

almost pathetic about it: it arises not so much from an *amplification* of A into B as from a *tension* between A and B. It is as appropriate to say of the late Renaissance and Baroque period as it will be of Modernism that, in the words of W.B. Yeats, "things fall apart, the centre cannot hold". What is falling apart in Richard's world is meaningfulness. A whole semantic and cultural system is collapsing around 1600; and it is no coincidence that the modern (as distinct from the Petrarchan) conceit should emerge in this period.

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**MILTON AND THE LANGUAGES
OF THE RENAISSANCE**

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The central obstacle facing anyone who wishes to undertake a serious study of Milton is a massive linguistic hurdle: Milton could read in nine or ten languages other than his native English. If St Epiphanius was, as Jerome dubbed him, *πεντάγλωσσος* –he knew Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Latin and Egyptian (by which Jerome must have meant Christian Coptic)– Milton was *δεκάγλωσσος*. In the poem *Ad Patrem* Milton thanks his father for paying for lessons in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Italian in the years before he went to St Paul's at the age of twelve:

*tuus pater optime sumptu
Cum mihi Romuleae patuit facundia linguae
Et Latii veneres, et quae Jovis ora decebant
Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,
Addere suasisti quos jactat Gallia flores,
Et quam degeneri novus Italus ore loquelam
Fundit, barbaricos testatus voce tumultus,
Quaeque Palaestinus loquitur mysteria vates.*

[When at your expense, excellent father, I had become fluent in the language of Romulus, the charms of Latin, and the lofty words of the eloquent Greeks, fit for the mighty lips of Jove himself, you urged me to add the flowers that France boasts and the language the modern Italian pours from his degenerate mouth –testifying in his speech to the Barbarian invasions– and the mysteries uttered by the Palestinian prophet].

By the time that Milton travelled to Italy in 1638 he had composed a considerable body of poems in Latin, and a smaller number in Greek and Italian, and at some point had acquired enough Spanish to merit its inclusion in Antonio Francini's ode in praise of Milton:

*Ch'ode oltr'all Anglia il suo più degno Idioma
Spagna, Francia, Toscana, et Grecia e Roma.*

[For not only England hears you speak her worthy language, but also Spain, France, Tuscany, Greece and Rome]

After he returned from Italy Milton became a schoolmaster, and his nephew Edward Phillips, who was one of his pupils, recalled fifty-four years later that as a ten-year-old he was 'studiously employed in conquering the Greek and Latin tongues' and mastering the literatures in those languages, but that this study did not 'hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, viz the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, so far as to go through the Pentateuch... in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St Matthew in the Syriac Testament'. Milton had clearly acquired a command of Chaldee, which we would now call Aramaic, and Syriac, which he seems to have regarded as a separate language. At some point in 1652, the year in which Milton went totally blind, he began to take lessons in Dutch from Roger Williams. In a letter to John Winthrop dated 12 July 1654 Williams explained that 'it pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, Mr Milton, for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages'. Claims for Milton's knowledge of a tenth language, Anglo-Saxon, are based on the putative influence of the Old English Genesis and Milton's friendship with its editor, Francis Junius; the argument is complicated by the relationship between the Old English Genesis and the Old Saxon fragment in the Vatican library, and the problem still awaits serious examination. Claims for other languages might be made, but Milton's quotations from Samaritan and Ethiopic (the predecessor of Amharic), for example, are taken from printed Latin translations, and there is no evidence for first-hand knowledge of such languages.

Milton's command of this formidable range of languages means that the range of sources available to him is greater than that on which ordinary mortals can draw, and his lifelong study of the literatures written in those languages gives his poems a distinctly literary cast. Milton was able to continue his study of various literatures after he went blind by enlisting his daughters, who were (in the words of Edward Phillips)

...condemned to the performance of reading and exactly pronouncing of all the languages of whatever book he should at one time or another see fit to peruse, viz the Hebrew (and I think the Syriac), the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, Spanish and French. All ...without understanding one word.

