protestant Hellenism at Milton’s Cambridge’, serves as a comparative study determining the key traits of Hellenism and Greek study at Cambridge in the early-seventeenth century. The conclusion Fletcher draws from the Harvard Pindar concerning Milton’s Greek studies at Cambridge—while it certainly is not an incorrect judgement of Milton’s immense expertise in Greek (ranging from Homeric Greek to Byzantine Greek) as

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 66 and p. 68.

<sup>30</sup> *EF*, pp. 144–5; and Haan, *Milton’s Roman Sojourns, 1638–1639*, pp. 169–173.

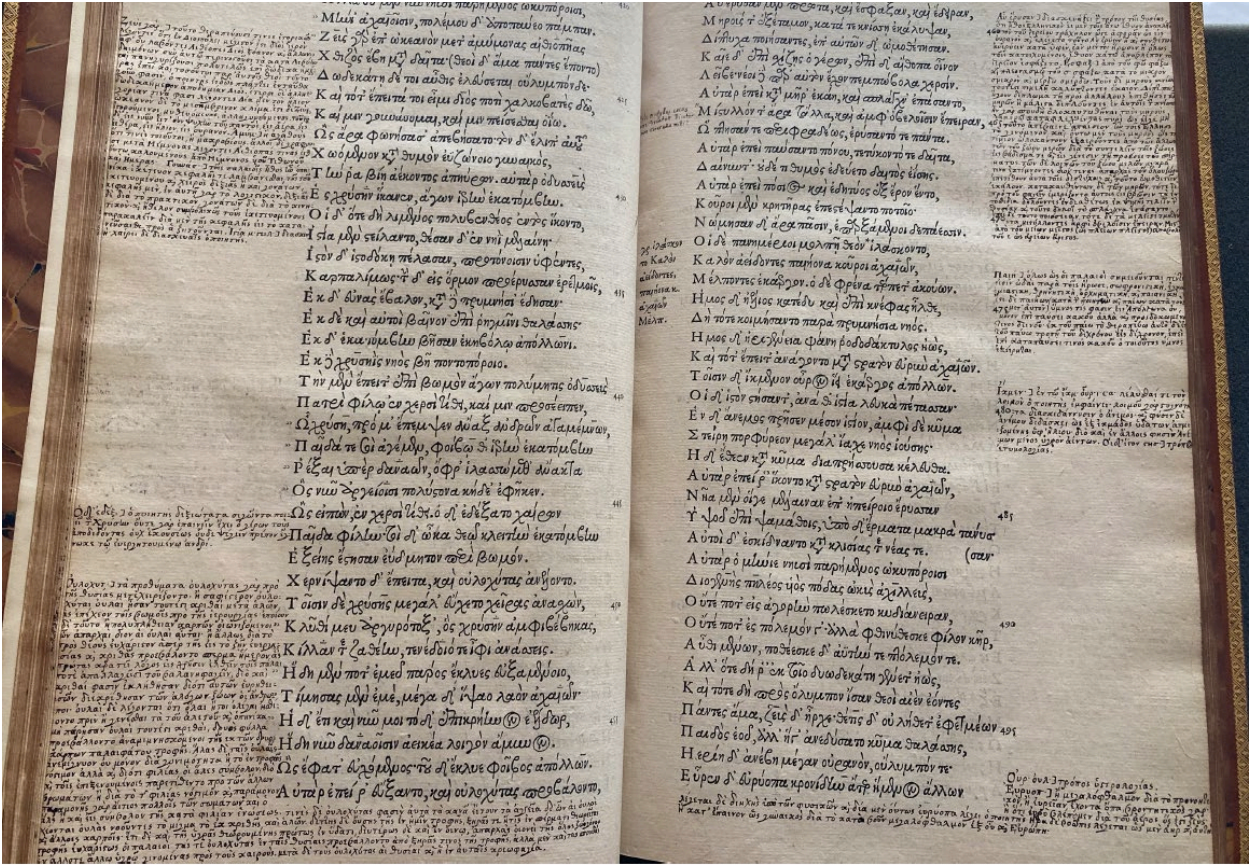
<sup>31</sup> Kelley and Atkins, p. 82.

evidenced in his actual annotated Greek books—nevertheless needs to be corroborated by evidence other than the Harvard Pindar. Fletcher states that ‘we know that he purchased Benedict’s Pindar in 1629 and read it intensively during the long vacation of 1630 [...] thus we must allow for his possession of the 1560 Eustathius Homer before 1629’.<sup>32</sup> However, this view was expressed before the publication of Kelley and Atkins’s article. There is ample evidence that Eustathius’s Homeric commentaries were widely used by Milton’s Cambridge contemporaries. For instance, Robert Creighton, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1625–39) during the time that Milton was a student, quotes extensively from Eustathius in his annotated copy of Stephanus’s two-volume edition of Homer (Geneva, 1566) (see Fig. 1). Investigating the reading practices and Greek scholarship of Milton’s Cambridge contemporaries—ranging from fellow students to tutors and professors—can help us to gain a greater insight into how Milton may have read Homer and other Greek authors at Cambridge.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Creighton’s annotations and the annotations in the Harvard Pindar both demonstrate the frequent use of Tzetzes’ Homeric scholia in the Stephanus Lycophron (Geneva, 1601) as well as Eustathius’s Homeric commentaries. For example, we see Creighton gloss the word ‘πλαγατὰς’ with ‘these rocks are the Symplegedes which Homer calls the ‘Planktas’ etc. Scholiast Lycophron p. 189 and 190; see for further explanation’ in which the page references are to the Stephanus edition of Lycophron (Geneva, 1601) which Milton too possessed (see Fig.2).

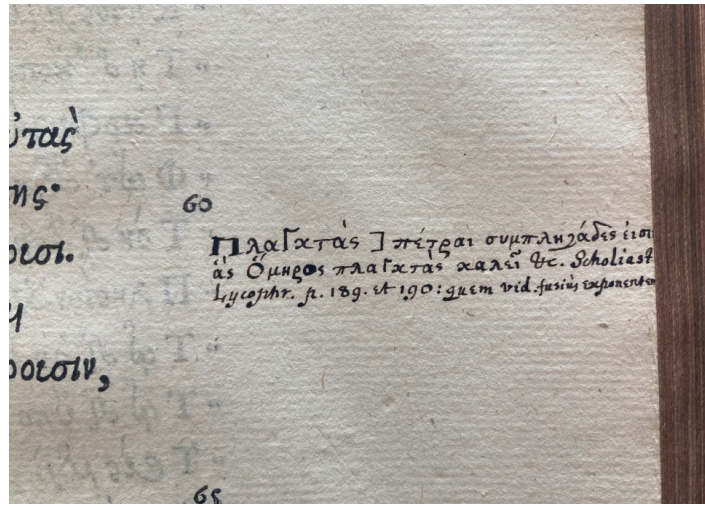
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<sup>32</sup> Fletcher, vol 1, p. 256.

<sup>33</sup> Stephanus (ed.), *Poetae Graeci heroic carminis* (Geneva, 1566). Robert Creighton’s Homer also contain annotations by his son, and it was later owned by Samuel Johnson. The differences between the two Creightons’ sets of annotations are set out by Clingham and Hopkinson in ‘Johnson’s Copy of The Iliad at Felbrigg Hall’.



**Fig. 1.** An example of Robert Creighton’s extensive use of Eustathius in his annotations to Homer (Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk, NT 3000890.1). Creighton was the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1625–1639). Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.



**Fig. 2.** An example of Creighton’s use of Stephanus’s Lycophron in his annotations to Homer (Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk, NT 3000890.1). Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

Like Creighton, the anonymous annotator of the Harvard Pindar frequently cites two sources of Byzantine, Homeric scholia: Tzetzes' scholia in Stephanus's Lycophron and Eustathius's Homeric commentaries.<sup>34</sup> In his own annotations, Milton too cites the Byzantine scholar Tzetzes' scholia to Lycophron, and I discuss this in greater detail in Chapter 4.1 below where I explore the role that Milton's reading of ancient scholiasts and Byzantine commentators had in his design of *Paradise Lost*. The examples of Creighton's Homer and the Harvard Pindar offer a snapshot of the extensive use of Eustathius's Homeric commentators by Milton's contemporaries in their reading of Homer and other Greek texts, however a far more extensive, quantitative study of annotated books in Early Modern Cambridge would be required in order to prove the wide use of both sources of Byzantine Homeric scholarship at Cambridge.

One major limitation of Machacek's study, *Milton and Homer*, is that it does not address which Early Modern editions, commentaries, and paratexts on or related to Homer Milton and his contemporaries may have used in their reading of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*.<sup>35</sup> However, David Adkins sets out the range of interpretative lenses available to Milton from ancient, late-antique, and medieval Homeric commentators and how these various sources

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<sup>34</sup> Pindar, *Olympia* (Saumur, 1620); Havard, \*OGC.P653.620 (B) (Lobby XI.3.44). For the annotations in the Harvard Pindar, see *CW* 18:276–304. One can safely assume that the annotator of the Harvard Pindar was from Britain because the date of purchase is given as 'Novemb. 15, 1629' (flyleaf) and the dates the annotator gives for the period that they were reading the book is given beneath the Greek motto "Gift to God" on p. 756: Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ / Jun: 17 1630. Et Sept: 28. 1630'. It is interesting to note that the High Master of St. Paul's School, Alexander Gil the Elder (1565–1635), also inscribed his own books with the motto 'Δόξα Θεῷ'. But, as Poole explains, this motto was a common one and used by another English schoolmaster, Charles Hoole (1610–1667) (Poole, 'Literary Remains of Alexander Gil the Elder (1565–1635) and Younger (1596/7–1642?)', p. 164 and p. 175, n. 8). In his copy of Lectius's *Poetae Graeci* (Geneva, 1606) held at Westminster Abbey (P 1.63), Gil signs the titlepage 'Δόξα Θεῷ. A.G.' and the signature on the rear endpaper 'δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ / Alex: Gill. / A° 1617°'. Poole also records Gil's Greek motto in the heading of his will, 'Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ Ἀμήν' (p. 175, n. 8). On book owners' use of Greek mottos in Greek books, see Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History*, pp. 13–14. Facsimile images of a selection of annotations from the Harvard Pindar can be found in Kelly and Atkins, 'Milton and the Harvard Pindar', p. 84.

<sup>35</sup> See Machacek, 'Appendix', in *Milton and Homer*, pp. 165–70.



of Homeric commentary influence *Paradise Lost*.<sup>36</sup> The strong influence of Protestant scholars of Greek (and especially Calvinist Hellenists such as Jean de Sponde (1557–1595)) at Early Modern Cambridge show that Milton's contemporaries often read the Homeric poems simultaneously through both philological and confessional lenses. The Calvinist lens in particular had a great influence on the ways that Milton's exact contemporary at Cambridge, James Duport (1607–1679), read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and Duport's ways of reading Homer in Early Modern Cambridge could reflect to a certain degree the way that the young Milton too may have been guided in his reading of the Homeric texts at Cambridge.

### **1.1: Protestant Hellenism at Milton's Cambridge: A Case Study of James Duport's Greek Paraphrase of the Book of Job, *Threnothriambos* (1637)**

Joannes Cottunius (1577–1658) was an eminent, native Greek scholar who, like Leonard Philaras, studied and later taught at the Greek College of St. Athanasius in Rome. Cottunius published a collection of epigrams in Greek in 1653 dedicated to Louis XIV. In the collection's preface, Cottunius pleads the Roi-Soleil to release Greece from 'fierce foreigners' (*alienis furoribus*) and to liberate Greece from the 'wicked yoke of slavery' (*iniquio servitutis jugo*).<sup>37</sup> The collection consists of dozens of encomiums to European dignitaries, praising their skills as Hellenists and either beseeching his addressees to exert their influence upon their governments to advocate for the liberation of Greece or otherwise invoking the terrible plight of Greece under Ottoman rule. Among the number of eminent Hellenists across Europe are Leo Allatius and Leonard Philaras: two Greeks whom

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<sup>36</sup> David Adkins, 'Raphael's Homeric and Biblical Metamorphosis', *Milton Studies*, 62.1 (2020), 78–106.

<sup>37</sup> Cottunio, *Graecorum epigrammatum libri duo* (Padua, 1653), n.p.

we will encounter in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.<sup>38</sup> However, the *only* figure from the British Isles to feature among this international panoply of Hellenists is, not Milton, but instead an exact contemporary of Milton's at Cambridge: James Duport. Duport was the Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Cambridge (1639–1654) and subsequently the Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Dean of Peterborough.

Cottunius praises Duport for his Greek poetry and Homeric scholarship and portrays him as a surviving relic of Ancient Greece which has since been devastated under Ottoman rule:

Εἰς τὸν εὐκλέα, καὶ εὐφραδέστατον Ἰάκωβον τὸν Δούπερτον, ὃς ἐν τῇ τῆς Κανταβριγίας ἀκαδημία τὴν ἐλληνικὴν γλῶτταν ὑπερφυεῖ ἐπαίνῳ κοινῇ ἔρμενεύει.

Βριτανικῆς πειθοῦς ὕπατον μέλος, ὦ Ἰακοβε  
 Δούπερτε, κλεινῆς ὄρχαμε εὐεπίης.  
 Ἐλλάδος εὐφραδίας μέγα λείψανον, ἐν σοὶ ἀναπνεῖ  
 Ἀτθίς, πρὶν ζαθέη, νῦν ζυγὰ δοῦλα φέρει.  
 Ἐς Κανταβριγίην πολυῖστορα ἦγες ἀθήνας,  
 Σοῖς στομάσεσσι, σοφὸς μαιονίδης λαλέει.  
 Μῆνιν ἐκείνος ἄεισε, καὶ ἄνδρα πολύτροπον αὐτὸς  
 Ἴρὰ μέλεσσι κρέκεις νῦν Σολομῶντος ἔπη.  
 Ἀμφόσεροι δ' ἔστὸν μολύολωοι. σαῖς δὲ ἀοιδαῖς  
 Οὐκ ἂν ἄπας φθονερὴν χεῖρα βάλει λυκάβας.

To the famous and most learned James Duport, who teaches the Greek tongue in the academy of Cambridge with surpassing public praise.

Britain's Peitho! Supreme interpreter of song!  
 Oh James Duport, chief in fame and eloquence!  
 You are a huge remnant of eloquent Greece. In you,  
 Athens breathes again: once divine, but now under  
 The servile yoke. You brought Athens to  
 Erudite Cambridge and, through your lips, Homer speaks.  
 The same person who sang about the rage of that man,  
 And about the man of many turns, now performs the songs  
 Of Solomon's holy poetry. You are very abundant in both.  
 And eternity will not throw away your songs with an envious hand.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> For discussion of Philaras in Cottunius's Greek epigrams, see Haan (2019), pp. 229–30.

<sup>39</sup> Cottunius, *Graecorum epigrammatum*, p. 62. In Greek mythology, Peitho (Πειθώ) is the god of Persuasion.



Cottunius depicts seventeenth-century Cambridge as Plato's Academy, describing the university as 'the academy of Cambridge' (τῆ τῆς Κανταβριγίας ἀκαδημία) and, under the aegis of Duport, as a learned refuge for the ancient Athens: 'you brought Athens to erudite Cambridge' (Ἐς Κανταβριγίην πολυῖστορα ἤγεες ἀθήνας). Similarly, Milton frequently likens Cambridge to Plato's Academy: 'the shady Academy offered its Socratic streams' (*Donec Socraticos umbrosa Academia rivos*. 'Haec ego mente', l.5); and 'in Athens herself, in this University herself' (*ipsis Athenis, ipsa in Academia*. *EF* 3.19).<sup>40</sup> Cottunius's epigram 'On Greece' (*In Graeciam*) immediately follows this poem. In 'On Greece', Cottunius personifies Greece as a devastated woman who laments that, although she was 'once the glorious land of the Greeks' (ποθ' ἑλλάνων κλειὰ χθών), she now suffers 'under the dire yoke of the Thracians [i.e. the Turks]' (Θρακῶν δὲ στυγερῶν δολόεν δύρου).<sup>41</sup>

In order to understand what Milton's Cambridge Greek looked like, one must explore the Greek poetry and Homeric scholarship of his illustrious contemporary at Cambridge, Duport, who upheld Cambridge's pan-European reputation in the seventeenth century as a bastion for Hellenism in Northern Europe. As Sarah Knight's manuscript discovery in the Lambeth Palace Library MS 770 reveals, Duport and Milton composed poems for the same event at Cambridge in 1629. Duport wrote two poems on medical themes and Milton composed two on philosophical themes titled 'That Nature does not Suffer Decay' (*Naturam non pati senium*) and 'On the Platonic Idea as Understood by Aristotle' (*De idea Platnoica qaemadmodum Aristoteles intellexit*). Milton and Duport's Act Verses were delivered on 7–8

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<sup>40</sup> *OW* 3:156–7; *EF* 62–3. Milton associates the University of Cambridge with Greece more broadly in *El*.2.2 and 'In obitum Procancellarii medici' l.33. For discussion of 'In obitum Procancellarii medici', see Chapter 2.1 below.

<sup>41</sup> Cottunius, *Graecorum epigrammatum*, p. 63.

July 1629 for the Cambridge Commencement exercises.<sup>42</sup> Rubbing shoulders together as two of Cambridge's leading Latinists, what degree of proximity might there be in terms of their Greek erudition? As I show in Chapter 1.2, Duport's use of Greek in a college oration at Trinity College, Cambridge, sheds light on Milton's own Latin-Greek code-switching in 'Prolusion VI'. What else can one learn about Milton's study of Greek from 1625–32 by scrutinising Duport's extensive (and mostly neglected) Hellenic scholarship from the 1630s?

Jessica Wolfe underscores the place of James Duport within Christian humanism by bookending *Homer and the Question of Strife*, her major study of Homer in the Northern Renaissance, 'from Erasmus and Melanchthon to Milton and Duport'.<sup>43</sup> Wolfe discovers shared practices between Milton and Duport when she argues that 'Milton's program of classical and scriptural allusions in *Paradise Lost* shares certain methodological sympathies with Duport, who was only two years older than Milton, his contemporary at Cambridge'.<sup>44</sup> I will examine and contextualise Duport's *Threnothriambos* (literally 'Lament-Triumph'), which is simultaneously a Greek paraphrase and a Homeric cento of the Book of Job. I will position *Threnothriambos*—a text which has hitherto received no scholarly treatment—within debates about classical literature during the Reformation and post-Reformation periods and carefully outline how Reformist (and especially Calvinist) scholarship and criticism of Homer's epics inform Duport's design of his Homeric cento-paraphrase.

Critical attitudes towards paraphrase and cento as literary practices have changed rapidly in several fields. With respect to Late Antique and Byzantine Literature, Philip Hardie

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<sup>42</sup> Knight, 'University', p. 243; Dulgarian, 'Milton's 'Naturam non pati senium' and 'De Idea Platonica' as Cambridge Act Verses'. Duport's medical verses from this event can be found in *Musæ subsecivæ*, pp. 517–20.

<sup>43</sup> Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife*, p. 49. For Duport's biography, see O'Day, ODNB.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18. For recent studies of Duport's writings, see Knight, 'University'; Power, "Eyes Without Light"; Alho, *Classical Education in the Restoration Grammar School*; Alho, 'A Prevaricator Speech from Caroline Cambridge'; and Vozar, 'Alcaics on Restoration Actresses'.

states that, 'by one of those sudden reversals in fortune, the cento has in recent years come to feature as a privileged expression of late antique poetics'.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, in *A Literary History of Latin & English Poetry*, Victoria Moul emphasises 'the centrality of paraphrase as a literary practice' in the Early Modern period and remarks upon the striking neglect of scholarship on paraphrase, noting that this dearth of scholarship is 'particularly surprising given the obvious relevance of the practice, especially the *Protestant* practice, of scriptural paraphrase to biblical epics'.<sup>46</sup> Wolfe situates the reception of Late Antique Christian centos in the Reformation within fervent debates concerning the relationship between pagan, classical literature and Christianity since, 'for theologians and scholars involved in the hermeneutic debates of the Reformation, questions concerning the intellectual and spiritual legitimacy of the cento form become entangled in larger disputes over the proper methods of interpreting scripture and of reconciling pagan with Christian wisdom'.<sup>47</sup> Duport's *Threnothriambos*, I argue, is equally—if not even more—embroiled in such debates in which centos played an important role in arguments about the tensions and reconciliations between scriptural interpretation and classical erudition.

Before exploring passages from *Threnothriambos* which particularly underscore the close relationship between Duport's Homeric cento-paraphrase and Reformist approaches to Homer's epics at Cambridge, I will first present examples of Duport's cento poetics in two richly allusive passages. In all passages from *Threnothriambos*, I emphasise exact quotations

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<sup>45</sup> Hardie, *Classicism and Christianity in Late Antique Latin Poetry*, p. 243.

<sup>46</sup> Moul, *A Literary History of Latin & English Poetry*, p. 18. For recent studies of centos, see in particular Baumbach (ed.), *Cento-Texts in the Making*; Sowers, 'Common Texts, (Un)Common Aesthetics'; Tucker, 'Virgil Reborn'; and Hinds, 'The Self-Conscious Cento'. Very recent scholarship on the phenomenon of Early Modern literary composition in Ancient Greek (variously called 'New Ancient Greek', 'Humanist Greek', or 'Neo-Greek') is being pioneered by William Barton, Raf van Rooy, Stefan Weise, and Filippomaria Pontani.

<sup>47</sup> Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife*, p. 160. For an overview of Virgilian centos in the Early Modern period, see Kallendorf, *Bibliography*, pp. 307-20.

from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and, in the margin, I supply the references to their Homeric sources within square brackets. Unlike other printed Virgilian and Homeric centos, *Threnothriambos* contains no marginal references to the Homeric sources. Without the guidance of such marginalia, readers are challenged to confront and decipher the cento-paraphrase's 'intertextual overload' for themselves.<sup>48</sup> This might be one feature of the text's wide pedagogical use in the seventeenth century in encouraging students to recall for themselves the multifarious Homeric allusions. The crucial role played by memory in the experience of reading centos in the Early Modern period was particularly valued because, as Jean Lafond observes, the cento functioned as 'une lecture-réécriture' ('reading-rewriting') which was closely 'linked at the time to the art of memory: memorization of texts, the creation of notebooks, and the use of various mnemonic methods' ('liée à l'époque à un art de la mémoire: apprentissage par cœur des textes, constitution de cahiers, recours aux divers procédés mnémotechniques').<sup>49</sup> Also, the Homeric centos were included in major editions of Homer such as the Stephanus edition of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Geneva, 1578) which suggests that early seventeenth-century readers of Homer such as Milton were also readers of Homeric centos.<sup>50</sup> Due to the wide popularity of Duport's Greek scholarship in schools, it is possible that Milton himself, as a school master in the 1640s, may have been aware of the pedagogical use of Duport's Greek paraphrases. In the curricula of many seventeenth-century Protestant institutions of learning, Duport's *Threnothriambos* took pride of place alongside key Reformist authors like John Foxe and John Calvin. For example,

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<sup>48</sup> Hinds, *The Self-Conscious Cento*, p. 182.

<sup>49</sup> Lafond, 'Le Centon et son usage', p. 121.

<sup>50</sup> Stephanus (ed.), *Homeri Poemata Duo, Ilias et Odyssea... Adiecti sunt etiam Homerici centones* (Geneva, 1588). On Stephanus's publication of Homeric centos in his edition of Homer, see Lefterou, *The Homeric Centos*, pp. 8–9.

the curriculum at Hull Grammar School shows that *Threnothriambos* was taught alongside Foxe's *Christus Triumphans*.<sup>51</sup> Several of Duport's Cambridge contemporaries included *Threnothriambos* in their curricula. Strikingly, on 14 November 1651, the Puritan clergyman and Master of the Free School in Leicester, Richard Lee, who graduated from his BA at St John's College in 1632, published an edict ordering that Calvin's *Institutes* and Duport's *Threnothriambos* (as well as the Early Christian authors Minucius Felix's *Octavius* and Sulpicius Severus's *Chronicle*) must replace the 'prophane' classical authors on the curriculum: 'that Christian authors both Greek and Latin, be brought into ye roome of [i.e. replace] prophane [authors]. Such as Calvini institutions and epistles for prose. Minucius Felix and Sulpicius Severus for hystery. Daport on Jobe and on ye Canticles for poetry'.<sup>52</sup> In replacing Cicero with Calvin and substituting Duport for Homer, we find in Lee's curriculum an Early Modern parallel to the pedagogical aspirations of the Apollinarii who created Christian versions of Homer's epics, Euripides's tragedies, Menander's comedies, and Pindar's odes in reaction to Julian the Apostate's School Edict of 17<sup>th</sup> June 362 which prohibited Christians from teaching classical literature and forbade Christian children from being instructed in the works of Greek authors.<sup>53</sup> Even in North America, John Harvard (1607–1638), the founder of Harvard College in Massachusetts, was an exact contemporary of Milton and Duport at Cambridge and he prescribed both Duport's *Threnothriambos* and Nonnus of Panopolis's *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* to the first curriculum at what was

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<sup>51</sup> Siemon, *Andrew Marvell's School Learning*, p. 49. See also Lawson, *A Town Grammar School Through Six Centuries*, pp. 114–115. For discussion of the teaching of Duport's psalm paraphrases at The King's School, Canterbury, see Alho, *Classical Education in the Restoration Grammar School*.

<sup>52</sup> Stock (ed.), *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, p. 399. For Lee's biography, see Wilton-Hall, 'Dr Richard Lee, of Hatfield'.

<sup>53</sup> See Sozoman, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.18, and Socrates, *Church History*, 3.16. Both passages are quoted in Sherry, 'The *Paraphrase of St. John* Attributed to Nonnus', pp. 423–424.

later to become Harvard College: ‘the 2d. yeare at 3d. houre practice in *Poësy, Nonnus, Duport, or the like*’.<sup>54</sup> Throughout this study of Duport’s *Threnothriambos*, one can appreciate the ways that Hellenic study at Cambridge sought to unify rather than to divide Greek classical texts from Christian learning: an attitude which deeply influenced Milton who, in *Areopagitica* (1644), would cite the examples of Paul quoting from Greek poetry (namely Aratus) and the Apollinarii who absorbed the entirety of Greek (pagan) literature and learning in their defence of Christianity: ‘Paul [...] thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek poets, and one of them a Tragedian, [and] the two Apollinarii were fain as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev’n to the calculating of a new Christian grammar’.<sup>55</sup> Rather than being a singular view of Milton’s, the study of Greek texts at Milton’s Cambridge also held share such an attitude regarding the compatibility (rather than the incongruousness) between Christian teaching and Greek (pagan) literature.

Moreover, Milton expresses his admiration for Christian Greek centos such as *Christus Patiens*—a Christian cento made solely out of Euripidean texts—in the preface to *Samson Agonistes*. In ‘That sort of Dramatic Poem which is call’d Tragedy’, Milton states that ‘Gregory Nazianzen a Father of the Church, thought it not unbeseeming the sanctity of his person to write a Tragedy, which he entitl’d, *Christ suffering*’ and Milton, again, cites the example of Paul who Milton believed had ‘insert[ed] a verse of *Euripides* into the Text of

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<sup>54</sup> *New Englands First Fruits*, ch. 2 (London: 1643), p. 29. See also Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 197, and Morison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England*, p. 46. Harvard gained his BA in 1632 and his MA in 1635 from Emmanuel College.

<sup>55</sup> CPW 2:509. On the influence St. Paul’s School and Alexander Gil upon Milton regarding these matters, see Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, pp. 17–19.

Holy Scripture, 1 Cor. 15.33'.<sup>56</sup> Wittreich argues that, 'by ignoring Menander for Euripides, Milton purges from his preface a poet associated with 'comic stuff' and also avoids invoking the memory of Menander's suicide'.<sup>57</sup>

My analysis of the Christianizing, Homeric Greek poetry of Milton's exact contemporary at Cambridge, therefore, aims to identify shared affinities between Milton and his fellow Hellenists at Cambridge, as well as the strong influence of the Protestant (and especially Calvinist) Greek scholars from the sixteenth century upon Milton's long-held view of the sympathy between biblical scripture and Greek (pagan) texts. Crawford's description of Milton's attitudes to St Paul has considerable overlaps with Duport's ambitions in creating a Christianized Homeric text. As Crawford explains, 'Milton recasts Saint Paul as a seventeenth-century scholar who carefully excerpts a key phrase, ostensibly from Euripides, and then subjects it to a divinely inspired process of *imitatio*, in which the source text remains sufficiently recognizable to carry with it into the language of the Bible the essence of Greek tragedy'.<sup>58</sup> Duport too, in *Threnothriambos*, aims to carry into scripture the language and essence of Homeric epic.

In the beginning of *Threnothriambos*, Duport depicts Satan as Odysseus in his paraphrase of Job 1:2, 'And the Lord said unto Satan, From whence comest thou? And Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it':

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<sup>56</sup> OW 2:66–7. For discussion of Milton's ascription of Paul's source to Euripides rather than the comic poet Menander (for which there was wider agreement), Leo, *Tragedy as Philosophy in the Reformation World*, p. 216; Dobranski, *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton: Samson Agonistes*, p. 63; and Crawford, 'Milton and the Politics of Greek Tragedy'.

<sup>57</sup> Wittreich, *Shifting Contexts*, p. 41. However, the motivation for Wittreich's reading from 2002 regarding Milton's views on Paul's Greek source and the comic poet Menander's putative suicide appears to have been made implicitly in order to rebut John Carey's infamous article in the *Times Literary Supplement* in which he likens Milton's Samson to one of the suicide bombers of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. See Carey, 'A Work in Praise of Terrorism?'

<sup>58</sup> Crawford, 'Milton and the Politics of Greek Tragedy', pp. 251–2.

Τὸν δ' ἐρέεινε Πατήρ, ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον ·  
 Ὡς Σατανᾶ, πόθεν ἦλθες ἀμήχανε; τίπτε δὲ σε χρεῶς  
 Τὸν δὲ δολοφρονέων ἡμείβετο μισάνθρωπος,  
Πολλὰ μάλα πλάγχθην, περί τε χθόνα πᾶσαν ὄδευσα [Od. 1.1–2]  
Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδον ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνων [Od. 1.3]  
 Νῦν δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἰκάνω. [Od. 1.2]

And the Father asked him, and great Olympus was shaken:  
 'Satan, from where have you come helplessly? What is your business here?'  
 To whom the crafty-minded hater of mankind replied:  
 'I have wandered long and far, and I have explored every land.  
I have seen the cities and known the minds of many men.  
 But now I come to the holy city of the immortals'.<sup>59</sup>

Here, we are introduced to Satan who encourages God to allow him to test the limits of Job's piety by afflicting him with the worst possible torments and devastation.<sup>60</sup> Satan's characterisation is distinctively Odyssean where Duport expands upon Satan's statement that he has been 'going to and fro in the earth' by means of a re-formation of the famous opening lines of the *Odyssey*. When Satan tells God 'I have explored every land' (*περί τε χθόνα πᾶσαν ὄδευσα*), Duport winks at Satan's own 'odyssey', and the characterisation of Satan as being 'crafty-minded' (*δολοφρονέων*) is an epithet which is reserved solely for Odysseus in Homer's epics.<sup>61</sup> One way that the reader's recollection of the context of *Od.1.1-3* impacts on our reading of Duport's paraphrase of Job 1:2 is that, while Satan has 'come to the holy city of the immortals' (*ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἰκάνω*), Odysseus has 'ransacked the holy city of Troy' (*Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν. Od.1.2*). Duport's re-working of the *Odyssey's* opening lines supplies the underlying intent of Satan which is kept ominously subtextual: Satan is attempting to raid Heaven with a furtive, malicious purpose in

<sup>59</sup> Duport, *Threnothraimbois*, p. 4. All translations from Duport's *Threnothraimbois* are my own, and all quotations and translations from Homer and Hesiod are from the Loeb Classical Library editions. All biblical citations are from the King James Version. Unless otherwise stated, all other translations from primary and secondary texts are my own.

<sup>60</sup> On Milton's Satan and Homer's Odysseus, see Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, pp. 58–62.

<sup>61</sup> *Od.18.51* and *Od.21.274*.



the same way that Odysseus besieges Troy. Just as Chrysostom in his *Commentarius in Job* expands upon Job's conflict with Satan by means of extended metaphors comparing them to two (Pindaric) wrestlers in the stadium or two (Homeric) soldiers on the battlefield, Duport utilises the Homeric epics to refigure the Book of Job into a multiplicity of distinctly Homeric struggles and clashes.<sup>62</sup>

Duport's explicit characterisation of Satan as Odysseus at the outset of *Threnothriambos* seems to run counter to many humanists' lauding of the exemplary character of Homer's Odysseus, such as Phillip Melanchthon who praises Odysseus in the *Odyssey* as 'sapiens, politicus, prudentissimus et eloquentissimus'.<sup>63</sup> Although this diabolic impersonation of Odysseus initially appears to undermine the paralleling of Job's patience with Odysseus, throughout *Threnothriambos* we see facets of Odysseus's eloquence, patience, and cunning applied to Satan (the malevolent aspect of Odysseus's williness) and Job alike.

As a second general example of the cento-poetics of *Threnothriambos*, Duport turns Job 14:2, 'He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not', into a tragic assembly of grieving mothers. Here, Duport combines piteous moments between mothers and sons in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: Thetis lamenting the unavoidability of her son Achilles' death in *Iliad* 1 and *Iliad* 18; and the moment in *Odyssey* 11 when Odysseus desperately tries to embrace his ghostly mother Anticlea in Hades:

Γίνεται ὡς ἄνθος, καὶ <u>ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος,</u>	[ <i>Il.</i> 18.57]
<u>Μήτηρ μὲν μιν ἔθρεψε φυτὸν ὡς γουνῶ ἀλωῆς,</u>	[ <i>Il.</i> 18.58]
"Ἄλλ' ἅμα τ' ὠκύμορος, καὶ οἴζυρός περὶ πάντων	[ <i>Il.</i> 1.417]
<u>"Ἐπλετο, τῷ ἐ κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκε</u> θρέψε τε μήτηρ.	[ <i>Il.</i> 1.418]
"Οἶχετ' ἀποπτάμενος <u>σκιῇ ἵκελος, ἧ καὶ ὄνειρω,</u>	[ <i>Od.</i> 11.207]

<sup>62</sup> Backer and Valgaeren, 'Job as Steadfast Wrestler'.

<sup>63</sup> Melanchthon qt. by Fillipomaria Pontani, 'Homeric Readings', p. 387.

Μίμνει δ'έν ζωῶσι μίνυνθα πέρ, οὔ μάλα δέν.

He comes into being like a flower and **he shoots up like a sapling.**  
**My mother nurtured me, like a tree in a rich orchard,**  
**But now it has befallen that my life must be more brief and bitter**  
**Than everyone else's. My mother gave birth** and nurtured me  
**To a bad destiny.** She flew away, **just like a shadow or a dream,**  
 For she remains among the living only for an exceedingly short time.<sup>64</sup>

This is an example of a 'hybrid montage': Craig Kallendorf's term for the new relationships created within a Virgilian cento from piecing together distinct elements from Virgil's works in order to create new, Christian content.<sup>65</sup> Duport's cento poetics is informed by the ways Late Antique Christian centoists such as Faltonia Betitia Proba in her *Cento Vergilianus de laudibus Christi* creatively handle the epic source text. Duport's construction of a tragic chorus of lamenting mothers in his paraphrase of Job 14:2 can be compared to the kinds of kaleidoscopic compilations one finds in Proba's *Cento Vergilianus*. For example, Proba compiles a den of malignant, Virgilian snakes including the sea serpents that kill Laocoön and his sons (*Aen.* 2.217) and the venomous snake sent by Allecto to kill Latinus's wife (*Aen.* 7.351) in her depiction of the serpent tempting Eve (*Cento Vergilianus*, ll.172-196).<sup>66</sup> Here, Duport's evocation of Odysseus's three attempts in Hades to embrace his mother who flees from his arms 'like a shadow' (σκιῇ ἵκελος, *Od.*11.207) aptly paraphrases 'he fleeth also as a shadow' and adds another moment of lament between mothers and sons. Like Proba's *Cento Vergilianus* and Nonnus's *Paraphrase, Threnothriambos* is essentially an exegetical work. Karla Pollman's verdict of Proba's *Cento Vergilianus* as a 'Christian cento [which] serves a serious exegetical purpose' and Maria Ypsilanti and Laura Franco's view that

<sup>64</sup> Duport, *Threnothriambos*, p. 66.

<sup>65</sup> Kallendorf, *Printing Virgil*, p. 11.

<sup>66</sup> Cullhed, *Proba the Prophet*, pp. 151–152.

Nonnus's poetry shows that 'paraphrase itself can actually be an act of exegesis' can both be readily applied to *Threnothriambos* too.<sup>67</sup> In the preface to *Threnothriambos*, Duport (like Milton in *Areopagitica*) enthusiastically praises Apollinaris of Laodicea's *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* and Nonnus's *Paraphrase*: 'Evangelium [et] Psalmos Graecis constrinxerunt pedibus; Apollinarius, & Nonnus; Deus bone, quanti viri!' (they abridged the Gospel [of St. John] and the Psalms into lines of Greek poetry. Apollinaris and Nonnus, good God! What men!').<sup>68</sup>

Contradictions are inherent to centos, both aesthetically and technically, and Duport's cento-poetics embraces the kinds of intertextual clashes we find in Late Antique Christian centos. With respect to Ausonius's *Cento Nuptialis*, Aaron Pelttari writes that 'the contradictions within the cento appeal to Ausonius', and—for theological rather than aesthetic reasons—the cento's propensity for contradiction and variance appeal to Duport too.<sup>69</sup> As a form, the cento is a dynamic one which embraces conflict, reversal, and paradox, and Duport's cento-paraphrase wrestles with theological paradoxes presented in the Book of Job by intricately juxtaposing and combining Homeric and scriptural sources.

Yet, before even opening *Threnothriambos*, the tension between scriptural interpretation and Homeric (and Virgilian) centos is highlighted. Like Early Modern editions of Proba's *Cento Vergilianus*, the titlepage to Duport's *Threnothriambos* also contains an epigraph from Jerome's 'Epistle 53'.<sup>70</sup> The quotation is from Jerome's letter to Paulinus of Nola and it states: 'Job exemplar patientiae, quae non mysteria suo sermon complectitur?

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<sup>67</sup> Pollman, 'Sex and Salvation in the Vergilian Cento of the Fourth Century', p. 87, and Ypsilanti and Franco, *Nonnus' Paraphrase*, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Duport, 'Lectori', in *Threnothriambos*, ¶14r. Although the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* was readily ascribed to Apollinaris in the Early Modern period, its authorship and the date of its composition are uncertain. See Faulkner (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*.

<sup>69</sup> Pelttari, *The Space that Remains*, p. 107.

<sup>70</sup> Cullhed, 'Proba and Jerome', pp. 206–207.

Prosâ incipit, versu labitur' ('as for Job, that exemplar of patience, what mysteries are not contained in his speeches? Beginning in prose, the book soon turns into verse'). Initially, the epigraph from Jerome's 'Epistle 53' just seems to be a generic description of the Book of Job and it is a sentiment which could be found in a myriad of other sources. So why does Duport quote from 'Epistle 53' specifically? Immediately before Jerome describes Job as the 'exemplar of patience' (Ep. 53.8), Jerome attacks the popularity of Homeric and Virgilian centos (Ep. 53.7). Jerome is especially critical of those which refashion scripture with the intention of explicating their meaning by reconstructing sacred texts with verses from Homer or Virgil's works:

Taceo e meis similibus, qui forte ad scripturas sanctas post saeculares litteras venerint et sermone composito aurem populi mulserint, quicquid dixerint, hoc legem Dei putant, nec scire dignantur quid prophetae, quid apostoli senerint, sed ad sensum suum incongrua aptant testimonia, quasi grande sit et non vitiosissimum docendi genus, depravare sententias, et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam habere re pugnantem. Quasi non legerimus Homero centonas et Vergilio centonas, ac non sic etiam Maronem sine Christo possimus dicere Christianum[.]

I say nothing of persons who, like myself have been familiar with secular literature before they have come to the study of the holy scriptures. Such men when they charm the popular ear by the finish of their style suppose every word they say to be a law of God. They do not deign to notice what Prophets and apostles have intended but they adapt conflicting passages to suit their own meaning, as if it were a grand way of teaching—and not rather the faultiest of all—to misrepresent a writer's views and to force the scriptures reluctantly to do their will. They forget that we have read centos from Homer and Virgil.<sup>71</sup>

Jerome likens the creators of Homeric and Virgilian centos to a rogues' gallery of serial misinterpreters of scripture (a 'delirus senex' ('delirious old codger'), a 'garrula anus' ('babbling granny'), and a 'soloecista verbosus' ('verbose, solecistic person')) who commit misleading and erroneous acts of biblical interpretation and teaching. As Brian Sowers

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<sup>71</sup> Jerome, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 1, pp. 453-54; Schaff and Wace (trans.), *Letters and Select Works*, p. 99. For discussion on Irenaeus's similar comparison of heretics with authors of Homeric centos, see Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, pp. 19–21.

explains, however, ‘Jerome’s condemnation of Christian centos [is] situated within a polemical epistle on ‘irresponsible’ exegesis’.<sup>72</sup> How, then, does Duport—whose *Threnothriambos* comprehensively ‘adapts conflicting passages’ (*incongrua apta[t] testimonia*) from Homer’s epics—present his cento-paraphrase as a positive form of scriptural exegesis rather than ‘the faultiest of them all’ (*vitiosissimum*)? At Cambridge, Milton was wrestling with the tensions between Greek texts and Christian faith in his *Nativity Ode* (1629): a tension which is most vividly and movingly expressed in the rejection of the pagan Greek gods and priests following the Nativity in which we find Milton presenting ‘the collision of classical and Christian traditions’.<sup>73</sup>

From the outset of *Threnothriambos*, Duport presents his Homeric cento as a rehabilitation of a genre scorned by Jerome for misreading rather than illuminating scripture. Duport states that he hopes that *Threnothriambos* will be of use to theologians and philologists alike: ‘φιλολόγοις non insuavis, θεολόγοις non inutilis, φιλομήροις non iniucunda, φιλοθείοις non infructuosa’ (‘not unpleasing for philologists, not unhelpful for theologians, not unpleasant to lovers of Homer, and not unfruitful for God-loving men’).<sup>74</sup> Duport’s cento-paraphrase follows the tradition set by Erasmus since his primary motivation for composing *Threnothriambos* has biblical commentary at its heart. This is because, according to Erasmus, ‘est enim paraphrasis non translatio sed liberius quoddam commentarii perpetui genus, non commutatis personis’ (‘a paraphrase is not a translation, but a freer genre of uninterrupted commentary with no changes of persona’).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Sowers, ‘Common Texts, (Un)Common Aesthetics’, p. 126.

<sup>73</sup> Hui, ‘Dying Pagan Gods in Milton’s *Nativity Ode*’, p. 351. On the tension between Greek antiquity and Christianity in Milton’s *Nativity Ode*, see also Fawcett, ‘The Orphic Singer of Milton’s *Nativity Ode*’.

<sup>74</sup> Duport, ‘Lectori’, in *Threnothriambos*, ¶13r. There is some ambiguity in Duport’s term *φιλολόγοις*, however Duport may be referring to (undergraduate) students. LSJ s.v. ‘φιλόλογος’, II.3: student, scholar.

<sup>75</sup> Erasmus qt. by Henderson, ‘Editor’s Addendum’, pp. 46–47.

In a letter from 4 December 1634 (*EF* 5) to his former teacher at St Paul's School, Alexander Gil, Milton encloses a paraphrase of Psalm 114 into Greek hexameters, explaining how much he enjoyed such literary exercises during his school days, but bemoaning that there is no longer an audience to appreciate them: 'quandoquidem qui Graecis componendis hoc saeculo studium atque operam impendit, periculum est ne plerumque surdo canat' ('whoever in this present age expends study and effort on Greek compositions is in danger of singing mostly to the deaf').<sup>76</sup> While Milton thought that such Greek paraphrases fell largely on deaf ears, however, the rapturous reception at Cambridge of Duport's Greek cento-paraphrase suggests otherwise. In fact, the acclaim for *Threnothriambos* even earned Duport the Regius Professorship of Greek at Cambridge in 1639. What did Duport's Cambridge contemporaries value in his Greek cento-paraphrase of the Book of Job?

*Threnothriambos* immediately opens with 'amicorum elogiis' ('the praises of friends') applauding 'doctissimi autoris carmen' ('the poem of a most learned author'), and beneath are the names of four high-ranking figures at the University of Cambridge: the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Thomas Comber (1575–1653); the Master of Christ's College, Thomas Bainbridge (d. 1646); the Master of Jesus College, Richard Sterne (1596–1683); and the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, Samuel Ward (1572–1643). The inclusion of Ward is particularly significant since the Calvinist scholar was one of the translators of the King James Bible who worked alongside none other than James Duport's father, John Duport (d. 1617), in translating the Apocrypha.<sup>77</sup> Ward and Duport were members of the Second Cambridge Company: the group of scholars at Cambridge

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<sup>76</sup> *EF*, pp. 82–83.

<sup>77</sup> For discussion of Ward as a translator, see Miller, 'The Earliest Known Draft of the King James Bible'.

responsible for translating the Apocrypha. Members of the Second Cambridge Company (or Apocrypha Company) were ‘chiefly selected for their skill in Greek’ and Duport, on account of his superlative Greek, was chosen as its director.<sup>78</sup>

Considering that James Duport was the son of John Duport—a key figure in the making of the King James Bible—and the prominent presence of Ward in *Threnothriambos*, we can begin to understand Duport’s surprising choice of the King James Bible (rather than the Greek Septuagint) as his primary working text for his cento-paraphrase: ‘Anglicanam nostram versionem ad amussim secutus sum’ (‘I have accurately followed our Anglican version’).<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, Duport underlines the congruity between his methodology in paraphrasing the Book of Job and the methodology followed by the translators of the King James Bible. For example, Duport’s handling of Hellenisms and Hebraisms, ‘I have rarely preserved Hebraisms, and I have changed most Hellenisms’ (*Hebraismos raro retinui; plerunque Hellenismis commutavi*), follows the rule which Ward publicised in his Report to the Synod of Dort (1618–1619) that all translators of the King James Bible kept Hebraisms and Hellenisms out of their English translations: ‘the more difficult Hebraisms and Graecisms were consigned to the margin.’<sup>80</sup> Duport’s statement that he consulted the Greek and Hebrew versions also reflects the translation methodology of the translators of the King James Bible: ‘if any difficulty or obscurity should crop-up (and they would occur very often), then I sometimes consulted both the Greek interpretation by the elders of the Septuagint, and at other times, I especially consulted the Hebrew truth’ (*si difficultas aliqua vel*

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<sup>78</sup> Hessayon, ‘The Apocrypha in Early Modern England’, p. 141.

<sup>79</sup> Duport, ‘Lectori’, in *Threnothriambos*, ¶13v.

<sup>80</sup> Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 339. In other words, as Campbell explains, this rule concerning Graecisms and Hebraisms means that ‘the margins are used to record literal translation in cases where an interpretative translation has been necessitated by the requirement that the text make sense in English’ (Campbell, *Bible*, p. 71).

*obscuritas occureat, et occurrebat saepenumero, consului tum Graecam interpretationem Septuaginta seniorum, tum maxime Hebraicam veritatem*).<sup>81</sup> Duport's prioritisation of the Hebrew Bible and the pointed absence of the Latin Vulgate in his paraphrase methodology shows that Duport is at pains to align *Threnothriambos* with the methodology followed by the translators of the King James Bible.

The first of twenty Greek and Latin commendatory verses by students, tutors, and professors is by Robert Creighton, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and who was described by John Evelyn as 'a learned Grecian' and an 'admirable Grecian'.<sup>82</sup> In his commendatory poem, Creighton likens Duport's cento-paraphrase to the distillation of spring-water from the salty brine of seawater, of filtering from the Homeric sea the verses that are of the most use to Christians:

Ut aestuosi amarus humor aequoris  
 Lapsu silenti per meatus invios  
 Telluris imae serpit, et salsuginem  
 Deponit arctis haesitantem angustiis [...]  
 Sic pervetustae gurgitem poeticae  
 Tu stringis in repando, amabili sinu,  
 Tuique puris ingeni canalibus  
 Omnem coercens ethnici gustum salis  
 Ripa severiore cogis alveum,  
 Et dulce percolata fundis flumina.

Just as the bitter fluid of the seething sea  
 Creeps (while silently flowing  
 Through impassable passages of the bottommost earth) and  
 Lays away salt-water stuck within tight straits [...]  
 Likewise, you too draw tight the whirlpool of ancient poetry  
 Bending back into an attractive gulf.  
 Through your genius, you channel every taste of the pagan sea  
 Into pure canals, surrounding the  
 Riverbed with a more austere bank,  
 And you sweetly pour out sifted, purified streams.

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<sup>81</sup> Duport, 'Lectori', in *Threnothriambos*, ¶13v.

<sup>82</sup> Evelyn, *Brief Lives*, p. 8 and p. 138.



Creighton's characterisation of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the 'pagan sea' (*ethnici... salis*) takes the sense of *ethnicus* employed in the Vulgate and Patristic texts for pagan, such as Tertullian who refers to pagans as *ethnici* and the Vulgate's use of the same term for denoting pagans in, for example, Matthew 6:7 and Matthew 18:17.<sup>83</sup> The language of Creighton's praise of *Threnothriambos* is also drawn from the rhetoric of Protestant Hellenists, namely from Melanchthon's language in his 'Preface to Homer' (1538) which Phillipomaria Pontani describes as 'probably the most remarkable introduction to Homer of Western Humanism' and who Wolfe positions at the beginning of a tradition in Protestant Homeric scholarship which is connectedly directly to Milton and Duport in the following century.<sup>84</sup> Specifically, Creighton's comparison of Duport's Homeric cento-paraphrase with filtering the ocean into 'purified streams' recalls Melanchthon's statements in his 'Preface to Homer' concerning the judicious selection of verses from the Homeric poems for the purpose of Christian teaching, Melanchthon argues that pagan learning (i.e. Homer's epics) can be accommodated with Christian pedagogy: 'we have therefore assembled a few examples out of an infinite variety—a task like enclosing the sea in narrow water-pipes—and we will enumerate summarily and briefly those which have seemed to us the most admirable in that poem' (*nos tamen velut mare angustis fistulis includentes, pauca quaedam de re infinita collegimus, et quae nobis praecipue admiranda in hoc poemate visa sunt, strictim ac breviter recensebimus*).<sup>85</sup> Creighton's praise of *Threnothriambos* highlights the interpretative sympathies shared by Duport and his fellow Cambridge Hellenists who strove

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<sup>83</sup> Sider (ed.), *Christian and Pagan in the Roman Empire: The Witness of Tertullian*, p. 83, n. 9. See also Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, pp. 30–46.

<sup>84</sup> Pontani, 'Homeric Readings', p. 386.

<sup>85</sup> Melanchthon, *CR*, vol. 11, p. 401; trans. by Salazar, *Orations on Philosophy and Education*, p. 43.

to reconcile Christian teaching with pagan, classical learning. Duport's preface also underscores the academic proximity between *Threnothriambos* and the scholarship of other Cambridge Hellenists, principally those expert Hellenists such as his father who were involved in the making of the King James Bible.

The reason why the Greek scholarship of Calvinist Hellenists like Sponde is central to Milton's Hellenism at Cambridge is because Christ's College appears to have been especially receptive to introducing work of Calvinist Hellenists in its teaching of Greek at the college. Pasor's *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (1619) was the first ever lexicon of a New Testament Greek dictionary to be printed, and Pasor's *Grammatica graeca sacra Novi Testamenti Domini nostril Jesu Christi*—published posthumously in 1655—was the first New Testament Greek grammar to be published. Raf van Rooy remarks upon the confessional identity of Pasor as a key element to the creation of these sources of Greek scholarship since it 'comes as no surprise that the first systematic dialectological solution to New Testament Greek was proposed by a **Calvinist** scholar, Georg Pasor (1570–1637), a German philologist and theologian mainly active in the Dutch Republic who compiled the first lexicon and grammar of New Testament Greek'.<sup>86</sup> There is evidence that Pasor's *Lexicon* was used widely at Christ's College when Milton was a student there because Fletcher cites the very large number of acquisitions of editions of Pasor's *Lexicon* made by the Joseph Mede (1586–1639), a Fellow of Christ's College, in his account books. Fletcher observes that, 'beginning about 1621, and continuing thereafter, Mead listed a dozen different times or more the purchase of '*Pasori lexicon*' or some variation of that author and title, the price being usually

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<sup>86</sup> Rooy, *Greece's Labyrinth of Language*, p. 59. See also Porter, *New Testament Theology and the Greek Language*, p. 16.

about 2 shillings'.<sup>87</sup> Beyond Christ's College, Pasor's biblical scholarship was used at other Cambridge colleges; as Rob Iliffe remarks, 'Pasor's work was the most widely used of its type in seventeenth-century Cambridge and it was a vital accompaniment to the scrutiny of the Greek New Testament'.<sup>88</sup>

Within Pasor's *Lexicon*, there is a re-formed, Reformist version of Plutarch's *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry*: Pasor's own moral essay which is also in Greek and titled: 'Prologue on the True Teaching of Young Men' (*Πρόλογος περὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς τῶν νέων παιδείας*).<sup>89</sup> With respect to the prologue to *Samson Agonistes* (1671), Crawford states that 'Milton implies that there is something already biblical in Euripides' work'.<sup>90</sup> It is possible that, in the early stages of Milton's Greek studies at Cambridge, encounters with texts such as the Calvinist scholar's biblical Greek *Lexicon* could have influenced Milton since the theologian and classical scholar casts Euripides in the most favourable light by setting Euripides apart from all other classical authors. When one reads Pasor's 'Prologue', the Calvinist Hellenist presents Euripides as a pagan author who is more easily accommodated within Christian teaching than all other classical authors, including Virgil. When Pasor criticises Virgil for having 'written extremely impiously' (*ἀσεβέστατα ἔγραψεν*) in *Aeneid* 7.661, 'a woman mated with a god' (*mixta deo mulier*), Pasor—while not fully exonerating Euripides—nevertheless presents the Athenian tragedian as the most pious of all classical authors, even Homer:

Πλείω περὶ τούτων μολυσμῶν λέγειν ἢ Εὐσέβεια ἀπαγορεύει, καὶ νοῦς Ὀμέρος φρίσσει.

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<sup>87</sup> Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, vol. 1, p. 277. On the influence of Joseph Mede upon Milton, see Hutton, 'Mede, Milton, and More: Christ's College Millenarians'.

<sup>88</sup> Iliffe, *Priest of Nature*, p. 70.

<sup>89</sup> On Plutarch's treatise and the teaching of poetry in the Early Modern period, see Knight, 'How the Young Man Should Study Latin Poetry: Neo-Latin Literature and Early Modern Education'.

<sup>90</sup> Crawford, 'Milton and the Politics of Greek Drama', p. 252.

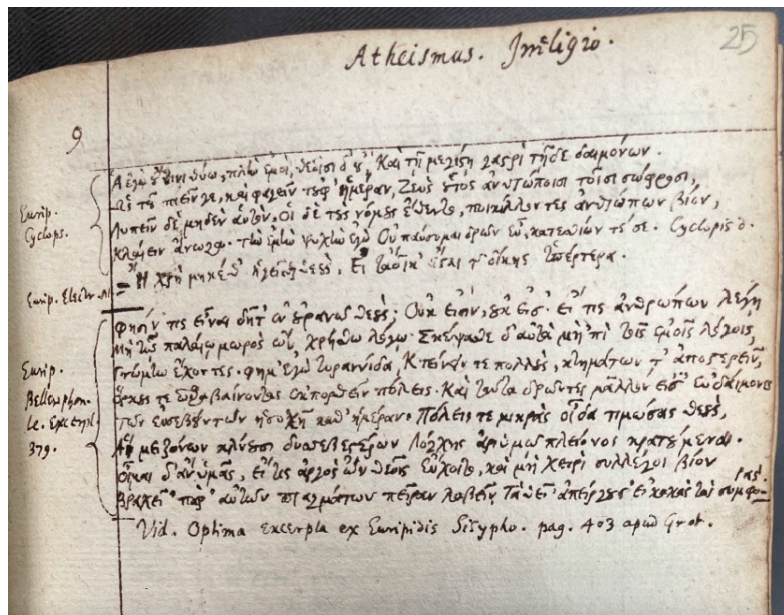
**Κάλλιον ἔγραψεν Εὐριπίδης, λέγων θεοὶ εἰ δρῶσιν αἰσχρὰ, οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί.** “Ὅμηρος καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι αὐτοῦ τισυντάς αἰσχρότητας περὶ τῶν θεῶν γεγραφήκοτες, τὸν σφῶν ἀθεῖσμόν τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις δηλότατα ἀπέφησαν.

Although Piety herself forbids any more talk of such debased things, the mind of Homer shivers with pleasure. **Euripides wrote more nobly about the gods, saying that, if the gods commit base actions, then they are no longer gods.** Homer and his comrades—who have continuously written such disgraceful accounts about the gods—have most evidently demonstrated to posterity that they are atheists.<sup>91</sup>

In his ‘Prologue’, Pasor distinguishes Euripides from the rest of the Greek canon. Pasor presents Euripides as being exemplary and suggests, not quite an affinity, but at least a higher degree of compatibility between Euripides and scripture, in contrast to ‘Homer and his comrades’ (*Ὅμηρος καὶ οἱ μέτοχοι αὐτοῦ*). Although Pasor’s quotation of the fragment of Euripides’ *Bellerophon* (Nauck fr. 292.7) does not exonerate the Athenian tragedian—Euripides only wrote ‘more nobly’ (*κάλλιον*) than other classical authors about the gods—the way that he marks Euripides out is nevertheless striking. This is all the more surprising when one compares Pasor’s ‘Prologue’ regarding Euripides and atheism with the ways that students in seventeenth-century Cambridge did read Euripides. For example, in one densely-packed commonplace book from c.1648 consisting solely of extracts from Greek drama, under the heading ‘*Atheismus. Irreligio.*’, Isaac Barrow (1630–1677), an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, only records Euripidean *sententiae* (from *Cyclops*, *Electra*, *Bellerophon*, and *Sisyphus*) as examples of atheism in Greek tragedy (see Fig. 3).<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Pasor, *Lexicon Græco-Latin in Novum Testamentum* (London, 1621), p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Barrow gained his BA at Trinity in 1648 and his MA in 1652. He became a Fellow Trinity in 1649 and succeeded Duport as both Regius Professor of Greek (1660–63) and as Master of Trinity (1673–77). I am grateful to Mordechai Feingold for drawing my attention to Barrow’s student writings.



**Fig. 3.** Commonplace Book (c.1648) of Isaac Barrow (1630–77) containing ‘Dr Barrows Sentences Collected out of the Old Greek Tragedians and Comedians’ (Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 9. 40, fol.25<sup>v</sup>). Barrow was the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1660–1663). By permission from the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

While this fragment from Euripides’ *Bellerophon* has long been recognised to have resonated with Milton, Miltonists have nevertheless been puzzled about *how* Milton might have accessed this (or any other) fragments from Euripides’s *Bellerophon*. This is because, as Syniewski and MacMaster point out, ‘the edition of Euripides’ plays that Milton owned, which is at the Bodleian library, does not contain any fragments.’<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, Syniewski and MacMaster insist that this fragment from Euripides’ *Bellerophon* (which Pasor also quotes in his ‘Prologue’) is central to Samson’s attack on the Philistines’ gods: ‘whether Milton knew this fragment of the *Bellerophon* or not, he certainly knew of Euripides’s propensity to question Athenian religious belief’.<sup>94</sup> It is striking, therefore, that the Calvinist Hellenist Pasor should appropriate a quotation from one of Euripides’ most atheistic

<sup>93</sup> Syniewski and MacMaster, ‘Double Motivation and the Ambiguity of “Ungodly Deeds”: Euripides’ *Medea* and Milton’s *Samson Agonistes*’, p. 163, n. 19.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

*sententiae* and refigure it as a justification for the Athenian tragedian's accommodation within Christian teaching in his *Lexicon* which Milton must have used in his Greek studies at Christ's College.

In contrast to his likening of Odysseus with Satan at the beginning of *Threnothriambos*, Duport engages directly and intensively with the resemblance identified by Protestant humanists between Odysseus's suffering in the *Odyssey* and Job's torments.<sup>95</sup> Also, Duport's handling of passages from the *Iliad* pertaining to Agamemnon's *atē*—a disastrous delusion or sin, such as when Agamemnon, in a state of *atē*, insults Achilles in *Iliad* 1 with dire consequences—is closely linked to Protestant humanists' interpretations of Agamemnon's *atē* and the troubling theological problems it poses concerning piety, divine retribution, and punishment. The strong influence that Protestant theologians and Hellenists' interpretations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had upon Duport's design of *Threnothriambos* is particularly vivid when one considers their interpretations of justice and injustice, deserved and undeserved suffering in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

In his commentary to the theodicy in *Odyssey* 1 and upon the deserved and undeserved suffering of Aegisthus and Odysseus respectively, the Huguenot Hellenist Jean de Sponde expresses his disquiet at Odysseus being made to suffer seemingly for no reason:

Nam cum dixerit Iupiter Aegisthum **propria culpa** periisse, quod antea a Mercurio monitus esset, ne scelera illa nefaria perpetraret: opponit nunc ei Ulysses Minerva, quasi nimirum Aegisthus mortem suam meruerit, qui tam flagitiosus et perditus esset, Ulysses vero pius et religiosus inique et sine ulla causa tot laboribus exerceatur, antequam in patriam suam pervenire possit.

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<sup>95</sup> See, for example, the 'Proem' to Joshua Sylvester's *Job Triumphant in his Trial*: 'Twere labour lost to fable (Homer-like) / The Strange long voyage of a wily Greek, / The pains, the perils and extreme disease / That he endured both by land and seas, / Sith sacred truth's heaven-prompted books present / In combatant Job a worthier argument' (Sylvester, *Du Bartas His Divine Weekes*, p. 455). See also Parrinder, *Nation and Novel*, pp. 106–125.

For when Zeus said that Aegisthus perished **on account of his own sin** because Aegisthus had already been warned before by Mercury, not to commit those impious crimes. Minerva now compares Aegisthus with Odysseus, even though Aegisthus (who was so shameful and corrupt) undoubtedly deserved his death whereas Odysseus (who is truly dutiful and devout) is unfairly and undeservedly made to suffer so many toils before he can reach his homeland.<sup>96</sup>

The root of Sponde's unease is the wider, theological ramification of Odysseus being made to suffer 'undeservedly' (*sine ulla causa*), unlike Aegisthus whom Sponde underlines had clearly, through his own sinfulness, merited his terrible death. Similarly, as Micha Lazarus shows, the scholarship on Sophocles' tragedies by Melanchthon and his contemporaries at Wittenburg—such as Joachim Camerarius in his *argumentum* to *Oedipus Tyrannus*—is also acutely focused on suffering and undeserved punishment.<sup>97</sup> In Odysseus's Jobean predicament, Sponde does not recognise why Odysseus is made to suffer whereas Aegisthus has only himself to blame. As David Quint observes, Milton engages directly with the theological ramifications of Aegisthus's suffering in *Paradise Lost* when Milton alludes to *Od.*1.32–4 when Milton's God questions: 'whose [fault] but his own? Ingrate, he had of me / All he could have; I made him just and right, / Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall' (*PL* 3.97–99).<sup>98</sup> In response to this Odyssean allusion, Quint states that, like Zeus 'who sent his messenger Hermes to warn Aegisthus not to commit the deed[,] so God in *Paradise Lost* will send the angel Raphael to forewarn Adam and Eve against disobeying the prohibition of the forbidden fruit'.<sup>99</sup> There is a distinct tradition in Calvinistic Greek scholarship on this precise point in the *Odyssey* which Milton and Duport are inheritors of in their own interpretations of Homer's epics. Sponde's remarks about Aegisthus's suffering on account

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<sup>96</sup> Sponde, *Homeri quae extant omnia*, p. 5.

<sup>97</sup> Lazarus, 'Tragedy at Wittenburg'.

<sup>98</sup> Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, p. 60.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

of his own sin are strongly influenced by Calvin and the notion that one must take responsibility for their own suffering since they suffer 'on account of their own sin' (*propria culpa*), and therefore God cannot be blamed for their suffering. In his commentary on the Second Epistle of Peter, Calvin writes concerning the Fall of the Rebel Angels that:

Quod nobis utile erat, Deus patefecit, Diabolos initio creatos esse ut Deo parent; fuisse vero **propria culpa** apostatas, quia Dei imperium non tulerint: itaque pravitatem quae in illis haeret, accidentalem esse, non a natura ut Deo attribui queat.

What is useful to us, God has made known, that is, that the devils were first created, that they might obey God, but that **through their own sin** they apostatized because they did not submit to the authority of God: and that thus the wickedness found in them was accidental, and not from nature, with the result that it could not be attributed to God.<sup>100</sup>

The influence that Calvin exerts upon Sponde's commentary on Homeric theology is evident in Sponde's commentary to *Iliad* 12 where he argues that Hector sins through an excess of piety. In a reading that is similar to Frischlin's commentary to Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* discussed above, Sponde writes in his annotation to *Iliad* 12.241:

Pia quidem est Hectoris sententia, qua statuit Iovis consilio parendum: sed si ad veterum illorum normam pietatem exigimus, nimis pie aut non satis pie facit, qui hoc etiam prodigium a Iove immissum plane est aspernatus. Et hic locus docet, plerosque pietatis praetextu in impietatem contra saepissime impingere, et tunc vere est excessus pietatis.

Hector's thought is pious, and he affirms that we must obey the decision of Jupiter. However, if we measure his piety by the standards of the ancients, Hector either acts too piously or not piously enough. This is because he completely despised the portent sent by Jupiter. And this passage teaches that many people, under the pretext of piety, actually very often fall into impiety and, consequently, stray away from piety itself.<sup>101</sup>

In response to this specific annotation, Christiane Deloince-Louette explains:

la 'piété impie' est donc une forme de démesure. C'est vouloir se rapprocher de Dieu au point d'oublier ses messages. C'est exiger de Dieu une connaissance directe au lieu d'écouter les signes de la foi. Calvin condamnait déjà cet orgueil dans *l'Institution de la religion chrétienne*.

<sup>100</sup> Calvin, *Opera exegetica*, vol. 20, p. 349.

<sup>101</sup> Sponde, *Homeri quae extant omnia*, p. 223.



‘Impious piety’ is therefore one form of excess. It is the wish to get closer to God to the point of forgetting his messages. It is the determination to gain direct knowledge of God instead of listening to the signs of faith. Calvin had already condemned this pride in the *Institution of the Christian Religion*.<sup>102</sup>

Beyond Sponde’s Homeric commentary, we find the association between the Book of Job and questions of just and unjust punishment in Calvin’s *Institutes*. Calvin’s *only* Homeric quotation (which, notably, he does not translate) in the entire *Institutes* is his reference to Agamemnon’s refusal to take responsibility for his *atē* in *Iliad* 19 and it follows immediately after Calvin’s lengthy discussion of Job.<sup>103</sup> The passage Calvin attacks is *Iliad* 19.86–90 when Agamemnon insists that Zeus and Fate (*Μοῖρα*) were responsible for his *atē* when he denied Achilles his ‘prize’ (*γέρας*).<sup>104</sup> In contrast, Calvin praises Job’s ascription of the cause of his own suffering to himself rather than to any wrongdoing by God. Calvin fiercely criticises Agamemnon’s position in *Iliad* 19 when he insists that the gods should be blamed for his ill-fated conduct towards Achilles, ascribing responsibility for his *atē* to Zeus and Fate rather than to himself:

Ad hanc modestiam quicumque erunt compositi, neque in praeteritum tempus de rebus adversis contra Deum fremunt, neque scelerum culpam in ipsum regerent: sicut Homericus Agamemnon, ἐγὼ δ’οὐκ αἰτιός εἰμι, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ μοῖρα.

All who will dispose themselves to this moderation [in the Book of Job] will not murmur against God on account of their adversities in time past, nor lay the blame for their own wickedness upon him as did the Homeric Agamemnon, saying: ‘I am not the cause, but Zeus and Fate’.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Deloince-Louette, *Sponde, Commentateur d’Homère*, p. 320.

<sup>103</sup> For recent studies of classical literature and Calvin’s *Institutes*, see Summers, ‘Reformation Humanism’, and Wolterstorff, ‘The Christian Humanism of John Calvin’.

<sup>104</sup> The lineation, text, and translation from *Iliad* 19 is from the Loeb Classical Library edition and not from Sponde’s edition. I take the translation ‘prize’ from Murray’s Loeb translation.

<sup>105</sup> Calvin, *Institutio*, vol. 2, p. 205; Ford Lewis Battles (trans.), *Institutes*, vol. 1, p. 214.

How do Christian humanists' treatment of Odysseus's suffering and Agamemnon's *atē* inform Duport's Homeric cento-paraphrase of the Book of Job? *Threnothriambos* firmly belongs to this tradition of Protestant, Homeric scholarship and criticism since his Greek paraphrase functions as an Erasmian 'uninterrupted commentary' (*commentarius perpetuus*). The cento poetics of *Threnothriambos* work in precisely the same way that Stephen Hinds describes how Late Antique biblical centos function as the 'centonists' own built-in commentaries'.<sup>106</sup> In the following passages, Duport provides a Calvinistic commentary on Job's suffering through a Homeric lens, just as Sponde expounded on Homer's epics simultaneously as a classicist and a Calvinist. The following passages reflect the ways in which Homer's epics were read in a decidedly exegetical light within Cambridge and, therefore, potentially reflect the ways Milton himself may have read the Greek texts of Homer's epics over the course of his seven years at Cambridge.<sup>107</sup>

In his treatment of Job 19:4, 'And be it indeed that I have erred, the error remaineth with myself', Duport channels Job's meditation upon the suffering he experiences *propria culpa* through Agamemnon's acceptance of his own error. Job's acceptance of his own sin is filtered through the moment in *Iliad* 9 when Agamemnon acknowledges his share of responsibility for his own *atē*:

Πολλάκις ἀφραδίης εἴκων ἀλιτήμενος ἦα,  
 Ἦμβροτον, **ἀασάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέησι πιθήσας** [//. 9.119]  
 Ὅυ γὰρ **ἀναίνουμ'** ἐγώ. (τίς κεν βροτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτη;) [//. 9.116]  
 Ἄλλὰ τί τοῖσι καὶ ὕμιν; ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μελόντων  
 Ἄτη ἐμὴ παρ' ἐμοῖ, τῆς μηδ' ἀλεγιζέτω ἄλλος.

I have foolishly offended God many times,  
 And I've sinned because **I was blind through yielding to my miserable passion.**  
**I do not deny it.** (For which mortal has not sinned?)

<sup>106</sup> Hinds, 'The Self-Conscious Cento', p. 174.

<sup>107</sup> See Donnelly, 'Homer Writes Back: Rhetorical Arts and Biblical Epic Justice in *Paradise Lost*'.

Who among those or among yourselves hasn't?  
 I take responsibility for this *atē* of mine: mine, and mine alone.  
 I do not trouble myself with the *atē* of another.<sup>108</sup>

Duport fuses Job's acceptance of his own error with the re-formed (and now Reformist) Agamemnon and his acceptance of his own wrongdoing, forcefully stressing his personal responsibility by stating that 'I take responsibility for this *atē of mine: mine, and mine alone*' (*έμοι τάδε πάντα μελόντων / Άτη έμή παρ' έμοι*). Duport accommodates Agamemnon's consideration that the reversal in the Greeks' fortunes might be on account of his own error (*propria culpa*) rather than any wrongdoing by Zeus. In so doing, Duport establishes a Calvinistic reading of error: we are responsible for our own error only and neither our nor anyone else's sin can be imputed to God.<sup>109</sup> It is worth noting here that the sample which R. Ward Holder marks out as the key example of 'Calvin's exegetical use of paraphrase' is in Calvin's expounding upon Paul's use of the term 'propria culpa' in his commentary to Romans 1:22.<sup>110</sup> In Duport's handling of Job 19:4, he emphasises the sole responsibility for sin—something which Agamemnon denies at many times in the *Iliad*—with the result that it tempers Agamemnon's rare admission of guilt for his own misdeeds with Protestant doctrine about culpability. Therefore, Agamemnon's ethical failing, which was addressed by Calvin in the *Institutes*, is corrected by Duport.

However, this attitude towards culpability is by no means sustained throughout *Threnothriambos* where we find Job present conflicting arguments regarding whether he truly is responsible for the suffering he experiences. In Duport's handling of Job 16:17 'Not for any injustice in my hands; also my prayer is pure', Duport's paraphrase strongly rejects

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<sup>108</sup> Duport, *Threnothriambos*, p. 88.

<sup>109</sup> In *Homeri Gnomologia*, Duport defines Agamemnon's *atē* thus: '*Hinc Άτη [...] est & militia & miseria, & culpa seu delictum, & damnum seu nocumentum*' (Duport, *Homeri Gnomologia*, p. 47).

<sup>110</sup> Holder, *John Calvin and the Grounding of Interpretation*, p. 97.

Job's own responsibility for the punishment that he endures, finding the toils he suffers undeserved, just as Sponde felt that Odysseus suffered toils unfairly and 'undeservedly' (*sine ulla causa*). Rather than Agamemnon, this time we hear Achilles' voice pierce through Job's outcry:

Οὐδ' ἔνεχ' ἡμετέρης ἄτης κρατέρ ἄλγεα πείσχω [//.2.721; Od.5.13]

Οὐ γὰρ ἀτασθαλός εἰμ', οὐδὲ φρεσὶν αἴσυλα εἰδῶς

Οὔτε γὰρ εὐχῶλης ἐπιμεμφεται, οὔθ' ἑκατόμβης, [//.1.65]

"Ἦν αὐτῷ ποτ' ἔρεξα ἰλιτή δὲ μευ ἐστὶν ἀμύμων.

I do not suffer extreme pain on account of my sin, for I am not wicked.

I do not have evil thoughts in my mind.

Therefore, neither can my prayer be blamed nor my hecatomb

which I have already performed for Him. My prayer is blameless.<sup>111</sup>

Job's statements about how he does not deserve to suffer so greatly are channelled through Achilles' questioning during the council scene in *Iliad* 1 when he and the Greeks seek to discover the causes for Apollo's anger against them. Job's complaint that he suffers undeservedly is intermixed with Achilles' inquiry into the causes of Apollo's anger towards the Greeks. What was originally a question becomes a declaration of certainty in Job's voice. While Achilles questioned whether Apollo's anger could have been sparked by the Greeks' prayer or sacrificial offering, Job states it is neither of these and that both his thoughts and actions cannot be reproached. Crucially, Job is assured that he cannot suffer *propria culpa* which is precisely translated as 'on account of my sin' (*ἐνεχ' ἡμετέρης ἄτης*) in the line: 'I do not suffer extreme pain on account of my sin' (*Οὐδ' ἔνεχ' ἡμετέρης ἄτης κρατέρ ἄλγεα πείσχω*). This runs counter to Sponde, Calvin, and other Protestant Hellenic scholars' interpretations of Job's culpability since his paraphrase amplifies Job's innocence by stressing how faultless, in both action and mind, he has been.

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<sup>111</sup> Duport, *Threnothriambos*, p. 78.

There is a striking inversion found in Duport's handling of Job 8:3, 'Does God pervert justice? Or does the Almighty abolish what is right?':

Ἦ ὀρθὴν ἀλίωσε δίκην πανυπέρτατος Ἐσσήν;  
Ἦ ἐπάρ' ἀνθρώποις σκολιάς ἔκρινε θέμιστας; [Il.16.387; WD 221]

Did the most almighty King vainly throw away correct justice?  
Or did he impose crooked judgements against men?<sup>112</sup>

Job's anguished question throws into doubt the justifiability of God's retributive justice and judgement, and Duport combines Job's question with Homeric and Hesiodic passages expounding divine retribution. In *Iliad* 16.385–88, Zeus's wrath is enflamed towards those who act corruptly in imposing 'crooked judgements' (*σκολιάς θέμιστας*); that is, Zeus punishes those who malevolently and intentionally pervert justice. And in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (220–21), the speaker warns his brother against hubris and to always maintain justice because there is

τῆς δὲ Δίκης ρόθος ἐλκομένης ἢ κ' ἄνδρες ἄγωσι  
δωροφάγοι, σκολιῆς δὲ δίκης κρίνωσι θέμιστας

a tumult when Justice is dragged where men who are venal hijack her, those who impose crooked judgements with false injustice.<sup>113</sup>

In Duport's paraphrase of Job's exasperated question, we see a point of disjunction between Homeric and Hesiodic theology on the one hand and Christian theology on the other where, instead of correcting and making straight 'crooked' justice, Job asks whether God Himself makes justice crooked. Duport's cento-paraphrase frames Job's incensed question as an inversion of Homeric and Hesiodic theology regarding divine retribution: while Zeus corrects what is crooked, here it is God who breaks correct justice.

<sup>112</sup> Duport, *Threnothriambos*, p. 38.

<sup>113</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, trans. by Most, p. 105.

Duport's handling of 'crooked judgements' in *Threnothriambos* results in Job asking desperate questions in the face of a Calvinistic *scandale* (literally 'stumbling block'). In *Des scandales*, Calvin explains that 'many things are contained there that seem unreasonable to human judgment, even mad and deserving to be mocked' ('plusieurs choses y sont continues qui semblent deraisonables, voire bien sottes et dignes de mocquerie au jugement humain'), and Duport's handling of Homeric inversions in his paraphrase of Job 8:3 reflects Calvin's discussion of *scandales* as well as Calvin's own commentary to Job 8:3.<sup>114</sup> In her reading of Calvin's commentary to Job 8:3 in his *Sermons on Job*, Susan Schreiner remarks that, 'while being tested for patience, Job, according to Calvin, confronted the incomprehensibility of God's judgements[.] In his search for justice, Calvin's Job came face to face with the darker side of God'.<sup>115</sup> Still on Job 8:3, Schreiner also observes that, 'in Calvin's interpretation, Job's cries that the just could be condemned meant that God's secret justice could condemn the purity of the Law'.<sup>116</sup> In his interpretation of Job 8:3 (here in Arthur Golding's 1574 translation), Calvin argues that it is impossible to understand God's seemingly tyrannical behaviour, something which is depicted as a Calvinistic *scandale* or theological paradox by Duport where he mixes Zeus's wrath against those who abuse Justice to Job's question whether God Himself is capable of abusing Justice:

let us beware that wee surmyze not a lawlesse power in God, as if he governed the world like a tyrant, and used excesse or cruelite. But lette us understande whereas he hath all things in his hande, and is of endlesse power and doeth al things, yet notwithstanding he ceaseth not too be righteous. It is true that this rightuousnesse of Gods is partly hidde from us, so as we comphende it not: but yet neverthelesse, it is of his mightinesse also: and for prooffe thereof, are we able to measure it by our wit and understanding? It is certaine that wee cannot.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Calvin, *Des scandales*, p. 62.

<sup>115</sup> Schreiner, 'Exegesis and Double Justice in Calvin's Sermons on Job', p. 327.

<sup>116</sup> Schreiner, *Where Shall Wisdom be Found?*, pp. 112–113.

<sup>117</sup> Calvin, *Sermons of Maister John Calvin, upon the Booke of Job*, p. 137.

Similarly, Anne Graham demonstrates that Golding (who also translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) presents Abraham's wrestling with the rationality of God's command that he must sacrifice his son, Isaac, in his translation of the Reformist theologian Théodore de Bèze's *Abraham sacrificiant* (1577) in terms of him being face-to-face with a Calvinistic *scandale*: 'the apparent contradiction in God's word is a key stumbling block for the Huguenot's Abraham'.<sup>118</sup> In turn, Duport's Job also faces such a *scandale* by means of an allusive clash between the Homeric/Hesiodic text and Job 8:3 reflecting, as William Bouwsma explains, Calvin's 'insistence on the limits of human rationality and his openness to all the contradictory realities of the human experience'.<sup>119</sup> With respect to these Hesiodic and Homeric verses, Wolfe finds that the beginning of *Paradise Lost*, which seeks to 'justify the wayes of God to men' (*PL* 1.26) is closely informed by Hesiod's conception of Zeus as a god who straightens the crooked where the opening lines of *Paradise Lost* 'reveal the Christian fulfilment of a conception of divine justice born in many of the ancient Greek writers [...] whom Milton admires most'.<sup>120</sup>

Lastly, Duport renders Job 22:19, 'The righteous see it, and are glad: and the innocent laugh at them to scorn', into a cento-paraphrase deriving from *Iliad* 1 and concluding with a line from the theodicy of *Odyssey* 1:

<u>Ἦ κεν γηθήσαι ἀγαθός τ' ἀγαθοῖο τε παῖδες,</u>	[ <i>Il.</i> 1.255]
Ἴσσοι τ' εὐσεβέες <u>μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῶ,</u>	[ <i>Il.</i> 1.256]
<u>Ἄσβεστός τ' ἄρ' ἐνώρτο γέλως</u> ἄνδρεςσι δικαίοις,	[ <i>Il.</i> 1.599]
Ὡς ἴδον ἀφραδέας διὰ γαῖαν οἴζυοντας,	
<u>Σφῆσι τ' ἀτασθαλίησιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχοντας.</u>	[ <i>Od.</i> 1.34]

**Truly good men and their sons would rejoice,  
 And the highly pious would be greatly glad at heart.  
**And unquenchable laughter exploded** among the just men**

<sup>118</sup> Graham, 'Toning Down Abraham', p. 56.

<sup>119</sup> Bouwsma, *John Calvin*, p. 161.

<sup>120</sup> Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife*, p. 316.

