SCHOLARSHIP, POLEMICS, AND CONFESSION IN THE EARLY SATIRES OF JONATHAN SWIFT

MARCELLO CATTANEO

Merton College

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, December 2018

English Faculty

University of Oxford

Abstract

This thesis aims to offer a novel account of Jonathan Swift's early satires, mainly *A Tale of a Tub* and its companion pieces, by placing them in the trajectory of European humanism, the importance of which is attested by Swift's surviving library catalogues. By doing so, I build on recent work that seeks to lay the foundations for a more holistic study of 'English Literature' – one that would especially integrate the methods and findings of the history of scholarship in literary criticism. This investigation focusses on four areas, roughly corresponding to its four chapters.

The first concerns the influence of humanist theories of satire on the practices of Swift as opposed to those of his contemporaries alongside whom he is most often discussed (Dryden and Pope pre-eminently). The thesis thus shows how Latinate genealogies of the genre enabled a much wider and more ambiguous role for satire, which could turn it into an instrument of intellectual debate as well as into a slanderous proxy for confessional war.

Secondly, a fresh reading of the 'Battle of the Books' shows how satire could be used both as a polemical and as a heuristic tool in controversy. Drawing from manuscript evidence, the thesis argues for the covert importance of biblical and patristic scholarship in a quarrel that was ostensibly focussed on the field of classical literature.

The third chapter seeks to read 'scholarship' and 'literature' alongside each other by exploring on the influence of heresiography on the *Tale,* and on the scholarly advancements in the understanding of ancient heresy that were concomitantly taking place in the late seventeenth century.

Finally, the question of the orthodoxy of the *Tale* miscellany is approached by considering the history of Anglican theology, especially in the contexts of apologetics against infallibility and of the trinitarian debates.

Acknowledgements

It is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to thank the many people and institutions that have helped me through my time as a graduate student. First and foremost, this thesis would not have been possible without the support of the Clarendon Fund, and of Merton College, where I also found a welcoming community and an ideal place to carry out research. It has also been a privilege to be able to access the resources of the Bodleian Library, for the efficiency of which I must thank its staff, especially in the Weston reading rooms, where many hours were spent. I am also grateful to Julia Walworth of Merton Library, and to Cristina Neagu of Christ Church Library as well as to the staff of the British Library and National Art Library in London, of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the ENS in Paris.

Many friends and colleagues variously offered encouragement, insight, and support through my labours – for this, I wish to thank Rory Allan (†), Andrea Bellettato, Marco Dell'Oca, Christy Edwall, Tim Gao, Giulia Gentile, Rebecca Jacobs, Lucie Kaempfer, Nandan Mani Ratnam, Andy McLean, Francesco Pastro, Robert Stagg, and Gil Triginer. I am also grateful to those who read, commented on, and proof-read different sections or earlier versions of this thesis, including Elena Casanova, Dan Sperrin, and Colton Valentine.

The learning, expertise, and generosity of three scholars in particular have been vital: it is to Nicholas Hardy, Kirsten Macfarlane, and Alexander Wright that I owe the realization of how transformative the history of scholarship could be; without their work, help, and suggestions this thesis would certainly be much poorer. All three read sections of the thesis and offered invariably essential insights at various stages. I am also grateful to Mishtooni Bose, Will Bowers, Kathryn Murphy, Jean-Louis Quantin, Thomas Roebuck, Christopher Tilmouth, Brian Young, and especially to Joanna Weinberg, for her teaching and her kindness, and for a crucial intervention at the end of my second year that helped me make the compromises that this thesis represents. I also wish to thank my first supervisor, David Womersley, whose support was consistent through the first three years of my doctorate. The guidance of William Poole, who supervised me in the last few months of my DPhil, was crucial in helping me make the last push towards completion, and it is with gladness that I acknowledge my debts to him.

Finally, my parents, Susanna and Sergio, and my sister, Claretta, have for many years encouraged, supported, listened, excused, and understood – to them is due more than I can say.

Index

Introduction	5
Chapter 1 – What Was ‘Satyre’?	15
Chapter 2 – The Practice of ‘Satyre’	65
Chapter 3 – The ‘Satyrical’ Uses of Heresy	128
Chapter 4 – The Anglicanism of the *Tale of a Tub*	179
Conclusion	223
Appendix	226
Bibliography	231

Prefatory Note

All references to the *Tale of a Tub* miscellany are, unless otherwise specified, to Marcus Walsh's critical edition – *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works* (Cambridge, 2010); the abbreviations '*Tale*', '*Battel*', and '*Operation*' refer respectively to the three works in the miscellany as given in this edition.

Other abbreviations in use are:

Library and Reading	= Dirk F. Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 2003).
PL	= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, edited by Jacques-Paul Migne *et al.*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864).

I have given full references (short of subtitles) when works, both primary and secondary, are mentioned for the first time; subsequently, I refer to each in abbreviated form.

Quotations of the Bible are taken from the Authorized Version. All translations, unless otherwise specified, are mine. When my translations are in the main body of the text I use 'single inverted commas' to signal them. All other quotations from primary or secondary materials are in "double inverted commas".

The word count does not exceed the upper limit of 100,000 – it reaches ca. 90,900 words, excluding the bibliography.

Introduction

This thesis proposes a novel account of Jonathan Swift's early satires, most prominently *A Tale of a Tub* and its companion pieces, *The Battel of the Books* and *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, and of the literary culture that these texts inhabited. It will read them in a series of new contexts, and it will seek thereby to challenge the disciplinary boundaries that have traditionally separated 'English Literature' from other forms of historical enquiry, aiming to show what can be gained by integrating the history of scholarship into the mainstream of literary studies.

This project has two corollaries. On the one hand, I will endeavour to emancipate literary analysis from its Anglophone-centric focus, placing Swift in the long trajectory of European humanism, whose importance to the future dean of St Patrick's is witnessed by the books of this Latinate culture lining his library shelves.[1] If the resulting Swift will be much less 'English' than usual, his satires will also appear, on the other hand, as texts that are 'literary' in a perhaps unfamiliar sense – in other words, as texts that engaged in, borrowed from, and were shaped by a culture of scholarship and 'learning' (*litteratura*) that permeated the intellectual life of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Thus, if the former aspect of this enquiry will lead me to read Swift's satires against a long perspective stretching back to the Reformation, the latter will focus my attention on the local circumstances that channelled Swift's polemical energies in directions that are specific as well as probably surprising for modern students of Swift.

Given the revisionist thrust of these arguments, they may be fittingly introduced with a brief analysis of a commonplace. Famously, in *The Battel of the Books*, Swift encapsulated the dichotomy between ancient 'literary' genius and modern 'scholarly' pedantry in a parable involving a bee and a spider. The altercation between the two insects is turned into a parallel for

[1] See Heinz J. Vienken's call for a book to be written on "Swift and humanist writing", in "'Nobody has Ever Written a Good Book on Jonathan Swift'", in Real and Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift* (München, 2003), 147-157, 157. This thesis represents a decisive step in this direction.

the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns by Aesop, who emphasizes that there is nothing "*so* Modern *as the* Spider *in his Air, his Turns, his Paradoxes* […] *with many Boastings of his native Stock, and great Genius; that he Spins and Spits wholly from himself*".[2] The Ancients, in contrast, are aligned with the bee, for

> [we] *pretend to Nothing of our own, beyond our* Wings *and our* Voice: *that is to say, our* Flights *and our* Language; *For the rest, whatever we have got, has been by infinite Labour, and search, and ranging thro' every Corner of Nature: The Difference is, that instead of* Dirt *and* Poison, *we have rather chose to fill our Hives with* Honey *and* Wax, *thus furnishing Mankind with the two Noblest of Things, which are* Sweetness *and* Light.[3]

Literary critics have expended much energy in tracing further parallels for this commonplace, both for the bee and spider individually,[4] and for their opposition.[5] The fable has even been read as a positive statement by Swift on the value of literature and poetry,[6] and as an image encoding a literary ideology of *ancienneté*,[7] with the bee in particular being treated almost as a synecdoche for 'Augustan' or 'Neo-classical' aesthetics.[8] The literary commonplace has thus become a critical one, and the *explicandum* has been turned into an *explicans*.

But, once we look at the genealogy of this fable, what is striking is the extent to which Swift's redeployment of it obscures and manipulates the issues at stake rather than clarifying them. All the literary-critical studies mentioned in the above footnotes, in fact, recognize the centrality of one source for Swift's entomological images: Francis Bacon, whose works were well represented in Swift's library.[9] More specifically, Bacon's disparagement of scholastic theology

---

[2] *Battel*, 151-152.
[3] *Ibid.*, 152.
[4] For the bee, e.g. G. W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance", *Renaissance Quarterly* 33/1 (1980), 1-32; for the spider, e.g. R. H. Bower, "Bacon's Spider Simile", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17/1 (1956), 133-135.
[5] J. M. Stedmond, "Another Possible Analogue for Swift's *Tale of a Tub*", *Modern Language Notes* 72 (1957), 13-18; W. B. Carnochan, "Notes on Swift's Proverb Lore", *Yearbook of English Studies* 6 (1976), 63-69; R. F. Borkat, "The Spider and the Bee", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 3 (1976), 44-46.
[6] Charles H. Hinnant, "The 'Fable of the Spider and the Bee' and Swift's Poetics of Inspiration", *Colby Library Quarterly* 20 (1984), 129-136.
[7] Marc Fumaroli, "Les Abeilles et les Araignées", in Anne-Marie Lecoq (ed.), *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* (Paris, 2001), 7-218.
[8] James W. Johnson, "That Neo-Classical Bee", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22/2 (1961), 262-266.
[9] See *Library and Reading*, 1, 125-136. As the 1715 manuscript catalogue of his library shows, Swift owned a 1691 edition of *The Essays or Councels, Civil and Moral* (London, 1691), the 1605 edition of *The Advancement of Learning* ([London, 1605]); after 1715 he acquired a copy of the Latin *Operum Moralium et Civilium Tomus* (London, 1638), which included the Latin *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. Swift's copy has survived in the Forster collection, National Art Library (V&A Museum, London), S Fol. 361.

as an arachnid enterprise of spinning cobwebs out of one's brain in the *Advancement of Learning*,[10] and an aphorism from the *Novum Organum* have been identified as decisive parallels. And yet the modern studies above do nothing more than mention the fact that, in the aphorism of the *Novum Organum*, the insects that Bacon selects to illustrate different 'scientific' approaches are three: the spider (standing for the 'rationalists' or 'dogmatists'), the ant (representing the 'empiricists'), and the bee – the hoped-for 'middle path' between the other two.[11] In turning this tripartite structure into a dichotomy Swift was certainly serving the purposes of the polemics at hand; but he was also eliding a crucial section of the intellectual life of the *Tale* miscellany itself and of its surrounding culture. The fact that this distortion has gone largely unremarked suggests how much the polemical and disingenuous oppositions that Swift framed have become substantial paradigms of enquiry.

Thus, my purpose is to recover this neglected aspect of the literary inheritance of Swift's times. I hope that, by the end of this thesis, this project will not only have advanced the interpretation of Swift's early satires, but that it may also prompt a reconsideration of the methods of literary studies in relation to texts that emerged from a culture that was 'literary' in a drastically different way from our conceptions. What I mean by this can be further illustrated by enquiring into the meaning of Bacon's 'empirical' ant.[12]

A significant clue is to be found when we move from the English *Advancement of Learning* into the Latin expanded version *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. There, Bacon introduced his sixth book, devoted to the art of *traditio*, with a pleasantry that would have appealed to Swift: perhaps the very book the reader has now in hand, Bacon jokes, is not new at all, but has been

---

[10] Francis Bacon, *Of the Proficience and Aduancement of Learning* ([London, 1605]), 1, 19-20: "This kinde of degenerate learning did chiefly raigne among the Schoole-men […] if [the wit and minde of man] worke upon it selfe, as the Spider worketh his webbe, then it is endlesse, and brings forth indeed Copwebs of learning".

[11] Francis Bacon, *The Instauratio Magna. Part II, Novum Organum and Associated Texts*, ed. Rees and Wakely (Oxford, 2004), 152: "Qvi tractauerunt Scientias, aut Empirici, aut Dogmatici fuerunt. Empirici, formicæ more, congerunt tantum & vtuntur; Rationales, aranearum more, telas ex se conficiunt; Apis vero ratio media est, quæ materiam ex floribus horti & agri elicit, sed tamen eam propria facultate vertit & digerit".

[12] See also Paolo Rossi, "Ants, Spiders, Epistemologists", in Fattori (ed.), *Francis Bacon* (Rome, 1984), 245-260.

'transcribed from an old one, to be found among the books of that famous library of St Victor, whose catalogue was compiled by master François Rabelais; in fact there is a book there with the title *The Anthill of the Arts*'; indeed, Bacon continues in self-mocking tones, 'I have accumulated a petty heap of dust, under which I have stored many grains of arts and sciences; there ants may creep, and rest awhile, and prepare themselves for new labours'.[13] Self-disparagement both conceals and highlights self-esteem: Bacon's grand project for the advancement of learning may be the recovery of a lost book listed in Rabelais's famous parodic catalogue of non-existent absurd works,[14] but the insignificant ant comes to symbolize the heroic effort of mapping out and describing the state of human knowledge.

Many of the themes that this thesis will explore are encapsulated in the intersection between Bacon's ant and Swift's elision of it. In fact, the image of ant taps into a series of ideas that will be crucial to my enquiry. In Bacon's rhetorical opening, the Rabelaisian mock-bibliography serves as a hint for a wide-ranging history of knowledge, the pursuit of which Bacon famously advocated by calling for a "historia literarum", or a "iust story of learning, containing the Antiquities & Originalls of Knowledges, & their Sects; their Inuentions, their Traditions; their diuerse Administrations, and Managings; their Flourishings, their Oppositions, Decayes, Depressions, Obliuions, Remoues".[15] What is even more striking about Swift's elision of this 'literary-historical' aspect from his fable is that Bacon's call was being heeded precisely in Swift's time: a genre that self-consciously called itself *historia literaria* was in fact flourishing throughout Europe around the turn of the eighteenth century, with leanings towards both bio-bibliography and critical scholarship.[16] Swift, then, was purposefully disregarding this aspect in

---

[13] Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, in *Operum Moralium et Civilium Tomus* (London, 1638), 162 (second pagination): "Quis igitur novit, num forte Opus istud nostrum non descriptum fuerit ex Libro quodam Veteri, reperto inter Libros famosissimæ illius Bibliothecæ *Sancti Victoris*; quorum Catalogum excepit Magister *Franciscus Rabelesius*? Illic enim invenitur Liber, cui Titulus est *Formicarium Artium.* Nos sane pusillum Acervum Pulvisculi congessimus, et sub eo complura Scientiarum et Artium Grana condidimus; quo Formicæ reptare possint, et paulatim conquiescere, et subinde ad novos se labores accingere".
[14] Swift owned a copy of Rabelais's *Cinq Livres* (Lyon, 1558 [=Rouen, 1620?]) – see *Library and Reading*, 3, 1559-1570. Cf. François Rabelais, *Cinq livres*, 202.
[15] Bacon, *Aduancement*, 2, 8.
[16] My debts on this and several other fronts are to Alexander Wright, "William Cave and the Fortunes of *Historia Literaria* in England", (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2018), especially in relation to England. I am grateful to the author for sending me an electronic copy of his thesis. For the German

his polemical opposition of the spider and the bee rather than neglecting an obsolescent culture of scholarship that had outspent its energies. He was marginalizing a section of his 'literary' inheritance that was as lively and central as it might indeed seem marginal and esoteric to today's 'literary' scholars.

To be mindful of the ant, in this thesis, means reading Swift not as an author that stood aside from and disparagingly parodied the decay of learning, but as a writer who wielded tools that came from the same culture, and who often served the same purposes as the 'pedants' that he found himself in the position to attack. This is not to say that Swift was a scholar, but rather that satire could be a scholarly instrument, and that it was as such that Swift practised it in his early works. Thus, just as this thesis seeks to contribute to literary criticism by plunging Swift into the *litteratura* of his times, so does it suggest to intellectual historians that the understanding of early modern 'learning' cannot but benefit from a focus on its rhetorical, polemical, and indeed satirical traits. Both groups stand to gain from a more holistic approach to sources that modern disciplinary divisions have tended to separate. The ant, paradoxically, has the potential to become a new and transformative 'middle way'.

There are hopeful signs that the time is ripe for such a reappraisal. In the field of Swiftian scholarship, work in last few years has especially concentrated on the second half of his career, and scholars have endeavoured to place him in a series of contexts such as Ireland,[17] the political circumstances of his times,[18] the practices of manuscript publication (especially for his poetry),[19] and the idea of history.[20] The *Tale* miscellany, however, has remained peripheral to these developments, with the questions that literary theory raised in the last decades of the twentieth

context, see Paul Nelles, "*Historia litteraria* and Morhof", in Waquet (ed.), *Mapping the World of Learning* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 31-56; *id.*, "*Historia litteraria* at Helmstedt", in Zedelmaier and Mulsow (eds.), *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 2001), 147-76; Dirk van Miert, "Structuring the History of Knowledge in an Age of Transition", *History of Humanities* 2/2 (2017), 389-416.

[17] See esp. Carole Fabricant, *Swift's Landscape* (Baltimore, 1982); Christopher J. Fauske, *Jonathan Swift and the Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 2002).

[18] Eugene Hammond, *Jonathan Swift* (Newark, 2016).

[19] Stephen Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (Cambridge, 2010).

[20] Ashley Marshall, *Swift and History* (Cambridge, 2015).

century still hanging over it.[21] This delay is significant: it signals the lack of apposite methods to approach a text that, by all the prevalent standards in modern English Literature departments, remains elusive, rebarbative, and inscrutable. In other words, the delay exposes the shortcomings of current ways of thinking about 'literature' and 'scholarship'.

In this thesis, I will attempt to pave a new path to approach the *Tale* and its surrounding literary culture. There are two aspects to this endeavour. The first concerns an unrelated development in Swiftian scholarship whose full potential has not been fully realized, namely the publication, in 2003, of the four volumes of the annotated catalogue of Swift's library by Dirk Passmann and Heinz Vienken. The Swift that will thus emerge from this thesis is a bookish, bibliographical one.[22] This focus will enable me to join the two perspectives mentioned at the start of this introduction, inasmuch as the catalogues of his library have a double dimension: on the one hand they are local and specific, revealing what books Swift owned, annotated, or lost; on the other, they show him engaged in the appropriation, recombination, and redeployment of traditions of learning that are diffuse and ambivalent, stretching back centuries, and having accrued new meanings in transmission. There is perhaps an apposite irony in the fact that this thesis will rely on bibliographical methods to recover the 'ant', the insect that Bacon characterized by borrowing a hint from Rabelais's mock-bibliography and that Swift elided in the context of a work (the *Battel of the Books*) that is itself set in a mock-library.

The second and probably more crucial aspect of my methodology draws from the recent transformations in the field of intellectual history. Thankfully, the days when Swift critics could, with some justice, bemoan "the pitfalls of the quasi-scholarly history-of-ideas approach to criticism"[23] are long past. In fact, in the past decade especially, the rise of the history of

---

[21] Terry Castle, "Why the Houyhnhnms Don't Write", *Essays in Literature* 7 (1980), 31-44; Clive Probyn, "Haranguing upon Texts", in Real and Vienken (eds.), *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium on Swift* (München, 1985), 187-197; Frank T. Boyle, *Swift as Nemesis* (Stanford, 2000); for a more recent example, see Kelly Martin, "Swift and Post-Structuralism", *Swift Studies* 31 (2016), 40-52.
[22] For a step in this direction, see Brean S. Hammond, "Swift's Reading", in Real and Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift* (München, 2003), 133-146, and Paddy Bullard, "What Swift Did in Libraries", in Bullard and McLaverty (eds.), *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge, 2013), 65-84. For an earlier treatment, E. J. W. McCann, "Jonathan Swift's Library", *Book Collector* 34 (1985), 323-341.
[23] A. C. Elias, Jr., *Swift at Moor Park* (Philadelphia, 1982), xi.

scholarship has upended traditional intellectual history by refocussing attention on the local and often polemical circumstances in which ideas were thought, voiced, and disseminated. As Dmitri Levitin has shown, intellectual change cannot any more be accounted for by reified 'philosophical systems' that were supposedly paradigmatic or subversive in the period at hand, and the reversals of thought that we have long associated with the 'Enlightenment' are to be sought in the works of many neglected scholars who engaged with the history of philosophy within institutional structures – the Church pre-eminently.[24] Conversely, the work of Jean-Louis Quantin on Anglican scholarship,[25] and that of Nicholas Hardy on the centrality of theology to early modern criticism have provided the foundations for the third element of the title of this thesis: the role of confession.[26] According to these studies, scholarship not only served the needs of confession in polemics and identity-building, but its methods were themselves shaped by confessional concerns – which is not say that criticism was simply inhibited by confession, but rather that orthodoxies could act as catalysts for intellectual endeavours.

This thesis will confirm these patterns, and, by foregrounding the role of satire both in learned discourses and in confessional attacks, it takes a step in a further direction: it claims that a text such as the *Tale* miscellany, for which a special niche has been carved in the English literary pantheon, ought to be read as an integral part of the 'learning' that it appears to disparage, and, consequently, that the underpinnings of 'literature' cannot be understood without reference to the culture of scholarship that underlay them both. In making this claim, I aim to converge with another trend in the history of scholarship (evident, for example, in Kristine Haugen's work on Richard Bentley),[27] which renovates our conceptions of 'literary criticism' by highlighting the transformations of late humanism which underpinned both the emergence of classical scholarship and the formation of a vernacular canon. If Haugen's intellectual biography of Bentley expands from an eminent scholar to the literary contexts that he tackled and shaped, I will attempt to move

[24] Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science* (Cambridge, 2015).
[25] Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity* (Oxford, 2009).
[26] Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession* (Oxford, 2017).
[27] Kristine L. Haugen, *Richard Bentley* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011).

in a parallel direction, by taking a central literary author such as Swift and connecting him back to the scholarly environs that informed his works.

This thesis, then, is composed of an analysis of series of contexts in which Swift's early satires have rarely (if at all) been placed. The resulting picture may at first sight appear surprising or paradoxical, and it is very likely to prove unfamiliar to most students of English Literature.

Thus, the first chapter considers Swift's early works in relation to late humanist theories of and scholarship on satire.[28] I aim to show that, once we emancipate ourselves from a narrow focus on vernacular writing, satire becomes a much more capacious, plural and challenging genre than we might expect. I claim that Swift's contemporaries were well aware that behind straightforward satirical practices in the vernacular, competing Latinate genealogies of satire existed, striving to describe a genre that could be a sophisticated intellectual instrument of discovery as much as a weapon to slander and a proxy for confessional war. The reinterpretation of this humanist legacy in Swift's time enabled him and his contemporaries to debate some essential questions about the role of confession in knowledge, and the legitimacy of ridicule in scholarly debate. The chapter thus dwells on the idiosyncrasies of Swift's methods in comparison to the practices of the other English authors alongside whom he most often discussed (Pope and Dryden pre-eminently), thereby attempting to show how an understanding of the divergent ways in which they reinterpreted late humanism could yield very different results.