Each of the languages that Milton read produced sources for *Paradise Lost*. In the modern languages, to name only one in each, Milton is said to have drawn on the French of Du Bartas' poem *La Semaine*, the Italian of Giambattista Andreini's play *L'Adamo*, the Dutch of Vondel's play *Adam in Ballingschap* and the Spanish of Alonso de Acevedo's poem *Creación del mundo*.

I cannot, in the compass of one paper, consider all four of these modern languages, so I propose to select one, namely Spanish, in which Milton's competence may have been as slight as mine. I should like to begin by disposing of Alonso de Acevedo. The fact that he appears speaking Italian in Cervantes' *Viaje del Parnaso* is indicative of the problem of identifying the *Creación del mundo* as a source for *Paradise Lost*, because Acevedo's epic draws so heavily on Tasso's *Il mondo creato* and Du Bartas' *La Semaine* that it would seem impossible to detect any specifically Spanish strain in Milton's poem. But how much Spanish literature did Milton know? The only allusion to Spanish literature seems to be the note on 'the verse' which Milton drafted in 1668 for the fourth issue of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*. The printer, Samuel Simmons, had asked Milton to explain 'that which stumbled many...: why the poem rhymes not'. The tone of Milton's note suggests that he was irritated by the request:

The measure is English heroic verse without rhyme, as that of Homer in Greek and of Virgil in Latin – rhyme being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre... Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rhyme both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings – a fault avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and in all good oratory.

Who, one wonders, are the 'Spanish poets of prime note' who have repudiated 'the jingling sound of like endings'? Spanish Golden Age poetry is of course rhymed. Indeed, the only great Spanish poem in blank verse known to me is Miguel de Unamuno's *El Cristo de Velázquez* (1920), which, like his *nivolos*, is written in his usual spirit of literary rebellion; he was, after all, an academic. *Versos sueltos* was introduced into Spain by Joan Boscà, who was in 1526 invited by the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero to introduce Italian metres into Spain. This was not an impossible task for a Catalan for whom the Provençal hendecasyllabic line deeply embedded in Catalan lyric poetry led

easily to the *octavas reales* that quickly became the dominant metre of Spanish Renaissance epic. The products of Boscà's Italian period, if it may be so termed, included his *Leandro* (1543), which took the *versi sciolti* form from Trissino. *Versos sueltos* was subsequently used by Boscà's friend Garcilaso de la Vega and Cervantes' friend Francisco de Figueroa. Are these, one wonders, 'Spanish poets of prime note'? Certainly the use of blank verse excited animosity: Cristóbal de Castillejo's *Contra los que dejan los metros castellanos y siguen los italianos* (c. 1540) characterises those who use blank verse as *usan de cierta prosa / Medida sin consonantes*.

Where else might we look? There are irretrievably minor blank verse poems scattered thinly in the *Varias poesías* (1591) of the soldier-poet Hernando de Acuña, who had served in Italy and read deeply in Petrarch, in the *loas* of Agustín Rojas Villandrando, who had also travelled in Italy, and in Fray Luis de León's *Poesías* (1631), which contain many imitations of Italian poems, as one might expect from the translator of Bembo and La Casa. Imitations are, perhaps unexpectedly, the chief source of blank verse poems. Frai Jerónimo Bermúdez's *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada* (1577) are Greek in structure and Portuguese in subject (the legend of Inés de Castro), but resolutely Italian in metrical form. Cervantes used blank verse for *El rufián viudo*, one of his *entremeses*, but this example poses the same problem as the tetrameter masque verse in late Shakespeare: is the explanation for its general awfulness incompetence or parody? I tend to the former view in the case of Shakespeare, and to the latter in the case of Cervantes' interlude, but it is difficult to be confident about either judgement.