As they saw foolish wretches across the land

**Whose own sins bring them suffering that was beyond their destiny.**<sup>121</sup>

Here, ‘just men’ (ἄνδρεςσι δίκαιοις, substituting the ‘blessed gods’ of Olympus, μακαρέσσι θεοῖσιν (Il.1.599)) deplore and scorn ‘foolish wretches’ whose ‘own sins bring them suffering that was beyond their destiny’. That line, *Od.* 1.34, is from Zeus’s opening speech where he condemns mortals who blame the gods for their own errors:

ὦ πόποι, οἷον δὴ νῦ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιώωνται·  
 ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κάκ’ ἔμμεναι, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 σφῆξιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε’ ἔχουσιν[.]

It’s astonishing how ready mortals are to blame the gods.  
 It is from us, they say, that evils come, but they even by themselves,  
 through their own blind folly, have sorrows beyond that which is ordained.  
 (*Od.*1.32–34)

In Duport’s Calvinistic version, ‘just men’ scorn those who blame Zeus rather than themselves for their own suffering. Duport’s handling of Job 22:19 resembles Milton’s (albeit anti-Calvinist) response to Zeus’s opening speech in *De Doctrina Christiana* where, as Wolfe explains, ‘Milton invokes Zeus’s opening speech in the *Odyssey* to support his own repudiation of predestinarian theology, which errs in making God the author of sin’.<sup>122</sup> In response to Milton’s quotation (and translation) of *Odyssey* 1.32–34 at the conclusion of the chapter on Predestination, Hale states that ‘the reliance on Homer at such a climax is the single most striking pagan allusion in *De doctrina*’.<sup>123</sup> Although this is certainly striking, it is not unprecedented. Richard Strier also finds the ways that Milton presents ‘Homeric heroism as a model for Christians’ to be extraordinary and singular on Milton’s behalf.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Duport, *Threnothriambos*, p. 108.

<sup>122</sup> Wolfe, p. 315. On Milton’s anti-Calvinist stance, see Fallon, ‘Milton in Intellectual History’.

<sup>123</sup> Hale, *Milton’s Scriptural Theology*, p. 80.

<sup>124</sup> Strier, *The Unrepentant Renaissance*, p. 290.



However, Duport's strategies for reconciling Homeric epics with Christian (and, specifically, Calvinist) teaching further highlights a shared methodology between Duport and Milton.<sup>125</sup>

In *Threnothriambos*, Duport calibrates Homeric theology with Christian teaching especially on matters of justice and culpability. Passages dealing with justice and suffering in the Book of Job are not paraphrased into Homeric Greek on a purely linguistic plane, but the Homeric poems themselves substantiate and vindicate Calvinist interpretations. This is highly sympathetic to Milton's reading of Greek texts and this long-standing attitude of Milton's is encapsulated especially in Milton's remarks in *Areopagitica*, the preface to *Samson Agonistes*, and *De Doctrina Christiana* quoted above. The development of this long-standing attitude may, therefore, have first developed at Cambridge where the teaching and study of Greek texts had a highly confessional impetus. In the *Institutes*, Calvin attacked Agamemnon's ascription of his *atē* to the gods rather than to his own sin. This theologically erroneous position of Agamemnon's is expanded upon by Duport as he directly pits Agamemnon intertextually against Job's acceptance of his own wrongdoing. Duport's *Threnothriambos* carries into the early seventeenth-century the developing affinity between Virgilian and Homeric centos and Protestant poetics which grew in the second half of the sixteenth century. This was partly because, as George Hugo Tucker observes, centos increasingly became a feature in 'anti-Roman propaganda in Reformist editions' (such as the Calvinist Henri Estienne's *Parodae morales*) and that, 'in the Counter Reformation post-1555, the Virgilian verse-cento fell into discredit for its use of Virgil's pagan language'.<sup>126</sup> Throughout *Threnothriambos*, Duport exploits the dynamics of contradiction and juxtaposition inherent to the cento and applies them to the process of Protestant scriptural

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<sup>125</sup> See n. 35 above.

<sup>126</sup> Tucker, 'Virgil Reborn', p. 186. On the printing of Capilupi's *Centones ex Virgilio* in Edinburgh by Scottish Reformers, see MacDonald, 'Propagating Religious Reformation in Scotland to ca. 1567', p. 44.

exegesis. Duport's *Threnothriambos* is part of a wider tradition in Reformation Hellenic scholarship in which the Homeric poems not only provide apt and fitting parallels with Protestant—and especially Calvinist—theology in their ideas and *sententiae*, but actually inform Protestant scriptural exegesis itself. I will show in Chapter 3.2 that the legacy of Greek scholarship *specifically* at Cambridge plays a significant role, not only in the highly scriptural and exegetical methods of reading Homer's epics, but also in his approaches to the Greek language itself and to issues concerning Greek identity.

### **1.2: Greek and “The Lady of Christ’s College”: Latin–Greek Code-Switching in John Milton’s *Prolusion VI* (c.1631)**

As well as being the object of serious, sober, theological contemplation, Greek also offered for the student Milton opportunities for exuberance, wit, and humour at Cambridge. In this section, I explore multiple instances of Latin-Greek code-switching in Milton's 'Prolusion VI'—which is more likely to have been performed in July 1631 rather than in July 1628—and especially the Latin–Greek code-switching in arguably the most famous passage of all Milton's *Prolusions*: the autobiographical part in which Milton addresses his unusual nickname of 'the Lady' (*Domina*) at Christ's College. I argue that Milton's transitions from Latin into Greek are not simply ways of heightening the erudite register of the college oration, but rather that Milton's Latin-Greek code-switching is part of a wider rhetorical strategy that he employs for conveying transitory states of change and transgression, something which is shown when one scrutinizes the allusive texture of Milton's forays into Greek in 'Prolusion VI' and what these can reveal about his self-representation as 'the Lady

of Christ's College'.<sup>127</sup> In spite of the prominence of Milton's experimentation with Latin–Greek code-switching in this part of 'Prolusion VI', the specific role that Greek plays within Milton's design of one of the most significant and challenging autobiographical revelations that Milton ever makes in his writings—his acknowledgement of his college nickname as 'the Lady of Christ's College'—has not been an object of study before.<sup>128</sup>

In her study of linguistic code-switching, Natalie Hess finds that code-switching generates a 'state of creative in-betweenness' and that it is often employed in order to reflect 'themes of alienation, transition and liminality'.<sup>129</sup> Of all the *Prolusiones*, 'Prolusion VI' is the one which is most invested in linguistic code-switching. 'Prolusion VI' concludes with Milton announcing that he will 'hasten from Latin to English' (*à Latinis ad Anglicana transcurro*) where he recites the English poem 'At a Vacation Exercise in the Colledge, part Latin, part English':

Hail native Language, that by sinews weak  
Didst move my first endeavouring tongue to speak  
(‘At a Vacation Exercise’, 1-2)<sup>130</sup>

Just as the oration is itself part Latin, part Greek, and the poem is part Latin, part English, Milton's comically reflects upon his college nickname as the 'Lady of Christ's College' which renders him part male, part female. As shown especially by the role that Greek plays in the

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<sup>127</sup> For advocates of the July 1631 date of composition, see Campbell, 'Milton and the Water Supply of Cambridge'; Shawcross, *Rethinking Milton Studies*, p. 182, n. 1; and Jones, "Ere Half My Days': Milton's Life, 1608–1640", p. 10.

<sup>128</sup> On the psychological significance of the nickname "the Lady" for the young Milton, see especially Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence*, pp. 85–6; and Shawcross, *John Milton: The Self and the World*, pp. 40–72. Together with Jeffrey Gore, I have co-organised a roundtable at the 13<sup>th</sup> International Milton Symposium at the University of Toronto (10–14 July 2023) titled 'John Milton and William Chappell: Homosociality, Education, and Violence' which partly seeks to question how and why Milton gained his nickname of "the Lady" while an undergraduate at Cambridge.

<sup>129</sup> Hess, 'Code Switching and Style Shifting as Markers of Liminality in Literature', p. 5 and p. 17.

<sup>130</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, p. 289. All quotations and translations are drawn from Hale's edition of 'Prolusion VI' and 'At a Vacation Exercise' *Cambridge Latin* ('Milton's Salting (*Editio Princeps*): Text and Translation', pp. 239–293). For discussion of macaronic verse in Cambridge saltings, see *Cambridge Latin*, pp. 187–192.

Latin accounts given by Aulus Gellius and Erasmus of the mockery that the Roman orator Hortensius faced for being allegedly effeminate, the alignment between Greek (in a Latin context) and sexual transgression is a crucially informative element to Milton's own Latin-Greek code-switching in this passage of 'Prolusion VI'. With respect to this college nickname, Douglas Trevor states that it shows Milton 'struggled while at Cambridge against conventional stereotypes regarding manliness' and that, in acknowledging his nickname, he 'goes on to defend his putatively feminine sensibility'.<sup>131</sup>

Although much scholarly ink has been spilled in investigating the Milton's college nickname in 'Prolusion VI', the actual practice of Latin-Greek code-switching itself in 'Prolusion VI' and the effects of Milton's transitions between Latin and Greek in the college oration have not been studied fully. I will argue that Milton's Latin-Greek code-switching is by no means neutral but, rather, it is part of a wider rhetorical strategy for conveying subversive, carnivalesque effects, especially at moments of transition and of liminal states. Similarly, other Latin orations of the period by George Herbert and James Duport also show that *romanitas* and *Latinitas* shift into Greek partly in order to convey the Cambridge orators' focus on un-Roman (and, therefore, non-Latin) characteristics; the close proximity between linguistic and moral codes are expressed linguistically within the Latin-Greek code-switching of Cambridge orations, though most especially in Milton's 'Prolusion VI'.<sup>132</sup> This is not to suggest a clear-cut, consistently-held rule in the uses of Latin and Greek in Cambridge orations, but rather > the comparisons I offer here between Herbert, Duport, and Milton are

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<sup>131</sup> Trevor, 'Milton and Female Perspiration', p. 189.

<sup>132</sup> Quintillian, *Instituta*.1.Pr.10-13: 'I am proposing to educate the perfect orator, who cannot exist except in the person of a good man. We therefore demand of him not only exceptional powers of speech, but all the virtues of character as well' (trans. by D.A. Russell, *Quintillian: The Orator's Education*, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001)).

intended to highlight one shared, stylistic use of Latin–Greek code-switching in the these samples from early seventeenth-century Cambridge.

### **Latin–Greek Code-Switching in Cambridge Orations: George Herbert, James Duport, and John Milton**

John Hale contextualises Milton’s Latin-English code-switching by comparing Milton’s ‘Prolusion VI’ with the works of Milton’s Cambridge contemporaries such as Thomas Randolph (1605–1635) and his macaronic and ‘licentious hexameters’ which he performed in 1632 when Randolph was the University Praevaricator.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, I will position Milton’s Latin–Greek code-switching in ‘Prolusion VI’ in its Cambridge context by examining three specimens of Latin–Greek code-switching in other orations performed at Cambridge from the same period: George Herbert’s oration on the return of Prince Charles from Spain (1623); James Duport’s oration on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot (c.1632–c.40); and John Milton’s ‘Prolusion I’ on whether day is more excellent than night (c.1625–c.29).

With respect to Herbert’s 1623 Latin oration, Hale remarks upon the prominence of its ‘multilingual interlarding’ and notes that ‘Greek words, phrases, lines, and passages (sometimes with variants) are frequent’—so frequent, in fact, that ‘the amount of the Greek is unusual’.<sup>134</sup> In their 2018 commentary on Herbert’s Latin orations, Catherine Freis and Greg Miller pay careful attention to Herbert’s virtuoso use of Greek in this 1623 oration. They find that Herbert even invents a new Greek word, *ύλομανία*, in the following passage:

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<sup>133</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, p. 188. For other comparisons of Milton’s ‘Prolusion VI’ and Randolph’s works, see Richek, ‘Thomas Randolph’s Salting (1627), Its Text, and John Milton’s Sixth Prolusion as Another Salting’; Freidberg, *Certain Small Festivities*; and Marlow, *Performing Masculinity in English University Drama, 1598–1636*, pp. 141–56.

<sup>134</sup> Hale, ‘George Herbert’s Oration before King James, Cambridge 1623’, p. 256. On Duport and Herbert—who were both members of Trinity College—see Prancic and Doelman, ‘“Ora pro me, sancta Herberte”: James Duport and the Reputation of George Herbert’.

Non rhetoricor, Academici, non tinnio: ύλομανίαν illam & inanem verborum strepitum iamdudum deposui: bullae & crepitacula puerorum sunt, aut eorum certè, qui cymbala sunt fanaticae iuventutis: ego verò sentio, & quis sum ipse (barbam, hui, tam grauem) & apud quos dico, viros limatae auris atque tersa[.]

I am not speaking rhetorically, Scholars, I clang no bells. I left that overgrown verbal thicket and the empty noise of words long ago. Bubbles and rattles are for boys, or for those who are merely the cymbals of fanatical youth. I genuinely know my true nature (I have a beard myself, look at that! — so distinguished!), just as I know who I am speaking to. You are men with refined and elegant minds.<sup>135</sup>

Freis and Miller explain that *ύλομανία* is ‘a Greek noun coined by Herbert from a Greek verb *hylomaneō* (*ύλομανέω*), ‘overgrown with thick wood’, used metaphorically of language ‘run riot’, and from a Greek adjective *hylomanēs* (*ύλομανής*) ‘mad for wood’’.<sup>136</sup> However,

Herbert has not invented a Greek neologism but, rather, he has used a *hapax legomenon*.

The word *ύλομανία* is employed by Epiphanius (c.310–403AD), Bishop of Constantia in

Cyprus, in his oration ‘Against the Semi-Arians’ (*Κατὰ Ἡμιαρείων*):

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀρείου γεγενημένων τὰ ζιζάνια διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τοῦ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον τομωτέρου ἐκτεμόντες, τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀρείον φυσείσης ύλομανίας διασκοπήσωμεν, πῶς τινὲς ἡμιαρειζουσιν, ἐκείνου μὲν τὸ ὄνομα ἀρνούμενοι, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακοδοξίαν ἐνδεδυμένοι[.]

But now that, with the word of God ‘which is sharper than any two-edged sword’ [Heb. 4:12] we have cut down the tares which sprouted from Arius himself, let us survey the tangled woodland which has grown up from Arius, to see how some are halfway Arians, who repudiate his name but adopt the man and his heresy. (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 53.1.1–2).<sup>137</sup>

Since *ύλομανία* does not feature in any editions pre-1623 of the key Renaissance dictionaries and lexicons of Greek (namely Stephanus’s *Thesaurus Graeco-Latinum*, Hesychius’s *Lexicon*, Pollux’s *Onomasticon*, and the *Suda*), it is likely that Herbert encountered this word from his

<sup>135</sup> Freis and Miller (eds), pp. 12–13.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 105, n.13.

<sup>137</sup> Epiphanius, *D. Epiphanius Episcopi Constantiae Cyrpi* (Basel, 1544), p. 360. Williams (trans.), *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, vol. 2, p. 433.

own reading of Epiphanius.<sup>138</sup> Epiphanius was read widely in seventeenth-century Cambridge and, in a 1614 inventory of the Trinity College Library (the library of Herbert's *alma mater*), Epiphanius is listed among the Greek Church Fathers who were studied by scholars at Trinity College.<sup>139</sup> Also, Milton and his peers at Cambridge read Epiphanius's *Panarion* as part of the theological curriculum of their bachelor's degree.<sup>140</sup> The reason why Epiphanius's *Panarion* held such a significant place in the theological (and Greek) curriculum at Cambridge is because Epiphanius was 'the principal patristic model for early-modern heresiography'.<sup>141</sup>

The effect of *ύλομανία* is twofold. Firstly, Herbert humorously distinguishes between the 'overgrown thicket' of rhetoric with his own facial hair and Herbert's description of shaggy, overgrown rhetoric contrasts with his compliment for his student audience whom he describes as 'refined' (*limitae*) and 'elegant' (*tersa*) in both their intellects and appearances. Secondly, Herbert engrafts into his Latin an exceptionally rare, horticultural Greek word which is used by Epiphanius to describe the Semi-Arians and their damaging rhetoric. For instance, Epiphanius fulminates against figures such as Origen (who influenced Arius) when he declares that Origen has had his 'mind blinded by Greek education' (*ἀπό τῆς προειρημένης Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας τυφλωθεὶς τὸν νοῦν. Panarion 64.72.9*).<sup>142</sup> Through his

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<sup>138</sup> Karl Benedikt Hase's nineteenth-century, revised edition of Stephanus's *Thesaurus* cites Epiphanius as the only precedent for *ύλομανία*: *Υμομανία, ἢ, Fruticatio inutilis* ["useless shoots"; cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 17.7: *in ipsis arboribus fruticatio inutilis*]. Epiphanius, t. 1, p. 845, A: Τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ φουείσης ὑλ. Id hodie πολυκλαδιᾶν vocant Graeci. Fraas. Synops. PII. Florae cl. p. 34. HASE' (Hase (ed.), *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae, ab Henrico Stephano constructus*, vol. 8, col. 87).

<sup>139</sup> See Gaskell, *Trinity College Library*, pp. 34–7. The shelf mark of *Memoriale Collegio Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis in Academia Cantabrigiensi dicatum* at Trinity College Library is MS R.17.8, fol.87<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Kenney, *All Wonders in One Sight*, p. 102. For the reception of Epiphanius in early seventeenth-century England, see Hutchins, 'The Fig Tree of Epiphanius in Jonson's "To Pensurst"'.  
<sup>141</sup> Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall*, p. 83. Milton cites Epiphanius in *Areopagetica* (CPW 2:518) and *Tetrachordon* (CPW 2:697). On Milton and Epiphanius, see Graves, 'Milton and the Theory of Accommodation'.

<sup>142</sup> Epiphanius, qt. and trans. by Kim in 'Reading the *Panarion* as Collective Biography', p. 411. On Epiphanius's view of Origen as the prime example of a Christian theologian corrupted by their classical Greek learning, see Kim, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: Imagining an Orthodox World*, pp. 19–21.

Latin–Greek code-switching, Herbert intermixes Plutarch’s concern that young men might be corrupted by poetry which may be ‘disturbing and misleading’ (*ταρακτικὸν καὶ παράφορον*. *Moralia* 15C) for their minds with Epiphanius’s concern about the danger that the rhetoric of the heretical Semi-Arians posed:

μηδ’ ἡμεῖς οὖν τὴν ποιητικὴν ἡμερίδα τῶν Μουσῶν ἐκκόπτωμεν μηδ’ ἀφανίζωμεν, ἀλλ’ ὅπου μὲν ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς ἀκράτου πρὸς δόξαν αὐθάδως θρασυνόμενον ἐξυβρίζει καὶ ὑλομανεῖ τὸ μυθῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ θεατρικόν, ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κολούωμεν καὶ πιέζωμεν

So let us not root up or destroy the Muses’ vine of poetry, but where the mythical and dramatic part **grows all** riotous and luxuriant, through pleasure unalloyed, which gives it boldness and obstinacy in seeking acclaim, let us take it in hand and prune it and pinch it back. (*Moralia* 15F).<sup>143</sup>

Later in the oration, Herbert sets the virtuous, young Prince Charles against the immorality and greed of Roman emperors such as Nero. At this point, Herbert’s Latin–Greek code-switching coincides with his portrayal of the luxury and greed of Tiberius and Constantine.

In one passage which is particularly dense in its Latin–Greek code-switching, Herbert compares Tiberius and Constantine’s gluttony with the Ancient Egyptian practice of ‘embalming’ (*ταριχεύματα*) which Herbert retains in Greek:

Quid ego bovis Neronum aut Heliogabalorum ingluviem memorem? quid ructus crapulae solium possidentis? Dies me deficeret (& quidem nox aptior esset tali historiae), si Romanorum Imperatorum incredibilem luxum à Tiberio Caesare ad Constanstantinum magnum aperirem, quorum imperium gulae impar erat, vt interdum putem, optimè consuluisse Deum orbi terrarum lapides & metella ei inserendo, alitèr mundus iam diu fuisset deuoratus. Nota sunt ταριχεύματα Aegyptiorum, qui antequam condiebant corpora Nobilium, solebant ventres eximere, quos in arcâ repositos abijciebant in fluuium, his verbis. Ὡ δέσποτα ἦλιε καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, εἴ τι κατὰ τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ βίον ἤμαρτον, ἢ φαγῶν ἢ πιῶν, ὧν μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν, οὐ δι’ ἑμαῦτον ἤμαρτον, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτα. At noster spretis voluptatibus, illecebris, μελιτταίαις ἀγχόλαις abiectis, iter aggreditur & labores, haud ignarus, ignem vitae augeri ventilatione, desidiâ corrumpi, neminèque esse sui negligentiorum, quam qui sibi parcat.

Why should I mention to you the gluttony of those like Nero or Heliogabalus? Or drunken belches sitting on a throne? If I were to take up the incredible luxury of Roman Emperors,

<sup>143</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. by Babbitt, pp. 80–81.



from Tiberius Caesar to Constantine the Great, their empire not as great as their appetite, a day would not be long enough for me (and night would be more suitable for such a history, in point of fact). So at times I think God thought up a superior plan when he framed the earth, placing stones and metals underground. Otherwise the world would have been consumed a long time ago. **Embalming** is well known among the Egyptians. Before they preserved the bodies of Nobles with spices, they used to remove their entrails which, deposited in a chest, they flung into the river with these words: **'O Lord Sun, and all you gods, if at any time in my life I have sinned in any way by consuming unlawful food or drink, I did not myself sin but sinned only through them'**. But our prince, despising pleasures, casting aside excessive desires (**honeeyed stranglings**), undertakes a journey and trials. He is not unmindful that life's flame grows by fanning and is put out by inaction, and that none are more self-negligent than those who spare themselves. (Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Killing Animals*, 4.10.4)<sup>144</sup>

While Herbert mostly paraphrases in Latin Porphyry's description of Egyptian funeral rites, he specifically quotes direct speech in Greek. In Herbert's source—Porphyry's *On Abstinence from Killing Animals* (4.10.4)—a certain Euphantus has translated an Egyptian priest's prayer into Greek: 'he says something like this, as Euphantos translated it from the language of his homeland: 'O Lord Sun and all the gods' ('Εστι δὲ [καὶ] ὁ λόγος, ὃν ἠρμήνευσεν Εὐφαντος ἐκ τῆς πατρῴου διαλέκτου, τοιοῦτος · "ὦ δέσποτα ἥλιε καὶ θεοὶ πάντες[...]").<sup>145</sup> Linguistically and stylistically, the self-indulgence of several Roman emperors is presented in an explicitly non-Latin, Greek context, potentially suggesting a deviation from the Latin language and Roman moral prudence.

Duport's vitriolically anti-Catholic oration is also remarkable for its frequent, Latin–Greek code-switching. Duport's oration celebrating the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot has not been edited before and remains unpublished; it is only preserved in the

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<sup>144</sup> Herbert, *George Herbert's Latin Prose: Orations and Letters*, trans. by Freis and Miller, pp. 26–9.

<sup>145</sup> Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Killing Animals*, trans. by Clark (London: Duckworth, 2000), pp. 108–9.; *De l'abstinence: livre IV*, ed. by Patillon and Segonds, pp. 16–17. The Greek text is from Patillon and Segonds edition and the translation is Clark's. The Egyptian Euphantus is not to be confused with Euphantus of Olynthus who is mentioned below in Chapter 4.

commonplace book of Anthony Scattergood (1611–87) and it has not been edited before.<sup>146</sup> Scattergood labels this oration as ‘*Orō J. Dup.*’, and it was likely to have been performed at Trinity College as part of the Gunpowder Plot anniversary celebrations. Milton, too, composed several Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot—five epigrams and one epyllion—which Poole argues may have been ‘written as Cambridge tutorial exercises in 1626 for the anniversary of the plot’.<sup>147</sup> Scattergood’s commonplace book also contains works by Thomas Randolph and Alexander Gill the Younger, including Gill’s poetic and linguistic diptych in Latin and Greek for the brothers Henry and Baptist Noel: one Latin poem dedicated to ‘*Iuvenem, Baptistam Noel*’ (8<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>) and one Greek poem dedicated to ‘*adolescentem, Henricum Noel*’ (8<sup>v</sup>).<sup>148</sup>

Although Scattergood does not record the year in which Duport performed this oration, it must have been performed on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot because Duport denigrates the plotters ‘whose crime is commemorated today with everyone’s hatred and execration’ (*quorum hodie scelus cum omnium odio et execratione commemoratur*) and he exclaims: ‘flames, torches, firebrands and, moreover, guns, canons, and gunpowder: *these* are the traitors’ devices of Rhetoric, *these* are the parts of the Jesuits’ argument! (*flammas item, faces et incendia; tormenta insuper, et bombardas, et nitratum pulverum: haec enim proditorum Rhetorica, haec Jesuitarum argumenta*).<sup>149</sup> Duport mocks popes striving for tyrannical power and likens them to Tarquin, Caligula, and Nero. Just as

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<sup>146</sup> British Library, MS Add. 44963. Scattergood’s transcription of Duport’s oration runs from fols.160<sup>r</sup>–177<sup>v</sup> and the commonplace book is dated from 1632 to 1640 (i.e. when Scattergood was at Trinity College). For more details of Scattergood’s commonplace book, see Davies, ‘Dr. Anthony Scattergood’s Commonplace Book’; and Poole, ‘The Literary Remains of Alexander Gil the Elder (1565–1635) and Younger (1596/7–1642?)’, p. 185, n. 46. Poole does not mention Duport’s oration in the article.

<sup>147</sup> Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, p. 23.

<sup>148</sup> This Latin and Greek diptych is printed in Gill, *Parerga*, pp. 54–5. Like Scattergood and Duport, Henry Noel was also at Trinity College.

<sup>149</sup> British Library, MS Add. 44963, fol.160<sup>r</sup>.

Herbert quotes Greek direct speech, Duport too adapts specifically direct speech in Greek found in Suetonius's *Life of Caligula* and *Life of Nero*. Duport alludes to Caligula and Nero's Greek (uttered precisely at moments of their greatest despotism and immorality) and weaves them into his portrayal of power-hungry popes:

hoc etiam illi alio in sensu optarûnt; quod et eundem Caligulam dixisse refert Suetonius **εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς** Pop: Ro: unum jam habent supremum caput, unum principem et moderatorem; Atque utinam unum solùm! **Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη**. Caesarem Pompeio parem, Rege domino suo Papam aequalem, ferre non possunt; Monitorem itaque Tarquinio Superbo I Romano Póntificem, Summa papavirum capita sunt discutienda. Notum illud Neronis **ἔμου ζῶνος γαῖα μυχθήτω πυρί**.

indeed, they also wish this, in another sense, that which Suetonius reports Caligula having said the same, **'Let there be one lord! One King!' [// 2.204]**. They already have one supreme head [i.e. the Pope], one prince and mediator. And may there be only one! **'It's no good to have more than one king' [//.2.205; Suetonius, Nero 38]** The Romans can't bear having Caesar as an equal to Pompey, and they can't bear to have the Pope equal to a king, their Lord; just as they can't bear a Pontifex as leader in prayers to be equal to the Roman Tarquin I (the Proud). This was acknowledged by Nero: **'while I live, may the earth be consumed with fire!'**.<sup>150</sup>

In juxtaposing the Roman pontiffs' desire to be the 'supremum caput' with the ambitions of Nero and Caligula, Duport modifies Suetonius's account that Caligula quoted Homer in Greek 'Let there be one lord! One king!' (*εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς*). Duport also adapts Suetonius's report that, as Rome burned, Nero cried out in Greek: 'while I live, may the earth be consumed with fire!' (*ἔμου ζῶνος γαῖα μυχθήτω πυρί*). Here, Duport modifies Suetonius's own Latin–Greek code-switching when he records the following conversation:

Sed nec populo aut moenibus patriae pepercit. Dicente quodam in sermone communi: **ἔμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μυχθήτω πυρί**, "Immo," inquit, "**ἔμοῦ ζῶντος**," planeque ita fecit.

But [Nero] showed no greater mercy to the people or the walls of his capital. When someone in a general conversation said: **'When I am dead, let earth be consumed by fire,'** he rejoined 'Nay, **rather while I live,**' and his action was wholly in accord. (Suetonius, *Nero* 38).<sup>151</sup>

<sup>150</sup> British Library, MS Add 44963, fols.166<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, trans. by Rolfe, vol. 2, pp. 148–9.

Duport uses examples of Roman emperors speaking Greek at the height of their megalomania in the context of attacking the popes by adapting two striking examples of direct speech in Greek in order to link the moral transgressions of the Roman emperors to the popes' ambitions for power. In their recent study of Latin-Greek code-switching in Suetonius, Olivia Elder and Alex Mullen find that Suetonius's 'use of Greek across the *Life [of Nero]* is a way to frame criticism of Nero's behaviour' and that generally, throughout Suetonius's *Lives*, Greek 'was used to contribute to his (negative) portrayal of the emperors'.<sup>152</sup> Suetonius's use of Greek in the *Lives* was also discussed by Early Modern commentators. In his commentary to Suetonius (Antwerp, 1574), the Swiss humanist Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563) highlights Suetonius's Latin-Greek code-switching and reflects upon code-switching in the vernacular: 'if it is permissible to mix Greek with Latin (indeed, often among those who do not understand Greek), then why it not permissible to add words from the *lingua Celtica* when speaking German—two languages which are no less ancient than Latin—among those who understand it?' (*Si licet Graeca immiscere Latinis, saepe etiam apud non intelligentes Graeca : cur non liceat inserere Celtica ac Germanicae non minus vetustate lingua verba, apud intelligenteis?*).<sup>153</sup> For Glarean, the precedent of Suetonius's Latin–Greek code-switching is used to support his argument that it should be permissible to switch between German and the *lingua Celtica* which he and other Renaissance humanists regarded as an especially ancient language.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Mullen and Elder, *The Language of Roman Letters: Bilingual Epistolography from Cicero to Fronto*, p. 244 and p. 242.

<sup>153</sup> Glarean (ed.), 'Præfatio', in *C. Suetonii Transquilli XII* (Antwerp, 1574), p. 115. For discussion of Glarean's lectures on Suetonius, see Grafton and Leu, '*Chronologica est unica historiae lux: How Glarean Studied and Taught the Chronology of the Ancient World*'.

<sup>154</sup> Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600–1800*, p. 192.

Duport's adaptation of examples from Suetonius's Latin–Greek code-switching suggests that he was sensitive to the negative connotations that Suetonius applies to the use of Greek in an oral and moral context in the *Lives*. It is important to demarcate the use of Greek in writing and the use of Greek in speech because, as we will see in 'Prolusion VI', Milton draws heavily upon a controversial instance of spoken Greek within a markedly Roman context. Although the frequent Latin–Greek code-switching in Cicero's letters demonstrates the deep familiarity with Greek among the Roman elites, James Noel Adams and Simon Swain emphasise that, in Rome, 'Greek was not permissible in public discourse' because 'the political consciousness of the Romans would not tolerate the expression of ideas in another language'.<sup>155</sup> Indeed, in his *Verrine Orations*, Cicero acknowledges the sharp criticism he faced for speaking in Greek publicly: 'he firmly refused, adding that I had behaved improperly in addressing a Greek senate: and to have talked to a Greek audience in its own language was, it would appear, something quite intolerable' (*et ait indignum facinus esse quod ego in senatu Graeco verba fecissem; quod quidem apud Graecos Graece locutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse. Verr.2.4.66*).<sup>156</sup> Duport's allusion to instances of Roman emperors speaking in Greek, then, linguistically reflects the Roman pontiffs' moral and religious deviancy which consequentially depicts the heads of the Roman Catholic Church veering away from *romanitas* and linguistically deviating from *latinitas*.

Just as Herbert and Duport employ passages of specifically spoken Greek, Milton also employs Greek in an overtly oral context in 'Prolusion I' and especially in 'Prolusion VI'.

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<sup>155</sup> Adams and Swain, 'Introduction', in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, p. 17. On Cicero's Latin–Greek code-switching, see Swain, 'Bilingualism in Cicero? The Evidence of Code-Switching'.

<sup>156</sup> Cicero, *Verrine Orations*, trans. by Greenwood, vol. 2, pp. 460–1. Cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.15. See also Adams, 'Romanitas' and the Latin Language'.

When mocking his dumbstruck auditors, Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching emphasises their muteness and ignorance:

quanto nudiores Leberide conspexeris, & exhausta inani vocabulorum & sentiuncularum supellectile, μηδὲ γρῦ φθέγγεσθαι, perinde mutos ac ranunculi Seriphia.

you will find them even more bare than a serpent's slough, and when they have exhausted their meagre supply of words and little maxims, **they utter not even a grunt**, being just as speechless as the little Seriphian frogs.<sup>157</sup>

Hale cites several classical sources for Milton's use of the Greek phrase *μηδὲ γρῦ φθέγγεσθαι* including Aristophanes *Wealth* 17, Demosthenes *Oration* 19.39, and Dio Chrysostom *Oration* 7.26.<sup>158</sup> However, Milton is primarily (and ironically) employing the self-same 'supply of words and little maxims' that he mocks his dumbstruck auditors of having exhausted: Erasmus's *Adagia*.

When Milton mocks members of his student audience for being 'emptier than a sloughed skin' (*nudiores Leberide*), he has sourced this expression from the adage 'as blind as a sloughed skin' (*Caeciores leberide*), and Milton has borrowed one of the versions of this adage that Erasmus lists: 'as bare as a sloughed skin' (*Γυμνότερος λεβηρίδος, id est Nudior leberide*).<sup>159</sup> Although Merrit Hughes cites Juvenal's *Satires* 6.565 and 10.170 for Milton's allusion to the Seriphian frogs, Milton is again exhausting Erasmus's supply of 'little maxims' (*sententiuncularum*) rather than making a general allusion to a classical author. With respect to the adage 'a frog from Seriphos' (*Βάτραχος ἐκ Σερούφον*), Erasmus explains that it can be 'used about silent men, and those who are quite unskilled in speaking or singing'.<sup>160</sup> Erasmus himself employs this Greek expression in a letter from 26 October 1517 to the Hellenic

<sup>157</sup> *CW* 12:120–1. I have modified the Columbia edition's translation of *Leberide* as 'bean pod' to 'snake's slough', and 'empty' to 'bare'. On this passage from 'Prolusion I', see also *Cambridge Latin*, p. 80.

<sup>158</sup> Hale, p. 117.

<sup>159</sup> *ASD* II.1:138; *CWE* 31:282.

<sup>160</sup> *ASD* II.1:504–6; *CWE* 31:410.

scholar Guillaume Budé (1647–1540). Erasmus engages in Latin–Greek code-switching when he complains of his philhellenic correspondent’s delay in replying to his earlier correspondence:

Quid sibi vult, mi Budaee, tam subitem silentium, qui paulo ante me non epistolis sed voluminibus obruebas? Περὶ τοῦ Βασιλέως, περὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου quanti pridem tumultus! nunc οὐδὲ γοῦ.

What calls for such a sudden silence, my dear Budé? Not so long ago, it was not letters, but volumes, with which you inundated me. What a tumult of news there was lately concerning the king and concerning the bishop! Now, not a grunt.<sup>161</sup>

Moreover, the tone and language of Milton’s mockery of his speechless audience is reminiscent of another Greek humanist’s denigration of an audience. In response to the University of Oxford attempting to prohibit the teaching of Greek in 1518, Thomas More wrote a letter to the University in which he derides the Greekless and ignorant audience of the cleric at Oxford who warned his parishioners of the dangers of Greek learning; More states that the preacher was ignorant ‘about Greek—of which the audience did not understand a single word’ (*aut postremo de Graeca lingua, cuius οὐδὲ γοῦ intelligit*).<sup>162</sup> The examples of Erasmus and More’s use of this Greek tag, which Rhodes finds carries with it a ‘contemptuous’ tone within the otherwise fully Latin letter, could be part of Milton’s adopting a style of Latin-Greek code-switching employed by (and self-presentation as though he were a member of) Erasmus’s scholarly circle while, ironically, mocking his auditors for their over-reliance on the Erasmian texts like the *Adages*. However, it is in Milton’s ‘Prolusion VI’ and his handling of the Latin–Greek code-switching employed by Aulus Gellius and

<sup>161</sup> Allen 3:112. My translation. On Erasmus’s Greek in his letters, see Rummel, ‘The Use of Greek in Erasmus’ Letters’.

<sup>162</sup> Thomas More qt. and trans. by Rhodes in *Common*, p. 39, n. 40. Regarding another dispute about the role of Greek at another university in the sixteenth century—the Greek pronunciation dispute at Cambridge—see Chapter 3.2 below.

Erasmus in the *Attic Nights* and *Apophthegmata* respectively which particularly underlines the use of Greek as a method of highlighting deviancy and transgression within the context of a Latin college oration at Cambridge.

### **An → ἄν : Linguistic and Ovidian Transformation in ‘Prolusion VI’**

In ‘Prolusion VI’, Milton publicly acknowledges his peers’ nickname for him as ‘the Lady of Christ’s College’ when he states that ‘some have recently called me “Lady”’ (*a quibusdam, audivi nuper Domina*).<sup>163</sup> The standard interpretations of Milton’s college nickname are that it either stemmed from Milton’s youthful appearance or that the nickname linked Milton to Virgil via Aelius Donatus’s *Life of Virgil* in which it is stated that Virgil ‘was usually called Parthenias’ (*Parthenias vulgo appellatus sit*) in Naples. *Nuper* can be translated as ‘recently’ or ‘lately’, however it is also a slippery temporal adverb.<sup>164</sup> Nevertheless, Milton appears to have gained the nickname of ‘the Lady’ during his time at Cambridge rather than bearing it from the outset of undergraduate career.<sup>165</sup> Milton jocularly quizzes his fellow students at Christ’s how it is possible that he, “the Lady”, could possibly have become the “Father” (*Pater*) at this university salting ceremony. After questioning how ‘I have so suddenly become a Father’ (*tam subito factus sum Pater*), Milton engages in Latin–Greek code-switching when he offers several ludicrous, prodigious reasons for how he, ‘the Lady’ (*Domina*), transformed into ‘the Father’ (*pater*):

An denique ego a deo aliquo vitiatus, ut olim Caeneus, virilitatem pactus sum stupri pretium, ut sic repente ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἄρρενα ἀλλαχθείην ἄν?

<sup>163</sup> John Aubrey (1626–1697) learns from Milton’s widow, Elizabeth Mynshell (1615–93), that Milton told her, ‘when a Cambridge scholler [...] he was so fair that they called him the Lady of Christ’s College’ (Darbishire, *The Early Lives of Milton*, p. 10).

<sup>164</sup> On the problems of *nuper* (in Cicero and Varro), see Linderski, *Roman Questions*, pp. 104–5.

<sup>165</sup> Campbell, ‘Milton and the Lives of the Ancients’; and McDowell, *Poet of Revolution*, p. 158.



Or have I been violated by some god, as Caeneus was of old, and won my masculine gender as payment for the violation, to be suddenly altered from female into male?<sup>166</sup>

Milton alludes to Neptune's rape of Caenis in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 12 where the god promises Caenis that she will receive anything she wishes as compensation: 'make now your prayers without fear of refusal. Choose what you most desire!' (*sint tua vota licet' dixit 'secura repulsae: / Elige, quid voveas! Met.12.199-200*).<sup>167</sup> In response, Caenis requests that Neptune turn her into a man:

'magnum' Caenis ait 'facit haec iniuria votum,  
Tale pati iam posse nihil; da, femina ne sim :  
Omnia praestiteris.'

Then Caenis said : 'The wrong that you have done me calls for a mighty prayer, the prayer that I may never again be able to suffer so. If you grant that I be not woman, you will grant me all'. (*Met.12.201-3*)<sup>168</sup>

After being transformed from female to male, Caenis then becomes Caeneus whom Milton alludes to (*ut olim Caeneus*) where, as Brendan Prawdzik observes, Milton 'imagines himself as a female victim of rape'.<sup>169</sup> Milton's evocation of Caeneus may also recall the centaurs' taunting of Caeneus for being 'hardly a man' (*vixque viro. Met. 12.500*) and a 'half-man' (*semimari. Met.12.506*), just as Milton tells his audience to 'notice how stupidly, how

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<sup>166</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, pp. 281–2; *CW* 12:239–40. I have altered Hale's translation slightly, changing 'deed' to 'violation'.

<sup>167</sup> For discussion of Caenis in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see in particular Siogas, *Ovid and Hesiod*, pp. 180–218.

<sup>168</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Miller, vol. 2, pp. 194–5. Cf. Apollo's rape of Oenone in *Heroides* 5.143–4: 'I did not demand **compensation for rape** in gems or gold: buying free-born bodies with gifts is disgraceful' (*nec pretium stupri gemmas aurumque poposci: / turpiter ingenuum munera corpus emunt*) (Ovid, *Heroides*, trans. by Goold, pp. 66–7)

<sup>169</sup> Prawdzik, *Theatrical Milton: Politics and Poetics of the Staged Body*, p. 31. See also Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence*, pp. 83–113; and Turner, 'Milton Among the Libertines'.

thoughtlessly they have taunted me' (*videte quam insubide, quam incogitate mihi objecerint*).<sup>170</sup>

There is also a legal context to *stupri pretium*. The importance of acknowledging the legal context of certain Latin words and phrases in Milton's Latin prose has recently been highlighted by Alison Chapman who states that the misunderstanding of Milton's use of Latin words like *fama* and in his *Pro Se Defensio* (1655) 'has been enabled by modern editions that consistently fail to capture the legal signification of key Latin words'.<sup>171</sup> Milton's *stupri pretium* generally refers to the payment or recompense for sex. It was deemed by several Roman jurists that anyone who offered compensation in exchange for a *stuprem* was committing a criminal offence. For example, in *De adultera*, Ulpian states that 'he also is punished who takes a **bribe** [to conceal] a **sexual violation** which he has discovered' (*plectitur et qui **pretium** pro comperto **stupro** acceperit. Digest, 48.5.30.2*).<sup>172</sup> Elsewhere, *pretium* refers to *pretium stupri*, such as in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* when the speaker says 'it isn't giving, but being asked for a **reward**, that I disdain and despise' (*nec dare, sed **pretium** posci dedignor et odi. Ovid, Am. I.10.63*) or in Catullus 110 when, regarding the payment of prostitutes, the speaker states that 'they get their **price** for what they purpose to do' (*accipiunt **pretium**, quae facere instituunt. Catullus 110.2*).<sup>173</sup> In a contemporary example—the 1629 commentary on Petronius's *Satyricon* of Joannes Petrus Lotichius (1598–1669)—it is explained that Petronius's remarks on a prostitute at a brothel in Campania ('by this time

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<sup>170</sup> CW 12:240–1.

<sup>171</sup> Chapman, 'Defending Milton's *Pro se Defensio*: A Legal Reading', p. 75

<sup>172</sup> Ulpian qt. and trans. by McGinn in *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome*, p. 174, n. 50. Cf. Paul, *Digest*, 47.11.1.2. For discussion of the legal definition of *stuprum*, see Caldwell, *Roman Girlhood and the Fashioning of Fertility*, pp. 61–6.

<sup>173</sup> Ovid, *Amores*, trans. by Goold, pp. 362–3; Catullus, trans. by Cornish and Mackail, pp. 176–7. Cf. *Heroides* 5.143; Propertius 4.5.29; and [Seneca] *Octavia* 132.

the madam had already got an *as* for the use of a room' (*iam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat. Sat.8.4*)), should be understood as follows: 'that is, she exacted **payment for sex**' (*id est, stupri pretium exegerat*).<sup>174</sup> Milton makes sexual jokes and puns throughout 'Prolusion VI', such as when he puns that a university peer 'might express some gastric riddles to us, not from his Sphinx but from his sphincter' (*et aenigmata quaedam nolens effutiat sua non Sphinx sed Sphincter anus*).<sup>175</sup> Such ribald humour is in line with the ludic nature of the genre and occasion that Milton is writing for, and he compares the Cambridge salting ceremony to other festivals in antiquity: 'the Romans had their Floralia; rustics had their Palilia; bakers had their Fornacalia: we too keep up the custom of making holiday as Socrates advised, and especially at this time of year when we are free of business' (*Romani sua habuere Floralia, rustici sua Palilia, pistores sua Fornacalia, nos quoque potissimum hoc tempore rerum et negotiorum vacui Socratico more ludere solemus*).<sup>176</sup>

The fact that Milton speaks in Greek as 'the Lady', and in a sexual context too, could call to mind another instance of Latin–Greek code-switching in another comical text which also shares a sexual context. In Juvenal's 'Satire VI', the speaker mocks the proclivity among some Roman women to cry out in Greek during sexual intercourse:

quotiens lascivum intervenit illud  
ζωή καὶ ψυχή, modo sub Iodice relictis  
uteris in turba, quod enim non excitet inguen  
vox blanda et nequam ?

Whenever that lascivious *ζωή καὶ ψυχή*, "My life! My soul!", emerges you're using words in public only ever to be uttered under the sheets. What loins aren't warmed by that seductive and idle phrase? (Juvenal, 'Satire VI', 194-7)<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Lotichius (ed.), *T. Petronii Arbitri Satyricon* (Frankfurt, 1629), p. 69. See also Adams, 'Words for 'Prostitute' in Latin'.

<sup>175</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, p. 211.

<sup>176</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, pp. 280–1.

<sup>177</sup> Juvenal, *Satires*, trans. by Kline, pp. 250–1.

In *Epigrams* 10.68, Martial also mocks Roman women who speak in Greek in Rome, deriding particularly their habit of exclaiming in Greek in the bedroom.<sup>178</sup> As Peter Toohey observes, the source of the speaker's gall is the linguistic transgression which is paired with the illicit sexual activity where 'a quintessentially Latin woman [is] adopting Greek rather than her own Tuscan or Latin language'.<sup>179</sup> Furthermore, commenting on 'ζωή και ψυχή' in *Sat.*6.195, Lindsay Watson and Patricia Watson argue that the Greek exclamation could serve as a unique example of 'Italian or Roman Greek' because 'ζοή renders the well-attested (*mea uita* and ψυχή (μου) *anima mea*'.<sup>180</sup> Similarly, Milton *qua* "the Lady" also code-switches from Latin to Greek at the moment of a (figurative) sexual intercourse: 'have I been violated by some god, as Caeneus was of old[?]' (*a deo aliquo vitiatus, ut olim Caeneus*).<sup>181</sup> The 'Lady' of 'Prolusion VI', too, explicitly veers away from Latin to Greek and the close, linguistic approximation of Greek and Latin in this instance, then, would further reflect the use of Latin-Greek code-switching as a way of communicating transgressiveness and liminality where Milton, "the Lady of Christ's College", occupies a space between male and female, between Latin and Greek.

The process of Milton's Ovidian transformation from 'the Lady' into the 'Father' is also reflected linguistically through an extraordinary moment of Latin–Greek code-switching. The position of the Latin particle *An* at the beginning of the sentence, and the position of the Greek particle *ἄν* at the end structurally conveys one aspect of Milton's figurative

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<sup>178</sup> Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, p. 20.

<sup>179</sup> Toohey, 'How Good was Latin? Some Opinions from the Late Republic and Early Empire', p. 256.

<sup>180</sup> For discussion of *ζωή και ψυχή* as a unique example of 'Roman or Italian Greek', see Watson and Watson (eds), *Juvenal: Satire 6*, p. 136.

<sup>181</sup> On Milton and Juvenal, see Magliocco, *The Function of Humor in the Works of John Milton*, p. xi; and Dzelzainis, 'Juvenal, Charles X Gustavus and Milton's Letter to Richard Jones'.

transformation—*An denique ego* [...] ἀλλαχθείην ἄν—where the Latin *An* finally becomes the Greek ἄν.<sup>182</sup> This aurally compliments the multiple, transformative processes in terms of gender and language at play in Milton’s response to his nickname, “the Lady”. Milton questions how he could have changed gender:

ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἄρρενα ἀλλαχθείην ἄν?  
[How] should I be suddenly altered from female to male?<sup>183</sup>

Although Milton is not quoting a specific Greek text here, the language potentially evokes two Greek plays: Euripides’ *Bacchae* and Aristophanes’ *Clouds*. Milton’s Greek utterance here could recall the dialogue between Socrates and Strepsiades concerning grammatical genders in Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (658–94) and Dionysus’s opening monologue announcing his transformation from a god to a mortal in Euripides’ *Bacchae* 1–63.

In *Clouds*, we see Strepsiades pay for his training in sophistic argument (with the ultimate aim of learning how he might be able to argue his way out of paying substantial debts) under the arch-sophist, Socrates. Milton seems to draw upon Socrates’ language of Sophistic reasoning in his Greek statements to Strepsiades concerning grammatical genders:

ὀρᾶς ὃ πάσχεις; τήν τε θήλειαν καλεῖς  
ἀλεκτρούνα κατὰ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν ἄρρενα [...]   
ἔτι δὴ γε περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων μαθεῖν σε δεῖ,  
ἅτ’ ἄρρεν’ ἐστίν, ἅττα δ’ αὐτῶν θήλεα [...]   
ἰδοὺ μάλ’ αὖθις τοῦθ’ ἕτερον: τὴν κάρδοπον  
ἄρρενα καλεῖς θήλειαν οὕσαν.

Do you see what you’re doing? You call the **female** “fowl”, and the **male** as well you call the same [...] But you still have to learn about names, which of them are **masculine** and which

<sup>182</sup> Double ἄν is used in cases of ‘pragmatic complexity’ and ‘it is especially frequent in the quasi-spoken language of the fifth-century, i.e. tragedy and Old Comedy’ (Slings, ‘Written and Spoken Language: An Exercise in the Pragmatics of the Greek Sentence’, p. 102).

<sup>183</sup> The Greek almost scans as an iambic senarius which is the metre of Latin comedy: – – | – – | – – | u u – | – – | – u . However, the final syllable would need to be long to make it a complete iambic senarius. This could be the case if it ended with an exclamation.

**feminine** [...] There you go again; that another one. You speak of a *cardopus*, calling it **masculine** when it's **feminine**. (*Clouds* 662–3; 670–1; 681–2).<sup>184</sup>

By evoking the sophistic wrangling over female (*θήλυς*) and male (*ἄρσεν*) grammatical genders in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, this could allude to the fact that his audience consists largely of 'sophisters' (*sophistas*) (i.e. undergraduates in their final year) whom Milton addresses in the opening of 'Prolusion VI'.<sup>185</sup> Similarly, in his Greek lectures, Duport makes jokes about the behaviour of students in the schools of the Sophists in Ancient Greece, and the behaviour of the sophisters at Cambridge within the lecture theatre:

*quin & Sophistæ in Scholis se mutuo sibilis excipere solitis; testis Philostratus Lemn. in Vitis Sophistarum, ὡς δὲ μὴ συρίττοιμεν ἀλλήλους, μηδὲ σκώπτοιμεν, ἃ ἐν ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν ξυνουσίαις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, quæ in Sophistarum scholis fieri solent, **etiam hodie apud nos.***

and the Sophists in the Schools were used to welcoming each other by hissing. According to Philostratus of Lemnos in his *Lives of the Sophists*, "and to prevent us from hissing or jeering at one another, as so often happens in the schools of the sophists", which is usually done in the schools of the sophists, **even today among ourselves!**<sup>186</sup>

Another reason that this exchange between Strepsiades and Socrates might have influenced the design of Milton's Latin-Greek code-switching here is because the dialogue leads to a joke centred around male and female naming. Immediately following this exchange, Strepsiades jokes that, if a 'kneading trough' (*τήν κάρδοπον*) must be feminine due to its article and, therefore, should *καρδόπη* instead of *κάρδοπον*, then it would make sense to refer to Cleonymus as Cleonyma.<sup>187</sup> As López Eire explains, the root of this joke between male and female naming concerning Cleonymus refers to 'a well-known homosexual citizen of Athens who used to practise the female role in sexual intercourse' and, therefore,

<sup>184</sup> Aristophanes, *Clouds*, trans. by Henderson, pp. 96–9

<sup>185</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, pp. 270–1.

<sup>186</sup> Duport, *Praelectiones in Theophrasti Characteres* (Cambridge, 1712), p. 376.

<sup>187</sup> Aristophanes, *Clouds*, trans. by Henderson, pp. 68–9.

Strepsiades says that Cleonymus ‘should not be named with that masculine name (‘Cleonymus’), but with a feminine one, ‘Cleonyma’, comparable to other proper names of the same gender’.<sup>188</sup>

Conversely, Milton’s Greek also potentially evokes Euripides’s *Bacchae*. This is because the language and syntax of Milton’s Latin–Greek code-switching recalls the moment of Dionysus’s transformation from the form of a god into the form of a human where both Milton and Euripides employ the same verb (*ἀλλάσσω*) in the same, penultimate position:

Milton, *Prolusion VI* ἐκ θηλείας εἰς ἄρρενα ἀλλάσθειν ἄν?  
should I suddenly have been changed from female to male?

Euripides *Ba.*54–5 ὧν οὐνεκ’ εἶδος θνητὸν ἀλλάξας ἔχω  
μορφὴν τ’ ἐμὴν μετέβαλον εἰς ἀνδρὸς φύσιν.

That is why I have taken on mortal form  
And changed my appearance to that of a man.<sup>189</sup>

Like “the Lady of Christ’s College”, Dionysus also cuts an effeminate figure in the *Bacchae*.

When Pentheus attempts to capture Dionysus, he exclaims: ‘go about the city and track down that **effeminate** stranger’ (*οἱ δ’ ἀνὰ πόλιν στείχοντες ἐξιχνεύσατε τὸν / θηλύμορφον ξένον. Ba.352–3*).<sup>190</sup> The close proximity of the words denoting “male” and “female” is seen again in the next sentence when Milton declares:

A quibusdam, audivi nuper Domina. At cur videor illis parum masculus ? Ecquis Prisciani pudor ? Itane propria quae maribus femineo generi tribuunt insulsi grammaticastri ?

<sup>188</sup> López Eire, ‘Rhetoric and Language’, p. 338. See also Willi, *The Language of Aristophanes: Aspects of Linguistic Variation in Classical Attic Greek*, p. 99.

<sup>189</sup> Euripides, *Bacchae*, trans. by Kovacs, pp. 16–7.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41. Cf. the epithet for Dionysus in Aeschylus *Edonians* (fr.61) where Lycurges calls Dionysus ‘the womanish man’ (*ὁ γύννις*) (Aeschylus, *Attributed Fragments*, trans. by Sommerstein, p. 66). For other descriptions of Dionysus as ‘a womanish man’ in Greek texts, see Otto, *Dionysos: Myth and Cult*, p. 176.

For some have recently called me “Lady.” But why do I seem unmanly to them? Have they no respect for Priscian? Do these witless grammar-bunglers attribute to the feminine what is properly masculine?

With respect to the Tudor grammarian and Greek scholar, William Lily (c.1468–1522), Milton asks ‘these witless grammar-bunglers attribute to the feminine **what is properly masculine?**’ (*Itane **propriae quae maribus** femineo generi tribuunt insulti grammaticastri?*), Hale observes that ‘Milton echoes a tag from Lily’s *Grammar* (‘*propria quae maribus*’ etc.), to the effect that grammar would collapse if gender were so fluid’.<sup>191</sup> In addition to the tag *propria quae maribus* from Lily’s *Grammar*, Milton’s allusion to Lily here could also evoke the Tudor grammarian’s definition of the ‘epicene’ grammatical gender which is distinct from the neuter: ‘the Epicene gendre is declined with one article, and vnder that one article, both kindes be signified, as *hic passer*, a sparowe, *hæc aquila*, an egle, **both he and she**’.<sup>192</sup> In his allusion to Lily’s *Grammar*, Milton syntactically yokes together the words ‘male’ and ‘female’ (*propria quae **maribus femineo***) which results in exactly what Lily warned: that grammar would collapse if gender became so fluid that they became indistinguishable from each other. One reason Milton gives for why his ‘virility’ (*virilitatem*) is being questioned is because ‘I have never had strength to go in for drinking-competitions’ (*scilicet quia scyphos capacissimos nunquam value pancratice haurire*) and, as Alexandra Shepard observes, in seventeenth-century Cambridge, ‘undergraduate drinking practices involved calculated displays of excess as trials of strength and a measure of manhood’.<sup>193</sup> As shown by Milton’s handling of passages from Aulus Gellius’s *Attic Nights* and Erasmus’s *Apophthegmata*

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<sup>191</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, p. 283, n.35.

<sup>192</sup> William Lily, *Lily’s Grammar of Latin in English*, p. 163. On Lily’s *Grammar* and gender, see Pittenger, ‘Dispatch Quickly: The Mechanical Reproduction of Pages’, pp. 404–5; Smith, ‘Latin Lovers in *The Taming of the Shrew*’; and McGregor, ‘“Run Not Before the Laws”: Lily’s *Grammar*, the Oxford *Bellum grammaticale*, and the Rules of Concord’.

<sup>193</sup> Shepard, ‘Student Masculinity in Early Modern Cambridge, 1560–1640’, p. 69.



dealing with the orators Demosthenes and Hortensius who were accused of being epicenes—that is, effeminate men—Milton’s allusion to Lily could be part of a wider rhetorical strategy in which Greek plays a crucial role.

### **Greek and Effeminacy: Dionysia and the Lady of Christ’s College**

After Milton publicly acknowledges his college nickname “the Lady of Christ’s College”, he defensively provides precedents from antiquity of Greek and Roman orators who were given similar nicknames in order to show how ‘exulting that I am united by the reproach of the nickname with such great names’ (*exultemque gaudio me tantis viris eiusdem opprobria societate coniunctum!*).<sup>194</sup> To turn a (potentially sexually humiliating) nickname into a badge of honour, Milton insists that he regards “the Lady” as a sobriquet that ‘is rightly a matter of honour to me’ (*id quod ego iure optimo mihi vertam gloriae*).<sup>195</sup> As Wytse Keulen observes in Aulus Gellius’s account of the exchange between Hortensius and Torquatus, ‘the competitive performance of manhood, in which such slanderous accusations of effeminacy originate, becomes even more complex when it occurs in a Roman context’.<sup>196</sup> Milton’s Latin–Greek code-switching in ‘Prolusion VI’ is particularly influenced by the use of Greek in the accounts given in Aulus Gellius’s *Attic Nights* and Erasmus’s *Apophthegmata* regarding Hortensius being called ‘Dionysia’ where Greek is strongly connected with effeminacy.

Milton’s emphatic use of Erasmus’s *Apophthegmata* and *Adages*, as well as Aulus Gellius’s *Attic Nights* throughout the *Prolusiones* is also part of Milton’s rhetorical strategy against scholastic learning at Cambridge since, as William Weaver observes, the

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<sup>194</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, pp. 284–5.

<sup>195</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, pp. 282–3.

<sup>196</sup> Keulen, *Gellius the Satirist*, p. 115.

compendiums of Erasmus, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, and Athenaeus became ‘an alternative to scholastic modes of learning, against which humanists were ever inveighing’ and that such works came to stand ‘for a kind of scholarship that could rival scholastic modes of inquiry and teaching’.<sup>197</sup> Indeed, this is reflected in Milton’s use of a scatological adage from Erasmus’s *Adages*—‘the Augean stables’ (*Αύγείου βουστασία*)—in one example of Milton’s mockery of the scholastic curriculum in ‘Prolusion III’, the theme of which is ‘Against the Scholastic Philosophy’ (*Contra Philosophiam Scholasticam*) ‘but when I always saw more in sight than I had finished in my reading, often indeed I preferred, instead of these crammed-in fooleries, to clean out the Augean stables; and I declared Hercules a happy man, to whom the good-natured Juno had never set an exhausting hardship of this kind’ (*cum vero plus semper viderem superesse, quàm quod legendo absolveram, equidem inculcates hisce ineptiis quoties præoptavi mihi repurgandum Augeæ Bubile, fœlicemque prædicavi Herculem, cui facilis Juno hujusmodi ærumnam nunquam imperaverat exantlandam*).<sup>198</sup>

Milton’s use of this specific adage in attacking the scholastic curriculum at Cambridge is very similar to a near-contemporary university oration: the inaugural lecture at the University of Oxford delivered on 25 October 1626 by the Professor of Arabic, Matthias Pasor (1599–1658) (and the son of the Greek scholar Georg Pasor mentioned above) who evokes the ‘Augean Stables’ in his demands for reform of the scholastic curriculum at Oxford.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Weaver, *Homer in Wittenberg*, p. 100 and p. 107. See also Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation*.

<sup>198</sup> *CWE* 33:201; *CW* 12.160–1.

<sup>199</sup> Pasor, *Oratio pro Linguae Arabicae Professione, publice ad Academicos habita in Schola Theologica Universitatis Oxoniensis xxv Octob. 1626* (Oxford, 1627), sig. A4: ‘in order to clean out the Augean stable of Papish superstitions and for washing away the filth of the scholastics’ sophistries, the Oriental soap [i.e. Arabic, Syriac, and Aramaic languages] is needed, as well as pure water from the springs of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testaments’ (*ad expurgandum sc. Augiae stabulum superstitionum Papatus, et elvendum sordes Sophisticae Scholasticorum opus erat smegmate Orientali, et aqua limpida fontium Hebraeorum et Graecorum V. et N. Testamenti*). For discussion of Pasor’s oration and the ‘Augean Stables’, see Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 99. On

Milton quotes the Latin–Greek code-switching within the Roman orator Hortensius’s retort to Lucius Torquatus after he publicly ridiculed Hortensius for being effeminate and called him ‘Dionysia’—the name of a famous, female dancer and singer in Rome—during Publius Cornelius Sulla’s trial in 62 BC:

Namque et ipse Demosthenes ab aemulis adversariisque parum vir dictus est. Q. itidem Hortensius omnium Oratorum post M. Tullium clarissimus, “Dionysia Psaltria” appellatus est a L. Torquato. Cui ille, “Dionysia,” inquit, “malo equidem esse quam quod tu, Torquate - ἄμουσος, ἄγροδίατος, ἀπρόσιτος”.

For Demosthenes himself was called “too little of a man” by his rivals and opponents. Hortensius, too, second only to Cicero among Roman orators, was called “Dionysia, a singing woman” by L. Torquatus. Hortensius replied: “I would rather be this ‘Dionysia’ than what you are, Torquatus—tasteless, boorish, and crass”.<sup>200</sup>

In response to Torquatus’s insulting, public taunt of calling Hortensius “Dionysia”, Hortensius code-switches from Latin into Greek to accuse Torquatus for being ‘tasteless, boorish, crass’ (ἄμουσος, ἄγροδίατος, ἀπρόσιτος). In response to this extraordinary exchange, Craig Williams observes that it is ‘worth noting that **Hortensius caps his retort in Greek** (as if to highlight the contrast between rough Roman and refined philhellene) and delivers the whole in a noticeably effeminate way (*voce molli atque demissa*)’.<sup>201</sup> Milton’s self-presentation is inflected with Greek language and mythology, but here he seems to do so as a method of portraying himself as a philhellene of the Roman Republic like Hortensius. This is the passage from Erasmus’s *Apophthegmata*:

Hortensius orator ob cultum mundiorem, ac gesticulations in dicendo molliores, crebro male audiebat in ipsis etiam iudiciis. Sed quum Lucius Torquatus, homo sub agrestibus & infestivis

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inaugural orations at Early Modern universities, see Isabella Walser-Bürgler, *Oratio inauguralis: The Rhetoric of Professorship at German Universities, 1650–1800* (forthcoming). Cf. *Of Education* (1644): ‘an old error of universities not yet well recover’d from the Scholastick grosnesse of barbarous ages’ (CPW 2:274).

<sup>200</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, pp. 282–3.

<sup>201</sup> Craig Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 156. For discussion of Cicero’s criticism of Hortensius’s “Asianist” rhetorical style, see Christopher van den Berg, *The Politics and Poetics of Cicer’s Brutus: The Invention of Literary History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 20–43.

moribus, quum apud Concilium de causa Syllæ quereretur, non iam histrionem illum diceret, sed gesticulatricem, Dionysiamque notissimæ saltatriculæ nomine compellaret: **tum voce molli denussaque Hortensius**, Dionysia, inquit, Dionysia malim equidem esse, quàm quod tu Torquate **ἄμουσος, ἀγρίαίτος, ἀπρόσιτος**, id est, inelegans, agrestis, aditu difficilis.

The orator Hortensius was often the subject of taunts even in the law-courts on account of his modish dress and the rather effeminate gestures he used when delivering his speeches. But Lucius Torquatus (a boorish and unattractive character), during the investigation into Sulla's case before the council, did not merely describe Hortensius as an actor but called him a female mime artiste, addressing him as "Dionysia": the name of a notorious, female dancer. At this, Hortensius remarked **in a sweet and gentle voice**, "Dionysia? I would rather be a Dionysia than what you are, Torquatus, **vulgar, boorish, and surly**". (Erasmus, *Apophthegmata*, 6.325)<sup>202</sup>

Why should Milton compare himself with Hortensius: an orator who had a reputation for stylistic transgression?<sup>203</sup> In response to Hortensius's Greek retort, Catharine Edwards stresses how extreme this statement is in its Roman, Latinate context as a debunking of Roman *virilitas* itself: 'a soft voice, a rare one, that spoke for sophistication, philhellenism and even the feminine. This may be as close as a Roman text ever comes to suggesting virility need not be the ultimate virtue'.<sup>204</sup> In *Lingua* (1525), Erasmus contrasts Roman *brevitas* and *viriltas* with effeminate Greek rhetorical training when he praises Cato the Censor as a 'real old Roman' (*viro mere Romano*) who was 'not debauched [lit. "made effeminate"] by an indulgence of Greek-style training' (*nec ullis graecanicarum artium deliciis effoeminato*) with all its unmanly and 'silly chattering' (*inepta garrulitas*).<sup>205</sup>

With respect to Milton's reference to Demosthenes being mocked for his effeminacy, it is worth reflecting on Aulus Gellius's Latin-Greek code-switching in his Latin account of the jibes towards Demosthenes which Milton quotes from in 'Prolusion VI'. Of course, the scene

<sup>202</sup> *Des Apophthegmes à la Polyanthée*, vol. 2, p. 1405; *CWE* 38:686, trans. by Knott and Fantham. Slightly adapted.

<sup>203</sup> Dugan, *Making a New Man: Ciceronian Self-Fashioning in his Rhetorical Works*, p. 122.

<sup>204</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, p. 97.

<sup>205</sup> *CWE* 29:269. See also Parker, 'On the Tongue: Cross-Gendering, Effeminacy and the Art of Words', p. 448.

which takes place in Aulus Gellius's anecdote is in Athens, and therefore everyone was originally speaking Greek, yet it is important to observe where and consider why Aulus Gellius retains the jibes concerning Demosthenes' alleged effeminacy in Greek within a Latin work. It is striking that Latin–Greek code-switching is employed in both in an oral context and applied to the markers of unmanliness and effeminacy when Demosthenes is mocked for being effeminate:

Demosthenen traditum est vestitu ceteroque cultu corporis nitido venustoque nimisque accurato fuisse. Et hinc ei **τὰ κόμψα** illa **γλανίσκια** et **μαλακοὶ γιγνίσκοι** aemulis adversariisque probro data, hinc etiam turpibus indignisque in eum verbis non temperatum, quin parum vir et ore quoque polluto diceretur.

It is said that Demosthenes in his dress and other personal habits was excessively spruce, elegant and studied. It was for that reason that he was taunted by his rivals and opponents with his **“exquisite, pretty mantles”** and **“soft, pretty tunics”**; or that reason, too, that they did not refrain from applying to him foul and shameful epithets, alleging that he was no man and was even guilty of unnatural vice. (Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 1.5.1).<sup>206</sup>

It is clear that Milton has this passage in mind since he paraphrases Aulus Gellius's ‘he was taunted by his rivals and opponents [...] alleging that he was no man’ (***aemulis adversariisque probro data*** [...] ***quin parum vir***) as ‘Demosthenes himself was called “too little of a man” by his rivals and opponents’ (*ipse Demosthenes ab ***aemulis adversariisque parum vir*** dictus est*). Although Milton quotes from Erasmus's account of Hortensius's Greek retort to Torquatus rather than from *Attic Nights* 1.5.5 (which gives ‘*ἄμουσος, ἀναφρόδιτος, ἀπροσδιόνυσος*’ instead of ‘*ἄμουσος, ἀγροδίατος, ἀπρόσιτος*’), Milton draws from Aulus Gellius's account again near the end of ‘Prolusion VI’ when he employs the third Greek word that Aulus Gellius records Hortensius of having used when Milton exclaims: ‘nor do I enjoy naming them [Milton's “sons”] after different kinds of wines lest whatever I should say

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<sup>206</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, trans. by Rolfe, vol.1, pp. 28–9.

should be *mal à propos*, and nothing to Bacchus' (*nec ad vinorum genera eos nuncupare volupe est, ne quicquid dixerō, sit ἀπροσδιόνυσον, & nihil ad Bacchum*).<sup>207</sup> The fact that Milton borrows the word ἀπροσδιόνυσον from Aulus Gellius's account of Hortensius's retort to Torquatus suggests that, in his handling of Aulus Gellius and Erasmus's treatments of the mockery directed at Demosthenes and Hortensius for their alleged effeminacy, Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching is influenced by Aulus Gellius's. In a Latin context, the Latin–Greek code-switching in *Attic Nights* 1.5.1 is striking; Aulus Gellius's retention of the terms for the various kinds of women's clothing that Demosthenes is accused of wearing is not neutral but signals a veering away from Roman, Latin *virilitas* on a linguistic plane. In the *Adages*, Erasmus includes the nickname "Batalus" (the name of a Greek fluteplayer) and explains that this was one of Demosthenes's nicknames: 'You're a regular Batalus, was said in old days by way of insult to effeminate men. Plutarch shows that the nickname was given to Demosthenes as a boy, and used to his discredit by his enemies' (*Βάταλος εἶ, i. Batalus es. Olim in effœminatos per contumeliam dicebatur. Plutarchus ostendit id cognominis Demostheni puero inditum fuisse, & ab inimicis probro obiectum*).<sup>208</sup>

Lastly, in 'Prolusion VI', Milton sets out two extremes: the coarse, simple, rustic masculinity of the Cambridge students, and himself as an over-cultivated and effeminate *raffiné* (the orator Hortensius):

Scilicet quia scyphos capacissimos nunquam value pancratice haurire, aut quia manus tenenda stiva non occaluit, aut quia nunquam ad meridianum solem supinus iacui septennis bubulcus; fortasse demum quod nunquam me virum praestiti eo modo quo illi ganeones. Verum utinam illi possint tam facile exuere asinos quam ego quicquid est feminae.

I suppose they do it [i.e. call me "the Lady"] because I have never had strength to go in for drinking-competitions, or because my hand has not grown calloused holding a plough-handle, or because I was not an oxherd by the age of seven and so did not lie on my back in

<sup>207</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, p. 284. My translation.

<sup>208</sup> ASD II.2:36; CWE 32:11. Cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 4.3–4; Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 174–175; and Aeschines, *Against Timarchus* 131–132.

the midday sun; or lastly perhaps because I have not proved my manhood in the way these debauchees do. I wish they could as easily stop being asses as I could stop being a woman!

These two extremes reflect the two that Seneca warns for advising literary style, when he compares the orators who imitate the style of texts written by the early Romans in the days of the Gracchi (late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) and those whose speech is over-elaborate and is excessive in neologisms and arcane references:

Adice nunc, quod oratio certam regulam non habet; consuetudo illam civitatis, quae numquam in eodem diu stetit, versat. Multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba, duodecim tabulas loquuntur. Gracchus illis et Crassus et Curio **nimis culti et recentes sunt**, ad Appium usque et Coruncanium redeunt. Quidam contra, dum nihil nisi tritum et usitatum volunt, in sordes incidunt. **Utrumque diverso genere corruptum est**, tam mehercules quam nolle nisi splendidis uti ac sonantibus et poeticis, necessaria atque in usu posita vitare. Tam hunc dicam peccare quam illum: alter se plus iusto colit, alter plus iusto neglegit; **ille et crura, hic ne alas quidem vellit**.

Moreover, style has no fixed laws; it is changed by the usage of the people, never the same for any length of time. Many orators hark back to earlier epochs for their vocabulary, speaking in the language of the Twelve Tables. Gracchus, Crassus, and Curio, in their eyes, **are too refined and too modern**; so back to Appius and Coruncanius! Conversely, certain men, in their endeavour to maintain nothing but well-worn and common usages, fall into a humdrum style. **These two classes, each in its own way, are degenerate**; and it is no less degenerate to use no words except those which are conspicuous, high-sounding, and poetical, avoiding what is familiar and in ordinary usage. One is, I believe, as faulty as the other: the one class are unreasonably elaborate, the other are unreasonably negligent; **the former shaves their legs, the latter do not even shave their armpits**. (Seneca, *Ep.* 114.13–14, trans. by Gummere).<sup>209</sup>

This shows certain similarities with Seneca *Ep.* 114 when he likens those orators employing ‘high-sounding and poetical words’ to men who shave effeminately shave their legs, and those who try to imitate the early Romans as dishevelled, unkempt, and uncouth. These two extremes are portrayed here in ‘Prolusion VI’ too, perhaps to portray an oratorical balancing act during this oratorical performance. Like Seneca, we hear a clash between the elaborate and effeminate ‘Domina’ and the unkempt and negligent Cambridge students, the ‘Domina’

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<sup>209</sup> Seneca, *Epistles*, trans. by Gummere, vol. 3, pp. 308–11.

is virginal and pristine with un-calloused hand (*manus ... non occalvit*), and the Cambridge students are ox-herds. By scrutinizing the Greek that Milton employs in this passage, one finds that it reflects the practice employed by other Cambridge orators such as Herbert and Duport to express a certain veering away from a moral standard and that the presence of spoken Greek—it is critical to remember that ‘Prolusion VI’ is a spoken performance of Latinity—within Roman and Latinate contexts could have subversive and transgressive connotations. Michael Lieb remarks upon the singularity of Milton’s college nickname and how deeply the young Milton took it to heart: ‘*The Lady of Christ’s* was therefore an identity through which Milton became known to others and as a result of which he was made to struggle with the whole notion of femininity such a designation implied’.<sup>210</sup> Just as Suetonius’s Latin–Greek code-switching informed Duport’s Latin–Greek code-switching to denigrate the moral transgressions of the Popes, Milton’s own Latin–Greek code-switching in his reflections on accusations from his peers that he apparently veered away from their standard of masculinity is closely informed by the Latin–Greek code-switching of Aulus Gellius and Erasmus.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence*, p. 85.

<sup>211</sup> Campbell and Corns state that ‘a homoerotic sexual scandal could well originate in the events that disrupted Milton’s progress partway through his undergraduate course’ (Campbell and Corns, p. 39). On the connections between “the Lady of Christ’s College” and Aelius Donatus’s *Vita Vergili*, see Campbell, ‘Milton and the Lives of the Ancients’. Based on Joseph Mede’s newsletters to Sir Martin Stuteville from 19 May and 26 May 1627 in British Library, MS Harleian MS 389, regarding the (homo)sexual misconduct of the Senior Tutor of Christ’s College, William Power, I seek to re-examine the circumstances around Milton’s being sent down from Cambridge and the reasons why he acquired the unusual nickname “the Lady” at Christ’s College in my paper ‘The Potential Role of William Power in the Milton–Chappell Incident’ in a roundtable which I have co-organised with Jeffrey Gore at the upcoming International Milton Symposium at the University of Toronto in July 2023 titled ‘John Milton and William Chappell: Education, Homosociality, and Violence’.



## Chapter 2: Milton Among the Hellenists in England and Italy: Charles Diodati and Lucas Holstenius

### 2.1: Milton's Diodatian Poetics: Hellenism, Platonism, and Imitation

The previous section, 'Greek and "the Lady of Christ's College"', explored the subtext to Milton's allusion to the orator Hortensius's Greek rebuttal against accusations of effeminacy in the passage of 'Prolusion VI' in which Milton addresses his peers' enigmatic nickname for him. Milton's handling of two passages from the *Attic Nights* and the *Apophthegmata* concerning accusations of homoeroticism and effeminacy towards Demosthenes and Hortensius is closely informed by Aulus Gellius and Erasmus's use of Latin–Greek code-switching. Milton's use of Greek is not neutral when defending his masculinity in the face of accusations of effeminacy which may have been at the root of Milton's college nickname as "the Lady". Milton's Greek in 'Prolusion VI' mirrors the deviation from *virilitas* and *Latinitas* which the Latin-Greek code-switching in Aulus Gellius's description of the mockery of Demosthenes' effeminacy and the Roman orator Hortensius's own Greek retort also convey linguistically and stylistically.

It is striking, then, that Miltonists have found within the Greek of Charles Diodati's letters to Milton as well as the Greek phrases within Milton's Latin letters to Diodati from September 1637 (*EF 6* and *EF 7*) evidence or evocative suggestions of a homoerotic relationship existing between Milton and Diodati. Many scholars have read Diodati's Greek letters as evincing evidence of a homoerotic relationship between Milton and Diodati. In his reading of Diodati's Greek letters, John Shawcross argues that they 'implied a homoerotic relationship' between Milton and Diodati or, at the very least, show that 'Milton knew of or suspected nonheterosexual interests on Diodati's part'.<sup>212</sup> It is specifically the connotations of the Greek words Milton employs in his Latin–Greek code-switching in his letters to Diodati which Shawcross regards as the clearest signs of homosexual significance. Shawcross argues that Milton's Greek in his Latin letters to Diodati is sexually charged, like 'προσφωνήσεις' which he defines as 'literally, and with sexual suggestion, speech sounds made face to face'.<sup>213</sup> However, in addition to the outdated gender stereotypes upon which Shawcross bases his argument on this point (Diodati was 'an aggressive type ("male")' and Milton 'a recessive type ("female")'), Shawcross also overestimates the sexual resonance of 'προσφωνήσεις' since the word is actually linked to a category of epistolary and liminary writing.<sup>214</sup> More persuasively, however, John Rumrich notes several instances in Milton's Greek in *EF 6* and *EF 7* which are extraordinary for their eroticism:

the "δεινόν ἔρωτα" or vehement love that drives Milton to "cling" to Diodati like one rhyme to another in a heroic couplet, while it may not be so "troublesome" as the "bondage of rimeing" is still striking, if only for being a Greek phrase in a Latin letter. Milton's key ideas,

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<sup>212</sup> Shawcross, *John Milton: The Self and the World*, p. 36 and p. 37. For discussion of Shawcross's psychological reading of the Milton–Diodati correspondence, see Guy-Bray, *Homoerotic Space*, pp. 117–119.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>214</sup> Examples include: Richter, *Προσφωνήσεις εύτικη in nuptias viri magnifici Ioachimi Goldstein* (Jena, 1594); Kirchner, *ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ CONSOLATORIA* (Marburg, 1604); Schmidt, *Προσφωνήσεις ad studiosam juventutem* (Wittenberg, 1616); Minderer, *Προσφωνήσεις ad Medicinam Lugentem* (Augsberg, 1619); and Cottière, *Προσφωνήσεις ad viros doctiss. et clariss. Viros, D.D. Claudium Salmasium & Danielem Heinsium* (Leiden, 1646).

though primarily Greek and Hebrew in origin, generally get expressed in the cool rational order of Latin. But in naming a tendency so powerful that it defies resistance (*impossibile est*), he resorts to the vivid Greek of Platonic eroticism.<sup>215</sup>

Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching is driven by his expression of emotions which transgress the tropes and traditions of Latin models of Classical and Renaissance epistolary *amicitia* and, instead, finds more fitting expression in the 'Greek of Platonic eroticism'.

One conclusion that Raf van Rooy draws from his expansive study of specimens of writing in Greek of the Early Modern period is that, 'broadly, Greek seems to have been [the] preferred medium for writing about personal feelings' for some figures and that one motivation for writing in Greek is that it could guarantee greater secrecy within a private correspondence.<sup>216</sup> This insight of Rooy's into the motivations for writing in Greek in the Early Modern period can be applied to Diodati's Greek letters to Milton. This is because, as Rumrich observes, Diodati's Greek letters are particularly revealing of Diodati and Milton's intimacy because 'Diodati's Greek regularly hits this pitch of intimacy' and that 'the two letters we have from Diodati to Milton, though much less often remarked on than Milton's writings to and about Diodati, tell us a great deal about their love'.<sup>217</sup> Campbell and Corns's reading of the Greek letters follows a similar vein of interpretation since they note 'the sexual frisson in the other [second] letter' and find that 'what is striking about the letters is their playful erotic charge'.<sup>218</sup> These readings of Diodati's Greek letters reflect Jennifer

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<sup>215</sup> Rumrich, 'The Erotic Milton', p. 135. See also Rumrich, 'The Milton–Diodati Correspondence'.

<sup>216</sup> Rooy, *New Ancient Greek in a Neo-Latin World*, p. 119. On the intimacy evoked through writing in Greek in Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, see Dunkel, 'Remarks on Code-Switching in Cicero's Letters to Atticus'.

<sup>217</sup> Rumrich, 'The Erotic Milton', p. 132.

<sup>218</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 32 and p. 31. See also Summers, 'The (Homo) Sexual Temptation in Milton's Paradise Regained'; Guy-Bray, *Homoerotic Space*, pp. 117–128; Boehrer, 'Animal Love in Milton: The Case of the *Epitaphium Damonis*'; Garrison, 'Plurality and Amicitia in Milton's "Epitaphium Damonis"'; John Garrison, *Friendship and Queer Theory in the Renaissance: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2014), esp. Ch.5; and Pivetti, 'Do I Amuse You? Milton's Muse and the Dangers of Erotic Inspiration'.

