

and italicization, and also in words except for the revisions of 1607. His main alteration of the copy-text was to replace its punctuation with a new punctuation of his own. He gave a full record in footnotes of the variants in all the early texts up to 1634, including details of capitalization but not of punctuation or of spelling (see pp. 26–7).

This is a massive work of scholarship, achieved with estimable accuracy. There are a few mistakes in the text—in the extract McNulty misread a broken ‘r’ ligature in ‘bufineffe’ in 1591, 28.2, as plain ‘r’; and he missed the variant word order in 1634, 30.3—but they are certainly not many in a task of such size and complexity.

McNulty chose the right copy-text, but his misunderstanding of the nature and relationship of the manuscripts helped him to make the unfortunate decision to modernize the punctuation of 1591, which he found ‘confusing’, and which he was willing to alter because he thought that Harrington cared almost nothing about spelling or punctuation. In fact it looks as if Harrington carefully amended the punctuation of MSb; and the further refinement of the MSb punctuation in 1591 resulted in a system which is seldom really confusing, and which is apparently authoritative. It should have been kept.

McNulty’s footnote apparatus, which would of course be substantial even if it recorded no more than the verbal variants up to 1607, is longer than it needs to be because of the inclusion of the unauthoritative variants from 1634—for which no reason is given, for McNulty does not argue that they are Harrington’s—and of such minutiae as variants of capitalization (see the footnotes to 29.5, 30.7, 32.1, and 33.4 of McNulty’s edition of the extract). It is particularly pointless to record such detailed variants when no indication is given of the much more important emendation of the punctuation. All the original illustrations are reproduced; and the editor has provided a critical and historical introduction that is a model of its kind.

EXAMPLE 2

Milton, *A maske (Comus)*, 1634

MILTON wrote the dramatic entertainment which we know as *Comus* but which he called simply *A maske* to honour and entertain the Earl of Bridgewater and his family and friends on the day Bridgewater became Lord President of Wales.¹ The invitation to write it was extended to Milton, perhaps at the instance of the court musician Henry Lawes, when the poet was twenty-four or twenty-five years old and had published nothing but the epitaph on Shakespeare which had appeared in the Second Folio of 1632. This masque was composed, with music by Lawes, for a particular performance at Ludlow Castle, the official residence of the Lord President, on Michaelmas day 1634.

The court masque, a well-established but not rigidly fixed form of entertainment, was characteristically a spectacular dramatization of morality, compliment, and dance, performed by professional actors, singers, and dancers, and by noble masquers who joined in a ceremonial measure at the end.² The form of Milton’s masque was necessarily different, for it had to do without elaborate spectacle and (apart from Lawes himself) without trained performers; and it was required moreover that three of the principal parts should be played by children of the Earl, a girl of fifteen and two of her brothers aged eleven and nine. Consequently there was more emphasis than was usual in a masque on theme and on poetry, while the children’s parts had to be kept within their capacity to memorize and to speak. Nevertheless it was explicitly *A maske*, not a play or a poem, even though it had in it notable elements of drama, and especially of poetry.

It is hard to divine Milton’s original attitude to the work. He certainly wrote it for the single performance in 1634, but after that he seems to have been in no hurry to publish it; perhaps he was inhibited by his father’s disapproval of theatrical shows; perhaps he was thinking of keeping it for

¹ For the background, see W. R. Parker’s great biography, *Milton*, 2 vols., Oxford 1968. The number of books and papers about *A maske* is enormous, but there is a convenient summary in Hughes, M. Y., Woodhouse, A. S. P., and Bush, D., *A cartorium commentary on the poems of John Milton*, II, 3, London 1972, pp. 735–990. For references to the major studies of the text, see p. 30 n. 8 below.

Milton’s masque was called *Comus* at least as early as 1698, and *Comus* has been its common name since the early eighteenth century; but there is a modern tendency to revert to calling it *A maske*.

² *A cartorium commentary*, II, 3, pp. 740–55.

a substantial volume of poems such as the one he eventually published in 1645. Then in 1637 Henry Lawes, wearied he said with copying out Milton's masque by hand for his friends, published the first edition of *A maske presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*, without giving Milton's name but with a note saying 'Although not openly acknowledged by the Author, yet it is a legitimate off-spring';³ and it is certain that Milton had in fact prepared a revised text of the work for this first printing. The same revised text, with a few further amendments, was included in the acknowledged *Poems* of 1645, and it was reprinted with little further change in 1673.

Five early versions of *A maske* survive, two manuscript and three printed. The first is a manuscript in Milton's own hand (the Trinity manuscript, here called TMS),⁴ which is the earliest version of the text that we have, but which also contains later revision. Next is a scribal copy (the Bridgewater manuscript, here BMS),⁵ which postdates TMS and has some rearrangement of the text. (There is also an early manuscript of the words and music of the five songs written by Lawes; its verbal variants, not found elsewhere, appear to be unauthorized, and it will not concern us further.)⁶ Finally there are the three editions printed in Milton's lifetime, and called here *1637*, *1645*, and *1673*;⁷ the text which they reproduce is later and longer than that of TMS or BMS.

The precise textual status of TMS (a foolscap folio notebook of 24 leaves) has not been certainly established. We can be pretty sure that the holograph text of *A maske* in this notebook is a working copy which Milton made for private reference, but just how and when he wrote out the main text and revised it is still a matter for debate.⁸ The most likely course of events is that Milton copied out the main text up to the end of the first version of the epilogue from rough drafts, and also made some of the alterations before

³ STC 17937. A2^a.

⁴ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R.3.4; for facsimiles see p. 54 n. 21.

⁵ Now in the library of the Duke of Sutherland, Merroun, Roxburghshire.

⁶ British Library MS. Add. 53723.

⁷ STC 17937: Wing M2160; Wing M2161.

⁸ See Diekhoff, J. S., 'The text of *Comus*, 1634 to 1645', *PMLA*, lii, 1937, pp. 705-27; Shawcross, J. T., 'Certain relationships of the manuscripts of *Comus*', *PBSA*, liv, 1960, pp. 38-56, 293-4. S. E. Spurr has since surveyed all the evidence in an impressive monograph (Milton, J., *A maske, the earlier versions*, Toronto and Buffalo 1973), which includes parallel transcripts of TMS, BMS, and *1637*, and transcripts of the British Library manuscripts of the songs. While these authorities all agree about the essential relationships of the early texts, Spurr is unconvinced by Diekhoff's hypothesis that the whole of the TMS text was a transcript from an earlier draft, though allowing that Milton may have drafted passages on rough sheets as he went along; and Spurr does not accept Shawcross's argument from the evidence of Milton's handwriting that not only the later corrections and additions but also the main text of TMS (and therefore also that of BMS) was written in 1637, rather than in 1634. Although Spurr's analysis of the alterations in TMS and of the hypothetical transcript made from it seems to me over-complicated, I accept his case in the main and have based my own account on it. But even if Spurr is wrong, and Diekhoff and Shawcross are right, our view of the genealogical relationship between TMS, BMS, and the printed texts is not affected.

the performance of the masque in 1634; but that most of the other alterations and the second version of the epilogue were added by Milton in 1637, in the course of preparing a revised text for Lawes's edition.