The practice of satire as an intellectual tool takes up the second chapter, which aims to show it in action by discussing the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns. My central claim is that the English Quarrel was only ostensibly about the authenticity of the epistles of Phalaris and of the fables of Aesop; in reality, the trivial surface of the polemic masked some much more crucial questions about the development of biblical scholarship, especially about the role of the Septuagint, Old Testament philology, New Testament canonicity, and the status of the

[28] For some initial discussions of humanist conceptions of satire in relation to Swift and to vernacular satirical writing, see W. B. Carnochan, *Lemuel Gulliver's Mirror for Man* (Berkeley, 1968), 15-30, and Dustin Griffin, *Satire: A Critical Reintroduction* (Lexington, 1994), 12-14.

Apocrypha. Satire was thus a weapon whose vituperative anti-intellectualism was counterbalanced by its ability to displace the ground of a debate of very serious consequence.

The third chapter dwells further on the dialectic between scholarship and satire, exploring in particular Swift's debt to a patristic tradition of satire and ridicule in the practice of heresiography. In fact, just as satire could be a confessional weapon as much as an instrument of intellectual discovery, so was heresiography a type of writing that combined abuse as well as serious theological speculation. Conversely, a consideration of the scholarship on the ancient heresy in Swift's time as opposed to his satirical redeployment of the ancient heresiographers (Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and Tertullian pre-eminently) will explore the connections between confessionalized 'learning' and polemical 'literature' at the core of Swift's literary practices.

The study of heresy, sitting as it does at the intersection of history and theology, will also lead me, in the fourth chapter, to trace the development of Swift's theological thinking against the background of the shifting margins of orthodoxy and the fraught construction of an Anglican confessional identity. In fact, it is only by conceiving of orthodoxy as a construct that has a history of its own as well as being in an organic relation to the history that surrounds it that we can circumvent fruitless debates about Swift's personal religious stance, and instead concentrate on how his satires participated in the development of Anglican theology. I will argue that Swift himself was responsible for overwriting the *Tale* with different apologetic concerns at different times (especially with the 'Apology' added in 1710 to a text that was published in 1704 and written in the late 1690s), thus showing how the textual history of the miscellany responded to evolving pressures that increasingly tended to separate the spheres of 'literature' and of confessional 'learning'.

By the end of the thesis, I hope to have sketched a new pattern of how to approach a text such as the *Tale*, which was not only caught in the process that led to the emergence of a self-conscious literary canon in the vernacular, but also shaped by the dynamics of scholarship and confession. Conversely, I hope that these enquiries will not just enrich our understanding of what 'literature' might have been around the turn of the eighteenth century, but that they will also

prompt new questions about the underpinnings and the practices of ‘English Literature’ as a discipline.

Chapter 1

What was 'Satyre'?
Swift and the Humanist Theories of Satire

'Satire aims to strip a man of his honour – it is a form of civil murder'.[29]

Thus Pierre Bayle, in his *Dictionnarie Historique et Critique*. The remark appears in a famous passage on the 'liberty' intrinsic to the 'Republic of Letters' – that trans-national and trans-confessional state in which the only accepted rule is that of Reason and Truth, under whose auspices, Bayle continues, "war is waged innocently", friend against friend.[30] The justice of reasonable war excludes the practice of libels because satire detects error not by rational proofs, but by often unfounded slander. It is the anonymity of satire that appears most vexing: by hiding themselves, satirists avoid responsibility for their actions and accusations, and thus circumvent the reciprocity of alertness that all citizens of the 'Republic' must practice as a duty.[31] The paradoxical formulations that recur in the passage may undercut its prescriptiveness, but the thrust of Bayle's argument is clear: satire should be ejected from intellectual debate. As the slippage in Bayle's language reveals, satire is no more than a *libelle diffamatoire*.[32]

This chapter will take Swift's *Tale of a Tub* miscellany (a text which appeared anonymously, and whose authorship Swift never owned in life) and read it against Bayle's prescriptions. 'Against' both in the sense that I will show, *contra* Bayle, how Swift was indebted to earlier theories of satire that imbued it with profound intellectual value, and in the sense that I

---

[29] "[L]es satires tendent à depouiller un homme de son honneur, ce qui est une espece d'homicide civil", *s.v.* 'Catius.D', in Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 4th ed., 4 vols. (Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague, Utrecht, 1740), 2, 102.

[30] *Ibid.*: "Cette République est un Etat extrêmement libre. On n'y reconnoit que l'empire de la Vérité & de la Raison, & sous leurs auspices on fait la guerre innocemment à qui que ce soit". On Bayle and the 'Republic of Letters', see most recently Mara van der Lugt, *Bayle, Jurieu and the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Oxford, 2016), esp. 70-116.

[31] *Ibid.*: "On n'a rien de commun avec les faiseurs de Libelles diffamatoires; on n'avance rien sans preuve; on se porte pour témoin & pour accusateur, exposé à la peine du Talion; on court le même risqué qu'on fait courir: mais un faiseur de Libelles se cache, afin de n'être pas obligé à prouver ce qu'il publie, & afin de pouvoir faire du mal sans en être responsible".

[32] On how defamation law and 'libel' intersected with the 'Scriblerians', see Suzanne J. Podhurst, "The Scriblerians Uncensored" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2012), esp. 32-97.

will place Swift *against the background of* a shift in the conception of the role of satire – a shift that took place around the turn of the eighteenth century, and that Bayle's passage enacts particularly well.[33] My contention is that Swift's early 'satyres' (we will later investigate the significance of this spelling) have not been interpreted in their most germane context, namely late humanist theories of the genre, and of its suitability to intellectual discussion as well as to confessional strife. Just as historians have long assumed that the Republic of Letters was precisely that irenic state of liberty that Bayle wished it to be,[34] so have literary scholars read Swift alongside some of his contemporaries, such as Dryden and especially Pope,[35] who are expressions of newer, more 'classical' conceptions of satire. An analysis of how Swift and his contemporaries read and deployed the late humanists will show that the nature of 'satire' as a type of writing was a contentious issue, fraught with difficulties that could be recombined to create very different theories of what satire was.

To come to Swift via the late humanist theorists may at first seem circuitous, but it is precisely such a semblance of tortuosity that betrays the bias with which we tend to read Swift. Just as the eighteenth century witnessed the formation of a national literary canon,[36] so was the vision of satire fashioned by Pope and Dryden canonized at the expense of a more capacious, perplexing as well as polemical conception of it, of which Swift was initially an inheritor. An increased focus on the 'classical' Roman satirical poets thus marginalized debts to other, decisively 'unclassical' types of literature (I am purposefully avoiding the term 'genre') such as heresiology or Christian apologetics.[37] Indeed, even the widespread working assumption that satire is a literary genre is a corollary of this post-factum genealogy. To read satire as such is to

[33] For an analysis of similar anxieties in another contemporary work (Adrien Baillet's *Auteurs Déguisez*, 1690) and their relation to the contested field of 'literature', see Kate Tunstall, "Pseudonyms, Ghosts, and Vampires in the Republic of Letters", *Romance Studies* 31/3-4 (2013), 200-211.
[34] See esp. Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*.
[35] On Swift and Pope's literary relations and differences, see now Dustin Griffin, *Swift and Pope* (Cambridge, 2010).
[36] Richard Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past* (Oxford, 2001).
[37] On the shifting idea of 'literature' in this period, see Kelsey Jackson Williams, "Canon Before Canon, Literature Before Literature", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77/ 2 (2014), 177-199, and especially Alexander Wright, "William Cave and the Fortunes of *Historia Literaria* in England" (Cambridge, PhD thesis, 2018) – I am grateful to the author for sending me an electronic copy of his thesis.

act according to Bayle's wishes: it is to neutralize satire's value both as a weapon in polemics and as an instrument of discovery in intellectual debates – it departmentalizes it into 'English Literature' when no such thing existed.

Thus, reverting to the competing Latinate genealogies of satire that shaped vernacular writing will enable us to see how these disagreements could be ways for Swift's contemporaries to debate essential questions about the role of confession in knowledge, the legitimacy of ridicule in scholarship, and indeed what 'literature' was, or should be, and become. I will undertake this investigation in three phases. Firstly, I will dwell on one aspect that was tellingly becoming crucial to a redefinition of satire, namely the use of parody. This was a central fault-line in the conception of Swift versus that of Dryden, and it is especially relevant because tied to it was the problem of the anonymity or pseudonymity of satire. The practice of parody by way of a satirical persona had in fact been a disputed point in humanist literary histories of the genre, and an analysis of this legacy and of how it was readapted and exploited by Swift's contemporaries will take up the second section of the chapter. Having descended into the complexities of late humanist scholarship, we will finally re-ascend in the third section by examining the heuristic value that 'satyre' and its emblematic manifestation, the satyr, were thought to carry: a scrutiny of the role of Erasmus in this conception will in turn expose a divergence between the ideas of 'literature' of Swift and those of Pope. I will especially show how these discussions impinged on the status of controversy and strife in the process of the discovery of truth. As recent studies have shown,[38] the idea that impartiality ought to be a standard in scholarship, *pace* Bayle, was developed only gradually and inconsistently; it is fitting that its emergence, as this chapter suggests, took place in a polemical context.

I. The Uses of Parody

[38] See the essays collected in Kathryn Murphy and Anita Traninger (eds.), *The Emergence of Impartiality* (Leiden, 2014).

Soon after the *Tale of a Tub* miscellany appeared in French with an uncontested Swiftian attribution (it was published in a 1721 anthology of works "par le Fameux DR. SWIFT"),[39] the theologian Jean Le Clerc wrote a perceptive review of it for his learned journal *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*. 'The author', Le Clerc complained, 'only misleads the reader; it is an odd game that runs through the entire book, where we often do not know if the author jokes, nor whom he mocks, nor what his design is'.[40] Le Clerc, in other words, was struggling with a problem that has plagued Swift's interpreters until our days: the indeterminacy of the 'authorial' voice. And yet he was also prepared to suspend his judgement in places where the obscurity of 'the author's design' was such as to rise more insidious suspicions. Commenting on the *Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, he wrote:

> If the author attacks only this type of *mechanical operation of the spirit*, he is certainly right. But if he goes further, and delivers axioms that destroy true prophecy, it is clear he is in the wrong. His ironic and figurative style may often seem too vigorous and conceal some allusions that do not always appear precise and regular. But since it is everywhere difficult to judge his views, it would be better to believe that they are not so bad as they appear to some people.[41]

As we will see, Le Clerc's affected impartiality in the face of the *Tale*'s perceived extravagance also stemmed from his incapacity to distinguish the parodic nuances of the satire's personae. After all, it was the 'author' that, to his ears, was speaking in the book, although all that he did was *paroître* rather than to affirm.

And yet, if we in turn suspend our judgement about the 'author', we might be able to see how, in the *Tale* itself, the question of 'the author's design' was a polemical construct aimed at serving the purposes of Swift's parodic personae. Nowhere does this appear more clearly than in a particularly vexing crux at the end of 'Section X' of the *Tale*, where many voices intersect, and

---

[39] Swift, *Le Conte du Tonneau, Contenant tout ce que les Arts, & les Sciences ont de plus Sublime, & de plus Mysterieux. Avec plusieurs autres Pièces Très-Curieuses*, [transl. Justus van Effen] (Le Havre, 1721). On Swift's reception in eighteenth-century France, see Wilhelm Graeber, "Swift's First Voyages to Europe", in Real (ed.), *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe* (London, 2005), 5-16.

[40] "[L]'Auteur […] ne fait que donner le change au Lecteur; ce qui est un jeu singulier, qui regne dans tout le Livre, où l'on ne sait souvent si l'Auteur se moque, ou non, ni à qui il en veut, ni quel est son dessein", in Jean Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, vol. XV (Amsterdam, 1721), 441-449, 442-443.

[41] "Si l'Auteur n'attaque que cette espece d'*operation méchanique de l'Esprit*, il a sans doute raison; mais s'il va plus loin et débite des principes, qui détruisent la veritable Prophetie, il est visible qu'il a tort. Son style ironique & figuré peut souvent paroître trop fort, & renfermer des allusions, qui ne paroissent pas toûjours justes & réguilieres. Mais comme il est difficile de juger, par tout, de ses vuës; il faut mieux croire qu'elles ne sont pas si mauvaises, qu'elles paroissent à quelques personnes", in *ibid.*, 444-445.

which neatly delineates the limits of a 'literary' reading mainly interested in uncovering the intentions of the 'author'. Indeed, as we will see presently, such a reading naturally runs the risk of construing such intentions as inherently suspicious. That the *Tale* was thus misunderstood upon its publication, and that it was even perceived as dangerous to religion and culture, are circumstances that should alert us to how alien its underpinnings had become by the early eighteenth century,[42] and therefore to the importance of recovering the workings of satire as Swift might have envisaged it.

Irenaeus against the Rosy Cross

Towards the end of 'Section X' the persona of the hack nimbly scuttles from a praise of the modern literary marketplace to a description of his intentions for the "miraculous Treatise" that he is writing, which, if read by "the Reader truly *Learned*", will not fail to bring forth a wonderful abundance of new meanings.[43] The hack encourages such scholars to start toiling upon his work straightaway, so as avoid the common fate of "*mysterious* Writers", who, he says, must normally pass away before Fame may proclaim their worth, for "[Fame's] Trumpet sounds best and farthest, when she stands on a *Tomb*, by the Advantage of a rising Ground, and the Echo of a hollow Vault". The hack proceeds to give some "*Innuendo*'s" to future commentators:

> I have couched a very profound Mystery in the Number of O's multiply'd by *Seven*, and divided by *Nine*. Also, if a devout Brother of the *Rosy Cross* will pray fervently for sixty three Mornings, with a lively Faith, and then transpose certain Letters and Syllables according to Prescription, in the second and fifth Section; they will certainly reveal into a full Receit of the Opus *Magnum* […].[44]

The hack is giving a garbled version of Kabbalistic methods for discovering meanings in the biblical text, notably the *gematria* (the system that assigns numerical values to letters to find hidden relations among words) and the *temurah* (the substitution of letters according to given patterns), of which Swift could have read an account in his copy of the London Polyglot Bible.[45]

---

[42] On the *Tale*'s danger, see Roger Lund, *Ridicule, Religion and the Politics of Wit* (Farnham, 2012), esp. 155-187.
[43] *Tale*, 119-120.
[44] *Tale*, 120.
[45] In Brian Walton's 'Prolegomena' in the first volume (§8.35-37, in *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, 6 vols. (London, 1657), 53-54) – see *Library and Reading*, 1, 209-212.

Equally, the hack is also displaying his tendency to confuse the issues at play, for, in the preceding paragraph, he had termed such exegetical methods of commentary as "*Scholiastic* Midwifry" delivering "Meanings, that the Author themselves, perhaps, never conceived, and yet may very justly be allowed the Lawful Parents of them".[46] The sham intellectual pedigree suggested here by the hack insinuates the illicitness of his scholarship, and invalidates his claims to knowledge. That the modern hack fails so thoroughly in grasping the very background of his methods seems to prove the fatuity of his esoteric enterprise as a writer of 'mysteries'. A few lines after, the hack feels emboldened to criticise a fellow adept:

> But [the 'learned' reader in his cabbalistic exegesis] must beware of *Bythus* and *Sigè*, and be sure not to forget the qualities of *Acamoth; A cujus lacrymis humecta prodit Substantia, à risu lucida, à tristiâ solida, & à timore mobilis*, wherein **Eugenius Philalethes* hath committed an unpardonable Mistake.[47]

The asterisk refers to a marginal note specifying the title of the flawed treatise by Eugenius Philalethes (pseudonym of the occultist writer Thomas Vaughan, d. 1666), *Anima Magica Abscondita* (1650). On this mystifying note, without further explanation, the section ends.

Once the rhetorical pyrotechnics of Swift's satire are over, we are left with a sense of vacuity, which is certainly the point of Swift's satire against occultism and esoteric writing, as indeed many literary critics have observed.[48] What remains is the impression that Swift revelled in exposing the inanity of the profound secrets to which his persona lays claim. Here is the limit of a purely 'literary' reading of Swift's satire, and here is also where the discernment of the intellectual traditions with which Swift engages may be of help. Not only will this investigation substantiate the perhaps surprising thesis that Swift's 'satyre' is best read in relation to patristic literature, but it will also suggest how much the practice of 'satyre' had itself become an intrinsic part of scholarship and intellectual debate. Just as literary critics tend to overlook these

---

[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*, 120-1.
[48] Discussion on Swift's satire against occultism has stemmed from Philip Pinkus, "*A Tale of a Tub* and the Rosy Cross", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 59/4 (1960), 669-79, and *Swift's Vision of Evil*, 2 vols. (Victoria, 1975-1977), 1, 61-68; see also Marie Mulvey Roberts, "Science, Magic and Masonry", in Roberts and Ormsby-Lennon (eds.), *Secret Texts* (New York, 1995), 97-113; Rudolf Freiburg, "Enlightened Darkness", in Freiburg, Löffler, Zach (eds.), *Swift, the Enigmatic Dean* (Tübingen, 1998), 47-69; Gregory Lynall, "Swift's Alchemical Satire and Satiric Alchemy in *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 24 (2009), 27-45.

intellectual contexts because they do not fall within the scope of the 'literary' as conceived by modern standards, so are intellectual historians often neglectful of the satirical and rhetorical *habitus* of their sources because it may appear as a mere argumentative veneer overlaid on the more important ideas that these learned sources convey. Supplementing the two approaches may, perhaps, not only enlighten the cultural and 'literary' specificity of these texts, but it may also shed light on the fundamental role of Renaissance polemical 'satyre' in bringing forth knowledge. 'Satyre' was a scientific genre.

Indeed, in the specific case of the end of 'Section X' quoted above, the immediate reception of the *Tale* and its impact on the editorial history of the text reveal some traces that Swift left in order to clarify the direction of his satire. In 1705, on the occasion of the third edition of his *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, William Wotton provided some "Observations upon the *Tale of a Tub*" which exploited the perceived ambiguity of Swift's satire in order to construe it as thoroughly irreligious. Wotton compares the *Tale* to the sixteenth-century confessional satires of the post-Reformation from which it seems to have descended: whereas the latter, for all their "Rage and Spight", tended only "to encrease Mens Hatred against any one particular Sect, whilst Christianity, as such, was not hereby at all undermined", the *Tale* "strikes at the very Root [of Christianity]", and, under pretence of attacking Catholicism and Dissent, it wilfully "wound[s] the whole".[49] In the context of this deliberately uncandid (and indeed polemical) interpretation of the *Tale,* Wotton discusses the quotation from the ante-Nicene church father Irenaeus that appears on the title-page of the *Tale* reading: "Basima eacabasa eanaa irraurista, diarba da caeotaba fobor camelanthi. *Iren. Lib.* I. *C.* 18.".[50] Wotton sees through the "*Gibberish*", and explains it as "a Form of Initiation used anciently by the *Marcosian* Heretics",

[49] William Wotton, "Observations upon the *Tale of a Tub*", reprinted in Walsh's edition of *Tale* [henceforth, "Observations"], 217-230, 226-227.
[50] *Tale,* 3; the source is Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 1.21.3, see *Opus Eruditissimum Divi Irenæi*, ed. Desiderius Erasmus (Basel, 1526), 40; I quote from Erasmus's *editio princeps* of the Latin text, for, as I will explain, this seems to be the text Swift used. Cf. *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. Migne *et al.* (henceforth *PG*), 7, 662-663.

and immediately exclaims: "[s]o great a delight has this Unhappy Author, to play with what some part or other of Mankind have always esteemed as Sacred!".[51]

Wotton certainly understood Swift's satirical game, and was indeed willing to play it, as the overtly tendentious nature of his "Observations" reveal. The way in which Swift replied to the attack also uncovers the deep affinity of the 'Observations' and of the *Tale*: in the fifth edition of 1710, Swift incorporated many of Wotton's interpretations in the text of his satires as footnotes (the one on the 'heretical' title-page among them). He also added some other footnotes of his own, two of which he appended precisely to our puzzling passage on Philalethes. These, indeed, are precisely the footnotes which, along with the title-page quotation from Irenaeus, were left out of the French edition in an effort to cleanse the *Tale* of its more rebarbatively erudite and polemical features. Another fictitious (and adversarial) scholarly voice speaks in these footnotes, one of which attempts to explain the identity of Bythus, Sigè, and Acamoth:

> *I was told by an Eminent Divine,* [says Swift's fictitious scholiast] *whom I consulted on this point, that these Barbarous Words, with that of* Acamoth *and its Qualities, as here set down, are quoted from* Irenæus. *This he discover'd by searching that Ancient Writer for another Quotation of our Author, which he has placed in the Title Page* […] *the Curious were very Inquisitive, whether those Barbarous Words,* Basima Eacabasa, &c. *are really in* Irenæus, *and upon enquiry 'twas found they were a sort of Cant or Jargon of certain Hereticks, and therefore very properly prefix'd to such a Book as this of our Author.*[52]

The other footnote immediately follows, and it comments on the identity of Philalethes (i.e. Thomas Vaughan) and on the marginal reference (present in the text since the 1704 first edition) to his 1650 book, *Anima Magica Abscondita*:

> *To the abovementioned* [in 'Section V', 83] *Treatise, called* Antroposophia Theomagica, *there is another annexed, called* Anima Magica Abscondita, *written by the same Author* Vaughan, *under the Name of* Eugenius Philalethes, *but in neither of those Treatises is there any mention of* Acamoth *or its Qualities, so that this is nothing but Amusement, and a Ridicule of dark, unintelligible Writers; only the Words,* A cujus lacrymis, &c. *are as we said, transcribed from* Irenæus, *tho' I know not from what part. I believe one of the Authors Designs was to set curious Men a hunting thro' Indexes, and enquiring for Books out of the common Road.*[53]

We have here a parody of Wotton's annotation practices, for in the "Observations" there is another long footnote about the 'gibberish' quotation from Irenaeus, which is identified as Syriac

[51] "Observations", 225.
[52] *Tale*, 120-121.
[53] *Ibid.*

(a language that "it is probable that *Irenaeus* might not understand"), and which, Wotton says, has been restored to its proper spelling in the new edition of the ancient church father by Johann Ernst Grabe.[54] Chapter 3 of this thesis will discuss more thoroughly the significance of Irenaeus to late seventeenth-century patristic scholarship, and Swift's debts to it (Wotton's polemical observations on this point were indeed particularly sharp). My main concern here is to show the deep kinship of satire and scholarship, and thereby to try to uncover the workings of "*the Authors Design*", as Swift's parodic scholiast puts it, echoing Wotton's polemical construction of an irreligious 'unhappy author' and anticipating Le Clerc's suspicion of *le dessein de l'Auteur*.

It is easy to dismiss the scholiast here as mere ridicule that Swift casts against Wotton and erudition in general. However, these footnotes also give us some precious hints for the reconstruction of Swift's intellectual and literary leanings as he wrote the *Tale*. From two external sources we know that, in the late 1690s, Swift was not just reading the church fathers (not just Irenaeus, but also Cyprian, Tertullian, and Epiphanius), but he was also closely studying them by excerpting their works into a commonplace book.[55] It is extremely likely that this commonplace book, though lost, became one of the working materials for the composition of the *Tale*. Thus, Swift himself must have gone after Books "*out of the common Road*" such as these, and used finding aids such as his commonplace book, notwithstanding his contempt for these methods implied in the hack's enthusiasm for such modern 'technologies' of learning.[56] In parallel, Swift's mock-annotator in the *Tale* seems to whet the appetite of the curious by partially revealing the thrust of the satire ("*this is nothing but* […] *a Ridicule of dark, unintelligible Writers*"), while

---

[54] "Observations", 225; Johann Ernst Grabe's edition is *Sancti Irenæi Episcopi Lugdunensis Contra Omnes Hæreses Libri Quinque* (Oxford, 1702).