Ingleheart's remarks concerning 'the strategic deployment of Greek models by Early Modern homosexual men, who used Hellenism to give a legitimating aura to their own desires' since they identify in Diodati's Greek a revealing (homo)erotic significance.<sup>219</sup> Although he does not endorse a homoerotic reading of the Milton–Diodati correspondence, Gregory Chaplin nevertheless acknowledges the centrality of Diodati in Milton's conceptualisation of the ideal marriage: 'the marital ideal that Milton articulates in his divorce tracts [...] develops out of the Platonically inspired friendship that he shared with Charles Diodati'.<sup>220</sup>

Although the philological and scientific analysis in this section of the manuscript of Diodati's 'Second Greek Letter' to recover Diodati's erased words may seem to treat a letter from the early-seventeenth century as though it were a papyrus containing a Sapphic fragment, in many ways Diodati's fragments—only one Latin poem and two Greek letters—and classical fragments share a great deal in common. Hannah Čulík-Baird offers the provocative and compelling framework of "fragmentary thinking" with which to interpret textual fragments from antiquity. For Čulík-Baird, 'fragmented material presents counternarrative to prevailing thought, especially the back projection of modern identity (straight, white, male) into antiquity'.<sup>221</sup> The aspect of Čulík-Baird's "fragmentary thinking" which can be most productively applied to Diodati's two Greek letters is her theorisation of the fragment as a disruptive agent which can potentially up-end long-standing narratives, traditions, and canons: 'the fragment may do the work of alterity simply by being a data point that is difficult to deal with, difficult to fit in the narrative of history as it currently

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<sup>219</sup> Ingleheart, 'Introduction', in *Ancient Rome and the Construction of Modern Homosexual Identities*, p. 13.

<sup>220</sup> Chaplin, "One Flesh, One Heart, One Soul": Renaissance Friendship and Miltonic Marriage', p. 267. See also Orvis, 'Eros and Anteros: Queer Mutuality in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*'.

<sup>221</sup> Čulík-Baird, "'The Fragment and the Future'" (Swansea Lecture, 23rd Nov 2020)', n.p. See also Čulík-Baird, 'Fragments of "anonymous" Latin Verse in Cicero'.

stands'.<sup>222</sup> In his application of Čulík-Baird's "fragmentary thinking" to the fragmentary comic poet Damoxenus (fr.3 *Poetae Comici Graeci* (PCG)) which depicts a moment of love-at-first-sight between two men, Matthew Wright explores the wider ramifications for our understanding of the generic conventions of New Comedy where 'in every other attested work of New Comedy the beautiful young object of desire is female, not male'.<sup>223</sup> Similarly, Diodati's letters are data points that scholars' have found difficult to deal with. 'How do we read the apparently homoerotic idiom of the exchanges between Milton and Diodati?'<sup>224</sup> Paul Hammond's question invites us to think about the role that the fragments of the Diodatian literary corpus have had with respect to scholars' perceptions of the Milton and Diodati relationship. Although this section does not focus on the apparent (homo)eroticism of the Milton–Diodati correspondence, it does, however, employ Čulík-Baird's framework of "fragmentary thinking" in arguing that the literary influence of Diodati as an author in his own right has been highly underestimated and seeks to radically revise the perception of Diodati's influence upon Milton's poetic craft.

To us, the picture we have of Diodati as an author is elusive, blurred, and fragmentary. While only two Greek letters and one Latin poem have survived, a far greater literary output of Diodati's existed for Milton. To Milton, the picture he had of his closest friend and of his literary production was clear and whole. While it is imperative to keep interpretations of the influence of Diodati upon Milton anchored in the evidence of the surviving fragments, it is also important to acknowledge that the tragic loss of Diodati's writings should not forbid us from raising questions about Diodati's poetics and, in turn, its influence upon Milton's poetics and Hellenism.

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Matthew Wright, 'Comic Sex and 'Fragmentary Thinking'', p. 107.

<sup>224</sup> Hammond, *Figuring Sex Between Men from Shakespeare to Rochester*, p. 28.

No one denies the importance of Diodati to Milton's life. Numerous letters and poems of Milton's are addressed to Diodati and grew from their reading and critiquing of each other's writing. What is left to us are the products of Diodati at the height of his precocity: a published poet and advancing ahead of Milton significantly at university—Diodati had gained his BA in 1625 and his MA in 1629 while Milton gained his BA in 1629 and his MA in 1632—the fragments of Diodati's literary output collectively belong to a period where Diodati was, arguably, the more impressive of the two friends. One can glean from Diodati's Greek great insights into both his 'Attic wit' (*Cecropiosque sales*. ED 56) and, in turn, Milton's Hellenism, by exploring the poetic influence of the philhellenic Diodati upon Milton.<sup>225</sup> In order to demonstrate the influence of Diodati's Greek writing and his 'Attic wit' in *Epitaphium Damonis*, a crucial first step is to explore examples of intertextuality between Milton and Diodati's Latin poetry.

**Milton's Diodatian Proserpina: 'In obitum Procancellarii Medici' (1626), 'Elegia Tertia' (1626), and Diodati's Latin Poem (1624)**

Two years before Milton composed his obituary poem, 'In obitum Procancellarii Medici' (1626) on the death of the Professor of Medicine at Cambridge, John Gostlin (c.1566–1626), Diodati's obituary poem on the death of the Professor of History at Oxford, William Camden (1551–1623), was published in 1624 in the memorial volume *Camdeni Insignia*.<sup>226</sup> It was in this volume that Sir Thomas Browne also made his first entry into print.<sup>227</sup> In order to demonstrate the influence of Diodati upon Milton's early poetry, I begin by comparing the

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<sup>225</sup> OW 3:216–7.

<sup>226</sup> All quotations from the Greek texts of Diodati's extant writings, and the translations of them, are my own (see Appendix).

<sup>227</sup> Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne*, p. 72.

ending of Milton's 'In obitum Procancellarii medici' with the beginning of Diodati's Latin poem. As well as the St Paul's connection—both Diodati and Camden were alumni of St Paul's—there is also a Hellenic connection since it was Camden who first moved Diodati's endeavouring tongue to speak Greek at St Paul's. This is because both Milton and the philhellenic Diodati pored over Camden's Greek grammar as pupils at St Paul's under the tutelage of Alexander Gill the Younger.<sup>228</sup>

In both Diodati's sole surviving Latin poem and Milton's obituary poem to Gostlin, Proserpina is figured as Atropos (one of the three Fates and the goddess of death who cuts the thread of life):

Sic furva coniunx Tartarei Iovis,  
Sic quae tremenda fila secat manu  
Mortalibus talem invidentes  
Aërias rapuere ad umbras?

Thus Tartarean Jove's dark wife [i.e. Proserpina]—she who cuts the threads of life with her dreaded hand—did the ones who envy the mortals [i.e. the Parcae] snatch away so great a man to the airy shades thus? (Diodati, 'Sic furva coniunx', ll.1–4)<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> In the recently-discovered will of Alexander Gill the Younger dated 7<sup>th</sup> March 1643 (London Metropolitan Archives, MS 9052/12, fols.46<sup>r</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>), Diodati and Milton's teacher donates his 'Greeke Grammar' to the library of St Paul's School (Poole, 'More Light on the Literary Remains of Alexander Gil the Younger (1596/7–1644)'). Although Gill states in his will that he possessed two copies of William Lily's Latin grammar, he does not specify which Greek grammar he used. However, Gill's 'Greeke Grammar' is almost certainly William Camden's *Institutio graecae grammatices compendaria* (London, 1595). D.L. Clark deemed it to be the likeliest Greek grammar that Milton used at St Paul's (Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul's School*, pp. 124–5). Lily's Latin grammar and Camden's Greek grammar are cited as a pair by Marchamont Nedham (1620–1678), stating that 'all England over heretofore, Lilly and Camden were in the hands of Youth' (Nedham, *A Discourse Concerning Schools and Schoolmasters*, p. 5). Harris Fletcher cites circumstantial evidence for judging that Milton must have used Camden's Greek grammar at St Paul's (Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, vol. 1, p. 246). Praise of Camden's Greek grammar can be found in many poems within *Camdeni Insignia*. A certain I.F. states that Camden and his Greek grammar 'skilfully transforms the Britons into Greeks' (*Britonas trasformas callide arte / In Graecos*. B3) and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, Edward Meeterkerke (1590–1657), states that Camden 'bequeathed a grammar book which all posterity will read over to learn Greek' (*Grammatices legavit opus, quod cuncta revolvat / Posteritas, Graecè discere*. G).

<sup>229</sup> The Parcae are Atropos, Clotho, and Lachesis. Dorian connects 'invidentes' to 'furva coniunx', translating it as '[Proserpina] being envious of mortals'. This cannot be correct since *invidentes* is plural; it would need to be *invidens* to be applied only to Proserpina. I read 'invidentes' as a substantive participle and this agrees with the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. perf. *rapuere* (*rapuere* = *rapuerunt*). Since Proserpina is explicitly rendered as Atropos, the *invidentes* must refer to (Proserpina-)Atropos and the two other Parcae: Clotho and Lachesis. Clotho begins the thread, Lachesis draws it out, and (Proserpina-)Atropos cuts it. In Martial 9.76.6–7, the envy of Atropos is given as the reason for the untimely death of Camonius: 'one sister of the three envied, and as the wool hastened on, she cut the thread

At fila rupit Persephone tua  
 Irata, cum te viderit artibus  
 Succoque pollenti tot atris  
 Faucibus eripuisse mortis.

But Persephone broke the thread of life, angered when she saw how many souls you  
 snatched from the black jaws of Death by your arts and your potent juices.

(Milton, 'In obitum Procancellarii medici', ll.37-40)<sup>230</sup>

Although Dorian first observed that Diodati's obituary poem to Camden could have been a potential source for Milton, he is curiously dismissive of the possibility that Milton could have been recalling Diodati's poem. According to Dorian, if Milton were recalling Diodati's poem, then it was only due to a 'confusing trick of memory' and 'a curious slip' on Milton's behalf.<sup>231</sup> Bush references Dorian's conjecture regarding Milton's 'confusing trick of memory' and he is also critical of the notion that Milton could be alluding to Diodati's poem: 'Milton may well have remembered these lines [from Diodati's poem], but he is unlikely to have made a slip on such an elementary point'.<sup>232</sup> According to Dorian and Bush, Diodati's figuration of Proserpina as Atropos is not an ingenious invention but a juvenile mistake by the fifteen-year-old Diodati. On the grounds that Diodati's poem *must* be erroneous, they find it extremely unlikely that Milton could have had Diodati's poem in mind since he would

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(*invidit de tribus una soror / et festinates incidit stamina pensis*). See also Ugolino Verino, 'Eulogium pro Albiere puella formosissima', ll. 85–86: 'Fortuna envied you and the malignant Parcae broke the ruptured, spun threads' (*invidit Fortuna tibi, Parcaeque malignae / Fregerunt ruptis aurea fila colis*). The description of Proserpina cutting the thread is only within a relative clause in the present tense (expressing a habitual action), so it still needs a main verb. Therefore, both 'invidentes' and 'furva coniux' must be the subjects of 'rapuere' with *talem* as the object, where 'invidentes' refers to Proserpina-Atropos, Clotho, and Lachesis: the Parcae (or the Fates). Dorian states that 'Proserpine was queen of the lower world, not one of the Parcae' (*The English Diodatis*, p. 255, n. 57) but evidently Diodati has rendered Proserpina into Atropos and, therefore, into one of the three Parcae: 'those who envy the mortals' (*mortalibus... invidentes*). The fact that there are three words in the third line could also emphasise the *three* Parcae.

<sup>230</sup> *OW* 3:166–7.

<sup>231</sup> Dorian, *The English Diodatis*, p. 255, n. 57.

<sup>232</sup> Bush (ed.), *Variorum*, vol 1, p. 165.



be replicating such a gross mistake. Although Haan acknowledges that 'it is likely that Milton had read his friend's poem', she is also sceptical of the likelihood that Milton could be recalling Diodati's poem, stating that 'it is evident that parallels between the two works are very slight'.<sup>233</sup> Hale is highly critical of Diodati's sole surviving Latin poem, and especially of this stanza which presents Proserpina as Atropos which he deems 'competent but not more'.<sup>234</sup> Hale's verdict of the first stanza is that 'it seems strained' and finds Diodati's descriptions of the shades as 'airy' and Dis as Jove 'not a little confusing'.<sup>235</sup> Even though Milton's poem has also had its detractors, it is striking that Ralph Condee views the most successful passage in Milton's poem as its figuration of Proserpina as Atropos. Condee states that Milton's 'poem has a momentary flash of life at lines 37–40 as it contrasts Gostlin's career in rescuing men from death with Persephone's meeting men after death'.<sup>236</sup>

I argue, however, that it is *exactly* this confusion, mixing, and conflation that ought to be considered the most striking rather than the most faulty feature of Diodati's portrayals of specifically Proserpina, Pluto, and Gostlin's rapture, as well as of Diodati's 'Attic wit' and poetics. Diodati's mixing of high and low, dark and light, Hades and Olympus, is not artless and clumsy, but rather it is an example of Diodati's daring experimentalism as a burgeoning poet. The problem Hale identifies with the line 'snatched to the aiery shades' (*Aërias rapuere ad umbras*) is that the shades cannot be airy 'since *aërius*, of the *air*, refers us upward not downward'.<sup>237</sup> Diodati, however, intermixes the celestial and lofty (*Aërias*) with the infernal and shadowy (*umbras*), where Camden's rapture is at-once elevation and descent, *anabasis* and *katabasis*, both soaring upwards to Heaven and being dragged

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<sup>233</sup> Haan, 'Milton and Two Italian Humanists', p. 177.

<sup>234</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, p. 153.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>236</sup> Condee, *Structure in Milton's Poetry*, p. 28.

<sup>237</sup> *Cambridge Latin*, p. 153.

downwards to Hades. The only connection that has been more widely acknowledged between Diodati and Milton's poems has been solely metrical. Diodati and Milton composed their poems to Camden and Gostlin respectively in the challenging metre of alcaics, something which has led Campbell and Corns to consider (but *only* in 'his prosodic choice') that 'Milton's eye may have been on Diodati as much as on Horace'.<sup>238</sup>

Noam Reisner describes the figuration of Proserpina as Atropos in Milton's 'In Obitum Procancellarii Medici' as a totally original and brilliant innovation of Milton's.

Without referring to Diodati's poem, Reisner states that:

one of the most intriguing conceits is the explanation offered towards the end of the poem for the now mythic death of the Vice-Chancellor, whose thread of life, we learn, was cut in anger by Persephone (here assuming the role of the goddess of death) because Gostlin saved so many from 'death's black jaws'. As Carey and Bush note in their commentaries, **it appears to be Milton's novel idea to associate Persephone with Atropos**, the third of the three dreaded Fates who traditionally cuts the threads of life. **It is highly unlikely that Milton made a schoolboy's error** of mistaking Persephone for Atropos, and it is only marginally more probable that he needed 'Proserpina' merely for metrical reasons.<sup>239</sup>

But there is one issue here. The formulation of Proserpina as Atropos *does* have a precedent:

Diodati's Latin poem. The lack of a precedent in Greek and Latin literature of depictions of Proserpina as Atropos was already observed by Walter Mackellar who correctly notes that 'Milton ascribes to her the function of Atropos, for which, however, I have not found classical authority'.<sup>240</sup> John Carey also notes that 'there is no classical precedent for her cutting the thread of life, which was Atropos's job' and Bush observes that 'editors have found no classical authority for Persephone's breaking the thread of life, a function of the

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<sup>238</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 34. On the alcaic metre, see Talbot, *The Alcaic Metre in the English Imagination*.

<sup>239</sup> Reisner, 'Obituary and Rapture in Milton's Memorial Latin Poems', p. 168.

<sup>240</sup> Mackellar, *The Latin Poems of John Milton*, p. 257.

third Fate, Atropos'.<sup>241</sup> However, there is, of course, a Diodatian authority in the proper sense of the word in that Diodati literally authored the figuration of Proserpina as Atropos.

So, on the one hand, figures such as Dorian, Hale, and Haan judge that it is 'just possible', unlikely and only through a 'confusing trick of memory' that Milton could have (involuntarily) had Diodati's poem in mind when composing 'In obitum Procancellarii medici'.<sup>242</sup> And, even if he did, Milton gained nothing from it for, as Hale puts it, 'whilst not arguing that Milton took anything from the Camden poem into his own, I do think Milton saw it'.<sup>243</sup> On the other hand, the bold originality of figuring Proserpina as Atropos has been recognised by Mackellar, Carey, and Reisner in particular who recognises the mixing of the two mythological figures as 'an ingenious conflation of myths', yet without properly acknowledging the Diodatian example.<sup>244</sup> Despite citing Diodati's poem, Bush nevertheless argues that Milton's figuration of Proserpina as Atropos most likely derived from 'Milton's frequent instinct for giving a fresh turn to commonplaces'.<sup>245</sup> Why is it, then, that Milton could purposefully recall any number of Classical and Renaissance authors, but only accidentally (and, ultimately, implausibly) recall Diodati?

Reisner's further discussion on the effects of the extraordinary conflation of Proserpina with Atropos in Milton's poem therefore invites a reassessment of the negative verdicts regarding the influence of Diodati's poem upon Milton's obituary poem and the merits of Diodati's poem itself. Although Diodati's poem opens with a perplexing mix of Jove and Dis, its conciliatory final stanza ends with an untangling of the Christian God from the

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<sup>241</sup> Carey (ed.), *Complete Shorter Poems*, p. 33; Bush (ed.), *Variorum*, p. 165.

<sup>242</sup> Dorian, *The English Diodatis*, p. 255.

<sup>243</sup> Hale, *Milton's Cambridge Latin*, p. 152.

<sup>244</sup> Reisner, 'Obituary and Rapture in Milton's Memorial Latin Poems', p. 168.

<sup>245</sup> Bush (ed.), *Variorum*, p. 165.

Pagan Jove where Diodati separates the inferior gifts of Jove from the superior gifts of God the ‘Omnipotent father’ (*omnipotens pater*).<sup>246</sup>

Diodati adapts Ovidian rapture in a way which intermixes the celestial with the infernal, just as his figuration of Proserpina’s husband intermixes the Olympic Jove with the Tartarean Dis: a mixture which is emphasised by the elision in ‘Tartarei Iovis’, thus aurally fusing them together. Diodati’s depiction of Proserpina as ‘the wife of Tartarean Jove’ (*coniunx Tartarei Iovis*) evokes the dissonant marriage or coupling of opposing beings, playing on the etymology of *coniunx* from *conjungere* (‘to join together’ or ‘to bind together’). Diodati’s presentation of the union of Proserpina with Tartarean Jove—both Pluto and Zeus—itself binds together two differing accounts of the Proserpina myth. It simultaneously evokes the traditional myth of Pluto’s rape of Proserpina and the incestuous coupling of Proserpina with her father, Zeus, in the *Orphic Hymns* to Proserpina (*OH* 29) and to Dionysus (*OH* 30):

Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης  
ἀρρήτοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθεῖς, ἄμβροτε δαῖμον.

Immortal god sired by Zeus  
When he mated with Persephone  
In unspeakable union.

(*Orphic Hymns* 30.5–7)<sup>247</sup>

<sup>246</sup> *The English Diodatis*, p. 109 and p. 254, n. 54.

<sup>247</sup> Fayant (ed.), *Hymnes Orphiques*, p. 265, trans. by Athanassakis and Wolkow, *The Orphic Hymns*, p. 27. See also *OH* 29.3–7: Πλούτωνος πολύτιμε δάμαρ [...] / ὑποχθονίων βασιλεία, / ἦν Ζεὺς ἀρρήτοις γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρην (‘Much-honored spouse of Pluto [...] / Queen of the nether world / Secretly sired by Zeus / In unspeakable union’) (Fayant (ed.), *Hymnes Orphiques*, p. 255, and trans. by Athanassakis and Wolkow, p. 26). For commentaries on *OH* 29 (‘To Persephone’) and *OH* 30 (‘To Dionysus’), see Fayant (ed.), *Hymnes Orphiques*; Ricardelli (ed.), *Inni orfici*; and Athanassakis, *The Orphic Hymns*. For the distinction between Zeus and Pluto in the account of (chthonic-) Zeus’s rape of Proserpina in the *Orphic Hymns*, see M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems*, p. 74 and p. 97.

The young Milton was also drawn to the *Orphic Hymns*, as shown by his quotation in Greek from the ‘Hymn to Dawn’ (*OH 77*) in ‘Prolusion I’.<sup>248</sup> Diodati’s Proserpina-Atropos compresses the syntactical proximity between Proserpina and Atropos in Claudian’s *De Raptu Proserpina* (henceforth *DRP*) when Zeus tells Venus,

“curarum, Cytherea, tibi secreta fabebor.  
Candida Tartareo nuptum **Proserpina** regi  
iam pridem decretal dari: sic **Atropos** urget[.]”

“Goddess of Cythera, I will impart to thee my hidden troubles; long ago I decided that fair **Proserpine** should be given in marriage to the Tartarean king; such is **Atropos**’ bidding[.]”  
(Claudian, *DRP* 1.217–18)<sup>249</sup>

Milton’s Diodatian Proserpina simultaneously evokes the rupture to the thread of Gostlin’s life as well as a mythological rupture. Milton creates a destructive Proserpina, and this disruptive break with mythological tradition is heightened by the way ‘**rupit** *Persephone*’ jars what one *expects* to hear: **rapit** *Persephonen*. ‘**Rupit** *Persephone*’ puts Proserpina in an active and destructive role which aurally clashes with the traditional narrative of Proserpina being seized (**rapit** *Persephonen*). For example, many engravings of the rape of Proserpina in Early Modern editions of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* include the caption ‘Pluto rapit Proserpinam’ (see Figs. 4 and 5).<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> *CW* 12:138–141. The quote is five verses long and is the lengthiest quotation in the whole of ‘Prolusion I’. For Milton and the *Orphic Hymns* in his early works, see Viswanathan, “‘In Sage and Solemn Tunes’: Variants of Orphicism in Milton’s Early Poetry’.

<sup>249</sup> I have altered ‘the lord of hell’ in Platnauer’s translation to ‘the Tartarean king’.

<sup>250</sup> For discussion of Early Modern illustrations of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, see Enenkel and de Jong (eds.), *Re-Inventing Ovid’s Metamorphoses*.



**Fig. 4.** Engraving with the caption 'Pluto rapit Proserpinam' by Virgil Solis (1514–1562) in Johannes Sprengius, *Metamorphoses Ovidii* (Frankfurt: 1563), p. 64 (Cambridge, Trinity College, Z.8.168). By permission from the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.



**Fig. 5.** Engraving with the caption 'PLVTO RAPIT PROSERPINAM' by Pierre van der Brocht (1545–1608) in Jan Moretus and Jeanne Rivière, *Metamorphoses: Argumentis brevioribus ex Luctatio Grammatico collectis expositae: una cum cuius singularum Transformationum iconibus* (Antwerp: 1591), p. 133 (Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois Library, MINI01042). By permission of the University of Illinois.

Diodati draws from the passage in *Aeneid* Book 4 when Juno hastens Proserpina to cut a lock of Dido's hair to end her life, something which Iris eventually does in Proserpina's place:

sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,  
nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem  
abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.  
ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis,  
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,  
devolat et supra caput adstitit. "hunc ego Diti  
sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo":  
sic ait et **dextra crinem secat**; omnis et una  
dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

But wretchedly before her day, in the heat of sudden frenzy, not yet had Proserpina taken from her head the golden lock and consigned her to the Stygian under-world. So Iris on dewy saffron wings flits down through the sky, trailing athwart the sun a thousand shifting tints, and halted above her head. "This offering, sacred to Dis, I take as bidden, and from your body set you free": So she speaks and **she cuts the hair with her hand**; and therewith all the warmth passed away, and the life vanished into the winds. (*Aeneid* 4.697–705)<sup>251</sup>

Both Diodati and Virgil's descriptions are thematically, grammatically and syntactically identical and use the same form of the same verb (*secat*):

*fila **secat** manu* (Diodati)

*dextra crinem **secat*** (Virgil)

This is because Diodati's description of Proserpina 'cutting the threads with her hand' (*fila secat manu*) closely resembles Virgil's *dextra crinem secat*: an action Iris eventually performs in Proserpina's place. Diodati's Proserpina, therefore, fulfils what Virgil's Proserpina delays and refuses to do—cut a lock of Dido's hair as an offering 'sacred to Dis' (*Diti / sacrum. Aen.* 4.702–3)—and thus Diodati creates a Proserpina who kills through cutting the thread of life. While Virgil's Proserpina refuses to perform a cutting required in order to send Dido to the

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<sup>251</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. by Fantham, vol. 1, pp. 470–1.

underworld, Diodati's Proserpina *does* perform such a cutting which sends Camden to the underworld.

What is even more ingenious about Diodati's Proserpina-Atropos is that it is an invention built upon a Virgilian invention. This passage from *Aeneid* 4 concerning the cutting of a lock of Dido's hair has attracted considerable criticism since antiquity as a key example of Virgil's invention and his breaking mythological tradition. Servius had highlighted the end of *Aeneid* 4 as one of the only three moments in the whole of the *Aeneid* that opened Virgil up most to negative criticism for inventions which depart from the mythological truth:

*Aen* 3.46] *vituperabile enim est, poetam aliquid fingere, quod penitus a veritate discedat [...] tertium, cur Iris Didoni comam secuerit.*

For it is worthy of censure for a poet to make something up that departs utterly from the truth [...] Third, about how Iris cut the lock from Dido.<sup>252</sup>

Furthermore, as quoted by Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* (*Sat.* 5.19.1–5), the rhetorician and philosopher Cornutus explains that Virgil originated the notion that Dido was unable to finally die because Proserpina had not cut a lock of her hair yet: 'whence came this story that hair must be taken away from the dying is unknown; but Vergil is accustomed to invent things now and then in the old poetic fashion' (*unde haec historia ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus ignoratur, sed adsuevit poetico more aliqua fingere*).<sup>253</sup> John Rauck explains that Cornutus is right in considering this an example of Virgilian invention: 'Virgil implies that Proserpina normally cut a lock of hair from those who died, an idea that Cornutus correctly noted was a Virgilian invention'.<sup>254</sup> Brilliantly, then, Diodati invents a new version of Proserpina upon *another*, Virgilian invention of Proserpina.

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<sup>252</sup> Servius, qt. by Fantham, 'Decorum and Poetic Fiction in *Aeneid* 9.77–122 and 10.215–59', p. 102, n. 1. My translation.

<sup>253</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, trans. by Kaster, vol. 2, pp. 432–3.

<sup>254</sup> Rauck, 'Macrobius, Cornutus, and the Cutting of Dido's Lock', p. 351.



In another poem from 1626, 'Elegy 3', Milton again appears to draw inspiration from Diodati's version of Proserpina. Described by Sarah Knight as 'an intensely visual poem', the floral imagery surrounding the destructive powers of Milton's '*dira* [...] *mors*' potentially evokes the imagery associated with the rape of Proserpina as well as of Atropos's destructiveness.<sup>255</sup> In 'Elegy 3', Milton presents Mors—the goddess of Death—as an anti-Proserpina.<sup>256</sup> Suggestively, Milton presents Death in a feminised form, the 'cruel goddess' (*fera* [...] *diva*) who is closely associated with 'Tartarean Jove' (Pluto): 'O cruel Death, goddess next in power to **Tartarean Jove**' (*Mors fera Tartareo diva secunda Jovi. El.3.16*).<sup>257</sup> Here, I compare *El.3.16* with the first line of Diodati's poem:

Mors fera Tartareo diva secunda Iovi (Milton)

Sic furva coniunx Tartarei Iovis (Diodati)

In both 'Elegy 3' (1626) and 'In obitum Procancellarii medici' (1626), Milton appears to borrow Diodati's figurations of Proserpina and Pluto. Milton's *Mors* is the 'cruel goddess' (*fera ... diva*) second only to 'Tartarean Jove' (*Tartareo ... Jovi*) and Diodati's Proserpina is the 'dark wife' (*furva coniunx*) of 'Tartarean Jove' (*Tartarei Iovis*). Although Hale finds Diodati's formulation 'Tartarei Jovis' in his 1624 poem 'not a little confusing', Milton uses the exact same formulation in 'Elegy 3' of 1626 to describe Pluto. (Why should Diodati's 'Tartarean Jove' be confusing, and Milton's not?). The figuration of Pluto as 'Tartarean Jove' (*Tartarei Iovis*) only has Classical precedents in Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica* (1.730) and Silius Italicus's *Punica* (2.674).<sup>258</sup> Similarly, in spite of the precedents in Valerius Flaccus, Silius

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<sup>255</sup> *OW* 3:124–5; Knight, 'Elegia Tertia: a Baroque Latin Poem?', n.p.

<sup>256</sup> On the feminine grammatical gender of Latin *Mors* and the masculine grammatical gender of Greek *Thanatos*, see Burton, 'The Gender of Death', pp. 57–8.

<sup>257</sup> *OW* 3:124–5.

<sup>258</sup> On the epithet '*Tartareo ... Iovi*' in Val. Flac. *Arg.* 1.730, see Zissos (ed.), *Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica Book 1* p. 382. According to Zissos (ad. loc.), similar epithets for Jove in Latin poetry are *Stygius* (*Aen.* 4. 638; *Fast.* 5.

Italicus, and Didoati, *'Tartareo Jovi'* has been interpreted as a Miltonic invention by commentators: "Tartarean Jove" may be Milton's variation upon the 'Stygian Jove'—*Iovi Stygio*—of Virgil (*Aen.* 4.638).<sup>259</sup> Mackellar's interpretation has been upheld by subsequent editors on this line; in the editions of Carey and Haan and Lewalksi, Milton's *'Tartareo ... Iovis'* is also presented as a variation on Virgil's *Iovi Stygio* (*Aen.*4.638).<sup>260</sup>

Milton's *Mors* in 'Elegy 3' can be interpreted as an anti-Proserpina who roams the forest killing flowers rather than gathering them:

Delicui fletu, & tristi sic ore querebar,  
**Mors fera Tartareo diva secunda Jovi,**  
 Nonne satis quod sylva tuas persentiat iras,  
 Et quod in herbosos jus tibi detur agros,  
 Quodque afflata tuo marcescant lilia tabo,  
 Et crocus, & pulchræ Cyripidi sacra rosa[?]

I melted with weeping and uttered these sad words of lamentation: '**Cruel Death, goddess second only to Tartarean Jupiter,** is it not enough that the woods feel your anger and that jurisdiction is given you over grassy fields, and that **lilies, the crocus and the rose** sacred to beautiful Cypris wither when infected by your putrefying breath[?]'

(Milton, 'Elegy 3', ll.15–20)<sup>261</sup>

The goddess *Mors* serves as a macabre inversion of Proserpina herself here. In Ovid and Claudian's versions of the Proserpina myth, Proserpina gather lilies, crocuses, and roses moments before her rape by Pluto. In turn, Milton's goddess *Mors* destroys the very same flowers: *lilia*, *crocus*, and *rosa*. As Anthony Welch observes in a compelling study of

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448; Sil. 1. 386), *infernus* (Sen. *Her. F.* 47), *niger* (Sil. 8. 116), *profundus* (*Theb.* 1. 615–16) and, in Greek literature, Homer (*Il.* 9. 467 Ζεύς ... καταχθόνιος), Hesiod (*Op.* 465) and Sophocles (*OC* 1606). See also Silius (*Theb.* 4.526–7) for Proserpina's epithet '*Stygiae ... Iunonis*'. With respect to Silius Italicus's use of the same epithet for Pluto at *Punica* II.674 (*Tartareo ... Iovi*), Ripoll argues that it is 'manifestement une reminiscence de Valérius, *Arg.* I.730, chez qui l'on trouvait la même expression' (Ripoll, 'Silius Italicus et Valérius Flaccus', p. 513). On the formulation 'Chthonic Jove' (Ζεῦ χθόνιε) in the *Orphic Hymns*, see Ricardelli (ed.), *Inni orfici*, pp. 309–10.

<sup>259</sup> Mackellar (ed.), *The Latin Poetry of John Milton*, p. 103.

<sup>260</sup> Carey, *The Complete Shorter Poems*, p. 52; and *OW* 3:429.

<sup>261</sup> *OW* 3:124–5.

Proserpina in Milton's imagination, the moment Milton particularly valued 'in Ovid's version of the story is Proserpina's loss of her flowers when Pluto seizes her [at *Met.*5.399–401]'.<sup>262</sup> With respect to the same passage from *Metamorphoses* 5, John Leonard finds that 'this Ovidian moment profoundly moved Milton[,] the pathos of the plucked Proserpine grieving for her flowers surely prompted the great lines 'Herself, though fairest unsupported Flour' (9.432) and 'Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie Dis / Was gathered' (4.270)'.<sup>263</sup> Milton's Diodatian and Proserpina-like *Mors* becomes a monstrous inversion of Proserpina's flower-gathering moments before Pluto seizes her because the goddess *Mors* has a destructive effect upon all of the flowers 'sacred to lovely Cypris [i.e. Venus]' (*pulchræ Cypridi sacra. El.*3.20).<sup>264</sup> This inverts Ovid and Claudian's depiction of Proserpina and the Naiads gathering the exact same flowers which, too, are beloved by Venus, moments before Pluto seizes her:

**Ipsa crocos tenues liliaque alba legi.**

Carpendi studio paulatim longius itur,  
Et dominam casu nulla secuta comes.  
Hanc videt et visam patruus velociter aufert  
Regnaque caeruleis in sua portat equis.

**Persephone herself plucked dainty crocuses and white lilies.** Intent on gathering, she, little by little, strayed far, and it chanced that none of her companions followed their mistress. Her father's brother [Pluto] saw her, and no sooner did he see her than he swiftly carried her off and bore her on his dusky steeds into his own realm. (Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.440–46)<sup>265</sup>

Moments before 'Proserpina was snatched away in the chariot' (*rapitur Proserpina curru. DRP.* 2.204), in Claudian's *DRP*, we see Proserpina and the Naiads plucking lilies and roses from the garden beloved by Venus just moments before Pluto destroys the flowery meadows and seizes Proserpina:

Hortatur Cytherea legant: 'nunc ite, sorores,

<sup>262</sup> Welch, *Renaissance Epic and the Oral Past*, p. 163.

<sup>263</sup> Leonard, 'Milton's Jarring Allusions', p. 83.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Claudian, *DRP*, 2.119: 'Venus bids them gather flowers' (*Hortatur Cytherea legant*).

<sup>265</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. by Frazer, pp. 220–1.

Dum matutinis praesudat solibus aer,  
 Dum meus umectat flaventes Lucifer agros  
 Roranti praevectus equo.' [...]  
 Pratorum spoliatur honos ; haec **lilia** fuscis  
 Intexit violis ; hanc mollis amaracus ornat ;  
 Haec graditur stellata **rosis**, haec alba ligustris.

Venus urged them to gather flowers: 'Go now, sister, while the air sweats in advance of the morning sun's rays, while my Lucifer moistens the yellow fields, carried on ahead by his dewy steed.' [...] The glory of the meadows was despoiled: this nymph wove **lilies** together with dusky violets, this one was adorned with pliant marjoram; this one walked along starred with **roses**, this one white with privet flowers. (Claudian, *DRP*, II.119–130)<sup>266</sup>

The destruction that Milton's *Mors* wrecks upon the crocuses, lilies, and roses fuses together Ovid and Claudian's depictions of Proserpina gathering these flowers just before her rape as well as Statius's portrayal of Atropos. Invoking his patron Claudius Etruscus's mother (who died at a young age when Etruscus was in his infancy) Statius likens her untimely death at the hand of Atropos (*manu* [...] *Atropos*) to the death of lilies and roses:

Sed media cecidere abrupta iuventa  
 Gaudia florentesque **manu scidit Atropos** annos,  
 Qualia pallentes declinant **lilia** culmos  
 Pubentesque **rosae**que primos moriuntur ad austros[.]

But your joys fell earthwards, broken off in mid youth, and **Atropos's hand severed** your blooming years, as **lilies** droop their paling stems and **roses** die at the first sirocco. (Statius, *Silvae*, 3.3.126–30).<sup>267</sup>

This nexus of floral imagery in Milton's *El.* 3.15–20, Ovid's *Fasti* 440–46, Claudian's *DRP* 2.128–30, and Statius's *Silvae* 3.3.126–30 suggests that Milton's *Mors* becomes an anti-Proserpina who, instead of gathering roses, lilies, and crocuses, destroys them, and whose destructiveness is expressed in terms similar to Statius's Atropos who blasts the lilies and

<sup>266</sup> Claudian, *DRP*, trans. by Gruzelier, p. 33.

<sup>267</sup> Statius, *Silvae*, trans. by Shackleton Bailey, pp. 192–3.

roses representing the life of Etruscus's mother. Milton's *Mors*, therefore, brings together two particularly poetic anxieties and fascinations of Milton's: death at a young age and Proserpina's loss of her flowers. Milton was particularly drawn to the fallen flower as a metonym for rape of Proserpina herself.<sup>268</sup> He does so implicitly in another, early elegy, 'On the Death of a Fair Infant' which, as Welch suggests, 'faintly evokes Proserpina's ancient literary association with flowers in its opening address to the dead child, 'O fairest flower no sooner blown but blasted''.<sup>269</sup> Although it has not been regarded as a passage related to the rape of Proserpina before, ll.15–20 of 'Elegy 3' appears to evoke—like 'In obitum procancellarii medici'—a peculiarly Diodatian Proserpina.

In Milton's depiction of Proserpina cutting and ripping the thread of Gostlin's life, and in Milton's depiction of the goddess *Mors* destroying the self-same flowers Proserpina gathered just before her rape by Pluto, we potentially also see Milton *ripping* from Diodati's deathly and destructive Proserpina.<sup>270</sup> Far from being an 'accidental [...] slip' in his memory, the presence of Diodati's Proserpina in two of Milton's Latin poems from 1624—'In obitum Procancellarii Medici' and 'Elegy 3'—are revealing (though almost entirely overlooked) testaments of the creative collaboration between Milton and Diodati. Such poetic collaboration between Milton and Diodati may have been recognised by their university contemporaries at Oxford and Cambridge who were the primary readers of these poems in the 1620s. Although Dorian declared that 'nothing would be gained by a detailed comparison of Diodati's one extant Latin poem with the numerous later ones of the great poet who was his friend', detailed comparison of Diodati and Milton's figurations of

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<sup>268</sup> See *PL* 4.268: 'Not that faire field / Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathering flours / Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie *Dis* / Was gathered[.]'.

<sup>269</sup> Welch, 'Milton's Forsaken Proserpine', p. 531.

<sup>270</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'rip': 4. slang. To copy.

Proserpina does, on the contrary, suggest a cross-influence between Milton and Diodati's poetry.<sup>271</sup>

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### Diodati's Greek Letters to Milton: Hellenism, Platonism, Pastoralism

An extraordinary feature of Milton's letter to Diodati on 23 September 1637—a letter which McDowell describes as being replete with 'lofty Hellenism'—is its exuberant Platonism.<sup>272</sup>

Milton meditates on 'the idea of the Beautiful' (*τοῦ καλοῦ ἰδέαν*) which is framed within another version of the Proserpina myth which both Milton and Diodati engaged intensively with in their early poetry as illustrated above.<sup>273</sup> Milton tells Diodati that, just as Ceres desperately sought out her daughter, Proserpina, he seeks out the Platonic 'idea of the Beautiful'. Welch observes that 'Milton's attraction to the figure of Proserpina began early and stretched across his career', and I argue that Milton and Diodati explored new ways of thinking about the myth of Proserpina in tandem.<sup>274</sup> Diodati and Milton's shared engagement with Plato's *Phaedrus* can be recognised in Milton's 'Sonnet 4' which he sent to Diodati in a letter for his friend's judgement and to whom he addresses at the outset of the poem.<sup>275</sup>

*Diodati, et te 'l dirò con maraviglia,*

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<sup>271</sup> Dorian, *The English Diodatis*, p. 109.

<sup>272</sup> McDowell, *Poet of Revolution*, p. 260.

<sup>273</sup> *EF*, pp. 104–5.

<sup>274</sup> Welch, 'Milton's Forsaken Proserpine', p. 529.

<sup>275</sup> For an annotated bibliography of scholarship on 'Sonnet 4' and Milton's other Italian sonnets, see Jones, *Milton's Sonnets*, pp. 50–56. For more recent scholarship on Milton's Italian sonnets and Petrarchism, see: Lewalski, 'Contemporary History as Literary Subject'; Serjeantson, 'Milton and the Tradition of Protestant Petrarchism'; Ryan Netzley, 'Milton's Sonnets'; Nahoe, 'The Italian Verse of Milton'; and Braden, 'Petrarchism and Its Counterdiscourses'. If Milton does indeed refer to his Italian sonnet(s) at the end of 'Elegy 6', which was composed in December 1629, then this coincides with an especially intense period in his reading of Italian poetry as evidenced by his purchase in December 1629 of Giovanni Della Casa's *Rime e Prose*. For discussion of Milton's reference to, presumably, his Italian poetry at the end of 'Elegy 6' and his reading of Della Casa, see McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars*, pp. 70–1. Milton's copy of Della Casa (Venice, 1563) is bound with Dante's *L'Amoroso Convivio* (Venice, 1529) and Benedetto Varchi's *Sonetti* (Venice, 1555). The volume is in the New York Public Library (Rare Book Room \*KB 1529).

*Quel ritroso io ch'amor spreggiar soléa  
E de suoi lacci spesso mi ridéa  
Gia caddi, ov'huom dabben talhor s'impiglia,  
Ne trecchie d'oro, ne guancia vermiglia  
M'abbaglian sì, ma sotto nova idea  
Pellegrina bellezza che'l cuor bea[.]*

Diodati, I'll tell you with astonishment that  
I — the timid one who used to despise Love  
And who used to laugh at Love's snares —  
Have now fallen into where an honest man is sometimes  
Caught. Neither tresses of gold nor vermillion cheeks  
Blind me so, but rather a strange beauty  
In the form of a new idea which delights my heart.  
(*'Sonnet 4', ll.1–7*)<sup>276</sup>

Milton's 'Pellegrina bellezza' corresponds closely with the Greek terms he uses to describe Platonic beauty and eroticism in his letters to Diodati. The '*nova idea / Pelegrina bellezza*' reflects the friends' fascination with 'the idea of the Beautiful' (τοῦ καλοῦ ιδέα) in *EF 7*. Although Carey and Haan and Lewalski translate Milton's 'Pellegrina bellezza' as 'foreign beauty,' Angiola Maria Volpi explains that 'Pellegrina' in 'Sonnet 4' should be understood as "rare", "strange", or "exceptional" rather than as "foreign".<sup>277</sup> Therefore, understanding 'Pellegrina bellezza' as a "strange beauty" finds a correspondence in Milton's δεινόν ἔρωτα in *EF 7*. Both 'Pellegrina bellezza' and δεινόν ἔρωτα share a semantic ambivalence between being "exceptional" as well as "wondrous", "strange", or even "fearful".<sup>278</sup> In 'Sonnet 4', Milton bridges the Greek, Platonic *idea* and the Italian, Petrarchan ideal beauty where, as Hale explains, Milton's 'Pellegrina bellezza' fuses 'the Platonic absolute of beauty, *eidōs* or *idea* in Greek, and the sonnet tradition's neoplatonising of the particular lady as epitome or

<sup>276</sup> Carey (ed.), *The Complete Shorter Poems*, p. 97. I quote from Carey's edition, but the translation is my own.

<sup>277</sup> Volpi, 'Pellegrina bellezza: Recherche du 'Peregrino' et nostalgie épique dans la poésie italienne du jeune Milton'.

<sup>278</sup> LSJ, s.v. 'δεινός'.

standard of all beauty'.<sup>279</sup> Milton's 'Pellegrina bellezza' may also reinforce the Platonic context which is also closely connected with *EF* 7. In his commentary to Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, the poet, critic, and Greek scholar Ansaldo Cebà (1565–1623) observes in his *Letzione sopra il Sonetto del Petrarca* (1621) that, with respect to line 9 of Petrarch's *Canzone* 289:

Socrate appresso Platone nel Fedro dice, che l'anima rimette l'ali, e pruovasi di volare, quando, veduta quà giù qualche **pellegrina bellezza**, si vien rammentando della verace.

In Plato's *Phaedrus*, Socrates says that the soul regains its wings and tries to fly when, having seen some **strange beauty** down here, one is reminded of the Truth.<sup>280</sup>

It is to this very passage in the *Phaedrus* (251C) that Milton alludes to when he tells Diodati:

Quid cogitem quaeris? Ita me bonus Deus: immortalitatem. Quid agam vero? Πτεροφυῶ et volare meditor, sed tenellis admodum adhuc pennis evehit se noster Pegasus: humile sapiamus.

You ask what I am contemplating? Immortality—so help me God in his goodness! But what am I doing? 'I am growing wings' and I am practising flight, but as yet our Pegasus is raising himself up on very delicate wings: let my wisdom be grounded in humility.<sup>281</sup>

'Sonnet 4' does not only espouse an ideal beauty (ll.6–7), but an ideal form of speech (l.10) too: 'Speech which is graced by more than one language' (*Parole adorne di lingua più d'una*).<sup>282</sup> Diodati and Milton's correspondence, poetry, and undoubtedly their conversation is extraordinarily multilingual where their 'epistolary correspondence' (*litterias προσφωνήσεις*) in verse and prose aspires towards the ideal speech of 'Sonnet 4'.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>279</sup> Hale, *Milton's Multilingualism*, p. 54. On Milton and Platonism, see in particular Samuel, *Milton and Plato*; and Fallon, *Milton Among the Philosophers*.

<sup>280</sup> Cebà, *Essercitii academici*, p. 77. Cebà's *La reina Esther* (1615) is discussed in relation to Milton by Welch, *Renaissance Epic and the Oral Past*, p. 141. For Cebà and Italian theorists of tragedy in relation to *Samson Agonistes*, see Finney, 'Chorus in *Samson Agonistes*', p. 652. For recent scholarship on Cebà, see Zucchi, 'Contesting the Spanish Myth', and Artico, "'Perch'ei tentò d'imporre il giogo a Spara": timori tirannici nell'*Alcippo spartano* e nel *Furio Camillo* di Ansaldo Cebà'.

<sup>281</sup> *EF*, pp. 104–5.

<sup>282</sup> Carey (ed.), *The Complete Shorter Poems*, p. 97.

<sup>283</sup> *EF*, pp. 92–3.



As both the headnote and final line of ‘Elegy 6’ testify, Milton and Diodati would judge and critique each other’s poetry. Milton and Gill critiqued each other’s poems, as evidenced by *EF* 2 (July 1629) and *EF* 5 (4 December 1634). Indeed, *EF* 5 suggests a shared mode of poetic transactions between Latin and Greek shared by Milton and Diodati. In response to Gil’s highly erotic Latin epithalamium and, in order ‘to balance the books’ (*compensationis accedere*), Milton offers a Greek psalm paraphrase.<sup>284</sup> Through their shared pedagogical experience at St Paul’s, Milton engaged in Latin–Greek exchanges with both Diodati and Gil which involved responding to a Latin composition in Greek, and vice-versa: a practice reminiscent of the pedagogical practice of double translation or “turning” at St Paul’s where Milton and Diodati had been ‘translating out of, and into, Greek for several years’.<sup>285</sup>

Milton may have been amused by the highly contrasting themes between Gill’s Latin poem and his own Greek poem: an epithalamium in Catullan hendecasyllables about an erotic wedding night, and a Greek psalm paraphrase. Such clashes between the corporal, erotic festivities and religious rites, between Latin and Greek, are also found in Diodati’s poems and especially in the climax of the final two lines of *Epitaphium Damonis* which I discuss below.<sup>286</sup> The nature of Milton and Diodati’s textual exchange might be informed by their shared experiences at St Paul’s, since the gift-exchanges between Milton and Gil are not dissimilar to those between Diodati and Milton.

Milton’s textual intervention in Diodati’s ‘First Greek Letter’ microcosmically reflects this regular, long-lasting practice between Milton and Diodati since Milton tends to use an

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<sup>284</sup> *EF*, pp. 82–3.

<sup>285</sup> McDowell, *Poet of Revolution*, p. 55.

<sup>286</sup> For text and translation for sections of Gill’s Latin epithalamium, see Miller, ‘On Some of the Verses by Alexander Gill which Young Milton Read’.

asterisk to note points of textual interest in all of his surviving, annotated books. According to Cedric C. Brown, ‘Elegy VI shows Milton’s practice of submitting poems for Diodati’s comments, something that became very important’.<sup>287</sup> The fact that Milton employs the same editorial apparatus that he uses in annotating the Greek poets and Shakespeare—the asterisk—also gives us a glimpse into the care and assiduousness Milton paid when reading Diodati’s writings.<sup>288</sup>

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<b>*πρωὴν</b>	Ἡ μὲν παροῦσα κατάστασις τοῦ ἀέρος δοκεῖ φθονερώτερον διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἃ ἡμεῖς <b>*προῖ</b> διαλύομενοι ἐθέμεθα, Χειμάζουσα, καὶ ταρασομένη δύο ἤδη ὅλας ἡμέρας.
<b>*day before yesterday</b>	the present state of the weather seems to be too unfavourable for what we planned when we parted <b>*early at morning</b> since it has been wintry and stormy now for two whole days. <sup>289</sup>

Milton’s textual intervention in Diodati’s ‘First Greek Letter’ has been universally read as a grammatical correction. But *προῖ* is an indeclinable adverb, therefore what Diodati has written is grammatically sound; Diodati has not used an incorrect form of the word since there is only one, indeclinable form of it. If Milton is not correcting Diodati’s grammar, then what motivated Milton’s emendation to Diodati’s ‘First Greek Letter’?

In this letter, Diodati tells Milton that he desires to see him, but that they should postpone meeting due to the inclement weather. Here, we see that Milton has made a marginal annotation to Diodati’s Greek. This is not the identification of a linguistic fault as it has been the widely interpreted as, such as Brown who writes that ‘studiously, perhaps

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<sup>287</sup> Brown, *Friendship and Its Discourses in the Seventeenth-Century*, p. 114.

<sup>288</sup> On Milton’s annotations in his Greek books, see in particular Hale, *Milton as Multilingual*, pp. 103–115; and Bourne and Scott-Warren, “‘thy unvalued Booke’”, pp. 22–31.

<sup>289</sup> *CW* 292–3. I have adapted the translation in the Columbia edition and I have inserted Milton’s asterisked word in the margin to the Greek text given in the Columbia edition as it is given in the manuscript (British Library, Add MS 5016\*, fol.4r). A facsimile of the ‘First Greek Letter’ can be viewed in Brown, ‘John Milton and Charles Diodati’, p. 114. LSJ, s.v. ‘*πρωὴν*’, II: ‘more definitely, *the day before yesterday*’.

typically, Milton makes one grammatical correction to Diodati's enthusiastic Greek—precision is not to be forgotten'.<sup>290</sup> Masson's interpretation of this as a 'marginal correction' has had a long and unchallenged influence.<sup>291</sup> Yet when Milton praises Diodati's 'Attic wit' (*Cecropios sales*), he seems to be 'signal[ing] Diodati's Greek expertise'.<sup>292</sup> Stephanus defines *πρωῖ* as 'morning, or very early in the morning, or dawn' (*manè, vel summa mane, Prima luce*), 'early in the morning' (*matutino*), and 'at dawn' (*sub auroram*).<sup>293</sup> What is Milton doing, then, when he amends Diodati's Greek?

One of the key findings from Claire Bourne and Jason Scott-Warren's research on Milton's non-verbal annotations of Shakespeare is that they reveal 'an interest in chronographia, the writing of time' and in particular 'the uncertainties of crepuscular twilight are regularly marked' by the young Milton.<sup>294</sup> Bourne and Scott-Warren identify in Milton's nonverbal annotations a great interest in time and, above all, the ambiguous passing of time during twilight hours. Similarly, Milton's marginal annotation shows that he is querying Diodati's recording of time rather than making a grammatical correction. It is a marginal annotation which reflects Milton's deep sensitivity to time and interpreting the passing of time because his emendation of Diodati's statement that they met 'early in the morning' (*πρωῖ*) to further back in time, 'the day before yesterday' (*πρωήν*), suggests that Milton is noting a temporal ambiguity. Did they part in the morning, or the day before? When does one day end and a new morning begin?

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<sup>290</sup> Brown, 'John Milton and Charles Diodati', p. 111. LSJ, s.v. 'πρωήν'.

<sup>291</sup> Masson, *Life of John Milton*, vol. 1, p. 117, n. 3. As the Columbia editors astutely point out, the faulty transcription of Diodati's Greek letters in the nineteenth century resulted in the early attitude of Diodati being inexpert in his Greek: 'the first publication of the Greek texts seems to be that of Mitford, in his edition of Milton's *Works*, 1851, I, pp. lxlii–cxiv, which incidentally are **unusually bad copies, and have led to an unfortunate estimate of Diodati's Greek**' (CW 12:393–4).

<sup>292</sup> EF, p. 96.

<sup>293</sup> TLG 3:356.

<sup>294</sup> Bourne and Scott-Warren, "'thy unvalued Booke"', p. 48. Milton's interest in time is a long-standing area of study in Milton criticism; see, for example, Carnes, 'Time and Language in Milton's *Paradise Lost*'.

Although it cannot be determined which exact year this letter was composed, it nevertheless seems to be the case that Diodati penned it in the winter season. Since Diodati also writes here that it has been ‘wintry and stormy’ (*χειμάζουσα, καὶ παρασσομένη*), Diodati’s *χειμάζουσα* –which derives from the word *χείμα*, denoting specifically winter weather or the winter season—suggests that Diodati is writing during the winter: a season when the mornings are incredibly dark in England. Hence the ambiguity about night and day, the morning and the day before. This is literally a marginal point that I am making, but my reassessment of Milton’s emendation to Diodati’s Greek letter seeks to show is that he is not correcting grammatically incorrect Greek in Diodati’s letter. This long-standing interpretation has had a ripple effect in the perception of Diodati’s literary abilities illustrated by Campbell and Corns who state that Diodati’s writing is ‘unambitious and not perfect’ as evidenced by the fact that ‘in one of the letters there is a marginal correction’ in Milton’s hand.<sup>295</sup>

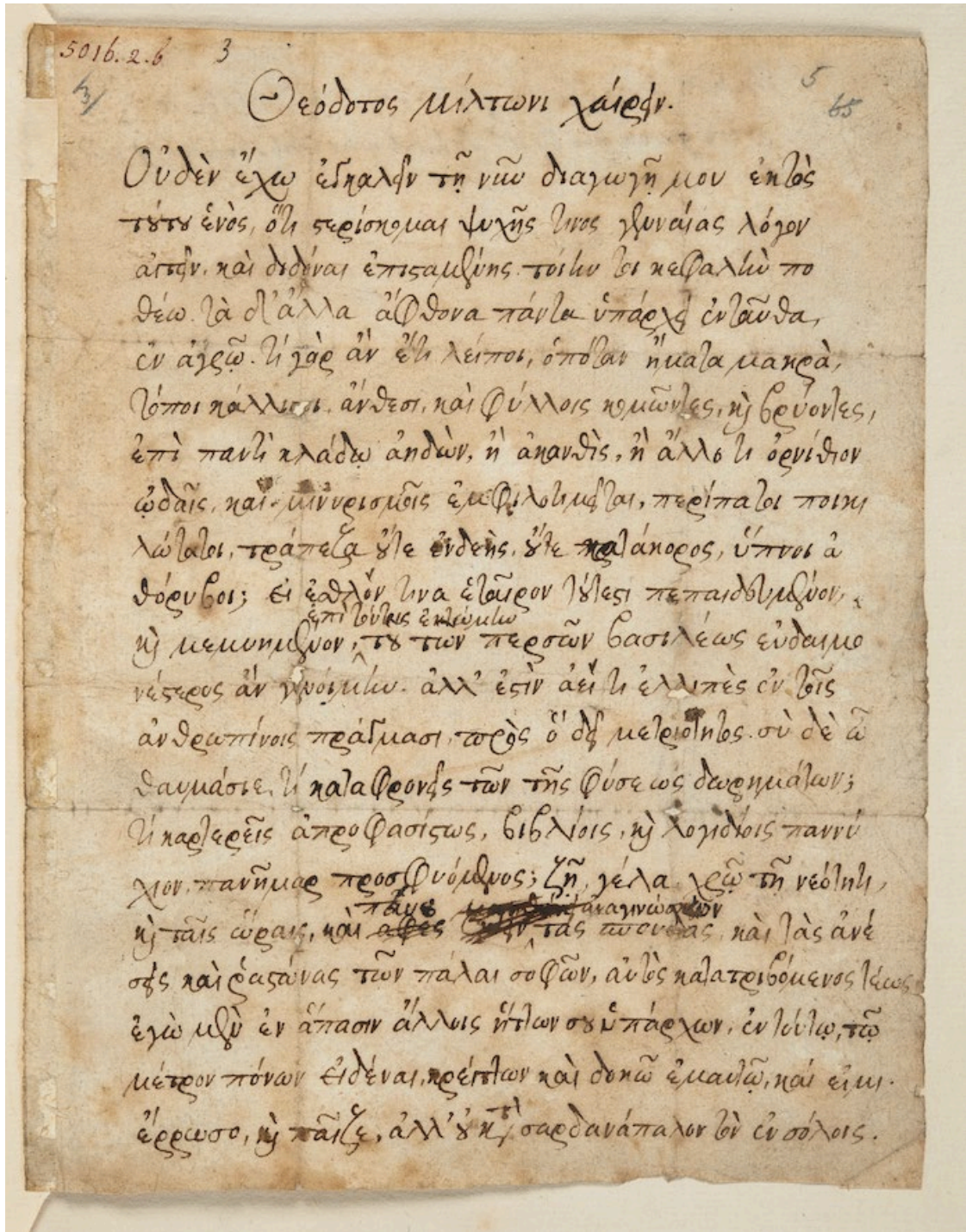
Estimates for the composition of Diodati’s Greek letters are to the period 1626–28 and certainly no later than 1630 when Diodati matriculated in April 1630 at the Calvinist Academy in Geneva.<sup>296</sup> Here, I will compare Diodati’s second surviving Greek letter to Platonic and Neo-Platonic texts such as the exuberantly Platonic *Oration 8 (A Consolation to Himself upon the Departure of the Excellent Sallustius)* from 358AD of Julian the Apostate (331/2–363) to the Neo-Platonist philosopher Sallustius where one finds illuminating parallels in the Greek language and ideas (see Fig. 6 and Appendix A). Milton identified, to a surprising degree, with the philhellenic Julian with whom, as Poole argues, Milton shared his ‘literary elitism, his philhellenism, and his moral austerity’.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 31. See also Hale, *Milton’s Languages*, p. 208, n. 7.

<sup>296</sup> Brown, *Friendship and its Discourses in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 179.

<sup>297</sup> Poole, ‘John Milton and the Beard Hater’, p. 179. On Julian’s Platonism and Hellenism, see De Vita, *Giuliano imperatore filosofo neoplatonico*; and Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism*.



**Fig. 6** BL Add MS 5016\* fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Second undated letter from Charles Diodati to John Milton in Greek. By permission of the British Library Board.

Like Julian's *Oration 8*, in which he consoles himself on being apart from the Neoplatonist philosopher Sallustius (an edition of whose works, incidentally, Milton may have been given by Holstenius in 1639), Diodati's letter to Milton is preoccupied with

replicating conversation *via* a written medium and with espousing moderation as a form of consolation.<sup>298</sup> Like Diodati's Greek letter to Milton, Julian desires Sallustius's 'unfeigned and candid conversation' (*ὤν ἀλλήλους συνδιηγάμεν*. 241C) and explains to the Neoplatonic philosopher the pain he feels from being deprived of such conversation.<sup>299</sup> This is a predicament like Diodati's who, in his letter to Milton, expresses that he is lacking 'a certain kindred soul' (*ψυχῆς τινος γενναίας*). Julian writes to Sallustius that:

ἐκεῖνό τοι πρῶτόν ἐστί μοι τῶν φαινομένων δυσχερῶν. νῦν ἐγὼ μόνος ἀπολελείψομαι καθαρᾶς ἐνδεῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι τέως ὅτω διαλέξομαι θαρρῶν ὁμοίως.

first and foremost of the hardships that I shall have to face is this, that now I shall be bereft of our guileless intercourse and unreserved conversation. For I have no one now to whom I can talk with anything like the same confidence. (248D)<sup>300</sup>

While lacking overabundant, 'unreserved conversation' (*ἐνδεῆς ὁμιλίας*. 248D), Julian appeals to moderation, exhorting to avoid excessiveness by striving to be, in his mind, 'moderately sound' (*ὕγιαίνειν μετρίως*. 241B) and reaching 'the Golden Mean' (*τὸ μέτριον*. 241B). Diodati employs a similar rhetorical and philosophical strategy which draws from the ideas of the Greek, Neoplatonic *παραμυθητικός* (consolation) rather than the Latin, Ciceronian, Stoic *consolatio*.<sup>301</sup> In his Greek letter to Milton, Diodati includes a moral maxim about the need for moderation: 'but there is always something lacking in human affairs, which is why moderation is needed' (*ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἀεὶ τι ἐλλιπὲς ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι, πρὸς ὃ*

<sup>298</sup> On the question whether Holstenius gave Milton a copy of his edition of *Porphyrii vita Pythagorae* (Rome, 1630) or his edition of *Demophili Democratis et Secundi, veterum philosophorum sententiae morales* (Rome, 1638), see *EF*, pp. 140–145. Haan finds it more likely that Milton was gifted the former work.

<sup>299</sup> Julian, *Orations*, trans. by Wright, vol. 2, pp. 168–9.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186–7.

<sup>301</sup> On the *παραμυθητικός* (or *λόγος παραμυθητικός*) as a genre in Greek consolation literature, see Cosgrove, 'An Ancient Greek Lament Form'. On the peculiarly Greek, non-Latin genre of the *ἐπιτάφιος* (funeral speech) (such as Pericles' Funeral Oration in Thucydides) which is evoked in the title of Milton lament for the loss of Diodati, *Epitaphium Damonis*, see Campbell, 'Imitation in *Epitaphium Damonis*'. Similarly, as shown in 3.3 below, Milton's draws upon a language of specifically Greek, non-Latin tradition of consolation literature in *EF* 12 to Philaras.

δει μετρίοτης). Like Julian's appeals to moderation, Diodati urges Milton to seek the Golden Mean between, on the one hand, his punishing labour in his studies that he carries out 'all day and all night' (παννύχιον, πανῆμαρ) and, on the other hand, excessive hedonism and sensualism in his leisure, to act 'not like Sardanapalaus' (ἀλλ'οὐ κατὰ Σαρδανάπαλον τὸν ἐν Σόλοις). The shared concerns within Julian and Diodati's letters can help to elucidate the indebtedness and prominence of Milton's Platonism to Diodati as this letter suggests a long-standing engagement with Neo-Platonic ideas between the two friends that long precede Milton's 1637 letters to Diodati (EF 6 and EF 7).

When Diodati informs Milton that, among the lusciousness and abundance of his surroundings, there is table serving food encapsulating this idea of moderation, 'a table neither deficient nor superfluous (with food)' (τράπεζα ὄυτε ἐνδεής ὄυτε κατάκορος), there is a telling moment of hesitation where Diodati had initially begun writing *πρ-* but then he appears to change his mind writes *κα-* over it, completing it as 'excessive' (κατάκορος) (see Fig.7) . One might conjecture here that Diodati was initially going to write *πρόσκορος*, a rarer synonym of *κατάκορος* meaning 'more than abundant' or 'over-satiated' according to the definition given by Stephanus: 'Satur, vel Saturitatem afferens. **Unde Πρόσκορος, Ad satietatem, Satis supérque, Abundé**'.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> TLG 2:107.



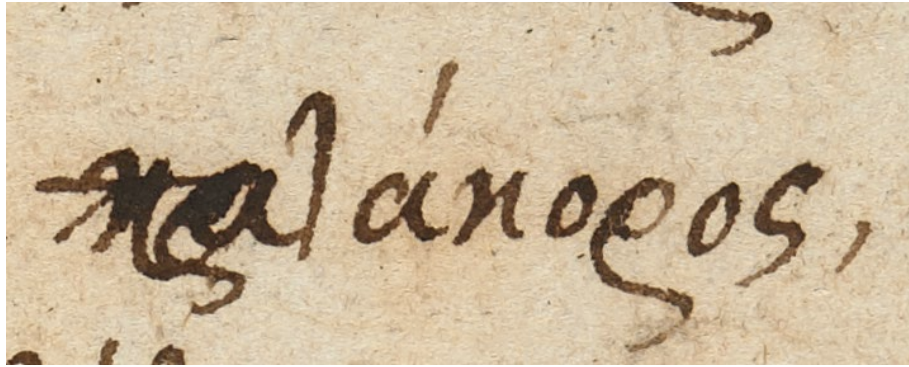


Fig. 7. Detail of Fig. 6.

What might the significance of Diodati's potential change from *πρόσκορος* to *κατάκορος* be?

Not only does this table serve as an exemplar of ideal, philosophical moderation which mirrors Diodati's maxim 'moderation is needed' (*δεῖ μετρίότητος*), but Diodati's possible decision to write *κατάκορος* instead of potentially *πρόσκορος* could provide insight into Diodati's thought process in the composition of his letter to Milton. This much rarer word, *πρόσκορος*, appears in few texts, but one of them is in Julian's *Oration 8* in the context of maintaining moderation in a Platonic context (as well as the context of food and taste):

ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς λίαν γλυκέσιν οἱ παρεγγέοντες οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι' ἄττα φάρμακα τὸ πρόσκορές αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦσιν[.]

For just as, for instance, certain drugs are infused into things that have too sweet a taste, and thus their excessiveness [i.e. excessive sweetness] is tempered[.] (*Oration 8*, 244B)<sup>303</sup>

In an effort to recreate the conversation he craves with Milton, Diodati's letter replicates features of a Platonic dialogue, thus closing the distance between the two friends by recreating philosophical conversation within a peculiarly dialectical letter. When he criticises Milton's over-zealous and hard study, the form of address that Diodati uses evokes the

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<sup>303</sup> Julian, *Orations*, trans. by Wright, vol. 2, pp. 176–7.



playfully condescending, affectionately teasing form of address used by speakers—and especially Socrates—in Plato’s dialogues: ‘O wondrous youth’ (ὦ θαυμάσιε).<sup>304</sup> As Eleanor Dickey observes, ‘the address θαυμάσιε is primarily Platonic’.<sup>305</sup> Rather than being a neutral form of address, Diodati’s addressing Milton as ‘ὦ θαυμάσιε’ further positions Diodati’s letter in a Platonic context since it renders the Greek letter into a kind of Platonic dialogue, compensating for their inability to have face-to-face conversation. Also, when Diodati states that he lacks ‘a certain kindred soul to hold conversation with, and [lacks someone] who expertly knows how to give a *logos*’ (καὶ διδόναι ἐπισταμένης), the phrase λόγον διδόναι (λόγον is the implied object of the verb) also has a distinctly Platonic context. Diodati’s language reflects Socrates’, closely associates the ‘ability to give account’ (λόγον διδόναι) with knowledge in Plato’s dialogues.<sup>306</sup>

In order to understand Diodati’s own perception of Milton’s attitude to study as a process of searching—namely, a process of ‘searching for the idea of the beautiful’ (*quaesivisse* [...] τοῦ καλοῦ ἰδέαν) as Milton expresses it to Diodati in *EF* 7—I provide a detailed textual and philological study of one word that Diodati has erased from the manuscript of the “Second Greek Letter”. The fact that the recovered word belongs specifically to the lexical field of Greek philosophical investigation also underscores the Platonic context of the friends’ shared Hellenism.

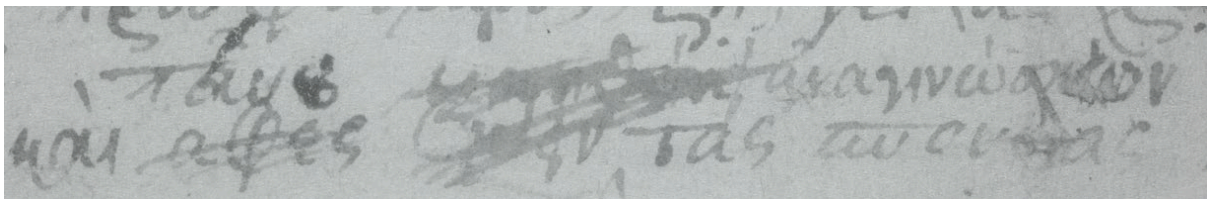
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<sup>304</sup> Cf. Plato *Crito* 48b, ‘You’re right, but, **my dear man** [ὦ θαυμάσιε]; *Gorgias* 470b ‘So, **my remarkable friend** [ὦ θαυμάσιε]; *Theatetus* 165d, ‘And perhaps, **my fine fellow** [ὦ θαυμάσιε]; and *Menexenus* 234a, ‘You intend to govern us older men, my fine fellow [ὦ θαυμάσιε], though you are so young’. As with all other quotations and translations from classical Greek and Latin texts, these Platonic extracts from the Loeb Classical Library editions.

<sup>305</sup> Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address*, p. 141. Statistically, ‘θαυμάσιε’ is chiefly used by Socrates (32 times) in contrast to only 8 times by others in Plato’s works (p. 136). See also Lloyd, ‘Friendship Terms in Plato’.

<sup>306</sup> Hicken, ‘Knowledge and Forms in Plato’s *Theaetetus*’, p. 185. Cf. *Phaedo* 76b, 95e, and 101d.

The Columbia editors are unable to decipher one significant deletion which Diodati makes in the letter.<sup>307</sup> However, through the use of multispectral imaging and by analysing the results from the Infrared Reflected (IR) image, I make the case that Diodati originally wrote ‘cease to investigate’ (*ἄφες ζητεῖν*)—a phrase which, as I explain below, belongs to the language of Greek philosophical inquiry—before Diodati amended it to ‘stop reading’ (*παῦου ἀναγιγνώσκων*).<sup>308</sup> It is still difficult to make out clearly what Diodati had originally written since the ink he used for the crossing-out is the same as the original text, therefore resulting in having a similar reaction at all wavelengths from infrared to ultraviolet. However, the IR image does provide important clarification for the first character of the first, deleted word.



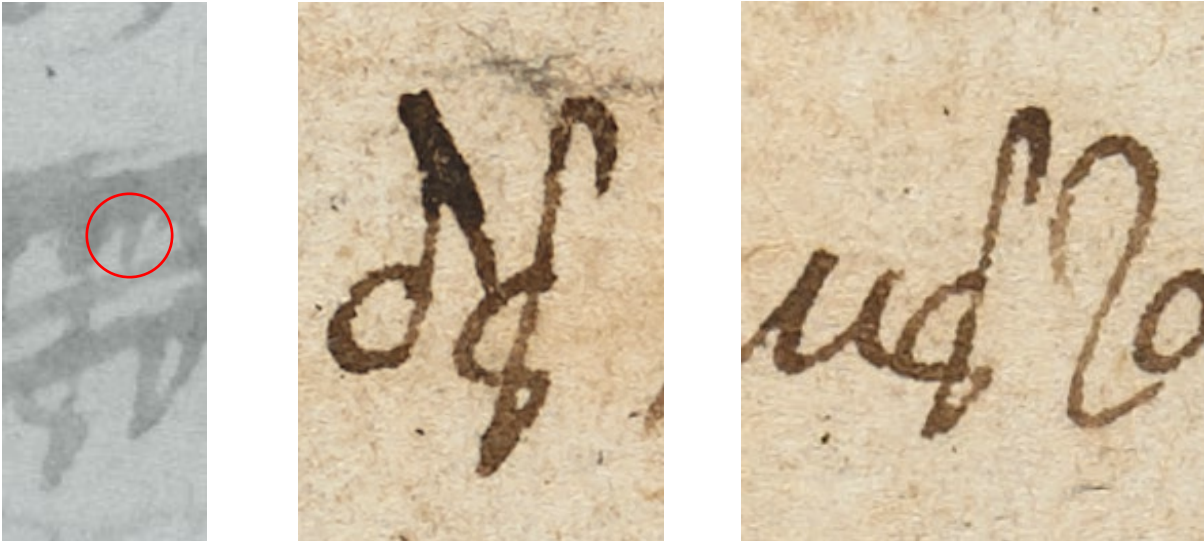
**Fig. 8.** Detail of Infrared Reflected (IR) image of BL Add MS 5016\* fol.5v. By permission of the British Library Board.

Prior to examining the Diodatian manuscript with multispectral imaging, it was already clear that the crossed-out word was a present infinitive because it ends in *-ειν*, and this is noted

<sup>307</sup> CW 12:394. The Columbia editors have incorrectly transcribed the first, legible word as *αφες*. It should read *αφες* with the final sigma (ς). The Columbia editors also neglect to record the breathing above the alpha *ἄφες* which is visible beneath alpha of *παῦου*. With respect to their conjecture of the second word, although I concur with the Columbia editors' identification of a *θ*, I cannot see the evidence in the manuscript for transcribing Diodati's second, deleted word as *μανθανει[ν]*. The second word must end in *-ει* rather than *-εῖ* because it ends with the ligature for *-ει* in contrast to the ligature for *-εῖ* which has a prominent descender from the top of the ligature.

<sup>308</sup> On the use of multispectral imaging for English manuscripts, see McGillvray and Duffy, 'New Light on the Sir Gawain and the Green Knight Manuscript: Multispectral Imaging and the Cotton Nero A. x. Illustrations'. For the use of innovations in imaging technology for Miltonic texts such as Optimal Character Recognition, see Warren et al., 'Damaged Type and *Areopagitica*'s Clandestine Printers'.

by the Columbia editors.<sup>309</sup> Throughout both surviving Greek letters, Diodati employs the two distinct ligatures for  $-\epsilon\iota$  and  $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ .<sup>310</sup> From the infrared image, Diodati appears to have used the ligature for  $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$  since the downward stroke at the tip of the ligature is visible.<sup>311</sup>



**Fig. 9.** Comparison of Diodati's deleted  $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$  ligature with other examples of the ligature in the same manuscript.

The most important detail which is revealed from the IR image is the first letter of the erased word. Prior to multispectral imaging, it was very difficult to distinguish between the strokes of the crossing-out and the first letter(s) of the deleted word which is why it is transcribed in the Columbia Milton as ' $\dots \epsilon\iota\nu$ '.<sup>312</sup> However, the curved tips of the character  $\zeta$  can be seen to join together in a marking distinct from Diodati's crossing out. Comparison of three other examples of  $\zeta$  in Diodati's second letter (the first letter does not contain the character  $\zeta$ ) share the same curved tips. By being able to distinguish between

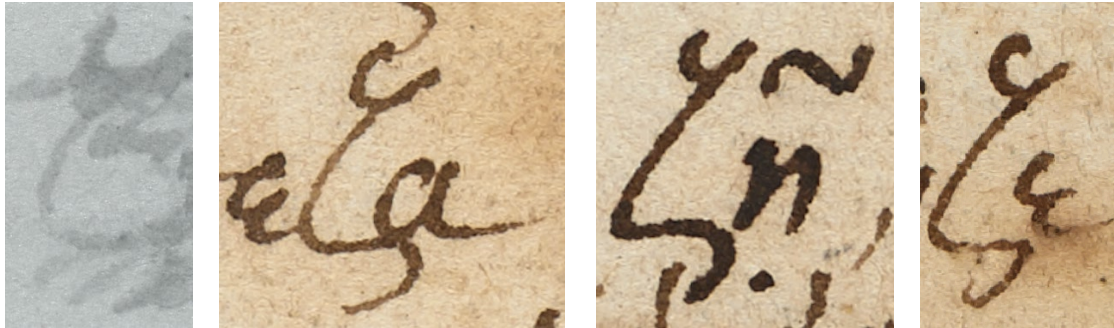
<sup>309</sup> CW 12:394.

<sup>310</sup> For tables of Greek ligatures in Early Modern printed and manuscript texts, see 'Latin and Greek Orthography' in the thesis conventions above.

<sup>311</sup> The Columbia editors have incorrectly recorded this as  $-\epsilon\iota\nu$  without the circumflex (CW 12:394).

<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

the letter ζ and the pen strokes of the crossing-out, I conjecture that the crossed-out word begins with ζ and ends with -εῖν.



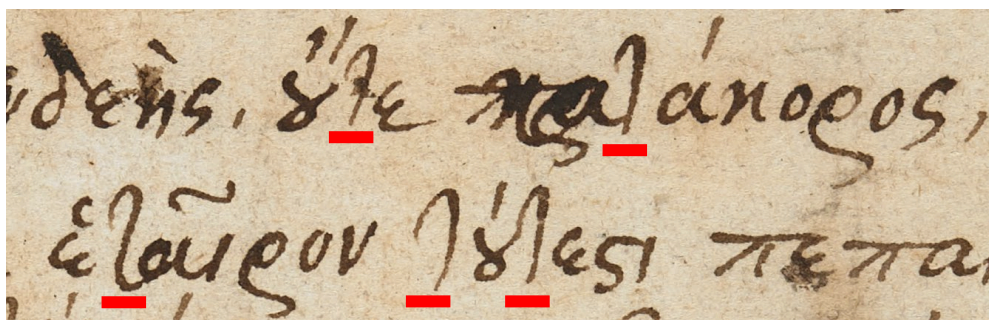
**Fig. 10.** Comparison of Diodati's deleted ζ with other examples in the same manuscript.

If this is the case, then there are only two possibilities for what Diodati could have written after *ἄφες*: the present infinitive *ζωεῖν* ('to live' or 'to pass one's existence (in a certain way)') or *ζητεῖν* ('to seek (for/after)', 'to search', or 'to investigate').<sup>313</sup> I favour the latter option for several reasons. Firstly, the upward stroke (which is not a crossing-out) before the -εῖ ligature may be the version of τ that Diodati employs frequently in his Greek correspondence (see Fig.11).



<sup>313</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. 'ζῶ', 1., 2., and *LSJ*, s.v. 'ζητέω', 2., 3., 4.





**Fig. 11.** Comparison of the discernible upstroke beneath Diodati's deletion with examples of the long upstroke of Diodati's τ in the same manuscript.

A vowel must follow ζ and this could be η. Diodati employs a small form of η resembling the “n” in his Greek letters to Milton. Just as α- joins with the bottom of the long τ in Diodati's κατάκορος (see Fig.12), the descender of η may connect with the bottom of the long τ which Diodati employs regularly in both of his letters to Milton.



**Fig. 12.** Comparison of the deleted vowel following ζ with examples of Diodati's η in the same manuscript.

The ascender in the top left section of the red circle further corroborates with the orthography of Diodati's η which also begins with an ascender. The phrase ἄφες ζητεῖν can

be translated as ‘cease to investigate’ or ‘neglect to seek’.<sup>314</sup> The fact that the phrase ἄφες ζητεῖν corresponds closely with παῦου ἀναγιγνώσκων also makes this a stronger candidate than the alternative option, ἄφες ζωεῖν. The diacritics of ᾶ- in ἄφες are visible beneath the -α- in παῦου and this suggests that Diodati had written the sentence out completely (or even the entire letter) before revising it, unlike for the sudden change he makes regarding the word κατακορός. Therefore, I conjecture that, before making the heavy deletion in ink, Diodati originally wrote: ‘Live! Laugh! Seize the day! And cease to investigate the serious engagements and relaxations and ease of wise men in the past’ (ζῆ, γέλα, χρῶ τῆ νεότητι, καὶ ταῖς ὥραις, καὶ ἄφες ζητεῖν τὰς σπουδας, καὶ τὰς ἀνέσεις καὶ ραστώνας τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν, αὐτὸς κατατριβόμενος τέως).

Having set out the orthographical case for ζητεῖν corroborated by the evidence from the IR image, I now offer the lexicographical case for ζητεῖν. It is crucial to ascertain the definition of Diodati’s use of a single Greek verb in the context of Early Modern Greek dictionaries and lexicons and to compare other Early Modern authors’ use of the same verb.<sup>315</sup> Milton’s nephew, Edward Phillips (who was taught by Milton in the 1640s), informed John Aubrey that his uncle used Robertus Stephanus’s *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1532) and his son Henricus Stephanus’s *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (1572) as models for the (now lost) Latin and Greek lexicons which Milton compiled.<sup>316</sup> The Calvinist Stephanus’s

<sup>314</sup> LSJ s.v. ‘ἀφίημι’, 5.2: ‘c. inf., give up doing, ἀφείς σκοπεῖν τὰ δίκαια [‘Give up seeking justice’] Diph. 94 Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1.6.4: τὴν μέντοι γε μέθεξις ἢ τὴν μίμησιν ἥτις ἂν εἴη [τῶν εἰδῶν], ἀφείσαν ἐν κοινῷ ζητεῖν’. Even though the definition of ‘suffer, permit’ with accusative of person and the infinitive (LSJ IV) could also be potentially applied to ἄφες ζητεῖν and rendering it as ‘permit [yourself] to investigate’, this translation would not make sense in the context of the sentence.

<sup>315</sup> See Lavidas, ‘Language Change and Early Dictionaries of Modern Greek’. On Stephanus’s *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, see Zgusta, *Lexicography Then and Now*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>316</sup> On Milton and Stephanus’s *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, see Starnes et al., ‘John Milton and Renaissance Dictionaries’; and Consodine, ‘John Milton and the Uses of Etymology’. Kelley and Atkins discuss Milton’s references to Stephanus’s *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in his annotations to Lycophron and Aratus in ‘Milton and the Harvard Pindar’ and ‘Milton’s Annotations of Aratus’.

*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* was placed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (along with Jean Crespin's *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*) in 1596, barring Catholics from consulting the reference work. It is highly likely that the Protestant, Anglo-Italian philhellene Diodati possessed Stephanus's *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.<sup>317</sup> In the same way that I set out the ways of avoiding 'interpretative anachronism' in my discussion of Milton and ancient and Byzantine Homeric scholarship in Chapter 4, I compare Diodati's use of the phrase *ἄφες ζητεῖν* with contemporary lexicographical sources and contemporary Latin translations of this phrase.