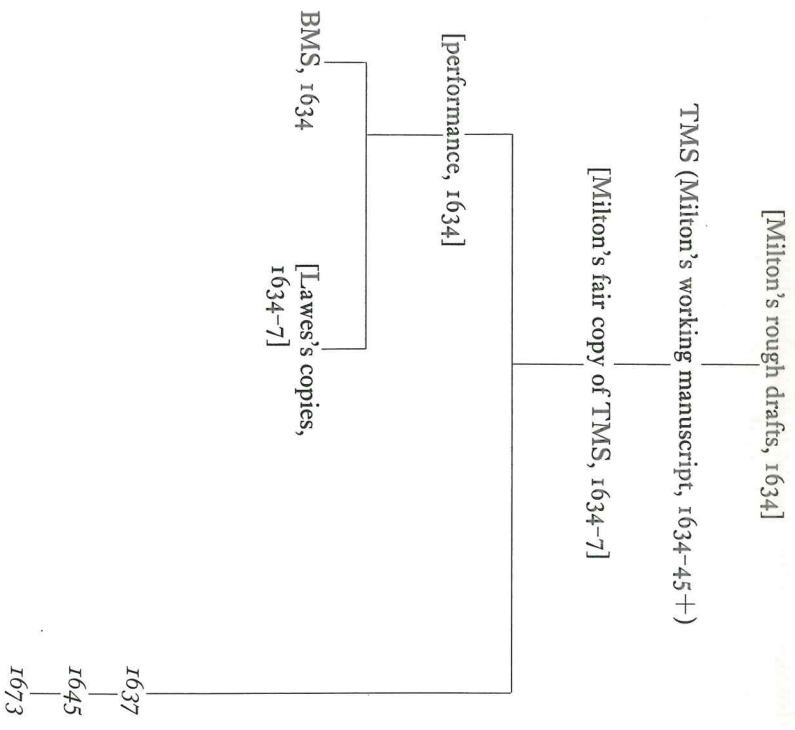
BMS is a scribal transcript of the masque, made perhaps for presentation to the Earl of Bridgewater or to Lord Brackley at about the time of the original performance. Its text is related to the earlier (1634) stage of the TMS text, after some but not all of Milton's alterations had been made, but it was not copied directly from TMS; there was an intermediate transcript, probably made by Milton, and perhaps an actors' version or set of parts. BMS also incorporates a number of rearrangements and cuts which appear to represent adaptations made for the performance of the masque.⁹

The first printed edition, *1637*, was also set from a transcript of TMS, probably the one which had been used by the scribe of BMS, but updated in 1637 by the incorporation of the later TMS alterations and by the addition of thirty-seven extra lines and a number of other alterations which did not appear in TMS. This revised and expanded text was essentially the final version of *A maske*. The authorized second edition, *1645*, which was set from the first, and the third edition, *1673*, which was set from the second, each incorporated only a handful of relatively minor changes.

It is suggested, then, that Milton wrote out the first full copy of his masque from rough work-sheets as a working manuscript in a private notebook, TMS. This was in 1634, but Milton was to keep the notebook by him for many years and to use it for noting down later alterations to the text. After revising the TMS text, he made a fair copy (now lost) from which the performance text of 1634 was derived, as was a scribal copy (BMS, also 1634), and probably the copies Lawes made for his friends. Three years later, in 1637, Milton further revised the text for publication, making drafts for some of the new readings in TMS, and transferring them together with further alterations to the fair copy. The fair copy, thus revised and expanded, was used by the compositor of *1637*; from which derived successively, and with only minor change, *1645* and *1673* (see p. 32).

Having considered the probable relationship between the early texts of Milton's masque, we can try to choose the copy-text for an edition and to decide how it might be perfected and presented. We will begin by comparing extracts from the early texts. Two passages are illustrated, first by means of

⁹ The main adaptations in BMS, which do not appear in any other surviving text, were (1) the transfer of part of the first epilogue to the beginning, to make a prologue; (2) the distribution of some of the Demon's lines to the two Brothers; and (3) the omission of two substantial and four short passages. Some of the changes may have been made by Lawes, others by Milton himself; see S. E. Spurr's Milton, J., *A maske* . . . , pp. 19-23.

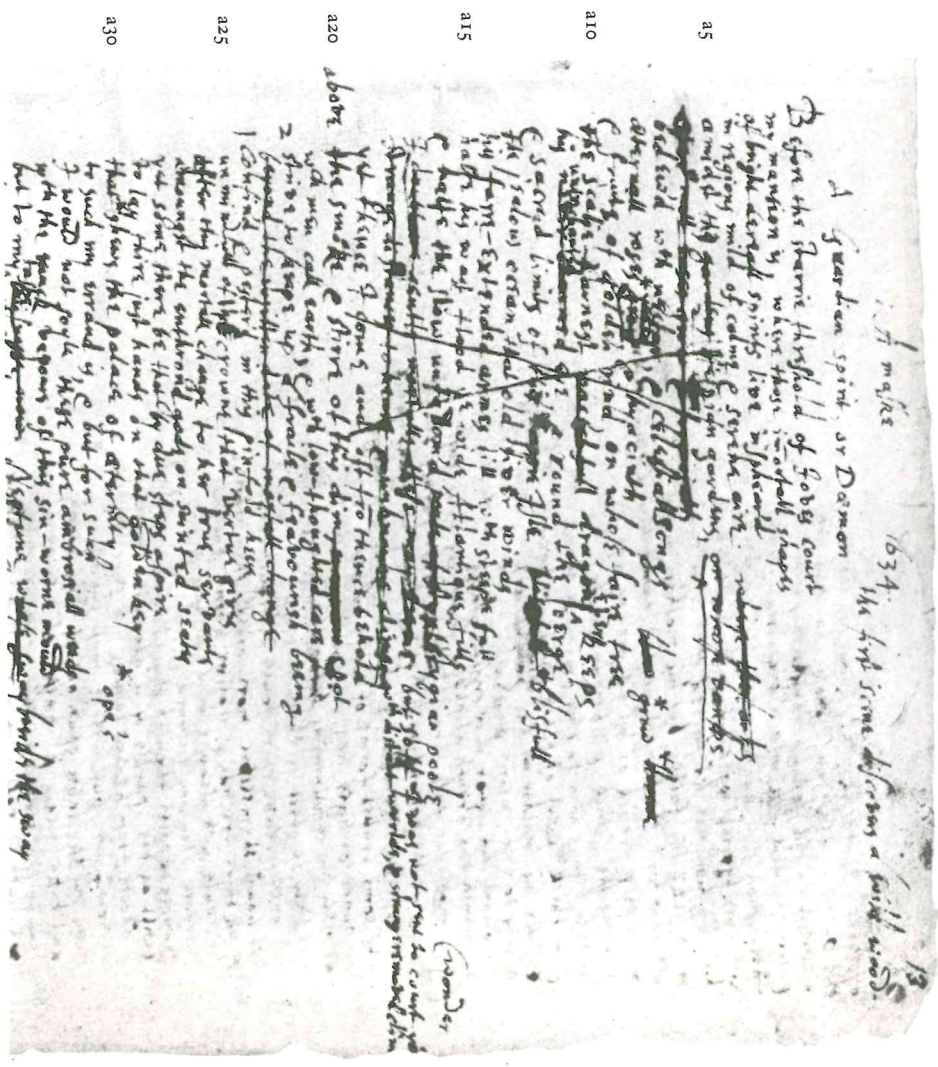


facsimiles of their appearance in TMS, BMS, 1637, and 1645; and then by means of parallel transcripts¹⁰ of the TMS, BMS, and 1637 versions. The first passage is from the opening of the masque: the first 34 lines of TMS (a1-a34), the first 38 lines of BMS (b1-b38), and the first 18 lines of 1637 and 1645 (c1-c18, d1-d18) (see pp. 33-41).

Besides differing in detail from each other and from the printed texts, the two manuscript versions of the opening of the masque have major differences that are peculiar to them. The holograph TMS, first, has a passage of 15 lines (a5-a19, a6 being crossed out and repeated as a8) which Milton composed—this looks like a first draft—revised, and finally deleted, so that it does not appear in any of the other texts; and he also deleted line a23. It seems that all the changes made to this passage in TMS were early ones,

(continued on p. 42)

¹⁰ The transcripts are based on those in S. E. Spurr's *Milton, J., A masque . . .*, Toronto and Buffalo 1973.



TMS (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R.3.4, p. 13; x071)



A M A S K E

PERFORMED BEFORE

the President of W A L E S

at Ludlow, 1634.

The first Scene discovers a wild
wood.

The attendant Spirit descends or enters.

B Efore the flarrie threshold of *Jove's* Court
My mansion is, where those immortal Shapes
Of bright æreall Spirits live inspher'd

In Regions mild of calme and serene aire,
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
Which men call Earth, and with low-thoughted care
Confin'd, and pester'd in this pin-fold here.

Strive to keepe up a fraile, and feverish being
Vnmindfull of the crowne that Vertue gives
After this mortall change to her true Servants
Amongst the enthron'd gods on Saincted seats.
Yet some there be that by due steps aspire
To

(2)

To lay their iust hands on that golden key

That opens the palace of Eternity :

To such my errand is, and but for such

I would not soile these pure ambrosial weeds

With the rank vapours of this Sin-worne mould.