[55] The first source is Swift's reading list for the years 1697-8, copied by John Lyon (probably after Swift's death), and bound in Lyon's copy of John Hawkesworth's *Life of Jonathan Swift* (Dublin, 1755), now in the National Art Library at the V&A, Forster Collection (shelfmark: 48.D.39 – reproduced in Walsh's edition of the *Tale*, 273-274); this list mentions Irenaeus and Cyprian. However, in a later annotation, Lyon adds the names of Tertullian and Epiphanius to Hawkesworth's discussion of Swift's knowledge of the fathers (20). The second source is Deane Swift's biographical essay on his relative, *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character, of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1755), 276, where Deane Swift states that his has before his eyes a commonplace book containing extracts from Cyprian and Irenaeus dated 1697.

[56] See, e.g., *Tale*, 98, where the hack rhetorically asks "what tho' [a writer's] *Head* be empty, provided his *Common place-Book* be full"; see Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, "Commonplace Swift", in Real and Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift* (Munich, 1998), 13-44, and Roger Lund, "The Eel of Science", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22/2 (1998), 18-42.

Swift complicates matters by adding a further target (Wotton) to his parody. Indeed, if we agree to follow Swift's convoluted lead, and we submit to the necessity of hunting through an index to look for that part of Irenaeus about which the scholiast admits his ignorance (which, unsurprisingly, is the very beginning of Irenaeus's work), we will discover what, in Swift's view, was Philalethes's "unpardonable mistake".

In Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses* (written ca. 180 CE), the beliefs of various Gnostic sects are exploded as ridiculous figments bearing no relation to true revelation. Swift's quotation comes from a passage of this tenor, which appears in the course of a refutation of the Gnostic error of denying creation *ex nihilo*.[57] Interestingly, Swift seems to have relied on an edition of Irenaeus which was famed because of the renown of its editor and annotator, Desiderius Erasmus, but which was also outdated from a scholarly perspective:[58] Erasmus's Irenaeus was the *editio princeps* (1526) of the ancient Latin translation of *Adversus Haereses*, but had been hastily produced from faulty codices (the original Greek text had not yet been recovered).[59] If we look up 'Achamoth' in the index of Erasmus's edition, where "recensentur autem non solum orthodoxorum sententiæ, sed etiam hæreticorum dogmata",[60] we are, however, not redirected to the place from which Swift extracted his quotation, but to the very first chapter of the work. There Irenaeus speaks in very similar terms about Achamoth (or 'Sophia', the Greek translation of the Hebrew plural חכמות, *ḥachamoth*) oozing the world into existence from tears, but further indulges

[57] *Adversus Haereses*, 2.10.3, in *Opus Eruditissimum Divi Irenæi*, ed. Erasmus, 77: "[q]uoniam enim dicunt ex lachrymis Achamoth humectam prodisse substantiam, à risu autem lucidam, à tristitia autem solidam, & à timore mobile, & in hijs altum sapere & inflatum esse, quomodo hæc non digna risione, & uere ridicula".
[58] Erasmus's Latin text (40) is the only one, among all the early modern editions, that closely matches the spelling of the 'gibberish' heretical formula. All the subsequent editions by Gallasius (Paris and Geneva, 1570), Grynaeus (Basel, 1571), and the Jesuit Feuardentius (Köln, 1596) base themselves on the original Greek to render the formula as "Basema, Chanosse […]". See Gallasius (ed.), *Diui Irenæi libri quinque aduersus portentosas hæreses Valentini & aliorum*, 72; Grynaeus (ed.), *D. Irenaei Opus eruditissimum in quinque libros digestum*, 77; Feuardentius (ed.), *Diui Irenaei Lugdunensis Episcopi, et Martyris, Aduersus Valentini, & Similium Gnosticorum Hæreses, Libri Quinque*, 108. Even the 1576 edition by Feuardentius, which also gives the old Latin translation, reads "diarbada", while Swift follows Erasmus in having "diarba da" (there is a line break in Erasmus's edition) – see Feuardentius (ed.), *Diui Irenaei* (Paris, 1576), 50.
[59] Erasmus's prefaces to his editions of the fathers have been collected by Robert Peters in *Erasmus: Prefaces* (Menston, 1970) – see "Introduction", unpaginated. For a survey of the role of Irenaeus in the immediate context of the Reformation, see Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation* (Leiden, 2003), 130-151; and *ead.*, "François Feu-ardent Éditeur d'Irénée", in Deitz (ed.), *Tempus Edax Rerum* (Luxembourg, 2001), 11-26.
[60] Irenaeus, *Opus Eruditissimum.*, ed. Erasmus, sig. G1ʳ.

his own parodic vein by remarking that tears are salty, but that there are also hot waters in the world that must have been produced by Achamoth's sweat; but what about hot and acrid waters? Irenaeus gleefully leaves the reader free to imagine "ex quo membro emisit has".[61]

Irenaeus's bathetic (and indeed parodic) cavillations on Gnostic heresies are the hidden sting to which Swift, through the voice of his scholiast, wants to lead the unsuspecting reader of the *Tale*. The hack, together with Vaughan, is thus represented as the unwitting heir of the Gnostic sect, while Swift's deflation of his esoteric pretensions follows the pattern set out by Irenaeus. Where Wotton had maliciously misconstrued the *Tale* by interpreting the 'heretical' voice of the hack as the stance of an irreligious 'author', there Swift, by way of parodic annotation, takes up Irenaeus's task of refutation. Indeed, Erasmus's preface in the edition that Swift read precisely stressed the applicability of Irenaeus's methods to contemporary controversies, and expatiated on the stylistic qualities of Irenaeus's heresiography. The church father was, to Erasmus's eyes, 'highly skilled in all liberal arts', and 'lucid, organized, and coherent in explaining things (i.e. Gnostic theology) so thorny, convoluted, and tedious'.[62] Erasmus had explicitly called for a succession of modern 'Irenaei' (playing on the Greek meaning of the name, 'peaceful'), who, by the paradoxical methods of opposition, might mend the schisms of the Reformation.[63]

It certainly cannot be said that Swift explicitly embraced such a calling. The circumvolution with which he called attention to his Irenaean leanings is as playful as it seems reluctant. However, it is important to stress how Irenaeus could be an ancient model for satire just as easily (if not more so in the case of prose) as Juvenal (who is in fact almost absent in the *Tale*). Thus, the rationale behind Swift's explosion of the occultism of Thomas Vaughan (whose *Anima Magica Abscondita* bore a similarly at-first-sight incomprehensible Welsh proverb on its title-

---

[61] *Ibid.*, 8.
[62] Erasmus, "Epistula Nuncupatoria", in Irenaeus, *Opus Eruditissimum*, sig. a3^{r}: "Eloquentiæ nec studiosum nec peritum sese fatetur ipse præfans in primum librum, ac non affectata[m] quidem ab eo facile crediderim, ignoratam ne credam facit ipse sermonis cursus, in rebus tam spinosis ac perplexis, imò fastidij plenis, dilucidus, digestus, ac sibi cohærens […] Certe liberalium disciplinarum omnium peritissimum fuisse constat".
[63] Ibid., sig. a2^{r}.

page)[64] is primarily patristic and religious, as well as 'satyrical'. Conversely, this passage's polemical nature and its reception by Wotton also highlight the problem of parody: the indirection on which parody necessarily relied and its lack of clear marks of authorship could be turned against its practitioners. Indeed, if we look beyond Swift's text to the competing theories of satire that circulated around the turn of the century, we can perceive a predicament facing Swift as a 'satyrist', for a campaign was being waged to purge parody out of proper 'literary satire', and to relegate it to the province of the ephemeral lampoon.[65] Its eventual success would not only aggravate the interpretative difficulties of Swift's text by enhancing the *Tale*'s perceived extravagance and oddness; it would also contribute significantly to the understanding of satire as a literary genre in opposition to lower forms of satirical writings that had instead more agency in their polemical environs.

Parody and the uses of 'médisance'

In the 1710 edition of the *Tale* Swift did not just add the polemical footnotes quoted above. He also contributed a new 'Apology' in which he attempted to clear himself of the suspicion of irreligion by explaining (not without irony) some of the workings of his text. Significantly, he warns the reader that "*some of those Passages in this Discourse, which appear most liable to Objection are what they call Parodies, where the Author personates the Style and Manner of other Writers, whom he has a mind to expose*".[66] To show the hack speaking with other voices, Swift points to a particularly revealing example, in which the hack proclaims his integrity in writing "[f]ourscore and eleven Pamphlets […] under three Reigns, and for the Service of six and thirty Factions", and adds his resolution, seeing the ingratitude with which his efforts have been repaid, to "retire […] into Speculations more becoming a Philosopher".[67] This instance of

[64] "Dû a Digon : Hêb Dhû, Hêb Dhim", in Thomas Vaughan, *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. Alan Rudrum (Oxford, 1984), 97.
[65] For a study of parody in Swift, done through very different methods from mine but still very perceptive, see Robert Phiddian, *Swift's Parody* (Cambridge, 1995), 110-203 on the *Tale* miscellany.
[66] *Tale*, 7.
[67] *Ibid.*, 44.

manifest hypocrisy, the 'Apology' explains, is levelled at "Dryden, L'Estrange, *and some others* […], *who, having spent their Lives in Faction, and Apostacies, and all manner of Vice, pretend to be Sufferers for Loyalty and Religion. So* Dryden *tells us in one of his Prefaces of his Merits and Sufferings, thanks God that he* possesses his Soul in Patience".[68]

It is significant that the offending Drydenian 'Preface' is the one annexed to his translations of Juvenal, and known as an early and influential literary-critical attempt to define satire in the vernacular, i.e. the "Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire". This was published in late 1692 (though dated 1693), and therefore after Dryden's conversion to Catholicism, and his loss of favour in the aftermath of his refusal to take oaths to William and Mary in 1688. The incriminating passage reads: "let the World witness for me, that […] I have seldom answer'd any scurrilous Lampoon; When it was in in my power to have expos'd my Enemies: And being naturally vindictive, have suffer'd in silence, and possess'd my Soul in quiet".[69] Dryden's claim to religious suffering in his allusion to Luke 21:19 ("In your patience possess ye your soul", which comes in the course of Christ's exhortation to endure martyrdom and to testify thereby) must have qualified him, in Swift's eyes, as a prime target for his satire against Catholicism in the *Tale*.[70] Alongside Dryden's posturing as a martyr of religious truth, Swift was also provoked by Dryden's disingenuous proclamations, in the "Discourse of Satire", that he was above lampooning, and by his consequent effort to relegate parody and attacks *ad personam* to a lower literary form than 'true satire'. Thus, Swift's parody of the "Discourse", which itself downplayed the status of parody, is an implicit a censure on Dryden as a writer, a critic and a satirist.

In the "Discourse", Dryden had traced the progress of satire until its apex of perfection with Juvenal, gathering much information on the literary history of the genre from previous

---

[68] *Ibid.*, 7.
[69] John Dryden, "Discourse of Satire", in *The Works of Dryden, Volume IV*, eds. Chambers, Frost, Dearing (Berkeley, 1974), 59-60.
[70] On Swift and Dryden, see Ian Higgins, "Dryden and Swift", in Rawson and Santesso (eds.), *John Dryden (1631-1700*) (London, 2004), 217-234, and Dan Sperrin, "Cozening Dryden and Swift", *Essays in Criticism* 68/2 (2018), 167-189.

humanists such as Isaac Casaubon, whose *De Satyrica Graecorum Poësi et Romanorum Satira* (1605) is at times translated almost verbatim. In his careering towards Juvenal, Dryden had pushed to the margins other 'inferior' forms of invective. One of these was represented by the 'Silli' of the Greeks, which were "Satyrique Poems, full of *Parodies;* that is, of Verses patch'd up from great Poets, and turn'd into another Sence".[71] These he compares to "our [i.e. vernacular] Songs, which are turn'd into Burlesque", and (though he denies a common origin) to "the Satires which were written against particular Persons", of which we have an example in Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*; he then passes this judgement: "[b]ut these are the Under-wood of Satire, rather than the Timber-Trees: […] [a]nd *Horace* seems to have purg'd himself from those Splenetick Reflections in those *Odes* and *Epodes*, before he undertook the Noble Work of Satires; which were properly so call'd".[72] Dryden seems to be using the term 'reflection' in a particular sense here,[73] for, later on in the 'Discourse', while discussing the pejorative English connotations (which he aims to correct) of the word 'satire', he says: "in *English*, to say Satire, is to mean Reflection, as we use that word in the worst Sense; or as the French call it, more properly, *médisance*".[74]

Given Swift's penchant for parody and his frequent recourse to burlesque, he certainly did not warm to Dryden's remarks about 'splenetic reflections'. In the 'Preface of the Author' appended to the *Battel* (in which Dryden is indeed lampooned as a diminutive and cowardly figure unequal to the armour he wears), Swift seems to be looking asquint at Dryden's metaphoric usage of 'reflection' – an expression that, through a favourite Swiftian technique, is literalized: "*Satyr is a sort of* Glass," we are informed, "*in which Beholders do generally discover every body's Face but their Own; which is the chief Reason for that kind of Reception it meets in the World, and that so very few are offended with it*".[75] The 'reflections' of the 'lower' orders of

[71] Dryden, "Discourse", 35.
[72] *Ibid.*, 35-36.
[73] The *OED* quotes Dryden's 'Discourse' under meaning of 'Reflection' 9b ("criticism, blame; censure, reproof").
[74] Dryden, "Discourse", 48. On slander and 'médisance' in French culture, see Emily Butterworth, *Poisoned Words* (London, 2006).
[75] *Battel*, 142.

satire, Swift ironically suggests, might indeed be an attack *ad personam*, but their satirical effectiveness is not thereby debased; rather, it is enhanced by the fact that their targets' obtuseness hinders them from seeing themselves in satire's parodic mirror, and that their malice is revealed when they discover therein the faces of others. Unfortunately, by the time this Swiftian passage reached the public in 1704, Dryden was no longer alive to look into Swift's mirror.

We have here, then, two radically different conceptions of what satire ought to be and of how it should function. While Dryden attempted to smooth out all previous literary-critical argumentativeness in the calm prose of his "Discourse of Satire" (which, though at times affecting disdain, never descends to polemics), Swift, on the other hand, was eager to turn to satiric advantage even the very issue of what satire was. Where Dryden wants to purify and unify,[76] Swift besmirches and rambles. It is a testament to Swift's inventiveness that precisely parody, whose role Dryden had striven to downplay, is the weapon wielded against his predecessor. In opposition to Dryden's portrayal of the satirist as holding the higher moral ground and speaking *in propria persona* in his writings, Swift's practice posits a speaker who holds many voices through various levels of parody, and is himself morally and philosophically corrupt. We are reaching a fundamental difference here: where Dryden sought to limit the domain of satire to the moral sphere, Swift partook of a tradition where satire could easily overflow these moral boundaries to become a philosophical, scientific, or even theological genre. The very fact that satire could be an effective way to treat the literary-critical topic of what satire is seems to intimate this flexibility.

But what exactly were the traditions from which Dryden and Swift were drawing, and what implications did they carry with them? How was Dryden reading Casaubon? And what was Swift reading in turn? Scholars have very rarely explored this territory,[77] and an investigation of it can enlarge and nuance our understanding of the role and use of satire. Indeed, behind satirical

[76] On Dryden's 'purification' of satire, see William Frost, "Dryden and 'Satire'", *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 11/3 (1971), 401-416.
[77] A notable exception to which I am indebted is Nicholas Hardy, "Literary History as Critical Practice", in Power and McDowell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1640-1714* (Oxford, forthcoming) – I am grateful to the author for sending me a pre-print version of this chapter.

practices in the vernacular, several competing Latinate genealogies of satire existed, all prompted by the elusiveness of the genre as it developed in antiquity, and all striving to describe a type of writing that could be a sophisticated intellectual instrument of discovery as much as a weapon to slander and a proxy for confessional war. By descending into the details of late humanist erudition as they were received, repurposed, and reapplied by Swift and Dryden, we will see how such scholarship was not mere pedantry that had survived from an earlier age; these studies had resonant and urgent implications for the practice of satire in the new century. Moreover, the fragmentariness of the ancient record of the genre and the lack of clear normative treatments of it in antiquity made satire a particularly apt field on which to work to reshape its ambit, and consequently its place in the world of 'letters'. A redefinition of satire, in other words, could be a crucial instrument to debate what 'literature' ought to be.

II. Humanist Genealogies of Satire (and 'Satyre')

The genre that Swift (unlike Dryden) practiced has often been labelled 'Menippean satire', and, in modern scholarship, ample claims are made about the variability of its tradition,[78] easily stretchable from antiquity to incorporate Erasmus, More, Rabelais, Montaigne, Burton, Swift, Fielding, Sterne etc., and sometimes even rather unlikely candidates.[79] While a line of continuity connecting some of these texts may certainly be found, there is also tautological tendency in these modern studies: though they sometimes make compelling analyses, they function by taking a selection of canonical texts, constructing a working definition of 'Menippean satire', and reapplying it retrospectively to create a 'tradition' – which accounts for the anachronistic focus

[78] The foundational claims for the 'Menippean' genre were made by Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, [1951], 1973 reprint), 308-314, and by Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, transl. and ed. Emerson (Minneapolis, 1984), 106-122. For an attempt to chart the genre, see Eugene Kirk, *Menippean Satire: An Annotated Catalogue* (New York, 1980). More recent treatments include W. Scott Blanchard, *Scholars' Bedlam* (Lewisburg, 1995), Garry Sherbert, *Menippean Satire and the Poetics of Wit* (New York, 1996), and Howard Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered* (Baltimore, 2005). Specifically on Swift, see W. Scott Blanchard, "Swift's *Tale*, the Renaissance Anatomy, and Humanist Invective", *Swift Studies* 16 (2001), 83-97.

[79] Notwithstanding his valiant efforts to "correct some perhaps benevolent confusions within the study of Menippean satire" (xi), Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered*, 275-295, discusses a "Menippean incursion" in *Clarissa* which I find rather improbable.

that they often betray. Only by attending to the humanist and scholarly background of 'Menippean satire' can we gain a richer understanding not just of the inner workings of this genre, but also of its purpose and function within their original context.[80] Dryden's intervention is also particularly revealing in this case, for he does discuss 'Menippean satire' in his "Discourse of Satire", and, by the manner in which he relies on and distorts Casaubon (the source of all his information on the genre), we may gather how he was attempting to marginalize its importance.

When Dryden compressed the already brief account that Casaubon gives of this type of satire, he introduced several changes that, taken together, paint a different picture of it. Aside from pruning from Casaubon all the more erudite details about the testimonies of the later grammarians on Menippus, Dryden also minimized Casaubon's discussion of 'parody'. Both are eager to disassociate Menippus from the tradition that 'imitates' him (and in fact they more properly call this type of satire 'Varronian'), by stressing how Menippus was no satirist, since he simply composed 'centones' (i.e. burlesque combinations of verses from earlier 'serious' poets such as Homer or the tragedians). But, if Dryden talks of "*Parodies*" only in relation to these Menippean 'centones' (which he dismisses as attempts to turn the poets' "serious meaning into something that was Ridiculous"),[81] Casaubon, on the other hand, has a more elaborate discussion of 'parody'. For him, only originally did παρῳδεῖν identify the action of rearranging poetic verses so as to give them new meanings; soon, the verb came to be associated with any act of ridiculing ("παρῳδὸς sæpe & παρῳδὶα pro irrisore & irrisu").[82] The ludicrousness inherent in compiling 'centones' is precisely the reason why a writer of similar temper such as Lucian (an 'ingeniosissimus scriptor') introduced Menippus in his dialogues,[83] thus establishing the practice

[80] A significant step in this direction is represented by Ingrid de Smet, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters* (Geneva, 1996). De Smet's work has been unjustly criticized as caught in a "paradox of historical relevance" by Conal Condren, *Hobbes, the Scriblerians and the History of Philosophy* (London, 2012) 26-30. If there is one thing that this chapter shows, it is that to historicize literary genres does not mean to limit their applicability, but rather to revive their practice in novel ways. See also Helmut Castrop, *Die Varronische Satire in England* (Heidelberg, 1983).
[81] Dryden, "Discourse", 47.
[82] Casaubon, *De Satyrica Graecorum Poësi et Romanorum Satira* (Paris, 1605), 265-266.
[83] "[N]on dubitabunt autem acuti lectores, id propterea factum à Luciano, vt stilum Menippi exprimeret simul ac traduceret. est enim hæc alienorum versuu[m] usurpatio, cum caret modo, & non ad probatione[m] rei alicuius afferuntur: sed ad mente[m] animi exprimendam: non tam iocosa quam ridicula. turpe enim est centonibus loqui, nec sine curione quæ velis posse dicere", *ibid.*, 264-265.

of 'parody' in the ancient tradition. Similarly, in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*, we again encounter this silly practice of compilation turned to mocking effect.[84]

More importantly, Dryden downplayed the 'philosophical' elements of these satires. This is especially evident in his treatment of Varro, the great Roman antiquary and satirist who, in both Casaubon's and Dryden's accounts, stands at the beginning of the tradition. Here Dryden follows Casaubon very closely in, for example, quoting Cicero's *Academica* – a dialogue in which Varro himself is introduced as a speaker saying (this is Dryden's expansive translation, Cicero's text as given by Casaubon in square brackets):

> Notwithstanding […] that those Pieces of mine, wherein I have imitated *Menippus*, though I have not Translated him, are sprinkled with a kind of mirth, and gayety: Yet many things are there inserted, which are drawn from the very intrails of Philosophy [*multa admista ex intima philosophia*], and many things severely argu'd [*multa dialecticè dicta*]: Which I have mingl'd with Pleasantries on purpose, that they may more easily go down with the Common sort of Unlearn'd Readers.[85]

To this Dryden, following Casaubon, adds that the rest of the sentence is corrupt, and that the only thing that can be understood is that Varro "temper'd Philology with Philosophy".[86] This is straight out of Casaubon, who, unlike Dryden, quotes the corrupt part of Cicero's sentence as "*in ipsis antiquitatum proœmijs … philosophiae scribere voluimus*", which clearly refers to Varro's antiquarian works, and thus elucidates the reference to 'philology'.[87] Thus, where Casaubon explicitly links philology and antiquarianism as pursuits compatible with, if not conductive to, philosophy, Dryden leaves the matter unclear, and his usage of 'philology' consequently calls to mind the more general meaning of the 'study of words', which, because of Seneca's negative remarks in his *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, was perceived as a degeneration of philosophy proper, and always in need of its more speculative next of kin to emancipate itself from mere grammar.[88]

---

[84] "[Q]uid aliud est [Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*], nisi Satira partim Menippi, partim Varronis stilo scripta? inest pedestris oratio: inest metro vehens: eaque interdum ritu παρῳδίας aliunde accepta: interdum nata ibidem, atque ea fine scripta, vt eò inferciretur", *ibid.*, 268.
[85] Dryden, "Discourse", 46-47. The Latin is from Casaubon's quotation of Cicero. Cf. Cicero, *Academica*, I.ii.8.
[86] *Ibid.*, 47.
[87] Casaubon, *De Satyrica*, 258-259.
[88] Cf. Dryden's usage in the 'Preface' to the *Fables*: "[Ovid and Chaucer's] Studies were the same, Philosophy, and Philology", in *The Works of Dryden, Volume VII*, ed. Dearing (Berkely, 2000), 30.