The definition of *ζητεῖν* given in Stephanus's *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Geneva, 1572) is *ζητέω, Quaero, Conquiro. Hesiod. Erg., Ζητεύης βίοντον κατὰ γείτονας* ('I search, I seek for. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 400: 'you seek a livelihood among your neighbours').<sup>318</sup> The way that Diodati employs this verb seems to evince an understanding of its associations with philosophical inquiry and the language of ancient philosophers. Isaac Casaubon translates *ἀφεῖσαν ἐν κοινῷ ζητεῖν* from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (1.6.4; 987b9–14) as *'communiter quærere omiserunt'* ('they neglect to investigate').<sup>319</sup> Diodati's phrase *ἄφες*

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<sup>317</sup> Palumbo, 'LEXICA MALUAGIA ET PERNICIOSA: The Case of Estienne's *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*'. Despite being far away 'among the Hyperboreans' (*apud istos ὑπερβορείους*)—likely referencing an on-going and teasing reference of Diodati's for describing the population in Cheshire—EF 6 and EF 7 testify to Diodati's access to books. Evidence of the regular traffic of Diodati's books between London and Cheshire is shown when Milton asks Diodati, 'how come you have sent, so I hear, letters to the bookseller[?]' (*Quid quod tu, ut audio, litteras bibliopolam*). Haan conjectures that the 'bibliopolam' in question may be the book-seller George Thomason (c.1602–1666) (EF, p. 97, n. 18). Also, Milton requests that Diodati send him his (likely personal) copy of Bernardo Giustiniani's *De origine Urbis Venetiarum rebusque ab ipsa gestis hirstoria* (Venice, 1492) which he offers to 'send[d] back not long afterwards' (*haud ita multo post ad te remi[ttere]*): 'in the meantime, if it can be done without troubling you, I request that you send me Giustiani, the historian of the Venetians' (*interim, quod sine tua molestia fiat, Iustiniaum mihi Venetorum historicum rogo mittas*). Diodati may have also accessed books from a private library in Cheshire. One of the most significant private libraries in Cheshire in the 1630s was that of Sir Peter Leicester (or Leycester) at Nether Tabley. His son, Sir Francis Leicester, granted permission to a local physician, Richard Middleton Massey, to use the library at Nether Tabley. For private book collections in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cheshire, see Webb and Reid, 'Sir Francis Leicester's 'Good Library' at Nether Tabley', and Nicolas Barker, *Treasures from the Libraries of National Trust Country Houses*.

<sup>318</sup> TLG 1:1009.

<sup>319</sup> Isaac Casaubon (ed.), *Operum Aristotelis*, 2 vols (Leuven: apud Guillelmum Laemarium, 1590), II, p. 489

ζητεῖν evokes Aristotelian philosophical inquiry, yet best way of translating this phrase from Aristotle's *Metaphysics* has troubled scholars. For the difficult phrase of ἀφεῖναι in the imperative with the present infinitive ζητεῖν—which I conjecture Diodati has used—Trablatoni suggests 'neglect to investigate' or 'neglect to seek' and observes that 'Aristotle frequently uses the verb ἀφεῖναι in the imperative form [...] precisely to signal that he will avoid investigating a given problem'.<sup>320</sup> Moreover, Erick Raphael Jiménez offers the following translations for ζητεῖν: 'what is translated variously as "investigation," "inquiry," "seeking," or "research"—ζήτησις and the correlate verb ζητεῖν'.<sup>321</sup> My conjecture is that Diodati's παῦου ἀναγιγνώσκων ('stop reading') replaced ἄφες ζητεῖν: a verb which denotes philosophical investigation and, with the imperative of ἀφίημι, is similar to Aristotle's use grammatically.

The tone of Diodati's sentence can be compared with the comic poet Baton's *The Muderer* (fr.2). Although it is preserved in Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistes* (IV.163b), the fragment is also included within Stephanus's definition for 'Περίπατος, Disputatio philosophica' (a word which Diodati employs in the same letter in a moment of 'Attic wit' as I discuss below):

Quas deambulationes, id est quos περιπάτεος, festiuissimè irridet Baton comicus in his senariis, τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς σώφρονας ἐνταυθοῖ καλῶ τοὺς ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς οὐ διδόντας οὐδὲ ἐν, τοὺς τὸν φρόνιμον ζητοῦντας ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις καὶ ταῖς διατριβαῖς ὥσπερ ἀποδεδρακότα.

these philosophical walks, these *peripatetic ambulations*, the comic poet hilariously makes fun of in these lines: 'I'm summoning the prudent philosophers here who seek for "the wise man" in their walks and their discussions as if he were a runaway slave.'<sup>322</sup>

<sup>320</sup> Trablatoni, *Essays on Plato's Epistemology*, p. 222.

<sup>321</sup> Jiménez, *Aristotle's Concept of Mind*, p. 147.

<sup>322</sup> TLG 3:81. My translation of the Baton fragment specifically is sourced from Athenaeus, *The Learned Banquetters*, trans. by Olson, vol. 2, pp. 282–3.



Here, Baton—who was ‘known for his put-downs of philosophers’—sarcastically mocks the activities of philosophers in philosophical language.<sup>323</sup> Just as Baton mocks them for ‘seeking the wise man’ (τὸν φρόνιμον ζητοῦντας), Diodati has written that Milton should stop ‘seeking the wise men of the past’ (ζητεῖν [...] τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν). Diodati’s Greek employs the language of philosophical inquiry when he teases Milton to give the books a rest and ‘neglect to investigate the pursuits [...] of wise men of the past’ (ζητεῖν τὰς σπουδὰς [...] τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν). When Diodati teasingly chides Milton for studying ‘little orations all night long’ (λογιδίους παννύχιον), Diodati’s condescension of Milton’s nocturnal studying and textual engagement with λογιδίους contrasts with truly valuable and lively ‘conversation’ (λόγον ἄιτειν) with him.<sup>324</sup> Also, Stephanus translates the diminutive λογίδιον as ‘oratiuncula’ and ‘disputatiunculis’.<sup>325</sup> The ‘little orations’ (λογιδιοῖς), therefore, refer to Milton’s undergraduate disputation orations (and possibly his act verses) which he was required to carry out during his BA at Cambridge.

By recovering ἄφες ζητεῖν, what does this reveal about Diodati’s perception of Milton’s studies? In Milton’s own reflections upon his studies and reading in *EF* 7 (23 September 1637) and in *Areopagitica* (1644), Milton likens the process of reading to mythological searches: Ceres searching for Proserpina and Isis searching for the dismembered body of Osiris. Meticulous reading as fervent searching is expressed powerfully in *Areopagitica* (1644): ‘imitating the carefull search that Isis made for the

<sup>323</sup> Konstan, ‘Crossing Conceptual Worlds: Greek Comedy and Philosophy’, p. 289. The philosophical register is also maintained by Diodati’s juxtaposition of σπουδή and ἀνεσις in ‘the zeals and the licenses’ (τὰς σπούδας, καὶ τὰς ἀνέσεις) because these two words are opposed against one another by Plato and Aristotle in *Laws* 4.724a and *Rhetoric* 1371b34 respectively. For τὰς σπούδας as ‘(philosophical) zeals’, see LSJ s.v. ‘σπουδή’, 3.2: ‘viz, the object of a person’s zeal: object of attention, serious engagement, or pursuit’.

<sup>324</sup> Stephanus translates the diminutive λογίδιον as ‘oratiuncula’, ‘sermunculis’, and ‘disputatiunculis’ in *TLG*. Cf. Plato, *Eryxias* 401e: ἐτάραττε γε αὐτὸν ... τὸ λογίδιον; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 64. On Greek diminutives, see Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ιον*.

<sup>325</sup> *TLG* 2:643.

mangl'd body of Osiris'.<sup>326</sup> When Diodati tells Milton to rest and 'cease to search' and to take some rest instead, the 'search' (ζητεῖν) is specified as 'reading' (ἀναγιγνώσκων) in Diodati's drafting of the sentence. In *EF* 7, by his own admission, Milton tells Diodati of his compulsion to "search" (*quaesivisse; indagare*) among his books:

Nec tanto Ceres labore, ut in fabulis est, Liberam fertur **quaesivisse** filiam quanto ego hanc τοῦ καλοῦ ἰδέαν, veluti pulcherrimam quondam imaginem, per omnes rerum formas et facies (πολλὰ γὰρ μορφαὶ τῶν Δαιμονίων) dies noctesque **indagare** soleo, et quasi certis quibusdam vestigiis ducentem sector.

Not with so much effort is Ceres, so the fable relates, said to have **searched** for her daughter Proserpina, as it is my custom day and night **to search out** this 'idea of the beautiful', as a certain most splendid image, through all the shapes and forms of things ('for many are the shapes of things Divine'), and to pursue it as it leads me along as if on some clearly-defined tracks.<sup>327</sup>

When Diodati informs Milton that he has been enjoying the countryside's 'multicoloured walks' (περίπατοι ποικιλώτατοι), the 'περίπατοι' ('walks')—the word mentioned above to which Stephanus includes the Baton fragment in the definition—evokes the Peripatetic School of Aristotle named after his practice of walking while teaching and 'ποικιλώτατοι' evokes another Athenian school of philosophy, the *Poikile* that Zeno, the father of Stoicism, founded. Although the Columbia translation is accurate, it misses the witty, Attic wordplay of Diodati's Greek where we hear the Aristotelian Peripatetics and the Stoic Poikile in Diodati's 'περίπατοι ποικιλώτατοι'. Milton makes a very similar, Athenian witticism in his 21 July 1628 (*EF* 4) letter to his teacher Thomas Young, punning on Young's vicarage in **Stow**market,

<sup>326</sup> For discussions of reading as laborious searching in *Areopagetica*, see Stephen Dobranski, 'Principle and Politics in *Areopagetica*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. by Laura Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 190–205.

<sup>327</sup> *EF*, pp. 104–5. Milton had previously connected Ceres with philosophical searching in 'Prolusion III' when he compares students wrestling with scholastic philosophy desperately trying to find the truth, but hopelessly: 'the labour of the reader now becomes such that, imitating the daily labours of **Ceres**, he **seeks** Truth over the whole surface of the earth with a burning torch and **finds** it nowhere' (*adeo jam lectori tandem opus sit, ut diuturnos Cereris imitates labores, per universum terrarium orbem accensâ face quærat veritatem, & nusquam inveniat*. *CW* 12.166–7).

Suffolk, and Zeno's Stoa in Athens: 'I will withdraw myself from the din of the city to your Stoa of the Icenii, as to that most famed portico of Zeno' (*et ab urbano strepitu subducam me paulisper Stoa tuam Icenorum, tamquam ad celeberrimam illam Zenonis porticum*).<sup>328</sup>

In this example of Milton and Diodati's shared Attic wit, we find them both punning on philosophical schools in Ancient Athens and contemporary, rural England. Like Milton, then, Diodati also shared a penchant for wordplay, and the *περίπατοι ποικιλώτατοι* is an overlooked yet revealing example of this.<sup>329</sup> In the "Second Greek Letter", then, we see Diodati—not just reimagining—but actually attempting to bring to life ancient Athens and its philosophical values to modern-day England: an ambition which the mature Milton would go on to passionately advocate such as in *Areopagitica* (1644) when he exhorts his compatriots 'to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece'.<sup>330</sup> This could shed further light on one aspect of the friends' Hellenism and their shared, stylistic practices which they developed in tandem through their extensive (though largely lost) epistolary exchange and, of course, in their conversations over many years.

Can one glean any literary allusions in Diodati's letters? In his description of the countryside, Diodati presents an English pastoral scene in evocatively Hellenistic,

Alexandrian language:

τί γὰρ ἂν ἔτι λείποι, ὅπταν ἡματα μακρὰ, τόποι κάλλιστοι ἄνθεσι, καὶ φύλλοις κομῶντες, καὶ βρύοντες ἐπὶ παντὶ κλάδῳ ἀηδῶν, ἢ ἀκανθίς, ἢ ἄλλο τι ὀρνίθιον ὠδαῖς,

for what is lacking, when days are long, the scenery most fair with flowers, and waving and crowned with leaves; on every branch a goldfinch or a nightingale, or some other little bird emulously singing and warbling?

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<sup>328</sup> *EF*, pp. 72–3.

<sup>329</sup> For discussion of Milton's 'predilection for wordplay', see *EF*, p. 442, n. 28.

<sup>330</sup> *CPW* 2:489.

The verb *κομάω*, in the sense of evoking trees bristling with leaves, is *only* found in Hellenistic poetry, with recorded instances in Theocritus, Callimachus, and Apollonius.<sup>331</sup> The reason that I am tracing Diodati's use of *κομάω* in this unique, figurative sense, is to show that Diodati's Greek pastoral scene is informed by his reading of Hellenistic poetry. This is because he employs *κομάω* in a unique and specialised sense found only in pastoral scenes in Hellenistic poetry like Theocritus's *Idylls* though, in this case, especially Apollonius's *Argonautica*. It suggests that Diodati may have had in mind Apollonius's description of the lushly pastoral setting: a tree bristling with flowers with birds chirruping. The instance that most closely resembles Diodati's is from *Argonautica* Book 2:

ἔστι δέ τις πεδίοιο κατὰ στίβον ἐγγύθι νηοῦ  
αἴγειρος **φύλλοισιν** ἀπειρεσίοις **κομώσα**<sup>332</sup>  
τῇ θαμὰ δὴ λακέρυζαι ἐπηυλίζοντο κορῶναι,

There stands a poplar by the path in the plain  
Near the temple, **crowned with** countless **leaves**.  
In it chattering crows often roosted. (*Argonautica* 2.927–9)<sup>332</sup>

Diodati's image of birds chirruping in the shaggy trees evokes the pastoral scene both visually and linguistically in Apollonius's *Argonautica*.<sup>333</sup> This linguistic detail could reflect Diodati and Milton's shared appreciation of the exuberant pastoralism of Hellenistic poetry. The examples from the Hellenistic poets in their use of *κομάω* for trees bristling with leaves do not feature in Stephanus's definition of *κομάω* in the *TLG*, but Stephanus does acknowledge Valerius Flaccus (whose *Argonautica* is in imitation of Apollonius's

<sup>331</sup> Cambridge Greek Lexicon, sv. Κομάω, 4 (fig): 'bristle with foliage or vegetation; (of trees, plants) bloom, bristle Call. Theoc. – **W.Dat. w. leaves AR. Theoc.** (vol. 2, p. 820). For examples from Theocritus, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Callimachus using *κομάω* in the metaphorical sense of trees and plants, see LSJ, s.v. *κομάω* IV: ἃ δὲ καλὰ νάρκισσος ἐπ' ἀρκεύθοισι κομάσαι Theoc. 1.133, cf. 4.57; αἴγειρος φύλλοισι κομώσα A.R. 3.928; ὄρος κεκομημένον ὕλη Call. Dian. 41.

<sup>332</sup> Apollonius, *Argonautica*, trans. by Wace, pp. 288–9.

<sup>333</sup> The specific bird that Diodati mentions, the 'goldfinch' (ἀκανθίς) also has close associations with Hellenistic, Callimachean poets. See Heerink, *Echoing Hylas: A Study in Hellenistic and Roman Metapoetics*, p. 75.

*Argonautica*) and his use of the phrase ‘*sylvas comantes*’ and ‘*sylvae comans*’ which is in imitation of Apollonius’ *φύλλοισιν κομώσα*. Since this specific, Hellenistic usage of *κομάω* is not recorded by Stephanus, Diodati may have found inspiration from Hellenistic poetry itself in his design of the luscious pastoral scene in his ‘Second Greek Letter’ to Milton.<sup>334</sup> Therefore, not only do the fragments of Diodati’s (Greek) writing suggest that he took particular pleasure in Greek poets such as Theocritus and Apollonius but, as demonstrated in the next section, Estelle Haan’s discussion of a striking neologism with a specifically Theocritean context in Milton’s description of Diodati’s poetry in ‘Elegy 6’ could further point to the friends’ shared Hellenism and pastoralism.

#### **Diodati’s Attic Wit: Friendship and Imitation in ‘Elegy 6’ (1629) and *Epitaphium Damonis* (c.1639)**

It has already been argued by Haan that the language in Milton’s description of Diodati’s poetry in ‘Elegy 6’ could give us an insight into Diodati’s lost poetry and, specifically, the Greek poets whom Diodati emulates in his (possibly Greek) poetry that Milton has been sent. In the preface to ‘Elegy 6’, Milton has received ‘*sua carmina*’ (Diodati’s poems) which Diodati included in a letter that he wrote on 13 December (*idibus Decemb.*) 1629:

*Qui cum idibus Decemb. Scripsisset, & **sua carmina** excusari postulasset si solito minus essent bona, quòd inter lautitias quibus erat ab amicis exceptus, haud satis felicem operam Musis dare se posse affirmabat, hunc habuit responsum.*

*Who when he had written on 13 December [1629] and had requested that **his poems** should be excused if they were less good than usual, declaring that amid the sumptuous reception given him by his friends he was unable to pay sufficiently productive attention to the Muses, received this reply.*<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> TLG 2:329.

<sup>335</sup> OW 3:144–5.

The following passage from 'Elegy 6' provides a crucial insight into Diodati's lost poetry.

Milton praises his friend's *carmina* thus:

Quàm bene solennes epulas, hilaremque Decembrim  
Festaque **coelifugam** quæ coluere Deum,  
Deliciasque refers, hyberni gaudia ruris,  
Haustaque **per lepidos** Gallica musta **focos**.

How well you describe the ceremonial banquets, December cheer, and the feasts which honour God **come down from Heaven**, the delights and the joys of winter in the country and the Gallic must drunk beside **a charming fireside**. (*El.* 6.9–12)<sup>336</sup>

In Diodati's lost *carmina*, he has evidently described Christmas feasting and drinking since

Milton's opening quip is 'I with an empty stomach send you a wish for good health, which

**you with your full one** may happen to lack' (*Mitto tibi sanam non pleno ventre salutem, /*

*Quâ tu **distento forte** carere potes. El.6.1–2*).<sup>337</sup> One might infer from Milton's question at

line 5, 'would you like to know in a poem how I in return love and cherish you?' (*Carminè*

*scire velis quàm te redamémque colámque*), that Diodati made such a request to Milton.<sup>338</sup>

Intriguingly, Milton may potentially be paraphrasing from one of Diodati's (possibly Greek) *carmina* when he asks: 'why do you complain that poetry is a fugitive from wining and banqueting?' (*Quid quereris refugam vino dapibusque poesin? El.6.13*).<sup>339</sup> Linguistically, the Latin of this line is conspicuously Hellenic. First, Milton's use of the Latin transliteration of the Greek word *ποιήσις* might suggest that Milton is contrasting Diodati's Greek poetry

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<sup>336</sup> Ibid. While there is some ambiguity in these lines of 'Elegy 6', the Romantic poet William Cowper thought that Milton was alluding to the festive game played at Christmas (and which was popular from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries) of "snap-dragon": '*Gallica musta* for brandy, in short that he means to describe the well known Christmas amusement called *snap-dragon*. *Mustum* properly signifies wine so new, as not yet to have fermented, and may therefore with equal propriety be used to express a distilled spirit, which is never fermented at all' (Cowper, *Cowper's Milton*, vol. 3, p. 415).

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid.

with his own Latin *carmina*.<sup>340</sup> Bush observes that Milton's juxtaposition between the Greek *Musa* and the Latin *Camœnam* could stand for the two friends' Greek and Latin Muses and perhaps the languages of their poems.<sup>341</sup> In addition to establishing juxtapositions between their Greek and Latin muses—'*Musa camœnam*' (*El.6.3*)—Milton may also be juxtaposing their Greek and Latin poetry: '*Poesin? / Carmem*' (*El.6.13–14*). Second, together with *poiesin*, Milton uses the word *daps* (*dapis*) which derives directly from the Greek *δαίς* ('banquet'):

DAPS, inquit Festus, apud antiquos dicebatur res divina, quae fiebat aut hiberna semente, aut verna. Quod **vocabulum ex graeco deducitur**, apud quos id genus epularum *δαίς* dicitur.

Banquets, i.e. a Feast, was said to be a divine occasion in antiquity. It normally took place in winter or spring. The word is derived from the Greeks who call that kind of feast a *δαίς*.<sup>342</sup>

Milton's use of two Greek loan words in the same Latin line within '*dapibusque poesin*' which is explicitly describing the poems that Diodati has sent Milton is tantalisingly suggestive that Diodati's poems were in Greek.<sup>343</sup>

In *ED 56*, Milton describes Diodati's '*Attic wit*' (*cecropiosque sales*). In examples when the phrase '*cecropios sales*' is used by other Neo-Latin poets, it can be employed to highlight an author's "Greekness". For example, in the liminary poem by Valens Cremcovius (d.1618) in an edition of Plautus by the Neo-Latin poet and Professor at Wittenburg, Friederich Taubman (1565–1613), Cremcovius characterises Plautus's Latin comedies—which imitated

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<sup>340</sup> For discussion of these two lines and Renaissance poetic theory, see: Frank, 'Wine, Poetry, and Milton's *Elegia Sexta*', and Steadman, 'Caste Muse and *Casta Iuventus*'.

<sup>341</sup> Bush, *Variorum*, I, p. 115.

<sup>342</sup> Robertus Stephanus, *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae thesaurus* (1531), p. 179. See also Vossius, *Etymologicon Linguae Latinae*, s.v. '*dapes*', pp. 174–5.

<sup>343</sup> On loan words between Latin and Greek, see Dickey, *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek*.

and translated those of the Greek comic poet Menander—as ‘teaching Attic wit’ (‘Cecropios docuêre sales):

Quem Musae, Charisin, Phœbo atque Hermete magistris,  
**Cecropios docuêre sales**, lepidosque leporés ;  
 Immo omne ut Latium dicam uno nomine : Plautus.<sup>344</sup>

Milton’s characterisation of Diodati’s writing and conversation (*cecropiosque sales referet cultosque lepores*. ED 56) is very similar to Cremcovius’s description of the Greek style of the Latin Plautus ‘*cecropios docuere sales, lepidosque lepores*’ because they both share the ascription of Attic wit and charm to the Greek style of Diodati and Plautus respectively. Moreover, Milton’s description of his philhellenic friend’s ‘*cecropios sales*’ may be connected to the use of this expression in [Ps.]Virgil’s *Catalepton* 9 in which the speaker praises the Greek style of the Roman orator Messalla’s *carmina*.<sup>345</sup> In *Epitaphium Damonis*, Milton expresses his desire to hear Diodati’s ‘Attic wit’ again:

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Quis mihi blanditiásque tuas, quis tum mihi risus,  
**Cecropiosque sales** referet, cultosque lepores?

Who will bring back to me your allurements, who then your laughter, your Cecropian wit and your elegant charms? (ED 55–56)<sup>346</sup>

Milton’s characterisation of Diodati’s language as *lepores* is highly evocative of Hellenistic, *λεπτός* (‘refined’) poetics.<sup>347</sup> Boris Kayachev has argued that, in *Catalepton* 9, [Ps.]Virgil

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<sup>344</sup> Valentinius Cremcovius, ‘Aliud’, in *Plauti Lat. Comediæ*, ed. Friderici Taubmani (1605). For Cremcovius biography, see Flood, *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 1, pp. 372–3.

<sup>345</sup> Marcus Valerius Messalla Cornivus (64BC–8/12AD). On the aristocrat Messalla’s friendship with and patronage of Virgil and Horace, see Davies, ‘Poetry in the ‘Circle’ of Messalla’. On Messalla and *Catalepton* 9, see Peirano, *The Rhetoric of the Roman Fake*, pp. 117–172.

<sup>346</sup> *OW* 3:216–7.

<sup>347</sup> LSJ, s.v. ‘λεπτός’, II. Although *λεπτός* and *lepos* are not related etymologically, their close similarity was clear to ancient authors (Frampton, *Empire of Letters*, n. 54).



expresses ‘the ideal of transplanting Greek wit to the Roman soil’.<sup>348</sup> He continues by arguing that, ‘in an emphatic way, *Catalepton* 9 speaks of emulating the wit of Greek poetry (62 *Graios ... sales*), Greek (Attic) wit also being a quality ascribed to Messalla’s bucolics’ which [Ps.]Virgil alludes to in line 14: ‘few of your poems, song of Attic speech and wit, appear in my writings (*pauca tua in nostras venerunt carmina chartas, / carmina cum lingua tum sale Cecropia*).’<sup>349</sup> With respect to the *carmina* in *Catalepton* 9.13, Irene Peirano states that ‘Messalla’s *carmina* are bucolic poetry in the style of Theocritus’ and that, in *Catalepton* 9, ‘Messalla is imagined as providing Virgil with a model of how to import Greek literary ideals into Latin’ since *Catalepton* 9.14 ‘makes it clear that Messalla’s poetry is written in Attic Greek and characterized by Greek wit’.<sup>350</sup> In the commentary to [Ps.]Virgil’s *Catalepton* 9 in Scaliger’s *P. Virgilii Maronis Appendix* (Lyon, 1573), Scaliger interprets line 14 to mean that Messalla composed bucolic poetry: ‘*Molliter hic viridi] Ergo & Bucolica scripsit Messala*’.<sup>351</sup> Sheldon Brammall demonstrates that Scaliger considered the *Catalepta* to be genuinely Virgillian since ‘Scaliger argues that three works in the *Appendix* are Virgillian: the *Culex*, *Ciris*, and *Catalepton*’ and that the *Catalepta* showcases Virgil’s ‘neoteric, Alexandrian, and Catullan side’ and that this is demonstrated by the way ‘Scaliger looks for sources that place

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<sup>348</sup> Kayachev, ‘Catalepton 9 and Hellenistic Poetry’, p. 186. See also the praise of Messalla’s oratory in Quintilian 10.5.2.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid., p. 198. [Virgil], *Aeneid: Books 7–12. Appendix Vergiliana*, trans. by Fairclough, pp. 492–3.

<sup>350</sup> Peirano, *The Rhetoric of the Roman Fake*, p. 125 and p. 129. For discussion of *sale cecropio* in [Ps.]Virgil *Catalepton* 9.14 as denoting either Messalla’s Greek poetry or the Greek style of his Latin *carmina*, see: Lipka, *Language in Vergil’s Eclogues*, p. 187, n. 103; Roberta Venuti, *Il carme di Messalla: introduzione, traduzione e commento a [Verg.] catal. 9*, PhD Thesis (Bologna : 2017), pp. 25–7; Davies, ‘Poetry in the ‘Circle’ of Messalla’; and Nisbet, ‘A Wine-Jar for Messalla’, p. 89. For the counter-argument that Messalla’s poetry is a fiction, see Hutchinson, *Greek to Latin*, p. 145. Rostagni argues that *cecrprios sales* refers to Latin poetry composed in an Attic style rather than Greek poetry (Rostagni, *Virgilio minore: Saggio sullo svolgimento della poesia virgiliana*, p. 421).

<sup>351</sup> Scaliger, *P. Virgilii Maronis Appendix* (Antwerp, 1575), p. 91. Scaliger does not state whether he thinks Messalla’s bucolic poetry would have been in Latin or Greek.

[Virgil] into a line of neoteric poets, steeped in Hellenistic learning'.<sup>352</sup> If there is a connection with *Catalepton 9* when Milton's praises Diodati's 'Attic wit', it is possible that Milton could be drawing a parallel between Messalla's poetry which enters the young [Ps.]Virgil's poetry and Diodati's Greek verses intertextually entering Milton's Latin poetry. Indeed, if Diodati did write Greek poetry in the style of Theocritus, then the parallel between Messalla and Diodati who both wrote Greek, bucolic, Theocritean poetry and, in turn, Virgil and Milton would further contribute to the poet's Virgillian self-fashioning in *ED* where, in *ED* 162–171, Milton expresses his Virgilian ambitions to compose an epic poem.<sup>353</sup>

Diodati's ingenious mixing and syncretism may have been, for Milton, one of the most important aspects of his influence upon him as a burgeoning poet. If one shares several critics' view that the final two lines of *Epitaphium Damonis* (and, namely, its extraordinary syncretism of pagan and Christian rites and feasts) is potentially a recollection of Diodati's poetry (which, as we know from 'Elegy 6', *did* deal with Christmas festivities and feasting), then a pattern begins to emerge regarding, firstly, key aspects of Diodati's poetics and, secondly, the hallmarks of Diodati's influence upon Milton's poetry and Hellenism.

If we accept Hardie and Revard's arguments that Milton recalls either previous correspondence or a lost poem of Diodati's at the climax of *Epitaphium Damonis*, then we could identify a Diodatian subtext to the final two lines of *Epitaphium Damonis* which astound critics to this day for incongruously (even irreverently) combining pagan and Christian festivities, Bacchic orgies with Zion:

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Cantus ubi, choreisque furit lyra mista beatis  
Festa Sionæo bacchantur & Orgia Thyrsos.  
(*ED* 218–19)<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Brammall, 'Rewriting the Virgilian Career: The Scaligers and the *Appendix Vergiliana*', pp. 785–6.

<sup>353</sup> Maltby (ed.), *Book Three of the Corpus Tibullianum*, p. 360.

<sup>354</sup> *OW* 3:222–3.

Where song and the lyre, mingled with the blessed dances, wax rapturous, and the orgic revels rage under the thyrsus of Zion.

The fact that the final line is a perfect “Golden Line” reinforces the unity which is created in the incongruous mixing of Bacchic orgy with Zion.<sup>355</sup> Stella Revard draws a connection between Milton’s remarks on Diodati’s *carmina* about the Christmas festivities in ‘Elegy 6’ from December 1629 and the syncretic festivities of the Bacchic maenads and the kingdom of heaven in *Epitaphium Damonis*: ‘he addresses Diodati in heaven enjoying, under the auspices of Bacchus, the “orgiastic” rites, just as he had enjoyed the festive company Milton describes in Elegy 6’.<sup>356</sup> One can take Revard’s connection between Diodati’s festivity in ‘Elegy 6’ and *Epitaphium Damonis* one step further by considering whether, in celebrating Diodati as a fellow patron of poetry, Milton could also be potentially drawing inspiration from Diodati’s syncretic, Bacchic-Christian rites in his lost *carmina*.<sup>357</sup> Phillip Hardie also notes the close connections between the final two lines of *ED* and passages from ‘Elegy 6’ which describe Diodati’s lost *carmina* where he observes that ‘it is as if Milton continues a previous correspondence with Diodati: the language of these last lines has much in common with *Elegy 6*, written to Diodati in December 1629, ten years before the *Epitaphium*, in answer to a letter in which Diodati had complained that he could not give sufficient attention to the Muses in the midst of Christmas festivities’.<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>355</sup> For discussion of the ‘Golden Line’ (a term coined by John Dryden) see Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, pp. 219–221; Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, pp. 215–16; and Mayer, ‘The Golden Line: Ancient and Medieval Lists of Special Hexameters and Modern Scholarship’.

<sup>356</sup> Revard, *Milton and the Tangles of Neaera’s Hair*, p. 235.

<sup>357</sup> Like Diodati’s formulation of Proserpina as Atropos, there is no classical precedent for the final line of *Epitaphium Damonis*. See Knedlik, ‘High Pastoral Art in *Epitaphium Damonis*’, p. 150.

<sup>358</sup> Hardie, ‘Milton’s *Epitaphium Damonis* and the Virgilian Career’, p. 97; Hardie outlines correspondences at pp. 9–8, n. 43: ‘Particularly close in phrasing to the *Epitaphium* are *El. Sext. 18 mista Thyoneo turba novena choro*, “the ninefold crowd [of the Muses] mingling with the Bacchic dancers”; 43–44 *crede mihi dum psallit ebur, comitataque plectrum / implet odoratos festa chorea tholos*, “believe me, while the ivory plectrum plays, and the festive dancers, keeping time to it, fill the perfumed halls”.

Are there moments in *Epitaphium Damonis* when Milton is thinking of, or alluding to, specifically Diodati's (Greek) poetry? Campbell observes a peculiar pattern in Milton's allusions in *Epitaphium Damonis* when he explains that a striking aspect of 'Milton's imitation of phrases from the literature of antiquity in this poem is that **the phrasing often derives from a Latin imitation of a Greek passage**'.<sup>359</sup> We have already seen an example of this in 'Elegy 6' of in Milton's highly Hellenic description of Diodati's poetry (*dapibusque poiesin. El.6.13*). To take Campbell's observation one step further, could parts of *Epitaphium Damonis* serve as Milton's Latin imitation of Diodati's Greek? Let us compare these *Epitaphium Damonis* (47–9) with 'Elegy 6' (9–12):

grato cùm sibilat igni  
Molle pyrum, & nucibus strepitat focus, at malus auster  
Miscet cuncta foris, & desuper intonat ulmo.

as the soft pear hisses upon a welcome fire and the hearth crackles with nuts, while outside the hostile south wind throws everything into confusion and thunders through the tops of the elms? (*ED*, 47-49)<sup>360</sup>

Quàm bene solennes epulas, hilaremque Decembrim  
Festaque cœlifugam quæ coluere Deum,  
Deliciasque refers, hyberni gaudia ruris,  
Haustaque per lepidos Gallica musta focos.

How well you describe the ceremonial banquets, December cheer, and the feasts which honour God come down from Heaven, the delights and the joys of winter in the country and the Gallic must drunk beside a charming fireside. (*El.6.9–12*)<sup>361</sup>

Anthony Low addresses the difficulty of attempting to gauge from 'Elegy 6' what Diodati's poems could have been about since, 'not having Diodati's poem, we can only reconstruct it

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<sup>359</sup> Campbell, 'Imitation in *Epitaphium Damonis*', p. 171. Campbell also observes that the title, *Epitaphium Damonis*, is set 'firmly in the Greek tradition' such as the *epitaphios logos* (funeral oration) in Ancient Athens like in Thucydides 2.35–46, or later, Hellenistic examples such as the the *Epitaphios for Bion* (Campbell, 'Imitation in *Epitaphium Damonis*', pp. 167–8).

<sup>360</sup> *OW* 3:216–7.

<sup>361</sup> *OW* 3:216–7; *OW* 3:144–5.

conjecturally from Milton's rhetorical question to his friend, to whose elegy he is responding'.<sup>362</sup> But, in comparing these two passages, the smells of Diodati's 'charming fireside' (*lepidos ... focos. El.6.12*) potentially rise again in these lines of *Epitaphium Damonis*.

With respect to these lines from 'Elegy 6', Haan uncovers an important Greek, Theocritean context behind Milton's use of 'caelifugam' ('come down from heaven')—a neologism which finds its only precedent in a popular Latin translation of Theocritus's *Idylls* by Helius Eobanus Hessus. Suggestively, Hessus applies 'caelifugam' to Proserpina—the mythological figure who features prominently in Diodati's Latin poem—the 'queen of the shades' (*umbrarum regina*).<sup>363</sup> Before Haan spotted the precedence in Hessus, *caelifugam* had been considered a neologism of Milton's.<sup>364</sup> Haan's identification of the Theocritean context helps us to gain a precious glimpse of the nature of Diodati's poetics in his lost *carmina* which he had sent to Milton in December 1629:

it is not inconceivable that the now lost communication by Diodati, himself noted for his "pastoralism", had ironically appropriated aspects of the pastoral Theocritean festival of Adonis in its account of another annual, this time Christian, feast, perhaps in terms reminiscent of pagan festivities [...] Did perhaps Diodati write in Greek, his favourite linguistic medium, thereby employing and articulating his own *Dorica verba*, as it were? <sup>365</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Low, 'The Unity of Milton's 'Elegia Sexta'', p. 220.

<sup>363</sup> Haan, *Both English and Latin*, 81. See also *OW* 3:439: 'caelifugam: cf. its adjectival occurrence (to describe Persophone) in Helius Eobanus Hessus's Latin translation of Theocritus, *Id.15: caelifuga umbrarum regina silentum*'. The line from Hessus's translation of Theocritus's 'Idyll 15' is in *Idyllia triginta sex*, sig. F4.

<sup>364</sup> Bush (ed.), *Variorum*, 116: 'Coelifugam has not been observed elsewhere and may be a Miltonic coinage' (Bush, *Variorum*, I, p. 116). Hale: 'COELIFUGAM... Deum (Elegia Sexta 10); 'the God who fled from heaven''. Humanists coined very many compound adjectives with *coelum-* / *caelum-* to bestow as honorific epithets upon the God of the Bible, for instance *Coeliger* or *Coelipotens*. Milton seems to go one better here, by finding a less usual verb to suffix and by giving the compound to Christ, "who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; / But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men..." (Philippians 2.6-7, King James Version). Working along the lines of *Lucifuga* or *nubifugus*, Milton is packing this Pauline idea into an epithet of theological density as well as Latinate compression: "Festaque coelifugam quae coluere Deum" (Hale, 'Notes on Milton's Latin Word-Formation in the *Poemata* of 1645', p. 406.).

<sup>365</sup> Haan, *Both English and Latin*, 82-3. Dorian speculates, however, that the *carmina* Diodati sent Milton were 'probably in Latin' (Dorian, *The English Diodatis*, p. 127).

Could Milton be imitating Diodati's lost (Greek) poetry in *ED* 47–9? The description of the fireplace immediately follows Milton's recollection of 'sweet conversation' (*dulcibus alloquiis*. *ED* 47) with Diodati and it then evokes a Diodatian scene of festivity. Considering Diodati's evocation of the pastoral setting in Apollonius's *Argonautica* via 'φύλλοις κομάντες', the Theocritean context of 'coelifugam' is highly suggestive of Diodati's potential proclivity for imitating and alluding to Greek bucolic, Hellenistic poets.

*ED* 47–9 lines are conspicuously sparse of concrete allusions to or echoes of Classical and Neo-Latin texts. What is one to make of this allusive "cold spot" in an otherwise densely allusive poem? Bush and Haan do not identify any specific borrowings behind Milton's description of roasting pears and nuts over the fire while the south wind howls outside over the elm trees. Instead, they offer general Virgilian and Horatian flavours to these lines 47–49; the note to 'auster' is just a definition and the Ovidian reference for the fireplace is also generic.

47 *grato... igni*. Cf. Ovid, *F*.4.698, *grato... igne*.

48-9 *malus auster / Miscet cuncta foris*. For *miscet* commentators cite Virgil, *A*.1.124, 4.160, and *G*.1.356.<sup>366</sup>

47 *Dulcibus alloquiis*. Cf. Horace, *Epode* 13.18. On Milton's delight in Diodati's conversation, cf. his letter (to Diodati) of 2 Sept. 1637 (*Ep. Fam.* 6, at *Epistolae Familiares*, 16).

48 *auster*: the south wind.<sup>367</sup>

Dobranski finds that these very lines convey how Milton 'improved in Diodati's company' and that they show 'his friend's good influence'; is it possible that they could also mark his

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<sup>366</sup> Bush (Ed.), *Variorum*, vol. 1, p. 303. The Virgilian sources Bush identifies for *miscet* are *Aen*.1.124, *Aen*.4.160, and *Georgics* 1.356–9.

<sup>367</sup> *OW* 3:491

friend's *poetic* influence too?<sup>368</sup> Gordon Teskey remarked that the lines from *ED* quoted above 'sound like true recollections of Charles Diodati: brilliant, elegant, curious, learned, witty, and cheerful'.<sup>369</sup> Is it possible that Milton is recollecting, not just his friend's personality, but his friend's writing too? While 'mixes' (*miscet*) is linked to Virgil by Bush, as shown by the first stanza of his Latin poem, Diodati is a master of incongruous mixtures. In a subtle instance of Diodatian and Greek linguistic and visual intermingling, Milton's choice to use 'pyrum'—the more Hellenic sounding version of the Latin word *pirum* ('pear')—emphasises the etymological connection with the Greek word for 'fire', *πύρ*, upon which it is being cooked: 'grato cùm sibilat **igni** / Molle **pyrum**' (*ED* 47–8). There is evidence that 'pyrum' was seen as a more Hellenic spelling than 'pirum' for, in the botanist Johann Bauhin's *Historia plantarum universalis nova*, Bauhin states that 'Theodorus Gaza, a Greek man, always and consistently wrote *pyrum*' (*Gaza homo Graecus passim et semper Pyrum scripsit*).<sup>370</sup> Victoria Moul observes that Milton orchestrates an 'allusive dialogue with Virgil' in *ED* and, if we regard lines 47–9 of *Epitaphium Damonis* as Milton's potential reminiscence of Diodati's own writing, it is possible that, through a deep investment in literary imitation, Milton imitates Diodati's writing in order to resurrect what Milton has explicitly stated (both in *Epitaphium Damonis* and in his letters) that he has lost and dearly desires to regain: 'sweet conversations' (*dulcibus alloquiis*) with his friend, Charles Diodati, which resonates with Blaine

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<sup>368</sup> Dobranski, *Reading John Milton*, p. 43.

<sup>369</sup> Teskey, *The Poetry of John Milton*, p. 212.

<sup>370</sup> Bauhin, *Historia plantarum universalis nova* (Yverdon, 1651), p. 36. Ad loc., Bauhin also highlights the etymological link between *pyrum* and *πύρ*: 'whether *Purus* or *Pyrus* is the correct version of the word, there is no agreement yet among the authors. Authors who write *Pyrus* intend for it to be **derived from the figure of the Pyramid** which has a sharp point, a viewpoint which we see in the most serious authors in the Latin language' (*Purus, vel Pyrus, utrum rectiùs scribatur, nondum convenit inter auctores. Qui Pyrum scribunt, à Pyramidis figura derivatum volunt, quòd in exacutum fastigietur, cuius sententiæ quamplurimos eosque gravissimos in lingua Latina videmus esse auctores*).

Greteman's observation that 'the *Epitaphium Damonis* sounds less like a solitary cry than a continuing conversation'.<sup>371</sup>

On 17/27 February 1639, Milton attended a performance of Virgilio Mazzocchi's comic opera, *Che soffre spera*, at the Palazzo Barberini where, as he informs Lucas Holstenius in *EF* 9, he had been greeted by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. The production's staging was completed by the Baroque sculptor and architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini. If, during his time in Rome, Milton also saw another work of Bernini's—*Pluto and Proserpina* (1621)—then the young Englishman would not have failed to notice the epigrammatic couplet by the brother of Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), Maffeo Barberini (Pope Urban VIII), which was inscribed at the base of Bernini's statue:

*Quisquis humi pronus flores legis, inspice, saevi  
Me Ditis ad domum rapi.*

You who bends down to pick flowers from the earth, look at me who has been abducted to the home of cruel Pluto'.<sup>372</sup>

On 17 November 1644, another young Englishman, John Evelyn, recorded in his diary that he had seen Bernini's sculptures including *Pluto and Proserpina*, *Apollo and Daphne*, and *David* in the public gallery of the Villa Borghese. If, like Evelyn, Milton too saw Bernini's *Pluto and Proserpina*, what might he have made of Bernini's sculpture and Barberini's accompanying

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<sup>371</sup> Moul, 'Of Hearing and Failing to Hear', p. 170; Greteman, 'Milton and the Early Modern Social Network: The Case of the *Epitaphium Damonis*', p. 90. On intensive, poetic imitation as a way of reviving face-to-face conversation in Classical and Renaissance texts, see Pugh (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Conversations: Classical & Renaissance Intertextuality*. See also Evans, 'Syrthe Pugh, ed., *Conversations: Classical & Renaissance Intertextuality*'. On the allusive dialogue between Milton and Virgil in *ED*, see also Hardie, 'Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* and the Virgilian Career'.

<sup>372</sup> Text and translation qt. by Collins, 'Power and Art at Casino Borghese: Scipione, Gian Lorenzo, Maffeo', p. 263. Maffeo Barberini's epigram was first transcribed by Fioravante Martinelli in 1644 (see Martinelli, *Roma ricerta nel suo sito*, p. 131).



epigram?<sup>373</sup> As Welch and Leonard observe above, the pathos excited by Ovid's focus on Proserpina's flowers at the moment of her rape by Pluto moved Milton terribly, as evidenced by his return time and again to the image of the falling flowers as a metonym both for the rape of Proserpina and for death itself. If Milton did see Bernini's *Pluto and Proserpina* at the Villa Borghese, then bending down to read Barberini's epigram would transform Milton the viewer into Proserpina in the moments before her seizure by Pluto. As Roy Daniels observes, 'one remarkable parallel between Bernini and Milton is their interest in metamorphosis, the kind of sudden transformation that sums up a whole life by showing what has been, changing before one's eyes into what will be'.<sup>374</sup>

The macabre version of Proserpina shared by Milton and Diodati in their Latin poetry and the friends' continued enchantment with the myth, as evidenced by Milton's turning the myth of Ceres seeking Proserpina into an allegory for his own impassioned search of the 'idea of the Beautiful' in *EF 7*, Milton and Diodati created versions of the myth of Proserpina together. The Ovidian rape of Gostlin by Proserpina-Atropos stealing him away to the underworld as revenge for his having ripped away (*eripuisse*) countless patients from the jaws of death, is itself constructed upon a highly Ovidian sense of imitation in being itself an emulation of Diodati too.<sup>375</sup> In imitating his friend's version of Proserpina, this instance of imitating Diodati's *invidentes* Persephone opens up wider, Ovidian connections between envy and imitation. It is through reassessing the correspondence and poetry between Milton and Diodati that one sees the expression of their shared Hellenism, such as the 'Attic wit' of

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<sup>373</sup> For Milton and the Villa Farnesina, and the possible influence of its frescoes upon Milton's design of Paradise in *Paradise Lost*, Turner, *The Villa Farnesina, Palace of Venus in Renaissance Rome*. See also Arthos, *Milton and the Italian Cities*; Cesare, *Milton in Italy*; Martin, *Milton's Italy*; Haan, *Milton's Roman Sojourns, 1638–1639*; and Rumrich, 'John Milton's Night at the Opera'.

<sup>374</sup> Daniels, 'Milton and Renaissance Art', p. 196.

<sup>375</sup> On Milton and Ovidian envy, see Kilgour, *Milton and the Metamorphosis of Ovid*.

their comparisons between Ancient Athens and rural England and their close engagement with Hellenistic poetry. By recovering one word that Diodati has deleted from the manuscript of the ‘Second Greek Letter’, the language of Greek philosophical inquiry reflects the friends’ shared Platonism and the Hellenic humour of Diodati. Considering Milton and Diodati’s refiguration of the countryside as Athenian schools of philosophy and Haan’s perceptive inference from the word ‘coelifugam’ and the world of Theocritean festivals for Adonis and Christmas festivities in England, a clearer picture begins to emerge of Milton’s philhellenic friend. Diodati’s Greek style begins to emerge which, crucially, had a strong influence upon Milton’s Hellenism and poetics. Like ‘περιπάτοι ποικιλοιάτοι’, which synthesised the sceneries of Ancient Athens’s philosophical schools and rural England, the sympotic festivities of Christmas and the Festival for Adonis are, through a syncretist combination, brought together in ‘Elegy 6’ and, most vividly, in the climactic ending of *Epitaphium Damonis*.<sup>376</sup>

## **2.2: Milton and Holstenius: EF 9, Hellenic Scholarship, and Greek Scholars in Italy**

The previous section demonstrates the degree to which the Anglo-Italian Diodati influenced the exuberant Hellenism and Platonism of Milton’s early writings such as the Italian ‘Sonnet 4’ as well as the peculiar “Greekness” of passages of *Epitaphium Damonis*. Section 2.2 continues to explore the role that Milton’s Italian friends—namely Carlo Dati and Lucas Holstenius—had upon another aspect of Milton’s Hellenism: his stylistic Alexandrianism and his virtuoso Hellenic scholarship. In this section, I position Milton’s letter to Lucas Holstenius from 30 March 1639 (EF 9) within the Hellenic research and scholarly activities of Milton and

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<sup>376</sup> Hardie, *Celestial Aspirations*, p. 176.

Holstenius's social and academic network in Italy.<sup>377</sup> By reassessing Milton's correspondence with Italian Hellenists such as Carlo Dati and Lucas Holstenius, I aim to establish a foundation upon which to undertake comparative approaches to Hellenism between Milton and his Italian contemporaries. The comparative and contextual methodology I adopt for this section is informed by the recent, illuminating scholarship on Milton's time in Italy from 1638–39.<sup>378</sup> There was a flurry of Hellenic scholarship going on around Milton during his time in Italy and, as evidenced by Holstenius's request that Milton transcribe for him a (most likely Greek) manuscript at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (henceforth BML), Milton himself clearly participated in such intellectual, Hellenic investigations. *EF* 9 reveals Milton's immersion in the academic and intellectual circles of Rome and Florence. The shared devotion to Greek antiquity is so strong between Milton and Holstenius that such enthusiasm for Hellenic scholarship overrides the tensions brought about by their stark, confessional differences where, as Campbell and Corns put it, 'the[ir] common interest in Hellenic scholarship seems to have been more powerful than the religious differences'.<sup>379</sup> As Chapter 4 will show, the fruits of Milton's virtuoso Greek scholarship evidenced by his correspondence during this period in Italy reveal themselves in Milton's handling of Homeric allusions in *Paradise Lost*.

The enthusiasm for textual scrutiny of poetic texts shared by Milton and his scholarly Italian network is evidenced by Carlo Dati's letter to Milton, sent from Florence to London and dated 1 November 1647.<sup>380</sup> Dati's inclusion of a long list of examples of the use of the

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<sup>377</sup> For a comprehensive study of Holstenius and the Barberini circle, see Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Politics*, 256–295.

<sup>378</sup> See Brenna, 'Milton and Italian Early Modern Literary Theory: A Reassessment of the Journey to Italy'; Haan, *Milton's Roman Sojourns, 1638–1639*; Turner, *The Villa Farnesina*, p. 240 and p. 415; and Rumrich, 'John Milton's Night at the Opera'. See also Garber, 'Fallen Landscape', p. 104.

<sup>379</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 123.

<sup>380</sup> *CW* 13:296–312.

adjective *rapido* by Latin authors is spurred by his conjecture of an alternative textual reading to Tibullus *Elegies* 1.2.40. Dati argues that the line should have *rabido* rather than *rapido* because ‘it appears to me that the adjective *rapid*, applied to the sea, is of little or no force; I would read *rabid*, by which term, merely by the inversion of one letter, the greatest vigour is added to Tibullus’s concept’ (*parendomi che l’Aggiunto di rapido dato al mare operi poco, o niente, leggerei rabido dalla qual voce, col far sola capovolgere una Lettera, resulta grandissima forza al concetto di Tibullo*).<sup>381</sup> However, Dati acknowledges that all the printed texts and commentaries confute his textual conjecture which he believes would serve as a ‘considerable improvement’ (*notabil miglioramento*), stating that ‘to this correction all the printed texts, and all the commentaries of the same poet are opposed, all of them reading *rapid*’ (*a questa correzione si oppongono tutti i testi stampati, e tutti i Comentari del medesimo Poeta i quali leggono rapido*).<sup>382</sup> Proudly deriding ‘everyone of mediocre wit’ (*ciascheduno di mediocre ingegno*) who favour *rapido* over *rabido* in the printed texts of Tibullus, Dati supports his conjecture by citing a similar textual difference between the printed texts and the manuscripts in Horace: ‘how much better the turn of phrase is when reading with Cruquius and Lambinus in some manuscripts’ (*e quanto meglio torni come leggono il Curquio, e il Lambino in alcuni manuscritti*).<sup>383</sup> The passage that Dati refers to is from Denis Lambinus’s edition of Horace and specifically to Horace’s *Art of Poetry* (l.393): *Rapidosque] rapidos* quidem habent libri vulg[ari]. sed *rabidos* duo cod. Vatic. *And rapid]* Vernacular books have “rapid” but two codices in the Vatican have “rabid”.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> CW 12:300–301.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid.

<sup>383</sup> CW 12:306–7. See Lambinus (ed.), *Q. Horatii Flacci sermonum* (Paris, 1557), p. 378, and Cruquius (ed.), *Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex antiquissimis undecim lib.MS et schedis aliquot emendates* (Antwerp, 1578), p. 132.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

As well as demonstrating the same appetite for philological scrutiny, I argue that the Dati–Milton correspondence reveals a proclivity for interlingual, Greek and vernacular wordplay. Earlier in the same year in *EF* 10 (21 April 1647), Milton promised to send Dati his *Poemata*: ‘that section of the Poems which is in Latin I will indeed send you soon (since that is your request)’ (*Poematum quidem quae pars Latin est (quoniam expetis) brevi mittam*).<sup>385</sup> The following year, in another letter to Milton dated 4 December 1648, Dati thanks Milton for sending him not one but *two* copies of the *Poemata*.<sup>386</sup> Dati likens the gift from Milton to a gift which the Hellenistic poet Theocritus has received:

Hò di poi ricevuto due copie delle sue eruditissime Poesie delle quali non mi poteva arrivare donativo più caro, perche quantunque piccolo racchiude in se valore infinito per esser una Gemma del Tesoro del Sig. Gio. Miltoni. E come disse Teocrito—

—ἡ μεγάλα χάρις  
δῶρω ξὺν ὀλίγῳ, πάντα δὲ τιμαῦτα τὰ παρ φίλων.  
Gran pregio hà picciol dono, e merta onore  
Ciò che vien da gl’ amici.

Since then I have received two copies of your most erudite poems, than which there could not have reached me a more welcome gift; for, however little, it contains infinite value, from being a gem from the treasury of John Milton. And, as Theocritus says, ‘a great grace with a little gift, for all is precious from a friend’.<sup>387</sup>

At first, Dati’s quotation and translation of Theocritus *Idylls* 28.24–5 (*ἡ μεγάλα χάρις / δῶρῳ σὺν ὀλίγῳ· πάντα δὲ τιμαῦτα τὰ παρ φίλων*) reads as an apt though perhaps generic *sententia* for thanking his English friend, John Milton, for the poetic gifts. However, if one recalls the immediate context of these lines in ‘*Idyll* 28’, it becomes clear that Dati is revelling in an astute and linguistically creative form of paronomasia. The Syracusan Theocritus sent ‘*Idyll* 28’ to Nicias who is a doctor from Ioanian Miletus: ‘you make your home with **Ioanians** in lovely

<sup>385</sup> *EF*, pp. 168–9. See also Haan (ed.), *EF*, p. 182.

<sup>386</sup> *CW* 12:312–5.

<sup>387</sup> *CW* 12:312–13.

**Miletus'** (οἰκίσης κατὰ **Μίλλατον** ἐράνναν πεδ' **Ἰαόνων**. *Idylls* 28.20). As Kathryn Gutzwiller explains, 'Idyll 28' 'was composed to accompany a distaff that is sent as a gift on a journey to Ioanian Miletas'.<sup>388</sup> In turn, Dati has sent his letter to John Milton whose name is the phonetic equivalent to *Ἰαόνων Μίλλατον* in the few lines preceding the Theocritean tag which Dati includes. Just as Theocritus has sent his distaff to *Ἰαόνων Μίλλατον*, John Milton (or "Giovanni Miltoni") has been sent a letter from Dati. The fact that this interlingual wordplay is rooted in a Hellenistic poet, Theocritus, is significant since the Hellenistic poets revelled in learned forms of paranomasia.<sup>389</sup>

Moreover, the proximity between Milton and 'Idyll 28' is heightened when one observes that Dati uses the same Italian word to describe Milton's *Poemata* as 'little' (piccolo) as well as to translate Theocritus's poetic gift—the ivory distaff—as a 'picciol dono' (δῶρω ξὺν ὀλίγῳ). Also, Theocritus presents the distaff in 'Idyll 28' as a metaphor for, not just writing poetry, but specifically for making a book of poetry—such as Milton's *Poemata*.<sup>390</sup> In one annotation in his copy of Della Casa's *Rime & Prose* (Venice, 1563), Milton noted that Della Casa's 'Ecloga Seconda' was modelled on Theocritus's *Idylls* ([It]aque ex Theocriti / [Am]arillide, verum / traducta) which Bourne and Scott-Warren have dated to Milton's time in Italy rather than to 1629 when Milton purchased the volume since the annotation features 'both of Milton's "e" forms and thus [was] probably written around the time of his trip to Italy in 1638–9'.<sup>391</sup> Thus, the emphasis on Theocritus in Dati's letter could potentially reflect Milton's Theocritean interests when he was in Italy where he established his friendship with Dati.

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<sup>388</sup> Gutzwiller, *Guide to Hellenistic Literature*, p. 186.

<sup>389</sup> For examples of wordplay and paranomasia in Theocritus and other Hellenistic poets, see O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*.

<sup>390</sup> Gutzwiller., 'Under the Sign of the Distaff: AETIA 1.5, Spinning and Erinna', p. 190.

<sup>391</sup> Bourne and Scott-Warren, "'thy unvalued Booke'", p. 38.

The next two poetic quotations I focus on are in Milton's letter to Holstenius which, like the virtuoso, interlinguistic wordplay in Dati's quotation, also conveys a great sense of scholarly playfulness. Milton's quotations from Virgil's *Aeneid* 6 and Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* are textually eyebrow-raising, yet it seems to be no coincidence that, in a letter addressed to one of Europe's most prominent editors of Greek and Latin manuscripts, Milton plays with alternative textual readings in the texts of Virgil and Callimachus. While Milton's choice to quote a version of *Aeneid* 6.679–80 with the word 'limen' rather than 'lumen' has received attention from scholars, Milton's peculiar alteration of the aorist ἄψατ' to the imperfect ἄπτετ' has not been fully scrutinized before. Below I provide my transcriptions of Milton's quotations from Virgil and Callimachus from the autograph manuscript of *EF* 9:

penitus convalle virenti  
Inclusæ animæ, superumq[ue] ad limen ituræ

Souls shut up deep within a green vale  
And about to approach the threshold of the upper world  
(Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.679–80)

ἴθματα μὲν χέρσω κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἄπτετ' ὀλύμπω

Feet still cling to the earth, while the head was touching Olympus  
(Callimachus, *Hymns*, 8.58)<sup>392</sup>

Milton's use of 'limen' rather than 'lumen' has long been a source of confusion for scholars. For example, Don Wolfe deems it 'impossible to say whether Milton's "limen" is a misprint or a misquotation'.<sup>393</sup> Similarly, Hale is perturbed by the reading and he asks 'whether

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<sup>392</sup> I have transcribed Milton's quotations from Virgil and Callimachus precisely as they are given in MS Barb.Lat.2181 fol.57r. Note that Milton places the aspirant over the omega rather than iota here. For a facsimile of Milton's autograph letter, see Bottkol, 'The Holograph of Milton's Letter to Holstenius', p. 623. I have adapted the translations from the Loeb editions in order to reflect Milton's alteration to the text: 'light' to 'threshold' and 'touched' to 'was touching'.

<sup>393</sup> Don Wolfe (ed.), *CPW* 1:333, n.2.

Milton had read a text which printed 'limen', or had misread or misremembered one having the usual 'lumen', or was consciously emending 'lumen' to 'limen', or just thought 'limen' more suited to his simile of books unborn'.<sup>394</sup> Milton's handling of the quotations from Virgil's *Aeneid* and Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* both form variant, even peculiar, texts. However, I argue that Milton's handling of the Virgilian and Callimachean texts in his letter to Holstenius are intended to flag up to the extraordinarily erudite Greek scholar, Holstenius, both Milton's understanding of variant readings in manuscripts as well as his ability to provide new textual readings. Milton's modification of two quotations from two canonical Latin and Greek authors—both of which would have been noticed by Holstenius immediately—could gesture towards the nature of the scholarly errand that Holstenius has asked him to undertake at the BML in Florence.

Why does Milton change the aorist to the imperfect in line 58 of Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* in his letter to Holstenius? While it has been noted by Miltonists that Milton's imperfect ἄπτετ' differs from the aorist ἄψατ' in the received text, discussion rarely extends beyond this observation.<sup>395</sup> Here, however, I argue that Milton is at pains to present himself as a skilled, textual critic of Greek poetry to Holstenius: a scholar who held an international reputation as a skilled Hellenist.

Textually, lightning has struck twice in *EF* 9. It seems to be too great a coincidence that not one but *two* poetic quotations are textually irregular. By fully positioning Milton's emendation of the Callimachean verse within a letter addressed to one of the leading Hellenic scholars of Europe, one begins to see a ripple effect throughout *EF* 9 as it becomes part of Milton's self-fashioning as a scholar-poet before Holstenius. This aspect of Milton's

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<sup>394</sup> Hale, 'Milton's Reading of Virgil's *Aeneid* VI.630 in his Letters to the Vatican Librarian', p. 336.

<sup>395</sup> *EF*, p. 163; Haan, *Milton's Roman Sojourns, 1638–1639*, p. 171, n.152; and Bottkol, 'The Holograph of Milton's Letter to Holstenius', p. 622.



self-fashioning has been described in detail by Lerer who states that ‘to read the letter to Holste is to be plunged into the world of erudite self-fashioning, where Milton finds his sense of belonging through a shared level of quotation’.<sup>396</sup> However, it is not just the shared knowledge of such texts that marks out the kind of belonging that Lerer identifies between Holstenius and Milton, but it’s *what they do* with such Classical texts which serves as another hallmark of scholarly kinship between Milton, Doni, and Holstenius: the identification of alternative readings from various manuscripts and print editions, making textual and grammatical conjectures and, as seen in the example from the Doni–Milton correspondence, delighting in the “Alexandrian footnote”.<sup>397</sup> Having been requested to take a transcription from a Greek manuscript at the BML, Milton is emphatic in proving his scholarly mettle partly by demonstrating through two flourishes in the form of elegant metaphors adapted from lines in *Aeneid* 6 and Callimachus’ *Hymn to Demeter* while, at the same time, proving his erudition by highlighting points of genuine textual conjecture.

In his edition of Callimachus’s *Hymn to Demeter*, Neil Hopkinson, too, would adapt the tenses in the very passage Milton quotes from:

Δαμάτηρ δ’ ἄφατόν τι κοτέσσατο, γείνατο δ’ ἄθεός·  
ἴθματα μὲν χέρσω, κεφαλὰ δέ οἱ ἄψατ’ Ὀλύμπω.

And Demeter was angered beyond telling and put on her goddess shape. Her steps touched the earth, but her head reached unto Olympus. (Loeb trans. *Hymn.Dem.57-8*)

Hopkinson discusses the difficulty in ascertaining the correct tenses in the passage. In his commentary to line 57—the one immediately preceding the line that Milton quotes—

Hopkinson notes that

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<sup>396</sup> Lerer, ‘Milton’s “Ad Patrem” and the Poetics of Virgilian Sons’, p. 521.

<sup>397</sup> For discussion of the “Alexandrian footnote” in Greek and Latin poetry, see Townsend, ‘Faux Alexandrian Footnotes in Virgil’.

the tenses of surrounding verbs are a mixture of imperf. and aor., making a decision impossible [...] Considering the aorists of previous clauses in both lines, an aor. seems far preferable; but an imperf. stressing the result of verbal action is not indefensible. With such a combination of contradictory MS readings, doubtful etymology and partial ignorance of ancient theory, certainty is impossible; but it seems unlikely that C[allimachus] should go against Homeric precedent by using intrans. *γείνατο*, and I am tempted to read *γείνετο* (imperf. or aor.) or *γίνετο*.<sup>398</sup>

Similarly, Milton's emendation of the aorist *ἄψατ'* to the imperfect *ἄπτετ'* in his quotation of line 58 of Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* reflects the genuine grammatical uncertainty present in this passage. Milton's emendation of the Greek text in *EF* 9, therefore, plays a dual role. Firstly, it praises Cardinal Francesco Barberini's learning and, in a highly debonair and understated way, it cannily showcases Milton's own learning by subtly propounding to Holstenius an original textual reading of Callimachus. We see Milton make similar emendations throughout his annotations to his two-volume copy of Euripides. For example, with respect to the same verb which Hopkinson addresses above, Milton changes the aorist infinitive *γενέσθαι* to the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular aorist imperative *γενέσθω*.<sup>399</sup> Also, Milton changes the aorist infinitive *ἐξάψειν* to the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular aorist indicative *ἐξάψει*, adopting William Canter's preferred textual reading.<sup>400</sup>

With respect to the quotation from Virgil, it is possible that Milton may have wryly been pushing Holstenius's buttons. In his Classical commentaries, Holstenius often vents his frustration with the scribes who produced the precious though fault-ridden Greek manuscripts which he labours over to edit and restore. The publication of Holstenius's which follows soonest after the date of *EF* 9 (30 March 1639) is Holstenius's commentary on

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<sup>398</sup> Hopkinson (ed.), *Hymn to Demeter*, pp. 130-1). Martin Litchfield West, however, disagreed with Hopkinson's emendation of the aorist to the imperfect: '57: *γείνετο* may be right, but not *γίνετο*; an aorist is necessary' (West, 'Two Hymns of Callimachus', p. 30).

<sup>399</sup> Bodleian Library, Arch. A d.36, p. 184.

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 670.

the scholiasts to Apollonius of Rhodes's *Argonautica* (1641): *Some Observations of Lucas Holstenius on Apollonius's Argonautica and its Greek Scholiasts* (*Lucae Holstenii Observationes aliquot ad Apollonii Argonautica et Graecum eius Scholiasten*).<sup>401</sup> Holstenius mentions in a letter dated May 1629 to Peiresc (1580–1637) that he had unfortunately lost the notes on the Apollonian scholia made by the French hellenic scholar Florent Chrestien (1541–1596).<sup>402</sup> In this short commentary, Holstenius scolds the 'unskilled copyists' (*imperiti librarii*) in his discussion of the unpublished manuscripts held at the Vatican Library of the Hellenistic poet Scymnus of Chios who is thought to have been the author of the geographical poem, the *Periodos*.<sup>403</sup> With respect to Holstenius's Greek geographical research, Alfredo Serrai states that Holstenius 'applied himself, in particular, to collecting manuscript texts, which were often unpublished, by Greek writers on these matters' (*applicandosi, in particolare, a raccogliere testi manoscritti, spesso inediti, di scrittori greci su tali materie*).<sup>404</sup> Among the manuscripts of long-lost Greek authors held at the Vatican Library, Holstenius may have shown Milton manuscripts of Scymnus's *Periodos* since this is one of the Greek authors whom Holstenius was endeavouring to bring to the press at this time. For example, in his *Observations on the Life of Pythagoras* (*Observationes ad vitam Pythagorae*), Holstenius includes several verses of Scymnus's *Periodos*, adding that 'there are beautiful verses about the Scythians (who reside beyond the Maotis Lake) in Scymnus of Chios's ancient, geographical work which, along with many others, has not been published

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<sup>401</sup> Holstenius, 'Lucae Holstenii Observationes aliquot ad Apollonii Argonautica et Graecam eius Scholiasten' in Hoelzlinus (ed.), *Argonauticorum libri IV* (Leiden: Officina Elzeviriana, 1641), pp. 363–8. For discussion of Hoelzlinus's commentary on Apollonius's *Argonautica*, see below in Ch.4.1.

<sup>402</sup> Vian, 'Florent Chrestien Lectuer et Traducteur d'Apollonios de Rhodes', p. 473.

<sup>403</sup> Holstenius, 'Lucae Holstenii Observationes', p. 367.

<sup>404</sup> Serrai, *La biblioteca di Lucas Holstenius* (Rome: Forum Edizioni, 2000), p. 23. On Holstenius's Greek, geographical research at libraries in Italy and England, see Almagià, *L'Opera Geografico di Luca Holstenio*; and Blom, 'Lucas Holstenius (1596) and England'.

until now' (*de Scythis vltra Mæotin pulchri versus sunt Scymni Chij vetusti geographi cum multis alijs hactenus non editi*).<sup>405</sup>

Holstenius's ire towards 'unskilled copyists' (*imperiti librarii*) is perhaps most colourfully demonstrated in his posthumously published commentary to Stephanus of Byzantium (1684) when he baulks at the following scribal error in the Byzantine manuscripts: 'obviously, Stephanus had written ἐν Αλ which is an abbreviation for ἐν Αλιάσιν. Later, however, unskilled copyists turned this into ἐν ἄλι. How rash is the trickery of the (supposedly) blameless copyists!' (*Scilicet scriptum fuerat apud Stephanum ἐν Αλ compendio pro ἐν Αλιάσιν, ex quo postea **imperiti librarii** ἐν ἄλι fecerint. Quam calida calumnia innocentium librariorum?*).<sup>406</sup> Holstenius continues to vent his frustration as he caricatures a series of hapless scribes. One of the scribes is copying from a 'worn-out codex' (*codicem detritum*) which leads him helplessly into all sorts of errors and Holstenius scornfully states that, for many scribes, 'it was pleasing to go into doubtful, unknown, and ambiguous varieties' (*placuisse istis ire in varietates dubias, ignotas & ancipites*).<sup>407</sup>

It is possible that Milton's alterations of the received texts of Virgil and Callimachus could reflect conversations between the two about such manuscripts at the Vatican Library. Although there are very few hints in the letter for determining what Holstenius requested Milton to transcribe for him, whatever it was, Milton tells Holstenius that 'it would truly have been a most welcome lot for me if a topic so especially desirable had rather seen, at least to some degree, some advancement by the little effort that is mine' (*quamquam id sane mihi pergratum accidisset si res tam praesertim optanda quae sit mea potius opella*

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<sup>405</sup> Holstenius (ed.), *Porphyrii Philosophii liber de Vita Pythagorae* (Rome, 1630), p. 117.

<sup>406</sup> Holstenius, *Lucae Holstenii Notae et castigations in Stephanum Byzantium* (Rome: 1684), p. 7.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

*saltem aliquanto plus promovisset*).<sup>408</sup> Clearly there was enthusiasm for the task. Milton's letter focuses on alternative readings of specifically *poetic* texts, and Milton's scholarly playfulness in providing a rare manuscript reading *Aeneid* 6.680 and in amending the grammar of *Hymn to Demeter* 58 could be connected to the specific manuscript that Holstenius requested Milton to transcribe from for him. That is, Holstenius may have requested Milton to transcribe from a manuscript related to poetry.

In his letter to Holstenius, Milton establishes a parallel between accessing unpublished Greek texts and accessing Rome's elite social strata. He does so via the tactile imagery and cognates of 'hand' (*manu*): the Vatican Library's 'great number of Greek authors in manuscripts' (*permultos insuper manu scriptos auctores Graecos*); Holstenius's editions of which 'are everywhere being seized by scholars' (*passim ab eruditis avidè arripiuntur*); and the powerful Cardinal Francesco Barberini who grasped Milton by the hand: 'virtually clasping me by the hand, he admitted me inside in an extremely courteous manner' (*et paene manu prehensum persane honorifice intro admiserit*) outside the Palazzo Barberini.<sup>409</sup> In his capacity as the Librarian of the Barberini Library, Holstenius was able to arrange a meeting between Milton and Cardinal Francesco Barberini; Milton tells Holstenius that the meeting 'was a consequence of your comments about me to the most excellent Cardinal Francesco Barberini' (*tu de me verba feceris ad praestantissimum Cardina[alem] Franc[iscum] Barberinum*).<sup>410</sup> Holstenius gives Milton unique access to unpublished, unedited Greek manuscripts at the Vatican Library, and he also grants Milton extraordinary

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<sup>408</sup> *EF*, pp. 148–9.

<sup>409</sup> *EF*, pp. 146–7. For Haan's comparison of Barberini clutching Milton's hand to Aeneas wishing to clutch Anchises' hand in *Aeneid* 6.697–8, see *Milton's Roman Sojourns*, p. 150. I have altered 'snapped up' to 'seized' in Haan's translation.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*

access to Cardinal Barberini. At length, Milton underlines the centrality of Holstenius's role in Milton's being granted access to Barberini himself and to unpublished Greek manuscripts. The parallel between the social occasion and the Greek scholarship is reinforced by Milton's characterisation of the opera at the Palazzo Barberini as an *ἀκρόαμα* ('an entertainment').<sup>411</sup> Milton is one out of his entire generation to view Greek codices that have 'not yet [been] beheld by our generation' (*quorum partim nostro saeculo nondum visi*) and, after the *ἀκρόαμα*, Milton is singled out from 'so great a throng' (*tanta in turba*) by Cardinal Barberini himself.<sup>412</sup> The urbanity of Milton's elegant depiction of exclusivity in the encounters between the humanist scholar and the Greek manuscript, and between the foreign visitor and the Italian elite, convey Milton's Hellenic scholarship and stylistic, elegant Atticism being simultaneously at play in *EF* 9.

### **Which Greek Manuscripts Did Milton See in Rome and Florence?**

Milton does not specify which Greek codex Holstenius has asked him to transcribe and there has been no scholarship concerning which manuscript Holstenius asked Milton to transcribe at the BML nor which manuscripts Milton may have been shown at the Vatican Library by Holstenius. So far, I have speculated that, during his visit to the Vatican Library, Milton could have been shown a manuscript of [Ps.]Scymnus's *Periodos*. Here, I will attempt to delineate other possible Greek manuscripts and codices that Milton may have encountered in Rome and Florence. The contribution that these investigations make for our understanding of Milton's Greek scholarship is that it conveys Milton's awareness of wider resources of scholarship on Greek texts in Italy which are especially important for Milton's own

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<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> *EF*, pp. 146–7.

development as an epic poet such as unpublished Homeric scholia and avant-garde Longinian scholarship.

We can gain a better sense of Holstenius's key interests with respect to Greek manuscripts in Italian libraries close to the time of Milton's visit to the BML in early 1639 thanks to Donatella Bucca's recent discovery and transcription of Holstenius's list of the Greek manuscripts that he consulted during his visit to the library of a Greek monastery in Messina on the island of Sicily—the Biblioteca del San Salvatore di Messina—in May 1637.<sup>413</sup> From Holstenius's highly selective list of fourteen Greek manuscripts he consulted, Bucca draws the conclusion that the works he was 'evidently more interested in' (*evidentemente, era più interessato*) were mainly Byzantine literature: 'the works that Lucas Holstenius is looking for are mainly works of homiletic-hagiographic literature and, to a lesser extent, theological-exegetical texts; in only one case is a historical work cited' (*le opere che Lucas Holste cerca appartengono prevalentemente alla letteratura omiletico-agiografica e, in minor misura, a quella teologico-esegetica; in un solo caso si cita un'opera storica*).<sup>414</sup> In a recent article, Miklos Péti conjectures that Milton could have gained access to valuable sources of Greek scholarship during his time in Italy. Specifically, Péti speculates that, hypothetically, it is entirely plausible that Milton could have consulted the *scholia vetera* to Homer's *Odyssey*: a body of ancient scholarship that is now referred to as the 'R'

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<sup>413</sup> Bucca, 'Lucas Holste e il «thesoro nascosto» della biblioteca del S. Salvatore di Messina'. The Greek authors Holstenius sought out were: George Hagiopolite; George of Nicomedia; Procopius Cartophylax; Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople; Peter, Bishop of Argus; Andrew of Crete; Theodotus of Ancyra; Antipater of Bostra; Anastasius Sinaitus; Euthymius Syncellus; Ecumenius; Leontius, Abbot of St. Saba; Symeon Magister; and Symeon magister and logothete. Holstenius also notes down homilies on St Anna and two hagiographical texts dedicated to St Peter and St Paul. Bucca's transcription of Holste's catalogue from his visit to the Biblioteca del S. Salvatore di Messina in May 1637 (BAV, Barb lat. 3074, ff. 145r–146r) can be found at pp. 256–7. For a catalogue of the large number of Byzantine manuscripts held at the Biblioteca di San Salvatore di Messina, see Mancini, *Codices graeci monasteri messanensis S. Salvatoris*. Milton apparently intended to travel from Naples to Sicily and Greece. Sicily was historically part of Magna Graecia. Could the Biblioteca di San Salvatore di Messina have been on Milton's scholarly itinerary of Sicily?

<sup>414</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

scholia which were first published in 1819. In his discussion concerning whether Milton could have been aware that the beginning of Homer's *Odyssey* once constituted a distinct and separate poem, the *Telemachiad*—a theory which is expounded in the 'R' scholia and which spurred the development of the "Analyst" school of Homeric criticism in the twentieth century—Péti observes a tantalising, circumstantial fortuity:

interestingly, however, the so-called 'R' scholia, one of the Greek codices containing parts of the *scholia vetera* is in the holdings of the Laurentian Library in Florence (Plut. 57.32). In theory Milton might have seen this volume: we know from his correspondence with Lukas Holste that he was interested in Greek manuscripts, and that upon his return from Rome to Florence he intended to visit the Laurentian Library at Holste's behest.<sup>415</sup>

By examining Holstenius's many references to and discussion of Greek manuscripts held at the Vatican Library and the Barberini Library in Rome and the BML in Florence—including the *scholia vetera* to Homer's epics—I attempt to narrow down the possible Greek manuscripts that Holstenius could have shown Milton at the Vatican Library as well as hypothesize which (most likely Greek) manuscript(s) Holstenius asked Milton to consult and transcribe at the BML. The reason for attempting to expand our understanding of which Greek manuscripts, Greek authors, and Greek scholars Milton could have encountered during his travels in Italy from 1638–39 is that such questions potentially illuminate a crucial blind spot in the historical documentation of Milton's activities in Italy which are central to our understanding of the development of Milton's Hellenism in Italy.

How did Milton's exposure to cutting-edge Hellenic scholarship, and the opportunities to study Greek texts which were only available in manuscript in Italian libraries, contribute to his poetic and intellectual development in this period? Milton gained a reputation for being *doctus poeta* at the Italian academies. In this epithet, Hale finds that

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<sup>415</sup> Péti, 'Milton's New Hero', p. 467, n. 30. I discuss Péti's article again in Chapter 4 below.



this complimentary epithet had a Hellenic significance to it because '*doctus poeta* originally meant that a Latin poet was correctly and fully imitating the best Greek models' such as the 'learned Alexandrians like Callimachus'.<sup>416</sup> This is evidenced by the minutes of a meeting on Thursday 6/16 September 1638 at the Accademia degli Svogliati where Milton and his Latin poetry is singled out for its superlative erudition:

A di 16 di Settembre  
furano lett' alcune compositioni e ***particolarmente*** il Giovanni Miltono Inglese lesse una poesia Latina di versi esametri ***molto erudita***.

Minutes of 16 September  
Some compositions were read and ***in particular*** John Milton, Englishman, read a ***very erudite*** Latin poem of hexameter verses.<sup>417</sup>

Having just undertaken a period of five years of self-imposed study of many Greek texts at home in Horton and Hammersmith (and potentially at nearby libraries like the Kedermister Library and Eton College Library), it seems to be highly unlikely that Milton would have passed over opportunities for developing his Hellenic scholarship when he could access the unrivalled collections of libraries in Italy, especially with Holstenius's help in gaining him access to these libraries.<sup>418</sup>

Alfonso Mirto writes of Holstenius serving as a 'cultural mediator' (*mediatore culturale*) in Rome who grants foreign visitors like Milton 'further privileges, especially in being able to visit the libraries that hold ancient codices' (*di ulteriori privilegi soprattutto nell'essere messo nella condizione di visitare le biblioteche depositarie di codici antichi*).<sup>419</sup>

The principal example that Mirto gives of Holstenius's ability to grant access to foreigners to

<sup>416</sup> Hale, 'The Roles of Latinism in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*', p. 45.

<sup>417</sup> Haan, *From Academia to Amicitia*, p. 19. Trans. by Haan.

<sup>418</sup> On Milton's potential use of libraries during the Horton period, see Jones, "'Filling in a Blank in the Canvas": Milton, Horton, and the Kedermister Library', and Poole, *OW* 11:15–22.

<sup>419</sup> Mirto, *Lucas Holstenius e la corte medicea*, p. 30.

libraries (which would otherwise be nearly impossible to access) is Holstenius's letter to Doni dated 16 February 1641, approximately two years after *EF* 9. Mirto relates how, in Holstenius's letter to Doni, Holstenius states that he recently requested the German scholar Gronovius to undertake research for him at the BML, just as Holstenius commissioned Milton to undertake a similar task for him at the BML too. Holstenius told Doni that he requested Gronovius to collate different manuscripts of Livy at the BML.<sup>420</sup>

With respect to the *veteres scholia* held at the BML—the 'R' scholia to Homer's *Odyssey* (Plut.57.32) and the 'bT' scholia to Homer's *Iliad* (Plut. 32.3)—even though they were not published until the nineteenth century, this does not at all mean that they were not consulted until then.<sup>421</sup> In fact, Holstenius makes many references in his scholarship to consulting this specific body of unpublished Homeric scholia. Holstenius's references to unedited, unpublished Homeric commentaries at the Vatican Library as well as the 'R' scholia to Homer at the BML (Plut. 57.32) were discussed by the German Classical scholar Johann Albert Fabricius (1669–1736). In his voluminous *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1705–29), Fabricius discusses Holstenius's access to the unedited Homeric scholia held at the BML:

Lucas quoque Holstenius de vita et scriptis Porphyrii cap. 7.244. cum Porphyrii in Homerum commentaria e Macrobio et Eustathio commemorasset, observat ineditum Scholiasten Vaticanum saepius usum Porphyrii auctoritate, praeter ea aliorum scholiorum ἀνεκδότων specimen in primos Iliadis versus adfert e MSto Codice Florentino Mediceo. Idem Holstenius scholiasten ineditum Mediceum in Homerum passim laudat in notis ad Stephanum. Sed et apud Labbeum p. 372. Bibl. nou. MSS. mentio sit Scholiorum longe accuratissimorum et antiquissimorum in decem libros Homeri numquam in lucem editorum.

Lucas Holstenius too, in *On the Life and Writings of Porphyry* (chapter.7.244), when he discusses Porphyry's commentary on Homer (and those by Macrobius and Eustathius), Holstenius observes that the unedited scholiast of the Vatican was frequently used as an authority by Porphyry. Together with these *unpublished* [ἀνεκδότων] scholiasts, Holstenius presents an example of a commentary on the first lines of the *Iliad* which he sourced from a

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88. Mirto's transcription of the Holstenius–Doni correspondence is from Doni, *Commercium Litterarum*, coll.146–7.

<sup>421</sup> On BML Plut.32.3, see Montana, 'The Oldest Textual Witness of John Tzetzes' *Exegesis of the Iliad*'.

manuscript codex held at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana [i.e. BML, Plut. 32.3]. Holstenius praises the same, unedited, Medicean scholiast on Homer throughout his notes on Stephanus of Byzantium.<sup>422</sup> Also, in Labbe (p. 372),<sup>423</sup> there is a mention of the highly perceptive, most ancient [Medicean] scholia which have never been edited and published.<sup>424</sup>

Milton's rival, Alexander Morus (1616–1670), who was the Professor of Greek at Geneva (but removed from his post due to a sexual scandal which Milton viciously and relentlessly exploits in *Pro Se Defensio* (1655)), praises the same Homeric, Medicean manuscripts that Holstenius does.<sup>425</sup> In his 'Dissertation on the unedited Homeric scholia' (*Dissertatio de scholiis in Homerum ineditis*), the eighteenth-century Dutch Classical scholar Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715–1785) records the superlative praise of both Alexander Morus and Lucas Holstenius for the unpublished Homeric scholia held at the BML:

*Alexander autem Morus in notis ad Matth. XII.v.40 et in Ep. Pauli ad Eph. 1. 19. memorat Scholia Bibliothecae Mediceae optima et antiquissima in Homerum [...] Ex eodem Codice Mediceo, quem Morus versavit, repetita videntur a Luca Holstenio.*<sup>426</sup>

Moreover, Alexander More (in his notes to Matthew and Paul's Letter to the Ephesians) recounts "the best and most ancient scholia on Homer held at the Biblioteca Medicea" [...] From the same Medicean codex which More reflected upon, it seems that the same sentiments were repeated by Lucas Holstenius.