But to my task. *Neptune* besides the way

(75)



A

M A S K

PRESENTED

At L U D L O W - C a s t l e ,

1634. &c.

The first Scene discovers a wilde Wood.

The attendant Spirit descends or enters.

B Efore the flarry threshold of *Jove's* Court
My mansion is, where those immortal Shapes
Of bright æreall Spirits live inspher'd

In Regions mild of calm and serene AYr,
Above the smoak and stir of this dim spot,
Which men call Earth, and with low-thoughted care
Confin'd,

(76)

Confin'd, and pester'd in this pin-fold here,

Strive to keepe up a fraile, and feverish being

Vnmindfull of the crown that Vertue gives

After this mortall change, to her true Servants

Amongst the enthron'd gods on Saincted seats,

Yet some there be that by due steps aspire

To lay their iust hands on that Golden Key

That opens the Palace of Eternity :

To such my errand is, and but for such,

I would not soile these pure Ambrosial weeds,

With the rank vapours of this Sin-worne mould,

But to my task. *Neptune* besides the way

c15

c10

c5

d5

d15

d10

A maske 1634.

13

the first scene discovers a wild wood

A Guardian spirit, or Demon

Before the starrie threshold of Loves court
 my mansion is, where those imortall shapes
 of bright aereall spirits live inspear'd
 in regions mild of calme & serene aire where the banks

A Maske./

A MASKE

PERFORMED BEFORE

the President of WALES

at Ludlow, 1634.

The first scene discovers a wild wood, then a guardian spirit
 or demon descendes or enters. /

The first Scene discovers a wild
 wood.

The attendant Spirit descends or enters.

a From the heavens nowe I flye
 and those happy Clymes that lye
 Where daye never shuts his eye
 up in the broad field of the skye. /

b5 There I suck the liquid ayre
 all amidst the gardens fayre
 of Hesperus and his daughters three
 that singe about the goulden tree. /
 there eternals summer dwells

b10 and west wyndes with muskye winge
 about the Cederne alyes flinge
 Nard and Casias balmie smells
 Iris there with hummid bowe
 waters the odoruous banks that blowe

b15 Flowers of more mingled hew
 then her purfld scarfe can shew
 yellow, watchett, greene & blew
 and drenches oft wth Manna dew
 Beds of *Hyacinth* and Roses
 b20 where many a Cherub soft reposes. /

Before the starrie threshold of Loves Courte
 my Mansion is, where those immortall shapes
 of bright aereall spirits live inspear'd
 in regions mylde of Calme and Cerene ayre

Before the starrie threshold of *Loves* Court
 My mansion is, where those immortall shapes
B Of bright aereall Spirits live inspear'd
 In Regions mild of calme and serene aire,

- a5 amidst the gardens Hesperian gardens, ~~on whose banks~~
~~eternal roses grow & hyacinth-~~
 bedew'd wth nectar & celestial songs *
~~eternal roses grow; & hyacinth~~ ~~blow grow blossom~~
 & fruits of golden rind, on whose faire tree
 the scale-harnes ~~wageth~~ dragons, ^a keeps
 uninchantes
 his never-charmed eye, & round the verge
 & sacred limits of this ^b happy Isle blissfull *blissfull
 the jealous ocean that old river winds
 his farre-extended armes till wth strepe fall
 halfe his wast flood y^e wide Atlantique fills
 & halfe the slow unfidom'd peo^{le} of styx [] stygian poole
 I ~~doubt the gentle mortals these may seeme~~ but soft I was not sent to court yo^r
 strange ~~distances to heare & unknowne times~~ wth distant worlds, & strange removed clim[e]
 yet thence I come and oft fro thence behold
- a20 above the smoke & stirre of this dim-[~~harrow~~] spot
 w^{ch} men call earth, & wth low-thoughted care
 2 strive to keepe up a fraile & feavourish becing
 beyond the ~~written date of mortall change~~
 1 confin'd & pester'd in this pinfold heere
- a25 unmindefull of the crowne that vertue gives
 after this mortall change to her true servants
 amongst the enthron'd gods on sainted seats
 yet some there be that by due steps aspire
 to lay thire just hands on that golden key
 that ^{*}shews the palace of eternitie ^{*}ope's
 to such my errand is, & but for such
 I would not soyle these pure ambrosiall weeds
 wth the ranck vapours of this sin-worne mould
 but to my ^a ~~business new~~-Neptune whose sway besids the sway

- b25 above the smoake and stirr of this dim spot c5 Above the smoake and stirre of this dim spot
 w^{ch} men call earth, and w^{ch} low-thoughted Care Which men call Earth, and with low-thoughted care
 Confinde and pestered in this pinfold heere Confin'd, and pester'd in this pin-fold here,
- strive to keepe vp a fraile & feavourish beeing Strive to keepe up a fraile, and feaverish being
 vnmindfull of the Crowne that vertue gives Vnmindfull of the crowne that Vertue gives
- b30 after this mortall change to her true servants c10 After this mortall change to her true Servants
 amongst the enthroned gods, on sainted seats Amongst the enthron'd gods on Sainted seats.
 yet some there be that with due stepps aspire Yet some there be that by due steps aspire
 to laye their Just hands on that goulden keye To lay their just hands on that golden key
 that opes the pallace of *Eternitie*: That opes the palace of *Eternity*:
 b35 To such my errand is, and but for such c15 To such my errand is, and but for such
 I would not soile these pure ambrosiall weeds I would not soile these pure ambrosiall weeds
 wth the ranck vapours of this sin-worne mould With the ranck vapours of this Sin-worne mould.
 but to my task; *Neptune* besids the swaye But to my task. *Neptune* besids the sway

dating from 1634 rather than 1637: the deleted lines, the reversal of the order of lines a22 and a24, and the verbal alterations in lines a20, a30, and a34, appear in their corrected form in BMS as well as in the printed texts. The changing form of the stage direction at the beginning seems to run successively from TMS through BMS to 1637.

BMS too has a passage which is peculiar to it, but one of a different sort: here the masque opens with 20 lines, b1-b20, which have been transferred with one necessary verbal alteration from the cancelled version of the epilogue at the end of the TMS text.¹¹ This change was presumably made (perhaps by Lawes) to provide an opening song for the performance in 1634.

The remaining lines of TMS (a1-a4, a20-a22, a24-a34, with a22 and a24 reversed) and of BMS (b21-b38) parallel the first 18 lines of the printed texts (c1-c18, d1-d18), and these passages in the manuscripts may now be compared in detail with each other and with the equivalent passages in the printed versions.

Two words are changed in BMS: 'wth' in TMS a21 is 'w^{ch}' in BMS b26; and 'by' in a28 is 'with' in b32: both the BMS readings appear to be copying errors. There are no differences of words between TMS and the printed versions.¹²

The spelling which varies most from TMS is that of BMS, which was written by a scribe whose spelling habits were both personal and old-fashioned. Occasionally (though not in this particular passage) he reproduces an obviously Miltonic spelling, but for the most part he goes his own way, deviating from his copy (presumably Milton's transcript) in ways which do not seem to have any significance; here there are 27 differences of spelling, but they are not worth listing. More interesting is the relative lack of spelling variation between TMS and 1637, only 10 of the 142 TMS spellings being altered (Harington's compositor altered more than one word in three): heere/here (a24/c7), feavourish beeing/feaverish being (a22/c8), amongst, seates/Amongst, seats (a27/c11), thire/their (a29/c13), soyle, ambrosial/soile, ambrosial (a32/c16), taske, besids/task, besides (a34/c18). This lack of spelling difference between TMS and 1637 suggests that the

¹¹ TMS p. [28], where the first line of the cancelled epilogue reads 'To the Ocean now I fly'; this line is altered in the BMS prologue to 'From the heavens now I flye'.

¹² For the purpose of comparing the texts of *A masque* the differences between their various elements are defined as follows:

Differences of *words* are words changed in the lines of verse, and do not include altered stage directions or speech headings.

Differences of *spelling* are alterations of letters, and do not include changes of capitalization, italicization, hyphenation, and word division, or the use of internal apostrophes where no letters are altered, or the expansion of contractions, or the equivalent use of *i/j* *f/s* *u/v*.