Furthermore, Dryden's account of Varro quickly hastens to suggest that Varro's penchant for mirth had actually inhibited the transmission of philosophical elements to his readers: "it appears, that *Varro* was one of those Writers whom they call'd σπουδογελοῖοι, studious of laughter; and that, as Learned as he was, his business was more to divert his Reader, than to teach him".[89] The second half of this sentence is the only thing that is Dryden's own, in a discussion that is wholly indebted to Casaubon, and it is, indeed, in open contradiction with the humanist's account. Casaubon, instead, had pointed out that Quintilian had classed Varro alongside Lucretius among the Romans and Empedocles among the Greeks precisely because they all had taught ("tradiderunt") philosophy through verse.[90] Even when Casaubon later talks of Menippus and Varro's appellation of "σπουδογελοῖοι", he explains that this is because in their works we find a "philosophiam ludentem";[91] Lucian, who also imitated Menippus (though he cannot be said to write 'Varronian' satire for Casaubon), similarly 'concealed philosophical seriousness under comic playfulness' ("sub comica iocositate gravitatem philosophica[m] occuluisse").[92] Thus, for Casaubon (though certainly not for Dryden), the last exponents of this ancient tradition of satire are Martianus Capella in his work "eruditionis multiiugæ", and Boethius, who 'tempered the harsher seriousness of holier philosophy with the appeal of more elegant Muses' ("sanctiori philosophiæ gravitatem asperiorem elega[n]tiorum Musarum amœnitate fœlicissime temperavit").[93] Even Dryden's translation of "σπουδογελοῖοι" as "studious of laughter" exploits the semantic nuance of σπουδαῖος as 'earnest' (as opposed to its more common meaning of 'serious') to emphasize intentness of purpose to ridicule rather than the treatment of weighty philosophical topics under the guise of play (i.e. Casaubon's *philosophia ludens*).

Seneca's famous dictum that "quae philosophia fuit, facta philologia est" occurs in *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, CVIII.23.

[89] Dryden, "Discourse", p. 47.

[90] "[I]dcirco Fabius [Quintilian, in *Institutio Oratoria*, I.4.4] Varronem inter eos numerat, qui præcepta sapientiæ versibus tradiderunt: componitque cum Empedocle ac Lucretio", *De Satyrica*, 259-260.

[91] "[Varro and Menippus may be compared] propter simile quoddam iocunditatis te[m]peramentum, in materia non dissimili: vt non abs re vtrumque hunc auctorem σπουδογελοῖον, & scripta amboru[m], philosophiam ludentem, sit aliquis nuncupaturus", *Ibid.*, 267.

[92] *Ibid.*, 268.

[93] *Ibid.*, 269, 270.

Thus, behind Dryden's historical account of the genealogy of satire is another genealogy – that of the theoretical humanist sources which he used and abused in order to shape and authorize his own practice as a critic and as a satirist. Dryden's attempt to minimize the 'philosophical' nature of Menippean satire, and the consequent belittlement of Varronian 'philology' as innocuous learning, betray his eagerness to cleanse the genre of its late humanist antecedents. The fact that he decided to follow Casaubon instead of other dissenting theorists is revealing, inasmuch as it was Casaubon who for the first time gave full critical treatment to the idea that Roman *satura* and Greek *satyrica poësis* were two unrelated genres with differing literary lineages.[94] Indeed, just after his discussion of Varronian satire, Dryden signals this debt to Casaubon, affirming that "[i]n the Criticism of Spelling, ['satire'] ought to be with *i* and not with *y;* to distinguish its true derivation from *Satura,* not from *Satyrus*"; equally, he also affects unconcern for such critical trifles, admitting that "if this be so, then 'tis false spell'd throughout this Book; For here [in the main text of the translations outside the preface] 'tis written Satyr. Which having not consider'd at the first, I thought it not worth Correcting afterwards".[95] This suggests that, for all the historical learning on the display in the "Discourse", Dryden read Casaubon's *De Satyrica* only after translating Juvenal, and that, when he did read it, his purpose was to mine it for support for his own 'classicizing' theory of satire.

Casaubon could provide much for this purpose: the distinction between the Roman poetic genre of 'satire' and the Greek satyr drama had, as I will argue, profound implications that favoured Dryden's efforts to create a new moral persona for the satirist, free of the 'lower' influences of parody and mockery. From this point of view, Dryden was carrying on a trend that was already present in the humanist discourse of satire, which was, as we shall see, rife with dissentions. Casaubon's antiquarian study on the origin of satire was indeed a companion volume to his edition of Persius (also published in 1605), which was meant to defend the Roman satirist

[94] See J. W. Jolliffe, "Satyre: Satura: ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 18/1 (1956), 84-95.
[95] Dryden, "Discourse", 48-49.

from charges of obscurity and to highlight the didactic nature of his verse satires;[96] satire in general, for Casaubon, was the form of poetry that most directly approached and most effectively taught moral philosophy.[97] Such claims could serve Dryden's turn. Casaubon's parallel efforts to historicize satire and poetry more generally (which, openly contradicting Aristotelian critics such as the Elder Scaliger, Casaubon defines no further than speech bound by metre),[98] while they helped Dryden to emancipate criticism from stricter Aristotelianism, were also reversed by the English critic. Dryden, in fact, still considered the natural province of the critic the discovery of the principles and norms of good letters, to which historical higher criticism was to be subordinated.

While it seems likely that such apparently pretentious claims on Dryden's part vexed Swift into attack, it certainly cannot be said that Swift would have looked kindly on Casaubon's historicizing philological studies. Just because the *Tale* stands in open conflict with Dryden's "Discourse" we should not assume any special sympathy for Casaubon (or any direct knowledge of his work) on Swift's part; the *Tale*, like Dryden's "Discourse", manipulated the humanist legacy of satire, though in a different way. This legacy was not uncomplicated: Casaubon's intervention was part of larger learned polemics about the nature of satire – a dispute that Dryden was as eager to resolve as Swift was to prolong. Much of the vitality of humanist satire comes precisely out of the fact that 'satire' remained very nebulous as a genre to the humanists' eyes, and that it is consequently difficult (and perhaps ill-advised) to try to draw sharp distinctions between theoretical discussions of genre and satirical practices. Swift's debt to humanism lies in his willingness to continue this tradition of satirical writing, rather than in any normative theoretical influence by which he ruled his practice. This is not to say that these polemical

---

[96] See Peter E. Medine, "Casaubon's *Prolegomena* to the *Satires* of Persius", *English Literary Renaissance* 6/2 (1976), 271-298.

[97] As he says in the dedicatory epistle of his Persius edition: "[Q]*uot sunt enim poëtarum genera, sunt autem quam plurima, tot ferè diuerticula & viarum ambages eò* [to moral doctrine] *ducentium. Breuis & directa via est quam Persius & reliqui Romanæ Satiræ poëtæ institueru*[n]*t: omissis enim fabulis & omni poëtarum aliorum* τερατείᾳ *rem ipsam dicunt*", in *Avli Persii Flacci Satirarum liber* (Paris, 1605), sig. a5ᵛ. Hélène Parenty, *Isaac Casaubon Helléniste* (Geneva, 2009),154-168, briefly discusses Casaubon's opinions on satire and on Persius in relation to his engagement with the moral philosophy of Theophrastus.

[98] I take the hint from Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 38-39, referring to *De Satyrica*, 353.

weapons came unencumbered of any theoretical baggage; rather, it was precisely the implications that they carried which drew suspicions to the 'irreligious' status of the *Tale*. As I will argue, these implications were primarily confessional: humanists had been remarkably free in their reliance on slander, parody, and satire in religious controversy; the *Tale*, seen from this point of view, appears as a latecomer to a tradition that Dryden's distinction (reliant though it was on Casaubon) between moral *satura* and malevolent ('satyrical') lampoon had contributed to stifle.

These changes reflect larger shifts in the self-perception of the self-styled 'Republic of Letters'. Such sentiments about the unacceptability of satire *ad hominem* (Bayle's 'civil murder' with which I have opened the chapter) in the Republic have provided much scope for modern scholarship to argue for the increasingly irenic and post-confessional nature of the Republic in the early Enlightenment (regularly dated as starting around ca. 1680).[99] While it is indisputable that the nearer we draw to the eighteenth century the more we hear about proper scholarly conduct, recent work in history of scholarship has emphasised the enduringly confessional nature of the Republic, even in the late seventeenth century.[100] How close the debates about the nature of satire are to these problems of confession may be shown by a significant detail in Dryden's dismissive discussion of Varronian satire.

While listing examples of the genre, Dryden mentions two of his own earlier works "(if it be not too vain […])", i.e. "the Poems of *Absalom* and *Mac Fleckno*".[101] Thus Dryden admits two works that are completely in verse into his category of Varronian satire, thereby implying that they qualify as such on the score of their attempt to cast ridicule on their targets, and because of their reliance on other texts (whether the biblical narrative or Marvell's lampoon on the Catholic Richard Flecknoe) to provide a mock-heroic tone. However, the other example of Varronian satire in English that Dryden gives is Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, which, as a beast fable, immediately calls to mind Dryden's own earlier poem *The Hind and the Panther* (1687) – an

[99] See Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning* (New Haven, 1995); the persistence of 1680 as the lower limit of the early Enlightenment bespeaks the enduring hold of Paul Hazard's *Crise de la Conscience Européene* (Paris, 1935) on the modern scholarly community.
[100] See Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*.
[101] Dryden, "Discourse", p. 48.

apologetic work whose overt purpose was to defend Roman Catholicism against Anglicanism. Dryden's omission of *The Hind and the Panther* from his list suggests an attempt to minimize the confessional uses of Varronian satire, which had indeed been a typical weapon in earlier Christian humanism, and a tool that was very revealing of the fault lines of a heavily confessionalized, sectarian Republic of Letters. Indeed, when Dryden published *The Hind and the Panther* in 1687, he indifferently referred to it in the preface 'To the Reader' as a 'fable' and a 'satire', but also attempted to disown its more controversial edge by stressing how in the polemical dialogues "the Common Places of *Satyr*, whether true or false […] are not of my Invention, but as old […] as the Times of *Boccace* and *Chawcer* [in the case of jokes against the Rome], and as those of the Reformation [in the case of jokes against Protestantism]".[102] This disclaimer of the uncomfortable paternity of ridicule bespeaks the Varronian character of Dryden's poem, for it shows its dependence on earlier texts that serve Dryden's mocking purpose (as in the case of *Mac Flecknoe*).

Dryden's attempt to have both apologetics and politeness is one of the traits of the "Discourse" and of the *Hind* that certainly most provoked Swift, whose *Tale* is instead comfortably and openly steeped in the most aggressive forms of confessional satire. Thus, in the *Tale*, the hack's praise of the *Hind* (which occurs just a few lines before the above-mentioned parody of Dryden) registers Swift's eagerness to unmask Dryden's covert purposes in redirecting the responsibility of many of the poem's *loci* to earlier authors. The hack is explaining how the "*Grubæn* Sages" (i.e. the modern hacks of Grub street) have always hidden "their Precepts and their Arts […] within the Vehicles of Types and Fables" in the manner of "*Pythagoras, Æsop, Socrates*, and other of our Predecessors"; among several popular ballads and chapbooks (some of which the hack reports as veiling alchemical mysteries), "[t]he *Hind and Panther*" is mentioned as a "Master-piece […] intended for a compleat Abstract of sixteen thousand Schoolmen from *Scotus* to *Bellarmin*".[103] Dryden's disclaimer becomes, in Swift's hands, the evidence for his

[102] Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, in *The Works of Dryden, Volume III*, eds. Miner, Dearing, Austin, Monk, Rosenmeyer (Berkley, 1969), 122.
[103] *Tale*, 42-43.

incrimination as a staunch Roman Catholic bent on hiding polemical 'scholastic' theology in a satire that conceals its true confessional colours as an innocuous animal fable.

Just as the hack's explanation intimates the confessional nature of the satire of the *Hind*, so does Swift's engagement with Dryden's "Discourse" in the *Tale* suggest the satirical tendency of religious polemics. This tendency was precisely what Dryden was eager to omit (though he had made use of it earlier in life) in his literary-theoretical definition of satire. Dryden's dismissal of parody as a personal attack and a 'splenetic reflection' unworthy of true satire, as opposed to Swift's approval of it by way of practice, also bears the traces of earlier confessional polemics that rent the Christian Republic of Letters. In fact, before Casaubon's conclusions about the origins of satire were widely accepted, several competing genealogies of ancient satirical writing bestowed authority on a wide range of polemical practices, whose apex unsurprisingly coincided with the continental wars of religion.[104] In this context, attacks *ad hominem* were more often the norm than the exception of these 'Varronian' pieces. Although it is difficult to find direct textual echoes of them in Swift's *Tale*, the pervasive influence of their modes of controversy accounts for the sedimentation of many commonplaces into a shared lore of polemics from which Swift abundantly drew. We now need to take a tour of Swift's library, asking what the books he owned and read may reveal about Swift's own conception of his literary endeavours.

Alternative Genealogies of Satire from Swift's Library

A famous book of and on satire that appeared on Swift's shelves was the French *Satyre Ménippée* (1594), written by the moderate Gallican 'Politique' party against the Catholic League in favour of the Valois monarchy of Henri IV (who at the time was still Protestant). Swift's personal copy of this text survives with many marginal slashes throughout, attesting to the care with which he

[104] See De Smet, *Menippean Satire*; Hardy, "Literary History"; but also, more generally, the articles collected in Rudolf De Smet (ed.), *La Satire Humaniste* (Louvain, 1994); Joel Relihan, "Prose Satire", in Moul (ed.), *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature* (Cambridge, 2017), 340-357; also David A. Porter, "Neo-Latin Prose Satire", in Ford, Bloemendal, Fantazzi (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2014), 1 (Macropaedia).

read the book.[105] In the fictitious "Discours de l'Imprimeur", added to the second edition of the text (which bore the title *Satyre Ménippée* for the first time) and usually ascribed to either the philologist Jean Passerat (1534-1602) or to the antiquarian Pierre Pithou (1539-1596),[106] an alternative genealogy of satire hints at the wide applicability of the humanist genre, and also highlights the background for Dryden's antipathy to satire as *médisance*. According to the information that the 'Imprimeur' has gathered from reputable sources, '*satyre* does not just mean a slanderous poem ["vn poëme de mesdisance"] but also some types of writings filled with different things and different topics […] the name coming from the Greeks, who introduced actors disguised as satyrs on their stages during public holidays'.[107] This is then the origin of the Greek satyr drama; the Romans, "plus graues & serieux", banished these satyrs from the theatre in order to restrain their licence to attack, but 'the ingenious poets made use of them to satisfy their inclination to insult ["esprit de mesdisance"], which some have considered the highest good'.[108] The pseudo-etymology of satire as the speech of a satyr thus provides a core which is common to all different manifestations of the genre and consists in two aspects: firstly, an intrinsic *parrhesia*, or freedom to accuse and insult (and perhaps to defame); secondly, the necessity of disguise, of the persona of the uncouth satyr as a condition of this freedom. As for the 'Menippean' appellation, the 'Imprimeur' informs the reader that he has been told that the adjective "n'est pas nouueau", given that 'Varro, who was called the most learned of the Romans by Quintilian and St Augustine, wrote some 'satyres' with this name'; his example was followed in antiquity by Petronius, Lucian, and Apuleius, while, in modern times, "le bon Rabelais" was practitioner of the

[105] See *Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift*, 2, 1232-1235; Swift's copy is now in the Beinecke Library (Yale University), shelfmark: Ik Sw55 Zz6125. All the works of satiric theory here discussed were acquired by Swift before 1715, as they appear on the 1715 catalogue of his library.
[106] De Smet, *Menippean Satire*, 43, referring to earlier discussions.
[107] *Satyre Menippée de la Vertu du Catholicon d'Espagne* ([Paris?], 1612), sig. L4^{r}: "Satyre ne signifie pas seulment vn poëme de mesdisance […] mais aussi des escrits, remplis de diuerses choses, & de diuerses argumens […] le nom vient des Grecs, qui introduisoyent sur les eschaffaux aux festes publiques des hommes desguisez en Satyres". I quote from this later edition as it was the one that Swift possessed.
[108] *Ibid.*, sig. L4^{v}: "les poëtes ingenieux s'en seruirent à contenter leur esprit de medisance, qu'avcuns ont estimé estre le souuerain bie[n]".

genre.[109] Thus, the adjective 'Menippean' 'has become a general qualifier, while before it was particular; it is in this sense that a learned Flemish antiquarian used it recently'.[110]

This learned Flemish antiquarian is Justus Lipsius, who, in 1581, had first unearthed the expression 'satyra menippea', and had given it as an alternative title to his seriocomic dream narrative *Somnium: Lusus in nostri ævi Criticos*, written against the philologists of his age, accused of freely indulging in conjectural emendation. Swift owned this satire as well, in a seventeenth-century edition of Lipsius's complete works (Swift's copy has not been identified).[111] Lipsius's *Somnium*, while true to its subtitle ('lusus' meaning 'play' both in terms of lightness of humour and of performance, the satire being indeed free of the most polemically confessional edge that would characterize later practitioners of the genre),[112] also reveals the need to disguise and disown one's attacks: in his dedicatory epistle to Joseph Scaliger, Lipsius stresses that the piece is harmless ("sine dente, sine felle est"), and resorts to the traditional Roman oath of allegiance ("præiuratio") "IDEM IN ME" ('the same in my case') to show that he himself belongs to the class of critics that are ridiculed in the narrative.[113] In the dream, Lipsius attends a meeting of the Roman Senate, in which the ancients (Cicero, Sallust, and Ovid) complain of the ill treatment they have received ever since the spread of typography and the consequent rise in the critics' arrogance and licence to alter the text according to their whims. Varro, however, speaks last in defence of the scholars, and, managing to soothe the ancients' rage, he obtains a less grievous ruling from the Senate, i.e. that only critics of a certain age (above 25 and below 60) may hold the

[109] *Ibid.*, sig. L5^{r}: "Varron appelé par Quintilien, & par S. Augustin, le plus sçavant des Romains, a fait des Satyres aussi de ce nom".
[110] *Ibid.*: "[the adjective 'Menippean'] s'est fait commun & appellatif, au lieu qu'il estoit auparavant particulier: comme n'a pas long temps en a vsé vn docte Flamen antiquaire".
[111] Justus Lipsius, *Ivsti Lipsi[i] V.C. Opera Omnia, postremvm ab ipso avcta et recensita*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1637). See *Library and Reading*, 2, 1079-1087.
[112] See the "Introduction" to the only modern edition of the satire, *Two Neo-Latin Menippean Satires*, edited by Constantinus Matheeussen and Chris L. Heesakkers (Leiden, 1980), 1-23. There was also an early eighteenth-century English 'paraphrase' of the work published anonymously as *The Parliament of Criticks* (London, 1702), which unsurprisingly stresses the innocuous character of the piece, and tones done many of its more polemical aspects.
[113] Lipsius, *Opera Omnia* (Antwerp, 1637), 1, 415.

office of textual correction, which will avoid conjectural emendation in favour of manuscript authority.[114]

Lipsius's choice of Varro as a defender is doubly significant, for he appears in text as the ancestor of all critics, while, as we have seen, he was also held to be the first practitioner of Menippean satire. Lipsius's text thus stands doubly authorized by ancient practice, and Varro himself is presented as saying that he willingly passed on his crown to Joseph Scaliger, the paragon of modern criticism, who rightfully earned such honour.[115] Scholarship and satire, Lipsius suggests, go hand in hand. The invocation of this lineage by the 'Imprimeur' of the *Satyre Ménippée* reinforces its authority not only by appealing to the Lipsius's renown,[116] but also by mentioning the ancient judgements on Varro by Quintilian, the foremost Latin theoretician of rhetoric, and by Augustine, whose *City of God* extensively relies on Varro's antiquarian researches to discredit pagan religion.[117]

Such a rapprochement of pagan lore and Christian apologetic purposes in the *Satyre Ménippée* can also be evinced in the "Discours de l'Imprimeur" by the treatment of the satyr's *parrhesia*, later used by the Roman poets to satisfy their 'esprit de médisance'. Out of all pagan and Christian literature on the satyr's bestiality and lecherousness, the 'Imprimeur' mentions a significant episode about this woodland creature, for 'St Jerome recounts that a satyr appeared to St Anthony'.[118] This refers to the moment in Jerome's *Vita Pauli Primi Eremitae* when St Anthony, in his quest for St Paul of Thebes through the Egyptian desert, encounters a satyr who, as an envoy from his 'flock', asks the hermit to pray for them, for they have recognized the true

---

[114] "[The Senate rules] neu quis minor xxv. annis Correcturam petere, gerere possit. […] quique maiores annis lx. sirempse legem esse. […] Siquis è libris bonis fidisque correxerit, laudi semper esse. siquis è coniecturis, noxæ", *ibid.*, 422.
[115] "Ego ipse non Iosepho Scaligero ciuicam de me coronam dedi? dedi, libens meritòque", *ibid.*, 421.
[116] See Marisa Bass, "Lipsius and his Silver Pen", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007), 157-194.
[117] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, I.4.4, calls Varro "vir Romanorum eruditissimus"; Augustine, *City of God*, VI.2: "Vir doctissimus undecumque Varro", but also VI.6: "homo omnium acutissimus et sine ulla dubitatione doctissimus", and book VII, *passim*; on the uses of Varro in late antiquity, see Mark Vessey, "Fashions for Varro in Late Antiquity", in Harrison, Humfress and Sandwell (eds.), *Being Christian in late antiquity* (Oxford, 2014), 253-277.
[118] *Satyre Ménippée*, sig. L4^{v}.

Christian God, unlike the Gentiles who, deceived by errors, stubbornly worship inferior beings such as the satyrs themselves; after the request, he flies away.[119] St Anthony himself elaborates the moral of the episode, opposing, in an invective against the city of Alexandria, the beasts who speak of Christ to the pagans who recognize insubstantial portents as true gods.[120] The popularity of this 'Christian satyr' (the episode is repeated in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and Jacopo da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*)[121] rests precisely in the fact that the satyr as the speaker of truth is the object of false worship by the Gentiles, and that therefore a form of performative paradox is established, in which the status of the speaker is at odds with the content of its speech. The ambiguous space that this kind of utterance inhabits provides a crucial link in the history of the genre, because, as several humanists pointed out, Christian culture could exploit it to salvage classical lore, and to mobilize it against paganism itself. Therefore, the early Christian writers both preserved many fragments of 'satyrical' pieces, and gave a 'satyrical' turn to many of their apologetic works. On the score of this example, Renaissance learned culture could find in this type of writing a space where attack was justified, often disingenuously, as the only weapon by which to achieve peace.[122] Swift's use of Irenaeus (as seen through Erasmus) exemplifies this dynamic.