Here is one example of Holstenius quoting from the 'R' scholia held at the BML in his translation and commentary to Stephanus of Byzantium in his gloss to the word ἰωλκός:

**Homeri Scholiastes MS. In Bibliotheca Medicea [Laurentiana]:** ἔξ Αἰόλου Κριθοῦς, ὃς Ἰώλκον κατέσχε Πελασγούς ὀκβαλῶν. Τούτου δὲ οἱ παιῖδες Πελίας μὴν ἄμα ἴασονι Ἰωλὸν ὤκουν. Νηλεὺς Πύλον σὺν Ἀμαθόνι. Φέρης δὲ Φεράς.<sup>427</sup>

<sup>422</sup> Published posthumously.

<sup>423</sup> Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca MSS. Librorum* (Paris, 1653), p. 372: '*scholia longè accuratissima & antiquissima in decem libros Homeri nusquam in lucem edita, Callimachi codex antiquissimus cum glossis interlinearibus doctissimis, nec antea excusis, Pindari codex vetustissimus & optimus elegantissima manu exaratus cum scholiis Græcis doctissimis hactenus ineditis*'.

<sup>424</sup> Fabricius, *Notitia scriptorum veterum graecorum*, vol. 1, p. 401.

<sup>425</sup> On Milton's denigration of More's licentiousness in *Pro Se Defensio*, see Fallon, *Milton's Peculiar Grace*, pp. 167–71.

<sup>426</sup> Valckenaer, *Scholiis vetustis Porphyrii et aliorum*, pp. 106–7.

<sup>427</sup> Holstenius, *Notae et castigationes postumae in Stephani Byzantii*, p. 152.

Motivated by his investigations into Porphyry's Homeric scholarship, Holstenius traces the bodies of ancient Homeric scholarship that Porphyry had read. In these investigations, Holstenius found that Porphyry made great use of the ancient commentators of Homer that are held in a codex at the Vatican Library. Holstenius also presents material from other Homeric scholiasts held in the BML and at other libraries in Florence.

In his commentary to his edition of Porphyry (Rome, 1630), the edition which Haan argues persuasively was the book Milton was most likely given (rather than Holstenius's edition of *Demophili Democratis et Secundi* (Rome, 1638) or the Holstenius–Allatius edition of the Neoplatonist philosopher Sallustius (Rome, 1638)), Holstenius mentions the Homeric scholia held at the Vatican Library. Holstenius praises the Homeric *veteres scholia* at the BML as 'learned works' (*eruditio operis*) and he recounts when Giovanni Baptista Doni showed him other examples of ancient scholiasts on Homer's epics at the Palazzo Salviati, the home of the Duke Salviati in Florence: 'there exists ancient scholia on Homer in Florence at the palazzo of the Duke Salviata which are anonymous and worn out by age in many places [...] the most erudite investigator of antiquity, Giovanni Baptista Doni, shared them with me' (*extare Florentiæ apud Ducem Salviatum scholia antiqua in Poëtam, ἀδέσποτα et multis in locis vetustate exesa [...] eruditissimus antiquitatis peruestigator Ioannes Bapt. Donius mecum communicavit*).<sup>428</sup> This evidence of the exchange and research of Greek scholarship taking place outside of the Italian libraries and within palazzi could provide an insight into Milton's possible exposure to Greek manuscripts outside the walls of the Vatican Library and the BML. There is ample evidence of Milton attending meetings of the Accademia degli

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<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

Svogliati (within the vicinity of the Palazzo Salviati) in Florence in July–September 1638 and in March 1639, and it is possible that Milton’s recommendation of Doni to Holstenius—the same man who showed Holstenius the Homeric scholia at the Palazzo Salviati—might be related to other potential exchanges on Greek scholarship between the two within academic circles in Florence.<sup>429</sup> Milton’s recommendation of Doni may not be purely circumstantial—he just happens to be in town—but it may have been spurred by Milton’s knowledge of Doni’s familiarity with the Greek codex which Holstenius wishes to be (partly) transcribed for him.<sup>430</sup> *EF* 9 suggests that, for Milton, locating the manuscript was not the issue, but rather the rules barring him from transcribing the manuscript was the key obstacle. It was the issue of not being allowed to bring writing tools and not having permission to transcribe from the Greek codex (rather than finding the Greek manuscript itself) that was the problem for Milton at the BML. Numerous contacts whom Holstenius requested to undertake scholarly tasks for him at the BML include the Scottish scholar David Colvill. As Joseph Bottkol observes, Colvill was also sent on a transcription errand to the BML by Holstenius in October 1627, but Colvill explicitly states that he was not successful because he simply could not find the manuscript at the BML: ‘there are eight letters from one “Davidus Coillus, Scotus”; the first of these (October 1627) resembles Milton’s letter in that Holstenius had sent Colvill, like Milton, on a scholarly errand in the Medicean Library at Florence. He was no more successful there than Milton, and complains bitterly of the library index which is *nec ordine*

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<sup>429</sup> Milton’s attendance at these meetings is recorded in Florence, National Central Library, Magliabecchiana MS cl. IX 60 fols. 46<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>r</sup> and fols. 52<sup>r</sup>–52<sup>v</sup>. On Milton’s activities at the Accademia degli Svogliati, see Haan, *Academia to Amicitia*, pp. 10–28.

<sup>430</sup> On Milton and Doni, see Schleiner, ‘Milton, G.B. Doni and the Dating of Doni’s Works’.

*alphabeto sed per pluteos* [‘not arranged in alphabetical order but by the order of the shelves’].<sup>431</sup>

In contrast to Colvill and many of Holstenius’s other correspondents who were sent on transcription errands to the BML, Milton does *not* complain in *EF* 9 that he could not find the manuscript. Instead, Milton reports that he was simply not allowed to transcribe it because writing tools are not permitted without prior permission. Therefore, one might infer from Milton’s choice to recommend Doni to undertake the manuscript that Doni was familiar with the manuscript in question and that he could locate it in the dizzyingly complex index of the BML that Colvill complains of. What is more, the fact that Milton recommends Doni in the same breath that he highlights the fact that Doni is the newly appointed Professor of Greek at the University of Florence could suggest that Milton is acknowledging that the manuscript demanded the skills of a Greek scholar.

Just as Holstenius described how Doni introduced Holstenius to the Homeric scholia held at the BML, similarly, in the same edition of Porphyry of 1630, Holstenius also mentions that Leo Allatius showed him manuscripts held at the Vatican Library of unpublished manuscript material pertaining to Longinus, including unpublished texts concerning meter.<sup>432</sup> With respect to Holstenius’s scholarly and social circle in Rome, Milton too may have been familiar with Holstenius’s scholarly collaborator and fellow librarian, the native Greek scholar Leo Allatius. With respect to the French artist Nicholas Poussin (1594–1665)

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<sup>431</sup> Bottkol, ‘Milton’s Letter to Holstenius’, pp. 618–19. Like Doni, Colvill also lectured Greek. Following his death in Milan in 1629, the Greek manuscript materials that Colvill had gathered were donated to the Ambrosian Library in Milan. On Colvill’s Greek scholarship in Italy in the late 1620s, see Worthington, *Scots in the Habsburg Service, 1618–1648*, p. 56. On the activities of Scottish scholars at libraries across Europe, see Philo, ‘English and Scottish Scholars at the Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli’, as well as Philo’s ongoing research for his four-year, UKRI project, ‘English and Scottish Scholars and the Global Library: From Aleppo to Massachusetts (1500–1700)’.

<sup>432</sup> Holstenius, *De vita Porphyrii*, p. 40.

who was a prominent member of the Barberini circle during Milton's time in Rome, Marjorie Garber asks: 'Did he meet Poussin? It is impossible to say. But in so small and intense a cultural circle they knew many of the same people'.<sup>433</sup> Likewise, although it is impossible to say whether Milton knew Allatius, they were certainly part of the same scholarly circle and frequented the same academies in Rome. If it is the case that Milton knew Allatius, then Milton could plausibly have been aware of Allatius's avant-garde scholarship on the Longinian sublime which the native Greek scholar vividly calls attention to in his Greek poem for the volume *Applausi poetici alle glorie della signora Leonora Baroni* (Rome, 1639) (see Appendix B).<sup>434</sup> Although Milton's three Leonora poems were not included in the volume, Haan in particular has shown the manifold ways that Milton's Leonora poems were nevertheless closely informed by other poems in the collection.<sup>435</sup> Allatius collaborated closely with Holstenius on numerous editions of Greek texts such the *editio princeps* of the Neoplatonist philosopher Sallustius's *De diis et mundo* (Rome, 1638) mentioned above because Allatius translated it and Holstenius wrote the commentary.<sup>436</sup>

By tracing Holstenius's references to manuscripts, it is possible to narrow down some possible "contenders" for what Holstenius may have shown Milton; namely, these are Greek

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<sup>433</sup> Garber, 'The Art of Milton and Poussin', p. 104.

<sup>434</sup> Allatius's unedited, unpublished translation, commentary, and textual notes on Longinus's *On the Sublime* can only be consulted in two manuscripts held at the Vatican Library and the Vallicelliana Library in Rome. At the Vallicelliana Library, MS Allacci XXIX contains Allatius' autograph translation, commentary, and textual notes on Longinus' *On the Sublime*. Below, I quote from the fine, eighteenth-century copy by (or for) Raffaele Vernazza (1701–1780) of Longinus's commentary; this runs from fols. 297<sup>r</sup>–378<sup>r</sup>. At the Vatican Library, Allatius's autograph manuscript of *Commentarii in librum Dionysii Longini Rhetoris de Sublimi genere orationis* can be found in MS Barb.gr.190, fols.III<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>r</sup>. Some of Allatius's Longinian scholarship features in Chapter IV, which is titled 'Very few have succeeded in speaking sublimely' (*Paucissimos in sublimi dicendi genere praestitisse*), of Allatius's published rhetorical treatise, *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo* (Rome, 1635), pp. 31–57. There is scant scholarship on Allatius's Longinian scholarship, however, see Fumaroli, 'Crépuscule de l'enthousiasme au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle'; Refini, 'Longinus and Poetic Imagination in Late Renaissance Literary Theory', p. 36; and the ongoing research of Olivia Montepaone on Allatius and his Longinian scholarship.

<sup>435</sup> Haan, *Milton's Roman Sojourns, 1638–1639*, pp. 99–138.

<sup>436</sup> Holstenius (ed), *Sallustii Philosophi de diis et mundo*, trans. by Allatius (Rome, 1639). See *EF*, p. 141, n. 11.

works on poetics, rhetoric, and music. To illustrate this methodology, I take as an example Holstenius's references to his reading of Greek manuscripts gleaned from the collection at the Barberini Library. In *De vita Pythagorae* (Rome, 1630)—the book that Holstenius most likely gave to Milton—Holstenius cites a scholium that can only be sourced from a single codex at the Barberini Library:

ubi scholium graecum. Κάνων ἐστὶ μέτρον ὀρθότητος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ψόφοις συμμετριῶν. ἢ μέτρον ὀρθότητος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ψόφοις ἡρμοσμένων διαφορῶν, αἱ θεωροδν[αί] ἐν λόγοις ἀριθμῶν ita Ms. Codex graecorum musicorum, quem Illustrissimi Card. Barberini instructissima bibliotheca mihi suppeditavit.<sup>437</sup>

The Greek scholium which Holstenius quotes is sourced from a 'manuscript codex of Greek Music' (*MS. Codex graecorum musicorum*) that he consulted at the 'most well-endowed library of the Illustrious Cardinal Barberini' (*Illustrissimi Card. Barberini instructissima bibliotheca bibliotecha*), and Holstenius can therefore only be referring to Barb.gr.257, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, now held at the Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)).<sup>438</sup> On this specific folio, one can find the precise scholium (to the right of the main body of text) which Holstenius has quoted *verbatim* in page 99 of his edition of Porphyry (1630).

In his edition of Milton's Commonplace Book, Poole states that one collection of scholarship and books that Milton certainly sent back to England from Venice was related to music: 'when in Italy himself, Milton sent back more than one case of books purchased there, including music books'.<sup>439</sup> With his strong interests in music, and bearing in mind his friendship with Doni—the foremost scholar of ancient Greek music and harmonics—could an unpublished codex on music (like the 'MS Graecorum Musicorum' at the Barberini

<sup>437</sup> Holstenius, *De vita Pythagorae*, p. 99.

<sup>438</sup> The Greek manuscripts in the Barberini Library were held there until 1902 when they were all sold to the Vatican Library, hence the shelf mark of Barb.gr. for items from this collection which Holstenius had once been the custodian of as the Librarian of the Barberini Library.

<sup>439</sup> OW 11: 23. See also Poole, "'The Armes of Studious Retirement'"? Milton's Scholarship, 1632–1641, p. 36.



Library) mentioned in the Porphyry edition have been consulted by or shown to Milton at the Vatican Library? Which unpublished, unedited Greek manuscripts at the Vatican Library might Holstenius have shown Milton? Although the exact identity of “Longinus” is unknown, Allatius and Holstenius—who both shared interests in Porphyry and Neo-Platonism—thought the author of *On the Sublime* was Cassius Longinus: Porphyry’s teacher in Athens. Holstenius discussed Longinus in his 1630 edition of Porphyry and he describes how Allatius showed Holstenius other, related, unpublished Greek manuscripts at the Vatican Library:

Longini ingenium accuratum, limatum iudicium, atque eruditionis copiam satis ostendit libellus de sublimi genere orationis, tum quaedam ἀνέκδοτα περὶ μέτρον: quae ex Vaticana bibliotheca deprompta mihi ostendit Leo Allatius, vir apprime eruditus.

The treatise on the sublime style of speech shows sufficient talent for Longinus’s sharp wit, and plenty of learning, then some *unpublished works on meter* [ἀνέκδοτα περὶ μέτρον] which Leo Allatius, the most erudite man, fetched out of the Vatican Library and showed me.<sup>440</sup>

If Allatius had shown Holstenius unpublished, Greek manuscripts concerning poetics at the Vatican Library, could Holstenius, in turn, have shown these to Milton at the Vatican Library? With respect to ‘unpublished Greek manuscripts on poetic meter’ (ἀνέκδοτα περὶ μέτρον), Holstenius may be referring to one of a number of Greek manuscripts on meter held at the Vatican Library such as Vat.gr.901, fols 120<sup>v</sup>–123<sup>v</sup>, which contains short, unpublished treatises on poetic metres.<sup>441</sup> The rare word ‘ἀνέκδοτα’ applies specifically to written works that are yet to be edited, therefore the metrical work cannot be referring to the numerous manuscripts of Hephaestion’s *Encheiridion*.<sup>442</sup> Therefore, if Milton did indeed receive from

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<sup>440</sup> Holstenius, *De vita Porphyrii*, p. 40.

<sup>441</sup> On the unpublished works on metre in BAV Vat.gr.901, see Koster, *Tractatus graeci de re metrica inedita*, pp. 103–105.

<sup>442</sup> See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 5.4.73: I bequeath him [Lyco] two minas and my published writings, while **those which have not been given to the world** I entrust to Callinus, that he may carefully edit them (καὶ δύο μνᾶς αὐτῷ δίδωμι καὶ τὰ μὰ θιβλία τὰ ἀνεγνωσμένα· τὰ δ’ ἀνέκδοτα Καλλίνῳ ὅπως ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὰ ἐκδῶ). On Hephaestion’s *Encheiridion* and metre, see Ophuijsen, *Hephaestion on Metre: A Translation and*

Holstenius his edition of Porphyry, then Milton would instantly have been aware of who was able to provide access to precious manuscripts concerning Homeric and Longinian scholarship and where they could be found. We cannot know for certain if Milton met Allatius but, from reading Holstenius's edition of Porphyry, he would have been aware of his scholarship.

There is evidence that Holstenius was working directly with Longinian manuscripts, specifically a Longinian manuscript at the BML with the title *On the sublime by an Unknown Author (De altitudine incerti auctoris)*.<sup>443</sup> This is because, at the BML Holstenius had himself written at the front of a codex containing unedited Longinian manuscripts in red ink (see Fig. 13). In a codex of Greek manuscripts of authors writing about the sublime, *De altitudine incerti auctoris* (Plut.28.30), Holstenius has written at the top: *Longini de sublimi genere dicendi*. In the eighteenth-century catalogue of Greek manuscripts, Angelo Maria Bandini (1726-1803) identified Holstenius as the annotator to the Greek codex containing authors writing on the sublime: 'huius opusculi, vere aurei, Holstenii manus rubris litteris titulum reddidit: Λογγίνου περι ὑψους λόγου. Longini de sublimi genere dicendi'.<sup>444</sup> As discussed above, Holstenius was particularly piqued by poor copyists of manuscripts, and it seems that this Longinian manuscript was no exception because Bandini also notes that 'this manuscript, however, appears to have been written with an ignorant pen because it is riddled with so many orthographical errors' (*nostrum tamen exemplar rudi calamo exaratum videtur, quum plurimis orthographiae erroribus scateat*).<sup>445</sup>

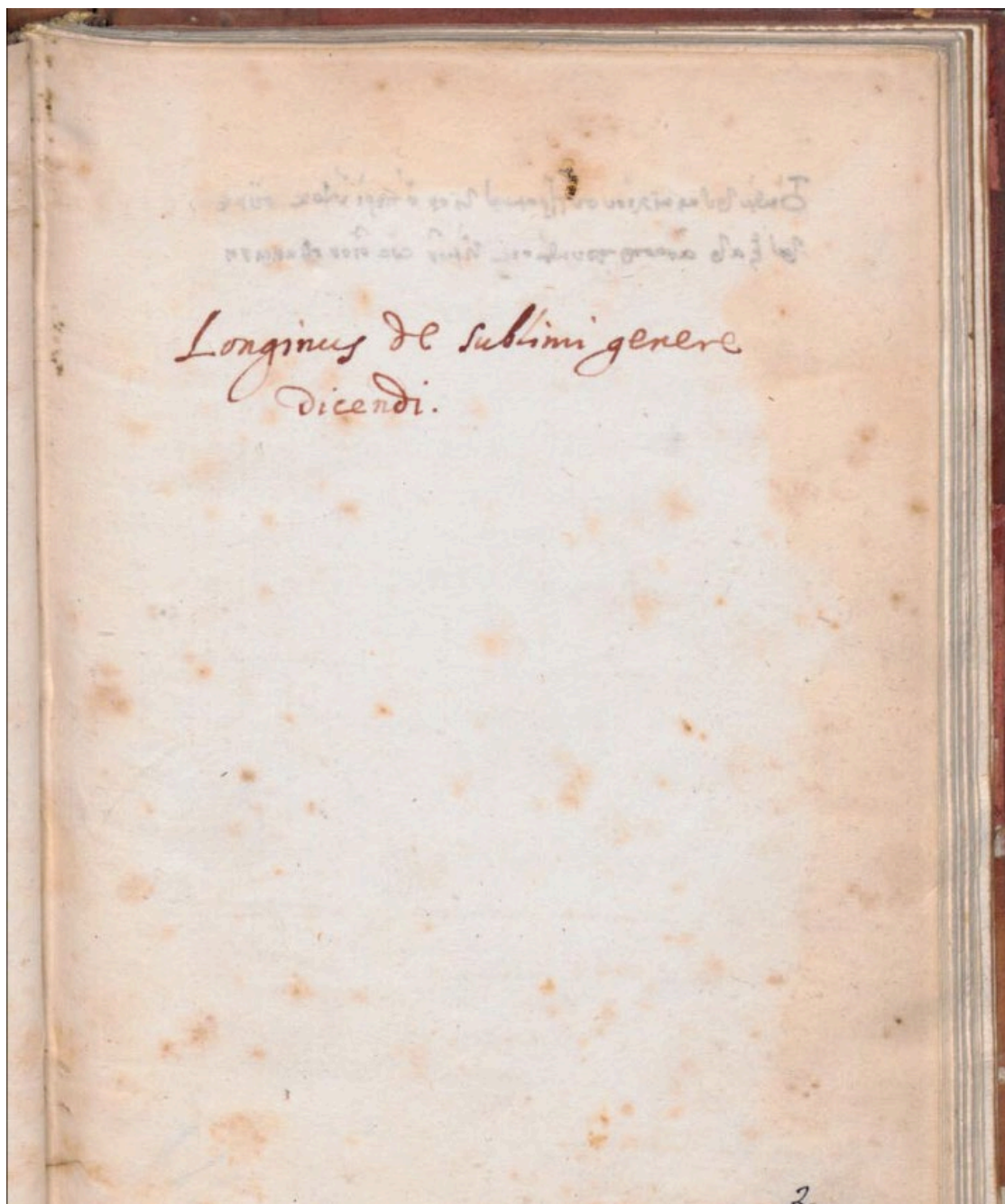
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*Commentary.* One of the Greek manuscripts of Longinus's *On the Sublime* which would have been held at the Vatican Library at the time of Milton's visit is MS.Vat.gr.285, fol.205<sup>v</sup>–233<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>443</sup> BML, Plut.28.30.

<sup>444</sup> Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae mediceae laurentianae* (Florence, 1768), vol. 2, col. 54.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 55.



**Fig. 13.** The title '*Longini de sublimi genere dicendi*' written in red ink in Holstenius's hand in a Longinian manuscript (BML, Plut.28.30, fol.2<sup>v</sup>). With permission of the Laurentian Library, Florence.

In Milton's *Second Defence* (1654), Milton states that he had originally intended to travel from Italy to Greece: 'when I was preparing to pass into Sicily **and Greece**, the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose' (*in Siciliam quoque **& Græciam** trajicere volentem me, tristis ex Anglia belli civilis nuntius*

*revocavit*).<sup>446</sup> Whether Milton had seriously intended to travel from Italy to Greece has been greatly debated. According to Parker, Milton had genuinely ‘sacrificed the voyage to Greece’ in order to return to England, passing through Geneva and a number of northern Italian cities.<sup>447</sup> However, Corns and Campbell argue that Milton had not seriously intended to go to Greece and Sicily (formerly part of *Magna Graecia*), for the very practical reason that Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire, and did not become an extension of the Grand Tour until the mid-eighteenth century. Greece was not a place for cultured travellers accustomed to travelling in comfort, and the few Englishmen who had travelled there had been disappointed [...] In short, it is neither unreasonable nor uncharitable to conclude that Milton had no serious intention of proceeding to Greece.<sup>448</sup>

Even though Milton had most probably not intended to visit Greece, he nevertheless engaged deeply in Hellenic study during his time in Italy and established ties with eminent Hellenists in Rome, namely Lucas Holstenius. But which other Hellenists could Milton have encountered in Rome? Haan carefully delineates the vast extent of Milton’s participation in the Accademia degli Umoreisti and his considerable familiarity with the tropes and imagery employed by members of the Umoreisti in their compositions.<sup>449</sup> Allatius was a very prominent member of the Accademia degli Umoreisti and Allatius was the Greek-Italian scholar who, along with Salzilli, was one of the Umoreisti’s few censors at the time that Milton was participating in the Accademia degli Umoreisti in 1638–39.<sup>450</sup> As works such as Allatius’s *On the Beliefs of the Greeks Today (De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinionibus)* (Rome, 1645) testify, Allatius (a native of Chios) was highly familiar with folklore, local

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<sup>446</sup> CPW 4:618–19; CW 8:124.

<sup>447</sup> Parker, *Milton: The Life*, vol. 1, p. 180.

<sup>448</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 122. See also Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance*; and Clavering and Shawcross, ‘Milton’s European Itinerary and his Return Home’. However, see ‘Of Statues and Antiquities’ about the practical methods of obtaining antiquities from Ottoman-ruled Greece; though of doubtful Miltonic authorship, nevertheless finds its way into Milton’s papers (CW 18:258–261).

<sup>449</sup> Haan, *Milton’s Roman Sojourns, 1638–1639*, pp. 74–88.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*

customs, and other aspects of contemporary society within different regions of Ottoman-ruled Greece.<sup>451</sup> If Milton seriously intended to travel from Italy to Greece, then he certainly would have been wise to have consulted a very close associate of Holstenius's, Allatius, who happened to be 'the most important of the seventeenth-century writers on Greek customs and tradition'.<sup>452</sup> The renown that Allatius had within the Barberini circle as a preeminent Hellenist is evidenced by the superlative praise that Holstenius himself gives in a 30 January 1649 letter to Leopoldo de' Medici:

Nelle lettere greche, che per molti anni pubblicamente insegnò nel Collegio greco, egli è senza dubbio il primo che habbia l'Europa, e scrive in prosa e verso con facilità ed eleganza al pare degli antichi [...] In somma egli è tale, che per la multiplicità e sodezza di sapere ha pochissimi pari.

With respect to Greek letters, which he taught publicly at the Greek College for many years, he is without a doubt the foremost in Europe, and he writes in prose and verse with ease and elegance just like the ancients [...] Overall, he is such that he has very few peers because of the multiplicity and erudition of his knowledge.<sup>453</sup>

Milton praises the Greek Philaras in *EF* 12 whom he regarded as a 'man in whom alone at this moment in time those most renowned skills and virtues of the Athenians of old seem after such a long period to be reborn and to blossom once more' (*in quo iam uno priscorum Atheniensium artes atque virtutes illae celebratissimae renasci tam longo interval et reflorescere videntur*).<sup>454</sup> Might Milton have been aware of or come into contact with Allatius, another Greek who, like Philaras, was reputed to be 'just like the ancients' (*al pare degli antichi*)? Other foreign visitors hosted by Holstenius certainly came into contact with Allatius. Reflecting on his experiences at the Vatican over twenty years earlier in 1660, one

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<sup>451</sup> See Hartnup, *On the Beliefs of the Greeks: Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy*.

<sup>452</sup> Montague Summers qt. by Hartnup, *On the Beliefs of the Greeks*, p. 2.

<sup>453</sup> Holstenius qt. by Mirto, *Lucas Holste e la corte medicea*, p. 25.

<sup>454</sup> *EF*, pp. 202–3.

of Milton's correspondents, Emery Bigot, describes his scholarly activities at the Vatican and states that both Holstenius and Allatius showed him a wide range of manuscripts:

Je ne puis vous exprimer la joie que j'ai recue en recevant vostre lettre du 17 Juillet de Rome. Elle m'a fait resouvenir de la satisfaction qu j'y ai eue autrefois dans les entretiens que j'avois avec Mrs. **Holsten, Allatius**, Bona et autres qui me faisoient tous l'honneur de me temoigner de l'amité. Je crois qu'il y avoit en ce temps pour le moins autant de gens scavans qu'il y en peut avoir presentement; et je puis vous assurer que j'ai trouvé aupres de ces Messieurs tout l'accès que je pouvois desirer, et la facilité a me prester les MSS plus grande que je voiois qu'il n'avoient point pour d'autres personnes. Cela provenoit de ce que ces Messieurs connoissoient les MSS et ce qui estoit contenu dans les MSS et ainsi ils ne faisoient point de difficulté de me prester les MSS qu'ils savoient ne pouvoir servir que pour l'utilité publique.

I cannot express to you the joy I received from receiving your letter of 17<sup>th</sup> July from Rome. It reminded me of the satisfaction I once had in my conversations I had with **Holstenius, Allatius**, Bona and others who all did me the honour of giving me their friendship. At that time [1660], I believe there were at least as many scholars as there can be presently. And, through these gentlemen, I can assure you that I found all the access that I could desire—and the facility to lend me—manuscripts far greater than any that they could have shared for other people. This was because these gentlemen knew the manuscripts, what was contained in them, and therefore they had no difficulty in providing me with the manuscripts which they knew could only be used for public utility.<sup>455</sup>

In *EF* 21 (24 March 1656), Milton helps Bigot in trying to track down the holograph manuscript of a medieval tract on parliaments, *De modo tenendi Parlamenta*, by sending an assistant to the Tower of London to enquire who, Milton informs Bigot, could not find it: 'his reply is that no copy of that book is extant among those records' (*respondit is nullum exemplar illius libri iis in monumentis exstare*).<sup>456</sup> Bigot produced word lists for Du Cange in his editorial work of a series of texts from Byzantine history drawn largely from the Royal Library's manuscripts.<sup>457</sup>

<sup>455</sup> Emery Bigot to Jean Mabillon (Rouen, 7 August 1685). Bigot qt. by Doucette, *Emery Bigot*, p. 22. The autograph manuscript of Bigot's letter to Mabillon is Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Böll. Brevs N° 116.

<sup>456</sup> *EF*, pp. 298–9.

<sup>457</sup> On Emery Bigot's role in Du Cange's Byzantine scholarship, see Teresa Shawcross, 'Editing, Lexicography, and History under Louis XIV: Charles Du Cange and *La byzantine du Louvre*', p. 159.

Throughout his translation and commentary of Longinus's *On the Sublime* (which currently lies among Allatius's unpublished manuscript works at the Vallicelliana Library), Allatius makes references to the political situation in contemporary Greece. For example, in *On the Sublime* 44.3, Stephen Halliwell explains that the speaker (an unknown philosopher) offers a condemnation in 'a vein of cutting sarcasm' of 'the ingrained servitude of contemporary minds' where the anonymous speaker 'is depicted at the negative extreme of the spectrum of Greek self-awareness of being 'slaves' of Rome'.<sup>458</sup> In response to this passage within his commentary, Allatius appeals to Francesco Barberini (the brother of Pope Urban VIII), to free Greece from subjugation under the Ottoman Empire: 'I beg you, most excellent man, by that flag, which your brother has successfully won in the fight against the Turks, to avenge this Virgin from a shameless man' (*oro te vir prestantissime per vexillum illud, quod frater tuus in pugna contra Turcas feliciter reportavit, Virginem hanc ab impudico homine vindica*).<sup>459</sup> Allatius implored European dignitaries to liberate Greece from Ottoman rule, demonstrated most extensively and powerfully in his Greek epic poem, *Hellas* (1642), in which he recounts the devastation that Greece has faced under the Ottoman Empire.<sup>460</sup> In the preface to *De templis graecorum recentioribus* (1645), Allatius laments the current state of Greece 'in the most bitter servitude' (*in acerbissima servitudine*) and especially protesting religious oppression (*religionis oppresione*). For example, Allatius protests against the 'most iniquitous inhumanity' (*iniquissima immanitate*) of Ottoman laws in Greece that they, 'with the most severe punishments enforced, proclaim that any new temple of worship

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<sup>458</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Pseudo-Longinus: On the Sublime*, pp. 437–8.

<sup>459</sup> Vallicelliana Library, MS Allacci XXIX, fols. 350–1. The 'Virgin' refers to Greece' and the 'shameless man' refers to the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>460</sup> Allatius, *Hellas: in natales Delphini Gallici* (Rome, 1642). For commentary and Italian translation of *Hellas*, see Rotolo (ed.), *Il carme "Hellas" di Leone Allacci*, and for commentary and English translation of a section of *Hellas*, see Zoras et al., 'Greece', in *The Hellenizing Muse*.

must *not* be built in the future' (*gravissimis etiam poenis impositis, edicunt, nullam in posterum de novo divinam domum extruendam*).<sup>461</sup>

The language Allatius uses in describing his scholarship, unearthing texts that bring Socrates' own voice itself back from the abyss, is strikingly similar to Milton's own descriptions in *EF* 9 of scholarly activity in Rome. First, Allatius emphasises the act of reviving and bringing antiquity back to life; and secondly, it depicts the act of scholarly activity as entering into forbidden, sacred spaces:

Virorum sapientissimi Socratis **renascentes meo cultu**, ac studio Epistolas, quibus offerem potiùs, quàm Vobis, nobilissimi, doctissimique Puteani [...] tamquam Antistites mysteria colitis, dispensatisque ex arbitrio, ac natu; ut si quis **in Musarum sacrarium Vobis inconsultis penetrare aveat**, aut illarum tholis quicquam suspendare [dona], is aequè imprudenter.

The letters which I offer rather to you, the most noble and learned Pierre Dupuy, of Socrates, the most wise of men, are **reborn through my labour** and exertion[.] Just like a high priest, you practice **secret rites marking a birth**, and you regulate them out of your judgement; for if anyone craved **to penetrate into the shrine of the Muses without your permission**, or if anyone desired to hang [gifts] in domes of the Muses, he would be acting imprudently.<sup>462</sup>

Like Allatius, Milton compares Holstenius's editorial work on Greek manuscripts to the birthing process which is 'demanding the agile hands the "midwifery" of the printer' (*expeditas modo typographi manus et μαιευτικήν*) and, like Allatius's evocation of intruding a sacred shrine is similar to the underlying meaning of Milton's quotation from Callimachus's *Hymn to Demeter* in *EF* 9 where Haan explains that 'the significance of the original context may not have been lost on an addressee highly versed in Greek literature' where Demeter's 'sacred grove is suddenly invaded by Erysichthon [...] if the whole is read

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<sup>461</sup> Allatius, *De templis Graecorum recentioribus*, sig. A.

<sup>462</sup> Allatius, *Socratis, Antisthenis et aliorum Socraticorum Epistulae* (Paris, 1637), pp. 3–4.



allegorically, perhaps Milton's good-humoured self-fashioning is as a violent intruder of a sacred (in this instance, Catholic) space'.<sup>463</sup> However, Tim Rood argues that, in Allatius's edition of the Socratic Letters, the scholar betrays a desperation to recover Athens—indeed, the very voice of the Athenian Socrates himself—because Allatius's dismissal of evidence to the contrary shows that 'the desire to recapture the irrecoverable past in all its fullness appear[ed] to blind Allacci'.<sup>464</sup> In turn, Milton's letter to Holstenius is striking for its likening of Holstenius's Greek scholarship to the act of revivifying the dead and his description of himself as entering unsanctioned into a sacred territory.

Together with fellow members of the Accademia degli Umoristi such as Bartolomeo Tortoletti, Domenico Benigni, Fabio Leonida, Gasparo de Simeonibus, Girolama Rocco, and, of course, Leonora Baroni herself (as the *only* female member), Allatius contributed a poem to *Applausi* and his poem is tellingly positioned just before Holstenius's; Milton's composition of three poems on Leonora Baroni also make it highly likely that the Englishman attended one of Baroni's musical performances.<sup>465</sup> The fact that Milton's three Leonora poems were not published in the *Applausi* does not mean Milton was unaware of others contributions to the volume for, as Haan explains, Milton 'may have read several of the encomia in manuscript or heard their trial performance perhaps in the academies of Rome'.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> *EF*, p. 144.

<sup>464</sup> Rood, 'Redeeming Xenophon: Historiographical Reception and the Transhistorical', p. 204.

<sup>465</sup> On the high likelihood of Milton attended one of Baroni's performances, see Campbell and Corns, p. 123; Haan, *Accademia to Amicitia*, pp. 99–117. Allatius's Leonora poem runs from pp. 195–198 and, although Holstenius's runs from pp. 201–203, there is no gap between them. There may have been a printing error in the pagination of the *Applausi*. I am very grateful to Giulio Leghissa and Raf van Rooy for their assistance in translating this extremely difficult Greek poem. On Milton and the contributors to *Applausi* who were members of the Accademia degli Umoristi, see Haan, *Milton's Roman Sojourns*, p. 76–7.

<sup>466</sup> Haan and Lewalski, 'Introductions', p. xcvi.

In the beginning of Allatius’s Leonora poem, the Greek scholar likens Leonora’s song to Orphic singing and to rain, describing how her voice ‘descended from the highest Oeagrus of the Thracian Zone, as nectar abundantly dropping with songs, from the stiff oaks wet with raindrops’ (μολών / Ζώνης κατ’ ἄκρα Θρακικῆς Οἰαγρίδην, / ἀφυσγετὸν μολπαῖσιν ἐκράναι μέλι, / φηγούς τ’ ἀγνάμπτους ὄμβρίοις βεβρεγμένους).<sup>467</sup> The imagery of dripping nectar and rainfall at the opening of his Leonora poem strongly evokes the emblem of the Umoristi—a cloud bursting into rainfall over the sea—and its motto, *REDIT AGMINE DULCI* which is a Lucretian tag from *De rerum natura* (6.637).<sup>468</sup>

In one passage of Allatius’s Leonora poem (see Appendix C), Allatius appears to signal to his fellow academicians specific areas of his scholarship which he applies to his Greek description of Leonora’s singing. The significance of this is that it could suggest a wider familiarity among the academicians of Allatius’s Longinian scholarship since one description in particular closely evokes Allatius’s own unpublished scholarship on the sublime effects of music upon the listeners. First, Allatius describes how Leonora’s singing was like a substance more powerful than the Lydian rock (l.39) which appears to signal to Allatius’s own scholarship on magnetism such as his treatise *De Magnete* (1625).<sup>469</sup> However, the description of Leonora’s singing as elevating the auditors could be regarded as particularly strong evidence that Allatius was signalling to his fellow academicians including Milton of his own scholarship on the Longinian sublime:

Σύμπνους πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔλκεται μετήορος,  
 ὀρμαῖσιν ἀπτίλοισιν ἀθεροδρομῶν  
 πήξας τ’ ὀπωπὰς ἠλιῶσαν πρὸς φυὴν  
 κρέμεται πέδοιο κούρανοῦ μεταίχμιον,  
 πάνπαν βίοιο τοῦ κάτω λελασμένος.

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<sup>467</sup> Il. 2–5. *Applausi*, p. 195. Oeagrus was the King of Thrace and the father of Orpheus.

<sup>468</sup> For discussion of the rain and distillation motifs in works by the Umoristi, see Haan, *Milton’s Roman Sojourns*, pp. 75–79.

<sup>469</sup> On Allatius’s *De magnete*, see Sander, ‘Magnetism for Librarians’.

Lifted off the ground, one is drawn to her songs. Rushing in the sky with featherless motions, and with fixed sight upon the golden form [i.e. the sun], he is suspended high-up midway between the ground and heaven, and he is entirely forgetful of life down below. (ll.48–52)<sup>470</sup>

Refini has already noted Allatius's definition of the sublime in musical terms, observing that, 'interestingly enough, Leone Allacci, in his definition of the sublime, evokes the wondrous power of musical sounds'.<sup>471</sup> Throughout his manuscript commentary on Longinus's *On the Sublime*, Allatius takes frequent recourse to musicology and theorising the sublime in terms of musical experiences:

Cantu enim Musices, atque modulatione ita incibamur [...]atque magis praestantia bona, eaque amplectamur, quem nos eo ducunt, non inviti. At non semper id accidit, multi enim vice versa in delicias ruunt, et ita aficientur [...] et animo erigi sed abiectissime corripi, et spiritum altiora pesentem, in anius et deterius, quam mulierculae humi affigere. Huis causa non est natura, non est vis ipsa musices, sed pravus animus mollis atque affaeminatus, et qui nullo, nec Musices, nec aliarum scientiarum subsidio potest elevari.

We are initiated by the music, and by the modulation [...] that we embrace those greater and more excellent goods, and embrace those which lead us there unreluctantly. But this does not always happen. On the contrary, many rush into pleasures and they are so affected by them that they are not lifted up in their soul, but rather they become most abject, and their spirits are weighed down more deeply, and their spirits become older and poorer than those of mere women [*mulierculae*] who are fixed to the ground. The cause of this is not nature, it is not the power of music itself, but rather the cause is a depraved, soft, and effeminate mind which cannot be elevated by any aid: neither music nor other sciences.<sup>472</sup>

The elevated auditors in Allatius's Greek Leonora poem are raised from the ground, complimenting his fellow academicians whose spirits are not weighed down. The sublime effects of music experienced by his fellow academicians at the musical performance of Leonora Baroni are like those who are elevated and no longer fixed to the ground that

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<sup>470</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>471</sup> Refini, "'Soni Fiunt Suaviores': Musical Implications in the Early Modern Reception of Longinus", 248–9.

<sup>472</sup> Vallicelliana Library, MS Allacci XXIX, fols. 406<sup>r</sup>–407<sup>v</sup>. Refini only includes extracts from fol. 58<sup>r</sup>, fol. 228<sup>v</sup>, and fol.365<sup>v</sup> of this manuscript in "'Soni Fiunt Suaviores'", pp. 257–8.

Allatius writes of in his Longinian commentary, unlike men who have 'soft and effeminate minds' (*animus mollis atque affaeminatus*) whose spirits are like those of 'mere women' (*mulierculae*) which are 'fixed to the ground' (*humi affigere*). This comparison between Allatius's presentation of the effect of Leonora's singing and its similarities with Allatius's discussion of music in his manuscript commentary to Longinus could indicate a wider awareness among the academicians of the keynotes of Allatius's scholarship on the Longinian sublime. If this is the case, then it could suggest that the tenets of Allatius's Greek scholarship were familiar to his fellow academicians, including John Milton, which would mark a potential, early stage to Milton's engagement with scholarship on the Longinian sublime via Allatius while the English poet resided in Rome.

### Chapter 3: Polemic, Politics, and Greek Texts (1645-1660)

#### 3.1: Marshall's Ignorant Hand: the 1645 Poems Frontispiece and the Title Page of Gerard Langbaine's First Edition of Longinus (1636)

In Chapter 2, Milton's development as a scholar-poet is recognised from his correspondence with Holstenius where Milton showcases his Greek scholarship in providing a new, original textual reading of Callimachus as part of his effort to figure himself as a *doctus poeta*: a reputation he clearly gained while in Italy as shown by the minutes from the Accademia degli Svogliati which praise Milton specifically for his erudition. Chapter 3 begins with an example (though greatly overlooked) example of Milton's self-fashioning as a *doctus poeta* which he achieves specifically through Greek. I will show the surprising ways that Longinian scholarship pervades Milton's self-presentation in the frontispiece of his *1645 Poems* and the ways that Milton's references to contemporary, Longinian scholarship is interwoven in his self-portrait as a scholar-poet or *doctus poeta*.

John Milton's *1645 Poems* opens with the famously sub-par engraved portrait of Milton by the engraver William Marshall which the poet hated so much that he penned a Greek epigram beneath expressing his disapproval of Marshall's work (see Fig. 14). Although Milton refers to his displeasure with Marshall's engraving elsewhere in his writings such as in *Pro se defensio* (1655), Milton's resentment towards Marshall's engraved portrait is expressed most vividly in his Greek epigram.<sup>473</sup> Milton's attacks on Morus in *Pro Se Defensio*

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<sup>473</sup> *'Narcissus nunc sum ; quia te depingente nolui Cyclops esse; quia tu effigiem mei dissimillimam, præfixam poematibus vidisti. Ego verò si impulsu & ambitione Librarii, me imperito Sc[u]ptori, propterea quòd in urbe alius eo belli tempore non erat' ('Now I am Narcissus because I did not wish to be a Cyclops, though you so depicted me, and because you have seen a picture totally unlike me "prefixed to my poems." But if, at the suggestion and solicitation of a bookseller, I suffered myself to be crudely engraved by an unskilful engraver because there was no other in the city at that time')* CW 9:124; CPW 4:750–1.

are inundated with puns on engraving where, as James Grantham Turner puts it, ‘Milton Iconoclastes scratches through the bad plate, defacing the man who defaced his precious self-image’.<sup>474</sup>



**Fig. 14.** Portrait Frontispiece of *Poems* (1645) (Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, M2160 Copy 1). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

But why does Milton choose to write this epigram about Marshall in Greek? The widely held reason is that, by composing the epigram in Greek, Milton could exploit Marshall's ignorance of Greek and force him to engrave an insult about his own skills as an engraver. The standard reading of Milton's Greek epigram is that its punchline derives from the fact that Marshall

<sup>474</sup> Turner, 'Elisions and Erasure', p. 34.

has (due to his ignorance of Greek) unwittingly engraved an epigram that mocks his very own inadequacy as an engraver:

Ἄμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα  
 Φαίης τάχ' ἄν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφύες βλέπων·  
 Τὸν δ' ἔκτυπῶτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγνόντες, φίλοι,  
 Γελάτε φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου.

This image is drawn by an ignorant hand,  
 You might say, if you look at the natural shape.  
 Thus, if you do not recognise the engraved person, my friends,  
 Then laugh at the poor imitation by the careless artist.<sup>475</sup>

The recent edited-volume *Making Milton: Print, Authorship, Afterlives* continues to corroborate the long-standing, critical view of Milton's Greek epigram as first and foremost a practical joke exploiting the engraver's ignorance of Greek: 'the fact that Marshall engraved these lines confirms that he had no Greek, and the cheeky move is suggestive of how Milton worked with and against stationers in order to promote both his authorial status and his personal politics'.<sup>476</sup> I do not seek to deny that this is the primary motivation of Milton's epigram (which is influenced by similar epigrams about portraiture in the Greek Anthology), but instead to provide a new and supplementary reading that highlights the scholarly bite of Milton's Greek epigram.

Although Milton's Greek epigram is most commonly compared with examples of epigrams on the theme of poor artists in the Greek Anthology (as the eighteenth-century Classical scholar Charles Burney (1726-1814) did when he insisted that 'this epigram is far inferior to those which are preserved in the Greek *Anthologia*, on Bad Painters'), comparing

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<sup>475</sup> Milton, 'In Effigiei Ejus Sculptorem', trans. by Stefan Weise in *The Hellenizing Muse*, p. 532. I have modified Weise's translation in two places by changing 'incompetent' to 'ignorant' as well as 'depicted' to 'engraved'.

<sup>476</sup> Depledge, Garrison, and Nicosia, 'What Made Milton?', p. 3.

Milton's Greek epigram with the epigrams beneath contemporary Humanist scholars might shed more light on the generic and visual contexts of Milton's liminary epigram.<sup>477</sup>

There are contemporary examples of epigrams lambasting an artist's poor, erroneous engraving of the scholarly sitter, and in humanist contexts the complaint is intertwined with the same sitter's scholarship. For example, in Thomas Lansius's Latin epigram beneath Jakob van der Heyden's engraving of the German astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), Lansius mocks the artist's poor rendering of Kepler's portrait by joking that the earth's planetary movement through the Solar System must have pulled van der Heyden's hand in the wrong directions while engraving the portrait:

*Kepleri quae nomen habet, cur peccat imago?  
Quae tanto errori causa subesse potest?  
Scilicet est terrae Keppleri regula cursus  
Per vim hic sculptoris traxerat erro manum.  
Terra utinam numquam currat semperque quiescat,  
Quo sic Keppleri peccet imago minus!*

Why is the image, which bears Kepler's name, off the mark? What can be the cause for such a great error? It is the movement of the earth, Kepler's rule: through its force, this planet had moved the hand of the engraver. If only the earth would never move and always rest, so that this way, Kepler's image would be less off the mark!<sup>478</sup>

Lansius's epigram creates a humorous image of the hapless artist van der Heyden attempting to draw an accurate portrait of the sitter—as though he were riding a hurtling rollercoaster—his hand chaotically slipping this way and that while attempting to capture Kepler's likeness in the engraving. While the motivation for the epigram comes from Lansius and perhaps also Kepler's dissatisfaction with the poor resemblance between the engraved

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<sup>477</sup> Charles Burney, qt. by Shawcross (ed.), *John Milton, 1732-1801*, p. 365.

<sup>478</sup> Lansius, 'Keppleri quae nomen habet, cur peccat imago?', trans. by Irina Tautsching. I am grateful to Irina for bringing my attention to Lansius's epigram. For engraving and science, see also Doherty, *Engraving Accuracy in Early Modern England*.



portrait and Kepler himself, the epigram is nevertheless closely tied with Kepler's astronomical scholarship.

Amy Stackhouse characterises the *φίλοι* ('friends') in Milton's epigram as an 'an exclusive coterie of learning' who are all in on the joke and, while I certainly agree that the butt of the epigram's joke is at Marshall's expense, I argue that there is more to Milton's epigram than meets the eye.<sup>479</sup> Within Milton's Greek epigram, he invokes his *φίλοι* consisting of figures such as Carlo Dati (1619-1676) who became Giovanni Battista Doni's successor to the Professorship of Greek at the University of Florence in 1648 and whose Latin encomium was printed in the 1645 *Poemata* along with Antonio Francini, Selvaggi, Giovanni Salzilli, and Giovanni Battista Manso.

There is a crucial aspect to the 1645 *Poems* frontispiece and Milton's Greek epigram which highlights the links between contemporary Greek scholarship (and specifically Longinian scholarship) and Milton's sardonic Greek epigram. Gerard Langbaine's 1636 Greek-Latin facing-page edition of Longinus was a work of cutting-edge Hellenic scholarship, serving as one of the earliest Greek-Latin editions of Longinus.<sup>480</sup> Boileau used Langbaine's edition for his 1674 French translation of Longinus, as did Joseph Hall for his 1652 English translation. Milton's reference to Longinus in *Of Education* (1644) is one of the earliest instances in English Literature that Longinus is explicitly cited.<sup>481</sup> Upon opening the first edition of Langbaine's Longinus, there is an impressive engraving by none other than William Marshall (see Fig. 15).

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<sup>479</sup> Stackhouse, 'The Damnation of Excessive Praise', p. 182.

<sup>480</sup> For discussion of the Langbaine's Longinus, see Vozar, 'An English Translation of Longinus in the Lansdowne Collection at the British Library', and Lazarus, 'Sublimity by Fiat'.

<sup>481</sup> Spencer, 'Longinus in English Criticism', p. 137. For recent studies of Milton and Longinus, see Hale, 'Longinus and Milton'; Vozar, 'Milton, Longinus, and the Sublime in the Seventeenth Century'; and Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, p. 55 and p. 63.



**Fig. 15:** William Marshall's engraved title page for the first edition (1636) of Gerard Langbaine's edition of *On the Sublime* (Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 16788). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Recently, Marshall's title page to Langbaine's Longinus has been praised for its conceptual and technical sophistication. For example, Patrick Cheney describes how Marshall's engraving 'emphasises the rhetorical power of *On the Sublime*' and, similarly, Phillip Hardie remarks that the centrality of 'the idea of upwards flight in the Early Modern notion of the sublime may be seen from William Marshall's title page for the first edition (in parallel Greek

and Latin) of Longinus'.<sup>482</sup> Indeed, Marshall was one of the earliest artists to have access to Longinian theories of the sublime by being commissioned to produce this frontispiece.<sup>483</sup>

Why, then, does Milton mock Marshall in an overtly Greek context, even though he produced such a 'conceptually rich' engraving for an avant-garde piece of Greek scholarship in England?<sup>484</sup> Does Marshall, in producing an unflattering portrait, truly and fairly merit the epithet 'ignorant' (ἀμαθεῖ)?

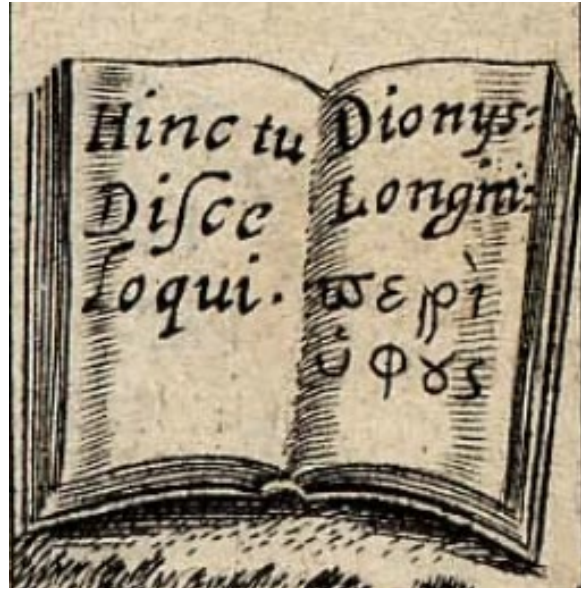
An answer might be gleaned from a closer inspection of Marshall's frontispiece in the 1636 first edition of Langbaine's Longinus. If one looks closely at Marshall's rendering of the inscription inside the icon of a book, the left-hand side reads 'here you will learn to speak' (*Hinc tu Disce Loqui*), referring to the opening of Longinus's rhetorical treatise, and the right-hand side reads '*Dionysius Longinus Peri Hyphous*' (ὕφους) rather than, as it should be, *Peri Hypsous* (ὕψους) (see Fig.16).

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<sup>482</sup> Cheney, *English Authorship and the Early Modern Sublime*, p. 28; Hardie, *Celestial Aspirations*, p. 10. Although Hardie refers to the first edition, Fig. 1.3 on p. 11 is actually from the second edition of Langbaine's Longinus. Similarly, Mann refers to the 1636 edition in her discussion of Marshall's title page, but the image in Fig. 1.12 on p. 61 is incorrectly described as the title page to the 1636 edition which is, in fact, an image of the 1638 edition's title page (Mann, *The Trials of Orpheus*).

<sup>483</sup> For discussion of the artist Nicolas Poussin's early exposure to Longinian theories of the sublime in 1630s Rome via Leo Allatius, see Fumaroli, *L'école du silence*, pp. 94–97. Allatius's unpublished Latin translation and commentary of Longinus (c.1630) lies among the humanist scholar's papers at the Vallicelliana Library in Rome.

<sup>484</sup> Cheney, p. 28.



**Fig. 16:** Detail of Fig. 15. showing Marshall's error.

'Hypous' (ὑφους) could mean 'nets', 'webs', 'tissues', or 'veils', thus comically changing the title of Longinus's treatise to something like *On Nets* rather than *On the Sublime*.<sup>485</sup>

Marshall's error does not feature in the 1636 edition's errata list but it was corrected in the second edition of Langbaine's Longinus from 1638, where 'hyphous' (ὑφους) is corrected to 'hypsous' (ὑψους) in the title page (see Fig.17 and Fig.18). Although the second edition includes a new index which is mentioned on its title page (*cum Indice*), it is also possible that the corrected title page of the second edition of 1638—or 'the latest edition' (*editio Postremo*) as it states at the bottom—may have served as a replacement (or cancel) for the faulty title page of the first edition of 1636.<sup>486</sup>

<sup>485</sup> Marshall's error in the frontispiece of the 1636 edition has not been noticed before by scholars. For discussion of Milton and Marshall's Longinus frontispiece, see: Cheney, pp. 26-8; Hamlett, 'The Longinian Sublime, Effect and Affect in 'Baroque' British Visual Culture'; Montori, *Milton, the Sublime and Dramas of Choice*; and Lehtonen, pp. 27-9. LSJ, s.v. ὕψος.

<sup>486</sup> On replacement pages (or cancellada) in printing, see Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England*, pp. 130-36. For discussion of correcting engraved images in Early Modern scholarly texts, see Grafton, 'Conrad Gessner as Corrector: How to Deal with Errors in Images'.





Fig. 17: Lower half of the second edition (1638) of Langbaine's Longinus (Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 16789). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.



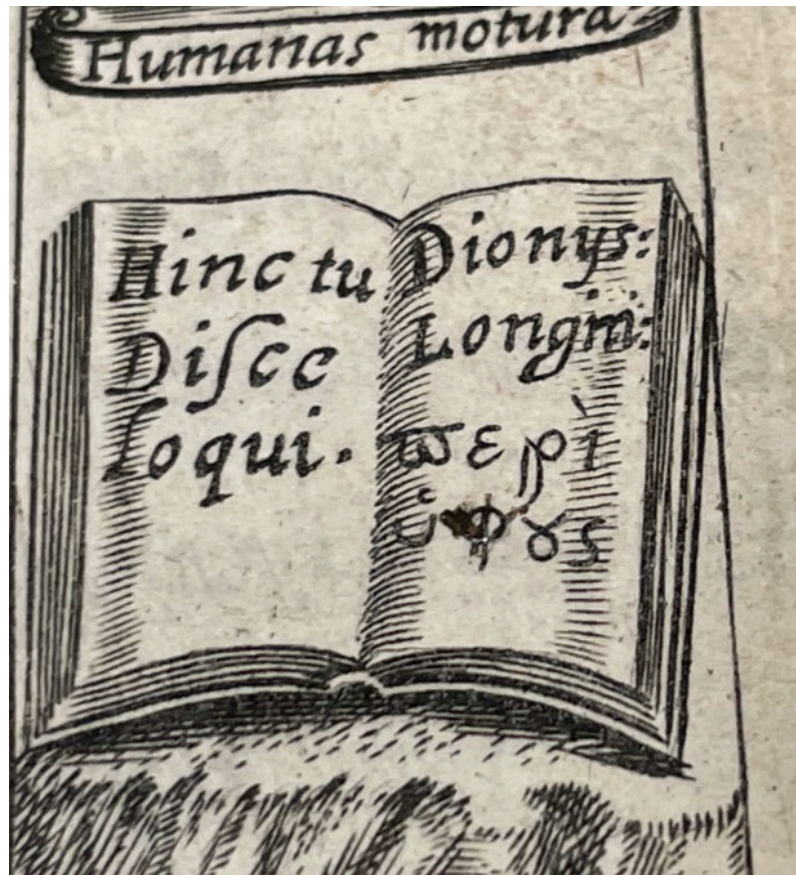
Fig. 18. Detail of Fig.17.



There is evidence that Marshall's error was noticed by other readers of the first edition of Langbaine's Longinus. In one of the three copies of the first edition of Langbaine's Longinus held at the University of Illinois's Rare Book and Manuscript Library, an anonymous reader has corrected Marshall's error, writing in ink the letter  $\psi$  over Marshall's engraved  $\phi$  (see Fig.19 and Fig.20).



**Fig. 19:** Marshall's title page in a first edition of Langbaine's Longinus (Urbana-Champaign, The Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Illinois, 881 L5s.1a). By permission of the University of Illinois.



**Fig. 20:** Detail of Fig.19 showing a reader's correction in ink of Marshall's error.

The motivation behind Milton's Greek epigram certainly stems from his genuine displeasure with Marshall's portrait as well as reflecting the political differences between the republican Milton and the royalist Marshall. As Stephen Dobranski explains, 'as Secretary for Foreign Languages under the Commonwealth, Milton would have wanted to dissociate himself from the engraver who designed the frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike* and who was known for his portraits of Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham'.<sup>487</sup> However, there is also a sardonically scholarly dimension to Milton's Greek epigram. Not only did Marshall botch the title page of such a critical work of poetics and rhetoric—Longinus's *On the Sublime*—but he also

<sup>487</sup> Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade*, Cambridge 1994, p. 94.

botched the frontispiece of Milton's *1645 Poems* by engraving such an inaccurate portrait. Although Milton's Greek epigram makes fun of Marshall's ignorance of Greek, as has long been observed, the Greek epigram's mockery of the engraver's 'ignorant hand' (*Ἀμαθεῖ [...]* *χειρὶ*) appears to have even more bite since it nods at a separate embarrassing case where Marshall messed up another engraving due to his ignorance of Greek.

With the connection between the frontispieces to Milton's *1645 Poems* and the first edition of Langbaine's Longinus in mind, Milton's complaint of Marshall's engraving—or sculpture, technically, since we find Marshall's signature beneath Milton's Greek epigram, 'W.M. sculp[si]t'—can be read in the light of Longinian criticism. The Greek of Milton's epigram potentially evokes concepts about poor artistry and *specifically* poor sculpture that Longinus elucidates in *On the Sublime*. Milton's reference to his portrait as 'ἐκτυπώτων' (l.3) refers to relief sculpture; 'ἐκτυπώτων' in Pollux's *Onomasticon* (which Milton made great use of) is translated as 'exsculptum' by the Swiss reformist theologian Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1586) in his popular Latin translation of Pollux's *Onomasticon*.<sup>488</sup> Milton condemns Marshall's engraving as a 'poor imitation' (*δυσμιμήμα*. l.4) of 'nature's likeness' (*εἶδος αὐτοφύες*. l.2).<sup>489</sup> Milton's phrasing can be clarified by reading the epigram in the light of Longinian criticism. In describing his own face that Marshall has so poorly imitated as the 'εἶδος αὐτοφύες' ('nature's likeness' or 'natural form'), Milton appears to be opening-up a Longinian explanation for Marshall's faulty engraved sculpture.

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<sup>488</sup> Pollux, *Onomasticon*, trans. by Gwalther, p. 447. For Milton's use of Pollux, see McDowell, *Poet of Revolution*, p. 145. On the wide availability of Gwalther's Pollux, see Tjoelker, 'John Lynch's *Alithinologia* (1664)', p. 1122, n. 11.

<sup>489</sup> For discussion of Milton's predilection for inventing words prefixed in "dis-", see in particular Forsyth, *The Satanic Epic*, pp. 217–238.



In the discussion of faults in sculpture, such as the ‘faulty Colossus’ (ὁ κολοσσὸς ὁ ἡμαρτημένος. *On the Sublime* 36.3), Longinus argues that ‘we expect a statue to resemble a man’ (κάπι μὲν ἀνδριάντων ζητεῖται τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ. *On the Sublime* 36.3).<sup>490</sup> According to Longinus, while literature aims at superhuman sublimity, sculptures, on the other hand, must aim to represent people accurately and according to their actual, natural appearance; that is to say, sculptures *must* resemble those whom they purport to represent. As Stephen Halliwell explains, the argument here draws a ‘sharp contrast [...] between sculpture, with its need for lifelike representation of the human body (i.e. naturalistic ‘likeness’ or ‘resemblance’, τὸ ὅμοιον) and *logos*, where the greatest achievements should transcend the merely human’.<sup>491</sup> It is the naturalistic likeness (or, in Milton’s Greek, εἶδος αὐτοφύεζ) which Marshall has failed to accurately represent in his engraving and Milton’s mockery of Marshall, who made a mistake in his engraving for Langbaine’s Longinus, is compounded by Longinian criticism of faulty sculpture or engraving. Milton’s quip centres on Marshall’s poor imitation of (not Milton’s face *per se*) but more abstractly ‘of nature’s form’ (εἶδος αὐτοφύεζ) which, in turn, calls to mind Longinus’s argument that sculpture must accurately imitate the natural form. Lerer recently observed that, for Milton, ‘being a scholar and being a poet in this world is really one and the same thing’ and, on looking again at the 1645 *Poems* frontispiece, we see Milton the scholar-poet donning his Cambridge MA gown in his portrait and mixing matters of contemporary Greek scholarship in his Greek epigram.<sup>492</sup>

The anticipatory role that Milton’s Greek epigram in the frontispiece to his 1645 *Poems* plays within the trajectory of Milton’s polemic in the 1650s is illustrated by Joseph

<sup>490</sup> LSJ s.v. ἀνδριάς: ‘esp. of portrait-statues, ἄ. εἰκονικός Plu. *Lys.* 1’. See also Jonge, ‘Longinus 36.3: The Faulty Colossus and Plato’s Phaedrus’

<sup>491</sup> Halliwell (ed.), *Pseudo-Longinus: On the Sublime*, p. 385. All Greek quotations and English translations of *On the Sublime* are taken from Halliwell’s edition. See also Walsh, ‘Sublime Method’.

<sup>492</sup> Lerer, ‘“Ad Patrem” and the Poetics of Virgilian Sons’, p. 511.

Wittreich when he explains that Milton's Greek interjection beneath Marshall's engraved portrait pre-empts one of the key rhetorical strategies in fending-off his foes' accusations and abuses in *Defensio Prima*, *Defensio Secunda*, and *Pro Se Defensio*:

the seemingly contrary claims and competing signals of Marshall's portrait and Milton's legend anticipate the grounds of contestation involving later prose works, particularly the three *Defences*, in which Milton as represented by others and then by himself is surrounded by a confusing range of contradicting images. For every action there is a reaction: whenever Milton is represented by another, he counters with a self-representation as if to say that he knows himself and in self-portraiture is better revealed than in representations by the William Marshalls of the world.<sup>493</sup>

Wittreich's placing the epigram in the beginning of a phase of Milton's rhetorical self-defence through autobiography and self-portraiture in order to combat fallacious, misleading, erroneous representations of him builds on Leah Marcus's interpretation of the Greek epigram as setting a pattern throughout the *1645 Poems* where Milton provides an ostensibly personal and authentic authorial voice or commentary:

Milton's frontispiece instead offers learned readers a voice which is clearly established as his own before the poetry is even encountered, and which seems to extend through the volume offering explanation and judgement of the author's youthful verses in the same way that it offers judgment and explanation of the inadequate engraving on the frontispiece.<sup>494</sup>

In addition to his strategic use of autobiography or offering, as Marcus expresses it, 'a voice which is clearly established as his own', the Greek epigram anticipates another key rhetorical strategy that Milton uses many times in countering Claudius Salmasius and Alexander More's defamation of his character: identifying and then exploiting linguistic errors. Milton's weaponised philology is another aspect of Milton's Hellenism in the 1640s and 1650s in which Greek erudition could be utilised for polemical purposes, as shown by Robert

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<sup>493</sup> Wittreich, *Why Milton Matters*, p. 19. See also Skerpan, 'Authorship and Authority: John Milton, William Marshall, and the Two Frontispieces of Poems 1645'

<sup>494</sup> Marcus, 'Milton as Historical Subject', p. 124.

Creighton (whose liminary poem to Duport's *Threnothriambos* and whose annotations to Homer are discussed above) who fiercely denigrates Milton within his *editio princeps* of the Byzantine author, Sylvester Syropoulos.<sup>495</sup> This might at first seem incongruous with Marshall who is an engraver rather than Humanist scholar, but Milton's epigram utilises a similar strategy that he uses later in his *Defensio Prima* (1651) when, as his opening gambit, he attacks Salmasius for errors in his Latinity. After castigating 'the wicked barbarism of Salmasius' (*nefaria Salmasii barbarie*), Milton's first jab at Salmasius in (to adopt John Hale's expression) the 'European cockpit' of Latin polemic, is to mock Salmasius for committing a grammatical blunder in his use of the ablative *persona*: 'what, I ask you, is "committing murder in the person of the king," what is "in the person of the king"? When was Latin ever spoken like that? (*Quid enim, quæso, est 'parricidem in persona Regis admittere', quid 'in persona Regis'? quæ unquam latinitas sic locuta est*).<sup>496</sup> Both in the Greek epigram and Latin polemic—two different languages and vastly different contexts and genres—Milton nevertheless seizes upon a foe's linguistic or grammatical blunder as a springboard for counter-attack. Whether it was due to a careless accident or due to his shaky grasp of the Greek alphabet, Marshall's bungling of *psi* ( $\psi$ ) with *phi* ( $\phi$ ) is very likely to have been noticed by Milton the philologically-minded scholar whose sight had not, by 1646, fully-deteriorated yet and whose deeply erudite skills as a detector of Greek misprints, metrical infelicities, and variant readings are evidenced by his surviving annotated Greek books and by his activities in Italy.

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<sup>495</sup> See Evans, 'Blind Oedipus and Eyeless Dog: John Milton in Robert Creighton's Translation of Sylvester Syropoulos (1660)'.

<sup>496</sup> *CPW* 4.1: 310; *CW* 7: 16. Hale, *Milton's Languages*, p. 99. See also Miller, 'Milton, Salmasius, and *vapulandum*', and Corns, 'Milton's English'.

### 3.2: 'O Soul of Sir John Cheek': John Milton and the Legacy of Sixteenth-Century Greek Humanism

Milton was acutely concerned with pronunciation in a range of different languages throughout his lifetime. In *An Apology Against a Pamphlet* (1642), Milton is piqued by the grating mispronunciations committed by 'young Divines' on the stage performing (most likely) Latin comedies: 'they mispronounc't and I mislik't, and to make up the *atticisme*, they were out, and I hist'.<sup>497</sup> Although Milton employs the word 'atticisme' to mean a witty *bon mot*, 'atticisme' also evokes the rhetoric of the Athenian orators like Demosthenes and, more broadly, of linguistic refinement. In Milton's 'atticisme' or rejoinder towards the actors who gall Milton with their rough mispronunciation of Latin, Milton aligns himself with linguistic elegance and to being *ἀττικισμός* in opposition to those who speak barbarously.<sup>498</sup>

In response to the same passage, Campbell and Corns observe that, although 'Milton's views were continuously evolving,' Milton's remarks in *An Apology* show that 'subjects such as pronunciation were remarkably constant (and Erasmian)'.<sup>499</sup> With respect to Milton's invocation of Sir John Cheke (1515–57) in 'Sonnet 11', I show that Cheke's championing of the Erasmian pronunciation of Greek plays a crucial though overlooked role

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<sup>497</sup> CPW 1:887.

<sup>498</sup> For an overview of Atticism, see Berg, *The Politics and Poetics of Cicero's Brutus*, pp. 193–8; and Colvin, 'Atticist-Asianist Controversy'. In the Byzantine, Greek lexicon, the *Suda* (given here in the 1615 Cologne edition of Aemilius Portius), *ἀττικισμός* is defined as 'the inclination of one's mind towards the Athenians, and holding good-will towards them. One who passionately favours Athenian culture. And, as Demosthenes said in 'Against Neaera' [*Or.* 59.76], one who holds respect for ancient, antiquated Attic texts' (*Ἀττικισμός. Atticismus. Animi propensio, et benevolentia in Atticos. Studium, quo quis Atticis favet. Et Atticis literis, Demosthenes dixit contra Neaeram, pro vetustis, antiquis*), p. 480. Demosthenes refers to a pillar at the altar to Dionysia at Limnae which 'shows an inscription in Attic characters, nearly effaced' (*ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς δηλοῦσα τὰ γεγραμμένα. Or.* 58.76). On the connotations of Atticism in seventeenth-century England and France, see Zabel, *Polis und Politesse: Der Diskurs über das antike Athen in England und Frankreich*. On Milton and the *Suda*, see Mulryan, *Through a Glass Darkly*, pp. 180–1.

<sup>499</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 47.

which is intertwined with the poet's broader linguistic and poetic concerns as well as with the poet's conceptualisation of what constitutes 'Greekness'.<sup>500</sup>

In *Of Education* (1644), we learn of Milton's view that the ideal form of Latin speech is to speak it 'as near as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the Vowels' and John Aubrey records that Milton was known, in speaking English, to have 'pronounced the letter R very hard'.<sup>501</sup> Matters of pronunciation mattered so much to Milton that, in his 10 September 1638 letter to Benedetto Buonmattei (*EF* 8), he even requested the renowned, Florentine scholar to add (possibly) to his *Della lingua Toscana* 'a little something concerning the correct pronunciation of the [Tuscan] language' (*de recta linguae pronuntiatione adhuc paululum quiddam adicere*).<sup>502</sup> But what were Milton's views on Greek pronunciation? There has been no study of Milton's attitudes to the pronunciation of Greek, but this section aims to reveal the importance of this matter for Milton's Hellenism.

### **Milton and the Greek Pronunciation Dispute**

In *On the Correct Pronunciation of Latin and Greek* (1528), Erasmus outlines a new system of Greek pronunciation, veering away from Byzantine Greek pronunciation (first introduced by Greek *émigré* scholars from the East who taught Western scholars after the Fall of Constantinople), and instead to a reformed, classicizing, Atticising pronunciation.<sup>503</sup> In Erasmus's dialogue, the two speakers, a lion and a bear, have debates about pronunciation

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<sup>500</sup> Binns, 'Latin Translations from Greek', p. 131. See Binns for discussion of Cheke's Latin translations of Greek texts.

<sup>501</sup> *CPW* 2:382–3. Aubrey qt. by Leonard, *Faithful Labourers*, vol. 1, p. 158

<sup>502</sup> *EF*, pp. 126–7.

<sup>503</sup> On the Erasmian pronunciation of Greek, see Baywater, *The Erasmian Pronunciation of Greek and its Precursors*; McNeal, 'Hellenist and Erasmian', pp. 88–9; Russell, 'Greek in the Renaissance'; Caragounis, 'The Error of Erasmus and Un-Greek Pronunciations of Greek'; Jody Barnard, 'The 'Erasmian' Pronunciation of Greek: Whose Error Is It?'; and Allen, *Vox Graeca*, pp. 140–49. On Greek teachers in the West, see Botley, *Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529*; and Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*.

and other linguistic matters such as etymology. Here, the bear offers an ingenious etymological explanation for ‘bachelor’:

- LE. Quos tu credis a baculo cognomen habere, equidem accepia bacca lauri dictos.  
 UR. Si res haec tibi curae est, dicam quod ex quodam hierophanta seu mystagogo talium rerum didici.  
 LE Percupio. [...]  
 UR. Scis autem **lauro baccas esse nigras et amaras**; porro quoniam id temporis etiamnum arrodentes amarum sapientiae corticem nondum ad nucleum dulcissimum penetrarunt, baccalureos appellare placuit.

Lion What does the word ‘bachelor’ come from? Is it from *baculus* ‘rod,’ as you seem to suggest, or from *bacca* ‘berry’, referring to laurel-berries, as I prefer to think?

Bear If the question interests you, let me tell you how it was explained to me by a professional guide to the mysteries of etymology.

Lion Go on. [...]

Bear You know that **laurel-berries, baccas lauri, are black and bitter**. At the stage they are at, bachelors are still gnawing at the bitter rind of learning and have not yet got through to the sweetness inside. That is why it was decided to call them *baccalaurei* ‘bachelors’.<sup>504</sup>

In the opening lines of Milton’s *Lycidas*, Milton may be alluding to Erasmus’s etymological discussion concerning the word ‘bachelor’. The Cambridge anthology *Iusta Eduardo King naufrago* (1638) is a collection of Latin, Greek, and English poems by Cambridge students, fellows, and alumni lamenting the death of Edward King in 1637. King was a young and gifted scholar of Greek especially, demonstrated by his having accelerated his way through his BA and MA and by his appointment as ‘Greek Reader’ (*Graecus lector*) at Christ’s in 1636.<sup>505</sup> At the beginning of *Lycidas*—the final poem in the *Obsequies to the Memory of Edward King*—Milton bemoans his own poetic unreadiness:

YEt once more, O ye Laurels, and once more  
 Ye Myrtles brown, with Ivy never-sear,  
 I come to pluck your **Berries harsh and crude**,  
 And with forc’d fingers rude,

<sup>504</sup> *CWE* 26:381.

<sup>505</sup> Campbell, ‘King, Edward (1611/12–1637), friend of John Milton’. See also Peile and Venn, *Biographical Register of Christ’s College, 1505–1905*, vol. 1, p. 375.

Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.  
(*Lycidas*, ll.1-5)<sup>506</sup>

Milton's description of the laurels' 'berries harsh and crude' could evoke Erasmus's '*lauro baccas nigras et amaras*' which Erasmus argues is etymologically linked to the archetypally unready university bachelor who has 'not yet' (*nondum*) fully ripened in his learning.

Milton's allusion to Erasmus's etymological foray into 'bachelor' at the beginning of *Lycidas* reinforces the poet's own anxiety over unreadiness and poetic and scholarly unripeness. This is especially the case when one considers the university context of *Lycidas*, and it could serve as one way of contrasting the unready bachelor of the university with the ostensibly learned King. Milton himself calls King his 'learned Friend' in the preface to *Lycidas* and, in the Greek poem by Henry More (1614–1687)—who would become one of the Cambridge Platonists alongside another Fellow of Christ's, Ralph Cudworth (1617–688)—King is praised for his Atticism and his Greek erudition as 'the far-shining light of the lamp of Athens' (*Τηλοπὸν αἴγλην τῆς Ἀθηνῶν λαμπάδος*).<sup>507</sup>

Erasmus's *On the Correct Pronunciation of Latin and Greek* does not, of course, only provide a lion and bear's musings over quaint etymologies. This dialogue set in train a new and radical system of Greek pronunciation which was soon being adopted at universities around Europe—though not without some resistance. The reformed pronunciation of Greek had been widely adopted by the time Milton himself was being drilled in Greek at St Paul's, an institution described by Thomas Luxon as the 'Erasmian academy' of John Colet (1467–1519).<sup>508</sup> Until the mid-sixteenth century, the system of pronunciation widely used was that first introduced and taught by Greek scholars who fled to the West as refugees. Erasmus's

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<sup>506</sup> *OW* 3:50.

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.*; More, 'Translations: Obsequies for Edward King', trans. by Edward Le Comte, p. 211; *Justa Edouardo King naufrago*, 24.

<sup>508</sup> Luxon, 'Early Milton', p. 641. See also Campbell and Corns, p. 20.

dialogue set in motion an acrimonious dispute which reached its zenith with the publication of Cheke's *De pronuntiatione graecae* (1555) where the Cambridge Hellenist defends the Erasmian pronunciation and refutes the demands of the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner (1483–1555), that Greek must be spoken with the Byzantine pronunciation.<sup>509</sup> On the one hand, Gardiner defends the use of the Byzantine pronunciation and its vowels' iotacism and its 'elegant' (*lepidus*) diphthongs whereas Cheke, on the other hand, condemns it as sounding effeminate and weak compared to the Erasmian pronunciation which strives for Atticism in attempting to revive the way that Greek was spoken in Ancient Athens.

The Greek pronunciation dispute between Cheke and Gardiner was closely tied with confessional controversies. Rather than being a peripheral quibble, the implications of the linguistic controversy in Cambridge—a focal point for early reformers such as Cambridge's Regius Professor of Divinity Martin Bucer (1491–1551) whose tracts Milton translated and published as the *Judgement of Martin Bucer Concerning Divorce* (1644)—the Greek pronunciation dispute struck at the heart of the Reformation. As Neil Rhodes explains:

in his work on Greek pronunciation Cheke is praised for having 'acted rightly... to break down the authority of custom'. Cheke's colleague at St John's, Roger Ascham, likewise deplored appeals to the authority of 'custom'. The mission to restore Greek pronunciation to its original purity was essentially part of the same scholarly and spiritual agenda as the mission to establish a pure text of the New Testament.<sup>510</sup>

I wish to draw out the implications for our understanding of Milton's engagement with Greek language, culture and learning with respect to 'Sonnet 11', especially the legacy of this ferocious debate in sixteenth-century Greek humanism in Cambridge from the century before. In 'Sonnet 11', Milton mocks those at the book-stalls of St Paul's Churchyard where

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<sup>509</sup> See Lazarus (ed.), 'Academic Freedom on Trial in Tudor Times'; Lazarus, 'Aristotle's *Poetics* in Renaissance England', pp. 216–223; and Lazarus, *Greek with Consequences*, forthcoming. Gardiner's letter is published in the first half of Cheke's *De pronuntiatione graecae*.

<sup>510</sup> Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England*, p. 189. See also Rhodes, 'Pure and Common Greek in Early Tudor England'.



he overhears Londoners butchering the pronunciation ('spelling fals') of the Greek title of his divorce tract, *Tetrachordon*:

A Book was writ of late call'd *Tetrachordon*;  
 And wov'n close, both matter, form and stile;  
 The Subject new: it walk'd the Town a while,  
 Numbring good intellects; now seldom por'd on.  
 Cries the stall-reader, bless us! what a word on  
 A title page is this! And some in file  
 Stand spelling fals, while one might walk to Mile-  
 End Green. Why is it harder Sirs then Gordon,  
 Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp?  
 Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek  
 That would have made *Quintilian* stare and gasp.  
 Thy age, like ours, O Soul of Sir *John Cheek*,  
 Hated not Learning wors then Toad or Asp;  
 When thou taught'st *Cambridge* and King *Edward* Greek.<sup>511</sup>

How should one respond to Milton's valorization of the Cambridge Hellenist? Milton's invocation of Cheke in 'Sonnet 11' has puzzled critics because it is unclear why Cheke merits Milton's superlative praise. For Annabel Patterson, 'the last three lines are an epitome of Milton's trouble making for his readers' because,

not only do they require one to know when it was that Sir John Cheke tutored the young King Edward VI [...] they provoke one to ask why Cheke is chosen as mentor. Was it for the sake of invoking an earlier scholar and humanist educator? Was it for the sake of remembering Edward VI, a hero to English Protestantism?<sup>512</sup>

For John Leonard, too, the reader stops in their tracks when confronted by the puzzling invocation to Cheke:

the humour is delicious, but we too 'stand spelling false' as soon as we try to decipher those last five lines. Is Milton's age like or unlike that of Sir John Cheke? Was Sir John's age propitious or antagonistic to learning? And how does *Quintilian* fit in?<sup>513</sup>

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<sup>511</sup> *OW* 3:241–2.

<sup>512</sup> Patterson, *Early Modern Liberalism*, p. 75.

<sup>513</sup> Leonard, 'The Troubled, Quiet Endings of Milton's English Sonnets', p. 141.

One possible solution to Patterson and Leonard's questions could lie in exploring 'Sonnet 11' aurally and by keeping the role of Cheke in the Greek pronunciation dispute in mind. Milton may have admired Cheke's resistance to the stipulations of a powerful bishop who vehemently opposed both religious and curricular reform. This was because Gardiner viewed Cheke's promotion of the Erasmian pronunciation as part of a dangerous fashion for innovation, a terrible lack of respect for tradition and (his) authority, and a hazardous spirit of insubordination among the 'Athenian tribe': Cheke and his fellow Hellenists at Cambridge. Before he became the first Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1540 at the age of 25, Cheke (together with Thomas Smith) was already reforming Greek pronunciation as a teenager in the early 1530s. Nodding at the scholarly firebrand Cheke as well as Smith and Cheke's students such as the Greek Reader John Poynton and next Regius Professor of Greek, Roger Ascham, Gardiner is staggered that, at Cambridge, 'boys are scoffing at old men, I hear, puffing themselves up and glorying in exotic pronunciation' (*insultant, ut audio, in sense pueri, exotica pronuntiatione gloriantes et effeferentes sese*).<sup>514</sup> As Lazarus summarises, the root of Gardiner's opposition to Cheke's reformation of Greek pronunciation at Cambridge was that, 'if Cheke persists in his reforms, he will transform a Cambridge united in its modern pronunciation of Greek (even if that pronunciation, lamentably, differs from ancient practice) into a Babel of multiple pronunciations'.<sup>515</sup> Cheke's reformation of Greek pronunciation at Cambridge, then, represented for the archly conservative Bishop of Winchester a dangerous threat to state and clerical authority. If Cheke and his Cambridge acolytes could decide for themselves how they should pronounce (as well as *read*) Greek texts—and, most concerningly, the Greek text of the New

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<sup>514</sup> Gardiner, 'Academic Freedom on Trial in Tudor Times', trans. by Lazarus, pp. 50–1.