Thus the rejection of rhyme in 'shorter works' by Spanish poets of prime note'. A consideration of 'longer works' produces an even shorter list of candidates. Of the hundreds –literally hundreds– of heroic epics, only four, we are assured by one Carl W. Cobb, who scoured the list compiled by Cayetano Rosell (*Philological Quarterly* 42, 1963, p. 265), are cast in blank verse. One can be eliminated immediately, because the *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, the fourth and final part of Juan de Castellanos' 119,000 line *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias*, seems not to have been printed until modern times. That leaves three possibilities: Jermyno Corte Real's *Felicissima victoria concedida del cielo al señor don Juan de Austria* (1578), Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà's *Historia de la Neuva México* (1610) and perhaps most apposite for our conference in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Antonio de Viana's *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas de la Gran Canaria* (1604), which celebrates in a mixture of unrhymed verse and octavas reales that which led to present-day Las Palmas, the marriage of the Guanche and Castilian peoples. Milton does mention Tenerife in *Paradise Lost* (IV. 987), as the mountain was then thought to be the

highest in the world –about 60 miles high, according to one traveller's report– but I regret to report that he is not known to have read Viana's epic, and indeed all four of these historical epics would seem to be unlikely candidates for Milton's longer poems in blank verse. Of the Spanish religious epics that might seem to provide the closest analogies to *Paradise Lost*, all are written in *octava real*, the Spanish version (sometimes called *octava heróica*) of *ottava rima*. Acevedo's epic, which offers the closest analogy to Milton, is modelled so closely on Tasso that Acevedo felt obliged to defend his use of the *octava real*; *no me contenté con referir esta universal obra en verso suelto, como he visto lo han hecho algunos famosos poetas en otras lenguas, sino antes, por hacer más gustosa la lección della, me quise atar al trabajo de la octava rima*.

There is, one may say in summary, a host of minor Spanish writers who have occasionally used blank verse, even though most of their output is rhymed, but there are no 'Spanish poets of prime note' who can be said to 'have rejected rhyme both in longer and shorter works' – unless, that is, we extend our sense of the term 'poet' to include verse translators. That leads us (and again I am indebted to Carl Cobb for pointing the way) to two translations that Milton may well have known. The first is mentioned by Roger Ascham: 'Gonzalo Pérez, that excellent learned man, and secretary to King Philip of Spain, [who] in translating the Ulysses of Homer out of Greek into Spanish... by good judgement avoided the fault of rhyming, [even though he did not] hit perfect and true versifying'. I must confess immediately to never having heard of Gonzalo Pérez or his *De la Ulyxea de Homero XII libros, traduzidos de Griego en Romance Castellano* (1550), but no less a scholar than Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo assures us that this is the first translation of Homer into any European language. If Ascham knew of it, then Milton could have known of it, and could even have thought Pérez a poet 'of prime note'.

The second translator arguably has a better profile and certainly has a longer name: Juan Martínez de Jáuregui y Hurtado de la Sal, the artist who painted a portrait of Cervantes in old age. Jáuregui studied art in Rome, and while he was there translated Tasso's pastoral drama *Aminta*. Milton is known to have read the *Aminta*, though his allusions are usually glossed by reference to Tasso's Italian original (1573) or Thomas Watson's Latin version (1585) or (with less likelihood) Henry Reynolds' English version (1627). Jáuregui's Spanish translation, which he published in Rome in 1607, attempts to render Tasso's *versi sciolti* into Spanish *versos sueltos*. Milton was interested in the *Aminta*, and may well have known this translation, which, like *Paradise Lost*, begins with an explanation of 'why the poem rhymes not':

Bien creo que algunos se agradarán poco de los versos libres y desiguales, y sé que hay orejas que, si non sienten a ciertas distancias el porrazo del consonante, pierdan la paciencia... como si en aquello consistiese la sustancia de la poesía (cit. Cobb, 267)