Differences of *punctuation* are additions or deletions of punctuation marks, and do not include the substitution of one mark for another.

intermediate transcript of TMS used by the printer had been made by Milton himself. The compositor of 1645, setting from a copy of 1637, followed 9 of the 10 non-TMS spellings from 1637 (the tenth, 'soil' in d16, is a new variant, but he introduced a further 16 spelling changes of his own: starrie/starry (a1/d1), imōrtaill/immortal (a2/d2), aereall/aëreal (a3/d3), mild, calme, aire/milde, calm, Ayr (a4/d4), smoake, sirre/smoak, stirr (a20/d5), keepe, fraile/keep, frail (a22/d8), crowne/crown (a25/d9), morttall/mortal (a26/d10), some/som (a28/d12), æternity/Eternity (a30/d14), ranck, worne/rank, worn (a33/d17); 'snch' in d15 is a misprint.

The punctuation of TMS is light and rhetorical. In the 18 lines of this passage which are paralleled by the printed versions, TMS has only 4 punctuation marks: the internal commas in lines a2, a21, and a31, and the full stop at the end of the sentence in a34: a hint (all Milton needed, no doubt) at how the lines were to be spoken. The punctuation of BMS, unlike its spelling, generally follows that of TMS; here there is no more than an extra comma in b31. The punctuation of 1637, however, adds a number of grammatical stops, especially at the ends of lines which Milton did not normally punctuate: all the TMS stops are reproduced, together with 2 more internal commas (c7, c8) and 5 stops at the ends of lines c4, c7, c11, c14, and c17. The punctuation of 1645 is heavier still, Milton's punctuation and the additional stops of 1637 all being retained, and 4 more being added (an internal comma in d10 and stops at the ends of d5, d15, and d16).¹³

Thus comparison of the texts of this first passage from *A masque* suggests that the spelling and punctuation of 1637 is closer to Milton's own manuscript practice than 1645; and this is confirmed by further investigation. Here is a second passage for comparison, from the dialogue of the two Brothers, about a third of the way through the masque (see pp. 44-51).

In this second extract the major revisions are late, not early ones. The TMS text was written out in 1634 with 36 lines (e1-e29, e46-e52), which were followed in BMS (f1-f36). Then in 1637 10 lines (e20-e29) were reworked: 3 of them (e27-e29) were cancelled and replaced by 9 new lines, and the revised passage of 16 lines was copied out on a slip of paper which was attached to margin of p. 19 of TMS, with a direction to it written opposite lines e20-e22 on the facing p. [18] (it probably said 'read the paper over aginst'). During the nineteenth century this slip was broken off and was then negligently lost by a Librarian of Trinity, leaving only the left-hand margin which shows the first letter or two of ten of the added lines;

(continued on p. 53)

¹³ Milton may well have read proof for 1637 and 1645, but there is no particular reason to suppose that he altered or controlled the punctuation, spelling, or capitalization of these editions.

The two Brothers.

825 *Eld. Bro.* Ummuffe yee faint flars, and thou fair moon
 That woult to love the travellers benizon
 Scoope thy pale vilage through an amber cloud,
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that raigns here
 In double night of darkness, and of shades
 Or if your influence be quite damnd up
 With black usurping mists, some gentle taper
 Though a rush candle from the wicker hole
 Of some clay habitation vifit us
 With thy long lewell'd rule of streaming light,
 And thou shalt be our star of *Arcadie*
 Or *Tyrian* Cynofaire. 2. *Bro.* Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happinesse, might we but heare
 The folded flocks pen'd in their wadded cores,
 Or found of pastoral reed with oaten flops,
 Or whistle from the Lodge, or vilage cock

(13)

Count

820 Count the night watches to his featherie Dames,
 T' would be some solace yet, some little chearing,
 In this close dungeon of innumeros bowes,
 But o that haplesse virgin our lost sifter
 Where may she wander now, whether betake her
 From the chill dew, amongst rude burrs and thistles?
 Perhaps some cold banke is her bouldier now
 Or gainst the rugged banke of some broad Elme
 Leans her unpillow'd head fraught with sad fears.
 What if in wild amazement, and affright
 Or while we speake within the direfull grate
 Of Savage hunger, or of Savage heat?
 825 *Eld. Bro.* Peace brother, be not over exquisite
 To cast the fashion of uncertaine evils;
 For grant they be so, while they rest unknowne
 What need a man forefall his date of griefe
 And run to meet what he would most avoid?
 Or if they be but false alarms of Fears
 How bitter is such selfe-delusion?
 I doe not thinke my sifter so to fecke
 Or so unprincip'd in vertues booke
 And the sweet peace that goodnesse beoforms ever
 As that the single want of light, and noise
 (Not being in danger, as I trust she is not)
 Could stir the constant mood of her calme thoughts
 And put them into misbecoming plight.

(90)

The two Brothers.

h10 *Eld. Bro.* Ummuffe ye faintflars, and thou fair Moon
 That woult to love the travellers benizon,
 Scoope thy pale vilage through an amber cloud,
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that raigns here
 In double night of darkness, and of shades;
 Or if your influence be quite damnd up
 With black usurping mists, some gentle taper
 Though a rush Candle from the wicker hole
 Of some clay habitation vifit us
 With thy long lewell'd rule of streaming light,
 And thou shalt be our star of *Arcadie*,
 Or *Tyrian* Cynofaire. 2. *Bro.* Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happinesse, might we but heare
 The folded flocks pen'd in their wadded cores,
 Or found of pastoral reed with oaten flops,
 Or whistle from the Lodge, or vilage cock
 Count the night watches to his featherie Dames,
 T' would be some solace yet, some little chearing
 In this close dungeon of innumeros bowes,
 But o that haplesse virgin our lost sifter
 Where may she wander now, whether betake her
 From the chill dew, amongst rude burrs and thistles?
 Perhaps

1645 (Milton, J., *Poems*, London
 1645, pp. 90-1; Trin. Coll. Cam.
 C.11.151; x.075)

(91)

h25 perhaps some cold banke is her bouldier now
 Or gainst the rugged banke of some broad Elme
 Leans her unpillow'd head fraught with sad fears,
 What if in wild amazement, and affright,
 Or while we speake within the direfull grate
 Of Savage hunger, or of Savage heat?
 830 *Eld. Bro.* Peace brother, be not over-exquisite
 To cast the fashion of uncertaine evils;
 For grant they be so, while they rest unknowne,
 What need a man forefall his date of griefe,
 And run to meet what he would most avoid?
 Or if they be but false alarms of Fears,
 How bitter is such selfe-delusion?
 I do not thinke my sifter so to fecke,
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 And the sweet peace that goodnesse beoforms ever,
 As that the single want of light and noise
 (Not being in danger, as I trust she is not)
 Could stir the constant mood of her calme thoughts,
 And put them into misbecoming plight.

the tow brothers enter

- 1 bro. unmuffle y^e faint starres, & thou faire^N moone
 that ~~wentst~~ won't st to love the travellers benizon
 stoope thy pale visage through an amber cloud
 and disinherit Chaos, that raignes heere
- e5 in double night of darkness & of shades.
 or if yo^r influence be quite dam'd up
 wth black usurping mists, some gentle taper
 though a rush candle from the wicker hole
 of some clay habitation visit us
- e10 wth a long levell'd rule of streaming light
 and thou shalt be our starre of Arcadie
 or Tyrian Cynosure. 2 bro. or if our eyes
 be barr'd that happinesse, might wee but heare
 the folded flocks pen'd in a wartled [e]sæt] cotes
 or sound of pastorall reed wth oaten stopps
- e15 or wastle whistle from y^e lodge, or village cock
 count the night watches to his featherie damnes
 rⁱwould be some solace yet, some little cheering
 this sad close
 in a tene, a dungeon of innumeros bows.
- e20 ead the but oh that haplesse vergin our lost sister
 wander (amongst rude burrs & thistles
 per oyer where may she a now, whether betake her
 phapps some cold hard banke
 gainst from the chill dew in this dead solitude surrounding wilde,
 [n]stc [d]d of phapps some cold banke [e] is her boulder now (fraught wth sad feares
 perhaps some cold bank is
 []s do- or 'gainst the rugged barke of some broad elme
 what if
 she leans her thoughtfull head musing at our unkindnesse unpillow'd head fra-
 what if
 old banke is or else in wild amazement, and affright
- ~~so fares as did forsaken Proserpine~~
~~when the big a wallowing flakes of pitchie elowds~~
~~& darkness wound her in. 1 Bro [-] Peace brother peace~~