<sup>515</sup> Lazarus (ed.), 'Academic Freedom on Trial in Tudor Times', p. 56, n.32.

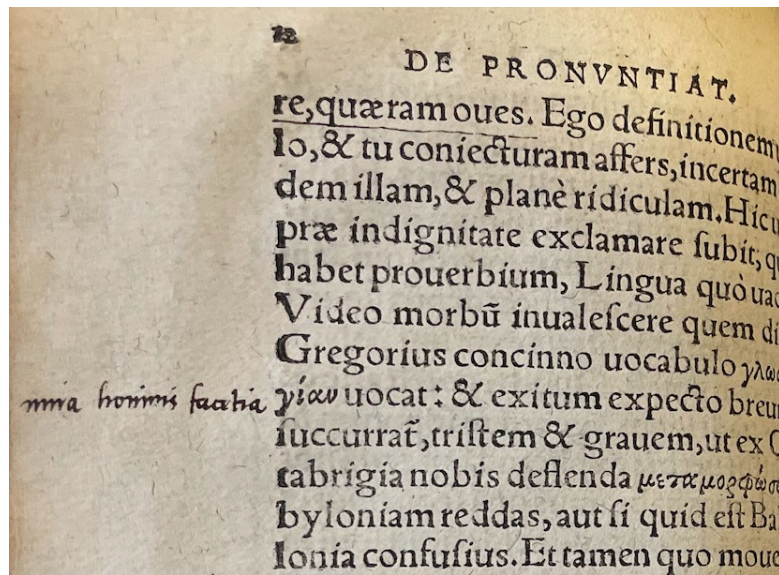
Testament—then what other hazardous innovations might threaten clerical and political authority?

Unlike Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) who strongly advocated the pronunciation taught to him by his own Greek, *émigré* teacher, Andronicus Contoblacas, and unlike the followers of Reuchlin like Gardiner who were styled “Reuchlinians” as advocates for the Byzantine pronunciation, Cheke and his fellow defenders of the Erasmian pronunciation lambasted the Byzantine pronunciation of Greek.<sup>516</sup> There is evidence that Henry Howard, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Northampton (1540–1614)—the son of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1516/17–1547)—took Gardiner’s side in the Greek pronunciation debate. In his annotated copy of Cheke’s *De pronuntiatione* held at the Newberry Library, Howard praises Gardiner when he jots in the margin ‘the wondrous wit of the man’ (*mira hominis facetia*) (see Fig.22) in response to Gardiner’s warning that, if Cheke does not cease debunking the Byzantine pronunciation, then Gardiner will ‘expect all too soon a sad and grave end, such that in a place of Cambridge which we ought to lament, you render by *metamorphosis* a Babel, or if anything, something even more confused than Babel’ (*ni succurratur, tristem et gravem, ut ex Cantabrigia nobis deflenda μεταμορφώσει Babyloniam reddas, aut si quid est Babylonia confusius*).<sup>517</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> On Contoblacas’s, see Monfasani, ‘In Praise of Ognibene and Blame of Guarino’. On the “Reuchlinians” and Byzantine pronunciation, see Allen, *Vox Graeca*, p. 146, n.9.

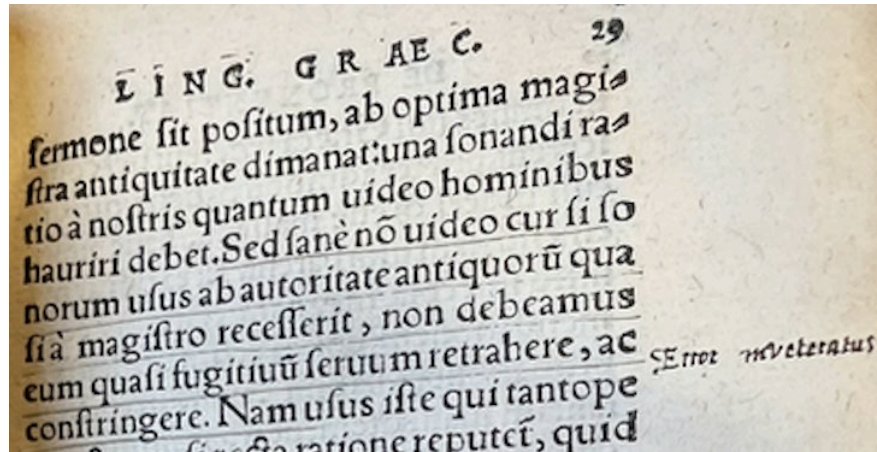
<sup>517</sup> Gardiner, ‘Academic Freedom on Trial in Tudor Times’, trans. by Lazarus, pp. 46–7.



**Fig. 21:** An annotation by Henry Howard, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Northampton, to Bishop Stephen Gardiner's letter to Sir John Cheke in Cheke's *De pronuntiatione graecae* (Basel, 1555), p. 12 (Chicago, Newberry Library, X 6435.16). With permission of the Newberry Library.

In response to Cheke's defence of his methodology in his use of phonetic sounds (and especially animal noises such as a sheep's bleating) in establishing the ancient pronunciation of Greek, Howard concurs with Gardiner and states that Cheke is committing 'a long-standing error' (*Error inveteratus*) (See Fig.23). This comment is in the same vein as Gardiner who tells Cheke: '[you] persevere obstinately with what you have attempted on the sole basis that you think it is truth' (*cum pertinacia insistere in eo quod aggressus sis vel hoc solum nomine, quod id putes esse verum*).<sup>518</sup>

<sup>518</sup> Ibid., trans. by Lazarus, pp. 50–1.

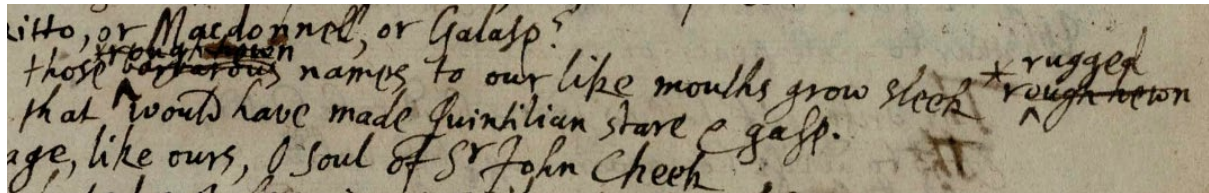


**Fig.22:** An annotation by Henry Howard, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Northampton, to Sir John Cheke's response to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in Cheke's *De pronuntiatione graecae* (Basel, 1555), p. 29 (Chicago, Newberry Library, X 6435.16). With permission of the Newberry Library.

In Milton's drafts of 'Sonnet 11' in the Trinity Manuscript, he particularly hesitated over line 10 in which he questions why the names of Scottish Presbyterians like 'Gordon' should be easier to pronounce than the Greek name of his divorce tract, *Tetrachordon*. There seems to be more at stake here than simply scoffing at an ignorant multitude around a book-stall. As can be seen in Milton's first draft of the poem in the Trinity Manuscript, he initially opts for 'barbarous' (see Fig.21).<sup>519</sup> The first version of the line, then, read as: 'those barbarous names to our like mouths grow sleek'. If Milton retained 'barbarous', then this version would create an opposition between the 'barbarous' names of the Scottish Presbyterians like Gordon and the Greek name of his divorce tract, *Tetrachordon*. To be *βάρβαρος* is to be unable to speak Greek or to struggle to pronounce Greek; for example, the definition for *βάρβαρος* given by Stephanus is 'using faulty and unpleasant

<sup>519</sup> There is no transcription provided by Haan and Lewalski of Milton's drafts of 'Sonnet 11' from the Trinity Manuscript in their edition, and Milton's 'barbarous' and 'rough-hewn' in the draft is not recorded in *OW* 3:239–40. For their transcriptions of the Trinity Manuscript, see *OW* 3:284–360. For a concise history of the transcriptions of the Trinity Manuscript (Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 4), see Hammond, 'The Complete Works of John Milton: Volume III'.

pronunciation and expressing words badly' (*pronuntiatione vitiosa et insuavi utens literasque malè exprimens*).<sup>520</sup> Next, Milton changes the adjective to 'rough-hewn' and, finally, settles on 'rugged'.



**Fig. 23:** Trinity Manuscript (Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.4. fol.43<sup>v</sup>). By permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In Cheke's *De Pronuntiatione*, the Cambridge Hellenist argues that Attic Greek (of especially the orator Demosthenes' time) represented the most cultivated stage in a long process of transition from a barbarous, rough language to a cultivated, elegant Greek tongue. John McDiarmid describes the keynote of Cheke's argument as follows:

Cheke situates the best age of Greek as the culmination of a sequence of stages. Greek speech was characterized in its first beginnings by 'roughness' (*horriditas*). Gradually, there arose a capacity for speech that was more and more 'embellished and cultivated' (*exornata atque exculpta*).<sup>521</sup>

In line 10 of this sonnet, the rugged becomes sleek—but not in the same way Cheke explains that the height of Atticism in antiquity evolved from roughness (*horriditas*) to refinement (*exculpta*). Instead, it is through a reversal in the growth and development of language.

Milton's 'rugged' (and especially the earlier version of 'rough-hewn') and 'sleek' all correspond closely with the terms that Erasmus and Cheke use in propounding a reformed pronunciation of Greek. What Milton conveys here is a complete reversal: that which is

<sup>520</sup> TLG 1:720.

<sup>521</sup> McDiarmid, "The Scholer of the Best Master": Ascham and John Cheke', p. 113. See also McDiarmid, 'Recovering Republican Eloquence: John Cheke versus Stephen Gardiner on the Pronunciation of Greek'.

considered most 'sleek' (corresponding to Cheke's terms *exornata* and *exculpta* quoted above) is actually the most 'barbarous', 'rough-hewn', and 'rugged'.

The allusion to Quintilian is specifically to the section of the *Institutio Oratoria* which deals with barbarism and solecism (*Inst.*1.5).<sup>522</sup> Quintilian discusses barbaric mispronunciations and the kind of bungling and error that he highlights is reflected aurally in 'Sonnet 11'. A key example that Quintilian highlights as being grossly barbarous is the orator Tinga of Placentias' mispronunciation of the Latin word for "market-place":

*Nam duos in uno nomine faciebat barbarismos Tinga Placentinus, si reprehendenti Hortensio credimus, 'preculam' pro 'pergola' dicens, et inmutatione, **cum C pro G uteretur.***

Tinga of Placentia (if we are to believe Hortensius' criticisms) made two Barbarisms in one word, saying *precula* instead of *pergula* (market-stall), **substituting C for G.** (*Inst.*1.5.12)<sup>523</sup>

Here, Quintillian reports that Hortensius grimaced at the hard "C" (as well as the transposal of 'per-' to 'pre-') in what he considered a barbarous mispronunciation of 'pergula' as 'precula'; intriguingly, Quintillian cites Hortensius whose rhetoric Milton draws upon in 'Prolusion VI' as a model for mocking his 'unrefined' (*ἀπροσδιονυσσον*) adversaries, as discussed in Chapter 1.3.<sup>524</sup> Both in his riposte to his detractors among the students at Christ's in 'Prolusion VI' and here in his attack on his former allies, the Presbyterians, Milton channels a peculiarly Hortensian strain of invective.

'Sonnet 11' is geographically set in a marketplace: the book and market stalls outside the great north door of St Paul's Churchyard. The barbaric fumbling over the Greek title is heard in the same place in London that Milton learnt Greek himself to a superlative degree,

<sup>522</sup> For an overview of barbarism in *Inst.* 1.5, see Poel, 'Quintillian's Underlying Educational Program', pp. 86–7.

<sup>523</sup> Quintillian, *The Orator's Education*, trans. by Russel, vol. 1, pp. 125–7. See also Sandri (ed.), *Trattati greci su barbarism e solecismo*.

<sup>524</sup> For discussion of the place of Quintillian's citation of Hortensius's criticism of Tinga of Placentia's barbarism within the wider understanding of Hortensius's oratory, see Dyck, 'Rivals into Partners: Hortensius and Cicero', p. 169.

St. Paul's, which was situated on the north-side of the Old St. Paul's Cathedral next to St Paul's Churchyard.<sup>525</sup> In his letter to Gill from 4 December 1634 (EF 5), Milton reminisces about his years of Greek study at St Paul's and Milton's rendering of the Egyptians as 'hateful speakers of a barbarous tongue' (ἀπεχθέα, βαρβαρόφωνον. l.2) mirrors Milton's associated lament on the decline in knowledge of Greek.<sup>526</sup> The geographical transition of walking from St. Paul's Churchyard in the centre of seventeenth-century London to 'Mile- / End Green' (ll.7–8) on the rural, easternmost edge of Early Modern London establishes a parallel between departing the city (*urbs*) and deviating from urbane speech (*urbanitas*).<sup>527</sup> Milton, then, weaves the barbaric mispronunciation that Quintilian (citing Hortenius) highlights as particularly barbarous in the rhymes of '*Tetrarchordon*' and '*Gordon*' and in the clanging, discordant "C" and "G" sounds in the names of the Scottish Presbyterians: *Gordon*, *Colkitto*, *Macdonald*, *Galasp*.<sup>528</sup> By recalling the dispute between Cheke and Gardiner, Milton could be paralleling Gardiner's restriction Greek learning with the Presbyterians restricting Milton's divorce tracts (which have Greek titles) such as *Tetrachordon*.

Similarly, in *Areopagetica* (1644), Milton pits the 'elegant[ce]' of Ancient Greece with 'barbari[sm]' when he declares 'how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride of a *Hunnish* and *Norwegian* statelines'.<sup>529</sup> With respect to this passage from *Areopagitica*, Helen Lynch states that 'Milton's model is classical and **often specifically Greek**, and, like the Greeks, Milton

<sup>525</sup> For a description of the stalls outside the great north door next to St Paul's School, see Hentschell, *St Paul's Cathedral Precinct in Early Modern Literature and Culture*, p. 71.

<sup>526</sup> *OW* 3:198–9. I have modified Haan's translation of 'hateful people of Egypt, who speak a barbous tongue' to 'hateful speakers of a barbarous tongue'.

<sup>527</sup> Salkeld, *Shakespeare and London*, p. 54.

<sup>528</sup> On Milton's opposition to the Presbyterians, see Togashi, 'Milton and the Presbyterian Opposition'.

<sup>529</sup> *CPW* 2:489.



distinguishes the English, his present-day Athenians, from the barbarians who surround them and whose benighted political systems are not to be emulated'.<sup>530</sup> This opposition is particularly evocative in 'Sonnet 11' in which Milton frames his reproof of the Scottish Presbyterians (who were considering a compromise that would result in keeping Charles I on the throne, thus endorsing a political system that Milton balked at as he did the 'barbarick' political systems of the 'Hunnish' and 'Norwegian' nations) in terms of barbaric pronunciations of Greek. Milton's use of Greek in his denigration of the Presbyterians is also evidenced in 'On the New Forcers of Conscience Under the Long Parliament' (c.1646). As Hannah Crawforth shows, it is through Milton's virtuoso handling of the Greek etymology of 'Presbyterian' from 'πρεσβύτερος' that Milton 'reminds his etymologically astute readers of the pre-Christian, pagan roots of the term 'Presbyter', and the fundamentally un-Christian behaviour of those who currently identify themselves as such' when Milton lands his fatal blow upon the Scottish Presbyterians in the final line: 'New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large' (l.20).<sup>531</sup> Therefore, in 'Sonnet 11', the barbarous, rough-hewn, rugged language that Milton hears at a time of political turmoil, and facing the risk of further servility due to the Presbyterians, political downturn and linguistic corruption are closely paired together. London and the appalling pronunciation he hears of "Tetrarchordon" is mirrored by Milton's reflections on the time when, in Athens, the Greek language was degraded.

### **When the Greeks Cease to be Greek**

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<sup>530</sup> Lynch, *Milton and the Politics of Public Speech*, p. 43.

<sup>531</sup> Crawforth, *Etymology and the Invention of English in Early Modern Literature*, p. 148.

The dispute between Cheke and Gardiner did not only concern pronunciation, but it also raised two, related questions which are key to Milton's Hellenism. Firstly, what constituted "Greekness"? And, secondly, who could call themselves "Greek"? Before discussing Milton's thoughts on these matters in his letter to Diodati, it is important to examine the other side of the Greek pronunciation dispute. Members of Cambridge's 'Athenian tribe' such as Cheke's former student, Roger Ascham, not only rejected the Byzantines' Greek pronunciation, but their Greek identity too. For example, in a 15 May 1542 letter to Richard Brandesby (a Fellow at St John's College), Ascham states that 'no one could more learnedly defend such a barbarous pronunciation, and a pronunciation introduced by the **barbarians themselves** [i.e. the Byzantines], than the Bishop of Winchester does' (*Nemo potest doctius tam barbaram et a **barbaris ipsis** inventam pronuntiationem propugnare, quam Dominus WINTONIENSIS facit*).<sup>532</sup> However, it was not introduced 'by barbarians' (*a barbaris*), it was introduced by the Greeks themselves such as the early Humanist scholars and teachers who fled to the West following the Fall of Constantinople. In the same letter, Ascham condemns the pronunciation that the Byzantine Greeks introduced and taught as one where

sic omnes soni Graeci nunc similes et iidem sunt, tam tenues vincti et graciles, et sic unius literæ Ιῶτα potestati subjecti, ut nihil jam in Græcis literis præter inanem quondam passerum pipitationem et anguïum molestam sibilationem discernere queas.

all the Greek sounds are alike and the same, bound by such thin and meagre sounds, and thus subject to the power of one letter – *Iota* – so that you can now discern nothing in the Greek letters other than the inane squawking of sparrows and the irritating hissing of snakes.<sup>533</sup>

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<sup>532</sup> Ascham, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, vol. 1, p. 27. On this letter, see also Crown, 'Ascham as Reader and Writer'.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid. See also Consentius (5<sup>th</sup> century AD) on Greeks' iotacism in *De barbarismis et metaplasmis*, which was available to Milton in Putsch (ed.), *Grammaticae Latinae auctores antiqui* (Hanover, 1605), cols.2017–2075; 'they call iotacism the mistake which is made when the letter *I* is pronounced more richly or thinly [...] Greeks pronounce this letter more thinly and strive so much after a thin utterance that, if they were to say *ius*, they would pronounce a considerable part of the first letter in such a way that one would realize that *ius* has become disyllabic (*Iotacismum dicunt vitium quod per 'I' litteram uel pinguius uel exilius prolatam fit [...] Graeci*

In language not dissimilar to Milton's rejection of 'the modern bondage of Rhyming' with its 'jingling sound' and his endorsement of blank verse as 'ancient liberty recovered', Ascham laments Gardiner's enforcement of the modern, Byzantine pronunciation in Cambridge which has left their language 'enslaved' (*subjecti*) to 'one single letter, *lota*' (*unius literae Ιῶτα*) with its 'thin and meagre sounds' (*tenues vincti et graciles*) in contrast to Erasmian pronunciation which aims to recover the ancient, Attic pronunciation. Indeed, one can compare Milton's valorisation of Cheke in 'Sonnet 11' with Isaac Barrow's *Oratio cum Graecae Linguae Cathedram ascenderit* (1660) in which the new Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge reflects on the legacy of his predecessors, highlighting the career of 'Cheke, the tutor of the greatest king, Edward VI' (*Cheekus, optimi regis Eduardi [...] institutor vir*) whom he praises in the highest terms for reviving the ancient pronunciation of Greek:

etiam nobis Anglis peculiarem debemus pronunciandi morem, laudatissimum proculdubio, et antiquitati maximopere conformem; quodque sermonem Atticum ore efferamus non barbaro, sed eodem illo, quo Periclea olim vox Graeciam pertonuit, ex quo Platonica mella destillarunt, quo Cecropidarum animos Demosthenica sua delinivit.

to him, besides other literary achievements, we owe a mode of pronouncing Greek distinctive to the English, and doubtless highly praiseworthy, and most conformable to antiquity. To him we owe it that we utter the Attic Greek, not with a barbarous mouth, but with the very sounds with which the voice of Pericles formerly thundered through Greece, from which Platonic honeys distilled, of which the Demosthenic charm fascinated the souls of the Cecropids [Athenians].<sup>534</sup>

Yet, in denigrating Byzantine pronunciation, Cheke and other members of the 'Athenian tribe' de-Hellenise the Greeks themselves. This is demonstrated most explicitly by Cheke

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*exilius hanc proferunt, adeo expressioni eius tenui students ut, si dicant 'ius', aliquantulum de priore littera sic proferant ut uideas disyllabum esse factum*, 15.13-19) Mari (ed.), *Consentius' De barbarismis et meaplasmis*, trans. by Mari, p. 26 and pp. 74-5.

<sup>534</sup> Barrow, *The Theological Works of Isaac Barrow*, vol. 8, pp. 291-2; Napier (trans.), *The Theological Works of Isaac Barrow, D.D.*, vol. 9, p. xxiv. I have altered Napier's 'very good' to 'highly praiseworthy' in translating *laudatissimum* and 'peculiar' to 'distinctive' in translating *peculiarem*. On Barrow's praise of Cheke in this oration, see also Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae*, p. 109, n. 3.

himself when, referring to the Byzantine Greeks who taught Western scholars such as Reuchlin their pronunciation of Greek, he states that this system of pronunciation was introduced by 'those Greeks, who are practically semi-Turk, having another tongue that is far from the father tongue' (*istos Graecos penè semiturchcos, aliam longè iam patriam linguam habentes*).<sup>535</sup> Cheke's denigration of Byzantine, native Greeks as 'semi-Turk' shows that, in his eyes, linguistic deviation or corruption has transformed the Greeks into barbarians (i.e. non-Greek speakers); this is a sentiment shared by other Northern European hellenists for, as Aschenbrenner and Ransohoff observe, 'humanists like Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) and his circle scoffed at the Byzantines' "semibarbarous" Greek'.<sup>536</sup>

As an admirer of Cheke, did the arguments of the 'Athenian tribe' from the previous century have an impact on Milton's views of modern Greeks and what constituted a truly Greek identity? I argue that one can trace the legacy of this argument by Northern European, Greek Humanists such as Cheke, Ascham, and Melanchthon in one particular remark that Milton makes in his 23 September 1637 letter (*EF 7*) to Diodati, the full significance of which has not yet been recognised and its importance for our understanding of Milton's Hellenism I draw out by contextualising it within Milton's reading of Byzantine texts during the Horton period.

When describing to Diodati his intellectually exacting studies at Horton, Milton says that he has 'by uninterrupted reading brought the affairs of the Greeks to the point at which they ceased to be Greeks' (*Graecorum res continuata lectione deduximus usquequo illi Graeci esse sunt desiti*).<sup>537</sup> But when *do* the Greeks cease being Greeks? In spite of the implied precision of '*usquequo*' ('right up to'), as if reaching a boundary or milestone in

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<sup>535</sup> Cheke, *De pronuntiatione graecae*, p. 95.

<sup>536</sup> Aschenbrenner and Ransohoff, 'Introduction', in *The Invention of Byzantium in Early Modern Europe*, p. 10.

<sup>537</sup> *EF 106–7*.

“Greekness”, Milton enigmatically suggests that he has reached a definite point where the Greeks stop being Greek in his reading. Diodati may have recognized what moment or period Milton was referring to but, for us, the moment Milton is referring to it not obvious at all.

‘The point at which they ceased to be Greeks’ (*usquequo illi Graeci esse sunt desiti*) appears to be a historical event which, in Milton’s moral judgement, marks the precise point when Ancient Greek culture lost its original identity for Greeks. Milton tells Diodati that his self-directed curriculum has reached the point where Greeks ceased to be *real* Greeks because they have lost the hallmarks of Ancient Greek culture which Milton finds to be essential to his recognition of what constituted “Greekness” by the standards of his Hellenism. Milton’s sentiment here is similar to the advocates of Erasmian pronunciation in sixteenth-century Cambridge who argued that the debasement in the Greek language from its ancient vitality to its weak, debased form also marked a relegation of the Early Modern Greeks to ‘semi-Turks’ or ‘barbarians’.

Although Anthony Grafton describes the Jesuit Phillipe Labbe’s statement that ‘all scholars love and cultivate Byzantine history’ as an endorsement ‘with slightly exaggerated confidence’, Milton’s intensive interest in Byzantine history and specifically for Labbe’s series *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae* (inaugurated by Labbe in 1645) is demonstrated formerly in this letter to Diodati (*EF* 7) and latterly in his letter to Emery Bigot from 24 March 1657 (*EF* 21). In *EF* 21, Milton makes the extraordinarily taxing request that the young Frenchman procure for him multiple weighty and expensive volumes of ‘the Byzantine histories that [he] is lacking’ (*desunt [sibi] ex Byzantinis historiis*).<sup>538</sup> Milton’s revealing remark to Diodati

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<sup>538</sup> Grafton, ‘Western Humanists and Byzantine Historians’, p. 74; *EF* 298–9. On *EF* 21, see Ch.2.1 above.

concerning his reading at Horton, however, differs from the language he employs in his Commonplace Book when referring to Byzantine Greeks. In one work of Byzantine history that Poole determines Milton must have read pre-April 1638—the *Histories* of John VI Cantacuzenus (c.1292–1383)—Milton translates a Greek passage (from Cantacuzenus 1.42) about equestrian games such as jousts having been invented by the Byzantines:

Giostro et Torneamento ludi equestres a latinis inventi quorum leges et morem describit Niceph: Gregoras. 1. 10. c. *περι γενεσεως τοῦ βασιλέως Ιωάννου τοῦ νέου*. eos ludos Sabandi nobiles primùm **Græcos docuerunt** ut testatur Cantacuzenus l. 1. c. 42.

The joust and the tournament. Equestrian games were invented by the Romans, the rules and practice of which are described by Nicephorus Gregoras, book 10, in the chapter ‘Concerning the birth of Emperor John the Younger’. These games the Savoyard nobles first taught the Greeks, as Cantacuzenus witnesses, book 1, ch. 42.<sup>539</sup>

Milton’s translation of Cantacuzenus’s ‘*Ρωμαίους*’ as ‘*Græcos*’ is a conventional, long-standing way of referencing Byzantine Greeks of the Eastern Roman Empire such as in Constantinople.<sup>540</sup> Referring to the entry just preceding this one from Cantacuzenus—another Byzantine author, Gregoras Nicephoras (c.1295–1360) and his *Byzantine History* which Milton also read pre-April 1638—Poole explains that ‘Gregoras is of course discussing the Byzantines, i.e. the Greek *Romani* of the eastern empire’.<sup>541</sup> Therefore, Milton follows the convention of recognizing the Romans of the Roman Eastern Empire as Greeks, as evidenced by his translation of Cantacuzenus in this entry from his Commonplace Book:

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<sup>539</sup> OW 11:274–5.

<sup>540</sup> For discussion concerning why Byzantines called themselves “Romans” (*Romani* / *Ρωμαίοι*), see Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 42–119; Kaldellis, ‘From Rome to New Rome, From Empire to Nation-State: Reopening the Question of Byzantium’s Roman Identity’; Krasberg, *Griechenlands Identität*; Chrysos, ‘The Roman Political Identity in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium’; Vaschcheva, ‘Hellenism in the System of Byzantine Identity’; Ricks and Magdalinio (eds), *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*; and Novasio, ‘What is “Byzantine”’.

<sup>541</sup> OW 11:274, n. 440.

καὶ τὰ τερνεμένα αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἐδίδαξαν Ῥωμαίους (Cantacuzenus) <sup>542</sup>

eos ludos Sabandi nobiles primùm Græcos docuerunt (Milton)<sup>543</sup>

[These games the Savoyard nobles first taught the Greeks, as Cantacuzenus witnesses]

It is striking, therefore, that Milton should follow convention in referring to the *Romani* as Greeks in his *Commonplace Book* while in his letter he should express such a perplexing attitude towards the “Greekness” of the Byzantine Greeks.

With respect to the *Histories* of Nicetas Choniates (c.1155–1217)—which Milton also read pre-April 1638 and from which he records extracts under ‘Plague’ in his *Commonplace Book*—Samuel Müller states that the Byzantine author ‘stressed the Hellenic aspect of *Romaïosyne*’ and ‘stressed more strongly the Hellenic identity marker of their being Roman in order to demarcate Byzantines in general, who were now more collectively described as Hellenes’.<sup>544</sup> It is unclear whether Milton is referring to a work from the Komnenian period or another, later period around the Fall of Constantinople, but Milton’s letter to Diodati indicates that he viewed one period of (or event within) Byzantine history, or even one specific Byzantine historian, as marking the point when the Greeks ceased to be Greek.

However, the Byzantine author who could have prompted Milton’s remarks to Diodati may have been Laonikos Chalkokondyles (c.1430–c.1465) and his *Histories* which

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<sup>542</sup> Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri IV*, vol. 1, p. 205.

<sup>543</sup> Milton’s translation of Cantacuzenus differs from Jacobus Pontanus’s which refers to them as ‘*Romanos*’ rather than Milton who refers to them as ‘*Græcos*’: ‘they themselves first taught **the Romans**, who before that time were altogether lacking in this knowledge, both the kind of game called “*tzustria*”, and also the “*tournament*”, or equestrian rallies’ (*et tzuſtriam ludi genus, et torneamenta, hoc est, equestres concursus, ipsi Romanos, ante id tempus penitus ignaros, primi docuerunt*), *De rebus ab Andronico Palæologo iunioris, imp. Constantinopolitano*, trans. by Pontanus (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1603), col. 126 [Book I, Ch. 42].

<sup>544</sup> Conversely, for discussion of Byzantines’ emphasis on their *Romanitas* over their Hellenism, see Rapp, ‘Hellenic Identity, *Romanitas*, and Christianity in Byzantium’; and Hunger, *Græculus perfidus / Ἰταλός ἱταμός*, p. 32.

covers the period 1298–1463.<sup>545</sup> Chalkokondyles was a native of Athens and the *only* Athenian author in the canon of Byzantine literature and history.<sup>546</sup> Philaras’s Athenian credentials drew Milton’s admiration, and perhaps Chalkokondyles’ Attic heritage did too. Although Milton does not explicitly cite Chalkokondyles’ *Histories* in his *Commonplace Book*, Milton must have read the Athenian historian. This is because the 1562 Basel edition (or its 1615 Cologne reprint) in which he definitely read Nicephoras Gregoras whom Milton *does* cite under the headings ‘King’,<sup>547</sup> ‘Property and Tax’,<sup>548</sup> and ‘Games’<sup>549</sup> in his *Commonplace Book* also contained the whole of Chalkokondyles’ *Histories*.<sup>550</sup> At the time of writing to Diodati in September 1637, Milton owned and was reading *Three Writers of Byzantine History (Historiae Byzantiae scriptores tres)* (Basel, 1562; Cologne, 1615) which consisted of Nicephoras Gregoras, Georgius Logothetas, and, crucially, the Athenian historian, Laonikos Chalkokondyles.<sup>551</sup> Ruth Mohl states that the Byzantine authors Nicephoras Gregoras, Cantacuzenus, and Procopius were all ‘entered in the early period of Milton’s note-taking’.<sup>552</sup> Also, by process of elimination, based on the volumes in Labbe’s *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae* that Milton tells Bigot he is lacking in *EF* 21 (24 March 1657), Poole judges that Milton must

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<sup>545</sup> The text and translation of Laonikos Chalkokondyles is cited from Kaldellis (ed.), *The Histories*. On Chalkokondyles, see Kaldellis, *A New Herodotos: Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire the Fall of Byzantium, and the Emergence of the West*.

<sup>546</sup> Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453*, vol 2, p. 648. On Chalkokondyles’ ‘Neo-Hellenic ideology’ following the Fall of Constantinople, see Kaldellis, ‘From “Empire of the Greeks” to “Byzantium”’, p. 352.

<sup>547</sup> *OW* 11:204–5.

<sup>548</sup> *OW* 11:267–8.

<sup>549</sup> *OW* 11:274–5.

<sup>550</sup> *OW* 11:397. For discussion of the 1562 Basel edition, see Kaldellis, ‘From “Empire of the Greeks” to “Byzantium”’, pp. 355–8; Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity*, pp. 106–9; and Reinsch, ‘The History of Editing Byzantine Historiographical Texts’, pp. 438–9.

<sup>551</sup> *Historiae Byzantinae scriptores tres graeco-latini uno tomo simul nunc Editi. I. Nicephori Gregorae, Romanae [...] II. Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis [...] III. Georgii Logothetae Acropolitae* (Cologne: aud Petrum de la Roviere, 1615).

<sup>552</sup> Mohl, *John Milton and His Commonplace Book*, p. 300; Müller, *Latins in Roman (Byzantine) Histories*, p. 25.



have later possessed Labbe's 1650 edition of *The Histories of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Athenian (Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum)*.<sup>553</sup>

What might Milton have thought of the Athenian Chalkokondyles' narration of the Fall of Athens to the Ottomans in 1456? Chalkokondyles remarks in *Histories* 1.3 that, in spite of their achievements in antiquity, in more recent times '[the Greeks'] virtue was everywhere lacking in comparison to the fortune they enjoyed, and nowhere commensurate to it' (τύχην ἀρετῆς ἐνδεᾶ σχόντες ἀπανταχοῦ, ξύμμετρον δὲ οὐδαμοῦ), and Kaldellis explains that Chalkokondyles' remarks about the Greeks' waning virtue 'could have stemmed only from his personal experience of their dismal failure to repel the Ottoman Turks in his own day' which, for Chalkokondyles, showed that 'the Greeks have historically enjoyed a better fortune than their virtue would warrant'.<sup>554</sup> At *Histories* 9.23, Chalkokondyles gives the following account of the Greeks' surrendering of the Acropolis in Athens on 4 June 1456:

Οἱ δὲ ὕστατοι ἐδέξαντο μὲν τοὺς πρώτους, μετὰ δε, ὡς ἐπιγινομένων τῶν Τούρκων ἀεὶ πλειόνων, ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμητο. Οἱ τελευταῖοι δὲ Ἑλλήνων φεύγοντες ἐς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀνέπιπτον καὶ τούτους ἅμα ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν· καὶ οὕτω αἱ τάξεις μιᾷ ῥοφῆ καιροῦ ἐτρέποντο ἐς φυγὴν, τῆς τελευταίας βιαζομένης· ἀν' ἡ γὰρ ἦν ἡττημένης αὐτίκα μάλα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τοῦτο πείσεσθαι τάξεις, ἀλλήλαις συμπιπτούσας. Ἕλληνες μὲν οὖν ἀνὰ κράτος ἔφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι ἐπιόντες κραυγῆ[.]

their front rank withstood the first attackers, but afterward when more and more Turks kept coming on, they rushed into flight. The front rank of the Greeks fell back upon their own men in their flight and caused them to flee too; thus all the ranks were routed in but one turn of the moment, with the foremost one pressing back upon the others. For it was inevitable that, once one rank had been defeated, the other ranks would suffer the same fate as they collided with each other. So the Greeks fled with all their might to the city, and the Turks pursued them with shouts.<sup>555</sup>

<sup>553</sup> *OW* 11:400–1; Chalkokondyles, *Laonici Chalcondylae Atheniensis Historiarum libri decem* (Paris, 1650).

<sup>554</sup> Chalkokondyles, *Histories*, trans. by Kaldellis, vol. 1, pp. 4–5; Kaldellis, 'Introduction', vol. 1, p. ix.

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*, trans. by Kaldellis, vol. 2, pp. 298–9. This passage can be found in *Historiae Byzantinae scriptores tres* (Cologne, 1615), p. 301.

Or did Milton potentially have the Fall of Trebizond in 1461 in mind?<sup>556</sup> Chalkokondyles describes the citizens of Trebizond as ‘Greeks by race and their customs and language too are Greek’ (*Ἑλληνάς τε ὄντας τὸ γένος, καὶ τᾶ ἥθη τε ἅμα καὶ τῆν φωνῆν προῖεμένους Ἑλληνικῆν*. 9.27); however, following the Fall of Trebizond, Chalkokondyles describes the moment that the Greek way of life had been overturned by the Ottoman invasion:

ἡγεμονίας καὶ αὕτη Ἑλλήνων, ὥστε ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνας, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Βυζαντίου πόλιν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πελοπόννησόν τε καὶ Τραπεζοῦντος βασιλέα καὶ χώραν αὐτῆν.

this too had been a principality of the Greeks and its customs and way of life were also Greek, so that in a short amount of time the Greeks and the rulers of the Greeks had been overturned by this sultan, starting with the city of Byzantion, after the Peloponnese, and finally the king and land of Trebizond (9.78).<sup>557</sup>

Milton may well be referring to his reading of Chalkokondyles’ *Histories* when he tells Diodati that ‘by uninterrupted reading [he has] brought the affairs of the Greeks to the point at which they ceased to be Greeks’. The implications of the Greek pronunciation dispute and the repercussions of the Fall of Athens and the Fall of Trebizond (as narrated by Chalkokondyles) are united one year after Milton tells Diodati that he has read up the point where the Greeks cease to be Greek in his letter to Buonmattei (*EF* 8)—the letter briefly discussed at the beginning of this section—where Milton specifically cites an Athenian example in his request that Buonmattei include a section on pronunciation. When Milton explains to Buonmattei why a section of pronunciation would be welcome, he insists that the Fall of Athens—*not* the Fall of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War in the fourth-century BC—was a consequence of linguistic debasement:

Neque enim qui sermo, purusne an corruptus, quaeve loquendi proprietates quotidiana populo sit parvi interesse arbitrandum est – quae res Athenis non semel saluti fuit [...]

<sup>556</sup> On sixteenth-century humanist scholars’ responses to the Athenian episode in Book 9 of Chalkokondyles’ *Histories*, see Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity*, pp. 99–106

<sup>557</sup> Chalkokondyles, *The Histories*, trans. by Kaldellis, pp. 362–3.

equidem potius **collabente in vitium atque errorem loquendi usu**, occasum eius urbis remque humilem et obscuram subsequi crediderim. Verba enim partim inscita et putida, partim mendosa et **perperam prolata** quid nisi ignavos et oscitantes et ad servile quidvis iam olim paratos incolarum animos haud levi indicio declarant?

Nor should it be considered of little import what language, pure or degenerate, a people possesses, or what is their habitual standard of propriety in speaking it – a matter which more than once proved the salvation of Athens [...] I for my part should rather believe that the fall of that city and its abject and humble condition were the consequence of **a lapse, on the part of its use of speech, into fault and error**. For when words are, on the one hand, uninformed and offensive; on the other, full of blemishes, and **incorrectly articulated**, what do they signify but, by no slight proof, that the minds of the inhabitants are slothful and yawning, and already prepared for any form of servility at any time?<sup>558</sup>

Milton's use of the word *prolata* when he describes words which are 'incorrectly articulated' (*perperam prolata*) is in the same, specialised sense used to denote pronunciation in Quintilian's *Institutes*.<sup>559</sup> Milton focuses on the example of the Fall of Athens (*occasum eius urbis*) in his explanation to Buonmattei why he should include a section on pronunciation. Milton argues that it is because the root of the Fall of Athens was originally in linguistic corruption and that such a lapse in language signifies the growing lethargy of minds with the result that they become 'prepared for any form of servility' (*ad servile quidvis iam olim paratos*)—not unlike the Greeks' military disaster in Athens as reported in Chalkokondyles' *Histories*, and not unlike the pronunciation of the "semi-barbarous" Byzantines' subjugation to iotacism at which Cheke balked at. At the end of 'Sonnet 8' (1642), it is specifically the Attic eloquence and language of Euripides—another native Athenian—which saves Athens from ruin: 'Electra's poet had the power / To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare' (ll.13–4).<sup>560</sup> In turn, Milton's association of the Fall of Athens in the mid-fifteenth century with linguistic decline ties together the criticism towards the Byzantine Greeks' pronunciation by

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<sup>558</sup> *EF*, 125–28.

<sup>559</sup> LSJ, s.v. *profero*: I.B.2. 'Of pronunciation, to utter, pronounce (post-Aug.): "*extremas syllabas*", Quint. 11.3.33'.

<sup>560</sup> *OW* 3:44.

Cheke and the ‘Athenian Tribe’ who, following Erasmus, strove to recover the pronunciation of Greek experienced in Ancient Athens, as well as present his political reflections upon his reading following the Horton period after he had studied all of ‘the affairs of the Greeks to the point at which they ceased to be Greeks’. In great contrast to Latin, which Milton advised to be ‘fashion’d to a distinct and clear pronuntiation, as near as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the Vowels’, Milton strongly rebuked the speech and pronunciation of modern Greeks.<sup>561</sup> While Milton advocated speaking Latin with the pronunciation of modern Italian, he took the opposite view for Greek because he firmly prioritized the Erasmian pronunciation and the ideal of speaking Greek as it was uttered in fifth-century Athens.

### **3.3: Milton, Philaras, and Early Modern Advocacy for Greece’s Liberation from the Ottoman Empire**

Milton’s throwaway remark in *EF* 7 from 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1637 provides a revealing glimpse into the young Milton’s attitudes towards Early Modern Greece: an attitude that is typical of the Northern European Humanist whose philhellenic interests apply solely to Greek literature of the past rather than to the population and culture of contemporary, Ottoman-ruled Greece. Yet, by June 1652, we find Milton express an extraordinary degree of sympathy in *EF* 12 for contemporary Greeks which—far from being typical of the Early Modern Humanist—is historically atypical because it long predates the Greek Enlightenment and Romanticism when such attitudes became more common in England. How, then, did Milton’s attitudes to Early Modern Greece change so radically over the course of fifteen years? I will seek to understand the roots of Milton’s historically atypical Philhellenism. In this section, Philhellenism can be defined as *political* Philhellenism— the aspiration for the

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<sup>561</sup> *CPW* 2:282–3.

establishment of a free, liberated Greece—rather than *literary* Philhellenism such as the kind demonstrated exuberantly in Chapter 2 in the Milton–Diodati correspondence and by Milton’s scholarly activities in Italy.

Inspired by the Milton-Philaras correspondence, the play *IOANNEΣ MIΛTΩN* (1874) by the radical, anti-monarchical Greek politician Andreas Rigopoulos (1821–1899) presents a fictional meeting between Leonard Philaras and John Milton in 1673 approximately 20 years after Philaras visited Milton at his home in Petty France.<sup>562</sup> Described as an ‘uncompromising anti-monarchist who let no opportunity to attack the monarchy go to waste’ (*ανένδοτος αντιβασιλικός δεν άφηνε ευκαιρία να μην επιτεθεί κατά της μοναρχίας*), Rigopoulos’s speeches against Otto of Greece in Athens forced him into exile in Pisa (where he attended university in the 1840s) until the revolutionary expulsion of Otto in October 1862. Rigopoulos then returned to Patras and was elected an Independent Member of the Hellenic Parliament in 1865.<sup>563</sup> In *IOANNEΣ MIΛTΩN*, Rigopoulos uses Philaras as a mouthpiece for his own heroization of Milton as the instigator of the revolutionary, nationalist movement in Greece, describing Milton (via Philaras) as a ‘Philhellenic and noble-minded man’ (*φιλέλληνος και εύγενοῦς άνδρος*).<sup>564</sup> In IV.iii, Rigopoulos’s Philaras quotes (with added embellishment) from *EF* 12 and describes to Milton the immediate impact that his words had when Philaras read Milton’s letter aloud in Greece:

Φιλ.           “Όταν δέ διεκοίνωσα πρὸς τοὺς δούλους ἀδελφούς μου ὅσα μοῦ ἔγραφες, ὦ γενναίε Μίλτων, κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῆς εὐχλεοῦς δημοκρατίας σας τὰς

<sup>562</sup> ‘The drama takes place in the capital of England, London, in the year 1673’ (Ἡ πρᾶξις τοῦ δράματος τελεῖται ἐν τῇ πρωτεύουσῃ τῆς Ἀγγλίας, Λονδίῳ, κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦ ἔτους 1673’) (Rigopoulos, *IOANNEΣ MIΛTΩN*, p. 5). On Rigopoulos, see Demaras, ‘Ἀνδρέας Ρηγόπουλος’, and Bakounakes, *Πάτρα 1828–1860*, pp. 101–107. Following Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) who spearheaded the revolutionary movement calling for the unification of Italy, Rigopoulos called for the establishment of a United States of Europe in a speech he delivered to the Greek Parliament in 1876 (Landuyt, *Idée d’Europe e integrazione europea*, p. 307).

<sup>563</sup> Christopoulos and Bastias (eds), *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους*, vol. 13, p. 16. After the expulsion of Otto of Greece, the Greek Parliament was reformed following the establishment of the Greek Constitution in 1864 which made Greece a crowned republic rather than a constitutional monarchy.

<sup>564</sup> Rigopoulos, *IOANNEΣ MIΛTΩN*, p. 76.

εὐγενεῖς, λέγω, ταύτας λέξεις, αἵτινες θέλουν μείνει ἑσαεὶ χαραγμένοι εἰς τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδίας τοῦ ἔθνους μου, καθὼς εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὰ στήθη ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ. “Ἐπιθυμῶ, μοῦ ἔγραφες, νὰ ἴδω τοὺς στόλους καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς τῆς Ἀγγλίας μεταβαίνοντας ὅπως ἐλευθερώσωσιν ἀπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὴν μετέρα ταύτην τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς εὐγλωττίας.” Ὡ! εἰς τὰς γενναίας ταύτας λέξεις, ὦ Μίλτων, ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν τεθλιμμένων ἀδελφῶν μου ἀνεσκίρτησε, τὰ πικρὰ χεῖλη τῶν ἐμειδίασαν, αἱ ἐλπίδες των ἀνεπτερώθησαν, ἀφ’ ἑνὸς ἄκρου ἕως ἄλλου, καὶ ὁ γηραιὸς Ὀλυμπος ἐσεῖσθη, καὶ ἔτριξαν τοῦ Παρθενῶνος τὰ μάρμαρα.

Philaras: But when I read aloud to my fellow slaves what you wrote to me, oh valiant Milton, during the time of your gracious and noble democracy,<sup>565</sup> I recite these words which you wished to become engraved upon the leaves of my nation’s heart, just as they are also engraved in my breast. ‘I wish,’ you wrote to me, ‘to see the fleets and armies of England passing over to liberate Greece, that land of liberty and eloquence, from the yoke of the barbarians’. Oh! After hearing your courageous words, Milton, the souls of my sorrowful brothers were awakened. Their bitter lips broke into smiles, their hopes were renewed, from one end of Greece to the other. Old Olympus was awakened and the Parthenon marbles stirred themselves awake.<sup>566</sup>

Rigopoulos was not the only radical thinker of nineteenth-century Greece who regarded Milton as a unique, Early Modern philhellene in the political sense; that is, Milton served as an isolated example of someone who advocated for Greek liberation from the Ottoman Empire long before the Greek Enlightenment.<sup>567</sup> In a lecture on ‘the present or Neohellenic period, which turns round the final struggle for political independence’ which he delivered at Oxford’s Taylorian Institute in June 1897, the Greek socialist theorist and politician Platon Drakoulis (1858–1942) begins his lecture with Milton’s letters to Philaras: ‘the great poet writes in Greek, and the following words from one of his letters have become the inspiring motto of the Philhellenic movement: ‘οὐδὲν ἀνδρικώτερον, οὐδὲν εὐγενέστερον ἢ

<sup>565</sup> I.e. during the English Republic (1649–1660).

<sup>566</sup> Rigopoulos, *IOANNEΣ ΜΙΛΤΩΝ*, p. 77.

<sup>567</sup> On political Philhellenism in Britain, see Miliori, ‘Europe, the classical *polis*, and the Greek nation: Philhellenism and Hellenism in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, and Beaton, *Byron’s War: Romantic Rebellion, Greek Revolution*.

ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιεῖσθαι [Nothing manlier and nothing nobler than to make Greeks free and independent]'.<sup>568</sup> Highlighting Milton's Latin–Greek code-switching in his letter to Philaras, Drakoulis hyper-Hellenizes the original Greek quotation from *EF* 12 since he has actually quoted Milton's 'vel saudendo vel fortiter faciendo' in Greek (οὐδὲν ἀνδρικώτερον, οὐδὲν εὐγενέστερον ἦ). Nevertheless, Drakoules pinpoints Milton's letters to Philaras as the starting point of a radical, Philhellenic movement. The reception of the Milton–Philaras correspondence in nineteenth-century Greece suggests that Milton was regarded—idolized, even—as an early pioneer and advocate for the cause for Greek independence.<sup>569</sup> This is reflected by Demetrios Georgantopoulos in an 1877 essay in which he singles out Milton as the first Philhellene on the basis of *EF* 12:

καὶ ὁ ἀληθὴς Ἕλλην Φιλαρᾶς, ὁ ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς πολυμαθίας του ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς φιλίας τοῦ Μίλτωνος) τοῦ Μίλτωνος ἐκείνου ὄν **δυνάμεθα ὀνομάσαι τὸν πρῶτον καὶ ἀρχαιότερον, μεταξύ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων, φιλέλληνα.**

And the true Hellene, Philaras, was the one and only person who was worthy of the polymath Milton's friendship. Indeed, **one could call Milton the first and earliest Philhellene among the Europeans.**<sup>570</sup>

The reception of the Milton–Philaras correspondence underscores the historic singularity of Milton's advocacy for political Philhellenism in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>571</sup> Yet, Raf van

<sup>568</sup> Drakoulis, *Neohellenic Language and Literature*, pp. 42–43. Drakoulis was the author of works such as *What Socialism Means* [Τὶ σημαίνει Σοσιαλισμός] (1886) and *The Worker's Manual: i.e., the Basis of Socialism* [Τὸ Εγχειρίδιον τοῦ Εργάτου, ἤτοι Αἱ Βάσεις τοῦ Σοσιαλισμοῦ] (1893). For Drakoulis and Socialism, see: Karafoulidou, *The Language of Socialism: the Perspective of Class and National Ideology in the Greek 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, and Psalidopoulos, 'The Dissemination of Economic Thought in South-Eastern Europe in the Nineteenth Century'. For Milton's reception among Marxist and Communist authors, see Péti, *Paradise from Behind the Iron Curtain*.

<sup>569</sup> See also Politi, *Συνομιλώντας με τὰ κείμενα*, p. 61, and Mantzanas, 'Byzantine Political Philosophy, Greek Identity and Independence in Leonardo Philaras' Works'.

<sup>570</sup> Georgantopoulos, 'Voltaire, Some of His Contemporaries, and Milton as Philhellenes', p. 32.

<sup>571</sup> For an up-to-date biography and bibliography of Philaras, see Villani, 'Villeré, Leonardo'.

Rooy and Han Lamers demonstrate that Philhellenism was rarely associated with the political ambition of liberating Greece in the Early Modern period, stressing that

it is important to realize that Early Modern Philhellenism usually did not imply sympathy with the Early Modern Greeks in the Ottoman Empire. Early Modern *φιλέλληνες* were primarily distinguished by their love of Ancient Greek literature, and being called a *φιλέλλην* was first and foremost a title of distinction in the language of the ancient Greeks, usually assigned by one humanist to another.<sup>572</sup>

Similarly, Skretkowicz has demonstrated that the wide-scale, philhellenic admiration for the Greek novels of Achilles Tatius and Longus throughout Protestant, Northern Europe came about as a result of a concerted effort to promote ‘pan-European Protestantism’ and the ‘destruction of tyrants’.<sup>573</sup> Although Milton’s declaration in *EF* 15 that ‘since boyhood I have been a worshipper of everything pertaining to the name of Greek, and your Athens above all’ (*cum sim a pueritia totius Graeci nominis tuarumque in primis Athenarum cultor*) is typical of the Early Modern humanist’s deep admiration for Greek literature—as is Milton’s quotation from Apollonius’s *Argonautica* (2.203–5) in the same letter—what is markedly atypical, however, is Milton’s historically exceptional sympathy for the plight of contemporary Greeks.<sup>574</sup> However, Philaras may have found that the literary philhellenism of politically influential figures such as Milton (Cromwell’s Secretary of Foreign Tongues) and, as I discuss below, Constantijn Huygens (Secretary to the Prince of Orange), could serve as a scholarly “ice breaker” with which he could advocate and petition for Greek liberation. For example, with respect to Marcantonio Giustiani, Karathanasis Athanasiou states that Philaras

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<sup>572</sup> Rooy and Lamers, ‘*Graecia Belgica*’, p. 454, n.31. See also Celenza, ‘Hellenism in the Renaissance’.

<sup>573</sup> Skretkowicz, *European Erotic Romance: Philhellene Protestantism, Renaissance Translation and English Literary Politics*, p. 3.

<sup>574</sup> *EF* 236–7. On Milton and political Philhellenism, see Spencer, ‘Milton, the First English Philhellene’, and Karagiorgos, *Anglo-Hellenic Cultural Relations*, pp. 55–60. On Milton and Philhellenism *qua* literary elitism, see Poole, ‘John Milton and the Beard-Hater’, pp. 178–9.



was able to gain access to the powerful Venetian Ambassador to France (and, later, Doge of Venice) on the basis of their shared interests in Greek literature and philosophy:

τὴν ἐποχὴ αὐτὴ ὁ Μαρκαντώνιος Giustiniani βρίσκονταν στο Παρίσι πρεσβευτὴς τῆς Βενετίας. Καθὼς φαίνεται, ὁ λόγιος Ἕλληνας σχετίστηκε μαζί του, γιατί ὁ Giustiniani ἦταν γνώστης τῆς ἐλληνικῆς καὶ μελετητὴς τῆς ἐλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας.

at that time, Marcantonio Giustiani was there in Paris as ambassador of Venice. Apparently, the learned Greek [Philaras] was associated with him because Giustiani was a connoisseur of Greek and a scholar of Greek philosophy.<sup>575</sup>

Although Philaras's letters prompting Milton's *EF* 12 (June 1652) and *EF* 15 (28 September 1654) as well as Philaras's replies to Milton's are lost (or, more optimistically, yet to be discovered), examining Philaras's unpublished writings from the 1650s and early 1660s provide critical insights into the kinds of arguments Philaras may have posed to Milton concerning the cause of Greek liberation. Also, with respect to Milton's own views regarding Greek liberation in his 'Instructions for the Agent to the Great Duke of Muscovy' (1657) and *A Brief History of Moscovia* (published in 1682), studying Philaras's archives also illuminates the confessional context for Milton's advocacy for Greece's liberation from the Ottoman Empire.

Why does Milton give such prominence to Philaras in *Defensio Secunda*? And why is Milton at pains to publicise the Athenian's praise of *Defensio Prima*? In *Defensio Secunda*, Milton draws the pan-European audience's attention to the fact that *Defensio Prima* has won the praise of Philaras: 'and even Greece herself, Athens herself in Attica, as if come to life again, has applauded me in the voice of Philaras, her most illustrious nursling' (*quin & ipsa Græcia, ipsæ Athenæ Atticæ, quasi jam redivivæ, nobilissimi alumni sui Philaræ voce,*

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<sup>575</sup> Athanasiou, 'Unedited Letter of Leonardos Filaras (1668)', p. 78.

*applausere*).<sup>576</sup> In Donald Roberts's note to this passage in the Yale Milton, he states that 'Milton exaggerates the importance of Philaras' and, similarly, Börje Knös remarks upon Philaras's politically minor role in comparison to Milton.<sup>577</sup> If Milton does 'exaggerate' Philaras's status in *Defensio Secunda*, why might this be? Could Milton's invocation of Philaras's praise of *Defensio Prima* (and, metonymically, the admiration that Greece holds towards Milton) be part of a rhetorical strategy to counter his adversaries' denigration of Milton in hellenic terms? Philaras's unpublished, unedited letters in Parma reveal, to the contrary, that Philaras was deeply connected with radical, political networks across Europe as part of his efforts to organise an international coalition of forces to liberate Greece.

The importance of re-evaluating the political standing and associations of Philaras for Miltonists is that it casts both their relationship and the signals Milton is sending when he invokes Philaras in *Defensio Secunda* in a new light. Rather than viewing their relationship as being based solely on a shared admiration for Greek literature (which, of course, they do have), the wider context that is gained from examining Philaras's unpublished, archival writings at the Parma State Archives and the KB National Library of the Netherlands positions Milton within Philaras's radical network across Europe.

Milton's acknowledgement of Philaras's praise of *Defensio Prima* may signal the radical networks to which he and Philaras belong. In a letter from London on 23 August 1655 to Charles X of Sweden, the Swedish diplomat Christer Bonde encloses a different letter from Philaras concerning Charles X gaining an English fleet (and, as shown in *EF 12*, Philaras

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<sup>576</sup> *CPW* 4:655; *CW* 8:190.

<sup>577</sup> *CPW* 8:655, n.447. 'These letters are interesting evidence of Philaras's reputation, since such an important person as Milton found time to correspond and maintain relations with a man who played only a small role in politics' ('Τοῦτο τὰ γράμματα εἶναι ἐνδιαφέροντα τεκμήρια τῆς τοῦ Φιλαρᾶ, ἀφοῦ ἓνα τόσο σημαντικὸ πρόσωπο σὰν τὸν Μίλτωνα βρῖσκει καιρὸ ν'ἀλληλογραφῆ καὶ νὰ διατηρῆ σχέσεις μὲ ἓναν ἄντρα, πού στήν πολιτικὴ ἔπαιξε μικρὸ μόνο ρόλο') (Knös, 'Ο ΛΕΟΝΑΡΔΟΣ Ο ΦΙΛΑΡΑΣ', p. 355).

closely monitored the English fleets): ‘the enclosed letter and proposal have come to me through a Greek, one Leonard Philaras, or as he is called in French De Villère, with an earnest request that they may be forwarded in all submission to Y.M. He gives as his referees Mr Radzievski [sc. Radziejowski] and l’Abbé Daneil’.<sup>578</sup> Philaras’s referee, Hieronim Radziejowski (1612–1667), was a Polish radical who conspired against King John II Casimir for which he was exiled from Poland in 1652 and then fled from Poland to Sweden in the same year. Philaras must have met him in France and, together with Philaras, Radziejowski ‘involved himself in efforts to organize a coalition against the Turks, with the object of liberating Greece’.<sup>579</sup> Further on in the same letter, Bonde describes Philaras as someone ‘who can talk very well on the affairs of the Turks, the Cossacks and Tartars, and the Muscovites’, and Philaras’s knowledge of affairs in Eastern Europe are evidenced in his archival letters.<sup>580</sup>

Unlike Radziejowski, Milton cannot provide any practical means from the Cromwellian government of supporting the coalition that Philaras is galvanising. Being unable to provide British naval power (which Philaras evidently requested in his lost letter) from the Cromwellian government for the cause of liberating Greece, Milton insists in *EF* 12 that Greek liberation can be achieved by Philaras himself through waking up the minds of the subjugated Greek populace: ‘someone should, by proclaiming that zeal of old, have the power to arouse and ignite in the minds of the Greeks that ancient valour, industry, and endurance of hardship’ (*ut quis antiquam in animis Graecorum virtutem, laborum tolerantiam, antiqua illa studia dicendo suscitare atque accendere possit*).<sup>581</sup> The consolation

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<sup>578</sup> Roberts (ed.), *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell’s Court*, trans. by Roberts, p. 143.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>580</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143–4.

<sup>581</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 232; *EF* 202–5.

that Milton provides after informing Philaras he cannot fulfil Philaras's request for an English fleet in order to liberate Greece appears to draw upon the language of the first generation of Greek *émigrés* who fled to the West following the Fall of Constantinople. Michael and Arsenios Apostoles (father and son), the Greek scholar and poet Marcus Musurus (1470–1517), and Marullus Tarconiota (c.1458–1500) all invoke national awakening and the waking up of Greeks' minds in their proto-nationalist works.<sup>582</sup>

In *EF* 12, Milton draws specifically upon the rhetorical tropes of the genre of *threnoi* ["laments"], especially those composed in the years following the Fall of Constantinople rather than upon the Latin tradition of the *consolatio*.<sup>583</sup> Indeed, as I show below, Philaras also composed poetry in the tradition of the Greek *threnoi* as evidenced by my discovery of his poem on the Fall of Constantinople ('Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli invenetur'; see Appendix C). Milton's insistence that Philaras can save Greece by waking up the Greeks who have forgotten their 'ancient valour' (*antiquam... virtutem*) and thereby reclaim their nationhood is similar to Musurus's powerful call for Greek liberation in his *Ode to Plato*. This ode was printed in the *editio princeps* of Aldus Manutius's *Opera omnia* of Plato in 1513:

λεὼς ὅτι θάρσος αἰείρας  
Γραικὸς ὁ δουλεία νῦν κατατρυχόμενος,  
ἀρχαίης ἀρετῆς, ἴν' ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἴδῃται,  
 μνήσεται οὐτάζων δῆϊον ἐνδομύχως [...]  
 τῷ δ' Ἐκαδημείης ὄνομ' εἶη κυδιανείρης  
 ζήλω τῷ προτέρης, ἦν ποτ' ἐγὼ νεμόμην,  
 κούροις εὐφυέεσσιν ἐπισταμένων ὀαριζῶν  
τούς γ' ἀναμνήσκων ὧν πάρος αὐτοὶ ἴσαν.

**the Greek people — now exhausted by slavery — will remember their ancient virtue,**  
 because they will have increased their courage, striking the enemy from within, in order to

<sup>582</sup> See Bargeliotes, 'The Enlightenment and the Hellenic "genos"', and Siniosoglou, *Radical Platonism in Byzantium*, pp. 414–5.

<sup>583</sup> On Greek *threnoi* on the fall or destruction of cities including Constantinople, see Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in the Greek Tradition*, pp. 83–101. On the *threnoi* following the Fall of Constantinople—of which over 100 are extant—see Karanika, 'Messengers, Angels, and Laments for the Fall of Constantinople'.

behold the day of liberty [...] May its name be that of the renowned Academy with the zeal of the previous one, which I once managed, discussing with noble youths the things that are known and **reminding them of the things which they themselves had known before.**

(Musurus, *Ode to Plato*, ll.131–4; 165–8)<sup>584</sup>

In comparing Musurus's *Ode to Plato* with Milton's *EF 12*, one finds an emphasis on the role of memory and remembrance. There is a striking similarity between Musurus's invocation to his fellow Greeks to remember their 'ancient virtue' (*ἀρχαίης ἀρετῆς*) and to '[remember] the things which they themselves had known long before' (*ἀναμνήσκων ὧν πάρος αὐτοὶ ἴσαν*) and Milton's encouragement that Philaras can 'arouse and ignite in the minds of the Greeks that ancient valour' (*antiquam in animis Graecorum virtutem [...] suscitare atque accendere*) and reclaim their nationhood from the Ottoman Empire. While Milton remarked in *EF 7* to Diodati that he read up to the point that 'the Greeks cease to be Greeks' and losing their 'ancient valour' following an event such as the Fall of Athens, in *EF 12* Milton encourages Philaras that he can help his compatriots regain Greece by, in his view, recovering their forgotten, ancient Athenian virtues.

Extraordinary details about Philaras's efforts to rally support across Europe to liberate Greece can be found in the letters held at the Parma State Archives. Philaras's unedited, untranslated letters to the Duke of Parma provide great insight into his reasoning and methods for promoting the cause of Greek liberation. For example, in one letter from 16 March 1658, Philaras states that the only way to roll-back 'Mahometismo' in Europe is 'through granting liberty to destitute Greece' (*per rimettere in libera la povera Grecia*) and by restoring 'the principles of the Greek rite' (*Prencipi di rito greco*).<sup>585</sup> Milton makes an

<sup>584</sup> Dijkstra and Hermans (eds), 'Musurus' Homeric Ode to Plato and his Requests to Pope Leo X', trans. by Dijkstra and Hermans, p. 51. The Greek text of Musurus's *Ode to Plato* is from this article. See also Sifakis, 'Μάρκου Μουσοῦρου τοῦ Κρητὸς ποίημα εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνα', and the commentary on *Ode to Plato* (ll. 1–20) in *The Hellenizing Muse*, ed. by Pontani and Weise, pp. 153–174.

<sup>585</sup> Parma State Archives, *Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia*, 618.165/5.

argument very similar to Philaras's where he cites the religious grounds for the cause of liberating Greece. In Milton's 'Instructions to an Agent in Russia' (1657), Milton states that his Highness would count it a great happynesse, if he could be in any way instrumentall to make peace among Christian princes, that **they might turne their joynt forces to set in freedome the Greeks**, & dispossessing infidells to plant again the gospel in those parts of Europe & Asia, which **now under bondage were once inhabited by orthodoxall Christians**.<sup>586</sup>

The addressee of Milton's 'Instructions for the Agent to the Great Duke of Muscovy' was most likely Richard Bradshaw who replaced Edmund Prideaux in 1657 as an envoy of the Cromwellian government following Prideaux's diplomatic disaster which resulted in the Russian government informing Prideaux on 2 July 1655 that all English commerce was banned.<sup>587</sup> Writing on behalf of the Cromwellian government, Milton requests the English agent to garner support from the Duke of Moscovia, Aleksei Mikhailovich (1629–1676)—that is, Alexis of Russia, Tsar of the Russian Empire—for the cause of liberating Greece.

By contextualising Milton's political Philhellenism in the activities and writings of Philaras, one can gain crucial insights into the root causes of Milton's reasons for advocating the liberation of Early Modern Greece in the Early Modern period as well as understanding why Milton and his regicidal writings were especially admired by the Athenian Philaras who was, as his unpublished letters reveal, deeply interested in the writings of English radicals. First, I will compare Milton's 'Instructions for the Agent to the Great Duke of Muscovy' (1657) with an especially long letter from Leonard Philaras dated 25 November 1656 (see

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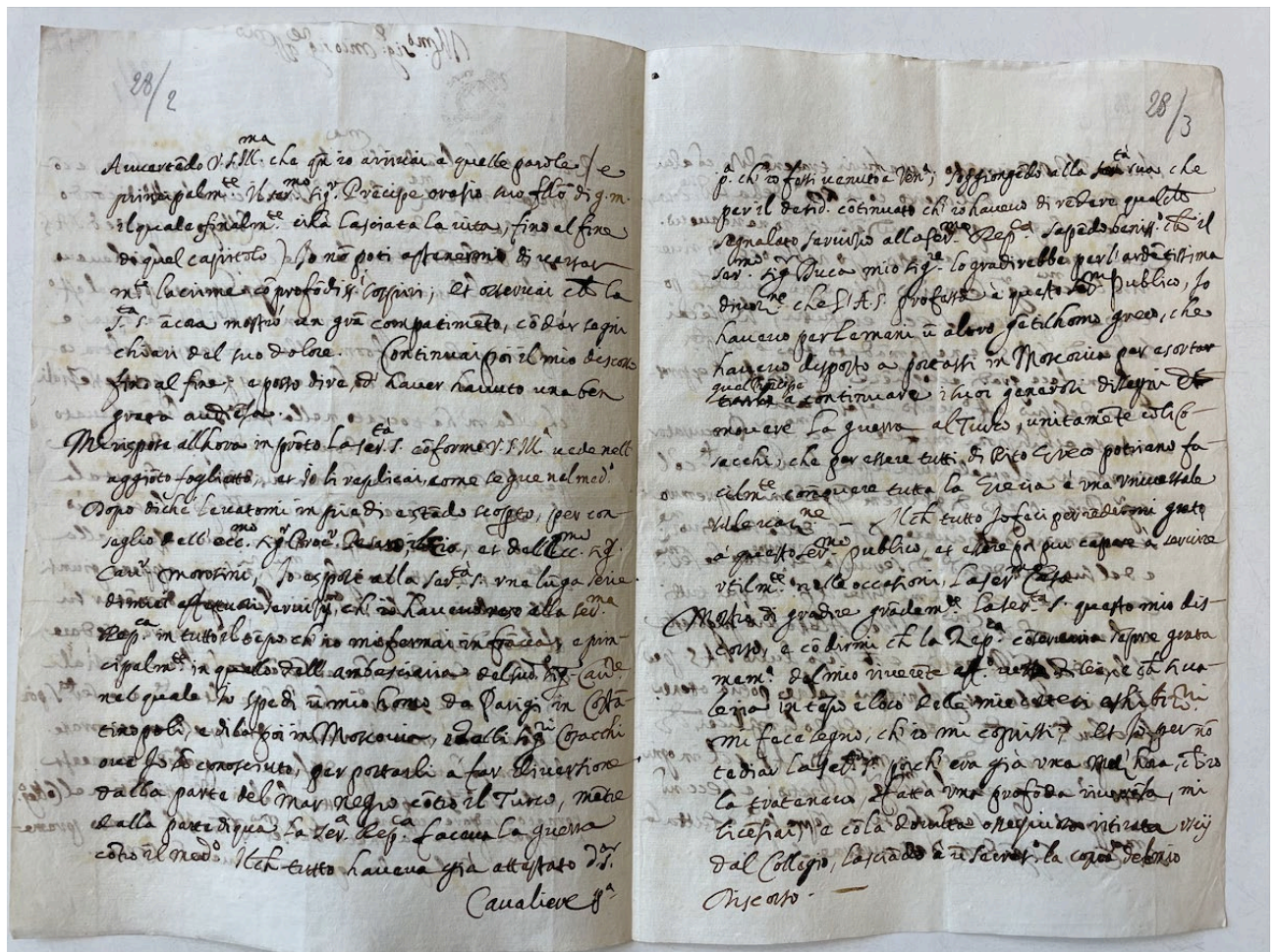
<sup>586</sup> CW 13:504. The shelf-mark of this letter (Letter 164) is 'Columbia University Archives, 164.CU.MS.98'. Cf. 'Letter 91' [10 April 1657], CW 13:300–303.

<sup>587</sup> Matthew Romaniello, *Enterprising Empires: Russia and Britain in Eighteenth-Century Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 39. For Milton's 'Instructions' and Bradshaw, see Robert Fallon, *Milton in Government* (Philadelphia: Penn State Press, 1993) 172–3; and Barbara Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography* (London: Wiley, 2008), p. 342. On the Commonwealth embassy led by William Prideaux to Russia, see Jan Hennings, *Russia and Courtly Europe: Ritual and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1648–1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 122–27; on both embassies by Prideaux and Bradshaw, see C.I. Arkhangel'skii, *Diplomaticheskie agenty Kromvelia v peregovorakh s Moskvoi*, *Istoricheskie Zapiski*, 5 (1939), pp. 118–40.

Fig. 24) in which Philaras explains his efforts from Venice to garner support from Russia to liberate Greece:

io havevo per le mani un altro gentilhommo greco, che haveno disposto a portarsi in Moscovia per esortarre <sup>qual Prencipe</sup> a continuare i suoi generali disegni movere la Guerra al Turco unitamente con li Cosacchi, che per essere tutti di Rito Greco potriano facilment<sup>e</sup> commovere tutta la Grecia à una Universalle sollevazio[ne].

I had at-hand another Greek gentleman, who I have disposed to go to Moscow to exhort the Prince to continue the plans of his generals to wage war against the Turks unitedly with the Cossacks who, being all of the Greek Rite, could easily push all of Greece to a general uprising.<sup>588</sup>



**Fig.24** A letter showing Philaras's efforts to galvanise an uprising in Greece. Parma State Archives, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia, 618.28/2–3

<sup>588</sup> Parma State Archives, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia, 618.28/1–2.

In this letter, Philaras explicitly delineates his plan for how to ‘push all of Greece to a general uprising’ (*commovere tutta la Grecia à una Universalle sollevazio[ne]*). Philaras’s request to his Greek compatriot to persuade the Duke of Moscow to wage war against the Ottomans by unifying with the Cossacks—that is, Orthodox Christians from Ukraine (including Crimea) and Southern Russia—who were still at war with Poland during the Cossack–Polish War (or Khmelnytsky Uprising) of 1648–1657. During this period, there were uprisings by Ukrainian Cossacks in Ottoman-ruled territories. By the time of Philaras’s 1656 letter, Ottoman power in regions across Ukraine had weakened as a result of a number of uprisings against Ottoman rule—namely in the Crimean Khanate—since 1648 and especially after the Pereiaslav Agreement of 1654 which marked the Ottoman failure to gain the allegiance of Ukrainian Cossacks because the Pereiaslav Agreement unified the Cossacks with the Russian Tsar.<sup>589</sup> Therefore, the momentum created by Cossack uprisings during the ongoing Cossack–Polish War (which led to a weakening of Ottoman power in Eastern Europe, and especially Crimea in Ukraine) appears to have led Philaras to propose to the ‘altro gentilhomo greco’ that the Duke of Moscow (the ‘Prencipe’) could establish a unified Russian–Cossack assault against the Turks in Greece in order to, ultimately, bring about a general uprising across the whole of Greece.<sup>590</sup>

Although Philaras does not specify who the ‘gentilhomo greco’ is whom he has spoken to in Venice, it is likely that the ‘gentilhomo greco’ was either a Greek teacher or a

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<sup>589</sup> See Basarab, *Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study*.

<sup>590</sup> On mid-seventeenth-century Crimea and the Ottoman Empire, see in particular Fisher, ‘The Ottoman Crimea in the Mid-Seventeenth Century’; Ostapchuk, ‘Cossack Ukraine In and Out of Ottoman Orbit, 1648–1681’; Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century)*; and Ocakli, ‘The Relations of the Crimean Khanate with the Ukrainian Cossacks, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy during the Reign of Khan Islam Giray III (1644–1654)’.



Greek merchant who had influence at the Royal Court in Moscow. As Guy Miège relates in *A Relation of Three Embassies from his Sacred Majesty Charles II to the Great Duke of Moscovie* (1669), Greeks were particularly welcome in Moscow:

there are moreover in *Mosco* a great number of *Greeks*, of *Persians*, and especially of *Tartars*, but they admit no *Jews*. The *Greeks* of all Strangers are most welcome to them, as being in many things conformable with them, but particularly in matters of Religion.<sup>591</sup>

Philaras describes the anonymous Greek as a ‘gentilhomo’ and, earlier in the same letter, Philaras states that he has to visit the Collegio (or Serenissima Signoria, which was the government headquarters of the Republic of Venice) for diplomatic business: ‘I have to go to the Collegio on behalf of the Serenissima’ (*io deveno passare in Collegio per parte di S.A.S.*).<sup>592</sup> Then, Philaras reveals that he already has agents at hand in Paris and Ukraine to arrange a united assault against the Turks: ‘I sent my man from Paris to Constantinople, and from there then to Moscow and where I am well-known among the Cossack gentlemen’ (*io spedi in mio homo da Parigi in Costantinopoli, e di là poi in Moscovia e dalli Sig.<sup>ri</sup> Cossachi ove io conosciuto*) in order that they might negotiate a unified assault ‘contro il Turco’.<sup>593</sup> The fact that this ‘gentilhomo greco’ is bound to leave Venice for the Royal Court in Moscow where he will petition the ‘Prencipe’ to wage war against the Turks for the ultimate cause of liberating Greece could suggest that Philaras’s compatriot was a socially elite Greek merchant who wielded influence in Moscow. Considering that the ‘Prencipe’ is referring to the Duke of Muscovy—Alexei Mikhailovich—was ‘an impeccable Grecophile’, it is likely that

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<sup>591</sup> Miège, *A Relation of Three Embassies from his Sacred Majesty Charles II to the Great Duke of Moscovie* (London, 1669), p. 138. Cf. Miège, *A Relation of Three Embassies*, p. 70: ‘the Religion of the *Russes* is the same with the Profession of the *Greeks*, they follow their Faith, their Rites, and their Ceremonies’.

<sup>592</sup> Parma State Archives, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia, 618. 28/1.

<sup>593</sup> Parma State Archives, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia, 618 28/2.

Philaras's 'gentilhomo greco' expected to enjoy a warm reception at the Royal Court.<sup>594</sup>

There is evidence that, from 1656–58, several eminent Greek merchants attended the Royal Court where they offered lavish gifts to the Tsar. As Alexey Levykin notes, such gifts 'were brought to Moscow on several occasions as gifts from sultans and **members of the mercantile elite, predominantly Greeks**'.<sup>595</sup> For example, on 1 June 1656, Dimitry Astafiev—a preeminent Greek merchant from Istanbul—presented Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich a *shestoper* (a ceremonial mace) which symbolized military authority.<sup>596</sup>

Milton, like Philaras, also employs the confessional argument that Philaras makes in his advocacy for Greek liberation. Philaras's argument that the Russians and the Cossacks—all being united by the Greek Orthodox Church—should be motivated to join forces and launch a military assault in Greece. The confessional dimension to the cause for Greek liberation from the Ottoman Empire is prominent in Milton's 1657 'Instructions' in which he not only cites the proximity of the Greek and Russian churches, but Milton also approximates the Protestant religion with the Greek Orthodox Church: 'the Muscovitish religion, a branch of the Greek church, is not so different from the Protestant religion, as is the Popish and Polonian'.<sup>597</sup>

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<sup>594</sup> Chrissidis, *An Academy at the Court of the Tsars: Greek Scholars and Jesuit Education in Early Modern Russia*, p. 49. On the movement between Venice and Moscow (via Constantinople) of Greek clergymen, teachers, and merchants in the seventeenth-century, see Chrissidis, *An Academy at the Court of the Tsars*, 35–74.

<sup>595</sup> Levykin, *The Tsars and the East*, p. 98.

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68. Other members of the Greek mercantile elite who attended the Royal Court at the time of Philaras's 1656 letter include: Avram Rodionov and Dmitry Konstantinov who presented Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich and Tsarevich Alexei Alexevich two Turkish saddles on 2 August 1656, and two Greek merchants (who were well-known in Moscow) called Ivan Nastasov and Dimitry Konstantinov visited the Royal Court in 1656 where they were accompanied by a group of other Greek petitioners (Levykin, p. 98).

<sup>597</sup> *CW* 13:505. On the interest among Protestant Reformers in the (Greek and Slavic) Orthodox Church, see Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz*, *passim*. For sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English Protestants' views of the Russian Orthodox Church, see Marshall Poe, *"A People Born to Slavery": Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 148–50.

The sentiment in Milton's 1657 'Instructions' differs markedly from Milton's views towards the Russian Orthodox Church in *A Brief History of Moscovia* (which Milton composed approximately a decade before in the mid-late 1640s, though published posthumously in 1682). Although he explicitly aligns the Russian Orthodox Church with the Greek Church, he nevertheless finds the Russian Orthodox Church corrupted by superstition, just as the Anglican Church had been, according to Milton, under Archbishop Laud: 'they follow the Greek Church, but with the excess of Superstitions'.<sup>598</sup> Similarly, Miège acknowledges the Greek connection but, like Milton, is censorious of the Russian *mores*: the *Moscovites, or Russians*, are those whom the Antients called *Rhoxalani*, they boast themselves descended from the *Greeks*, whom in many things they zealously imitate. But this I dare undertake, they are not descended from the *Lacedaemonians*; If they be, they have left all their Vertue behind them.<sup>599</sup>

Milton's willingness to approximate 'the Muscovitish religion' more closely with Protestantism in the space of approximately a decade since composing *A Brief History of Moscovia* shows a change in attitude towards the Greek Orthodox Church. Masson finds that the meeting between Milton and Philaras in London 'seems to have been an unusually interesting one', and perhaps the arguments that Philaras laid out to Milton—as he did to others across Europe—for the religious grounds of Greek liberation may have been one reason for why their meeting and subsequent association interested Milton so much.<sup>600</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> *A Brief History of Moscovia*, p. 18. For discussion of the Russian Orthodox Church's "superstition" and William Laud's church reforms in *A Brief History of Moscovia*, see Matthew Binney, 'Russia as "Pattern or Example": John Milton's *A Brief History of Moscovia* (1682)', *Prose Studies*, 42.2, 150–176, pp. 162–3. For stereotypes of Russian superstition and other Early Modern stereotypes about Russians, see Marshall Poe, *A People Born to Slavery: Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476–1748* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

<sup>599</sup> Miège, pp. 38–9.

<sup>600</sup> Masson, *The Life of John Milton*, vol. 4, p. 639.

Milton's view of the sympathy between Protestantism and the Greek Church could reflect the influence of Protestant Hellenists such as Melanchthon and Camerarius upon his views of the Greek Church and contemporary (Ottoman-ruled) Greece.<sup>601</sup> With respect to Melanchthon and contemporary Greece from a century before, two important texts are the native-Greek humanist scholar Antonios Eparchus (1491–1571) and his letter to Melanchthon on the subject of Greek liberation and Melanchthon's letter (in Greek) to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Joasaph II. As Ben-Tov observes, it was Melanchthon's championing of Greek studies which made Eparchus choose to write to him specifically on the subject of Greek liberation: 'that Eparchos should have chosen to address Melanchthon (rather than, say, Luther or any other prominent Lutheran Reformer) may be an indication of the latter's standing as champion of Greek studies'.<sup>602</sup>

However, it is the evidence in Philaras's unpublished letters of Philaras's admiration for the writings of other English radicals which most significantly influence our perspective on *EF* 12 and *EF* 15. This is clear from two letters from 9 February 1658 and, a week later, from 16 February 1658 in which Philaras records his delight in having read one work on popular rebellion and another on tyrannicide, both of which are topics highly pertinent to Philaras's efforts to organise a popular uprising in Greece.

First, in the letter from 9 February 1658, Philaras states that 'two excellent works have arrived in Venice which came from Frankfurt. One of them is against the Protector

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<sup>601</sup> On Protestant scholars and sympathy for the cause of Greek liberation from the Ottoman Empire, see Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity*, pp. 83–132; Pfeiffer, *Studien zur Frühphase des europäischen Philhellenismus (1453–1750)*; Benz, *Wittemberg und Byzanz*. On relations between Northern European Protestants and the Greek Orthodox Church in the mid-seventeenth century, see Calis, 'The Impossible Reformation: Protestant Europe and the Greek Orthodox Church'. On the associations of the Greek Orthodoxy with "Greekness", see Livanios, 'The Quest for Hellenism: Religion, Nationalism, and Collective Identities in Greece, 1453–1913'.

<sup>602</sup> Ben-Tov, *Lutheran Humanists and Greek Antiquity*, p. 91.