Thus Milton's Spanish. The ancient languages present an even more daunting prospect. Hebrew was one of the languages that Milton learned as a child. The transliterations that he used in his Hebrew annotations to his translations of the Psalms suggest that he pronounced Hebrew with a Sephardic accent: *taw* is transliterated *th*, and *ayin* is rendered as a quasi-consonantal *gn* (See Leo Miller, *Milton Quarterly* 18, 1984, 41). As that pronunciation derives ultimately from Spain, we might therefore regard Milton's Hebrew as another Spanish language. Milton seems to have been reasonably competent in Hebrew, but it is not clear, to me at least, how he interpreted the unadorned Hebrew text of the Old Testament. It is often casually assumed that he was guided by the Massoretic vocalisation, and this is at least a partial truth, but there is also evidence that on occasion he preferred the Greek of the Septuagint to the meaning implied by the pointing supplied by the Massorettes. In *Samson Agonistes*, for example, Milton introduces the "giant Harapha of Gath" (1068). In the 1611 translation of II Samuel xxi the Hebrew *harapha* is simply rendered "the giant"; the Septuagint text, however, treats Rapha as a proper name, in the which case the Philistine champions should be called the "sons of Rapha", which is how Milton describes Goliath and his brothers (1248-9). Milton's use of Harapha as a proper name draws on the Greek reading while still preserving the Hebrew sense of moral enervation.

In the seventeenth century the Old Testament was often read with the assistance of Aramaic commentaries, the Targumim. Students of Milton do not always recognise a Targum when they encounter one in the darkness of another language. Thus the two standard translations of Milton's theological treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* record Milton's reference to "the three most ancient Jewish commentators, Onkelos, Jonathan and Hierosolymitanus"; neither translator recognised the Jerusalem Targum lurking behind the mysterious commentator Hierosolymitanus.

In Greek, in addition to the Septuagint and the corpus of ancient Greek poetry, Milton could draw on the Greek fathers, for whom he had unusual sympathies: in the case of his depiction of Eden, for example, he drew heavily on the works of the Cappadocian fathers: the *περι κόσμος* of Gregory Nazianzus which (like the *Carmen de Deo* of Dracontius) reflects its hexameral subject in its choice of metre, and of course Basil the Great, whose *Hexaemeron* lit a torch which passed to his brother Gregory of Nyssa and thence to Greek hexameral

writers such as George of Pisidia, whose *Hexamaeron*, with its strong colouring of classical cosmological accounts, was often printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The largest tradition on which Milton could draw was of course the vast succession of Latin works, not only those of classical antiquity, but also those in the Christian patristic and hexameral traditions, the latter of which begins with St Ambrose, whose various hexameral works were much loved by the humanists of the Renaissance; his *De Paradiso* (like *Paradise Lost*) set Paradise on a mountain. It should be remembered that this Latin tradition, which includes scores of hexameral works, extends continuously to Milton's own time, to works such as Grotius' tragedy *Adamus Exul*, on which Milton drew.

The last of the ancient languages on which Milton drew was Syriac, a language made unnecessarily difficult by the fact that it is written in three different consonantal scripts. I am not going to discuss Milton's competence here, because I have written on the subject elsewhere (*Milton Quarterly*, May 1993); suffice it to say that Milton certainly consulted the Peshitta, and may have had some knowledge of Syriac fathers such as Aphraates and St Ephrem Syrus.

Milton was a competent linguist, and he knew it. He could on occasion be something of a linguistic terrorist: he was fond, for example, of giving Greek titles to his English works – hence *Tetrachordon*, *Colasterion* and *Areopagitica*. Sometimes he would deploy his learning as a weapon. The publisher of Milton's 1645 *Poems* commissioned a portrait for the frontispiece. The engraver, William Marshall, seems to have shown the portrait to Milton, who asked him to engrave a few lines of Greek verse beneath it. The hapless (and Greekless) Marshall complied, carefully engraving Milton's four lines of Greek, and the volume was in due course published, probably on 2 January 1646. And what does the Greek say? 'Looking at its original, you would perhaps say that an ignorant hand had drawn this image. Since you do not recognise the person, my friends, laugh at this bad imitation by a worthless artist'.

I am a student of literature rather than language, so I should like to conclude with a consideration of the effect that this multilingualism had on Milton's poetry. Sometimes the issue is one of translanguing ambiguities; sometimes it is a case of the meaning of a phrase in one language only being apparent by reference to another; sometimes the problem is one of allusion or imitation.