*The two brothers**The two Brothers.*

- Eld. bro.* Unmuffle yee faint starres, and thou fairer moone
 that wonst to love the travellers benizon
 stoope thy pale visage through an amber cloude
 and disinherit Chaos, that raignes heere
- f5 in double night of darkness, and of shades
 or if yo^r influence be quite damm'd vp
 wth black vsurpinge mists, some gentle taper
 though a rushe candle, from the wicker hole
 of some claye habitacon visite vs
- f10 wth thy long levell'd rule of streaming light
 and thou shalt be o^r starr of Arcadie
 of Tyrian Cynosure: 2 bro. or if o^r eyes
 be barr'd that happines might wee but heare
 the folded flocks pen'd in their wartled cotes
 or sound of pastorall reede with oaten stopps
- f15 or whistle from the lodge, or village Cock
 count the night watches to his featherie damnes
 rⁱwould be some solace yet, some little cheeringe
 in this lone dungeon of innumeros bows.
- f20 but O that haples virgin o^r lost sister
 where may she wander nowe? whether betake her
 from the chill dewe, amongst rude burrs & thistles
 phaps some could banke is her boulder nowe,
 or gainst the rugged barke of some broad elme
- f25 leans her vpillow'd head fraught wth sad feares
 or els in wild amazement and affright,
 soe fares as did forsaken *Proserpine*
 when the bigg rowling flakes of pitchie clouds
 and darkness wound her in: *El bro.* peace brother peace
- Eld. bro.* Unmuffle yee faint starres, and thou fair moon
 That wonst to love the travellers benizon
 Stoope thy pale visage through an amber cloud
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that raignes here
- e5 In double night of darkness, and of shades;
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up
 With black usurping mists, some gentle taper
 Though a rush candle from the wicker hole
 Of some clay habitation visit us
- g10 With thy long levell'd rule of streaming light
 And thou shalt be our starre of *Arcadie*
 Or *Tyrian* Cynosure. 2 *Bro.* Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happinesse, might we but heare
 The folded flocks pen'd in their wartled cotes,
 Or sound of pastorall reed with oaten stopps,
 Or whistle from the Lodge, or village cock
 Count the night watches to his featherie Dames,
 Tⁱwould be some solace yet, some little chearing
 In this close dungeon of innumeros bows.

[] <Reconstructed '[pa]per over [a]gainst'>

- e30 but O that haplesse virgin our lost sister
 wh[er]e may she wander now, whether betake her
 f[ro]m the chill dew amongst rude burrs & thistles]
 [p]haps some cold banke is her boulder now]
 o[er] gainst the rugged bark of some broad elme]
 e35 [l]eans her unpillow'd head fraught wth sad feares]
 w[hat] if in wild amazement, & affright]
 or [w]hile we speake wthin the direfull graspe]
 o[f] salvage hunger or of salvage heate]
 1 [bro. peace brother be not over exquisite]
 e40 [fo] cast the fashion of uncertaine evils]
 [w^{ch} grant they be so while they rest unknowne]
 [w]hat need a man forestall the date of griefe]
 [and run to meet what he would most avoid]
 [or if they be but false alarms of feare]
 e45 [how bitter is this selfe delusion]
 such
 I doe not thinke my sister so to seeke
 or so unprincipl'd in vertues booke
 and the sweet peace y^e goodness bosomes ever
 e49/50 as that the single ^{want} of light & noise (not being in danger, as I trust she is not)
 could stirre the selfe [co]nstant mood of her calme thoughts
 & put them into misbecoming plight

- e20 But ó that haplesse virgin our lost sister
 Where may she wander now, whether betake her
 From the chill dew, amongst rude burs and thistles?
 Perhaps some cold banke is her boulder now
 Or 'gainst the rugged bark of some broad Elme
 e25 Leans her unpillow'd head fraught with sad feares.
 What if in wild amazement, and affright
 Or while we speake within the direfull graspe
 Of Savage hunger, or of Savage heat?
 Eld: bro. Peace brother, be no over exquisite
 e30 To cast the fashion of uncertaine evils,
 For grant they be so, while they rest unknowne
 What need a man forestall his date of griefe
 And run to meet what he would most avoid?
 Or if they be but false alarms of Feare
 e35 How bitter is such selfe-delusion?
 I doe not thinke my sister so to seeke
 Or so unprincipl'd in vertues book
 And the sweet peace that goodness bosoms ever
 as that the single want of light and noise
 (not being in danger, as I hope she is not)
 e40 (Not being in danger, as I trust she is not)
 e45 Could stirr the constant mood of her calme thoughts
 And put them into mis-becoming plight

but it was transcribed before it disappeared, and lines e30-e45 of the transcript given here are a reconstruction of its contents made by S. E. Sprout.¹⁴

There remain 26 comparable lines (201 words): e1-e19, e46-e52; f1-f19, f30-f36; and g1-g19, g36-g42. It appears that their differences in words, spelling, and punctuation broadly parallel those of the first extract. Between TMS and BMS there are 2 differences of words (e19/f19, where BMS uses a cancelled reading, and e50/f34), 30 differences of spelling, and 5 of punctuation.¹⁵ There are no verbal differences between TMS and the printed versions, but between TMS and *r637* there are 14 differences of spelling and 6 of punctuation, while between TMS and *r645* there are 32 differences of spelling and 13 of punctuation.

To put the differences for both extracts in another way: 17 per cent of the spellings in BMS differ from those in TMS; 7 per cent of those in *r637*; and 17 per cent of those in *r645*. As to punctuation, there is 1 difference from TMS in 7.3 lines of BMS; 1 in 3.4 lines of *r637*; and 1 in 1.8 lines of *r645*.

In order to discover whether the differences found in the total of 44 lines, 343 words, of the extracts are typical of these texts as a whole, a random sample of 100 lines, 720 words, was checked.¹⁶ In the sample lines, 16 per cent of the spellings in BMS differ from those in TMS (compared with 17 per cent in the extracts); 6 per cent of those in *r637* (7 per cent); and 15 per cent of those in *r645* (17 per cent). This is a very close correspondence; but there are more differences of punctuation in the sample than in the extracts: there is 1 difference from TMS in 2.1 lines of the BMS sample (compared with 1 in 7.3 lines of the extracts); 1 in 1.7 lines of *r637* (1 in 3.4); and 1 in 1.3 lines of *r645* (1 in 1.8). The actual number of differences of punctuation in the sample was again least in BMS and most in *r645*.

As to words, the sample showed 9 differences in the 90 lines of BMS, which all appeared to be copying errors; and 6 differences each in the 100 lines of *r637* and *r645*, which were probably intentional alterations.

To sum up: it seems that BMS was transcribed from Milton's fair copy without much regard for copy spelling but with only moderate alteration of the punctuation, and that the scribe made a good many copying errors. The compositor of *r637*, however, seems to have followed the spelling of

¹⁴ See the *Parlorium commentary*, ii, 3, pp. 904-5, and S. E. Sprout's Milton, J., *A masque* . . . , pp. 11, 94. The ship had disappeared by the time Aldis Wright became Librarian in 1863.

¹⁵ See p. 42 n. 12.

¹⁶ A consecutive series of three-digit numbers of the lines to be sampled were taken from a table of random numbers, passing over duplicated numbers. All the lines sampled were comparable between TMS and the printed texts; but 10 of the sample lines came in passages which had been cut in BMS, so the BMS sample totalled only 90 lines, 645 words.

the presumed copy quite closely, and he was verbally accurate; we cannot know whether his additions to the punctuation were his own or whether they had been added to the copy. The compositor of *r645*, finally, who was setting from a copy of *r637*, continued the process of normalizing the spelling and of adding to the punctuation; he too got the words right.¹⁷

As to the nature and purpose of the differences of spelling and punctuation between TMS and the printed texts, the spelling changes seem indeed to have been no more than printers' normalizations of Milton's personal spellings. Although Milton's orthography was identifiably his own, and therefore subject to the compositor's urge to regularize, it was not in itself either consistent or indicative of pronunciation. J. T. Shawcross concluded: 'We see that Milton cared less about spelling than has previously been thought. He did not write certain words or groups of words in any rigid way, and even those which seem to be consistent do not give evidence of a grand scheme of improved spelling. Rather, such distinctive spellings as are seen represent practice, not philosophical ideas. No spelling system appears. The evolution of certain forms simply lies in the direction of simplicity, suggestion of pronunciation, or clarity.'¹⁸ If this is so, it is not surprising that Milton did not prevent the partial normalization of his spellings in *r637*, or the more comprehensive normalization that took place in the authorized edition of *r645*. Perhaps he did not much care about it one way or the other.