Cromwell and it argues that it is permitted to kill tyrants' (*Due belliss<sup>e</sup> scritture sono compassi in Ven.<sup>a</sup> vanute da Francfort, Una contro il Protettore Cromvel, contendo che sia lecito d' emmallare i tyranni*).<sup>603</sup> Second, a week later (16 February 1658), Philaras discusses in greater detail the contents of the two works, especially the work against Cromwell (see Fig. 25). In the 16 February 1658 letter, Philaras writes:

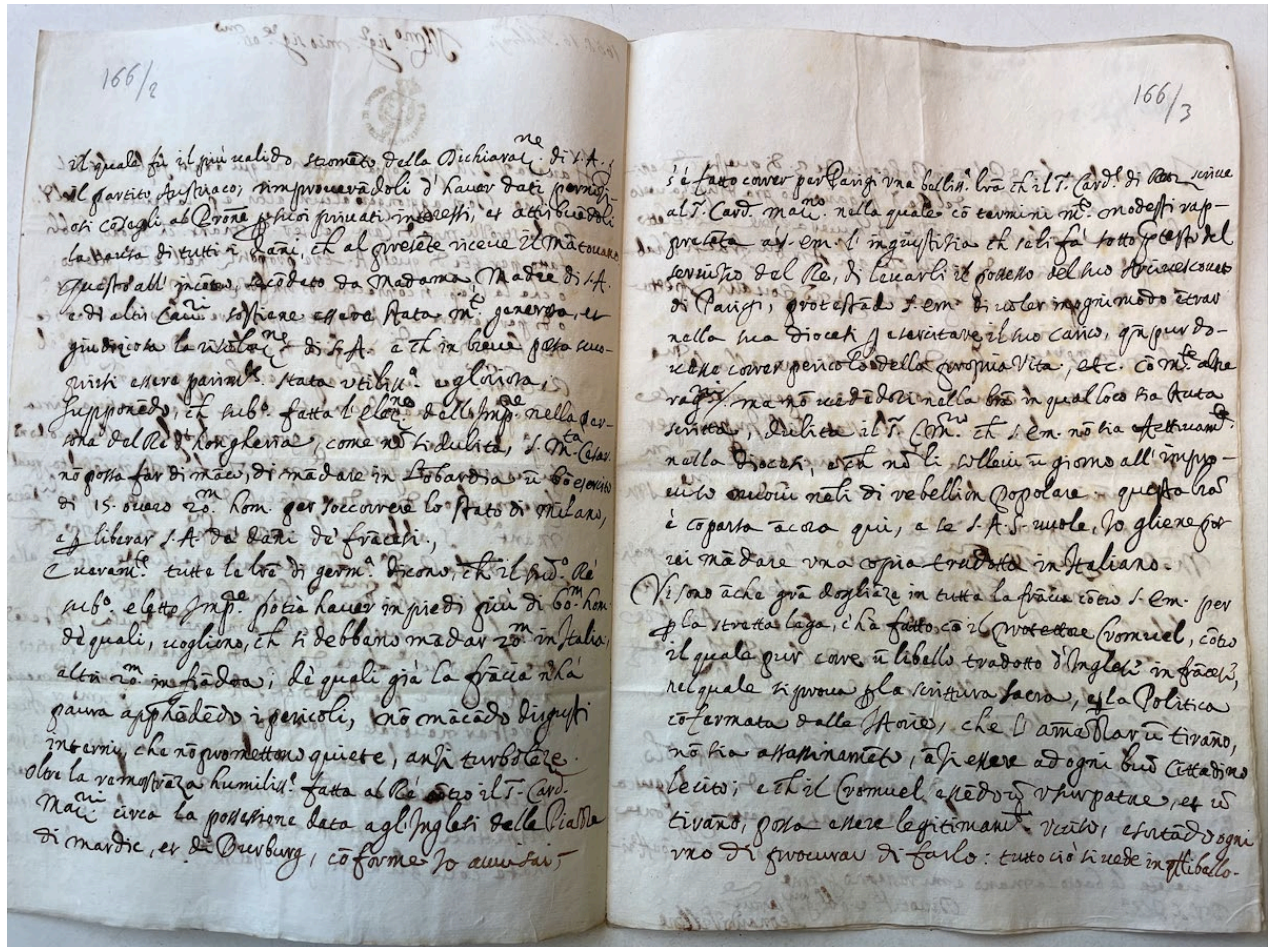
di rebellion popolare questa è compartita ancora qui [...] io gliere por sei mandare una copia tradutta in Italiano. Vi sono anche doglianze in tutta la francia contro S. Emp. Per la stretta laga, c'hà fatto con il protettore Cromvel, contro il quale pur [corre] un libello tradotto d'Inglesi' in Francese, nel quale si prova per la scrittura sacra, e per la Politica confermata dalle Istorie, che l'ammallara un tiranno, non sia assassinamento, [anti] essere ad ogni buon Cittadino lecito; e che il Cromvel essendo[un] usurpatore, et un tiranno, possa essere legitimane uciso [...] tutto ciò si vede in illo libello.

I will ask you to send me a copy of the work on popular rebellion translated into Italian. There are also grievances in all France against the monarchy. A little book has been translated from English into French against the Protector Cromwell in which it is proven through the Scriptures, and through *Politics* and confirmed by the *Histories*, that to kill a tyrant is not an assassination, but rather the duty of every good, lawful citizen. For Cromwell, being both a usurper and a tyrant, can legitimately be killed. All this can be seen in this little book.<sup>604</sup>

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<sup>603</sup> Parma State Archives, *Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia*, 618.164/6.

<sup>604</sup> Parma State Archives, *Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia*, 618.166/3.



**Fig. 25:** A letter detailing Philaras's reading of Edward Sexby's tyrannicide treatise, *Killing No Murder* (1657). Parma State Archives, Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia, 618.166/2–3. With permission of the Parma State Archives.

Although it is unclear which specific publication 'on Popular Rebellion' (*di rebellion popolare*)

Philaras is referring to—and which he asks to have an Italian translation sent to him—the

other revolutionary work that Philaras refers to can be readily identified. The *libello* that

Philaras is referring to in these two letters is Jacques Carpentier de Marigny's French

translation of Edward Sexby's *Killing No Murder*.<sup>605</sup> In his reading of *Killing No Murder*,

Philaras would have noticed Sexby's praise of his friend, John Milton: 'I answer with learned

<sup>605</sup> For discussion of Edward Sexby's *Killing No Murder*, see Smith, 'England, Europe, and the English Revolution', p. 38; and Lawson, 'Upon a Dangerous Design': The Career of Edward Sexby, 1647–1657'. Sexby died on 13 January 1658.

Milton that if God commanded these things, tis a signe they were lawfull and are commendable'.<sup>606</sup> As Su Fang Ng summarises, Sexby's treatise argues that 'Cromwell displays the traits of a tyrant as described by authorities such as Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus, Machiavelli, and Grotius [and] for examples of tyrannicide, the tract turns to scripture, including Moses' murder of the Egyptian, Samson's slaughter of the Philistines, Jehoida's assassination of Athaliah, and Ehud's killing of the tyrant Eglon with a concealed dagger'.<sup>607</sup> There are several reasons why the work that Philaras discusses in the letters from 9 and 16 February 1658 must be Sexby's *Killing No Murder*. First, the translator of the work (which Philaras states had arrived in Venice from Frankfurt), Jacques Carpentier de Marigny (1615–1670) was based in Frankfurt. Marigny attended the Diet of Frankfurt in 1657 and his letters from 1657–58 show that he was writing from Frankfurt.<sup>608</sup> Secondly, the language of Marigny's translation of Sexby's *Killing No Murder* reflects Philaras's description of the *libello* because Sexby's work (in Marigny's translation) advocates for 'la destruction du Tiran qui avoit aspiré à la Couronne'.<sup>609</sup> Sexby himself had admitted to authoring the work: 'and as touching the books, intituled *Killing no murder*, &c. he [Sexby] said, he owned them as his own work, and was still of that judgment: and said, he might have destroyed the protector, because he was

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<sup>606</sup> Sexby qt. by William Riley Parker in *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, p. 97. Parker explains that 'the Milton allusion comes in answer to two hypothetical objections to the second "question" [...] (1) is Cromwell a tyrant; (2) is it lawful to kill him; and (3) if it is lawful, is it profitable or noxious to the Commonwealth?' (Parker, *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, p. 97). With respect to this quotation, Christopher Hill observes that 'the ex-Agitator Edward Sexby also referred favourably to Milton in his *Killing No Murder* (1657)' (Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution*, p. 225). On Milton and Sexby, see also Lutaud, *Des revolutions d'Angleterre à la Révolution Française: Le Tyrannicide & Killing No Murder*, pp. 69–175; Hardin, 'Milton's Radical "Admirer" Edward Sexby', pp. 59–61; Holstun, 'Ehud's Dagger: Patronage, Tyrannicide, and "Killing No Murder"'; and Schrock, 'Plain Styles: Disillusioned Rhetoric in Edward Sexby's *Killing Noe Murder*'.

<sup>607</sup> Ng, *Literature and the Politics of Family in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 119.

<sup>608</sup> Maber, 'Les érudits français et l'Allemagne au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', p. 81; and Jacques Carpentier de Marigny, *Lettres de Monsieur de Marigny* (The Hague, 1658).

<sup>609</sup> Sexby, *Tuer un Tyran n'est pas un meurtre*, trans. by Marigny (Lyon, 1658), p. 119.

not chosen nor set up by the people'.<sup>610</sup> As already observed above, in the *Second Defence* (1654) Milton cites Philaras's praise of his regicidal treatise, and it is clear from Philaras's admiration for Marigny's translation of Sexby's treatise that these forms of regicidal, tyrannicidal works supported the Athenian's own efforts to liberate Greece.<sup>611</sup>

While Philaras's letter to Milton does not survive, Campbell and Corns infer from Milton's 1652 letter that 'Philaras had evidently written to Milton urging him to use his influence to secure English aid in liberating Greece from the Ottoman Empire'.<sup>612</sup> However, in one newly-discovered letter from 25 October 1662 at the KB National Library of the Netherlands at The Hague, I have discovered that Philaras sent the Dutch diplomat and poet Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) several poems, including one poem which has not been recorded in any bibliographies of Philaras's works (see Figs. 26 and 27). In his letters, Philaras refers to 'a friend of mine in The Hague' (*me in amico dela Haye*).<sup>613</sup> It may be the case that Philaras's friend in The Hague was Huygens. The fifth poem is a Greek poem on the Fall of Constantinople, titled: 'An Oracle Recently Discovered in Constantinople'. In the Latin translation, the oracle-speaker predicts that 'the barbarous rabble of Turks will perish in battle with Christendom' (*Barbara colluvies Turcorum, marte peribit Christiandum*) or, in the original Greek: 'the rabble of those born of Agar [i.e. Arabs or Turks] will perish in battle with the Christians' (*Τὰς ἄγαρ τῶν ἐκγόνων / ὁ συρφετὸς ὀλίται / μάχη τῶν χριστωνύμων*).<sup>614</sup>

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<sup>610</sup> 'The information of Thomas D'oyley, Daniel Steere, and John Hoskins, taken the 14<sup>th</sup> October 1657', *Thurloe Papers*, vol. IV, p. 122.

<sup>611</sup> Philaras writes about the possible 'coronation of King Cromwell' (l'incoronazione del Ré Cormvel) in Parma State Archives, *Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia*, 618.83/2–3; he mentions that Cromwell has 'not accepted the crown' (il Cromvel non accetta la Corona) in 618.96/1; and Philaras reports on Cromwell's death in 618.229/1.

<sup>612</sup> Campbell and Corns, p. 232.

<sup>613</sup> Parma State Archives, *Carteggio Farnesiano e Borbonico Estero, Venezia*, 618.55/2.

<sup>614</sup> The ascription of the Turks as "those born of Agar" is common among Byzantine authors including John Zonaras, Eustathius of Thessaloniki, and Nicetas Choniates. For discussion of Agar and Arabs, see Ana Echevarría, *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude Towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1999),



When the oracle-speaker states that ‘soon the horns of the swollen moon will tumble down’ (*tumidaeque ruent mox cornuae Lunae*), this is referring to the Islamic symbol of the crescent moon representing the Ottoman Empire in opposition to the symbol of the ‘cross’ (*Crucis*) representing Christendom (*Christiandum*).<sup>615</sup> The sentiments in this poem reflect the arguments Philaras makes as evidenced in his letters, and his figuration of the Fall of Constantinople (and Ottoman domination in Greece) is itself an affront to Christendom compliments the religious rationale he offers for attempting to persuade European dignitaries to liberate Greece. Just as Milton’s Greek phrases in *EF* 6 and *EF* 7 appear to quote or paraphrase Diodati’s (lost) Greek correspondence, the Greek in *EF* 12 concerning the freedom of the Greeks closely resembles such invocation to the Greeks’ love of freedom in Philaras’s Greek poetry. The second poem, ‘In Priase of the City of the Venetians’ (*Εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς πολιτείας τῶν βενετῶν*) touches upon similar themes concerning the fate of the Greeks (though, in 1667, Philaras re-names this ‘Poem on the Siege of Candia’ [i.e. Modern Heracleion]).<sup>616</sup> Like Huygens, Milton also received gifts enclosed in a letter. Milton received Philaras’s *effigies* and an *elogium* which accompanied it.<sup>617</sup> As Huygens wrote at the bottom

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104: 'Saint Jerome had wrongly used the etymology of "Sons of Sarah" in his *In Ezechielem* [...] However, it was more accurate according to tradition to use the name "agaren", meaning "son of agar", since the Arabs were believed to come from the clan of Abraham's slave, Agar. Obviously, descent from a slave was considered pejorative in the eyes of Christians, who claimed to descend from Sarah's legitimate branch'. For a bibliographical description of Philaras’s extant poetry, namely in Philaras’s autograph codex (BNF, MS Coislin CCCLII), see *EF*, pp. 200–1.

<sup>615</sup> On the crescent moon as a symbol for the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern period, see Formica, *Lo specchio turco*.

<sup>616</sup> For the text and short commentary to Philaras’s 1667 version, see Zakuthenos [Ζακυθηνός] Διονύσιος Α. Ζακυθηνός, «Λεονάρδου Φιλαρᾶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Ποίημα περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τοῦ Χάνδακος», *Περιοδικὸν Δελτίον Βιβλιοθήκης Κρητικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου ἐν Χανίοις*, ἔτος Α΄, τεῦχος Δ΄ (Ἰούλιος, Αὐγουστος, Σεπτέμβριος 1928), pp. 180–182. Candia eventually fell to the Ottomans by the end of the First Ottoman–Venetian War (1645–1669).

<sup>617</sup> Philaras’s letter to Huygens is not attested in any bibliographies, and the last poem in Philaras’ letter does not feature in any bodies of Philaras’ extant works, either in manuscript or print. For extensive discussion of Huygens and Greek (in which no mention of Philaras is made), see Christopher Joby, ‘The Use of Greek in the Poetry of Constantijn Huygens’; Joby, ‘The Use of Greek in the Correspondence of Constantijn Huygens’; Joby,

of the first folio, Philaras' five autograph poems were 'gifts from the author, my noble Athenian friend, sent from Paris on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1662' (*dona auctoris, nobilis amici Atheniensis. Paris: 25. Octob. 1662*).<sup>618</sup> The authorship of the fifth poem is uncertain. Although it is possible that Philaras composed it, the fact that Huygens notes that Philaras had sent 'Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum' (together with the four other poems) from Paris in 1662 and the fact that the only other manuscript witness to this poem is found in a manuscript in the hand of the French scholar Etienne Baluze (1630–1718) (held at the Bibliothèque National de France, MS Baluze 95 fol. 50<sup>v</sup>) could suggest that Philaras encountered the poem via Baluze in Paris.<sup>619</sup> Yet, according to Leonard Doucette, 'Baluze [...] knew no Greek and did not deal with Greek texts'.<sup>620</sup> As evidenced by Philaras's letters above, Philaras's agents regularly travelled between Paris and Constantinople. The title of the poem could be read literally: it was discovered in contemporary Constantinople. Therefore, if Philaras had acquired the Greek poem 'Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum', he may have then shared it with Baluze.

With respect to Philaras's poetry from the 1640s—namely his poem on the Fall of Man in the form Greek, Pindaric ode—Filippomaria Pontani suggests that, while 'the result may be less than satisfying to our ears, **it probably impressed John Milton**, whom Philaras knew during his stay in London in 1652-54 [as] it ultimately configured even in Greek a new

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'Constantijn Huygens' Knowledge and Use of Greek'; Joby, *The Multilingualism of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687)*.

<sup>618</sup> KB National Library of the Hague, 1900 A 235.01 fol.1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>619</sup> On Baluze as a collector of Greek manuscripts, see Jackson, 'The Greek Manuscripts of John Moore and Etienne Baluze'. On Baluze's association with Greeks residing in Paris, see Serbat, 'Voyage et aventures en France d'Athanase et Nicolas Constantios Caliméra grecs de Chypre (1665)', vol. 1, p. 255. See also Doucette, *Emery Bigot*, pp. 115–117. For the textual differences between Philaras and Baluze's versions of 'Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum', see Appendix C. In addition to the Greek text and Latin translation of the poem, MS Baluze 95 also includes Baluze's French translation of it.

<sup>620</sup> Doucette, *Emery Bigot*, p. 117.

Christian appropriation of the Pindaric ode as a counter suitable for religious subject-matter'.<sup>621</sup> Regardless of the authorship and origin of 'Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum', Philaras's inclusion of this poem together with the second poem about the Siege of Candia (which Philaras *did* compose) in the selection sent to Huygens highlights a common theme in Philaras's correspondence with Milton and Huygens: invoking the plight of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks and the Greeks' need for military (and specifically naval) assistance from the English and Dutch republics.

Philaras's letter to Huygens is lost, as are Philaras's letters to Milton. However, what does survive of Philaras's writings provide important insights into what those letters to Milton may have contained. By studying Philaras's unpublished writings, one can gain an insight into the kinds of arguments that Philaras may have posed to Milton for advocating Greek liberation from the Ottoman Empire. The confessional context of Philaras's advocacy may have been particularly influential with respect to Milton's attitudes towards the situation in Greece since there is a marked shift in Milton's attitudes towards the Greek Orthodox Church between the composition of the *History of Britain* and the 'Instructions'. In contradiction to the reception of the Philaras–Milton correspondence in the nineteenth-century, which establishes the friendship between Philaras and Milton solidly in lofty Philhellenism, the unpublished letters of Philaras demonstrate that the relationship between Philaras and Milton was, in addition to their mutual admiration for Greek literature and culture, also founded on Philaras's admiration for English regicidal, tyrannicidal works too. It is possible that not only Philaras's poetry but also his arguments for Greek liberation may have impressed Milton too.

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<sup>621</sup> Pontani, 'Pindar's Liberal Songs', p. 195. For commentary and English translation by Zoras, Yiavis, and Pontani of Philaras's 'To the Virgin Mary' (excerpt ll.16-45), see 'Greece' in *The Hellenizing Muse*, pp. 30-81.

**Fig. 26:** Philaras's signature in Greek beneath the first of five poems enclosed in a (lost) letter from Philaras to Huygens (The Hague, KB National Library of the Hague, 1900 A 235.01 fol.1<sup>v</sup>). By permission of the KB National Library of the Hague.

Ορακλιῶν περὶ (Κωνσταντινουπόλεως) ἰνυῶν  
 ex Graeco in Latīnū versū.

†

καὶ οὐ σεβασίμῳτες μετὰ τὰς δυστυχίας μέθων ἐξαναγήσει ἔχασ' ἀνομιλίῳ.	ὁ σφραγιστὴς ὄλθαι μάχην τῶν θεῶν ἰσχυρῶν. Ἐξήτητο δὲ σελήνης τρυφωμένου κέρας.
κληῖον ἐλοθέριας, ἔκκλιον πετρωμῶτος ἕμας ἐπονοσήσθ. τῆς ἀγαθῶν ἐκτόνου	χεῖρας ἕδη τῶν ἀρεσῶν, καὶ τὸ σαυρὸ σφραγῶν κίχαις καὶ ἀραταίωμας πάνθ' ἰαμυσήρια.

Tu quoque dicitur Paveni majorem post fata refurges  
 Grecia, et Argolicis remeabit gloria terris.  
 Barbaras collucies Turovū, Martis p̄n̄b̄  
 Chivtiadū, tumidaque vultu noc̄ cornua Lunae  
 Chivti adest, et v̄n̄q; Quis Mystera fulgens.

**Fig. 27:** 'Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum' (The Hague, KB National Library of the Hague, 1900 A 235.01 fol.4<sup>v</sup>). By permission of the KB National Library of the Hague.

In this section, I have explored the details Philaras provides in attempting to organise an international alliance to wage an assault on Ottoman-ruled Greece and Philaras's praise of the writings of other English radicals, most strikingly the tyrannicidal treatise *Killing No Murder* by Edward Sexby. Read in the wider context of Philaras's unpublished writings, it becomes apparent that Philaras's admiration for Milton and his *Defenses* are related to the Athenian's wider admiration for regicidal, tyrannicidal tracts of English radical thinkers. What is more, the confessional arguments that Philaras outlines for the case of the liberation of Greece provide significant context for Milton's 'Instructions to an Agent in Russia' (1657) as well as for ascertaining what Philaras's half of the Milton–Philaras correspondence might have looked like. Regarding Milton's political Philhellenism, I have argued that his advocacy for Greek liberation on religious grounds is informed by other Northern European Protestants' affinity with the Greek Orthodox Church.

## Chapter 4: Milton as Scholar-Poet: Imitation, Origination, and Homeric Problems in Books 1 and 2 of *Paradise Lost*

### 4.1: The Fall of Mulciber and Anachronism in *Paradise Lost* Book 1

In *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, Poole demonstrates the crucial though largely overlooked influence of Apollonius's Hellenistic epic, the *Argonautica*, upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In particular, Poole finds that Milton himself employs Apollonius's 'etymological antiquarianism' within passages alluding specifically to the Hellenistic epic.<sup>622</sup> In the passages from *Paradise Lost* Books 1 and 2 which I explore in this chapter, I build on Poole's argument that Apollonius is central to Milton's 'antiquarian interest in etymology' and his 'lexicographical and rhetorical passion for etymology' that is demonstrated especially in Milton's design of passages explicating the grain of truth that pagan myths of theomachy had in relation to the Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Fall of Man.<sup>623</sup> As Denis Feeney explains, for Milton, 'the Titans of pagan fable are not simply fictions, as they had been for Lucretius, but an imperfect memory of the real battle in heaven, between Lucifer and the true God', and in this section I demonstrate the centrality of Apollonius' *Argonautica* in the two passages of *Paradise Lost* which deal with this phenomenon: the Fall of the Rebel Angels later 'fabl'd' (*PL* I.739) as the fall of Mulciber and the serpent's tempting Eve which was subsequently 'fabl'd' (*PL* 10.580) as the myth of Ophion and Eurynome.<sup>624</sup> In the second section of this chapter, I demonstrate how the widely-proposed view regarding Milton's reading of Eustathius's Homeric commentaries can help us to consider the ways that Milton

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<sup>622</sup> William Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost* (London: Harvard University Press, 2017), p. 197.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>624</sup> Feeney, 'First Similes in Epic', p. 225.

may have responded to certain “Homeric Problems”.<sup>625</sup> As shown in Chapter 2.2, the Homeric criticism of the ancient scholiasts circulated to a surprising extent in the Early Modern period, and I explore the role that such bodies of ancient and Byzantine Homeric scholarship may have played in Milton’s design of Book 2: arguably the most Odyssean episode of *Paradise Lost*.

In his depiction of the rebel angel Mulciber’s fall from heaven, the narrator explicitly delves into the prehistory and source of the god Hephaestus’s fall from Olympus, declaring that Hephaestus’s fall derived from Mulciber’s fall after the war in heaven. While modelled closely on the fall of Hephaestus (*Iliad* 1.591-5), the narrator of *Paradise Lost* stresses the antecedence of Mulciber’s fall to that of Homer’s Hephaestus because Mulciber ‘fell long before’ (*PL* 1.748). As Stephen Dobranski explains, ‘Milton thus emphasizes that Mulciber fell long before Greek and Roman culture when he fled heaven with the rest of Satan’s crew. In this way, Milton repudiates Classical myth even as he appropriates it’.<sup>626</sup> The poet states that the pagan myth of Jove casting Mulciber down from Olympus is a distorted and fictitious version of an originary, true event: God’s casting down of the rebel angels from heaven to hell. By discussing an overlooked allusion to a problematic and controversial instance of anachronism in Apollonius’ *Argonautica* in *Paradise Lost* Book 1, I argue that Apollonius is critical in both passages’ ability to illustrate the ‘fabl’d’, pagan myth, as well as the primary, Christian origin for the subsequent, pagan myths.

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<sup>625</sup> For an overview of the varieties of literary and textual criticism in the (Homeric) scholia, see Meijering, *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia*; Richardson, ‘Literary Criticism in the Exegetical Scholia to the *Iliad*: A Sketch’; and Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in the Greek Scholia*. On Byzantine commentaries to Greek texts, see Berg et al., *Byzantine Commentaries on Ancient Greek Texts, 12<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries*.

<sup>626</sup> Dobranski, *The Cambridge Introduction to Milton*, p. 169.

In the example which Poole identifies as ‘Milton’s most virtuosic use of Apollonius’ in *PL* 10.580–4, Milton alludes to Orpheus’s song about Cronus and Rhea’s overthrowing of Ophion and Eurynome from Olympus (*Argonautica* 1.503–9). Poole explains that Milton’s figuration of this theomachy is as ‘a pagan report of a primal battle in heaven’.<sup>627</sup> However, the etiological and etymological background to Milton’s design of Mulciber’s fall and the first battle in heaven depicts the paradoxes and challenges which Milton faces in portraying the first, original Fall, and the insurmountable obstacle this places upon the poet (and reader’s) attempt to visualise the distant past from their own temporal, historical vantage point.

Poole notes Milton’s ‘particularly Hellenistic’ transference of the etymology of Eurynome from *εὐρύς* (wide) and *νόμος* (law) to the epithet ‘wide / Encroaching Eve’ since Eve, ‘who is “wide-encroaching” in the sense of, first, one who has transgressed boundaries; and second, of one who has encroached on her posterity by involving them in her sin could turn into Eurynome’.<sup>628</sup> By comparing Milton’s design of Mulciber’s fall in *PL* 1.738–42 with *Argonautica* 4.552–6 and Milton’s portrayal of Adam and Eve’s ejection from Eden as the true origin of Ophion and Eurynome’s ousting from Olympus, I argue that Apollonius plays a crucial role in both passages’ depiction of the Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Fall of Man respectively:

Nor was his name unheard or unadored  
In ancient Greece; and in **Ausonian land**  
Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell  
From heaven, **they fabl’d**, thrown by angry Jove  
Sheer o’er the crystal battlements:  
(*PL* 1.738–42)

ἀλλά, θεαί, πῶς τῆσδε παρέξ ἄλός, ἀμφί τε **γαῖαν**  
**Ἀυσονίην** νήσους τε Λιγυστίδας, αἱ καλέονται  
Στοιχάδες, Ἀργώης περιώσια σήματα νηὸς  
νημερτὲς πέφαται; τίς ἀπόπροθι τόσσον ἀνάγκη  
καὶ χρειῶ σφ’ ἐκόμισσε; τίνες σφέας ἤγαγον αὔραι;

And **fabl’d** how the Serpent, whom they calld  
*Ophion* with **Eurynome**, the wide  
Encroaching *Eve* perhaps, had first the rule  
Of high *Olympus* thence by *Saturn* driv’n  
And *Ops*, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.  
(*PL* 10.580–4)

ἤειδεν δ’ ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων **Εὐρυνόμην** τε  
Ὠκεανὸς νιφόνετος ἔχον κράτος Οὐλύμποιο·  
ὡς τε βίη καὶ χερσὶν ὁ μὲν Κρόνῳ εἴκαθε τιμῆς,  
ἡ δὲ Ῥέη, ἔπεσον δ’ ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο·  
οἱ δὲ τέως μακάρεσσι θεοῖς Τιτῆσιν ἄνασσαν,

<sup>627</sup> Poole, p. 197.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid. See also Fowler, *PL*, p. 571.



ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς  
Δικταῖον ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος

But, goddesses, how is it that beyond this sea, around the **Ausonian land** and the Ligystian islands, which are called the Stoechades, countless signs of the Argo appear clearly? What necessity and what need drove them so far away? What winds conveyed them? (*Argonautica* 4.552–6)

He sang of how, in the beginning, Ophion and Ocean's daughter **Eurynome** held sway over snowy Olympus, and of how, through force of hand, he ceded rule to Cronus and she to Rhea, and they fell into the waves of the Ocean. These two in the meantime ruled over The blessed Titan gods, while Zeus, still a child and still thinking childish thoughts, dwelt in the Dictaen cave. (*Argonautica* 1.503–9)

These are the only two passages in *Paradise Lost* where Milton explicitly makes the distinction between the ordinary falls in Christian history (the Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Fall of Man) and how these calamitous downfalls in the celestial and terrestrial spheres were later 'fabl'd' as erroneous, fictional myths 'among the Heathen' (*PL* 10.579) in ancient mythography and poetry. While *PL* 10.580–4 alludes directly to Orpheus' song of theomachy in *Argonautica* 1—an allusion that has long been noted by Miltonic commentators—in *PL* 1.738–42 Milton also appears to be alluding to the *Argonautica*. Specifically, Milton draws a curious, though vital, detail from *Argonautica* 4.552–3.

In *PL* 10.580–4, Milton alludes to Orpheus's song in the *Argonautica* to express the vast discrepancy between the first, original downfall (the temptation of Eve by Satan) and its later, false representation as the myth of Eurynome and Ophion. The close correspondence between the Miltonic and Apollonian passages is reflected in 'and fabl'd how' (*PL* 10.580) which accurately translates 'ἤειδεν δ' ὡς' (*Argonautica* 1.503). Sharing the same syntax at the beginning of both lines respectively, Milton directly alludes to the phraseology of Orpheus's song concerning theomachy in *Argonautica* 1. Moreover, the remarks on Ophion's primal role in Olympus is also emphasised in both passages: 'Ophion [...] the **first**' (*PL* 10.581–2) and '**πρῶτον** Ὀφίων' (*Argonautica* 1.503). Additionally, the order and syntactical proximity of 'Ophion with Eurynome' (*PL* 10.581) is also found in 'Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη' (*Argonautica* 1.503)

which indicates the close scrutiny Milton paid in his emulation of Orpheus's song while, simultaneously, reporting what came long before it: the Fall of Man. The first utterance of Orpheus's song, *ὡς πρώτον* ('how, in the beginning [of time]'), is corrected by Milton who reworks Orpheus's song into a narration of the very first events in mythology, thus relegating it to a later version.

However, Milton's naming of Italy as the 'Ausonian land' in *PL* 1.738–42 has not been considered as an Apollonian allusion before. By reflecting on this passage's potential connections with Apollonius's virtuosic use of anachronism and 'etymological antiquarianism' which Poole identifies as an important element of Apollonius's influence *Paradise Lost*, it seems that Apollonius's methods of dealing with the poetic problems of following Homer while narrating events that markedly precede Homer's epics and the earliest mythography are exploited by Milton in order to overcome the dilemmas and challenges of depicting imaginatively the first, originary events at the most distant past: the beginnings of Christian history.

As Christopher Ricks famously observed about Richard Bentley's Miltonic criticism, he 'has a great gift for getting hold of the right thing—by the wrong end'.<sup>629</sup> However, Bentley highlights a curious problem when his ears prick-up at Milton's choice of names in this passage (*PL* 1.738–50). Aghast at Milton's choice of name for the fallen angel, Bentley exclaims that 'this is carelessly expressed' and asks, 'why does he not tell his name in Greece, as well as his Latin name? And Mulciber was not so common a name as Vulcan'.<sup>630</sup> Bentley is on to something here. The choice of name is indeed curiously and conspicuously uncommon. But, if we turn our attention from Mulciber to the 'Ausonian land'—the

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<sup>629</sup> Ricks, *Milton's Grand Style*, p. 13.

<sup>630</sup> Richard Bentley (ed.), *Milton's "Paradise Lost"* (Cambridge, 1732), p. 78

reconditeness of which is heightened by its contrast to the more straightforward ‘ancient Greece’ in the same line—then it becomes clear that Milton’s etymological antiquarianism plays a role in the anachronism and prolepsis at play in attempting to portray the first, original, primal fall upon which Hephaestus’s fall is fallaciously based on. Rather than focusing on why Milton calls the fallen angel “Mulciber” instead of “Vulcan” or “Hephaestus”, I consider the significance of the poet’s decision to refer to Italy in this passage as the ‘Ausonian land’ (*PL* 1.553).

Commentators generally explain that ‘Ausonian land’ is a generic classicism, observing that “Ausonia” was interchangeable with “Italia” in Greek and Latin literature and, with respect to another Hellenistic epic, Lycophron’s *Alexandra*, Simon Hornblower states that “Ausonia” is ‘a virtual synonym for ‘Italian’ in Greek and Latin poetry’.<sup>631</sup> However, a crucial degree of allusivity is behind the ‘Ausonian land’ in this passage. It has already been observed how closely Milton’s language and syntax concerning Ophion and Eurynome aligns with Orpheus’s song in the *Argonautica*. Similarly, Milton’s ‘Ausonian land’ perfectly translates Apollonius’s naming of Italy as ‘γαῖαν Αὐσονίην’ (‘Ausonian land’) in *Argonautica* 4.552. By reading Milton’s ‘Ausonian land’ as being intertextually linked to Apollonius’s ‘γαῖαν Αὐσονίην’, it appears to be the case that Milton alludes to the Alexandrian epic, the *Argonautica*, while simultaneously employing Apollonius’s ‘etymological antiquarianism’ which Poole highlights as a hallmark of Milton’s own Apollonian poetics in *Paradise Lost*.

Milton’s naming the fallen angel “Mulciber” rather than “Hephaestus” or “Vulcan” could evoke Virgil’s own antiquarianism that he also learned from the Hellenistic poets in the *Aeneid* because, as Macrobius points out, the name was one ‘drawn from the ancients’

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<sup>631</sup> Hornblower (ed.), *Lycophron: Alexandra*, p. 133.

(*a vertibus tracta*) including Accius (whose fragmentary Latin tragedy, *Argonauts*, I discuss below) in an effort to access the most ancient sources.<sup>632</sup> In a passage which is overtly concerned with original names and aetiology—the origin of Mulciber’s fall from Olympus as an erroneous myth echoing the truth about the very *first* Fall—Milton’s naming of Italy opens up a can of aetiological and etymological worms. Although the reference to Italy as the ‘Ausonian land’ could also be regarded as a generally classicising stylistic choice, the aetiological context of this passage suggests that ‘Ausonian land’ may play a more significant role than simply a Classical tag. Alastair Fowler explains in his edition that ‘Ausonian’ is ‘the ancient Greek term for Italy’.<sup>633</sup> It is more accurate, however, to understand that ‘Ausonian’ is *a* term for Italy, rather than *the* term. The Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities*, 1.35.3) provides a chronological order of the names given to “Italy” by the Greeks. Dionysus of Halicarnassus states that Italy was first called “Hesperia”, then “Ausonia”, and finally “Italia” by the Greeks:

πλὴν εἴτε ὡς Ἀντίοχος φησιν ἐπ’ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμόνος, ὅπερ ἴσως καὶ πιθανώτερόν ἐστιν, εἴθ’ ὡς Ἑλλάνικος οἴεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύρου τὴν ὀνομασίαν ταύτην ἔσχεν, ἐκεῖνό γε ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δῆλον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἡλικίαν ἢ μικρῶ πρόσθεν οὕτως ὠνομάσθη. **τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων Ἕλληνες μὲν Ἑσπερίαν καὶ Αὐσονίαν αὐτὴν ἐκάλου, οἱ δ’ ἐπιχώριοι Σατορνίαν, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον.**

But whether, as Antiochus says, the country took this name from a ruler, which perhaps is more probable, or, as Hellanicus believes, from the bull, yet this at least is evident from both their accounts, that in Hercules’ time, or a little earlier, it received this name [*Vitulia*]. **Before**

<sup>632</sup> See Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 6.3: ‘Virgil uses many epithets that he is believed to have made up, but I shall show that **these too were drawn from the ancients**. Some of these are simple forms, like Gradivus or **Mulciber**, others are compounds, like Arquitenens or Vitisator. But I’ll talk about the simple forms first. And Mulciber [had fashioned] the Africans with their flowing robes (*Aen.* 8.724): Mulciber is Vulcan, because as fire he softens [mulcere] and masters all things. Accius in Philoctetes: Alas Mulciber! you have crafted invincible arms with a futile hand’ (*Multa quoque epitheta apud Vergilium sunt quae ab ipso ficta creduntur, **sed et haec a veteribus tracta monstrabo**. sunt autem ex his alia simplicia, ut Gradivus, Mulciber, alia composita ut Arquitenens, Vitisator. sed prius de simplicibus dicam. et discinctos Mulciber Afros: Mulciber est Vulcanus, quod ignis sit et omnia mulceat ac domet. Accius in Philoctete: Heu Mulciber! arma ignavo invicta est fabricatus manu*). Trans. by Kaster, vol. 3, .84–5. On Accius, see Welsh, ‘Accius, Porcius Licinus, and the Beginning of Latin Literature’

<sup>633</sup> Fowler (ed.), *PL*, p. 105.

**that it had been called Hesperia and Ausonia by the Greeks and Saturnia by the natives, as I have already stated. (*Roman Antiquities*, 1.35.1-3)<sup>634</sup>**

The Virgilian commentator Servius observes at *Aeneid* 8.328 that “Ausonian” derived from the name of a son of Ulysses and Circe, and remarks on Italy’s many other, alternative names:

TUNC MANUS AVSONIAE] *Ausones cognominatos ab Ausone, Ulixes et Circes filio, dicant [...] At Italia plura nomina habuit, dicta est enim Hesperia, Ausonia, Saturnia, Italia.*

Then came the Ausonian host] They say that the cognomen ‘Ausonians’ derives from ‘Auson’, the son of Ulysses and Circe [...] But Italy had many names, ranging from ‘Hesperia’, ‘Ausonia’, ‘Saturnia’, and ‘Italia’.<sup>635</sup>

Importantly, the name ‘Ausonian’ evokes a mixed and confused genealogy because it is derived from an alternative, disruptive branch of Odysseus’s family tree. “Ausonia” derived from “Auson”, a son of Odysseus and Calypso: a son who (like another son of Odysseus, Telegonus) disrupts the traditional, triangulated family of Odysseus-Penelope-Telemachus of Homeric epic, with a competing, subversive genealogy, Odysseus-Circe-Auson (or Odysseus-Calypso-Telegonus): a rivalling and disruptive epic figured in the *Telegony* that Milton alludes to in *Paradise Lost* Book 2 as I discuss below.

When Apollonius calls Italy the ‘Ausonian land’, the major problem that both ancient and Early Modern commentators found is that the region was only called “Ausonia” after the time of Homer’s Odysseus since the name derived from his son, Auson. Therefore, the scholiasts and commentators accused Apollonius of anachronism in calling Italy the ‘Ausonian land’ because its use within a narrative about the Argonauts whose adventures preceded Odysseus’ voyage long, long before, creates a sharp temporal disruption in the

<sup>634</sup> Dionysus of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, trans. by Earnest Cary, vol. 1, pp. 114–5.

<sup>635</sup> Servius, *Servii Grammatici in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, vol. 2, p. 246.

epic. With this in mind, the etymological context of ‘Ausonian land’ within Milton’s imitation of Homer’s depiction of Hephaestus’ fall has an ironic effect: by aligning Mulciber’s name with the ‘Ausonian land’, yet simultaneously depicting the very *first* Fall which Homer’s Hephaestus is only an erroneous version of, the Ausonian temporal and geographical setting places Hephaestus’ fall anachronistically in a post-Odyssean, post-Homeric setting.

If we compare this passage from *Paradise Lost* Book 1 with a passage from *Argonautica* 4, we find a similar motivation in both poets’ naming of Italy as the ‘Ausonian land’. Near the end of *Argonautica* Book 4, Apollonius invokes the Muses and asks them why the Argonauts travelled far away from Greece:

ἀλλά, θεαί, πῶς τῆσδε παρέξ ἄλός, ἀμφί τε γαῖαν  
 Αὔσονίην νήσους τε Λιγυστίδας, αἱ καλέονται  
 Στοιχάδες, Ἀργώης περιώσια σήματα νηὸς  
 νημερτὲς πέφαται; τίς ἀπόπροθι τόσσον ἀνάγκη  
 καὶ χρειῶ σφ’ ἐκόμισσε; τίνες σφέας ἤγαγον αὔραι;

But, goddesses, how is it that beyond this sea, around the Ausonian land and the Ligystian islands, which are called the Stoechades, countless signs of the Argo appear clearly? What necessity and what need drove them so far away? What winds conveyed them? (*Argonautica* 4.552–6. Trans. by Wace)<sup>636</sup>

Apollonius’ naming of Italy as the ‘Ausonian land’ (γαῖαν / Αὔσονίην. *Argonautica* 4.552–3) had sparked a great deal of debate among the scholiasts: a debate, it is critical to add, that Milton had access to in the editions that he used in his reading (and teaching) of Apollonius. Although Apollonius is not mentioned in *Of Education* (1644), Milton’s nephew Edward Phillips confirms that his uncle had taught the *Argonautica*.<sup>637</sup> In the scholium to *Argonautica* 4.552–6, Apollonius is criticised for his anachronism in calling Italy the ‘Ausonian land’:

μέμφονται δέ τινες τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὡς περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους εἰρηκότα τὴν Ἰταλίαν

<sup>636</sup> Apollonius, *Argonautica*, trans. by Wace, pp. 372–3.

<sup>637</sup> Poole, ‘Appendix : Milton’s Classroom Authors’, in *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, pp. 297–300.

Αὔσονίαν· ὑστέροις γὰρ χρόνοις τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν οὕτω κέκληται  
ἀπὸ Αὔσονος τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Καλυψοῦς. ἐροῦμεν δέ, ὅτι ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ὁ  
 ποιητὴς οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων χρόνους ᾗν.

Some cast blame on Apollonius because he names Italy “Ausonia”: a name that comes from these [i.e. Apollonius’s] times. For it was called this in eras *later* than the time of the Argonauts because the name comes from **Auson, the son of Odysseus and Calypso**. But we will say that the poet names it in this way since he is speaking as himself, even if this name did not exist in the time of the Argonauts.<sup>638</sup>

In acknowledging the Apollonian, antiquarian etymology of the ‘Ausonian land’, the allusion brings in its wake the debates surrounding Apollonius’ key, poetic dilemma in his post-Homeric epic: how to imitate Homer while imaginatively depicting events that long preceded Homer’s epics. The place in which this occurs in *Paradise Lost* is also in the most famous instance of Milton closely and explicitly imitating Homer because Mulciber’s fall is modelled closely on Hephaestus’ fall in *Iliad* 1.

Thomas Greene argued that, in imitative poetry, ‘each circumstantial particularity of each verbal shard, of each broken subtext, is dissolved within the whole [...] the assimilated word is dehistoricized [...] anachronism is smoothed away’.<sup>639</sup> In this particular instance of Milton’s imitation of the Homeric fall of Hephaestus, I would argue that the poetic shard of ‘Ausonian land’ from Apollonius’ *Argonautica* 1 has a disruptive effect. Anachronism is not smoothed away, but rather it brings to the fore the problems of anachronism that the very passage in Book 1 is attempting to transcend. Virgil too also attracted criticism among the ancient commentators for using the name ‘Ausonia’ in *Georgics* 2.385 and *Aeneid* 3.477 since, as Leo Fratantuono summarises, ‘the commentators note the onomastic label is

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<sup>638</sup> Lachenaud (ed.), *Scholies à Apollonios de Rhodes*, p. 461. My translation is informed by Lachenaud’s French translation.

<sup>639</sup> Greene, *The Light in Troy*, p. 168.

extraordinarily transferred (not to say misplaced)'.<sup>640</sup> Instead of reading 'Ausonian land' as a neutral, classicising turn-of-phrase serving simply as an antiquated way of referring to Italy, it seems to be the case that it jags out as a phrase which has a distinct history in the Apollonian and Virgillian commentary tradition of misplaced, out-of-place anachronism which Milton was not ignorant of. Considering how charged debate was about Apollonius' anachronism, with 'Ausonian land' as the prime and most controversial example, it seems to be no accident that Milton weaves this into the passage which tackles most with the dilemma that Apollonius faced in his Hellenistic epic: closely imitating Homer while imagining events that long proceeded Homer's epics, but events which were the first in Christian history.

But how can one ascertain whether Milton would have read Apollonius with a sensitivity to the scholia and commentary tradition? How can I be sure that I am not making the dangerous assumption that certain modes of interpretation in approaching Classical literature available to scholars today were, in fact, out of reach for Early Modern scholars and poets like Milton? Here, I quote David Wilson-Okamura's caution against what he calls "interpretational anachronism":

Textual anachronism (i.e., quoting classical texts from an edition that didn't exist yet) is something that can and should be avoided. But what about interpretations: can they be anachronistic as well and, if so, should they be eliminated? There are many articles and books on Renaissance epic which assume that the meaning of Virgil's text is self-evident and stable through time: that of course Ariosto, because he is intelligent, would have understood Virgil in the same, intelligent way that we do. Formulated that way, the assumption is patently ridiculous. If we read Ovid or Virgil in the editions and with the commentaries that Ariosto would probably have used, we will quickly find that some interpretations which we take for granted have not, in fact, always been obvious.<sup>641</sup>

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<sup>640</sup> Fratantuono (ed.), *Virgil, Aeneid 8: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 433. On Virgil's use of the Homeric scholia, see Schmit-Neuerburg, *Vergils Aeneis und die Antike Homeroexegese*; Schlunn, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid: A Study of the Influence of Ancient Homeric Literary Criticism in Virgil*.

<sup>641</sup> Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, p. 5.

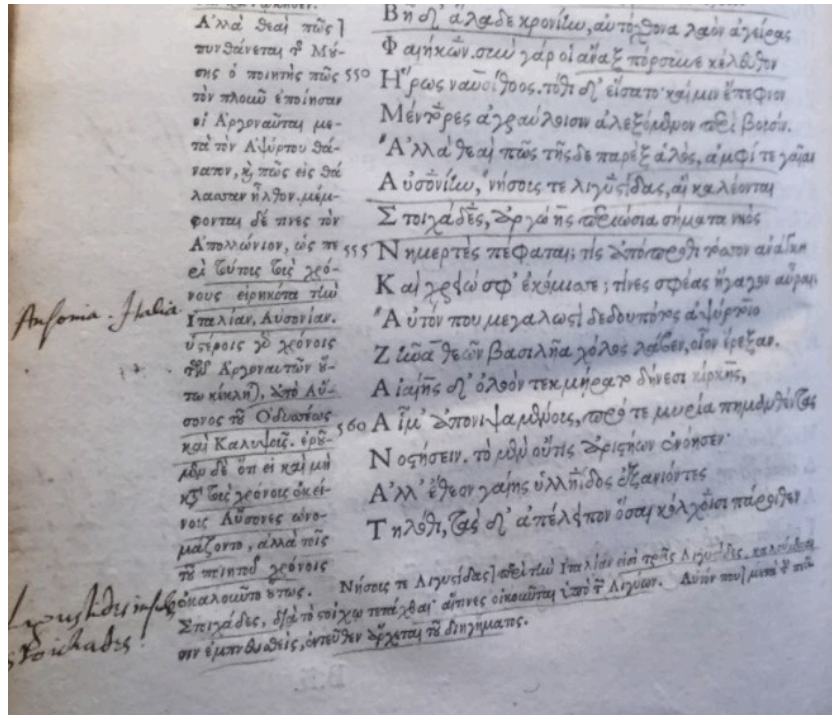


Heeding Wilson-Okamura's warning, I outline the debate concerning Apollonius's anachronism and demonstrate that discussion of the poetic problems created in calling Italy the 'Ausonian land' were certainly available to Milton. I will provide evidence from contemporary editors and readers of the *Argonautica's* engagement with this very issue: an issue that would not have been missed by Milton in his painstaking reading and teaching of the *Argonautica* over many years.

In Jason Rosenblatt's recent comparative study of John Selden and John Milton, one major, overarching scholarly and poetic concern that was shared intensely by both Englishmen was their deep interest in beginnings and origins.<sup>642</sup> In Selden's heavily-annotated copy of the Stephanus edition of Apollonius's *Argonautica* (Geneva, 1574) held at the Bodleian Library, we see that the English jurist and scholar paid particularly close attention to the rich information concerning beginnings and origins provided in the scholia to the Hellenistic epic, including the scholiast's point about the source of the name "Ausonia" stemming from Odysseus' son, Auson. Selden highlighted this passage, underlining the passages about Ausonia in the poem and surrounding scholia, noting in the margin himself '*Ausonia. Italia*' (see Fig.28).

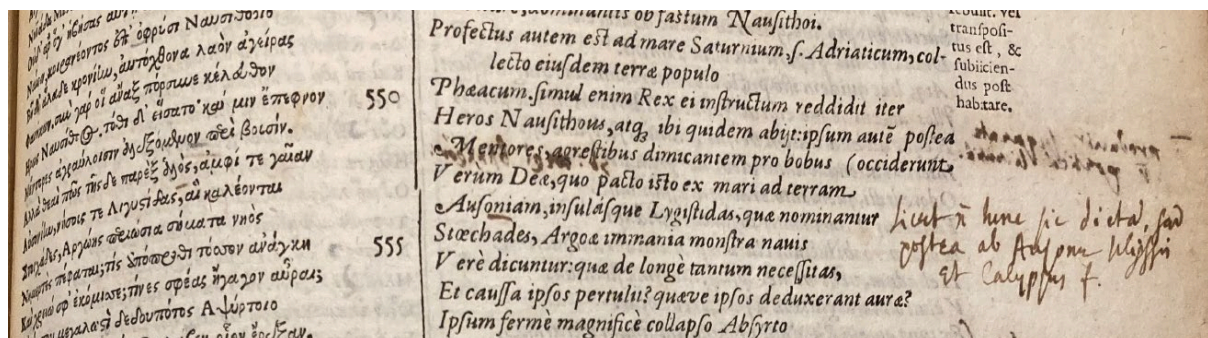
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<sup>642</sup> Rosenblatt, *John Selden: Scholar, Statesman, Advocate for Milton's Muse*, p. 3.



**Fig.28:** John Selden’s annotations of Arg.4.552–6 and its corresponding scholia concerning Ausonia in his heavily annotated copy of Stephanus’ edition (Geneva: 1574) of Apollonius of Rhodes’ *Argonautica* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 4<sup>o</sup> A 54 Art. Seld.),p. 196. By permission of the Bodleian Libraries.

Furthermore, in another heavily-annotated copy of the *Argonautica* by an unknown annotator from mid-seventeenth-century England in Lectius’s edition (Geneva, 1606), the annotator also highlights this aetiological information concerning the ‘Ausonian land’ and notes down in the margin the crux of the anachronistic problem raised in the scholia: ‘but it perhaps was named after Auson later on, the son of Ulysses and Calypso’ (*sed postea ab Ausone Ullissis et Calypsus f[ortasse]*) (see Fig.29).



**Fig.29:** Annotations of the same passage referencing the same point made in the scholia by an unknown, mid-seventeenth-century annotator of Jacobus Lectius's *Poetae Graeci veteres carminis heroici scriptores* (Geneva, 1606), p. 69, in which Apollonius' epic is heavily annotated (London, British Library, 653.g.1). By permission of the British Library Board.

Moreover, the problematic anachronism within 'Ausonian land' is addressed forthrightly by the Dutch Classical scholar Jeremias Hoelzlinus in his 1641 edition of Apollonius's *Argonautica*: the edition which Holstenius contributed to, as discussed above in Chapter 2.2. The connection of this specific edition with Holstenius further strengthens Poole's argument that Hoelzlinus's commentary to the *Argonautica* may have contributed to Milton's appreciation of the influence of Apollonius upon Virgil. Poole states that, although Milton's epic is undoubtedly Virgilian,

the structural role of Apollonius in what was visible of the epic tradition was coming to be appreciated in Milton's time. As Jeremias Hoelzlinus, editor of the major seventeenth-century edition of Apollonius, stated in his preface, "Virgil's *Aeneid* could not have been as it is, had there not been Apollonius," and he followed this with a list of borrowings of incident, theme, and device. **Milton may have been Virgilian; but Virgil was Apollonian.**<sup>643</sup>

The Dutch Classical scholar in his comment to *Argonautica* 4.553 remarks upon Apollonius's anachronism and his use of prolepsis:

4.553 *αύσονίην*] Si fragili nitimur tritæ notationis fundamento, **hic est ἀναχρονισμός vel πρόληψις**; Scilicet prævidit Apollonius non defore qui reprehendant has itinerum ambages.

4.553 *Ausonian*] If we rely on the fragile foundation of a common derivation, **this is anachronism or prolepsis**. Doubtlessly Apollonius anticipated that some would complain about the windings of these journeys.<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, p. 196. Recent re-evaluations of the significant influence of Apollonius upon Virgil's *Aeneid* reflect how prescient Hoelzlinus's recognition of the importance of the *Argonautica* to the *Aeneid*. See the ground-breaking study of Nelis, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. Joseph Farrell builds on Nelis's view of the *Aeneid* as an Apollonian epic in *Juno's Aeneid*, esp. pp. 138–151.

<sup>644</sup> Hoelzlinus (ed.), *Argonauticorum Libri IV* (Leiden, 1641), p. 306.

Hoelzlinus does not regard this anachronism as an error on Apollonius's part but rather as a choice that Apollonius made which he knowingly anticipated would attract criticism.

Apollonius's anachronism was flagged up by the ancient scholiast and raised again by Hoelzlinus and it was observed in the annotations of Milton's contemporaries such as Selden. The issues at stake in Apollonius's anachronism can be fully understood when we consider Tom Phillips' explanation of the implications of such anachronism here in the

*Argonautica*:

by naming Italy 'Ausonia', Apollonius draws attention to the temporal gap between his subject and the act of writing about it. As part of an invocation that juxtaposes enduring 'signs' of the Argo's presence with attention to the changes that mark different stages of history (*αἱ καλέονται / Στοιχάδες*), **the phrase *γαῖαν / Αὐσονίην* hints at the challenges that face both Apollonius and his readers in their imaginative recreation of the distant past [...] the 'anachronistic' naming is a reminder of human limitations**; unlike the Muses, the poet necessarily speaks from a particular historical vantage point.<sup>645</sup>

Hoelzlinus' view that Apollonius was aware of his use of anachronism here is similar to Phillips' view: 'given Apollonius' wide learning and his extensive reflection on the nature of poetic composition, ubiquitously evident in the *Argonautica*, it is hard to imagine that he did not know what he was doing when naming 'Ausonia' in this way'.<sup>646</sup>

So, with respect to Mulciber's fall in *Paradise Lost* Book 1, it is exactly this challenge, of overcoming 'anachronism' which is at the heart of this passage. Both the poet and the reader strive to transgress human limitations in visualising the originary fall. As John Leonard observes, Milton's use of anachronism and prolepsis throughout *Paradise Lost* is closely linked with pre-empting the Fall because 'Milton's prolepses usually anticipate the Fall', defining prolepsis as 'the type of anachronism which treats future events as past'.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>645</sup> Phillips, *Untimely Epic: Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*, p. 3. For other examples of ancient criticism on anachronistic naming, see Rood, Atack, and Phillips, *Anachronism and Antiquity*, pp. 71–76.

<sup>646</sup> Phillips, *Untimely Epic: Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*, p. 4.

<sup>647</sup> Leonard, 'Self-Contradicting Puns in *Paradise Lost*', p. 406.

In his discussion of Milton and Selden and the distinction they both made between Classical gods and angels, Abraham Dylan Stoll notes the centrality of anachronistic and proleptic details in Milton's design of the fall of Mulciber in *Paradise Lost* Book 1:

Milton rehearses the ontological distinction between angel and god that lies beneath much of the tension in the catalogue: "Nor was his name unheard, or unadored / In ancient Greece" (*PL* I.738-9). As with the difficulty of proleptically portraying the apostates as idols, the rich and **anachronistic detail of the god begins to push out the angelic ontology when Mulciber falls** [...] Of course it is just after this reemergence of genuinely polythesitic narrative that Milton famously snaps back into monotheism: "thus they relate, / Erring; for he with this rebellious rout / Fell long before". If in **its proleptic detail** the narrative has drifted away from the angelic ontology, here it crosses back over the Mosaic distinction and insists upon inscribing Mulciber within a monotheistic cosmos.<sup>648</sup>

The Apollonian 'Ausonian land' which is within a passage that attempts to imaginatively recreate, not simply the distant past, but the dawn of Christian history and the original war in heaven, the most challenging and seductive aspect of this passage from *Paradise Lost* Book 1 is undoubtedly the way that Milton attempts simultaneously to transgress the limits of human understanding by representing in his epic poetry the Fall of the Rebel Angels while acknowledging the impossibility of this. As Elena Giusti observes, while 'the *Argonautica* is a widely recognised model for the *Aeneid*', she states Virgil especially 'owes to Apollonius his particular treatment of time'.<sup>649</sup> Apollonius's handling of time was valued by Virgil, and it also seems to have been valued by Milton, especially with regard to the use of anachronism.

Many influential readings of this passage have focused on its agonistic element, regarding it as Milton recreating the fall of Hephaestus in *Iliad* 1.589-94 in a bid to outperform Homer with whom, according to Charles Martindale, 'he engages in emulous rivalry'.<sup>650</sup> In her reading of the fall of Mulciber, Kilgour explains that Milton both emulates

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<sup>648</sup> Stoll, *Milton and Monotheism*, pp. 72-3.

<sup>649</sup> Elena Giusti, *Carthage in Virgil's Aeneid: Staging the Enemy under Augustus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 116.

<sup>650</sup> Charles Martindale, *John Milton and the Transformation of Ancient Epic*, p. 73.

and corrects his poetic models' figurations of falls, from Homer's Hephaestus (*Il.*I.589-94) to Ovid's Phaeton (*Met.*II.321-2), and that this passage is an attempt to show the true, original fall that later Greek and Latin poets would all depict erringly:

as Milton masters these sources, he corrects them, telling the true version that they had misleadingly copied. Like Narcissus, the ancients were trapped in illusion and Ovidian error, and so only able to glimpse dreams of 'Hesperian fables true, | If true, here only' (*PL* IV.250). The correction of falsehood anticipates the Son's rejection of classical learning in *Paradise Regain'd* [...] Classical myths are, after all, mere shadows of the poet's reality. The contrast between the delicacy of the lyric fall and the weight of the authorial intervention reinforces the opposition between pagan shadows and Christian substance. The passage separates the artist of Pandemonium from the creator of the poem, the pagan mythographers who fall from the poet of truth who rises above illusion.<sup>651</sup>

One of the earliest readers of *Paradise Lost* 'S.B.' (widely acknowledged as Samuel Barrow (1623–1682)) jocularly declares in their prefatory poem to the twelve-book *Paradise Lost* that Milton's epic triumph has dwarfed the poetic of achievements of Virgil in terms of *fama* and poetic memory for 'anyone who reads this poem will think Homer sang only of frogs, Virgil only of gnats' (*Haec quicumque leget tantum cecinisse putabit / Maeonidem ranas, Virgilium culices*).<sup>652</sup> I would argue, however, that, in *Paradise Lost* Books 1 and 2 in particular, Milton's emulation of his Classical predecessors is not undertaken only in an agonistic, competitive, corrective spirit, but rather Milton tackles with the difficulty of poetic origination and primacy in *Paradise Lost* instead solely engaging in agonistic poetic contests with Homer, Virgil, and his other epic predecessors. It is exactly this challenge, of overcoming 'anachronism' and striving to present the beginning without any anachronistic details which belong to later times that is at the heart of Mulciber's fall, where both the

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<sup>651</sup> Maggie Kilgour, *Milton and the Metamorphosis of Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 259-60.

<sup>652</sup> S.B., 'In Paradisum Amissam', in 'S.B.'s "In Paradisum Amissam": Sublime Commentary', trans. by Lieb, p. 72.

poet and the reader strive to transgress human limitations in visualising the originary fall. Yet Milton must, by necessity, depend on erring fables like Homer's *Iliad*: a predicament encapsulated compactly in 'Ausonian land' and the wake of its commentary history that Milton had access to and engaged with. Milton's portrayal of Mulciber's fall also encounters an imaginative impasse: we can only see the true fall of the originary Mulciber through erring fictions. The aetiological problems surrounding 'Ausonian'—far from being a general, Classical tag—open up another avenue into the difficulties surrounding origination in this highly evocative passage.

### **Byzantine Homeric Commentaries, the Epic Cycle, and Disruptive Models**

So far, I have explored Milton's potential engagement with one especially provocative point within the ancient scholia to the *Argonautica* regarding anachronism and how the Apollonian strategy of handling time could play an important role in Milton's design of the fall of Mulciber in *Paradise Lost* Book 1. What might Milton have taken away from his reading of the Greek Byzantine commentators in his imitation of Homer in *Paradise Lost* Book 1? Hephaestus is cast down by Zeus from Olympus and Mulciber is thrown from a 'Chrystal battlement' (*PL* 1.742). Although Milton's design of Mulciber's fall is ostensibly modelled on Homer's *Iliad*, the poet may have been aware of the Homeric lines' own allusiveness to or relationship with other ancient, fragmentary epics. Although it is now recognised as being a poetic successor to Homer's *Iliad*, the *Little Iliad* (*Ἰλιάς μικρά*)—a lost epic poem belonging to the Epic Cycle—was thought in the Early Modern period to have been a very ancient epic. For example, Milton's bitter enemy, Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653), deemed the *Little Iliad* to be a particularly ancient poem. In a posthumously

published work, Salmasius records the disagreement amongst ancient and Byzantine figures regarding whether it predated or succeeded Homer's epics. Although Salmasius arrives at the conclusion that 'Lesches composed the *Little Iliad*' (*Lesches μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα composuit*), Salmasius outlines the disagreement among ancient and Byzantine authorities concerning whether Lesches and the *Little Iliad* came *before* or *after* Homer: 'Dionysus of Halicarnassus calls Lesches the most ancient of all poets, but Tzetzes called him a student of Homer' (*antiquissimum omnium poetarum vocat Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Tzetzes Homeri discipulum facit*).<sup>653</sup> Milton's design of this passage may convey some awareness of the connection between the passage about Hephaestus's fall in *Iliad* Book 1 and a fragment from the *Little Iliad* concerning the infant Astyanax being thrown down from the walls of Troy which, for scholars of Milton's generation, could have been a Greek poem just as (or even more) ancient than Homer's epics.

One of Milton's surviving annotated Greek books is the Hellenistic poet Lycophron's *Alexandra* in the Stephanus edition (Geneva, 1601) and the annotations he makes throughout this Greek text show that he was reading the Byzantine scholar Tzetzes (twelfth-century AD) just as closely as he was reading the Hellenistic poem itself. As Creighton's annotations to his copy of Homer show above in Chapter 1, many of Milton's contemporaries read the Greek text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with Tzetzes's scholia to Lycophron and Eustathius's Homeric commentaries at hand.<sup>654</sup> It is true that Milton's

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<sup>653</sup> Salmasius, *Pliniae exercitationes in C. Julii Solini Polyhistora* (Utrecht, 1688–89), vol. 1, p. 600 and p. 599.

<sup>654</sup> One could apply Michel Jeanneret's argument regarding the anachronistic separation of gloss from text to the relationship between the Greek scholia and the Homeric epics in the Early Modern period: 'the borders between the primary and secondary, the separation between commentary's object and commentary itself, are often fluctuating or non-existent, so that many traces of commentary appear in unexpected contexts and even in fiction. The gloss will not be confined to an inferior role, but imposes itself as one of the avenues of creation' (Jeanneret, 'Commentary as Fiction, Fiction as Commentary', p. 926).



Lycophron serves as, according to Fletcher and Shawcross, ‘a fascinating and illuminating example of Milton’s literary versatility and scholarly activities as well as of his abilities as a Greek scholar’, yet the implications for Miltonists in having evidence in Milton’s Greek annotated books that he closely read this vital storehouse of Byzantine, Homeric scholia is yet to be fully appreciated.<sup>655</sup> At page 187 of Stephanus’s edition, Milton encountered the following, lengthy fragment from the *Little Iliad* (and it was *only* in Tzetzes’ scholium that the fragment could be sourced in the early-seventeenth century) in his reading of Lycophron:

Λέσχης δὲ ὁ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποικηκῶς Ἄνδομάχην καὶ Αἰνεΐαν αἰχμαλώτους φησὶ  
δοθῆναι τῷ Ἀχιλλέως υἱῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθῆναι σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς Φαρσαλίαν τὴν  
Ἀχιλλέως πατρίδα. φησὶ δὲ οὕτως:

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλῆος μεγαθύμου φαίδιμος υἱός  
Ἴκτορέην ἄλοχον κάταγεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας,  
παῖδα δ’ ἐλὼν ἐκ κόλπου ἐϋπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης  
ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγῶν ἀπὸ πύργου, τὸν δὲ πεσόντα  
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή

Lesches, the author of the *Little Iliad*, says that Andromache and Aeneas were captured and given to Achilles’ son Neoptolemus, and taken away with him to Pharsalia, Achilles’ homeland. These are his words:

But great-hearted Achilles’ glorious son led Hector’s wife back to the hollow ships; her child he took from the bosom of his lovely-haired nurse and, holding him by the foot, flung him from the battlement, and crimson death and stern fate took him at his fall.<sup>656</sup>

In this fragment from the *Little Iliad*, we see Hector’s son, Astyanax, thrown down specifically from a ‘battlement’ (*πύργου*) by Neoptolemos after the Greeks capture Troy, whereas Homer’s Hephaestus is thrown down from the ‘threshold’ (*βηλοῦ*) of Olympus.<sup>657</sup>

The verbatim repetition between the two passages is clear from this comparison:

#### *Little Iliad* (Tzetzes’ scholia)

<sup>655</sup> Fletcher and Shawcross, ‘John Milton’s Copy of Lycophron’s *Alexandra*’, p. 140.

<sup>656</sup> Isaac Tzetzes, *Lycophronis Alexandra, cum J. Tzetzis commentariis* (Geneva: Stephanus, 1601), p. 187. My translation; but the translation of the fragment is sourced from West, *Greek Epic Fragments*, trans. p. 139.

<sup>657</sup> See Burgess, ‘The Hypertext of Astyanax’.

**ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ** πύργου, τὸν δὲ πεσόντα  
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή

Holding him by the foot, flung him from the battlement,  
And crimson death and stern fate took him at his fall.<sup>658</sup>

Homer *Iliad*.1.591-2

**ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ** βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο,  
πᾶν δ' ἤμαρ φερόμην, ἄμα δ' ἠελίῳ καταδύντι

Holding me by the foot, flung me from the heavenly threshold;  
The whole day long I was borne along, and at sunset.<sup>659</sup>

While Michael Anderson is cautious about calling the *Sack of Troy* (*Ἰλίου πέρσις*)—another fragmentary poem from the Epic Cycle—a predecessor to the *Iliad*, preferring the hypothesis that their compositions were contemporaneous and that ‘the *Iliad* and the *Iliou Persis* traditions evolved side by side’, other scholars have recently argued that the *Little Iliad* does not only precede the composition of Homer’s *Iliad*, but that this fragment of the *Little Iliad* was alluded to knowingly.<sup>660</sup> The notion that a detailed allusion to the *Little Iliad* was consciously weaved into the performance of the *Iliad* and that the Homeric audience would have been alert to the allusion to the Epic Cycle is put forward by Bruno Currie. With respect to composition, Currie argues that Homer is not just engaging with a general mythological tradition, but alludes specifically to the *Little Iliad* because ‘such verbatim quotation would entail that the *Iliad* is interacting with existing poetry’.<sup>661</sup> As a result, Currie argues that ‘there are thus grounds for seeing the scene in the *Little Iliad* as motivationally prior to that of the

<sup>658</sup> *Greek Epic Fragments*, trans. by West, pp. 140–1.

<sup>659</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, trans. by Murray, pp. 56–7.

<sup>660</sup> Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art*, p. 56.

<sup>661</sup> Currie, *Homer’s Allusive Art*, p. 114. See also Burgess, ‘Intertextuality without Text in Early Greek Epic’, p. 180.

*Iliad*' which suggests that there is 'an allusive rapport between Homer's scene and an independently existing scene from earlier poetry'.<sup>662</sup>

What, therefore, would an Early Modern reader of fragments of the Epic Cycle like Milton have made of this kind of verbatim quotation between Homer's epics and the Epic Cycle? Milton carefully imitates Hephaestus's fall in *Iliad* Book 1, yet, at the same time as depicting the very *first* and originary Fall upon which Hephaestus's fall derives, an even earlier fall potentially lurks beneath: the fall of the infant Astyanax. The *Little Iliad* could lie beneath the surface of this passage as Mulciber is thrown specifically from a 'battlement', just as Astyanax is thrown down from a 'battlement' (*πύργου*) which differs in a minor though important way from Homer's Hephaestus was thrown from 'threshold' (*βηλοῦ*). The subtextual presence of (or the awareness of the connection with) the infant Astyanax's fall would compound the sense of powerlessness of Mulciber and the rebel angels against God's wrath. The blending of the *Iliad* and *Little Iliad* allusively could reflect Milton's occupation with (poetic) origins, teasing out the Homeric model's own poetic model(s). In the case of Zeus hurling his daughter Atê from Olympus (*Iliad* 19.130), Eric Nelson observes that Duport in his *Gnomologia* (1660) read this as actually 'about Satan expelled from the heavens' (*de Satana e coelis dejecto*) and, as shown in Chapter 1 above, Duport's approaches to the Homeric poems overlap with Milton's in revealing ways.<sup>663</sup>

Like Selden, Milton studied the Greek scholia extremely diligently. In his own annotations to the Stephanus edition of Lycophron's *Alexandra*, Milton corrects the text

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<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>663</sup> Duport qt. by Nelson (ed.), *Thomas Hobbes: Translations of Homer: The Iliad*, p. xlviii. On Duport's *Gnomologia* (1660) and Bogan's *Homerus Hebraizon: sive comparatio Homeri cum Scriptoribus Sacris* (1658), see Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance*, pp. 98–105; Sowerby, 'Dryden and Homer', 123; Hepp, 'Les Interprétations religieuses d'Homère au XVIIème siècle'; and Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife*.

throughout with variants gleaned from the scholia: an important source of ancient and Byzantine criticism of Homer's epics. For instance, concerning page 174 of Milton's Lycophron, Fletcher reports that 'Milton caught the word *παμφαλώμεναι* from the scholia, as he even cited the scholia form'.<sup>664</sup> Milton's extremely attentive reading of the scholia went beyond philological matters since, responding to Tzetzes' remarks on the 'Islands of the Blessed' (*νήσοις μακάρων*, Lyc.1204), Milton penned in the margin 'a charming little story' (*fabella lepida*).<sup>665</sup>

One reason for the scholarly neglect of Milton's reading of Byzantine Homeric commentaries is primarily due to access. Most of Eustathius has not been translated and Filippomaria Pontani has recently stressed that a study of Eustathius's influence in the Early Modern period is 'perhaps one of the most urgent *desiderata* of contemporary reception studies'.<sup>666</sup> With respect to Milton, the reason for this urgency is that an evaluation of what Milton gleaned from ancient, Byzantine, and Early Modern Homeric scholarship is that it can help prevent Miltonists from committing the kinds of textual and interpretational anachronism that Wilson-Okamura warns against. The need for Miltonists to consider the scholarly lenses through which Milton read authors such as Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, has been a mainstay since John Mulryan's "*Through a Glass Darkly*": *Milton's Reinvention of the Mythological Tradition* (1996), in which he states:

my point is that Milton never read his authors 'straight'; Renaissance editions of Vergil, Ovid and Homer are filled with learned annotations, introductions and appendices. Thus a page from a folio edition of Vergil might contain three lines of text, and the rest would consist of annotation. The *scholia* of Homer, Vergil and Ovid are very extensive, and offer a cumulative commentary on the great triad that has never been equalled. It would be virtually

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<sup>664</sup> Fletcher and Shawcross, 'John Milton's Copy of Lycophron's *Alexandra*', p. 156.

<sup>665</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>666</sup> Pontani, "'Captain of Homer's Guard'", 199.

impossible for Milton to bypass such commentary completely, and as a student of the classics he would be expected to be familiar with it.<sup>667</sup>

I have been attempting to gauge the breadth of Milton's knowledge and access to ancient Apollonian and Homeric scholia and fragments of the Epic Cycle, and question whether their presence can be felt allusively within *Paradise Lost* itself. I will now consider how Eustathius's Homeric commentaries could have potentially influenced the design of the first two books of *Paradise Lost*.

In understanding the implications of Milton's knowledge of these two valuable, Byzantine storehouses of Homeric scholia and ancient commentary—Tzetzes' scholia to Lycophron and Eustathius's Homeric commentaries—interpretational lenses which might otherwise be reserved for modern readers of the Homeric poems can plausibly be opened up to Milton and his Early Modern contemporaries too. Such sources can help untangle the design of the heroic climax of Satan's voyage through chaos at the end of Book 2 (where he is compared to the mythic, first ship, the Argo, and then to Ulysses, the hero of Homer's *Odyssey*) and that the infinite, endless nature Milton's design of his infernal odyssey of *Paradise Lost* Book 2 could be indebted to Milton's knowledge of the Byzantine commentary tradition.<sup>668</sup> Via the Byzantine commentators, Milton could have had access to the theory that there was an especially ancient epic about the Argo that not only preceded the *Odyssey*, but which was used by Homer as the poetic model for Odysseus's own journey through Scylla and Charybdis in *Odyssey* 12.

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<sup>667</sup> John Mulryan, *“Through a Glass Darkly”: Milton's Reinvention of the Mythological Tradition* (Pittsburgh, P. A.: Duquesne University Press, 1996), p. 6.

<sup>668</sup> For questions about prioritisation in two simultaneous allusions (in *PL* 1.84–7 to Isaiah 14:12 and *Aeneid* 2.274–9), see Wilson, “Quantum mutatus ab illo”, p. 293.

It has long been observed that the encounter between Satan and Death in *Paradise Lost* Book 2 is modelled on the lost, ancient poem forming part of the Epic Cycle—the *Telegony*. In the *Telegony*, Odysseus is killed by his estranged son, Telegonus, who was begotten by Circe, and it concludes with the (almost) incestuous marriage between sons and mothers: Telegonus marries Penelope, and Telemachus marries Circe. The summary of this lost epic—a “sequel” to the *Odyssey*—survived into the Renaissance via the Neo-Platonist philosopher Proclus’s *Chrestomathia*. The way that the Oedipal design of Book 2 hinges upon Milton’s use of the surviving fragments of the *Telegony* is explored by James Nohrnberg who finds that, for Milton, the *Telegony* functioned as

an Oedipal doubling of *The Odyssey* whose plot recalls Sin and Satan’s parenting Death, and Death’s threatening his begetter. Odysseus and Circe’s son Telegonus, long separated from and seeking his father, unwittingly kills him in Ithaca with a stingray’s dart; thereafter Penelope’s son Telemachus marries his father’s former mistress Circe, Telegonus’s mother. The *Telegony* reconstructed what Homer did not know, Odysseus’s future; Milton recovers what the *Telegony* knew.<sup>669</sup>

The way Milton weaves in the *Telegony* into his infernal odyssey is striking because it subverts and destabilizes Book 2’s manifestly Odyssean model. Very recent scholarship on the relationship between Homer’s *Odyssey* and the *Telegony* of the Epic Cycle has demonstrated how intricate the intertextual relationships between the *Odyssey* and the Epic Cycle were. For example, Justin Arft presents the *Telegony* as an epic which supplants its poetic predecessor the *Odyssey*, just as the Telegonic Death attempts to bring down the Odyssean Satan (*PL* 2.704–726): ‘the *Telegony* responds to the *Odyssey* in a direct, intertextual manner: the *Odyssey* establishes the model, and the *Telegony*, conceived as a post-Homeric creation, subverts the model’.<sup>670</sup> Milton’s odyssean Hell is populated with indistinct family relationships (Satan–Sin–Death) and grotesque ambiguities are reflected in

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<sup>669</sup> Nohrnberg, ‘Periodizing Milton’, p. 38.

<sup>670</sup> Arft, ‘Agnoēsis and the Death of Odysseus in the *Odyssey* and the *Telegony*’, p. 173.

Milton's allusive design of the second book of *Paradise Lost*. Homer, whose originary, progenitive status among Renaissance humanists is encapsulated in Erasmus's denomination of Homer as 'the father of all poetry', is disrupted by subversive, epic models of ancient Greek epic that spar in origin and primacy.<sup>671</sup> It is no coincidence that the disruption that is made to Satan's odyssean voyage out of Hell coincides *exactly* with Milton's allusion to the *Telegony*. Milton's inclusion of the Epic Cycle within the design of *Paradise Lost* Book 2 is related to tangled questions of poetic origination. Milton employs the "earliest" poetic sources as part of a poetic strategy to portray events taking place at the beginning of Christian history, and therefore long preceding the entire Greek and Latin epic tradition and shaking the authority and originary status of Homer's epics in Books 1 and 2 of *Paradise Lost*.

Together with the allusion to the *Telegony*, the destabilizing effect of Milton's allusions to alternative models of Greek epic poetry is discernible in Milton's potential allusion to Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* in his design of Death's incestuous birth. Satan's rape of his daughter Sin and the birth of Death may also have an alternative, Orphic origin in a possible allusion which has not been postulated before. In the *Orphic Hymns*, there are two accounts given of Zeus's rape of his daughter Proserpina and the birth of Zagreus-Dionysus (one of which is mentioned in Chapter 2.1 above in relation to Diodati's Latin poem). In Nonnus's version of the Orphic account of Dionysus's incestuous birth in the *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus's depiction of the birth of Dionysus is strikingly similar to the birth of Death.<sup>672</sup> Just as Milton's Death 'forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart' (*PL*.2.786) following his incestuous birth,

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<sup>671</sup> Erasmus qt. by Bizer, *Homer and the Politics of Authority*, p. 26.

<sup>672</sup> On Zagreus-Dionysus in Nonnus's *Dionysiaca*, see Greensmith, 'The Miracle Baby, Zagreus and the Poetics of Mutation'.

Nonnus's Dionysus 'brandished lightning in his little hand' (*χειρὶ δὲ βαιῆ / ἀστεροπήν ἐλέλιζε νεηγενέος*. *Dionysiaca* 6.166–7) immediately after his birth. Another shared trait between Milton's Death and Nonnus's Dionysus is their shapelessness and formlessness. Death is described as being utterly formless:

the other shape,  
If shape it might be call'd that shape had none  
Distinguishable in member, joynt, or limb,  
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd  
For each seem'd either. (*PL* 2.664–8)

Like Milton's formless, shapeless Death, Nonnus's Dionysus too becomes formless during his second birth following his destruction at the hands of the Titans where he is reborn:

ἔνθα διχαζομένων μελέων Τιτῆνι σιδήρῳ  
τέρμα βίου Διόνυσος ἔχων παλινάγρετον ἀρχὴν  
ἀλλοφυῆς μορφοῦτο πολυσπερές εἶδος ἀμείβων

There and then as his limbs were split with the Titans' iron,  
The end of his life Dionysus had as a returning beginning,  
He changed shape into another nature, and transformed into many  
forms. (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 6.174–6)<sup>673</sup>

Chronologically, the model of Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* conflates the earliest and the latest Greek epic poetry. This is because Nonnus's depiction of Dionysus's birth is closely based on the *Orphic Hymns* (which were considered to be especially ancient in the Early Modern period) and yet that self-same imitation belongs to a markedly late—if not *the* latest—epic poem in the canon of Classical Greek epic poetry. Therefore, if Milton is alluding to Nonnus in his depiction of Death's birth, then the intermingling of competing epic models and the conflation of early and late, of father and son, would reflect the destabilising effects of Milton's use of non-Homeric Greek epics in his crafting of Satan's infernal odyssey.

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<sup>673</sup> Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, trans. by Rouse, vol. 1, pp. 226–7



What would Milton's awareness of other passages from the Epic Cycle and the wider Greek epic tradition mean for us as readers of *Paradise Lost*? With respect to Apollonius's *Argonautica* and in particular Book 4 which closely imitates *Odyssey* 12 where Odysseus encounters Circe, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, and the Cattle of the Sun, we find Apollonius's success in closely imitating Odysseus's voyage while harking back, not just to the distant past, but to the origin of the cosmos itself. That is, the *Argonautica* exists in a state of being both before and after Homer's *Odyssey*. Apollonius' *Argonautica* balances being a highly self-conscious successor and imitator of the *Odyssey* with, as an epic dealing frequently with aetiology, painting for us the beginnings and origins of the past long before Homer's *Odyssey*. Similarly, Satan's voyage is one that not only precedes Odysseus's (and, before him, Jason's), but it is the very first voyage of all time. (At least, the first *planned* voyage, in contrast to the rebel angels' involuntary fall from heaven to hell). In *Argonautica* Book 4, when the Argonauts discover Circe, Apollonius's Circe turns her unfortunate lovers into monstrous, formless shapes born from primeval mud where, suddenly, the Argonauts and the reader time-travel back to the dawn of time and the state of chaos before the cosmos took shape. Unlike Homer's Circe who turns her men into distinctly recognisable animals (wolves, lions, and pigs), Apollonius's Circe is accompanied by creatures that have neither shape nor form, and Apollonius explicitly compares their appearance with formless matter from the 'past' (*προτέρης*):

τοίους καὶ προτέρης ἐξ ἰλύος ἐβλάστησε  
 χθῶν αὐτὴ μικτοῖσιν ἀρηρεμένους μελέεσσιν,  
 οὐπὼ διψαλέω μάλ' ὑπ' ἥερι πιληθεῖσα,  
 οὐδέ πω ἀζαλέοιο βολαῖς τόσον ἠελίοιο  
 ἰκμάδας αἰνουμένη[.]