Let us begin with ambiguities, some of which are rooted in Milton's habit of thinking in one language while composing in another. In the Marshall epigram, for example, the ambiguity lies in the genitive *φαύλου ζωγράφου*, which might

mean that the portrait was 'of a worthless artist' or 'by a worthless artist'; Milton was thinking in English of one or the other, and in Greek has created an ambiguity. Similarly, in *In Obitum Procancellarii Medici*, a poem in which the seventeen-year-old Milton commemorated John Gostlin, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, he refers to Gostlin as *alumno major Apolline*; did he mean "greater than your pupil Apollo", as in classical Latin, or "greater than your tutor Apollo", as in late Latin?

Comparable problems of ambiguity arise when Milton translates the Psalms. Translating Psalm 88, for example, he covers himself by translating one phrase twice:

Thou break'st upon me all thy waves,
And all thy waves break me.

Milton covers himself by adding in the margin 'The Hebrew bears both'; in this instance Milton has detected an ambiguity where none exists, because only the first line is a correct translation. Translating Psalm 83, however, he grapples with a problem that is real rather than imagined:

By right now shall we seize
God's houses, and will now invade
Their stately palaces.

What are they? God's houses or stately palaces? Milton's marginal note says "*Neoth Elohim* bears both". He is half right. *Elohim* means "God", but it can also be used as a superlative, so "God's" and "stately" are in fact both possible translations. The problem which Milton seems not to have noticed is the other word, which in his Sephardic transliteration comes out as *neoth*. It means "pastures" (as in Psalm 23: "he maketh me to lie down in green pastures"), and hence "dwelling places", but hardly "palaces".

Sometimes Milton tries to resolve such ambiguities by recourse to another language. In *Areopagitica*, for example, he looks at the Greek text of Acts xix.19, which refers evasively to the "curious arts" (τὰ περίεργα) of Paul's converts, and immediately checks it against the Syriac text, in which the word *harrāshē* makes it clear that the practitioners of these arts were necromancers. Such problems are built into the Bible and thence into Milton's Christian faith, because the holy books are multilingual. Thus when the translators of the Old Testament into Greek read in Isaiah that an *almah* would conceive and bear a son, they had to decide, because of the choices forced on them by Greek, whether or not she was a παρθένος. They decided that she was indeed a virgin,

and thus planted the seeds of the doctrine of the virgin birth. The same is true of such post-Biblical doctrines as original sin, which originated in Augustine's infelicitous translation of ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον (Romans v.12) as *in quo omnes peccaverunt*, a howler that located the origins of sin in Adam.

The second effect of multilingualism that I should like to consider is the case of words and phrases in one language that can only be understood by reference to another. One of the most fertile examples of such phrases occurs in Book IX of *Paradise Lost* (792), at the moment when Eve eats the apple:

Greedily she engorged without constraint
And knew not eating death.

Milton is imitating a Greek construction in which the verb "to know" is followed by a nominative participle without repetition of the subject. At one level, then, the line means "not knowing that she was eating death". The purpose of the Hellenism is of course to introduce a Latinism, *mors edax*, death that devours. The same thing happens in *Samson Agonistes* (840): "knowing, as needs I must, by thee betrayed", which means both "knowing that I was betrayed by thee" and "knowing myself to be betrayed". Similarly, a phrase such as "who slewest them many a slain" (439) seems opaque in English, but once one realises that 'them' is a Latin dative of disadvantage, the sense of "to their loss" readily becomes apparent. Or again in *Samson Agonistes*, "unless there be who think not God at all" (295) becomes fruitfully ambiguous when one recognises the Greek construction, common in negative clauses, in which "think" (νομίζω) is followed by an accusative without an infinitive. On occasion Milton implies a specific phrase rather than a simple construction: thus in *Paradise Lost* the sun and moon are said to be conveyed "down to this habitable" (VIII.157). Habitable what? The phrase imitates ἡ οἰκουμένη (*scilicet* γῆ), the inhabited (world), and thus introduces the Greek distinction between Greece and the world beyond its borders, between civilisation and barbarity.