A humanist who responded critically to Casaubon's novel genealogy of satire, with its sharp distinction of *satura* and 'satyric' poetry, was the Dutch Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), professor at Leiden and a close friend of Scaliger, who came to exercise a strong influence on English literary theory before the civil wars (unsurprisingly Dryden disagreed with Heinsius on the subject of satire).[123] In many ways Heinsius represents the type of the humanist/satirist,

---

[119] In *PL*, 23, 23-24.
[120] "'Bestiæ Christum loquuntur, et tu [Alexandria] pro Deo portenta veneraris!'", in *ibid.*, 24.
[121] *Etymologiae* XI.3.21 – see *PL*, 82, 422; *Legenda Aurea*, "De Sancto Paulo Eremita".
[122] See Ingrid De Smet, "Livres, Érudition, Irénisme", in Landtsheer and Nellen (eds.), *Between Scylla and Charybdis* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 185-201, stressing the irenicisim of the satire.
[123] Paul R. Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England* (Leiden, 1968), 123-199. On Dryden and Heinsius on satire, see J. A. van der Welle, *Dryden and Holland* (Groningen, 1962), 115-126.

working variously on critical editions of classical and Christian authors,[124] on literary theory,[125] while also writing many prose satires and *lusi*.[126] Unsurprisingly, Swift owned both his theoretical work on satire *De Satyra Horatiana* (1612) in a 1629 edition of Horace, and some of his satirical/Menippean pieces, collected together around his mock-encomium *Laus Asini*, also in a 1629 Leiden edition.[127] Heinsius's *De Satyra* has been rightly considered in the context of his interest in poetics, and indeed much of the treatise is concerned with the illustration of the functioning of Horatian satire.[128] However, Heinsius includes some historical discussions on the progress of satire, which he considers as a varied but fundamentally identical genre in Greece and Rome (he indeed defends the *satyra* spelling as the correct one),[129] in which the satyr gradually became a figure of *parrhesia*.

In this reconstruction, Heinsius hints at a Hebrew origin of ridicule and satire (iambs can be found in the Psalms, in his opinion),[130] but explains its development with reference to the history of drama as recounted by Aristotle in the *Poetics*, from a *lusus* or rude poem without choir or personae to a full-fledged piece with satyrs performed at the end of a cycle of tragedies first in

[124] See the helpful checklist of Heinsius's writings in Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius*, 203-252. Most famously, he worked on Aristotle, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hesiod, Horace, Livy, Nonnus, Ovid, Seneca, Silius Italicus, Terence, Theocritus, Theophrastus.

[125] See Jan H. Meter, *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius*, transl. Ina Swart (Assen, 1984), esp. 97-136. Heinsius's treatise on tragedy *De Tragœdiæ Constitutione* (1611), reworked as *De Tragœdiæ Liber* in 1643 has been translated both in English by Paul R. Sellin and John J. McManmon as *On Plot in Tragedy* (Northridge, Calif., 1971), and in French by Anne Duprat as *La Constitution de la Tragédie* (Geneva, 2002), both with helpful introductions.

[126] The fullest account of Heinsius's satires remains De Smet, *Menippean Satire*, 160-175.

[127] *Quintus Horatius Flaccus. Accedunt nunc Danielis Heinsii de Satyra Horatiana libri duo* (Leiden, 1629) – I quote from this edition as *De Satyra*; see *Library and Reading*, 2, 905. The edition of the *Laus Asini tertia parte auctior* (Leiden, 1629) also contains other 'festiva opuscula' by Heinsius such as the Menippean satire *Cras Credo, Hodie Nihil*. See *Library and Reading*, 2, 811.

[128] See Thorsten Burkard, "Heinius' *De Satyra Horatiana Liber* von 1612", in Lefèvre and Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius* (Tübingen, 2008), 277-295.

[129] *De Satyra*, 26-27. The discussion concludes with this assertion: "[h]oc nunc nobis satis sit: quemadmodum Græcorum Satyri, αὐτοσχέδιον, hoc est rude atque extemporanaeum poema erant, antequam inventa esset Fabula; ita nihil aliud fuisse Satyram Romanis, priusquam Fabulam invenit Liuius", 27.

[130] *Ibid.*, 18-19; at 10 Heinsius concurs with Casaubon in identifying the etymology of the satyr in the Hebrew verb סתר (meaning 'to hide') but disagrees about the reason: "[n]on quod lateant plerunque in rupibus, syluis, aut antris modo, sed, quod verisimile sit, malos illos genios, lubidinis ac fœditatis suæ conscios, a Deo abscondidisse". On the problem of metre in Hebrew poetry, see Kristine Haugen, "Hebrew Poetry Transformed", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 75 (2012), 1-29.

Greece,[131] and subsequently also in Rome (on the authority of Livy's *History of Rome*, VII.2).[132] Heinsius's theory of 'satyre' thus rests on an extremely capacious definition of what constitutes the genre, which focusses on the figure of the satyr, 'on whom the whole history of satire depends',[133] and which is also strikingly un-hierarchical: for instance the Greek parodies called 'Silli', which Dryden degraded to the 'underwood' of the genre, are for Heinsius one of the foremost examples of the Greek branch of 'satyre' which, having developed out of the old comedy, was also to give rise to the later Roman developments.[134] The focal point of this generic flexibility Heinsius identifies in Euripides, whose *Cyclops* is the only surviving satyr drama, and about whom the humanist offers some revealing remarks: Euripides possessed a 'satyrical ethos' ("ἦθος Σατυρικόν") even in his tragedies, which often led him to represent gods and heroes indecently – a practice that went unpunished thanks to the use of personae; this, in turn, prompted the church fathers to deploy both his tragedies and his satyr dramas as weapons against paganism.[135] While this reflects the direction of Heinsius's scholarly interests from the classical literatures towards Christian and biblical humanism (in 1616 he was to edit Clemens Alexandrinus, who is quoted in *De Satyra* as a source for Euripides's lost satyr dramas),[136] it also

---

[131] "Ludere, est σατυρίζειν. Ideoque dixit, extra Scenam. Ne sit ambiguitas. Sane Satyra, est ludus. […] Quare, quamdiu adhuc poëma rude fuit, Σατύραν; postquam vero drama esse cœpit, Σατύρους a choro verisimile est dixisse", *ibid.*, 14. The development of satyre from a 'rude poem' done extempore (which Heinsius calls "αὐτοσχεδίασμα") into a dramatic form is the same among the Greeks and the Latins: "Quæ est tam Satyra, Græcorum, de qua agit Aristoteles; quam Latinorum, de qua postea agemus ex Liuio. […] Primo omnium αὐτοσχεδίασμα quoddam fuit Satyra; sine personis, sine choro: neque ludicra modo, sed & rudis omnino poësis", 15.

[132] "Inder ludos Scenicos, Romanam Satyram a Liuio reponi […] Ludos enim institutos ait Scenicos. quos deinde impletas modis Satyras fuisse", 23; Livy's mention of the 'satyra' as an 'exodium' (a theatrical piece performed at the end of a cycle) prompts Heinsius to stress how "Satyri id essent quod Exodia; Exodia quod Satyri; aut certe eode[m] fine adhiberentur. Vt mirifice & Græca & Latina hac quoque in parte congruat historia", 25.

[133] "Ex his [Satyris] tota Satyræ historia dependet", 15.

[134] "Cum ergo tam exigua ac propre nulla differentia; quemadmodum hæc ipsa [the old comedy] ex illis [ancient Greek 'satyres'], ita ex vtrisque, Σίλλοι apud Græcos, apud nos Romana Satyra profluxit. Porro, Sillos esse Satyra Græcorum, aut quam maxime huic respondere, ne illi quidem negare possunt, qui a Satyris Græcorum profluxisse negant Satyram Romanam, aut commune quicquam esse vtrique", 36.

[135] "[A]lia non pauca quæ ad ineptas religiones spectabant, ad scenam transtulerat Euripides. Impune. quia a Cyclope, De[or]um contemptore dicebatur: & in Satyris. […] Multa alia ejusmodi, contra superstitionem & stultissimam εἰδωλολατρείαν ex Euripide annotarunt Sancti Patres: qui ne in Tragœdiis quidem mordacissimis abstinuit dicteriis. Vt cum culpam parricidii in Apollinem Orestes rejicit. Et quæ ex Ione citat Clemens. Habuit enim ἦθος Σατυρικόν, vt Critici nos docent. quod dissimulare in Tragœdia vix potuit […] Quanquam ea quæ Euripidem Clemens, in voracitatem Herculis festiue lusisse obseruat, non est dubium, e Satyrico dramate descripta fuisse [referring to Clemens's *Protrepticus*, chapter 7]", 31-32.

[136] Clemens, *Opera Graece et Latine Quae Extant*, ed. Heinsius (Leiden, 1616).

shows how this transition was but a natural progression based on a patristic paradigm, and hinging on 'satyre' as a liminal genre, capable of being turned against its first practitioners because of the ambiguity of utterance inherent in the use of 'satyrical' personae.

Moreover, Heinsius connects Euripides's mocking spirit and use of satyrs as personae to the contemporary philosophy of Socrates: according to the hints of the ancients, the philosopher transmitted his opinions to the dramatist, who, under the cover of the theatrical apparatus and of the 'inherent liberty' ("propria libertas") of the satyrs, could voice them freely.[137] Indeed, Heinsius identifies in Euripidean tragedy and in the satyr drama different philosophical modes: where tragedy teaches 'dogmatically'(τὰ δογματικά) and 'by persuasion' (τὰ παραινετικά), the satyr drama works 'by refutation' (τὸ ἐλεγκτικόν, identifying indirect modes of proof such as *reductio ad absurdum*); this last method of controverting is indeed the most typically Socratic, and, according to Heinsius, Socrates was called a 'satyr' by Alcibiades in the *Symposium* precisely because of his use of the veils of irony and deformity to hide the truth and to refute falsehood.[138] Once again, these claims for satire as a potentially philosophical genre (which is not at all restricted to moral philosophy as in the case of Roman *satura*) prove the versatility that satire possessed in the eyes of many early modern scholars. Indeed, for Heinsius, Horace's 'satyres' are thoroughly philosophical, and prove him to be a direct heir of Socrates's use of self-mocking *dissimulatio* and *reductio ad absurdum* as philosophical weapons.[139] The latter has an especially illustrious genealogy according to Heinsius, for the pagans, although they could not see

---

[137] "[It is clear] publicæ impietatis flagellum, quibus libertatem suam vir cœlestis Socrates velabat, Satyros fuisse. qui opiniones suas, quod antiqui recte innuunt, Euripidi tradebat. Vt sub apparatu scenico & poëtica licentia laterent, (Satyrorum enim propria libertas est) & audacter quidlibet efferrent", *De Satyra*, 33.
[138] "Nam quemadmodum idem auctor, sub Tragœdiarum velo τὰ δογματικὰ καὶ παραινετικὰ docebat, ita Satyri illius alteram philosophandi partem, τὸ ἐλεγκτικὸν nimirum μέρος, continebant? Neque alia de causa idem ille Socrates, ἐσχηματισμένως, & occulto sub deformitatis velo, Satyrus ab Alcibiade in Symposio Platonis, me quidem judice, vocatur", *ibid.*
[139] See e.g. Heinsius's analysis of *Satires* 2.4 (against the Epicurean Catius), where dissimulation ensures that "[n]eque enim quod infertur, nisi jam deceptus, sensit [Horace's] adversarius. Qua ratione Gorgiæ ac Prodico illudit ac paulatim subrepit Socrates. vt non perire se, sed jam periisse aduertant. Hæc illa nobilissima ad impossibile reductio […] Tota enim Satyra [Horace's satire against Catius], absurda est conclusio; aut Hedonicorum ex præmissis Epicuri desumpta opinio […] Ita Socrates in Gorgia, ex iis, quæ a Callide de voluptate dicta erant, Felices esse omnes cinædos, concludit", 107-108. Similarly, Horace as a satirist learned self-mockery "vt liberius magisque impune instituto suo posset indulgere. Quod a Socrate diuinitus vbique est factum: cujus totum artificium hic noster [Horace] optime intellexit", 157.

the truth of monotheism, refuted falsehood by reducing the premises of idolatry to absurd conclusions: thus Horace's *Satires* 1,8 (a poem spoken by the persona of a statue of the god Priapus) covertly takes issue with the worship of images, and Horace's reference to "infantes statuas" (*Satires* 2.5, l. 40) has a direct Hebrew parallel in the prophet Habbakuk's "אֱלִילִים אִלְּמִים" ('dumb idols', 2:18).[140] Indeed, for Heinsius, it is precisely the satiric *reductio ad absurdum* (of which Lucian, Aristophanes, and Horace were masters) that provides the link between classical texts and patristic apologetics: Lactantius redeploys Horace's poem spoken by Priapus in his apologetic works, just as Augustine relied on Seneca and Varro in the *City of God*.[141]

This brief survey of humanist sources of satiric theory and practice (to which Swift had direct access in his personal library) sheds light on several interconnected issues, which I will systematize before proceeding: firstly, satire was not conceived as a formally definable genre, but as a type of writing that overflowed the strict boundaries of verse to embrace prose or to mingle the two. A 'satyrical ethos' was discernible in comedy, tragedy, and even in epic (Heinsius quotes *Odyssey* 18.353-355, when one of Penelope's suitors insults Odysseus for his baldness, together with Eusthatius's commentary on it, as an example of a place mixing 'Silli' and 'satyre').[142] Secondly, the genealogy of the genre as depending on the figure of the satyr and its appearance in ancient theatre prompted an association of satire with the dramatic uses of a persona, to whom a licence to attack, mock, and parody was rightfully given. Such a right depended on an agonistic conception of truth-finding, and indeed satire was seen as a heuristic tool that took on the

---

[140] "Cui [to a locus in Tertullian's *Apologeticus*] simile est illud nostri *Seu rubra Canicula findit / Infantes statuas.* quod Hebræi diuinitus & eleganti allusione אֱלִילִים אִלְּמִים dicerent. quod nec Græci nec Latini satis exprimant. Quæ diuinæ ueritatis semina, seruasse paganorum plurimos, tum Clemens, tum alii ostendunt. Qui cum verum non viderent; falsum tamen ab absurdum refutarunt. E quibus non est dubium quin hauserit hoc Flaccus", 112.

[141] "Quod [the hidden 'vires' of *reductio ad absurdum*] si quisquam, Lucianus optime intellexit. qui prope solus, cum Aristophane hic regnat […] Neque secus antiquissimi sanctissimiq[ue] Patres, furiosum idolorum cultum oppugnarunt. Etiam quorunda[m] paganorum, qui præiuerant, judicio. Inter quos & noster [Horace]. Cujus locum de Priapo […] Lactantius [in *Divinae Institutiones*, II.4], & alii adducunt. […] Cujus in hanc rem [of Seneca's writings against idolatry] præclara apud Agustinum extant hodie fragmenta. Quemadmodum & Varro festiuissime, vt cæteros omittam, non uno loco id egisse in Satyris videtur", 109-110.

[142] "Ecce, Sillos et Satyricam conjungit (ita enim vocat [Eustathius]) idque adhibito Homeri loco. In quo formam quoque veteris Comœdiæ agnoscas. […] Hic [in the quoted verses from the *Odyssey*] [v]ides scomma, quod & Sillis & Comœdiæ, neque minus conuenit Satyricæ. quod Euripidi non minus placere potuit quam Aristophani", 37-38.

'elenctic' philosophical mode (i.e. the Socratic process of irony and refutation). Thirdly, the centrality of the figure of Varro, both as the foremost prose satirist and at the same time as the most renowned antiquarian in Roman culture, intimated a profound kinship of scholarship and satire: the antagonistic nature of the latter was precisely what the former was perceived to need in order to advance in its gradual process of discovery. Finally, the oppositional quality of satire had endeared it to early Christian polemicists and apologists who had redeployed classical culture against itself through a satiric *reductio ad absurdum*. In this nexus humanists had seen a fruitful example that warranted the use of mockery and insult in their own polemics. Heinsius's extensive practice of Menippean satire against the Catholic convert Kaspar Scioppius, who, from Rome, had personally and venomously attacked Scaliger, accusing him of vainglory and heresy, offers a paradigmatic case of the uses of insult in the confessionalized Republic of Letters.[143]

All these aspects of 'satyre' are exactly those that Dryden attempted to minimize in his "Discourse" (indeed Dryden's scorn for the 'reflections' of 'satyre' recalls Heinsius's elenctic mode). Conversely, they are also easily and fruitfully applicable to Swift's practice in his early works. The course of patristic reading on which he embarked before writing the *Tale* testifies to the influence of the flexible conceptions of the nature of 'satyre' which I have traced in this section; indeed, Swift uses precisely those parts of Irenaeus where the father relies on a satiric *reductio ad absurdum*. The marginalization of these ideas in the late seventeenth-century fits into a larger historical shift in the perception of the place of strife and controversy in intellectual and academic culture.[144] It is unsurprising that such a change runs parallel to the new canonization of satire that Dryden championed, and the literary refashioning of the genre that I have discussed so far would remain partially unexplained without a consideration of the intellectual backgrounds which underpinned it. In order to highlight these backgrounds it is necessary to zoom out further from the historical scholarship that we have so far considered, and to take a look at the depiction

[143] The controversy has been studied by De Smet, *Menippean Satyre*, 151-191. On Scioppius and his polemical practices, see Mario D'Addio, *Il Pensiero Politico di Gasparre Scioppio* (Milan, 1962), 37-56, 90-91, and the essays in Herbert Jaumann (ed.), *Kaspar Schoppe* (Frankfurt, 1998).
[144] On the historicization of controversy in the Republic of Letters, see Ingrid De Smet, 'Calumnia Dira Pestis', in *Lias* 38/2 (2011), 185-206. On the fashion for cataloguing intellectual vices, see Sari Kivistö, *The Vices of Learning* (Leiden, 2014), 1-27.

of controversy in the Renaissance, and to ask the question of what its relation to the discovery of truth was. Indeed, we will see how these backgrounds also intersected with the 'Battle of the Books' – the last controversy to shake the world of seventeenth-century letters.

III. The Triumph of Truth, Daughter of Time (and of 'Satyre')

While discussing Swift's "Meditation upon a Broom-Stick" (a parody of Robert Boyle's *Occasional Reflections upon Several Subjects*) after Swift's death, John Boyle, earl of Orrery, would thus describe the workings Swift's ridicule: "[t]he sword of wit, like the scythe of time, cuts down friend and foe, and attacks every object that accidentally lies in its way. But, sharp and irresistible as the edge of it may be, Mr. BOYLE will always remain invulnerable".[145] Leaving aside Boyle's partiality for his relative, the simile he uses is telling: Swift's satire, precisely because of its undiscriminating sweep, performs the work of Time by testing by ridicule the worth of its targets. Nor is the simile casually chosen, for it taps into a series of commonplace images that illustrated the intellectual role of 'satyre'. As I will argue, such a role was underpinned by a sense of the continued and direct applicability of a wide range of ancient satirical techniques to contemporary controversy, and thus rested on an unbroken vision of the past as intrinsically connected to the present. What ensured this connection was the persistence of strife, and an indissoluble link between the sad necessity of polemic and the discovery of truth. The *Battel of the Books*, for example, paints an eristic vision of the literary past, where the library is portrayed as the repository of ancient and yet ongoing war, and the "*Books of Controversie*" are those in which "is wonderfully instilled and preserved […] the Spirit of each Warrier", the "most disorderly" ghosts being indeed the most longaevous.[146] Similarly, we have already seen how Swift must have used Erasmus's edition of Irenaeus, with its call to use the ancient heresiologist to heal contemporary discord, thus suggesting a direct applicability of patristic polemical learning

[145] John Boyle, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, 3rd ed. (London, 1752), 61.
[146] *Battel*, 145-146.

to dispute and satire.[147] Indeed, these ideas had found their apex in the political and religious turbulences of the sixteenth century, and it is revealing that, as Swift redeployed them in his own quarrelling, these same commonplaces were quickly acquiring a very different meaning.

Boyle's simile, coupling the wit of satire and the wounds of Time (both being necessary tests of worth), inscribes itself in a genealogy of images that had an extraordinary flourishing in the sixteenth century, and that hinged on the ambivalent figure of the satyr as a symbol both of calumny and of truth-telling.[148] A brief survey of the fortunes of the iconography of the satyr will highlight both its versatility and its intersection with some concepts that form the background of the Battle of the Books, such as the moderns' sense of emancipation from the classical past, justified by the perception that they benefitted from a longer experience of time than the ancients.[149] Already in the first Renaissance depictions of Calumny the satyr's ambiguity appears: Lucian's description of the 'Calumny of Apelles' had indeed given rise to host of images,[150] which whose representations often included satyrs both as vicious creatures of slander and as revealers of Truth.[151]

This iconography quickly merged with the commonplace that 'Truth is the daughter of Time' (*Veritas Filia Temporis*), whose classical origin is Aulus Gellius (even if it seems to have been proverbial).[152] In the *Noctes Atticae* and the Italianate tradition of images that stemmed around the adage, the context is moral and political: Time reveals the sins of men, and no crime

---

[147] On the context of theological controversy in 1520s in which Erasmus's edition appeared, see Jean-Louis Quantin, "Irénée de Lyon entre Humanisme et Réforme", *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 27(1994), 131-175.

[148] I am indebted on this point to the iconographic research of Anthony Parr, "Time and the Satyr", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68/3 (2005), 429-465.

[149] For a preliminary analysis of the iconography of Time in relation to the *Tale* (though it does not discuss Time-as-satyr, even though one of the images reproduced shows Time in this guise), see Sabine Baltes, "Father Time: The Emblematic and Iconographic Context of 'The Epistle to His Royal Highness Prince Posterity'", *Swift Studies* 20 (2005), 41-50.

[150] See Jean-Michel Massing, *Du Texte à l'Image* (Strasbourg, 1990), and David Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles* (New Haven, 1981).

[151] E.g. in Botticelli's 'Calumny of Apelles' one of the bas reliefs on the architrave represents Bacchus being led by satyrs to the abandoned Ariadne; see Meltzoff, *Botticelli, Signorelli, and Savonarola* (Florence, 1987), 160-161.

[152] I owe much of the information here discussed to Fritz Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis", in Klibansky and Paton (eds.), *Philosophy & history* (New York, 1963), 197-222.

will remain hidden.[153] The Venetian printer Marcolino da Forlì, together with his literary associate Pietro Aretino, were among the first to illustrate the motto (in 1536) and to appropriate it for their own personal devices. In a book dedicated to Alessandro Medici, who had just reached the apex of his fortunes, they introduced two emblems: one (Appendix, fig. 1), deriving from the Lucianic iconography of Calumny, shows Time rescuing Truth from a monstrous creature (Envy?) brandishing serpents, and has the motto *Veritas Filia Temporis*;[154] the other (fig. 2), with the motto *Veritas Odium Parit*, shows Truth about to be crowned victor, while she steps on the thigh of a satyr, who represents both the vanquished hatred and falsehood, and the figure of the author himself (Aretino) being inspired by Truth to communicate without hypocrisy.[155]

Thus, the allegory is made to serve a political purpose to celebrate the new (though short-lived) Medici prince, who sought an alliance with the Catholic emperor Charles V. The two emblems also seem to hint at an interestingly circular lineage: Saturn/Time is the father of Truth, who brings forth hatred (pictured as a satyr), which, in turn, and under a different guise, attempts to snatch her away when Saturn/Time delivers her out of the earth. Thus, even in the early sixteenth century, the mythologies of Saturn/Chronos/Time lay at close proximity to the iconography of the satyr as a figure of vituperation and exposure.[156] Indeed, the parallel and subsequent developments of this set of images to the north of the Alps demonstrate the overlap between the idea of a temporal revelation of Truth and humanist 'satyre' – an intersection that remained crucial for the genealogies of 'satyre' described in the foregoing section.