In the past as well, the earth itself produced from mud such creatures composed of various limbs, when the earth was not yet solidified by the parching air, nor yet receiving sufficient

moisture under the rays of the scorching sun. But a long period of time put these forms together and arranged them into species.<sup>674</sup>

Responding to these lines, Richard Hunter remarks that

the poet has taken our constant sense of witnessing events ‘before Homer’ almost to its logical conclusion [...] this Circe outdoes her Homeric self by changing men not to beasts but to the primeval ancestors of beasts.<sup>675</sup>

While modelling the meeting between the Argonauts and Circe upon Homer’s Odysseus and Circe, Apollonius dives into the distant past, transporting the reader to primordial time.

Apollonius both closely imitates the meeting of Circe and Odysseus and depicts something that is primordial and ostensibly “first”, accomplishing this to its uttermost point by diving into the muddy depths of the beginnings of time when the cosmos was in a state of chaos. We are brought back to the generative mud in which the first, monstrous life-forms—according to Empedocles and the pre-Socratics—came into being and the state of chaos in the cosmos’s earliest history before distinct shapes, forms, and species ever come into being. This is portrayed in the *first* book of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*:

Ergo ubi diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti  
Solibus aetheriis altoque reconduit aestu,  
Edidit innumeras species partimque figuras  
Rettulit antiquas, partim nova monstra creavit.

When the earth was muddy from the recent deluge, it became warm from the etherial rays of the sun and lofty heat, and issued forth countless species: in part she restored ancient forms, in part she created new ones. (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.434–7)<sup>676</sup>

This uneasy, destabilizing mix of post-Homeric imitations and depictions of the originary, primordial, *first* moment, is also found in Book 2 of *Paradise Lost* when Milton’s Odyssean

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<sup>674</sup> Apollonius, *Argonautica*, trans. by Wace, pp. 382–385.

<sup>675</sup> Richard Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes’ Argonautica: Literary Studies* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 165.

<sup>676</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Goold, pp. 32–3.



such as Erasmus who described Homer as ‘an ocean of all human wisdom’, is nevertheless resoundingly primordial and first.<sup>678</sup>

Such preoccupations about what came before and after in Book 2 are potentially foreseen at the end of Book I when we encounter the ‘belated shepherd’:

Behold a wonder! They but now who seemd  
In bigness to surpass Earths Giant Sons  
Now less than smallest Dwarfs, in narrow room  
Throng numberless, like that Pigmean Race  
Beyond the Indian Mount, or Faerie Elves,  
Whose midnight Revels, by a Forrest side  
Or Fountain **some belated Peasant sees,**  
**Or dreams he sees,** while over-head the Moon  
Sits Arbitress, and neerer to the Earth  
Wheels her pale course, they on thir mirth and dance  
Intent, with jocond Music charm his ear[.]  
(PL 1.777–787)

The earliest commentator to *Paradise Lost*, Peter Hume, observes that Milton is alluding to the *Aeneid* when Aeneas first sees Dido in the Underworld in *Aeneid* 6 ‘sees or thinks he has seen the moon rise amid the clouds’ (*aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam*, 6.454).<sup>679</sup> However, as has long been recognised, that Virgilian allusion is itself a close imitation of the Greek in *Argonautica* 4.1479.<sup>680</sup> In the ending of the final, fourth book of Apollonius’s *Argonautica*, to the astonishment of the Argonauts, Heracles has actually arrived *ahead* of them, reaching Garden of the Hesperides the day before they do, in spite of following far behind them throughout the epic poem after being left behind by them in *Argonautica* 1.

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<sup>678</sup> Erasmus qt. by Henderson in *Scripture, Canon and Commentary*, p. 92. For discussion of other examples of Homer being an ‘ocean’, including in the title of Junius’s abridge version of Eustathius (*Copiae Cornu sive Oceanus enarrationum Homericarum*), see Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife*, pp. 38–40.

<sup>679</sup> Hume, *Annotations on Milton’s Paradise Lost* (London, 1695), p. 51: ‘V.784. *Or dreams he sees*. So *Virg. Aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila Lunam. Æn.6*’. On the recent identification of ‘P. H’ as Peter Hume, see Harper, ‘First Annotator’.

<sup>680</sup> Todd, *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (Boston, 1838), p. 34: ‘See Ap. Rhod. Arg. Iv. 1479. *Virg. Æn. VI. 453*’.

One of the Argonauts, Lynceus who had extraordinarily powerful eyesight sees (or thinks he sees) the hero Heracles: a hero who belongs to an even earlier generation of heroes of the *Heracleids* of the Epic Cycle. G.K. Galinsky's view of Heracles in the *Argonautica* is that 'Heracles appears among the Hellenistic citizen-heroes of the *Argonautica* like a solitary mastodon left over from the paleolithic world, Heracles sticks out in the *Argonautica* for a panoply of temporal and poetic reasons'.<sup>681</sup> This quality to Apollonius's Heracles was noticed in the Early Modern period too. As Emma Buckley shows in her study of Giovanni Battista Pio's continuation of Valerius Flaccus's (unfinished) *Argonautica*, Pio 'could not resist the gravitational pull of the Hellenistic epic' and, markedly unlike Valerius Flaccus's noble Hercules, Pio 'returns to Apollonius' depiction of a savage, almost bestial figure' of Heracles in *Supplement* 10.462–481.<sup>682</sup> Milton invokes the far-sightedness of the Argonaut Lynceus in his letter to Philaras (*EF* 15), and this passage exemplifies Lynceus's famed sharp-sightedness:

ἀτὰρ τότε γ' Ἡρακλῆα  
 μοῦνον ἀπειρεσίης τηλοῦ χθονὸς εἶσατο Λυγκεὺς  
 τὼς ιδέειν, ὥς τις τε νέω ἐνὶ ἡματι μῆνην  
ἢ ἶδεν ἢ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαγλύουσαν ιδέσθαι.  
 ἔς δ' ἐτάρους ἀνίων μυθήσατο, μή μιν ἔτ' ἄλλον  
 μαστῆρα στείχοντα κιχησέμεν.

But on that day, at least, Lynceus thought he had seen Heracles all alone, far away in that endless land, **as a man on the first day of the month sees (or thinks he sees) the moon through the clouds**. He went back to his comrades and reported that no longer could any other searcher overtake him on his way. (*Argonautica* 4.1476-81. Trans. by Wace)<sup>683</sup>

<sup>681</sup> Galinsky qt. by Natzel in 'Klea ginekon': *Frauen in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios*, p. 197.

<sup>682</sup> Buckley, 'Ending the *Argonautica*: Giovanni Battista Pio's *Argonautica-Supplement* (1519)', pp. 299–300.

<sup>683</sup> Apollonius, *Argonautica*, trans. by Wace, pp. 446–7. On Heracles as representing an ancient age in epic heroism throughout the *Argonautica*, see Cusset and Acosta-Hughes, 'Héraclès comme figure de l'archaïsme dans la poésie hellénistique'; Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*, p. 186. Feeney identifies a direct allusion to the opening of the *Epigoni* in the Epic Cycle in *Argonautica* 1.991 as part of the Hellenistic poet's association of Heracles with ancient, cyclic epic poetry (Feeney, 'Following After Hercules in Virgil and Apollonius', p. 54 and p. 81, n. 18).

This mode of allusion shares a salient aspect of Alexandrian poetics, and one that inheritors and imitators of the Hellenistic, Alexandrian poetic tradition (such as Augustan poets like Ovid) employ, where the reader is guided aetiologically back to the oldest, most primal source in order to reflect (often in the form of dramatic irony) a level of futurity. It is perhaps not accidental that Lynceus literally ‘goes back’ (*ἀνιῶν*. *Arg* 4.1480) at this moment.<sup>684</sup> Milton, the belated poet who has been ‘long choosing, and beginning late’ (*PL* 9.26), like the belated, delayed, lagging Heracles of Apollonius’s *Argonautica*, will finish first, being preeminent and foremost in writing an epic on the first events of Christian history: the Fall of the Rebel Angels and the Fall of Man. The dynamics surrounding Milton’s choice of alluding to Virgil’s own allusion to the *Argonautica* in order to see what lay far ahead by looking back to older, poetic precedents is discussed by Alessandro Barchiesi. In his study of Ovid’s Alexandrian poetics, Barchiesi reflects on a particularly potent, poetic influence of the Hellenistic poets for later Latin poets: their propensity for ‘conjugating an allusion in the future tense’ where ‘the text sees its **future** reflected in the mirror of its model, and at the same time sends its reader **backwards** to that model’.<sup>685</sup> Although Lynceus’s sharp-sightedness had been proverbial since antiquity, the particular context in which Milton embeds this polyvalent allusion at the end of the beginning of *Paradise Lost* (i.e. in the final lines of Book 1), has its ultimate source in the end of Apollonius’s *Argonautica*.<sup>686</sup> It engages with a forward-backward dynamic where looking to the past results in seeing into the future. This phenomenon is not only explored by Barchiesi in his theory of ‘reflexive futurity’ but

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<sup>684</sup> LSJ, s.v. ἀνιῶμι, III: go back, freq. in *Od*.

<sup>685</sup> Barchiesi, ‘Future Reflexive’, p. 336 and p. 342.

<sup>686</sup> For examples of references to Lynceus’ sharp-sightedness in Greek and Latin texts, see Aristophanes, *Wealth* 210; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 1.462–8; and Cicero, *Epistulae Familiares* 9.2.2. For discussion of Lynceus and *Paradise Lost*, see Estelle Haan, ‘Latinizing’ Milton: *Paradise Lost*, *Latinitas*, and the Long Eighteenth Century’, pp. 101–4.

also in Patricia Parker's analysis of the rhetorical trope *hysteron proteron* which George Puttenham, in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) described a 'manner of disordered speech, when ye misplace your words or clauses, and set that before which should be behind. We call it in English proverb, the cart before the horse, the Greeks call it *Historon proteron*, we name it the Preposterous'.<sup>687</sup> Parker states that *hysteron proteron* (literally "later earlier") takes place in 'contexts in which the preposterous functions as a marker of the disruption of orders based on linearity, sequence, and place'.<sup>688</sup> Lynceus's eyesight is invoked within discussion of instances of *hysteron proteron*. For example, in his exegesis of Genesis 9.23, Philo of Alexandria considers why Shem and Japheth both go and look backwards.<sup>689</sup> It is in the context of going backwards in order to see ahead what lay ahead that Philo invokes the mythological figure Lynceus:

But the wise man (sees that which is) behind, that is, the future. For just as the things behind come after the things ahead, so the future (comes after) the present, and the constant and wise man obtains sight of this, like the mythical Lynceus, having eyes on all sides. (Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, 2.71)<sup>690</sup>

In his biblical commentary, Philo conflates that which is behind with what is to come, and cites the sight of Lynceus as a way of clarifying the underlying *hysteron proteron* within Genesis 9 and his reading of Shem and Japheth's gaze. In *De naturam deorum* (2.35), Cicero's analogy of the shepherd who is bewildered by seeing the Argo for the first time to Atomist, Epicurean philosophers raises questions concerning the relationship between the imitation and the original, between copy and model. In Book 2 of Cicero's *De natura deorum*, Cicero

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<sup>687</sup> For discussion of *hysteron proteron* and its rhetorical uses in Early Modern literature, see Parker, 'Hysteron Proteron or the Preposterous', pp. 133–46.

<sup>688</sup> Parker, *Shakespeare from the Margins* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 22.

<sup>689</sup> And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. (KJV Gen 9.23)

<sup>690</sup> Philo of Alexandria, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, trans by Marcus, vol. 8, pp. 164-5.

invokes a passage from the Roman tragedian Accius: one of the earliest Latin poets and whose description of the Argo serves as the first treatment (or, at least, the earliest extant treatment) of the Argo in Latin literature:

Utque ille apud Accium pastor qui navem numquam ante vidisset, ut procul divinum et novum vehiculum Argonautarum e monte conspexit, primo admirans et perterritus hoc modo loquitur:

tanta moles labitur  
fremibunda ex alto ingenti sonitu et spiritu:  
prae se undas volvit, vertices vi suscitatur,  
ruit prolapsa, pelagus respergit reflat;

Just as the shepherd in Accius who had never seen a ship before, on descriing in the distance from his mountain-top the strange vessel of the Argonauts, built by the gods, in his first amazement and alarm cries out:

so huge a bulk  
Glides from the deep with the roar of a whistling wind:  
Waves roll before, and eddies surge and swirl;  
Hurling headlong, it snorts and sprays the foam.

(Cicero, *De naturam deorum*, 2.35)<sup>691</sup>

What is striking about the passage is the context in which Cicero quotes it. Cicero attacks philosophers who argue that the universe is controlled by chance or fortune rather than by a divine being. As Cicero argues, ‘when you observe from a distance the course of a ship, you do not hesitate to answer that its motion is guided by reason and by art’ (*cumque procul cursum navigii videris, non dubitare quin id ratione atque arte moveatur*). This analogy between the ship’s movement being controlled by a rational being and the universe being controlled by the gods then builds into a criticism of Atomist, Epicurean philosophers. Cicero accuses those philosophers of a transgressive admiration for the imitation. In doubting a primary divine rationality, they fall into error by celebrating the *imitationes* and *simulata*,

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<sup>691</sup> Cicero, *De naturam deorum*, trans. by Rackham, pp. 208–9.



such as Archimedes' model of the revolutions of the spheres, rather than the perfection of the original stars and planets themselves. It is in this context that Cicero quotes from a lengthy fragment of Accius's tragedy which is also included in Henricus Stephanus's collection of Latin epic and tragic fragments, *Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum* (Basil, 1564), and is intriguingly given the title *Argonautis* (though, today, Accius's fragmentary Latin tragedy is referred to as *Medea*).<sup>692</sup>

Furthermore, in the *Invectives*, Petrarch dwells at considerable length upon Cicero's discussion of this shepherd and Accius's portrayal of the shepherd in the fragmentary *Argonautis* in which Petrarch refers to the 'rustic shepherd' (*rudem pastorem*):

Hec, ut audis, apud Tullium scripta sunt. Quibus dictis rudem mox pastorem illum sumit ab Accio poeta et ad propositum suum trahit, nauim nunquam antea sibi uisam, illum scilicet qua in Colchon uehebantur Argonaute procul e monte cernentem, atque attonitum nouitate miraculi pauentemque et multa secum opinantem, montem aut saxum terre uisceribus erutum, ac uentis impulsum pelago rapi, aut atros turbines conglobatos fluctuum concursu, aut tale aliquid.

All this is written in Cicero, as you hear it. Next he cites the rustic shepherd of the poet Accius to illustrate his point. This fellow had never seen a ship before, when one day from a distant mountain he beheld the famed ship in which the Argonauts sailed to Colchis. Struck dumb and terrified by the novelty of this amazing sight, his mind was filled with many thoughts. He thought it might be a mountain or a boulder ripped from the bowels of the earth and borne across the sea by the winds, or dark waterspouts formed by clashing currents, or something of the sort. (Petrarch, *Invectives*, 3.63)<sup>693</sup>

In the chapter 'De Allocutione' in *Institutiones grammaticae*, the Latin grammarian Priscian recommends three specific themes for the student's practice of *allocutio*: the imitation of a character's speech. Two of his examples derive from the *Iliad*: to imagine 'which words Achilles might have used following the death of Patroclus' (*ut quibus uerbis uti potuisset*

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<sup>692</sup> This fragment of Accius's can be found in Stephanus, *Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum* (Basil, 1564), pp. 11–15. For discussion of Stephanus's *Fragmenta poetarum veterum Latinorum* (Basil, 1564), see Čulík-Baird, *Cicero and the Early Latin Poets*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>693</sup> Petrarch, *Invectives*, trans. by Marsh, pp. 278–9.

*Achilles interfecto Patroclo*) and to imagine ‘a speech by Andromache following the death of Hector’ (*ut quibus verbis uti potuisset Andromache mortuo Hectore*).<sup>694</sup> The third example, however, that Priscian offers, derives from the *Argonautica*, specifically Accius’ tragedy *Medea, sive Argonautae*, encouraging the student to imagine ‘which words a peasant could have used when he first saw a ship’ (*ut quibus verbis uti potuisset rusticus, cum primum asperxerit navem*).<sup>695</sup> It is likely that the Priscian had in mind the peasant’s speech on beholding the Argo for the first time as related by Accius in the fragments of his tragedy *Medea, sive Argonautae*.

Milton appears to draw upon two conflicting forms of visual perception in this simile at the end of Book 1, both of which have Argonautic origins. The two different traditions that are weaved together in Milton’s conflation of the ‘belated Peasant’ with Lynceus’s sharp-sightedness—that of the visually astute and accurate Argonaut Lynceus and the other of the visually bewildered shepherd who features in other Argonautic narratives—is mixed together in Milton’s simile. On the one hand, Milton’s simile evokes the Argonautic Lynceus (who can supposedly see the atoms themselves) and on the other hand it evokes the shepherd who features in Argonautic narratives within criticism like Cicero’s of the erring Atomist philosophers. Indeed, the fact that Milton’s peasant is spectating the movement of lunar and planetary motions (‘the moon [...] neerer to the Earth / Wheels her pale course’. *PL* 1.784-6) could align this further with Cicero’s portrayal of the shepherd in Accius’s *Argonautis* (to use the title Stephanus gave it) first seeing the Argo in the context of deluded, confused vision of the planetary motions.

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<sup>694</sup> Priscian, *Prisciani Grammatici Caesariensis Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII*, p. 438.

<sup>695</sup> *Ibid.*

#### 4.2: Origination and Satanic Imitation in *Paradise Lost* Book 2

At the climax of Book 2, after Satan wades through Chaos' primeval sea of primordial slime and sludge, we see Satan struggle his way out of Chaos and, on this final leg of his infernal voyage, Satan is compared both to the Argo's journey through the Wandering Rocks and to Ulysses' dangerous passing through Scylla and Charybdis:

Harder beset  
 And more endangered, than when Argo passed  
 Through Bosphorus betwixt the justling rocks:  
 Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned  
 Charybdis, and by th'other whirlpool steered.  
 So he with difficulty and labour hard  
 Moved on, with difficulty and labour he.  
 (PL 2.1016–22)

Why does Milton allude to the Argo here? If the comparison with the Argo were removed, then Satan would appear to have fully superseded Ulysses himself, surpassing the Greek hero in both difficulty and bravery. Without the Argo, one would think that Satan had overtaken his model where Satan seems to become more Odyssean than Homer's Odysseus himself. In Book 2, Satan and the other fallen angels have all resembled particular facets of Odysseus, but it is at this moment, at the climax of Book 2, that Ulysses is explicitly named—the only time he is—and it shows Satan as not only perfectly imitating Odysseus upon whose voyage his own out of Hell is modelled, but overtaking his model.<sup>696</sup>

What are we to make of the double comparisons to the Argo and to Ulysses here?

Kilgour discusses the dual similes in *Paradise Regained* Book 4 comparing Satan to the Sphinx defeated by Oedipus and then to Antaeus killed by Hercules and her article powerfully demonstrates how we, as readers, have to be alert to Miltonic pairings and

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<sup>696</sup> On the resemblance of the other fallen angels to different aspects of Homer's Odysseus, see Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, pp. 28–49.

doublings.<sup>697</sup> Like that passage, which Kilgour says is 'striking in its doubleness', one is struck by the doubleness here in *Paradise Lost* 2.1016–22.<sup>698</sup>

However, the Argo comparison and the Ulysses comparison are often read exclusively from one another. In *Inside Paradise Lost*, Quint bypasses the Argo when he remarks that Milton

name[s] for the first time the hero on whose career the entire book is shaped: the voyaging of Satan is harder beset and more endangered than 'when Ulysses on the larboard shunned / Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steered'.<sup>699</sup>

In turn, in his argument that Satan is a kind of Argonaut himself, Poole elides the allusion to the *Odyssey* when he writes that:

Milton absorbed Apollonius's epic into *Paradise Lost*, and pieces occasionally break the surface, as in the description of Satan's own voyage as more dangerous "then when Argo pass'd / Through *Bosporus* betwixt the justling Rocks". Satan, indeed, is a kind of Argonaut himself.<sup>700</sup>

Milton's pairing of the Argo and Ulysses is a consubstantial pair where they are not distinct from one another, but rather the two comparisons interact with one another in important ways. Also commenting on this passage, Martindale notes that Satan's ascent out of Hell depicts his own literary ancestry, and the epic models are compounded to ultimately form his own unique voyage through Chaos: 'he devises a literal but novel journey which is perfectly adapted to the new subject of the epic as a whole [...]The **literary ancestry** of Satan's voyage through the abyss is carefully signalled to the reader lest he miss the point'.<sup>701</sup> Like Death and Sin's own ancestry, and Milton's allusions to non-Homeric epics

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<sup>697</sup> Kilgour, 'Odd Couplings: Hercules and Oedipus in *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*'.

<sup>698</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>699</sup> Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, p. 55. Similarly, Aryanpur's discussion of the comparison between Satan and Ulysses elides the Argo (Aryanpur, '*Paradise Lost* and *The Odyssey*').

<sup>700</sup> Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, p. 196.

<sup>701</sup> Martindale, *John Milton and the Transformation of Ancient Epic*, p. 62.

such as the *Telegony* and Nonnus's *Dionysiaca*, the two epic models represented metonymically by Ulysses and the Argo respectively are overlapping. Many critics regard Milton's allusion to the Argo here as being additional, supplementary, and, essentially, secondary to the allusion to Ulysses.<sup>702</sup> For example, Jacob Blevins suggests that the reference to the *Argonautica* is 'additional', secondary, and subordinate to the comparison of Satan with Ulysses: 'the additional reference to Jason is also appropriate'.<sup>703</sup> Instead of reading the two comparisons exclusively from one another, what happens when one regards Ulysses and the Argo as a pair and reflect upon its doubleness?

In *Odyssey* Book 12, the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode of the *Odyssey*, Circe (who already encountered the Argonauts long before she met Odysseus) warns Odysseus about the route and tells him that only one ship has ever successfully completed the voyage, the Argo. Homer evokes the journey of the Argo explicitly in the same episode that we see Odysseus, following Circe's advice, avoid Charybdis and instead sail close to Scylla, 'the other whirlpool', in passing the Straits of Messina between Sicily and Italy:

τῆ δ' οὐ πῶ τις νηῦς φύγεν ἀνδρῶν, ἢ τις ἴκηται,  
ἀλλὰ θ' ὁμοῦ πίνακάς τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν  
κύμαθ' ἀλὸς φορέουσι πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖο θύελλαι.  
οἷη δὴ κείνη γε παρέπλω ποντοπόρος νηῦς,  
Ἄργῳ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα.  
καὶ νύ κε τὴν ἔνθ' ὤκα βάλεν μεγάλας ποτὶ πέτρας,  
ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων.

No ship of men has ever escaped there, any one that's come there,  
But waves of sea and storms of destructive fire  
Carry ships' planks and men's bodies off together.  
For only one sea-faring ship has ever sailed by there,

<sup>702</sup> In this respect, the influence of C.S. Lewis' hierarchy of primary and secondary epics in *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (1941) for Milton and readers of *Paradise Lost* is still felt in Milton Studies.

<sup>703</sup> Jacob Blevins, *Humanism and Classical Crisis: Anxiety, Intertexts, and the Miltonic Memory* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2014), pp. 139-40.

Argo, known to all [*pasi melousa*], sailing back from Aietes.  
(*Od.*12.66-72)<sup>704</sup>

It has long been observed by Homeric scholars that this passage from *Odyssey* Book 12 serves as the strongest evidence that Homer was alluding to and modelling Odysseus' voyage upon an older, Argonautic precedent. To give one summative example, here is Alfred Heubeck's *Odyssey* commentary to Circe's mentioning of the Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα:

the source of the first motif is apparent from *Od.*12.69-71, which recall Jason's famous journey in the Argo, and in fact cites a widely known Argo-epos as 'source' (*Argo πᾶσι μέλουσα* 70). **The passage is the most important evidence for a pre-Homeric Argonautica as a source and model for Odysseus' adventures** in 9-12 [...] At all events, the **author of the Odyssey borrowed** the motif of a dangerous passage between hazards, and **attempted to outdo the older version** with the option Odysseus chooses, steering between Scylla and Charybdis.<sup>705</sup>

The notion that Homer borrowed from a poetic predecessor (from, for example, an Argonautic poem), would seem to be largely at odds with the Early Modern views of Homer as *the* origin and the author who sets models for poetic successors to imitate, not one who *imitates* models. Like Erasmus, Melanchthon speaks of Homer as *the* origin and the source of all the sciences in his *On Homer's Iliad (In Homeri Iliad)* of 1534:

Verum autem hoc esse constat, & manifestum est, cū nulla orationis figura, nullius verbi idonea positio neque deflexio, nihil neque rectum neque versum commemorari possit, cuius in isto exemplum non sit, & quem tamen alium secutus fuerit, **nemo unquam commemorare potuerit**. Sed quid addit Fabius? Ortum & exemplum dedit. laceret igitur illa absque hoc vel potius nulla esset, **quid enim esset non orta?** Quantum hoc autem, non solum Homerum parentum esse eloquentiæ, sed etiam magistrum atque doctorem, qui non modò ipse speciosissima illius opera elaboraverit, sed aliis etiam ad imitandum proposuerit.

And this is agreed to be the truth, and it is manifestly clear, since no figure of speech, no pleasing placement or variation of any word, nothing in either prose or verse can be brought forward, which there is not an example of in Homer, **and no one will ever be able to bring**

<sup>704</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, trans. by Murray, pp. 452–3.

<sup>705</sup> Heubeck, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey: Books IX-XVI*, p. 121. See also Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika*, pp. 26–7; Rutherford, *Homer*, p. 6; Currie, *Homer's Allusive Art*, p. 47; West, 'Odyssey and Argonautica', pp. 39–40; Hunter, 'The Argonauts', p. 207.

**forward a model that Homer himself was imitating.** But what else does Fabius [Quintilian] write? ‘Homer provided the origin and archetype’. Therefore, eloquence would have been neglected without Homer, or would not even exist, **since what exists without an origin?** And this is such great praise, moreover, that not only is Homer the parent of eloquence, but also the teacher and instructor of it, who not only himself labored on the most beautiful works of it, but also put them forth for others to imitate.<sup>706</sup>

According to Melancthon, questioning the primacy of Homer’s *Iliad* leads into dangerous theological territory as it is only one remove from asking “what exists without an origin?”

That is, it leads one to ask the kind of question which Satan asks in *Paradise Lost* Book 5:

‘who saw/ When this creation was? Rememberst thou / Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?’ (*PL* 5.856–8). The *Argonautica* shakes such an understanding like

Melanchthon’s of Homer as the origin and archetype, and this connection between the *Argonautica* and the *Odyssey* seems to play a crucial role in the climax of *Paradise Lost* Book 2 in evoking both Ulysses and the Argo in relation to Satan’s infernal odyssey.

To quote Quint’s *Inside Paradise Lost*, ‘in the last section of Book 2, when the devil journeys across chaos to God’s newly created universe, Satan finally imitates the most famous Ulysses, the heroic wanderer who is hero of his own epic poem’.<sup>707</sup> However, it is at this very moment that Milton makes Satan resemble Homer’s Odysseus—in the strictest sense of the word—at his most *derivative*. The core of Satan’s rebellion against God was spurred by his conviction that he and the rebel angels were ‘self-begot, self-raised / By [their] own quickening power’ (*PL* 5.860–1), the claim that welcomed C.S. Lewis’s mockery that Satan, ‘being too proud to admit derivation from God, has come to rejoice in believing that he “just grew” like Topsy or a turnip’.<sup>708</sup> Likewise, Shawcross describes how ‘Satan, as his

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<sup>706</sup> Phillip Melanchthon, *In Homeri Iliad* (1534), p. 6.

<sup>707</sup> Quint, *Inside Paradise Lost*, p. 39.

<sup>708</sup> Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost*, pp. 95-6. On Satan and originality, see also LaBreche, ‘Athens, Originality, and the Naturalism of Paradise Regained’.

interview with Chaos and Old Night in Book 2 of *Paradise Lost* makes clear, is dedicated not to *noncreation* but to *uncreation*, the reversal of what is created back to its “original” elements.<sup>709</sup> Milton’s nod towards the derivation of Odysseus’s adventures from those of the Argo ‘known to all’ in a Satanic context would compound what Satan is unaware of: that he is a derivation, rather than original. He does not supplant God in the War in Heaven, and Satan does not supplant his model Odysseus. Unlike Mulciber who is highlighted as the origin of Hephaestus’ fall, Satan here is made to resemble the model of a model in *Paradise Lost* 2.1016–22. Rather than closely imitating the primal source (Homer’s Odysseus), Milton’s inclusion of the Argo comparison changes things completely, drawing our attention to the poetic indebtedness of Homer’s Odysseus to ancient, Argonautic epic. Commenting on *Odyssey* Book 11 in *Imitating Authors*, Burrow reminds us that, when reading the *Odyssey*, we should bear in mind that it was most likely composed by a skilled imitator rather than being an originary work of especially ancient poetry:

the process of imitating, of reassembling materials from past texts into new, living form, has long had associations with necromancy and with the uncanny reawakening of the dead. Those associations run right back to the *nekyia* or summoning up the spirits of the dead in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, **in which the poet of the *Odyssey* – who was in all probability an artful imitator of the *Iliad* poet** – describes the ghosts of the dead drinking the blood of a sacrifice, which reanimates the heroes of the *Iliad*.

The burgeoning awareness of Homer as an ‘artful imitator’, I argue, marks an important development with the publication shortly after Melanchthon’s *In Homeri Iliad* in the 1550s: Eustathius’s Homeric commentaries. These contain scholia which ultimately shake the unitary, originary reputation of Homer’s epics. The link between the Argo and Ulysses, then, is important for it serves as the most substantial evidence for the poet of the *Odyssey* as an imitator rather than an originator. Moreover, in a Satanic context specifically, Milton (in a

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<sup>709</sup> Shawcross, *John Milton: The Self and the World*, p. 34.



moment of virtuoso scholarship) utilises this “Homeric problem” in his design of Satan’s derivative being.

To address yet once more the risk of committing “interpretative anachronism”, one must not assume that the ways modern Homeric scholars have been approaching the *Odyssey*—such as the idea that Circe’s description of the Argo in *Odyssey* 12 is proof that Homer modelled Odysseus’ voyage upon preceding, Argonautic epic—could have been known to Milton. It is true that one needs to be very careful of reading backwards into an era in which no such understanding of several key principles of modern Homeric scholarship was available to Greek scholars and humanist poets. With respect to Early Modern Homeric scholarship and theory, Miltonists have been exceedingly careful to delineate which hermeneutics and interpretational lenses plausibly could and could not have been open to Milton with respect to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For example, John Leonard suggests that the understanding of repetitive epithets in the Homeric epics as mnemonic devices for the process of oral composition simply would not have been available to Milton and his contemporaries:

ancient rhapsodes used terms like ‘swift-footed Achilles’ [etc] as mnemonic aids, but Pope knew nothing of their function in oral poetry. [Pope] thought of them as a literary device. Since he dislikes ‘unnatural’ repetitions, we might expect him to disapprove of this aspect of Homer’s style. Even Milton disapproved—at least Milton’s Jesus did, when in *Paradise Regain’d* he scorned Homer’s ‘swelling epithets thick laid | As varnish on a harlots cheek’ (4.343–4).<sup>710</sup>

Neil Forsyth, too, acknowledges that Milton could not have been aware of key tenets of oral-formulaic theory such as the uses of the “type-scene”.<sup>711</sup> However, the distinction between Early Modern and modern Homeric scholars with respect to their awareness and knowledge

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<sup>710</sup> John Leonard, ‘Milton, the Long Restoration, and Pope’s *Iliad*’, in *Milton in the Long Restoration*, ed. Blair Hoxby and Ann Baynes Coiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 447-464, p. 455.

<sup>711</sup> Neil Forsyth, *The Satanic Epic* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 242, n.5.

of theories and questions concerning the composition and authorship of the Homeric epics has been steadily narrowing as a result recent scholarship on Early Modern case studies which vastly complicate the established paradigms regarding Early Modern scholars' obliviousness to key Homeric problems. In the case of the preface to Orbetus Giphanius's 1572 Homeric commentary, Tania Demetriou identifies an important and compelling outlier which shows an Early Modern scholar wrestling with the "Homeric Question" two centuries before the publication in 1795 of Friedrich August Wolf's *Prolegomena*.<sup>712</sup> Similarly, Federico Di Santo argues that Gian Giorgio Trissino (1478–1550) in his epic poem *L'Italia liberata* is also an Early Modern outlier for his work, according to Di Santo, presages oral-formulaic composition theory four centuries before Millman Parry's ground-breaking Homeric scholarship in the early-twentieth century.<sup>713</sup>

In his recent article (mentioned in Chapter 2.2 above), Péti also speculates on whether Milton could have had access to ancient scholia to Homer's poems and explains that key theories propounded by the 'Analyst School' of Homeric scholarship would have been undeniably beyond Milton's interpretative scope:

from the nineteenth century on, the so-called 'Analyst' school of scholarship in Homeric studies has repeatedly proposed the existence of a separate *Telemacheia* or *Telemachy*, a once independent lay about Telemachus which was incorporated into our *Odyssey* at some point. **Milton of course could not and did not know about such modern theories**, but he was closely familiar with Homer and some of the key texts of the Homeric epics' ancient and Early Modern reception where the story of Telemachus is designated as a major episode in the *Odyssey*.<sup>714</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> Demetriou, 'The Homeric Question in the Sixteenth Century: Early Modern Scholarship and the Text of Homer'. For an overview of the "Homeric Question", see Tsagalis, 'The Homeric Question: A Historical Sketch'

<sup>713</sup> Di Santo, 'Verso sciolto, formularità, struttura narrativa: Omero e la rifondazione del genere epico nel Rinascimento italiano', p. 91. See Lord, *The Singer of Tales*. Demetriou's argument is far more persuasive than Di Santo whose conclusion that Trissino learnt four centuries before Parry's ground-breaking scholarship the key tenets of oral-formulaic theory is, in my view, hyperbolic.

<sup>714</sup> Péti, 'Milton's New Hero: Homeric Revisions in *Paradise Regained*', p. 465.

But could Milton, who in the climax of *Paradise Lost* Book 2 syntactically positions the Argo's journey *prior* to Ulysses in his pair of comparisons, have been aware of the theory that Homer was recalling an older, Argonautic poem that was 'known to all' (πᾶσι μέλουσα)?

Strabo engages directly with the relationship between Odysseus's voyages and the voyage of the Argo in the *Geography*. In the first book of the *Geography*, Strabo suggests that Homer was modelling Odysseus' journey on that of the Argo's when he writes in that:

ὥστε παρὰ μὲν τὴν Αἴαν ἢ Αἰαίη, παρὰ δὲ τὰς Συμπληγάδας αἱ Πλαγκταί, καὶ ὁ δι' αὐτῶν πλοῦς τοῦ Ἰάσονος πιθανὸς ἐφάνη· παρὰ δὲ τὴν Σκύλλαν καὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν ὁ διὰ τῶν σκοπέλων πλοῦς.

when we compare the Aeaea of Circe with the Aea of Medea, and Homer's Planctae with the Symplegades, Jason's voyage through the Planctae was clearly plausible also; and so was Odysseus' passage between the Rocks, when we think of Scylla and Charybdis.

(Strabo, *Geography* I.5.10)<sup>715</sup>

In response to this passage from Strabo's *Geography*, Virginia Knight states that

Strabo himself is aware of the similarities between the two voyages and combines the two approaches by regarding the *Odyssey* itself as evidence for the route taken by the Argo. He suggests that Jason may have gone to Italy, and that **Homer could have modelled Odysseus' adventures on Jason's.**<sup>716</sup>

However, which collections of Homeric scholia Milton had read, or could have had access to, is still very much debated. My discussion of the 'R' scholia at the Laurentian Library in Chapter 2 above has suggested that Milton was at least aware of such bodies of ancient Homeric scholarship. If Milton did indeed consult these collections of ancient Homeric criticism at the BML, Milton could have encountered notions contained in them such as:

Σ T ad *Iliad* 7.468 : Ἰησονίδης Εὐνηος: ὅτι **καὶ τὰ Ἀργοναυτικά οἶδεν**

<sup>715</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, trans. by Jones, vol. 1, pp. 74–5.

<sup>716</sup> Knight, *Renewal of Epic: Responses to Homer in the Argonautica*, p. 154. On Strabo's Homeric scholarship as a model for Renaissance humanists, see Weaver, *Homer in Wittenberg*, pp. 42–48. See also Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer'.

Euneos son of Jason: because he **[Homer] knew the *Argonautica* as well.**<sup>717</sup>

Or, in turn, a scholium such as this which cites Homer's ignorance of the *Telegony*?

Schol. *Od.*11.134: **Οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ὁ ποιητὴς τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τηλέγονον** καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ κέντρον τῆς τρυγόνου [...]. οἱ νεώτεροι τὰ περὶ Τηλέγονον ἀνέπλασαν τὸν Κίρκης καὶ Ὀδυσσέως, ὃς δοκεῖ κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς Ἰθάκην ἔλθων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τὸν πατέρα διαχρήσασθαι τρυγόνου κέντρον.

**The poet does not know the story about Telegonus** and the barb of the sting ray [...] Post-Homeric writers invented the story of Telegonus the son of Circe and Odysseus, who is supposed to have gone to Ithaca in search of his father and killed him in ignorance with the barb of a sting ray.<sup>718</sup>

With respect to Milton and Eustathius, it is discussed in the beginning of Chapter 1 above

that the erroneous attribution of the Harvard Pindar to Milton has led several Miltonists to

cite the annotations in the Harvard Pindar as the primary source of evidence for Milton's

knowledge of Eustathius's Homeric commentaries. Such scholars include Charles Martindale

who claims that 'Milton used the massive Byzantine commentary on Homer of Eustathius'.<sup>719</sup>

The comparative evidence of Milton's contemporaries at Cambridge and beyond, however,

suggests that any Hellenist worth their weight in salt would have studied Eustathius's

Homeric commentaries. Filippomora Pontani attests to the wide readership of Eustathius's

Homeric commentaries among seventeenth-century Greek scholars, stating that

the major factor that shaped the erudite reception of Homer in the seventeenth century was the wide success of Eustathius' commentaries, first published in Rome in 1542-50, and soon promoted to the rank of a 'must read' for learned Hellenists due to their scope and encyclopedic ambition.<sup>720</sup>

<sup>717</sup> Scholiast qt. and trans. by Lightfoot, 'Textual Wanderrings', p. 676, n. 8.

<sup>718</sup> *Greek Epic Cycle*, trans. by West, pp. 170–1.

<sup>719</sup> Martindale, *John Milton and the Transformation of Ancient Epic*, p. 55. Although Boswell includes Eustathius's *In Homeri Iliades et Odysseae* in his reconstruction of Milton's library, Boswell labels Eustathius as a questionable inclusion and does not speculate on which edition(s) of Eustathius' commentaries Milton might have owned or possessed (Boswell, *Milton's Library*, p. 98). Péti states that Milton 'certainly knew' Eustathius' commentaries and conjectures whether 'Milton might have possessed one of the Renaissance editions' (Péti, 'Milton's New Hero', p. 46). See also Adlington, "Formed on ye Gr. Language", p. 230.

<sup>720</sup> Pontani, 'Translating Homeric Scholia: Five Case Studies from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century', p. 104.

Similarly, Weaver has recently demonstrated how pervasive Eustathius's Homeric commentaries were for Melanchthon and his students' reading of Homer at the University of Wittenberg where they 'were attempting to read Homer as his ancient readers were reading him'.<sup>721</sup> The reading practices of Northern European Greek scholars like Melanchthon were followed in early-seventeenth-century Cambridge too and Milton's evidently encyclopaedic reading of Byzantine authors (discussed above in Chapter 3.2) also suggests that, linguistically, Milton certainly had the linguistic skills required for reading the Byzantine Greek of Eustathius.

Next, I discuss Eustathius' commentary to *Odyssey* Book 12 and consider whether this could shine some new light on Milton's Argo and Ulysses pairing.

Ἡ δὲ πολυθρύλητος Ἀργὼ κατ' ἀντίφρασιν ἐκλήθη Ἀργὼ, καθὰ καὶ τὸ ἀργὸν ὃ ἐστὶ ταχύ. Πάνυ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ὠκύαλος. Πασιμέλουσα δὲ αὕτη διὰ τε τὸ πολυῖστόρητος εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ Ἑλλάδος διὰ μελήσεως τεθῆναι οἷα τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας φέρουσα, τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτῶν. οὕτω δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς πασιμέλων, ὅς πᾶσιν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν Φάσιν Κολχικὸν ποταμὸν ἐλθοῖσαν ἐπεσκεύασαν οἱ Ἀργοναῦται ἀκεσάμενοι εἴ τί που παρεβλάβη κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν. Πρὸς ὁμοιότητα δὲ τοῦ πασιμέλουσα ἐκλήθη καὶ Πασιφίλα, ἑταῖρα παλαιὰ εὐειδής. Αὐτὸ δὲ ἴσως ἐκ τοῦ Πασιφάη παρείλκεται. Τὸ δὲ μέλημα τῆς μὲν Ἀργοῦς, ὡς παρὰ πᾶσι γέγονε, δῆλον ἐστίν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς μάλιστα ἐμελλεν ἅπασι, δηλοῖ πρὸς ἄλλοις, καὶ Εὐφαντος, οὐ μόνον Ὀδυσσεως εἰκόνα, φασίν, ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι περιφέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέκνοις θέμενος κλῆσιν Ὀδυσσεως χάριν. Ἀντίκλειαν ὁμωνύμως τῇ ἐκείνου μετρί καὶ Τηλέγονον καθ' ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ ἐκ Κίρκης καὶ Ὀδυσσεως.

The well-known Argo is called the "Argo" on account of its swiftness (*argon*) and speed. For, according to one source, it was extremely swift on the sea. And the Argo was *pasi melousa* (sung by everyone) because it was very widely-known among the Greeks and it was sung about by all of them. All the Greeks cared about the Argo that the Argonauts sailed upon. Odysseus is also "πασι μέλων" [*Od.9.20*], who sailed across the entire Phasis river in Colchis, which the Argonauts had also sailed upon. Equally, *pasi melousa* is reminiscent of the name "Pasiphila": the beautiful, ancient maiden. *Pasi melous* also reminds one of the name

<sup>721</sup> Weaver, *Homer in Wittenberg*, p. 13. For studies of Early Modern readers' interests in ancient and Byzantine Homeric scholarship, see Grafton, 'Renaissance Readers of Homer's Ancient Readers'; Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*, pp. 135–183; and Grafton, 'Martin Crusius Reads His Homer'. On the reading of Homeric scholarship from antiquity to antiquity, see Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, pp. 1–43; and Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises, from their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period*.

“Pasiphae”. That the Argo was well-known to everyone is obvious. The fact that Odysseus is famous is also clear, but an example of his fame is an account from the historian Euphantos of a man who not only carried a portrait of Odysseus around on his seal-ring, but he named his children Telegonus and Anticlea.<sup>722</sup>

Eustathius highlights the fact that the voyages of Odysseus are declared to be ‘sung by all’ (*Odyssey* 9.20). While Eustathius does not explicitly say this, the intratextual allusion to the Argo ‘sung by all’ which Eustathius underlines suggests that he finds Odysseus comparing himself to the Argo recounted in ancient, Argonautic myths and poetry.<sup>723</sup> The way that Eustathius phrases Odysseus’s fame in the ancient world evokes both Odysseus’s own boast of his fame (*πασιμέλων*) and the epithet of the Argo (*πασιμέλουσα*) since he writes that Odysseus ‘was known to all’ (*ἔμελλεν ἅπασιν*), offering as evidence a peculiar anecdote from the fragmentary, Hellenistic historian, Euphantos. The example which Eustathius selects to demonstrate the fame of Odysseus (that he has also connected with the fame of the Argo) is unusual.

Why, of all the possible examples that Eustathius could have chosen to illustrate Odysseus’s fame, does Eustathius select this odd example from the (lost) historian

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<sup>722</sup> Eustathius of Thessaloniki, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, vol. 2, p. 12. My translation. One reason for Eustathius’s neglect among Early Modernists is undoubtedly due to accessibility. There is no full-scale Latin nor vernacular translation of Eustathius’s Homeric commentaries. Although Eric Cullhead is currently preparing a full-scale translation and edition of Eustathius’ Homeric commentaries, only Eustathius’s commentary to the first two books of the *Odyssey* have been published so far: Cullhead (ed.), *Eustathios of Thessalonike, Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey: On Rhapsodies α-β*. In Hadrianus Junius’s abridged edition of Eustathius’s Homeric commentaries, references to Odysseus are removed and only etymological information is retained: *Copiae Cornu sivæ Oceanus enarrationum Homericarum, ex Eustathii in eundem commentariis concinnatorum* (Basil, 1558), p. 198: ‘Argo: it is called the Argo on account of its swiftness (*argon*) and speed. For, according to one source, it was swift on the sea. Pasimelousa: because it was very famous and because the ship which carried the Argonauts was very widely-known among the Greeks and sung about by the Greeks themselves. But some have written “Sung in Phasis” since they say that the Argo sailed on the Phasis river in Colchis’ (*Ἀργώ, κατ’ ἀντίφρασιν ἐκλήθη Ἀργώ, καθὰ καὶ τὸ ἄργον ὃ ἐστὶ ταχύ. Πάνυ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ὠκύαλος. Πασιμέλουσα, διὰ τε τὸ πολυϊστόρητος εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ Ἑλλάδος διὰ μελήσεως τεθῆναι οἷα τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας φέρουσα, τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτῶν. τινὲς δὲ [γε]γράφασιν, Φασιμέλουσαν. ἐπειδὴ φάσιν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν Φάσιν Κολχικὸν ποταμὸν ἐλθοῦσαν*).

<sup>723</sup> I am grateful to Eric Cullhead for his help in clarifying the meaning of this specific point in Eustathius in an email correspondence (Cullhead, E. (2021) Email to Tomos Evans, 23 July).

Euphantos' story of a flatterer who carries an impression of Odysseus upon his signet ring and who names his children Telegonus and Anticlea? Eustathius' source for Euphantos's account of the flatterer Callicrates is Athenaeus' encyclopedic *Deipnosophistes*:

Εὐφάντος δ' ἐν τετάρτῃ Ἱστοριῶν Πτολεμαίου φησὶ τοῦ τρίτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου κόλακα γενέσθαι Καλλικράτην, ὃς οὕτω δεινὸς ἦν, ὡς μὴ μόνον Ὀδυσσέως εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὀνόματα θέσθαι Τηλέγονον καὶ Ἀντίκλειαν.

Euphantos in Book 4 of the *History* claims that the third Ptolemy to rule Egypt had a flatterer named Callicrates, who was so clever that not only did he carry a portrait of Odysseus around on his seal-ring, but he named his children Telegonus and Anticleia.

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistes* (6.251d).<sup>724</sup>

Here, Callicrates is noted for his cleverness (a key trait of Odysseus) and presents himself as an Odysseus and names his son Telegonus who was the child of Odysseus and Circe, and names his daughter Anticleia, which is the name of Odysseus's mother. In Isaac Casaubon's edition of Athenaeus, he highlights Callicrates' attempt at simulating Odysseus, explaining in the margin that 'Telegonus was the son of Ulysses and Anticlea was Ulysses' mother. In every respect, that flatterer wanted to pretend (*simulare*) to be Ulysses himself' (*Telegonus Ulyssis filius è Circe: Anticlea, Ulyssis mater. Omni ex parte assentator ille simulare volebat se Ulysses esse*).<sup>725</sup> Like the triangulated family structure of Satan-Sin-Death, the Odysseus-Anticleia-Telegonus family structure of Callicrates and his children also creates a convoluted and disruptive epic family structure. Eustathius may have inserted this anecdote from Athenaeus (whose *Deipnosophistes* Milton studied as a student at Cambridge) to highlight a chain of imitation: Jason is imitated by Odysseus who is then imitated by Callicrates.<sup>726</sup> In reading Eustathius's commentary to the passage in the *Odyssey* which associates Odysseus's voyages 'known to all' and the voyages of the Argo which too are 'known to all', the

<sup>724</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistes*, trans. by Olsen, vol. 1, pp. 152–3.

<sup>725</sup> Casaubon (ed.), *Athenæi Deipnosophistarum libri XV* (Heidelberg, 1598), p. 251.

<sup>726</sup> For examples of Milton's references to Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistes*, see Boswell, *Milton's Library*, p. 18.

relationship between the Argo and Odysseus calls to mind a figure impersonating Odysseus. The names of Callicrates' children result in strange, overlapping family relationships for, on the surface, an epic family consisting of Odysseus, Telegonus, and Anticlea is very problematic indeed. Like Satan, the Odyssean simulator Callicrates within Eustathius's gloss to *Odyssey* 9.20 has a Telegonus-like son and his daughter's name creates incongruent, destabilizing ties where the mother's name becomes the daughter's.

Callicrates' 'seal' or 'signet ring' (*σφραγίς*) is evocative of poetic authority and originality and holds a particular resonance in a passage dealing explicitly with poetic fame, of being 'sung by everyone' (*πασι μέλων. Od. 9.20*). The *σφραγίς* is particularly charged since it is used to prove authority and to express legitimate ownership. In a famous passage, the Greek poet Theognis describes the seal which covers his poems in order to assert his own poetic authority, originality, and his fame:

Κύρνε, σοφιζομένω μὲν ἔμοι σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω  
 τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν· λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα,  
 οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος,  
 ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· "Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη  
 τοῦ Μεγαρέως· πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός·"

Kyrnos, let a seal be placed on the present lines by me as I practise my art, and they will never be stolen without detection, nor will anyone substitute something inferior for the good thing that is there. (Theognis, *Elegiac Poems*, 1.19–23)<sup>727</sup>

Theognis claims that this seal will guarantee his poetry's unity, preventing other poets from being able to steal his poetry and maintain his fame as the poem's author. However, the seal—an object that is designed to protect integrity—appears in Eustathius's commentary where Callicrates, despite carrying Odysseus' image, is ultimately a simulacrum of Odysseus.

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<sup>727</sup> Theognis, *Elegiac Poetry*, trans. by Gerber, pp. 176–9.



Unlike Theognis's seal, Callicrates' seal serves to highlight, through its own act of impersonation, the extent to which Homer's Odysseus is already an impersonation of Jason.

Milton's Satan (like Callicrates) imitates Homer's Odysseus in a way which evokes Homer's own imitation of poetic precursors: a dynamic that is completely at odds with Erasmus and Melanchthon's influential views of Homer as the source and the parent of poetry. Within *PL* 2.1016–22, we find what Damien Nelis call a 'two-tier allusion' which he defines as an allusion 'in which a poet imitates both a model and the model's model'.<sup>728</sup> Tellingly, Nelis applies this term to Virgil's simultaneous imitation to Homer and his later, Greek epic successors, *especially* Apollonius. Milton's imitation of Homer in *Paradise Lost* Book 2 also has an eye on both Homer's potential predecessors and successors in his construction of Satan's infernal odyssey.

Milton's deep sensitivity to the commentary tradition shines through in his Classical allusions throughout *Paradise Lost*. In *Imitating Authors*, Colin Burrow illuminates the allusive subtext, indebted to the commentary tradition and the wider, fragmentary, epic tradition, beneath Satan's first utterance in *Paradise Lost* Book 1:

Satan seems unknowingly to allude to his own fallen state while attempting to present Beelzebub as a fallen Homeric or Virgilian hero. Milton knew exactly what he was doing here. He knew – because more or less every commentator on Virgil since Servius had said so – that Aeneas's encounter with the ghost of Hector was based on the moment at the start of Ennius's *Annales* when the first Roman epic poet described his meeting with the ghost of Homer. It was with an allusion within an allusion of this great incipatory literary encounter that Milton began the speaking career of his Satan.<sup>729</sup>

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<sup>728</sup> Damien Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 39 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 2001), p. 5. Joseph Farrell builds substantively on Nelis's view of the *Aeneid* as an Apollonian poem in *Juno's Aeneid: A Battle for Heroic Identity* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021), pp. 138–151. Nelis's research on the *Aeneid*, the *Argonautica*, and intertextuality is highly influential in the editors' definition of the 'window reference' in 'Editors' Afterword on Window Reference' in *Imitative Series and Clusters from Classical to Early Modern Literature*.

<sup>729</sup> Burrow, *Imitating Authors*, p. 283.

In turn, when one considers Strabo and Eustathius on the relationship between the Argo and Ulysses, then one can argue that there is not an allusion within an allusion, but a model within a model in Milton's comparison of Satan to both the Argo *and* Ulysses in *PL* 2.1016–22. This renders Satan, at the point that he most resembles Ulysses as he heroically makes his way through his own infernal version of Scylla and Charybdis, to be exactly that: a resemblance, a simulation, an epic impersonation of Ulysses like the flatterer Callicrates. The original Odysseus becomes a model at the end of *Paradise Lost* Book 2, and this serves as a Satanic upending of Erasmus's dictum *ad fontes* for, once Satan reaches the source of Greek, epic heroism—Homer's Odysseus—he encounters, not an origin, but yet another point of imitation and derivation. The humanist value system surrounding the Homeric poems in the generation of Erasmus as *the* source is inverted in Milton's Satanic imitation of Homer's *Odyssey*. The presence of the Argo in *PL* 2.1016–22 subverts Homer's Odysseus from being the prototype such as Melanchthon speaks of in *In Homeri Iliad* and, elsewhere, as 'the **source** of all disciplines for the Greeks' (*Homerus Graecis fons omnium disciplinarum*) that serves as the model for successive epic heroes, from Virgil to Tasso and beyond, by transforming the self-same, originary Odysseus into a product of borrowing and imitation.<sup>730</sup>

In *De la grammatologie*, Jacques Derrida conceptualised evil as a form of perverse imitation: 'evil is a result of a sort of perversion of imitation, of the imitation within imitation (*le mal tient à une sorte de perversion de l'imitation, de l'imitation dans l'imitation*).<sup>731</sup> In a Satanic context, Milton's Odyssean Satan becomes a perverse imitation of another imitation, further plumbing the depths of poetic precedence and authority. The argument that I have

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<sup>730</sup> Melanchthon, *Declamationes*, p. 23. See also Quint, *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source*.

<sup>731</sup> Derrida, *De la grammatologie*, p. 293.

been making about Milton potentially evoking the relationship between the *Odyssey* and an even more ancient, Argonautic poem, coincides with Satan's most explicit attempt to imitate his source of epic heroism: Homer's Odysseus.<sup>732</sup> But the perversion that Derrida explores is at work here too because this satanic imitation of Odysseus creates a fissure in the heroic, epic origin where the closer Satan comes to resembling Odysseus, the more fractured that origin of epic heroism becomes.

The friction between these two allusions—one to Odysseus' voyage, the other to Jason's—is especially apt for Book 2 as the first genealogical, originary story which is narrated in *Paradise Lost* is Sin's recounting of her own birth (which is itself modelled partly on Hesiod's *Theogony*).<sup>733</sup> Apollonius's decision to deal with the problem of following Homer by writing on a myth that preceded Homer's – indeed, a myth upon which Odysseus' voyage ultimately stems and originates from – is extremely useful for Milton, going even further back to the beginning of (Christian) human history. Milton's Odyssean Satan is remarkable for his unfathomability, in the sense that uttermost depths are never reached, and instead nearing the end or the bottom of the deep, or the origin, only opens up further depths and a greater distance from the origin itself:

Me miserable! Which way shall I fly  
 Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?  
 Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell;  
 And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep  
 Still threatening to devour me opens wide,  
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.  
(PL 4.73–8)

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<sup>732</sup> For discussion of the issues classical scholars have faced in attempting to reconstruct from Apollonius's *Argonautica* the traces of a pre-Odyssean, pre-Homeric Argonautica tradition (and, in turn, attempts to reconstruct poems from the Epic Cycle such as the *Aethiopis* from the *Iliad*), see Nelson, *Markers of Allusion in Archaic Greek Poetry*, pp. 48–51.

<sup>733</sup> On Hesiod and origin myths in *Paradise Lost*, see Held, 'Milton and Genealogical Poetry: Paul, Aratus, Lucretius, and Hesiod in *Paradise Lost*'.

Milton's design of the infinitesimal nature of Hell and Satan's hellish existence had a great number of influences.<sup>734</sup> What correspondences might exist, however, between Milton's endless Hell and his Odyssean Satan? And what role might Eustathius have had in Milton's pairing of infernal endlessness with the satanic odyssey of Book 2? The perception of the *Odyssey* as an endless epic arises in an important scholium that is sourced in Eustathius' commentary and, although Eustathius's commentary to *Odyssey* 23.297 had become central to twentieth and twenty-first century debates between "Unitarian" and "Analytic" schools of Homeric scholarship, the implications of Milton's potential knowledge that the actual end-point of the *Odyssey* was debated in antiquity have yet to be considered. It is within Eustathius' commentary that the Alexandrian grammarians Aristarchus and Aristophanes of Byzantium's conjectures about the actual, authentic ending of the *Odyssey* survives. Regarding Eustathius's response to the Alexandrian grammarians' conjecture about the ending of the *Odyssey*, Alexander Loney has recently explained that that 'Eustathius understood the scholia to mean that Aristophanes and Aristarchus believed the genuine end of the poem was at 23.296 rather than at 24.548, and that all following verses were an interpolated, inauthentic addition which Eustathius describes as an illegitimate, "bastard" (νοθεύοντες) text added by a later and inferior author'.<sup>735</sup>

Although Péti argues that the interpretative lens of the 'Analyst' School concerning the beginning of the *Odyssey* could not possibly have been available to Milton, it is

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<sup>734</sup> For an especially compelling treatment of the infinite in Milton's Hell, see Webster, 'Milton's Pandæmonium and the Infinitesimal Calculus'.

<sup>735</sup> Eustathius qt. by Loney, *The Ethics of Revenge and the Meanings of the Odyssey*, p. 194. See Loney, p. 194, n. 1 for a survey of the debates surrounding this specific issue in twentieth and twenty-first century Homeric scholarship.

nevertheless the case that the most important source for the debates in later centuries within the “Analyst” School concerning the ending of the *Odyssey* was available to Milton in Eustathius’s Homeric commentaries.<sup>736</sup> Aristarchus and Aristophanes’ theory that the *Odyssey* ended at 23.297 and that the final portion of the text is fraudulent and superfluous is a key source for modern contentions surrounding the *Odyssey*’s composition and authorship.

In a recent essay of this “Homeric Problem”, Egbert Bakker underlines that the Analyst School’s theories stem from this very conjecture of Aristarchus and Aristophanes’, which was accessible via Eustathius:

the end of the *Odyssey* remains a notorious Homeric problem. Does the poem end, as in our received text, with Zeus's thunderbolt hitting the ground (*Od.*24.539), causing Athena to call an end to the fighting and prevent the hero from killing the relatives of the slain Suitors? Or do we need to give credit to the reading of the poem that sees in the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope the ‘proper’ end of the story? This reading has had various motivations in the modern age, but it begins in antiquity [when] line 23.296 was famously tagged as the ‘end’ of the *Odyssey* by the Alexandrian librarian-scholars Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace.<sup>737</sup>

This Homeric problem had been sparked by the Alexandrian grammarians Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus’ conjectures about the ending of the *Odyssey*, and these are cited in Eustathius’s commentary to 23.296:

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστορίαν Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης, οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῶν τότε γραμματικῶν, εἰς τὸ, ὡς ἐρρέθη, ἀσπάσιοι λέκτροιο παλαιοῦ θεσμὸν ἴκοντο, περατοῦσι τὴν Ὀδύσειαν, τὰ ἐφεξῆς ἕως τέλους τοῦ βιβλίου νοθεύοντες. οἱ δὲ τοιοῦτοι πολλὰ τῶν καιριωτάτων περικόπτουσιν, ὡς φασιν οἱ αὐτοῖς ἀντιπίπτοντες, οἷον τὴν εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς τῶν φθασάντων ῥητορικὴν ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς ὅλης ὡς εἰπεῖν Ὀδυσσεΐας ἐπιτομὴν, εἶτα καὶ τὸν ὕστερον ἀναγνωρισμὸν Ὀδυσσεῶς τὸν πρὸς τὸν Λαέρτην καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ θαυμασίως πλαττόμενα καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα.

We should note that according to the very old accounts, Aristarchus and Aristophanes, the best of the ancient commentators, made this line [23.296] the end of the *Odyssey*, because

<sup>736</sup> Péti, ‘Milton’s New Hero’.

<sup>737</sup> Bakker, ‘How to End the *Odyssey*’, pp. 46–7. On the

they were suspicious of what remained to the end of the book. But these scholars are cutting off many critical things, which they claim to oppose, for example the immediately following rhetorical recapitulation of that has happened and then, in a way, a summary of the whole *Odyssey* and then, in the next book, the recognition scene between Odysseus and Laertes, and the many marvellous things that happen there.<sup>738</sup>

The idea that the *Odyssey* was, in a scholarly and Alexandrian sense, an endless text, that it was an epic where its ending is potentially yet another beginning, plausibly would not have been beyond Milton's scope.<sup>739</sup> Indeed, in a virtuoso example of the 'Alexandrian footnote', the ending of the *Argonautica* 4.1781 alludes to *Odyssey* 23.295–6: the precise passage which the Alexandrian scholars Aristarchus and Aristophanes considered to be the true ending of Homer's *Odyssey*.<sup>740</sup> Milton's design of his infernal *Odyssey* expresses an awareness of the *Odyssey* through Hell reflects an approach to the *Odyssey* that is markedly at odds with that of Melanchthon and Erasmus of the previous century (and that of his contemporaries at Cambridge in the early-seventeenth century as demonstrated in Chapter 1.1), that Homer's *Odyssey*, rather than being the oceanic source whence all subsequent, succeeding poetry flows, was itself one poem in a chain of imitations and one that is not whole, complete, and *originary*, is instead endless, fracture, and *derivative*.

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<sup>738</sup> Eustathius qt. and trans. by Christensen, 'Where Does the Odyssey End (and Why?): Aristarchus, Aristotle and Eustathius', n.p.

<sup>739</sup> Hadrianus Junius retains the entirety of Aristarchus and Aristophanes of Byzantium's conjecture that the *Odyssey* ends at *Od.*23.297 in his 1558 abridged edition of Eustathius' commentary, pp. 346–7.

<sup>740</sup> Kelly, 'Apollonius and the End of the Aeneid', p. 644. On Apollonius's allusion to this specific "Homeric Problem" at the end of the *Argonautica*, see also Rossi, 'La fine alessandrina dell'*Odisea* e lo ΖΗΛΟΣ ΟΜΗΡΙΚΟΣ di Apollonio Rodio'; and Rengakos, 'Apollonius Rhodius as a Homeric Scholar'. For discussion of a 'baroque textual joke' Milton makes in Book 2 in his allusion to the Helen Episode of *Aeneid* Book 2, see Falco, 'Satan and Servius: Milton's Use of the Helen Episode (*Aeneid* 2.567-88)', p. 132

## Conclusion

The key tenets of Milton's Hellenism are revealed most vividly in Milton's correspondence and relationship with three individuals in particular: Charles Diodati; Lucas Holstenius; and Leonard Philaras. In Milton's *EF 6* and *EF 7* and Diodati's 'First Greek Letter' and 'Second Greek Letter', we find Milton's Hellenism take the form of a particularly exuberant form of Platonism and a peculiarly strong emphasis on Atticism. 'Sonnet 20' addressed to the young Edward Lawrence and 'Sonnet 21' addressed to the young Cyriack Skinner could show that, by the mid-1650s, Milton continued to reflect upon the lessons Diodati imparted upon him and that he continued to channel Diodati's peculiarly Greek sensibility into his own writings.<sup>741</sup> When Milton tells Skinner to 'let Euclid rest, and Archimedes pause' (l.7) in order 'to measure life' (l.9), Milton evokes a Diodatian call to moderation in advising the young Cyriack to moderate his overzealous studies within a specifically Greek context. In Milton's invocation of the Greek mathematicians Euclid and Archimedes when beseeching Cyriack to rest in order to avoid exhausting himself, Milton may have been eruditely alluding to and playing on a key theorem of employed by Euclid and Archimedes: the Method of Exhaustion (*methodus exhaustionibus*).<sup>742</sup> Likewise, in 'Sonnet 20', Milton tells Edward Lawrence that a 'neat repast shall feast us, light and choice / Of Attick tast' (ll.9–10), where the Atticism of Milton's description of the meal is evoked both in terms of refinement ('neat')—a synonym of Atticism—and the explicit reference to Ancient Athens ('Attick'). The Atticism and Attic wit

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<sup>741</sup> For discussion of the precociousness of Edward Lawrence and Milton's 'Sonnet 20', see Brown, *Friendship and Its Discourses in the Seventeenth Century*, 90–91.

<sup>742</sup> The Method of Exhaustion is used in Euclid's *Elements* Book 12 and Archimedes' *Quadrature of the Parabola*. On 'the remarkable Method of Exhaustion that appears in Euclid's *Elements* and that is used with such brilliance by Archimedes' (p. 67), see Clagett, *Greek Science in Antiquity*. On Milton's mathematical interests, see Trubowitz, 'The Fall and Galileo's Law of Falling Bodies'.

of Milton's 'Sonnet 20' and 'Sonnet 21' could suggest that the recollections of Diodati spurred the peculiarly Greek ways that Milton expressed (the Diodatian themes of) feasting and rest in these two sonnets.

With respect to Chapter 2, the reorientation of the loftily Hellenic writings of Diodati's Greek letters can refigure our perceptions of the direction of literary influence with respect to the young Milton. This is because it was in tandem with Diodati (whose passion for Hellenistic poets such as Theocritus and whose immersion in Platonic dialogues is evidenced by the ways his Greek letters brim with exuberant Hellenism) that Milton could produce extraordinary moments in his Latin poems such as the ending of *Epitaphium Damonis*. The revelations that are gleaned from a reassessment of Diodati's own Greek letters to Milton show that the Greekness of Milton's early Latin poems was significantly informed by his friendship with Diodati. This is shown by the shared, Attic wit between the friends' letters such as when Diodati's description of walking around the English countryside vividly evokes Aristotle's Peripatos and Zeno's Poikile and when Milton makes a very similar joke about the Stoa in his letter to Thomas Young. From leaving Cambridge in 1632 to arriving in Italy in 1638, Milton's intense engagement with Greek texts (including a number of Byzantine works) at Horton and Hammersmith is part of his development as a *doctus poeta*, and Milton's Hellenism is a key aspect of his development as a scholar-poet. This is revealed most especially in *EF* 9 in which Milton fashions himself as a scholar-poet before one of Europe's leading Hellenists.

With respect to Milton's correspondence with Holstenius and Philaras, who were deeply Philhellenic in the literary and political senses respectively, it appears to be the case that Milton's interactions with them were particularly influential in the formation of Milton's Hellenism. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, the similarities between Duport and Milton's



handling of the Homeric poems demonstrate the extent to which Milton's approaches to Homer overlap with the training in Greek he undertook at Cambridge which held an emphatically confessional method and purpose. Yet, in *EF 9*, one finds Milton's Hellenism expressed in the form of virtuoso Greek scholarship going exceeding the abilities of a Cambridge MA graduate and the fruits of such scholarship can be recognised within Milton's handling of specific Homeric problems in *Paradise Lost*.

As illustrated throughout Chapter 4, when reading Milton's Homeric similes, a peculiarly Alexandrian dimension in which poetry and scholarship are consubstantial emerges. The aetiological passages from *Paradise Lost* Books 1 and 2 reflect the intricate ways that Milton's reading of Homer's epics were closely tied to Milton's virtuoso Greek scholarship. Machacek argues that 'Milton alludes not to Homer, but to mid-seventeenth-century Homer, and Hume is attuned to late-seventeenth-century Homer, and Newton to mid-eighteenth-century Homer'.<sup>743</sup> Yet the recent scholarship of Weaver, Demetriou, and Pontani among others has significantly broken down such chronological boundaries, and access to sources of Greek scholarship such as Eustathius's Homeric commentaries indicates that the 'mid-seventeenth-century Homer' cannot be reduced to a definite and fixed set of editions, commentaries, and interpretative lenses, but shows that the extent of Homeric scholarship (especially in the form of unpublished manuscripts such as the Homeric scholia) available to Milton and his contemporaries is yet to be fully understood.

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<sup>743</sup> Machacek, *Milton and Homer*, p. 53.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Text and Translation of Diodati's "Second Greek Letter" (British Library, Add MS 5016\*, fol.5v)

Θεόδοτος Μίλτωνι χαίρειν.

- Οὐδὲν ἔχω ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ νῦν διαγωγῇ μου ἐκτὸς τούτου ἐνός, ὅτι στερίσκομαι ψυχῆς τινος γενναίας λόγον αἰτεῖν, καὶ διδόναι ἐπισταμένης. τοῖν τοι κεφαλὴν ποθέω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἄφθονα πάντα ὑπάρχει ἐνταύθα,
- [5] ἐν ἀγρῶ. τί γὰρ ἂν ἔτι λείποι, ὁπότεν ἡματα μακρὰ, τόποι κάλλιστοι ἄνθει, καὶ φύλλοις κομῶντες, καὶ βρύοντες, ἐπὶ παντὶ κλάδῳ ἀηδῶν, ἢ ἀκανθίς, ἢ ἄλλο τι ὀρνίθιον ὠδαῖς, καὶ μινυρισμοῖς ἐμφιλοτιμεῖται, περιπάτοι ποικιλώτατοι, τράπεζα οὔτε ἐνδεῆς, οὔτε ~~πρ~~κατάκορος, ὕπνοι ἀθόρυβοι; εἰ ἐσθλόν τινα ἐταῖρον τούτεστι πεπαιδευμένον,
- [10] καὶ μεμυημένον, <sup>ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκτώμην</sup> τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως εὐδαιμονέστερος ἂν γενοίμην. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἀεὶ τι ἐλλιπὲς ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους πράγμασι, πρὸς ὃ δεῖ μετρι[ό]τητος. σὺ δὲ ὦ θαυμάσιε, τί καταφρονεῖς τῶν τῆς φύσεως δωρημάτων; τί καρτερεῖς ἀπροφασίστως, βιβλίους, καὶ λογιδίους παννύχιον, πανῆμαρ προσφυόμενος; ζῆ, γέλα, χρῶ τῇ νεότητι,
- [15] καὶ ταῖς ὥραις, καὶ ~~ἄφες ζητεῖν~~ <sup>παύου ἄναγινώσκων</sup> τὰς σπουδὰς, καὶ τὰς ἀνέσεις καὶ ῥαστώνας τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν, αὐτὸς κατατριβόμενος τέως ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἄπασιν ἄλλοις ἥττων σου ὑπάρχων, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέτρον πόνων εἰδέναι, κρείττων καὶ δοκῶ ἐμαυτῷ, καὶ εἰμί. ἔρρωσο, καὶ παῖζε, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ Σαρδανάπαλον τὸν ἐν Σόλοις.

5 κάλλιστοι] followed by cancelled comma. 8 κατάκορος] initial *πρ* cancelled. 9 ἐσθλόν] grave accent corrected to acute accent. 10 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκτώμην] inserted with caret. 11 ἀεὶ] accent changed from grave to acute. 12 μετρι[ο]τητος] accent illegible under ink blot. 15 παύου ἀναγινώσκων] preceded by cancelled *ἄφες ζητεῖν*. Accent of initial *ἄ*- visible beneath *α* in *παύου*. The second cancelled word is illegible, but it ends with *-ει* and an acute accent is visible; there is possibly *θ* too. It may be the 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative present indicative active *θύνει* (rush or hasten); the Columbia editors suggest *μανθάνει[ν]*.

#### Diodati bids joy to Milton

I have nothing to complain about my current way of life, except this one thing: that I am deprived of a certain noble soul to ask for an account from and I lack someone who expertly knows how to give an account. I long for such a person. But everything else here in the countryside is bounteous. [5] For what would still be missing, whenever the days are long, the scenery most fair with flowers and, trees teeming and bristling with leaves, and on every branch a goldfinch or nightingale (or some other little bird) takes pleasure in warbling and songs, multicoloured walks, a table that is neither deficient nor superfluous [with food], and unperturbed slumbers? If I could gain in addition to these things a certain noble comrade—that is to say, an educated and [10] initiated person—then I would become happier than the King of Persia. But there is always something lacking in human affairs, which is why moderation is needed. But you, *oh wondrous youth*, why do you despise the gifts of nature?

Why do you, without hesitation, persevere in clinging to your books and little orations all day and all night? Live! Laugh! Seize the day! [15] And ~~cease to investigate~~ stop reading the serious engagements and relaxations and ease of wise men in the past, exhausting yourself all the while. I, in all things else inferior to you, in this one thing—in knowing when to set a measure to my labours—both seem to myself, and am, superior to you. Be well, and enjoy yourself... but not like Sardanapalus in Cilicia.

**Appendix B: Text and Translation of II.35–83 of Leo Allatius’s Leonora Poem in *Applausi Poetichi alle Glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*, ed. by Francesco Ronconi (Bracciano: Giovanni Battista Cavario, 1639), pp. 197–200.**

Τὶς γὰρ πελάζων μαλθακοφθόγγοις θρόοις, Τοὺς περ διώκει θαῦμα ΛΕΟΝΩΡΗ μέγα, Οὐ γέντ’ ἄφωνος, ἀλλὰ πέτρος ἀγχίνους, Καὶ χερσὶ καὶ φρένεσσι προυμηθέστατος, Πέτρος λυδῆς λίθοιο παγκρατέστερος, Ψεῦδος φρόνιν τε μηνύων ἀκριβεῖ λογῶ; Εἰ δ’ αὖ ποθ’ ἀρμόσασα Ἡρωὶς χέρα Φόρμιγγα πλήκτρῳ προσπατάξει χρυσίῳ, Νόμους τε μολπαῖς ἠπύσει θεοπνόους, ἢ χεῖλε’ αὐλαῖς πρὸς λύραν ἢ πηκτίδι χέρας πρὸς ἀντίψαλμον ἐντενεῖ μέλος, πᾶσαν τ’ αἰοδαῖς ἐμβαλεῖ συγχορδίαν, τίς ἔσθ’ ὁ κλύων καὶ πέδῳ σθενῶν πόδας; Σύμπνους πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔλκεται μετήορος, ὄρμαῖσιν ἀπτίλοισιν ἀθεροδρομῶν πήξας τ’ ὀπωπὰς ἠλιῶσαν πρὸς φυὴν κρέμεται πέδοιο κούρανοῦ μεταίχμιον, πάνπαν βίοιο τοῦ κάτω λελασμένος. Θαυμαστόν οὐδὲν ἄνδρας ἄνθρωπον βία Φέρειν τε κἀνακυκᾶν ὡς φίλον. τί δαί; Ἄρ’ οὐχ, ὅταν μέλπησι τερπνὴν ἐξ ὅπα Ἰεῖσα λαίμῳ πουλυποικίλοις μέζοις Ἐν οὐκ ἀεργοῖς ὀργάνοις, νεφέων μέλας Χειμῶν’ λιάσθη, νήνεμος γελᾷ πόλος, Ἀπημόνωσ πόρφυρε λευκανθὲν σέλας, Ἵπνοῖ θάλασσα, γαῖα τ’ ἀλλάσσει στολήν; Σιγῶσιν αὖξαι, φθόγγος ὀρνίθων, πάρα Δ’ εὐκῆλα παντα, παύσατό τε χόλος βροτοῖς. Τί μοι τέθηπας λᾶας ἐστῶτας βλέπων Οὐ πρὸς μέλος θέοντα ὡς πρόσθεν ταχεῖς; Πρέπει μὲν ἄλλοις ἄλλα. Θειοδέγμονες Ἵμνοῖντο μολπαὶ δαψιλῶς θεωτέροις. Τίη τί δ’ ἐστὶ θαῦμα; ἢ φάος πλανᾷ; Καὶ μὲν δοκεύω, οὐδὲ πέπληγμαί φρένας.	35     40     45     50     55     60     65
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Ἔστ' ἄρ' ἀληθές ἐστι, κἄν ἀνέλπιστον πέλει  
 Ἄνω μὲν ἐστήριξεν οὐρανὸς βάσιν, 70  
 Φοῖβος μὲν ἔστη, οὐδ' ἐκσφενδονεῖ φάος.  
 Τίς δ' αὖ σελήνην ἐλκύσας ἀντίζυγον  
 Ἐγγὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν φοῖβον ὤρσε; τίς πλάνους,  
 Παίσας ἀκραιφνῶς, πουλυδινήτου σάλου  
 Εἰς ἔν συνῆρε, κἄναμοχλεύσας πόλον, 75  
 Φύσιν γ' ἐς οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ προσβιάζεται;  
 Πέλας δ' ἀολίσθησαν ἄστρα μυρία,  
 Ὅσσοι ὠλέναις Ὀλυμπος ἐκβόσκει πλατὺς,  
 Πρὸς ἔν μόνον νεύοντα ΛΕΟΝΩΡΑΣ μέλος, 80  
 Ἄφ' ἧς ἐθελημὰ οὐκ ἀπαχθεῖεν ποτὲ,  
 Εἰ μὴ μόνον βίηφι, καὶ παντὸς βλάβει.  
 Καί μοι γέγηθε καὶ τί προμνᾶται μέγα  
 Θυμὸς. Σαφῶς γὰρ εὖ ἰδὼν μαντεύσομαι.

For who wouldn't become voiceless when approaching the sweetly-sung sounds that the great LEONORA—a great wonder—impels? But the shrewd stone, and the stone fully-feeling with hands and mind, the stone more powerful than the Lydian rock, instead would disclose false wisdom with articulated speech? If, then, after equipping her hand with the golden plectrum, the Heroine strikes the lyre and performs divine melodies with singing, or puts her lips to the flute with the lyre, or stretches with her hands the [strings of the] *pektis* [Lydian stringed instrument] together with her harmonious song, and throws every harmony to her songs: who will be there to listen to her, strengthening the feet [of her music] with their foot [by dancing]? Lifted off the ground [μετήρορος], one is drawn to her songs. Rushing in the sky [ἀθεροδρομῶν] with featherless motions, and with fixed sight upon the golden form [i.e. the sun], he is suspended high-up midway between the ground and heaven, and he is entirely forgetful of life down below. It is marvellous no men bear with human force and do not mix-up with him as a friend. Why? Perhaps, if she sings and lets the pleasing voice come out from her throat with variegated meters, unaccompanied by instruments, then a dark storm does not retreat; the windless pole is not still; the whitened moon does not grow red harmlessly; the sea does not sleep; and the earth does not change her robe? The breezes are silent, as are the sounds of the birds. All around there is freedom from anxiety [εὐκῆλα], and wrath ceases for mortals. Why, I see that you are amazed as you look at the stones fixed on the pavement, no longer running to the songs as fast as they were before? Some things fit other things. May divine songs be elevated as hymns plentifully to more divine ones. What is this prodigy? Or does the eye wander? I can see, and my mind does not err [it is not struck with amazement]. Perhaps it is real, it is true and it is here! An unbelievable prodigy! The sky fixed above the foundations, Phoebus is fixed and does not throw the light as from a sling. Who, then, rose up after dragging the moon (corresponding to the sun) close to it? Who, playing innocently, joined together the roaming of the much-whirled, tossing motions in one, after forcing open the pole? She constrains Nature, even though she is unconstrained? Close by, innumerable stars are gathered together, as many as the wide Olympus consumes with the hands. They bend to one single song of LEONORA, from whom the willing person may never be dragged away, if not only by force and with damage to everything. And my heart is full of joy and yearns for something great.

**Appendix C: Text and Translation of Leonard Philaras's 'Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum' (KB National Library of the Netherlands, 1900 A 235.01) compared with Bibliothèque National de France, MS Baluze 95 fol. 50<sup>v</sup>.**

Oraculum nuper Constantinopoli inventum  
ex Graeco in Latinum versatur

καὶ σὺ σεβαστὴ μητὲρ  
μετὰ τὰς δυστυχίας  
μείζων ἐξαναστήσῃ  
ἐλλάς εὐνομουμένη.

κλεινὸν ἐλευθερίας,  
ἔλλησι πεπρωμένος  
ἦμαρ ὑπονοστήσει.  
τὰς ἄγαρ τῶν ἐκγόνων

ὁ συρφετὸς ὀλίται  
μάχη τῶν χριστωνύμων.  
ἐρείτῃ τὸ σελήνης  
τετυφωμένου κέρας.

Χριστὸς ἤδη πάρεστι  
καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ σφριγῶσι  
νίκαις καὶ κραταιώμασι  
πάντοθι τὰ μυστήρια.

*Ἑλλάς]* Huygens has inserted a comma at the end. *ἦμαρ]* *κόσμος* (Baluze). *ἄγαρ]* *Ἀγάρ* (Baluze). *ὀλίται]* *ὀλεῖται* (Baluze). *Ἐρείψη]* *ἐρίψη* (Baluze).

Even you, august Mother, after the misfortunes you raised-up mightier and law-abiding Hellas. Famous for liberty, the day was fated for the Greeks to decline. The rabble of those born of Agar [i.e. Arabs] will perish in battle with the Christians. The horn of the moon in the clouds will tumble down. Christ is already present. Victories and laurels of the cross are full to bursting. Mysteries are everywhere.

Tu quoque diva Parens maior post fata resurges  
Graecia, et Argolicis remeabit gloria terris.  
Barbara colluvies Turcorum, marte peribit  
Christiandum, tumidaeque ruent mox cornua Lunae.  
Christus adest, et ubique Crucis Mysteria fulgent.

*Turcorum,]* *Turcorum* (Baluze). *adest,]* *adest* (Baluze).

Even you, divine Mother, will rise again even greater after calamity, and the glory of the Greeks will return to the land. The barbarous rabble of Turks will perish in battle with Christendom, and soon the horns of the swollen moon will tumble down. Christ is present, and the mysteries of the cross shine everywhere.

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