These are examples of the constructions of one language impinging on another. There are comparable examples in which the pivot is lexical. In *Paradise Lost*, Adam's eyes are anointed "with euphrasy and rue" (XI. 414). Both are plants, but they are also puns: "rue", Shakespeare's "herb of grace", means "pity", and "euphrasy", Greek εὐφροσύνη, means "good cheer". Or in *Paradise Regained*, Satan offers to show Jesus "regal mysteries" (III. 249). For Milton the word "mystery" retained the senses of two different Latin roots: *ministerium* ("skill" or "occupation") and *mysterium* ("secret"). Another

bifurcating etymology occurs in the description of the touchpaper of the cannons in *Paradise Lost* as "pernicious with one touch to fire" (VI. 520): "pernicious" means both "rapid" (from *pernix*) and "destructive" (from *perniciosus*). This sort of multilingual playfulness can also be seen in Milton's prose. In his *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*, for example, the learned men of Trent (*doctores Tridentinos*) are said to be *tridentinae* ("three-toothed"), and a mounted grammarian is said to be a horse-critic –*hippocriticus*– a splendid threeway pun that fires off in Greek, Latin and English.

I should like to conclude by raising briefly the related issues of imitation and allusion, an issue that I have explored elsewhere (*Milton Studies* 19, 1984, 165-177). According to an anecdote in the elder Seneca, Ovid borrowed phrases from Virgil "not stealing them, but borrowing openly with the intention of being recognised" (*non supripiendi causa sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo ut vellet agnosci: Suasoriae* III. 7). The most famous example in antiquity is Virgil's appropriation of a line from Catullus (who was in turn translating Callimachus, but I do not propose to consider that complication). In *Aeneid* VI. 460, Aeneas descends to the underworld, meets Dido, and pleads that he did not leave her shores voluntarily (*invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*). The problem is that the line imitates Catullus, who makes the lock of Berenice's hair say '*invita o regina tuo de vertice cessi*' ("I did not leave your head voluntarily"). Virgil has transformed mock heroic into heroic, and the sheer daring of the transference has left generations of admirers astonished that Virgil could contaminate such a poignant moment by imitating a line in a court elegy. It seems to me a remarkable moment: any second-rate poet can mock the heroic, but it takes a great poet to do it the other way round, to transfer a clever line from a mocking poem into a pained and hesitant expression of anguish.

One could explore this phenomenon in Milton's English poems by reference to examples such as the echo of Virgil's *templum* for Caesar in the phrase "before all temples" at the outset of *Paradise Lost*, but it is easier to understand the issues if one doesn't shift languages. I shall therefore take my two examples from Milton's Latin poems. One of these imitations is an early fumble, and the other, to pursue my sporting analogy, a completed pass. Milton's *Elegia tertia*, written when he was an undergraduate, commemorates Lancelot Andrewes, that most celibate of English churchmen. Milton's dream-vision of Andrewes ends with the line *talia contingant somnia saepe mihi* ("may such dreams often befall me"). The problem is that the phrase irresistably recalls its original in Ovid's *Amores* (I. 5): *proveniant medii sic mihi saepe dies* ("May it often be my good fortune to have middays like this one"). Ovid is recalling a lunchtime romp with Corinna, and the reader's recollection of this line skews Milton's

poem. At the age of 17 Milton was not yet the master of his craft. By the time he wrote *Epitaphium Damonis*, at the age of 31, he was a faultless Latin poet in total control of his material. The refrain of Milton's lament for his friend Charles Diodati is *ite domum impasti, domino jam non vacat agni* ("go home unfed, my lambs, your master has not time for you now"). The line imitates Virgil's *Eclogue* VII. 44: *ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite juvenci* ("go home well fed, my heifers, go, for shame"). Virgil's shepherd is dismissing his herd either because he cannot make love and watch animals at the same time, or because he does not want the animals to be voyeuristic onlookers. Milton has skilfully used the echo of Virgil to convey through the *frisson* that it creates a decorous hint of the passion that he felt for Diodati, who may have been the only person that Milton ever loved unreservedly. Like Virgil, Milton has transformed coarseness into passionate and poignant solemnity.