The first to have merged explicitly the image of Time/Saturn with the satyr seems to have been the Parisian printer Simon de Colines, who was famous for his associations with the

---

[153] *Noctes Atticae*, xii, 11 – the context is a discourse of the Cynic philosopher Peregrinus, who was also heavily satirised by Lucian in his mock-biography *De Morte Peregrini*.
[154] Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis", 200-201. Massing, *Du Texte à l'Image*, points out that later renditions of the theme of Calumny combined the Lucianic figures with the emblem of Truth being delivered by Time (stemming from Giorgio Ghisi's engraving of 1560), 346-352.
[155] On Aretino's self-portrayal as the honest satyr, and on the satyr's connection to satire, see Raymond B. Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr* (Toronto, 2004), 91-116.
[156] On the early modern iconography of Time more generally, see Simona Cohen, *Transformations of Time and Temporality* (Leiden, 2014), esp. 245-304, building on earlier scholarship such as the ground-breaking study by Raymond Klibansky, Fritz Saxl, and Erwin Panofsky, *Saturn and melancholy* (London, 1964), and Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1939), 69-93.

foremost humanists of the age (he published Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Lefèvre d'Étaples, and married Henri Estienne's widow), and often in collision with the Catholic authorities of the capital.[157] In a printer's mark that he started using in the 1520s and slightly modified in 1530s (fig. 3), Time/Saturn is depicted with his typical wings and scythe, but he has also undergone a partial metamorphosis, for the slender lower half of his figure is unmistakably goat-like: Time has become one of the satyrs that populated the golden age upon which Saturn, according to the mythologies, had presided. The motto, *Hanc Aciem Sola Retundit Virtus*, is particularly relevant, for it suggests that, just as in Boyle's simile on Swift's satire, only 'virtue' has the power to blunt the scythe of satyric Time, and therefore to escape the destruction to which all temporal beings are doomed; conversely, the satyr's vituperation is figured as the sharp blade whose crucial role is mowing human pretensions to test the extent of their hypocrisy.

It is difficult not to link this development to the spread of Northern humanism (the image of Time-as-satyr had indeed very little echo south of the Alps),[158] with its revaluation of the satyr as the embodiment of a nostalgic primitivism rather than of lechery, as, for example, the engravings of the 'satyr family' by Dürer intimate (fig. 4).[159] The Erasmian influence is also strong, for Erasmus had relied on the image of the abject and ridiculous Silenus as a trope of reversal and as a symbol of moral rectitude: while the exterior of the Silenus (who was invariably associated with the satyr)[160] is ludicrous, his interior hides boundless wisdom. Indeed, Erasmus had explicitly compared Christ, the prophets, the apostles, and the early Christians to the Sileni in his famous adage "Sileni Alcibiadis",[161] while in the *Moriae Encomium* (1511) he had explicated through the Silenus the principle of reversion which rules "res omneis humanas", and which,

---

[157] Parr, "Time and Satyr", 447, identifies Colines as the first to present Time in the guise of a satyr. See Fred Schreiber, *Simon de Colines* (Provo, Utah, 1995), esp. the "Itroduction" by Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, xiii-xliii.
[158] Parr, ibid., 451-453.
[159] The phrase 'nostalgic primitivism' is Parr's, ibid., 450; see also Lynn F. Kaufmann, *The noble savage* (Epping, 1984), 43-64.
[160] E.g. in Xenophon's *Symposium* 4.19 (also quoted in Erasmus's adage 'Sileni Alcibiadis', see following footnote).
[161] Erasmus, *Adagia*, n. 2201, in *Opera Omnia*, II-5, eds. Heinemann and Kienzle (Amsterdam, 1981), 159-190.

indeed, governs the structure of the Folly's satirical speech.[162] Thus, it is unsurprising that the episode in Plato's *Symposium* when Alcibiades praises Socrates as a Silenus would become, thanks to the influence of Erasmus, central in humanist theories of 'satyre' such as Heinsius's:[163] the licence to test opinion by refutation and dialectics as embodied in Socratic philosophy would form the intellectual core of the role of satire, while Socratic irony through the use of a ridiculous, uncouth, or naïve persona would become the trope through which satire performed its winnowing work. Significantly, when, in 1514, Erasmus modified the prefatory letter of the *Moriae Encomium* to Thomas More to defend it from critics, he inserted a mention of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* to stress the generic dependence of his work from ancient examples, thus inscribing it in a genealogy of Varronian satire which would earn him a place in many subsequent discussions of the genre (Dryden mentions him in the "Discourse"), and forging a link between mock-encomiastic writings using apparently foolish personae and satires of attack and vituperation.[164]

The invocation of the survival of true 'virtus' in the Colines mark and the conception of the satyr as a champion of 'veritas' in the Aretino device would soon merge, and it is significant that, when they would do so, it would be in the context of confessional strife. Indeed, a version of Colines's mark of the 'satyric' Saturn had already been stamped on the first French edition of the Greek New Testament (the so-called 'Colinaeus' of 1534). This text was produced by an unknown editor who used Erasmus's third edition of the Greek New Testament (1522) and the Complutensian Polyglot as a basis for constructing an independent text that incorporated variant readings from unidentified manuscripts, and (or so it seemed to contemporaries) from

---

[162] "Principio constat res omneis humanas, velut Alcibiadis Silenos, binas habere facies nimium inter sese dissimiles […] breuiter omnia repente versa reperies, si Silenum aperueris", in *Moriae Encomium*, in *Opera Omnia*, IV-3, ed. Miller (Amsterdam, 1979), 104.
[163] See Plato, *Symposium* 221e. For Heinsius, see above and footnote 100.
[164] Erasmus, *Moriae Encomium*, 68. On the *Moriae Encomium* and Seneca, see Renata Roncali, "L'*Apocolocyntosis* nel Cinquecento", *Quaderni di Storia* 6 (1980), 365-376, with the corrections of Ingrid De Smet, "The Legacy of the Gourd Re-Examined", in Rudolf De Smet (ed.) *La Satire Humaniste* (Leuven, 1994), 49-75. On Erasmus's self-fashioning in print and especially of the staged nature of the quarrel surrounding the *Encomium*, see Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters* (Princeton, 1993), 111-122, 180-187.

conjecture.[165] While the resulting eccentricity of this edition would end up in its neglect by later scholarship, a copy of the book was in the possession of John Calvin in Geneva, who made extensive use of it for his early New Testament commentaries.[166]

Another, much more influential New Testament was soon to appear in Geneva and quickly travel to England: in 1557, the printer Conrad Bade (the brother-in-law of Robert Estienne, who was Colines's stepson) issued an English translation of the New Testament by a group of Calvinist bishops who had fled the Catholic Mary I's persecutions to the Swiss city – a Protestant stronghold where Calvin acted as a spiritual and political leader. On the title-page of this book, whose text was to become part of the momentous and enduring Geneva Bible,[167] Bade made use of another remarkable printer's mark (fig. 5), which explicitly fuses the image of Time-as-satyr and the image of Time-deliverer-of-Truth. "GOD BY TIME RESTORETH TRVTH AND MAKETH HER VICTORIOVS", reads the accompanying motto.[168] Bade's saturnine mark is not just visually 'satyrical', but also culturally and politically polemical. As the first image of Time-as-satyr to come into England, it possessed the 'paradoxical' strength of novelty, while conversely claiming that Truth is never new but only just newly revealed. Indeed, upon her accession to the throne in 1553, Queen Mary had chosen the motto 'Veritas Filia Temporis' for her own personal device, thereby stressing the piety of her Catholic restoration.[169] Bade's mark on the Geneva New Testament is an attempt to 'reverse' Mary I's hypocrisy in laying claim to divine Truth, and thus functions in a way that is the iconographic parallel of Erasmus's Silenus.

---

[165] See Basil Hall, "Biblical scholarship: Editions and Commentaries", in Greenslade (ed.), *Cambridge history of the Bible: Volume 3* (Cambridge, 1963), 38-93, 61; and Eldon J. Epp, "Critical editions of the New Testament", in Cameron (ed.), *New Cambridge history of the Bible. Volume 3* (Cambridge, 2016), 110-137, 115, 120. The fullest account of Colinaeus is T. H. L. Parker, *Calvin's New Testament commentaries*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1993), 128-132.
[166] Parker, *ibid.*, 123-157.
[167] David Daniell, *The Bible in English* (New Haven, 2003), 275-319.
[168] *The Nevve Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ*, [ed. Whittingham *et al.*] (Geneva, 1557).
[169] Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis", 206-208. See also Donald Gordon, "Veritas Filia Temporis", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3/3-4 (1940), 228-240. Saxl, 207, quotes from Sandford's *Genealogical history of the kings and queens of England* (London, 1707), 499-500: "When she [Mary I] came to the Kingdom, by persuasion of the Clergy, she bare [as a device] Winged Time drawing Truth out of a Pit, with Veritas Temporis Filia, which Motto adorns her first Great Seal".

Erasmus himself, in the comparable adage "Tempus omnia revelat",[170] had combined Aulus Gellius and the classical sources of the proverb (also mentioning the mythologies of Saturn) with Christian parallels (Matthew 10:26: "there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known"). He had also introduced the adage by quoting Tertullian's retortion of the classical maxim against the pagans ("omnia tempus revelat, testibus etiam vestris proverbiis", Tertullian says in his *Apologeticus*),[171] while introducing Tertullian himself as he 'whom Saint Cyprian used to call his teacher'.[172] What signifies this recourse to a genealogy of Christian teaching? As Cyprian might have seen further than Tertullian in virtue of being born in later times, when the significance of Tertullian's pronouncements had been revealed further, so had Tertullian understood better the meaning of pagan proverbial and mythological lore, whose truth was unknown to those pagans who had transmitted it to the church father's time. Thus, history becomes a corporate transmission of misunderstood statements; its nature is only provisional at any given point in time, and its full knowledge only belongs to the divine.[173] Consequently, the task of those who inhabit history seems to fall, for Erasmus, on contingent agency within this process of transmission; his *Adagia*, for example, are themselves an intrinsically inchoate endeavour for the use of posterity, who has leave to increase their *copia*.[174] Completeness is less important than the continuous practice of *traditio* in time. This practice, as the example of the aggressively polemical Tertullian suggests, finds its purpose in the mobilization of this lore for the contingent task of trying the truth of contemporary opinions, even

[170] *Adagia*, n. 1317, in *Opera Omnia*, II-3, ed. Szymański (Amsterdam, 2005), 330-332.
[171] *Apologeticus* 7,13, in *PL*, 1, 310.
[172] *Adagia*, loc. cit., 330.
[173] On Erasmus' conception of history, see Jean-Claude Margolin, "Mémoire, histoire et survie du 'moi' au jugement d'Érasme", in de Courcelles (ed.), *Mémoire & Subjectivité* (Paris, 2006), 19-40; and Peter G. Bietenholz, *History and biography in the work of Erasmus* (Geneva, 1966).
[174] See Erasmus' prefatory statements to the *Adagia,* in *Opera Omnia*, II-1, eds. Van Poll-van de Lisdonk, Mann Phillips, Robinson (Amsterdam, 1993): "Sed cum viderem hanc operis partem in tantam molem assurgere, deterritus infinita prope magnitudine laboris reduxi calculum, et hoc cursu contentus alii, quicunque volet operis vices capessere, lampada tradidi" (p. 22); "Quoniam autem in hoc argumenti genere corrigendi locupletandique nullus est finis, si vita longior dabitur, et si quid occurret in autoribus, qui nunc subinde noui proferuntur in lucem, non contaminabitur opus, sed grata coronis adiicietur […] sed aut nouum opus edat suo nomine qui velit, aut si quid habet quod vel corrigat vel doceat, nostrum imitatus exemplum appendicibus rem agat." (33-34). On the Erasmian (and Renaissance) concept of *copia*, see Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text* (Oxford, 1979), 17-34.

if each singular task cannot be achieved in itself, but requires Time, and later generations, to come to fulfilment.

It is therefore unsurprising to find that, when we look for Erasmian traces in Swift's early works, they are found only locally and contingently. John Boyle (who proves yet again to be an acute reader), speaking ironically in favour of the Swiftian authorship of *Tale* and its companion pieces, says that they "*aut Erasmi sunt aut Diaboli*",[175] thus establishing a comparison between Swift and Erasmus which has been particularly fortunate in subsequent literary criticism.[176] On a closer inspection, we notice that Swift's ridicule of Catholic relic-worship in 'Section IV' of the *Tale* is indebted to a parallel passage in Erasmus's *Colloquia*,[177] and, more interestingly, that the hack's conflation of kabbalistic methods of exegesis with scholasticism (an instance of which I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter) finds an antecedent in the *Moriae Encomium*, where Folly mocks an unnamed theologian bent on finding proof for the Trinity in "litteris, syllabis, et oratione" (just as the Catholic Peter in 'Section II' modifies the will by the methods of "totidem verbis", "totidem syllabis" and "totidem literis"), before mentioning other grammatical forms of exegesis which she finds worthy of a reborn Duns Scotus.[178] What these parallels suggest is that Erasmus's appeal for Swift rested primarily in the humanist's more polemical, anti-Catholic traits. Rather than finding in Erasmus the apostle of tolerance and peaceful concord that the mature Enlightenment would see,[179] or the ironist that much literary criticism has read as one of Swift's forebears, Swift used the humanist's works as ammunition to be fired in confessional invective.

---

[175] Boyle, *Remarks*, 191, referring to an anecdote about Thomas More first meeting Erasmus and identifying him with these words as a playful comment on his rhetorical skills. Quoted in Eugene R. Hammond, "In Praise of Wisdom and the Will of God", *Studies in Philology* 80/3 (1983), 253-276, 253.
[176] Comparing the two in their use of the mock-encomium almost amounts to a commonplace. For more extensive literary (but not very historical) analyses, see Hammond, "In Praise of Wisdom"; Ronald Paulson, *Theme and Structure in Swift's Tale of a Tub* (New Haven, 1960), 79-80, 249-253; and John Traugott, "*A Tale of a Tub*", and Jenny Mezciems, "Swift's Praise of Gulliver", both in Claude Rawson (ed.), *The Character of Swift's Satire* (Newark, 1983), 83-126 and 245-281.
[177] See Eugene R. Hammond, "A Swiftian Borrowing from Erasmus' *Colloquies*", *Notes & Queries* 225 (1980), 32-33. Cf. *Tale*, 77, and *Colloquia*, in *Opera Omnia*, I-3, eds. Halkin, Bierlaire, Hoven (Amsterdam, 1972), 478.
[178] Cf. *Tale*, 54, and *Moriae Encomium*, 164.
[179] See Bruce Mansfield, "Erasmus in the Age of Revolutions", in Sperna and Frijhoff (eds.), *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar* (Leiden, 1988), 228-239.

Just as Erasmus's Irenaeus suggests, peace cannot be achieved but by opposition, refutation, and attack.

Thus, once again, the *Tale* appears as a text that is characterized by a backward-looking stance: its relation to the literary past harks back to the apologetic uses of humanist 'satyre', and does this at a time when early sixteenth-century humanism was being redefined as a foundational moment in historical narratives of the moderns' emancipation. We have already seen how Wotton, in his "Observations", had unfavourably compared the *Tale* to the confessional satires of the Reformation period; in the specific case of the reception of Erasmus, Swift is in line with mainstream English interpretations of the humanist in the Restoration, which, as recent scholarship has shown, saw Erasmian exhortations to *concordia* (the core element of an unbroken, peaceful Church) as grounds for not tolerating dissent from Anglicanism, both Catholic and Puritan.[180] From this point of view, the *Tale*, first published in 1704, appears as a latecomer, for the brief reign of James II and the 1688 revolution had established ecclesiastical disunity as a legal reality, facing the Church of England (and Swift as its apologist) with the awkward necessity of a doctrinal redefinition. Even outside the British political and religious context, Erasmus was being re-packaged in a way that directly looks forward to the Enlightenment interpretation of his historical role,[181] and intersects with the debates surrounding the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns.

Tandem Bona Causa Triumphat

Jean Le Clerc's ground-breaking edition of Erasmus's *Opera Omnia* (Leiden, 1703-1706) marks such a transition, for it clearly places Erasmus in a trajectory of dissipation of darkness and

[180] See especially the work of Gregory Dodds: "'Betwixt Heaven and Hell'", in Enenkel (ed.), *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2013), 103-127; on English reinterpretations of Erasmus throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Exploiting Erasmus* (Toronto, 2009); "Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, Anti-Calvinism, and the Seventeenth-Century Debate about the English Reformation", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 27 (2007), 59-68.
[181] See Mansfield, *Phoenix of his Age* (Toronto, 1979), 155-295.

barbarity both in the 'litterae humaniores' and in theology.[182] The Arminian editor opens the 'Praefatio' to the first volume by suggesting his approval of a moderate 'modern' position within the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, for, he says, he is not among those partisans of antiquity for whom any novelty is despicable, while only those things that Death has embalmed may be approved and held true.[183] Indeed, Le Clerc identifies in Erasmus a profound irenicism, and in a new edition of his works an occasion for the pacification of the quarrels of his own "sæculum fastidiosum", which, now that the envy and malice that pursued Erasmus in life have died, can enjoy the benefits of the humanist's peace-making example and the candid mirth of his truth-telling.[184] Thus, the edition overtly sets out to mark a rupture in the reception of Erasmus by 'canonizing' the humanist for the eighteenth century: just as Le Clerc emphasises that only now can Erasmus be properly reassessed (for, according to Le Clerc, the humanist's legacy was misunderstood and distorted in the process of confessionalization that followed him), he also abstracts Erasmus from his times, erasing the historical significance that a form of 'Erasmian' satire had possessed for many early modern controversialists, Swift included.

From our modern perspective, it is easy to mistake Le Clerc's strategy for a much-needed historicizing move that heralded a post-confessional Enlightenment – almost a parallel to the description of the Republic of Letters according to Pierre Bayle, another thinker who was crucial in the reshaping of the Erasmian legacy.[185] We should be wary, however, of reading Le Clerc's vision as a reality. Indeed, his account is simply characterized by an ostensible confidence in the possibility that the age might emancipate itself from the modes of controversy that had dominated

---

[182] See Le Clerc's "Praefatio", which makes statements such as: "[a]d eam ergo barbariem profligandam, discutiendasque tenebras, Cimmeriis obscuriores, cùm alii viri docti, tum etiam *Erasmus* noster, elegantiorum Litterarum studia, maximo successu, adhibuerunt; nec quidquam profectò ei deerat, ad Scripturam Sacram accuratè intelligendam; præter Linguæ Hebraïcæ notitiam, quam dumtaxat delibaverat", in *Desiderii Erasmi Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. (Leiden, 1703-1706), 1, 1-8, 3.
[183] "[I]n illorum numero non sum, quibus omnia nova sordent, nec quidquam probatur, nisi quod, ut ait ille [Horace, *Epistles*, II.1, l. 49], *Libitina* [the goddess of funerals] *sacravit*", *ibid.*, 1.
[184] "Quod cùm vix sperari possit, pro altero *Erasmo*, quem superiores, atque hæc nostra ætas adhuc nobis debent, Roterodamensem illum in Bibliothecis instructioribus fermè sepultum, in lucem revocandum censuimus, ut ridendo verum dicentem, & jam supra invidiam positum frequentiùs audiat sæculum fastidiosum", *ibid.*, 5.
[185] On Bayle and Erasmus, see Wiep van Bunge, "The Politics of Appropriation: Erasmus and Bayle", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 33 (2013), 3-21; and Maria Cristina Pitassi, "Figures de l'Erasmisme: le cas de Pierre Bayle", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 50, 1 (2014), 95-119.

even the recent past – a move which, as we might expect, coincided with a growing tendency to historicize past polemics.[186]

Strikingly, on the title-pages of the ten volumes of Le Clerc's edition of Erasmus an arresting reinterpretation of the Truth-daughter-of-Time iconography confronts the reader (fig. 6) – one where the Renaissance elements that I have traced above are recombined to communicate a completely different concept. The draughtsman Jan Goeree has designed, within the frame of a ouroboros (a serpent biting its own tail as a symbol of eternity), Erasmus's imaginary sepulchre, on whose pedestal, above the inscription *Tandem Bona Causa Triumphat*, a scene of delivery is sculpted: a naked woman, holding a shining star in her left hand to symbolize the light of Truth, is being lifted up by winged Time, who, predictably, has been cleansed of all hybridity, while the monsters on the right (representing hatred, as in da Forlì's device) are kept at bay by the glow of the small sun, and below them stands a pelican as a symbol of charity; on the left, one of Time's attendants, holding the scythe, pushes away another unidentified figure (calumny?). The scene clearly reflects the changes in the Truth-daughter-of-Time motif, which had been increasingly associated with political apotheoses throughout the seventeenth century.[187] Indeed, this is an image of triumph, in which Truth is not being dangerously delivered out of the earth by Time, but is rather being gloriously raised by him into the sky, beyond the mundane strife and envy that rule life before the grave. Time is no more saturnine, nor satyric, but simply an instrument of elevation; his scythe, does not possess any heuristic function, nor is an adversarial stance being suggested as a test of Truth. Polemics, the image suggests, should be ejected from truth-finding. Erasmus, according to this representation, was the misunderstood forefather of this attitude, who is now for the first time being rescued from malevolence, abuse, and misinterpretation.

This shining novel Erasmus was also the one lauded by Pope in his *Essay on Criticism* – a poem where 'criticism' means something completely different from the *ars critica* of the late

[186] See De Smet, "Calumnia Dira Pestis".
[187] Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis", 211-218.

humanists.[188] In the poem (which, coincidentally, advises future critics to "[l]eave dang'rous *Truths* to unsuccessful *Satyrs*", l. 592),[189] written in 1709, firmly set Erasmus in a trajectory of *translatio studii* leading from the ancient rhetoricians to Boileau and Pope himself, rather than from Jerome to Heinsius:

> At length, *Erasmus*, that *great, injur'd* Name,
> (The *Glory* of the Priesthood, and the *Shame*!)
> *Stemm'd* the *wild Torrent* of a *barb'rous Age*,
> And drove those *Holy Vandals* [the monks] off the Stage. [ll. 693-696]

Pope, as an English Catholic, could find much in this picture of an irenic, enlightened Erasmus. In a later letter to Swift, dated 28th November 1729, he solemnly remarked to his Anglican friend, with whom he shared a passion for the writings of the early humanist:

> [I am] of the religion of Erasmus, a catholick; so I live, so I shall die; and hope one day to meet you, bishop Atterbury, the younger Craggs, Dr. Garth, dean Berkeley, and Mr. Hutchenson [all Anglicans], in that place, to which God of his infinite mercy bring us, and every body![190]

In a letter that affects a peaceful stance and an almost Olympian disinterest in controversy ("You know my maxim to keep as clear of all offence, as I am clear of all interest in either party") while also mentioning the reprints of the *Dunciad*, this 'Erasmian' vision of universal salvation across confession is an artificial posturing that Swift was quick to spot. In his reply (three months later, 26th February 1729/30), he playfully animadverts:

> I find you have been a writer of Letters almost from your infancy, and by your own confession had Schemes even then of Epistolary fame […] It is plain that all Pliny's Letters were written with a view of publishing, and I accuse Voiture himself of the same crime, although he be an Author I am fond of. They cease to be Letters when they become a jeu d'esprit.[191]

Swift's raillery indirectly touches upon the different cultural worlds that the two men inhabited, for, unlike Pope, Swift had known his friend in his youth (twenty-one years separated them). By referring to "Schemes of Epistolary fame", Swift was hinting at his suspicions that Pope might indulge his vanity in having his own letters published during his lifetime – a project to which

---

[188] On the shifting boundaries of the humanist *ars critica*, see Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, esp. 21-48; and Bravo, "*Critice* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century", in Ligota and Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship* (Oxford, 2006), 135-195.
[189] Pope, "Essay on Criticism", in *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Pope* (henceforth *Poems*), vol. 1, ed. Audra and Williams (London, 1961, reprint. 1993), 318-319.
[190] Swift, *The Correspondence of Swift*, ed. Woolley, 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1999-2014), 3, 273 (henceforth *Correspondence*).
[191] *Correspondence*, 3, 283-284.