The changes in the punctuation of the printed versions of *A masque*, on the other hand, were not so much the printers' ordinary normalization as the addition of a new system of pointing. As we have seen, Milton's punctuation in TMS had been rhetorical, not grammatical, and it was moreover no more than a sketchy indication of how the lines might be spoken, not a complete or finished punctuation even of its own sort.¹⁹ In the printed versions most of Milton's rhetorical stops were retained, but they were supplemented (more heavily in *r645* than in *r637*) by a grammatical punctuation which marked

¹⁷ The fact that *r637* is much closer to TMS in spelling and punctuation than *r645* has not always been apparent to editors of *A masque*. In her edition of Milton's *Poetical works*, Helen Darbishire wrote surprisingly (ii; Oxford 1955, p. xi): 'A glance at the first printed texts of *A masque* (*Comus*), 1637, and *Lycidas*, (1638), will be enough to convince a critical reader that in all the minutiae of spelling and punctuation they represent Milton himself very imperfectly: the printer has done pretty much as he liked, according to the current conventions of the printing-house. A close scrutiny of the volume of 1645 reveals a careful printer who followed Milton's copy with what he would have thought reasonable faithfulness, but took his own line freely in what were to him accepted conventions or variations.' As far as *A masque* is concerned this suggests the reverse of the actual situation.

¹⁸ Shawcross, J. T., 'What we can learn from Milton's spelling', *Huntington Library quarterly*, xxvi, 1962-3, p. 361. Shawcross took essentially the same position in his later 'Orthography and the text of *Paradise Lost*', in Emma, R. D., and Shawcross, J. T., *Language and style in Milton*, New York 1967, ch. 5. See also in the same collection Dobson, E. J., 'Milton's pronunciation', loc. cit., ch. 6.

¹⁹ See Treip, M., *Milton's punctuation*, London 1970, especially pp. 10-13.

off clauses and ended sentences. Again we have no evidence of Milton's own reaction to the change except that he did not prevent it; but it is quite possible that he wrote out the transcript from which 1637 appears to have been set with a heavier, more grammatical, punctuation than he had used in TMS, his private notebook.²⁰

We can now return to the problems of editing Milton's masque. It is a work that has been much edited before, and several specialist editions are available, besides facsimiles of all the early texts.²¹ But, while there would seem to be little need at the moment for another full-dress edition for specialists, none of the editions available to students and general readers today, good as they are in many ways, offers a wholly satisfactory text of *A masque*. We will therefore look at the problems of editing the work with the need for a reliable students' edition in mind; and first at the question of choosing the best copy-text.

There are five early versions to be considered: the two manuscripts TMS and BMS, and the first three printed editions 1637, 1645, and 1673. Since we are dealing with a major work by one of the greatest of poets the holograph TMS immediately suggests itself as being the version closest to Milton, and the only certain authority for his own spelling and punctuation. Yet in other ways TMS would make an unsatisfactory copy-text. This rough working draft of the masque in a private notebook was not the version which Milton expected or wanted people to read; he thoroughly revised the words of the text for publication, and perhaps the details as well. It is moreover an incomplete as well as an unrevised version of the work, thirty-seven lines shorter than the final text. Although Milton's revised manuscript might have done as copy-text, TMS will not.

BMS is worse still. This scribal transcript also represents an intermediate, incomplete version of the masque, lacking not only the material added in 1637 but also a number of original passages which were cut for performance, and it was inaccurately copied, with unauthorized spelling and punctuation. Of course we can learn a great deal about Milton and his masque by studying the manuscripts, but this can easily be done with the aid of the published

²⁰ Milton added to the punctuation of Sonnet 13 when he copied it out (both his rough draft and his fair copy are on p. 43 of TMS), though in this case he did not change his essentially rhythmic pointing to a more grammatical form.

²¹ Major specialist editions: the Columbia *Works* of Milton, ed. F. A. Patterson, New York 1931-, with *A masque* in vol. i, pts. 1 and 2; Milton's *Poetical works*, ed. Helen Darbishire, Oxford 1952-5, with *A masque* in vol. ii; and Milton's *A masque, the earlier versions*, ed. S. E. Spurr, Toronto and Buffalo 1973. Facsimiles and transcripts: TMS: ed. W. Aldis Wright, Cambridge 1899; Scolar Press, with Wright's transcript (Menston 1970, 1972); BMS: Milton's *Complete poetical works in facsimile*, ed. H. F. Fletcher, Urbana, Ill., 1943-8, with *A masque* in vol. i, 1637; facsimile in Fletcher's edition, transcript in Spurr's edition, 1645; facsimile in Fletcher's edition; also Scolar Press, Menston 1970. 1673: facsimile in Fletcher's edition.

facsimiles and transcripts (or of excerpts from them in a students' edition), and it is as unnecessary as it is undesirable to use either of them as copy-text for an edition.

This leaves the three printed editions, 1637, 1645, and 1673; and it may surprise those who have followed this example so far to learn that, while a number of recent editors of *A masque* have chosen 1673 as copy-text, and a rather smaller number have chosen 1645, none has yet chosen 1637.²² Certainly Milton took pains with the arrangement and editing of the poems in 1645, and made some further corrections in 1673; yet it is clear from our examination of the early texts that it is the 1637 version of *A masque*, not the versions in 1645 or 1673, which contains the minimum of apparently unauthorized alteration of detail. There are of course authorized alterations in the second and third editions, but we should not suppose that, because Milton made some corrections in these later texts, he also normalized the spelling and added to the punctuation; or even, if these detailed changes were made by someone other than Milton, that he consciously approved of them. All we know is that he did not prevent these changes of spelling and punctuation from taking place: all we may suppose is that he accepted them. The copy-text for our edition, therefore, will be 1637, emended by the usual editorial procedures, including the incorporation of those alterations in 1645 and 1673 which appear to have been made by Milton.

Next there is the question of how to present the spelling and punctuation of the copy-text in the edited version, and especially whether there should be any modernization of either. Mid-seventeenth-century orthography comes just on that borderline between old and new spelling where the few remaining archaic forms do not really interfere with a modern reader's comprehension of the text, but where their antique appearance may be enough to put him off; and one would rather that Milton were read in modern spelling than not at all. Nevertheless actual modernized texts of *A masque* (such as the Longman annotated text edited by John Carey, which

²² The many editions of *A masque* based on 1673 include the Columbia Milton's *Works* edited by F. A. Patterson, 1931-, and the semi-modernized texts in B. A. Wright's new *Everman Poems*, 1956, and John Carey's Longman *Complete shorter poems*, 1968. The reason for choosing 1673 appears in most cases to have been the editorial principle (widely accepted before the 1940s, and still not quite without influence) that the copy-text should be the last edition with which the author himself could have been concerned.

The editions of *A masque* based on 1645 include those of Helen Darbishire in Milton's *Poetical works*, 1952-5, and J. T. Shawcross in *Complete poetry*, revised edn., 1971. Those who have chosen 1645 as copy-text may have been influenced by the fact that this first edition of the *Poems*, with which Milton himself took a lot of trouble, is undoubtedly the right copy-text to choose for most of its contents, while failing to see that the text of *A masque* is not in the same category as the poems published in 1645 for the first time (cf. p. 53 n. 17).

The modernized texts of M. Y. Hughes in Milton's *Complete poems and major prose*, 1957, and of Douglas Bush in *Poetical works*, 1966, follow 1645 in substantive variants.

we shall be looking at in a moment) suggest that more is likely to be lost by modernization than to be gained by it; while John Shawcross's unmodernized student text (also to be looked at shortly) has in fact gained wide acceptance.

So an old-spelling text is proposed. It would even be possible to go further, and to replace those spellings of *r637* which appear to have been normalized with the forms originally used by Milton in TMS. But, since this would affect only about one word in two lines of *r637* and since we do not know for certain that Milton did not alter these spellings himself when he transcribed TMS, it is probably best to leave the spelling of the copy-text as it is.

As to punctuating the edited version, there is every reason to follow the punctuation of *r637*. Although it includes a few mistakes—which, like other mistakes, can be emended—it provides a light but perfectly adequate framework for the masque, and one which seems more likely to be Milton's work than the heavy-handed grammatical punctuation of *r645* and *r673*.

To illustrate these points, transcripts of four of the early texts (TMS, *r637*, *r645*, and *r673*) of the first nineteen lines of my second extract are set out here for comparison with the same passage in two students' texts which are in widespread use today: Milton's *Complete poetry* edited by John T. Shawcross, New York, Doubleday, 1963, revised 1971; and Milton's *Complete shorter poems* edited by John Carey, London, Longman, 1968 (see pp. 58–9).

Shawcross summarizes his editorial principles as follows:

A text given in this edition follows the copy available which seems to have been closest to Milton; alterations are made when authority is found in another text, when (as with punctuation) they are necessary for easy understanding of a line, when an error seems certain, and when meter dictates. In addition a few spellings are changed to more standard (and Milton's later) forms: these include the dropping of most redundant final 'e's.' The result of these principles is, unfortunately, inconsistency; but it represents the kind of text offered the seventeenth-century reader without being an uncritical duplication of an original printing.²³

Shawcross chooses *r645* as copy-text (perhaps because it was the first acknowledged text, for it was not otherwise closest to Milton),²⁴ and follows it with fair consistency. In this extract he emends the spellings 'here' to 'heer' (h4/j14), 'their' to 'thir' (h14/j14), and 'bowes' to 'bows' (h19/j19). Milton's spellings in TMS were 'heere', 'thire', and 'bowes' (e4, e14, and e19), and the forms used by Shawcross (derived presumably from his principle of dropping final 'e's) are not found in any of the early texts. But the spelling of Shawcross's edition, although it is further from Milton's own practice than if he had followed *r637*, is mostly of the period.

The adoption of the *r645* punctuation, on the other hand, is inhibiting. For instance the pointing of the Elder Brother's speech in *r637* (g1–g12), which follows TMS pretty closely, is light yet perfectly adequate; but the extra commas taken from *r645* at the ends of lines j2, j3, j10, and j11 retard the movement of the verse, and only one of them (at j10) helps to make the passage more comprehensible. Shawcross adds stops from *r645* at the ends of 14 of the 60 lines of my extracts, most of which are redundant.

But on the whole, while it may be argued that Shawcross would have done better to take *r637* as his copy-text, this respectful but critical treatment of the version of *r645* has resulted in a useful old-spelling text for students. Carey, on the other hand, takes a more radical line with the text with less satisfactory results.

Carey does not consider the possibility of using *r637* as copy-text, believing (mistakenly) that *r637* was 'based on the Trinity MS at an early stage of correction',²⁵ and he argues that, since it seems that some of the corrections in *r673* were made in accordance with Milton's wishes, Milton 'was too closely connected with the production of *r673* for any editor to jettison the *r673* variants'.²⁶ As he puts it: 'If some of *r673*'s divergences from *r645* are evidently Milton's, it would appear unsafe to assume, without evidence to the contrary, that all are not.'²⁷ (I would put it the other way round: although some of *r673*'s divergences from *r645*—and of *r645*'s divergences from *r637*—are evidently Milton's, it would be unsafe to assume that all are.) Carey therefore chooses *r673* as copy-text.

Carey then argues that the spelling and the punctuation of the copy-text should each be treated differently in the edited version: that the spelling should be modernized because orthography indicates only vocabulary, not grammar; but that the punctuation should be retained because it has a grammatical function like word order and inflection. Carey is surely right not to change the punctuation, although it is a pity that he is committed to the pointing of *r673*, which is worse even than that of *r645*. For instance *r673*, followed by Carey, omits the internal comma in line i18/k18; Milton in TMS included it, as did the composers of *r637* and *r645*; the line is difficult to read without it. Again, the punctuation of *r673* is generally heavier than that of *r645*, and Carey prints stops at the ends of fifteen lines of the two extracts which were not in *r637*.

Carey's argument for modernizing the spelling of *r673* is only superficially attractive, and in practice his modernization detracts from the

²³ Carey's Milton, p. 168. Here Carey is repeating C. S. Lewis; on the same page he mentions Shawcross's argument that *r637* was set from a revised intermediate copy of TMS.

²⁶ Carey's Milton, p. 4.

²⁷ Carey's Milton, p. 3.

TMS

- 1 bro. unnumfle ye faint starres, & thou faire^N moone
 that ~~wont'st~~ wont'st to love the travellers benizon
 stoope thy pale visage through an amber cloud
 and disinherit *Chaos*, that reigns heere
 e5 in double night of darkness & of shades;
 or if yo^r influence be quite dam'd up
 with black usurping mists, some gentle taper
 though a rush candle from the wicker hole
 of some clay habitation visit us
 e10 with thy ^a long levell'd rule of streaming light
 and thou shalt be our starre of Arcadie
 or Tyrian Cynosure. 2 bro. or if our eyes
 be barr'd that happinesse, might wee but heare
 the folded flocks pen'd in ^a watted e[~~o~~sæt] cotes
 e15 or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stopps
 or ~~wattle~~ whistle from y^e lodge, or village cock
 count the night watches to his featherie dames
 t^would be some solace yet, some little chearing
 this ~~sæt~~ close
 in ^a laese ^a dungeon of innumeros bowes.
- 1637
 Eld. bro. Unnumfle yee faint stars, and thou fair moon
 That wontst to love the travellers benizon
 Stoope thy pale visage through an amber cloud
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that reigns here
 g5 In double night of darkness, and of shades;
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up
 With black usurping mists, some gentle taper
 Though a rush candle from the wicker hole
 Of some clay habitation visit us
 g10 With thy long levell'd rule of streaming light
 And thou shalt be our starre of *Arcadie*
 Or Tyrian Cynosure. 2 Bro. Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happinesse, might we but heare
 The folded flocks pen'd in their watted cotes,
 Or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stopps,
 Or whistle from the Lodge, or village cock
 g15 Count the night watches to his featherie Dames,
 T^would be some solace yet, some little chearing
 In this close dungeon of innumeros bowes.
- 1645
 Eld. Bro. Unnumfle ye faintstars, and thou fair Moon
 That wontst to love the travellers benizon,
 Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that reigns here
 h5 In double night of darknes, and of shades;
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up
 With black usurping mists, som gentle taper
 Though a rush Candle from the wicker hole
 Of som clay habitation visit us
 h10 With thy long levell'd rule of streaming light,
 And thou shalt be our star of *Arcady*,
 Or Tyrian Cynosure 2 Bro. Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happines, might we but hear
 The folded flocks pen'd in their watted cotes,
 Or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stopps,
 h15 Or whistle from the lodge, or village cock

1673

Eld. Bro. Unnumfle ye faint Stars, and thou fair Moon

- That wontst to love the travellers benizon,
 Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that reigns here
 i5 In double night of darkness, and of shades;
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up
 With black usurping mists, som gentle taper
 Though a rush Candle from the wicker hole
 Of som clay habitation visit us
 i10 With thy long levell'd rule of streaming light,
 And thou shalt be our star of *Arcady*,
 Or Tyrian Cynosure. 2. Bro. Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happines, might we but hear
 The folded flocks pen'd in their watted cotes;
 i15 Or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stopps,
 Or whistle from the Lodge, or Village Cock
 Count the night watches to his featherie Dames,
 T^would be som solace yet som little chearing
 In this close dungeon of innumeros bowes.
- Shawcross
 Elder Brother. Unnumfle ye faint stars, and thou fair moon
 That wontst to love the travellers benizon,
 Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that reigns heer
 j5 In double night of darkness, and of shades;
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up
 With black usurping mists, som gentle taper
 Though a rush candle from the wicker hole
 Of som clay habitation visit us
 j10 With thy long levell'd rule of streaming light,
 And thou shalt be our star of *Arcady*,
 Or Tyrian Cynosure.
 2 Brother.
 Or if our eyes
 Be barr'd that happines, might we but hear
 The folded flocks pen'd in thir watted cotes,
 j15 Or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stopps,
 Or whistle from the lodge, or village cock
 Count the night watches to his feathery Dames,
 T^would be som solace yet, som little chearing
 In this close dungeon of innumeros bowes.
- Carey
 Eld. Bro. Unnumfle ye faint stars, and thou fair moon
 That wont'st to love the traveller's benizon,
 Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,
 And disinherit *Chaos*, that reigns here
 k5 In double night of darkness, and of shades;
 Or if your influence be quite damm'd up
 With black usurping mists, some gentle taper
 Though a rush-candle from the wicker hole
 Of some clay habitation visit us
 k10 With thy long levelled rule of streaming light,
 And thou shalt be our star of Arcady,
 Or Tyrian Cynosure.
 Or if our eyes
 Be barred that happines, might we but hear
 The folded flocks penned in their watted cotes,
 k15 Or sound of pastoral reed with oaten stopps,
 Or whistle from the lodge, or village cock