Swift felt uncommitted at best, and which embittered their friendship in the 1730s.[192] And yet Swift could have easily mentioned Erasmus among those whose "crime" was to seek epistolary fame in life – a fact that was well known and that Le Clerc had reiterated in his edition.[193] Indeed, the edition had been especially ground-breaking in the efforts expended on Erasmus's letters, which Le Clerc had reorganized chronologically for the first time, and whose number he had greatly increased from new manuscripts. Le Clerc's preface to the third volume containing the letters (though published last because of the difficulty of the undertaking)[194] also lauded extensively Erasmus's openness and the unaffected transparency of his communications with both friends and enemies, using, to describe his frankness, the words of Horace about his fellow satirist Lucilius (from *Satires* II.1, ll. 30-34): as Lucilius, according to Horace, had openly communicated his secrets to his books as if they were old friends, just so, according to Le Clerc, had Erasmus exposed himself to public view without embellishments in his letters, which had been "cum ab ipso, tum ab aliis editis".[195]

This fiction of honesty and transparency was to captivate Pope, who possessed a copy of Le Clerc's Erasmus (unlike Swift, whose knowledge of the humanist was instead based on earlier seventeenth-century editions).[196] Indeed, it was precisely Le Clerc's interpretation of Erasmus that influenced Pope's satirical practice: when, in 1733, Pope imitated the first satire of the second

---

[192] See Griffin, *Swift and Pope*, 129-182.
[193] On Erasmus and letters, see Jardine, *Erasmus: Man of Letters*. See Le Clerc's "Praefatio" to vol. 3 of *Opera Omnia*: "Editæ fuerunt, *Erasmo* vivo, Epistulæ plurimæ […]", sig. A1^{v}.
[194] As Le Clerc himself says: "sed dum auctuaria, de quibus diximus, exspectantur, dumque omnia ad Editionem parantur, triennium effluere, aliosque Tomos interea in lucem erumpere necesse fuit", in *Opera Omnia*, 3, sig. A2^{v}.
[195] "Dixit *Lib.* II. *S.* I. *Horatius* de *Lucillii* Scriptis: *Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim*/*Credebat libris*; *neque, si malè cesserat, umquam*/*Decurrens aliò*; *neque, si bene*; *quò fit ut omnis*/*Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ*/*Vita senis.* Idem dixeris de hisce *Erasmi* Epistolis, cùm ab ipso, tum ab aliis editis. Quæcumque rectè, aut secus fecit, vel sensit, quæ timuit, quæ cupiit, omnia hîc sine fuco exposita sunt; erat enim hæc indoles *Erasmi*, ut diu celare non posset quod sentiebat, præsertim amicis, & interdum quoque inimicis, si paullò commotior esset", *ibid.*, sig. A1^{v}.
[196] *Library and Reading*, 1, 573-576. We do not have an inventory of Pope's library, but we know from his will (dated June 1744), that he intended to bequeath "*the Eleven Volumes* […] *of* Erasmus" to Bolingbroke; although these volumes have not been found, they can only refer to Le Clerc's edition (which was clearly a valued possession). See *The Life of Pope, Esq.; With a True Copy of His Last Will and Testament* (London, 1744), 59.

book of Horace (the one quoted by Le Clerc), he referred to Erasmus just after the lines corresponding to Horace's praise of Lucilius:

> My Head and Heart thus flowing thro' my Quill,
> Verse-man or Prose-man, term me which you will,
> Papist or Protestant, or both between,
> Like good *Erasmus* in an honest Mean,
> In Moderation placing all my Glory,
> While Tories call me Whig, and Whigs a Tory. [ll. 63-68][197]

Pope's "good *Erasmus*" seeking "an honest Mean" could not be more different from the one that Swift chose to redeploy in the *Tale*, a long time before the agonistic friendship between the two satirists was established. The intellectual climate, however, had been shifting in favour of Pope's views, both in the case of Erasmus, and, more generally, in the conception of satire. In the very same imitation of Horace, for example, Pope used the Roman satirist's praise for Lucilius's transparency to describe his own satire as an "impartial glass" (l. 57) that reflects the poet, whose invectives intend to "[p]ublish the present Age, but where my Text/Is Vice too high, reserve it for the next" (ll. 59-60). Satire is thus restricted to the province of moral topics, spoken *in propria persona*, and envisioned as a posthumous triumph against a misunderstanding age, which, however, will have disappeared in the meantime. No such self-indulgence is ever to be found in Swift, not even in his later works, which undeniably partake of the new conception of satire that is so strikingly absent in the *Tale*.

Thus Erasmus, and consequently early Northern humanism, seem to have been a hidden point of controverted interpretation between Swift and Pope, who have all too often been packaged together through the fiction (so appealing to literary critics) of a 'Scriblerus Club'.[198] Even long before the late 1720s or early 30s, we have notice of gift exchange between the new friends, dating from 1714, when Swift left England after the death of Queen Anne.[199] It is likely that Pope gave Swift a 1543 edition of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (the renowned early

[197] "The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace Imitated", in Pope, *Poems*, vol. 4, ed. Butt, 8-11.
[198] On the twentieth-century invention of a 'Scriblerus Club', see Ashley Marshall, "The Myth of Scriblerus", *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31 (2008), 77-99.
[199] See Ehrenpreis's comprehensive biography, *Swift*, 3 vols. (London, 1962-1983), 2, 750-763.

sixteenth-century satire stemming from the Reuchlin affair),[200] while we know that Swift reciprocated with a 1543 edition of Erasmus's New Testament, in Greek and Latin. This copy (now in the Hurd Library) bears Pope's inscription at the top of the title-page, recording the fact that Swift gifted it to him, while below the title, in Swift's hand, is a quotation from the Vulgate Psalms (119:144): "Intellectum da mihi et vivam"; enigmatically, the name "*D. Erasmi Roterod.*" is covered by an ink blot.[201] There is an irony in the present: Erasmus's New Testament, while a fitting gift from an Anglican divine (the Erasmian heritage of the Church of England had been as much paraded as it had become problematic),[202] could have been awkwardly received by a member of the Church of Rome, for which all of Erasmus's works remained on the Index of Forbidden Books. In the light of Swift and Pope's mutually teasing friendship, this exchange suggests an ongoing effort to readapt the legacy of humanism to their times and works; conversely, it confirms how this legacy, with its controversial charge and confessional implications, was still very much alive in the early eighteenth century. Even between 'friends', it could not pass unproblematically.

***

When Pope dedicated the *Dunciad* to Swift (the poem being, by Pope's own admission, the most Swiftian of all his works),[203] he would do so in terms that, according to some critics and editors of

[200] The copy in question bears both the signatures of Pope and of Swift, see *Library and Reading*, 1, 741-742 (which states that the copy was sold at auction in 1919, and that its present whereabouts are unknown). The conjecture that Pope gave the book to Swift in 1714 was first proposed by Maynard Mack, *Collected in Himself* (Newark, 1982), 307-321, 311. See also Griffin, *Swift and Pope*, 67, n. 113.
[201] As pointed out by the Hurd librarian Christine Penney, also correcting Mack's initial misreading of Swift's inscription; see < http://thehurdlibrary.tumblr.com/post/63020355017/intellectum-da-mihi-et-vivam > [accessed January 15th 2018].
[202] Dodds, *Exploiting Erasmus*.
[203] See Pope's letter to Swift dated 12th October 1728, which, with Pope's usual tendency to exaggeration, states: "Do you care I should say any thing farther how much [the *Dunciad*] is yours? since certainly without you it had never been", in *Correspondence*, 3, 201; and especially Pope's letter to Dr Sheridan, also dated (conjecturally) October 1728: "my Friend the Dean […] is properly the Author of the Dunciad: It had never been writ but at his Request, and for his Deafness: For had he been able to converse with me, do you think I had amus'd my Time so ill?" (a remark that may be covering modesty, or discomfort with a less 'Popean' form of satire), in *The Correspondence of Pope*, ed. Sherburn, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1956), 2, 523.

the text,[204] are reminiscent of Erasmus's dedication of his *Moriae Encomium* to Sir Thomas More. While the evidence for this amounts to little more than circumstances such as Swift's unqualified admiration for More or a general resemblance between Pope's Dulness and the Erasmian Folly,[205] the foregoing analysis has outlined the different ways in which Swift and Pope (and Dryden) were part of a process of redefinition of the humanist legacy for a new century. The dedication of the *Dunciad* could overtly talk of "a new Saturnian age of Lead" (I, l. 28)[206] being hatched under the wings of Dulness, thus playing again on the paradoxes of the winged Saturn as the ruler of the golden age and as a senile old man, and framing an opposition between 'antiquity' and 'modernity';[207] but the real, covert stakes of early eighteenth-century *literae* lay in the interpretation of those intermediaries that had mediated antiquity, both classical and religious, to their times. Erasmus had the fortune to enter a new 'literary' canon through Le Clerc's edition, though he would do so cleansed of much of his works' original 'satyric', oppositional significance. In the process, satire came to mean a very different thing, having been gradually classicized, and appropriated by writers who were not scholars, and sometimes redeployed against them; equally, controversy and strife were deprived of the heuristic role that they had previously enjoyed.

It is clear, therefore, that a re-evaluation of Swift cannot rest on a straightforward, literary-critical reading of the satires that constitute our sources, but must attempt to inhabit the changing world of *literae* at the turn of the eighteenth century, especially in its uncomfortable relation to a confessionalized early modern humanism – the hidden nexus around which these changes revolved. Here I have sketched Swift's particularly ambiguous position in this transition. The awareness of the divergent satirical theorizations around the turn of the eighteenth century may enable us to tackle his 'satyrical' practice in a new light. The next chapter will then focus on

---

[204] See Valerie Rumbold's remarks in her notes to her edition of *The Dunciad in Four Books*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, 2014), 100 (henceforth *Dunciad*).
[205] See Emrys Jones's influential 1968 Chatterton lecture, "Pope and Dulness", reprinted in Guerinot (ed.), *Pope: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972), 124-157, 131.
[206] Pope, *Dunciad*, p. 101.
[207] For an account of Swift's *Tale* that uses the image of Saturn as a central trope, see Kenneth Craven, *Jonathan Swift and the Millennium of Madness* (Leiden, 1992), esp. 1-16 and 203-224.

the Battle of the Books as the chief quarrel in which Swift's early 'satyres' were meant to operate, and it will endeavour to highlight the ambivalent nature of 'satyre' both as an intellectual instrument of discovery and as a tool of displacement and obfuscation.

Chapter 2

The Practice of 'Satyre':
Swift and the Battle of the Books

In 1704, together with *A Tale of Tub*, Swift published a pamphlet entitled *The Battel of the Books*, purportedly recounting under the guise of satire an intellectual controversy that had been raging in England since 1690. It was thus that the English version of the 'Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns' gained the appellation of 'Battle of the Books' – a name that has entered the annals of the history of ideas.

And yet, historiography inherited more than a name from Swift's pamphlet: with it, a series of intellectual schematizations and of polemical antagonisms were bequeathed as working categories to subsequent generations, not least that of a 'culture war' and of 'Ancients' versus 'Moderns'.[208] What do these tags signify? Initially, reading Swift's text and the scholarly books that have been written recently and less recently on the Quarrel, the answer appears simple. The Ancients are the great literary worthies of Greece and Rome (roughly corresponding to what we would nowadays find on a Classics syllabus). The Moderns, although a more motley rabble, also feature many staple names: they are the Ancients' paltry imitators (writers such as Dryden, Tasso, Milton, Cowley, Boileau, Perrault, Fontenelle), some philosophers of the 'New Science' (Descartes, Gassendi, Hobbes, Bacon), and especially those scholars that had argued in the

[208] The bibliography on the Quarrel is extensive – and makes much of the appealing binaries that Swift's texts propose. Marc Fumaroli's comprehensive account of the Quarrel throughout Europe explicitly borrows a metaphor from Swift's *Battel*, cf. "Les Abeilles et les Araignées"; The antagonistic schema recurs also in Joan DeJean's *Ancients versus Moderns* (Chicago, 1997), in Larry Norman's *The Shock of the Ancient* (Chicago, 2011), and in the essays recently collected in Paddy Bullard and Alexis Tadié (eds.), *Ancients and Moderns in Europe* (Oxford, 2016). The use of the name 'Battle of the Books' in modern historiography goes back to R. F. Jones's *Ancients and Moderns* (St Louis, 1936 – aptly subtitled 'A Study of the Background of the Battle of the Books'), and is retained in the most helpful and comprehensive account of the Quarrel in England, i.e. Joseph Levine's *The Battle of the Books* (Ithaca, 1991). Levine's other books impinging on the Quarrel are also useful: *Dr Woodward's Shield* (Berkeley, 1977), and *Between the Ancients and the Moderns* (New Haven, 1999). Vinko Hinz's contextual account is also helpful: *Nunc Phalaris Doctum Protulit Ecce Caput* (Munich, 2001), 295-392.

Quarrel that Modernity, thanks to historical criticism, could know Antiquity better than the Ancients themselves (William Wotton and Richard Bentley pre-eminently).

The argumentative structures of the Battle (and of the *Battel*) also allowed for a degree of crossing of the chronological divide: Sir William Temple (Swift's patron), who had instead obtusely argued for the excellence of everything ancient, and especially of the 'Epistles of Phalaris' (a pseudepigraphic text attributed to Phalaris, a sixth-century BCE Sicilian ruler), is featured as one of the "*Allies*" of the Ancients.[209] In the same way, in modern historiography on the Quarrel, 'Ancient' is synecdochally used to identify an 'advocate for the Ancients'. The stage is set for what effectively seems to follow: a tale of the difficult modern encounter with the weight of the past, and with ancient (and therefore authoritative) precedent.

However, these oppositions in Swift's *Battel* might not be as neat as they appear. Enigmatically, the revered scholarly name of 'Vossius' appears together with Temple as an allied general of the Ancients. Similarly, when the military fortunes of the Moderns begin to wane, giving Bentley an occasion to lambast the inefficacy of his fellow soldiers, Swift singles out yet another scholar to disparage Bentley, namely 'Scaliger'. "*Miscreant* Prater", Scaliger accuses –

> *Eloquent only in thine own Eyes, Thou railest without Wit, or Truth, or Discretion. The Malignity of thy Temper perverteth Nature, Thy* Learning *makes thee more* Barbarous, *thy Study of* Humanity, *more* Inhuman; *Thy* Converse *amongst Poets more* groveling, miry, and dull. *All arts of* civilizing *others, render thee* rude *and* untractable; Courts *have taught thee* ill Manners, *and* polite Conversation *has finish'd thee a* Pedant.[210]

Scaliger's invective casts him in the role of Achilles against Bentley's Thersites,[211] but the concerns that the passage betrays are not very Iliadic: Bentley's indictment as a 'pedant' resonates with the accusations that had been levelled against the great scholar earlier in the Quarrel, and it has led interpreters to see in the Battle a 'splitting of humanism'[212] – a moment when humanism as the 'civilizing art' of classical imitation in both life and literature and humanism as historical research parted ways. Or, to put it more bluntly, a moment when literature (Swift) and history

---

[209] Swift, *Battel*, 153.
[210] *Ibid.*, 161.
[211] As the authorial marginal note specifies: "*Vid. Homer. de Thersite*", *ibid.*
[212] John F. Tinkler, "The Splitting of Humanism: Bentley, Swift, and the English Battle of the Books", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49/3 (1988), 453-472.

(Bentley) came to be differentiated.[213] Should we choose to disregard the scholarly names of Vossius and Scaliger in Swift's *Battel*, and to focus instead on the canonical worthies enumerated above, such an account could appear satisfactory, with the additional bonus of preserving that binary neatness that has proved particularly dear to intellectual historians and literary scholars alike.

This chapter takes a different stance on the matter: the Battle was a localized episode of polemics tinged in vitriol, which was itself 'canonized' into a watershed moment by later narratives seeking to reconstruct a genealogy of emancipation for different disciplines or intellectual movements.[214] The original Battle was, to use Kristine Haugen's words, "unserious, trivial, disingenuous".[215] To take the antagonisms it parades as substantial categories with explicative power for turn-of-the-century intellectual history leads into misunderstandings about the vitality of late humanism in the period,[216] and about the multifarious conceptions of 'criticism' and its transformative potential. Swift did not hesitate to pay the price of a mocking and obtuse anti-intellectualism to ridicule Bentley precisely because the scholar's criticism was serious, energetic, and momentous.[217] As we shall see presently, clues of the fact that Swift recognized this with alarm are hidden precisely in those above-mentioned discrepancies running along the neat oppositions of the *Battel*. Swift, in other words, needed to *trivialize* the debate by dint of 'satyres', and it is only by recurring to the history of scholarship that we can unpack the practical workings of these elusive texts.

This chapter therefore functions in two ways. On the one hand, I will endeavour to see through the antagonistic constructions that Swift and his fellow 'Ancients' built, and to expose the sensitive spots that the Quarrel indirectly brushed, provoking such a violent and disproportionate

---

[213] This is the legacy of Levine's studies of the Battle. According to him, only Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* managed a synthesis between the two strands – see his "Edward Gibbon and the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns", *The Eighteenth Century* 26/1 (1985), 47-62.
[214] For similar arguments about the later Enlightenment construction of the French *Querelle* as a point of departure for a narrative of emancipation, see Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago, 2010).
[215] Haugen, *Bentley*, 277.
[216] See Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom.*
[217] On Bentley as a scholar, the work of Kristine Haugen, *Richard Bentley* represents the new benchmark.

retaliation. On the other, I will investigate this 'satyrical' retaliation as a kind of perverse thought-experiment that the 'satyrist' performed to examine what he saw as the consequences of the Quarrel.[218] Thus, these inconsistencies in the *Battel* will be an occasion to zoom out from Swift's text to consider the scholarly environs of the dispute. Only when the implicit concerns around Swift's texts emerge, will we be in the position to zoom back in onto the *Tale* miscellany to understand the intellectual role of 'satyre'. As my usage of the 'y'-spelling suggests, we are now well placed to undertake such an investigation, having analysed in the previous chapter the heuristic role with which some practitioners imbued the genre. This implies neither acceptance of the binaries fashioned by Swift in the *Tale* miscellany, nor their dismissal: the intellectual value of 'satyre' rested in fact in its *operation* – in its power not to describe a reality but rather to expose some of its latent tensions by caricaturing it.

Indeed, as I will argue, these tensions resided in a third pole beyond the straightforward Ancient/Modern rift, namely Christian Antiquity.[219] What was the place and role of biblical and patristic literature in a quarrel that polarized antiquity and modernity so naively? I will argue that the naivety of the polemical opposition of Ancients and Moderns largely stems from a resolute refusal to address this question directly. It is unsurprising that this point of controversy remains as hidden in the *Battel* as it is prominent in its companion piece, the *Tale*. (As we shall see, the issue was similarly relegated in manuscript correspondence and recalcitrant Latin scholarly treatises among the disputants of the Battle.) In other words, 'satyre' was a tool whose usefulness lay precisely in its ability to displace the grounds of debate, and to reveal, through such displacement and obfuscation, the problems that were felt to lie beneath the surface of the disputed issues. Thus, the discrepancies of the *Battel* will provide some crucial interpretative keys to understand the intellectual stakes of the *Tale* miscellany and of contemporary biblical and patristic scholarship. The Battle, far from marking a parting of the ways between literature and

[218] For an earlier argument about the seriousness of these implications, see Howard D. Weinbrot, "'He Will Kill Me Over and Over Again'", in Real and Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fourth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (Munich, 2003), 225-248.
[219] See Quantin, *Church of England*.

scholarship, was simply an episode in which an opposition of the two was an expedient 'satyrical' device to question the premises and purposes of learning. The boundary between 'satyre' and scholarship was porous: Swift, notwithstanding his convenient caricature of all 'criticism' as pedantry, will be shown to be interested and even invested in scholarship; conversely, an analysis of this caricature will throw into relief some of the tensions that pervaded turn-of-the-century scholarship, and that in turn went on to shape our conceptions of 'literature'.

I. Beyond the Ancient/Modern Divide: 'Scaliger' and 'Vossius' against Bentley

Historically, editors of the *Tale* miscellany have been puzzled by Swift's references to those modern scholars that appear in the *Battel* as Bentley's antagonists. 'Scaliger', we are told, could be Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) or 'more probably' his son, the renowned Joseph Justus (1540-1609), notorious for the scorn with which he used to talk of his scholarly adversaries.[220] On 'Vossius', the same problem arises: is this Gerardus (1577-1649) or his son Isaac (1618-1689)?[221] Such irresolution may be justifiable in textual editing, but it is also symptomatic of a larger unwillingness to address the precise scholarly context of Swift's early years. The supposed validity of the Ancient/Modern divide has perhaps stalled a meaningful engagement with the details of late humanist erudition, and with the ways in which early modern scholars transformed and readapted ancient texts.

Fortunately, however, we now have at our disposal recent studies in the history of scholarship whose insights, once incorporated into literary studies, can subvert the familiar landscape of the Battle of the Books, and the lip-service paid to Swift's own learning as

[220] Both the Guthkelch-Smith (Oxford, 1958, 252) and the Walsh edition (503) offer the alternative, noting that earlier in the Battle the Christ Church wits, under the name of Charles Boyle, had compared Bentley to Joseph Scaliger and Claude Saumaise for their acerbic style of polemics in *Dr Bentley's Dissertations Examin'd* (London, 1698), 225 – to which Bentley had retaliated in the 'Preface' to the second edition of his *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* (London, 1699), c-cii, showing how he that denounces great scholars of foolishness "gives himself the Lye". On the imaginative range of Scaliger's acerbic epistolary language, see Dirk van Miert, "Scaliger Scatologus", EMF: Studies in Early Modern France, 14 (2010), 17-31.

[221] Guthkelch-Smith, 238; Walsh, 487-488.

brandished in the *Tale* miscellany. To retrieve names from my previous and following footnotes, the work of Kristine Haugen on Bentley and of Jean-Louis Quantin on Anglican scholarship, as well as the contributions of Nicholas Hardy, Scott Mandelbrote, and William Poole, have the potential to lay new foundations to approach canonical literary authors such as Swift, and will provide the essential groundwork for this chapter's investigation. For example, Kristine Haugen has highlighted the extent to which Bentley was endeavouring to bring into England a part of Joseph Scaliger's legacy to which insular scholarship had proved resistant, namely his work on Latin poetry and classical 'literature', a branch of the humanist's output that had in fact been carried on by Isaac Vossius.[222]

Why should then Swift pick precisely them as Bentley's antagonists? Indeed, when we look for Scaliger in Swift's 1715 library catalogue, rather than Scaliger's work on 'literary topics', we find a book belonging to a very different scholarly discipline (historical chronology), namely his *De Emendatione Temporum* (1583) – Scaliger's heroic reconciliation of ancient Mediterranean calendars based on history and astronomy.[223] Similarly, Swift's familiarity with Isaac Vossius stemmed from other books than his editions of Catullus or Juvenal. Such bibliographical details may seem peripheral, but they also contain some essential cues about Swift's intellectual formation that have been completely neglected, and that enable us to understand the workings of Swift's early 'satyres' in their double function of obfuscation of the obvious and detection of the latent.