meaning of the text as well as depriving it of the quality of belonging to the seventeenth century. His spelling 'traveller's' (k2) is a case in point. TMS, 1637 and 1645 all spell this word 'travellers', which refers, perhaps intentionally, to 'travel' as well as to 'travel'—either spelling could then be used for either word—and which gives no indication of whether the word refers to one person or to more than one. While it is possible, though improbable, that the blind Milton altered the 'travellers' of 1645 to the 'travellers' of 1673, the 1673 text still did not say whether there was one or more of them. Carey's 'traveller's' both suppresses the original reference to travel and puts the word unambiguously in the singular; which is at least as bad as altering the punctuation.²⁸

Altogether Carey's students' text is an unhappy compromise: he chooses as copy-text the early version that is furthest from Milton's manuscript, he rejects its contemporary spelling, and he accepts its frequently defective punctuation.

There is finally the question of how best to present the textual apparatus in a non-specialist text. Here it will be necessary at least to give a summary of the relationship between the five early texts, to say why one of them has been chosen as copy-text, and to indicate how it has been followed, both by giving a general account and by recording the major variants in the other texts. There should be no difficulty in providing a brief textual introduction; the problem here will be how to present the evidence of the other texts, and especially how to record the large number of variants (including cancelled words and passages) in TMS. Because there are so many variants, the usual method of gathering them into footnotes or a textual appendix will result in records that are unreadably dense, and therefore of little use in this sort of edition. Here is an extract from the textual appendix in Shawcross's edition (where the amount of information given is minimal, not for instance including the cancelled readings in TMS) (see facing page).

Students and general readers are not really going to make much of this. Textual footnotes may be better, but they can be confusing if they have to be fitted in with critical and explanatory notes. The best answer may be to record the isolated TMS variants and the variants in the other printed texts in footnotes—they do not add up to very many altogether—but to give transcripts in an appendix of those passages in TMS where the variation is great.

²⁸ Later on in the same passage (at e21 of TMS, g21 of 1637, etc.) TMS and the early printed editions (including 1673) all agree in reading 'whether betake her', but Carey emends this to 'whether betake her'. 'Whether' and 'whither' are another pair of words of which each could be split in either way in the seventeenth century; so that modernization again suppresses possible ambiguity.

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THE COMPLETE POETRY OF JOHN MILTON

(214) *fittering* TM / *hovering* 1645, 1673, TM *in scribe's hand*. (223) *sable* / *sabbie* 1637, (226) *hallow* / *hollowe* BM. (229) *off* / *hence* TM, BM. (231) *cell* TM / *shell* 1637, 1645, 1673, BM. (241) *of* / *to* BM. (243) *And give* *resounding grace* / *And hould a Counterpoint* BM. (dir., 243-44) *Comus looks* *in and speaks* TM, BM. (252) *she* TM / *it* 1645, 1673. (270) *prosperous* / *prosperinge* BM. (291) *Two such* / *Such tow* TM. (294) *'em* TM / *them* 1637, 1645, 1673. (300) *colours* / *coolness* BM. (304) *To* / *omitted*, *but given as catchword* BM. (312) *wilde* TM / *wilde* 1645, 1673, *wild* TM *in scribe's hand*, 1637. (317) *roosted* / *rooster* BM. (dir., 330-31) *the tow brothers enter* TM. (349) *this close* / *hone* BM. (356) *What if* / *or els* BM. (357-65) *missing* TM, BM; *three other lines are found*: *so fares as did forsaken Proserpine* | *when the big rowling flakes of pitchie cloud's* | *& darkness wound her in*. 1 bro. *Peace, brother peace* |. (370) *trust* / *hope* BM. (384) *walks in black vapours*, *through the moone* *lyde brand* BM. (385) *blaze* *in the summer solstice* BM. (390) *a* / *an* 1637, BM. (399) *treasure* / *treasures* BM. (401) *on* / *at* BM. (402) *let* / *she* BM. (403) *wild* / *wilde* TM, BM. (409) *controversie*: / *question*, *no* TM, BM. (409 ff.) TM, BM *give* *five additional undeleted lines*: *I could be willing though now fith darke to trie* | *a tough encounter with the shaggest ruffian* | *that harks by hedge or lane of this dead circuit* | *to have her by my side, though I were sure* | *she might be free from perill were she is* |. (410) *Yet* / *but* TM, BM. (413) *banish gladly* TM / *gladly banish* 1637, 1645, 1673, BM. (415) *imagine*, / *imagine brother* TM, BM. (417) *If you mean* / *if meane* 1637. (428) *there*, / *even* TM, BM. (432) *Som say* / *maye more* BM. (433) *moorte* TM / *moorish* 1637, 1645, 1673, BM. (437) *Has* TM / *Hath* 1645, 1673. (438) *ye* / *you* BM. (443) *she* / *we* 1637. (444) *naught* TM / *nought* 1637, 1645, 1673, BM. (448) *That* / *the* BM. (460) *Begin* / *begin* BM. (465) *But* / *and* TM, BM; *lewed* *and* *lawish* / *lewde lascivious* BM. (472) *Hovering* TM / *linging*, 1645, 1673. (474) *sensually* / *sensually* 1637, 1673, BM. (481) *off* / *of* 1673, BM; *hallow* / *hollowe* BM. (dir., 488-89) *he* *hallows* *the guardian* *Demon* *hallows* *agen* & *enters* *in the habit of shepherd* TM, *he* *hallows* *and* *is answered, the guardian demon comes in habited like a shepherd*, BM. (493) *fathers* TM / *father* 1637, 1645, 1673. (497) *thou* / *omitted* BM; *Swaun?* / *shepherd*, TM, BM. (498) *his* TM / *the* 1637, 1645, 1673, BM. (513) *you*. TM / *ye*, 1645, 1673. (520) *not indented* TM. (547) *mediate* / *mediate upon* 1673. (553) *frighted* / *flighted* TM. (555) *soft* / *sweete*, BM. (556) *a* / *the* *sothe* BM; *steam* / *stream* 1673; *rich* / *omitted* BM. (563) *did* / *might* TM, BM. (572) *knew* / *knowe* BM. (581) *ye* / *yon* BM. (605) *buggs* TM / *forms* 1645, 1673. (608) *and cleave* *his scalp* TM / *to a foul death*, 1645, 1673. (609) *Down* *to the hipps*. TM / *Curs'd* *as his life*. 1645, 1673. (610) *Thy* / *The* BM. (616) *thy self* / *omitted* BM. (626) *ope* / *open* BM. (632-37) *missing* BM. (637) *Which* TM / *That* 1637, 1645, 1673, BM. (657) *Ile* / *I* TM, BM. (dir., 657-58) *State 1 of l. 1 found in British Museum copy* (C.34.d.46) *of* 1637; *soft* *Muslock*, / *missing* TM, BM; *appears* / *is discovered* TM; *to whom* . . . *rise*, / *she* *offers* *to rise* TM. (678A) *poore* *ladle* *thou* *hast* *neede* *of some* *refreshinge* BM. (679-87) *missing* BM. (688) *have* / *hast* BM. (689) *have* / *hast* BM; *but* / *heere* BM. (697-700) *missing* BM. (698) *forgeries* TM / *for-* *gey* 1637, 1645, 1673. (709) *salow* / *shallow* BM. (731) *multitude* / *inulti-* *tude* 1637.²⁹