That Swift's knowledge of Scaliger should depend on the great scholar's work in technical chronology (and especially on his *De Emendatione* rather than on the later *Thesaurus Temporum* of 1606) is significant precisely for the implicit contrast with Bentley's methods as Swift might have perceived them. In fact, while Scaliger's scholarship may certainly be linked to Bentley's, especially in its use of brash conjectural emendations (especially in his poetical

---

[222] Haugen, *Bentley*, 67-70; see also the additional comments on this theme by Nicholas Hardy, "The Enlightenments of Richard Bentley", *History of Universities* 26/2 (2012), 196-219.
[223] *Library and Reading*, 3, 1649-1651. On Scaliger as a classical scholar and as a chronologer, see the respective volumes of Anthony Grafton's pioneering biography, *Joseph Scaliger*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1983-93), and especially vol. 2, *Historical Chronology*.

editions) as well as in the pugnacious tone it often displays (for example against the chronicle of the church father Eusebius that he was reconstructing in the *Thesaurus*), *De Emendatione* was, on the other hand, a work that endevoured to compare and reconcile ancient calendrical sources and historical notices, often preserved in late antique or even medieval sources, as well as in languages beyond those expected of a classicist. It was, in other words, a work where chronology, rather than being a subsidiary field at the service of literary arguments about authorship or textual criticism, was a central historical discipline to be pursued for its own sake, and which provided a sort of grid where texts from very different ages of the world may be fitted, with little regard to a 'literary' hierarchy of value between them.

In the *Dissertation* on Phalaris (first edition in 1697, greatly expanded for the second edition in 1699) and especially in the *Epistola ad Millium* (1691), Bentley had availed himself of a comparable knowledge of letters, but had employed it for drastically different purposes. In the case of Phalaris, such knowledge enabled Bentley to see that the letters ascribed to the archaic Greek tyrant were spurious constructions of a later age, when an 'impostor' had fraudulently and carelessly written them. As 'forgeries', they were violently dethroned from that period of Ancient Excellence to which Temple had naively ascribed them. Indeed, the mistake of Temple and Charles Boyle (under whose name an edition of the Epistles had appeared in 1695) was not in their periodization, but rather in their ascription of a lower text to a higher, purer age.[224] Thus, the underlying conception of varying periods in the history of letters was shared by Bentley and his 'Ancient' opponents, with the difference that the latter had shown their lack of skill and their ignorance in a specific instance of dating.[225] Phalaris's Epistles, as the second expanded edition of the *Dissertation* especially showed, simply provided Bentley with a platform to reach the centre of gravity of his scholarly interests: early Greek poetry and drama. He was thus taking a text of a decayed period of Greek letters as a springboard to plunge back into their beginnings. Bentley's

[224] Even if the edition treated the question of authorship as secondary, leaving it open – *Φαλαρίδος ἐπιστολαί* (Oxford, 1695), sig. a3^{r}.
[225] This has been clearly laid out by Kristine Haugen, "Death of an Author: Constructions of Pseudonymity in the Battle of the Books", in Robert J. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke, 2003), 39-62, 54.

pioneering literary history of the development of Greek drama contained in the second edition of the *Dissertation* lay next to a disdainful disinterest in the historical context of the 'Phalaris' impostor, a knowledge of which gave Bentley the tools to locate the letters as a late production. Thus, in contrast to the opinion expressed in many accounts of the Battle,[226] Bentley's historical scholarship was subservient to other, aesthetic and rational preferences which distanced him from the most radical of the supporters of the 'Moderns' and aligned him to some of the advocates of the 'Ancients'.[227]

In the *Epistola ad Millium* this tendency is even clearer. This work appeared 'new and strange' precisely because it demonstrated, in Haugen's words, Bentley's rejection of "the historical-chronological brand of scholarship that might have been reasonably expected in his milieu",[228] showing instead an interest in strictly 'literary' topics (preferably from an archaic period) that was as keen as his distaste for matters of transmission and tradition was blatant. In fact, Bentley was goaded into writing the *Epistola* to accompany an edition of a work that could not have been farther from his inclinations: a Byzantine chronicle by John Malalas (sixth century CE).[229] Bentley had no qualms in turning the chronicle into a road map for forays into earlier literature, while disregarding the process by which this literature had been transmitted. The dazzle of Bentley's interventions in restoring fragments of lost early Greek poetry was all the more in evidence because he asked no questions about how Malalas received this literature,[230] and how it came about that the chronicler made so many inaccurate statements. These errors were simply occasions for some chastising rants against Malalas's ignorance which could even be described as 'Scriblerian' for their vigour and vigilance to the perversions of learning.[231] Malalas was simply a

---

[226] See e.g. A. H. De Quehen, "Richard Bentley's Spider-Webs", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 1/2 (1994), 92-104, which wrongly argues that "before Bentley's *Dissertation* it was not widely understood that works belonged in a historical context", 92, thus turning Bentley into a champion of historicism.

[227] This also suggested by Hinz, *Nunc Phalaris*, 382-384.

[228] Haugen, *Bentley*, 82. 'New and strange' is Haugen's title for her chapter on the *Epistola ad Millium*.

[229] Bentley, *Epistola ad Millium*, in *Joannis Antiocheni Cognomento Malalæ Historia Chronica* (Oxford, 1691). I am indebted here to Haugen, *Bentley*, 81-99.

[230] Particularly revealing is Bentley's peculiar usage of the text-critical term 'prima manus' in *Epistola*, 49 – as pointed out by Haugen, *Bentley*, 88.

[231] This can be seen not just in the *Epistola*'s indulgence in conjectural emendation (which provides the satirical matter of the mock-scholarship of Martinus Scriblerus), but especially in Bentley's intolerance for

faulty transmitter to be excavated and then expunged from a nascent canon of 'classical', 'literary' works; the history of the *traditio* of classical literature was a philological tool for Bentley rather than a research problem worthy of investigation in itself. Here, there was little of the historical interest in late antique productions that Scaliger (as well as Heinsius)[232] might have appeared to Swift to have held.

Indeed, while the reconstruction of original texts and the detection of forgery had been scholarly norms since the beginnings of philology,[233] in the context of Bentley's *Epistola* they appeared strikingly antagonistic, not just against the transmitters of earlier literature, but also against the practices that had been prevalent in seventeenth-century English historical scholarship. Indeed, the edition of Malalas was a late product of a learned culture that was rapidly changing. On the one hand, it clearly harked back to the Oxford patristic and ecclesiastical erudition which flourished under the aegis of John Fell (d. 1686),[234] and which sought to fashion itself on the mould of the Greek church, thus following the pattern laid out by archbishop Laud before the civil wars. As such, it bore the traces of a genuine seventeenth-century interest in Byzantine ecclesiastical culture. On the other hand, the contributions by the younger generation of scholars such as Bentley and Humphrey Hody which appeared with it made their authors' distaste for the arcane matter of the chronicle abundantly clear. Bentley made no scruple to indulge in polemics against his predecessors, one of whom was precisely Isaac Vossius. (It seems in fact that their antagonism was common knowledge among contemporaries.)[235] Thus, Swift would have certainly known how much the 'criticism' that he would straightforwardly disparage in the *Battel* was

---

Malalas's "librum […] musteum" (*Epistola*, 1) and his treatment of a decayed age through which the scholar attempts to glimpse an earlier, better time (that of the Greek tragedians).

[232] See above, chaper 1, 42-48. Cf. e.g. Francesco Tissoni, "The Reception of Nonnus in Late Antiquity, Byzantine, and Renaissance Literature", in Accorinti (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis* (Leiden, 2016), 691-713, esp. 706-710.

[233] See Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, 1990).

[234] See Jean-Louis Quantin, "Erudition and Orthodoxy: John Fell and Patristic Scholarship in Restoration Oxford", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1/1 (2016), 43-78, and William Poole, *John Fell's New Year Books* (Oxford, 2018), esp. xlv-lvii; also Nicholas Keene, "John Fell", *History of Universities* 17 (2003), 62-101, emphasizing Fell's influence on the next generation of Christ Church scholars who would be responsible for the campaign against Bentley.

[235] See the letter from Edward Bernard to Thomas Smith dated 22nd March 1689/90: "Mr Bentley who Mr Vossius accounts his greatest enemy", in MS Smith 47, fol. 62r (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

actually an endeavour fraught with disagreements as much as with potentialities that pulled it in different (and sometimes opposite) directions.

'Vossius'

Bentley's indirect polemics with Vossius (who had been dead two years by then) occurred in the first section of the *Epistola,* where Bentley was intent on disdainfully emending and restoring the forged monotheistic Oracles (which Malalas cited as genuine) attributed to pagan sages such as Orpheus. Bentley's disdain, however, was not just aimed at Malalas and at the forged poems, but it was also turned against the scholars who had been working on the ancient oracular poetry attributed to Orpheus and the Sibyls. In a sentence heavy with sarcasm, Bentley expressed his hope that he would

> incur at least a little gratitude from those men of most elegant judgement, who worship the Oracles commonly known as 'Sibylline' as if they were flowing from an old prophetic spinster daughter of Noah. Come then, o true Sibyllists, and touch these sacred things with clean hands.[236]

The polemical reference was hidden in the scornful appellation of 'Sibyllist': in 1679 Isaac Vossius had published a small controversial and eccentric book on the Sibylline Oracles, which, as we shall see, had gained him the title of 'Sibyllist' from his opponents.

What is remarkable is that Vossius's *De Sibyllinis Oraculis* appears on Swift's reading list for the years 1697-8.[237] Even more significantly, Swift's copy of the book has survived (in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge),[238] and contains precious hints as to why Vossius might appear alongside Temple in the *Battel,* for an inscription bound at the end of the volume records that this was a gift from Temple, dated February 1698.[239] Thus, Swift's conscription of Vossius among the Ancients is heavy with unexplored implications. In the next section I will discuss the

---

[236] "Spero etiam me gratiæ aliquantulum initurum ab hominibus illis perelegantis judicii; qui Oracula quæ vulgo feruntur Sibyllina tanquam ab anu fatidica Noachi filia fusa venerantur. Adeste igitur, O vere σιβυλλιῶντες, lotisque manibus sacra hæc tangite", *Epistola,* 6.
[237] On the reading list, see above, chapter 1, 23, n. 55.
[238] Rothschild Collection, RW 12.2.2321. Catalogued in *Library and Reading,* 3, 1945-1946.
[239] "Jon: Swift. Donum Illus^{mi} D.D.G. Temple Febr. 2. 1697". The inscription is thoroughly discussed by Elias, *Swift at Moor Park,* 103, and esp. 260-261 (n. 140).

intellectual kinship of Vossius and Temple. For now, what is noteworthy is that Vossius's book, while being a work of historical criticism, reflects a drastically different conception of 'forgery' from Bentley's, an analysis of which is particularly helpful in reconsidering the Ancient/Modern divide.

The genuineness of the Sibylline Oracles had long been questioned. By the late seventeenth century, there could be little doubt that these texts were just yet another spurious product of the Judeo-Christian syncretism of the first centuries of the common era rather than the actual prophecies of the pagan Sibyls. In fact, the corpus mainly consists of texts modelled on biblical prophetic passages, announcing the advent of Christ as a 'Great King'. Their specious clarity in foretelling what they proclaim to be the 'future', and their attribution to the pagan priestesses who enjoyed the fruits of the credulity of the gentiles had attracted the suspicions of many critics, most notably Isaac Casaubon at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[240] Vossius's approach to such moribund materials is eccentric to say the least, and has led modern interpreters (as well as some of Vossius's contemporaries) to suspect him of covert irreligion.[241] And yet, as we shall later see, the foundations of Vossius's arguments about the Oracles lie in some specific traditions of seventeenth-century biblical criticism. Vossius did not argue for the Oracles' genuineness; however, he built on Casaubon's philological findings to create a historical and theological vision which sought to challenge the very notion of 'apocryphal' as 'spurious' or 'forged', and, more problematically, to imbue apocryphal writings with a divine sanction.

For Vossius, it all happened according to God's plan for Christianity: in 83 BCE, during the upheavals of Sylla's dictatorship, the Roman Capitol was set on fire, and the famous books of

[240] Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 172-177; on the early modern reception of pagan oracles more generally, see Anthony Ossa-Richardson, *The Devil's Tabernacle: The Pagan Oracles in Early Modern Thought* (Princeton, 2013).
[241] Most notably Jonathan Israel, who argues that Vossius was part of a "campaign to sap confidence in biblical chronology", in *Enlightenment Contested* (Oxford, 2006), 640. On the contemporary gossip surrounding Vossius, see David Katz, "Vossius and the English Biblical Critics", Popkin and Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1993), 142-184.

oracles of the Cumaean Sibyl were lost.[242] Seven years later, the Senate decreed that they be replaced by other oracular exemplars from the Eastern Sibyls, and a delegation was sent into the East to enquire after copies of these prophecies. It was in Egypt, while the Romans were looking to retrieve the Oracles of the Erythraean Sibyl, that the Hellenistic Jews forged and interpolated them with biblical materials, because they were convinced that Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks (Daniel 9) was about to be fulfilled, and that the Messiah was about to come. The Oracles, therefore, were forgeries – 'a farrago by several Sibyls, or rather by Sibylline writers' ("plurium Sibyllarum, seu potius Sibyllistarum farraginem"), which had also suffered further interpolation in the first centuries of the Christian era.[243] Yet these frauds, like many other pseudepigrapha written around the same time, had been written with God's guidance, and they served a pivotal historical role in the divine scheme, as their core had appeared *before* the coming of Christ, and thus prepared the way for Christ's advent among the gentiles. They had received the approval of the church fathers, and even of the apostolic church: the Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter (both canonical books in the New Testament) quote directly from the apocryphal Book of Enoch, a pseudepigraphic work ascribed to the great-grandfather of Noah, which is also the source for a section of the first book of the Sibylline Oracles.[244]

According to Vossius, the very notion of 'apocryphal' ought to be historicized – which he did through a narrative steeped in anti-Judaic sentiment. For him, the meaning of 'apocryphal' as 'spurious' is secondary, being a later Jewish perversion of the original word: ἀπόκρυφος simply

---

[242] Vossius, on the (mistaken) authority of Tacitus's *Annals* (6.12.3), confuses the Social War ('bellum Marsicum', 91-88 BC) with the fire of the Capitol during the civil wars of Sylla (83 BC). *De Sibyllinis Aliisque Quæ Christi Natalem Præcessere Oraculis* (Oxford, 1679), 42-43.

[243] More than two thirds of the extant Oracles are interpolations for Vossius: "Cæterum post adventum Christi multa assuta esse istis Sibyllinis, partim ex Evangeliis, partim ex rebus quæ postea contingerunt, de eo ne dubitandum quidem videtur, omninoque in hac parte probo sententiam Celsi. Sed & recte Lactantius, cum scribit non esse unius Erythrææ, sed plurimum Sibyllarum, seu potius Sibyllistarum farraginem. Certe cum ex Fenestella constet, circa mille tantum Erythrææ Sibyllæ versus legatos Romam deportasse, satis apparet, quantæ factæ sint additiones, cum supra ter mille versus sub hujus Sibyllæ nomine hoc legantur tempore", *Ibid.*, 44.

[244] "Eadem historia [the book of Enoch], paribus fere ac Apostolus [Peter in his letter in the New Testament] verbis, memoratur in Oraculis Sibyllinis Lib. I. ubi secundæ ante diluvium ætatis hominum lapsus describitur. Nec tamen propterea sequitur librum hunc ipso antiquiorem diluvio, ab Enocho fuisse conscriptum. Absit ut sic sentiamus; sed vero ita omnino credimus, omnes istos quos diximus libros, vergentibus ad finem Danielis hebdom[a]dis, a Judæis toto orbe dispersis fuisse compositos, Deo impellente ipsorum mentes ad significandum gentibus Christi adventum", *ibid.*, 39.

meant 'hidden', and identified the books to which access was restricted.[245] All religious books (the Sibylline Oracles among the pagans were no exception) were 'apocryphal' in this sense, at least until Scripture was made intelligible for the gentiles with the Septuagint translation (i.e. the ancient Greek version of the Hebrew Bible). The Septuagint and the proliferation of apocrypha were to be explained within the same historical pattern: the Jews expected the Messiah, and therefore spread the knowledge of their hidden books to the gentiles; when, however, the Messiah came and they failed to recognize him in Christ, but saw that their actions had helped prepare the belief of others, they started hating the apocrypha and perverting their copies of Scripture. They then introduced the sense of the word 'apocryphal' as 'unworthy of belief', and they condemned as such all books that were not in the Hebrew text of the Bible, even though they appeared in the Septuagint and in other versions. For Vossius this was the origin of what we now call, with unjust suspicion, the 'Apocrypha of the Old Testament', whose status is not dissimilar from that of the Sibylline Oracles.[246]

What did it mean for Swift to read Vossius's arguments and Bentley's disparaging remarks in the context of the Battle of the Books? Firstly, it shows once again that Swift must have been perfectly aware that 'criticism' was no monolithic enterprise, but a multifarious practice, pliable to different intellectual purposes and standards, and still relatively undertheorized.[247] In the *Battel*, Swift might have presented "*Criticism*" as the one monstrous

---

[245] "Atque hæc vera hujus vocis significatio, neque ullum vetustum invenias scriptorem, cui ἀπόκρυφος non fuerit idem quod κρύφιος, ita ut libri apocryphi idem fuerint qui arcani, inaccessi, sacri, & quibus merito credatur", *ibid.*, 36.

[246] "Ego ne dubitandum quidem existimo, sinistra vocis hujus acceptio [scilicet apocryphi pro spuriis] a Judæis propagata sit ad Christianos. […] Totis quinquaginta & pluribus annis antequam nasceretur Messias, suis de Messia vaticiniis universum Judæi terrarum compleverant orbem. […] Postquam autem ille venit, & non agnoverunt eum, eversis tandem Jerosolymis spes alius Messiæ paulatim cœperit evanescere, numerusque in verum credentium Messiam indies augeri; fieri aliter non potuit, quin pudore & pœnitentia prioris a se sparsi rumoris affecti fuerint maxima, adeoque quidem ut & ipsi quoque, quod eos frustratus esset, maledixerint Messiæ. Tum itaque cœperunt odiosi illis esse Sibyllini, Hystaspis, aliique a maioribus suis paulo ante conscripti libri, utpote adventum Christi clarius significantes quam a veteribus factum esset prophetis. Tum quoque execrationi esse cœpit versio LXX interpretum […] Tum quoque factum ut arctiori quam antea sepe libri sacri constringerentur, omnesque qui Hebraice non exstarent, a reliquis separati & pro apocryphis fuerit habiti, detorta a vero significatu vocis natura", *ibid.*, 37-38.

[247] See Benedetto Bravo, "*Critice* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in Ligota and Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship* (Oxford, 2006), 135-195; Maria Cristina Pitassi, *Entre Croire et Savoir* (Leiden, 1987), but see also the cautions of Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 391-402.

"malignant Deity" of the Moderns,[248] but this was disingenuous slander dictated by the necessity of polemics. Behind such slander lay more complex issues about the definition of forgery and spuriousness, especially in their relation to concepts such as that of authorship.

Secondly, the conscription of Vossius against the 'Moderns' and of Scaliger against Bentley points us to a more essential dilemma about the value of historical criticism: should philological efforts be ultimately directed to a recovery of the original text or to the explication of the *traditio* that a text or a literary system enjoyed? Such a question had profound implications of method as well as of purpose. Bentley's drastic preference of critical reason over manuscript evidence was a corollary of an approach that was 'literary' as well as prescriptive, and, as we will see at the end of this chapter, it provided much material for Swift's attacks.

Thirdly, and most relevantly, reading Vossius must have alerted Swift to the presence, beyond the straightforward Ancient/Modern opposition, of the crucial issue of some biblical and patristic corpora (such as the Apocrypha or the fragmentary documents of the Apostolic period) that were themselves in odour of spuriousness. Likewise, Bentley's treatment of the pagan Oracles in the *Epistola* raised the problem of what kind of 'Modern' criticism could be suited to the study of such ambiguous texts. This hidden nexus deserves further explication: a careful analysis of the sources reveals how this problem was tucked just out of sight in Battle, even though it was hardly ever out of the mind of the disputants. Rather, it implicitly influenced and shaped many of the contributions to the Battle. To re-read the Quarrel with such an awareness in mind not only nuances the traditional accounts of it, but it also contributes to explaining why participants (and Swift pre-eminently) felt compelled to coat it in such a trivializing apparel. Thus, in the next section, we will have to zoom out from the Swiftian text before returning to it, for it is only through an explication of these latent concerns that we can sound the workings of Swift's 'satyre'.

[248] *Battel*, 154.

II. The Bible behind the Battle

When the Christ Church 'wits', led by Francis Atterbury, retaliated against Bentley's indictment of Phalaris as a late forger, they did not shy away from insinuations. Bentley, they claimed,

> would prove that *Phalaris* could not possibly be the Author of these Letters, because some Places are mention'd there under such Names, as he thinks were given 'em since the Age of *Phalaris*. Does he know Whose this Sort of Proof is, and to what Ill Purpose it has been employ'd? It is famous for being made use of by *Spinosa* to ruine the Authority of *Moses*'s Writings; which he would prove not to be His (just as our Chronologer here does) from Places being mention'd in 'em, more Modern than He. Ought the Dr. in a Doubting Age to have employ'd such an Argument, without the utmost Caution and Guard?[249]

Such proof of forgery from anachronism was, according to the 'Examiner' of Bentley's *Dissertation*, intrinsically dangerous, and its "Tendency" naturally irreligious; in Bentley's 'sort of criticism' the workings of philology were autonomous from and therefore necessarily inimical to doctrine and revelation. Just as Bentley's philology did not spare Phalaris, so would it end up expunging Moses from the canon of 'authentic' ancient writings.

This picture of criticism as inherently emancipatory and secularizing (notwithstanding or perhaps because of the support it was thought to offer to revealed religion) has itself become orthodox in intellectual historiography.[250] And perhaps rightly, for it is true that the advances made in scholarly method were at the heart (though in more complex and indirect ways) of the changes that we have come to associate with the 'Enlightenment'.[251] We will see for example how Atterbury's off-hand insinuation resurfaced in other, more private texts by scholars who recoiled from the more publicly disparaging aspects of the Battle: clearly, it had at least some explanatory power. Indeed, this interpretation is particularly attractive precisely because it confirms the image

[249] Boyle [=Atterbury *et al.*], *Dr Bentley's Dissertations Examin'd*, 120-121. On Atterbury, see G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730* (Oxford, 1975).
[250] For some cogently argued views of this type, see Levine, *Autonomy of History*; Eric Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden, 2010); and, most recently, Dirk van Miert, *The Emancipation of Biblical Philology in the Dutch Republic* (Oxford, 2018).
[251] Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom*.

of the Quarrel as an opposition of Modern autonomous method and Ancient normative doctrine at the root of Enlightened modernity.[252]

And yet, such a focus on the autonomy of philological method has the risk not just of betraying us back into a simplistic interpretation of the Battle, but also of blinding us to the fact that even in the late seventeenth century, as Nicholas Hardy has shown, 'criticism' had little independence from larger intellectual dynamics such as those of confessional strife and theology.[253] Atterbury's comment above is disingenuous as well as contentious, and should, in the first instance, alert us to the fact that issues of critical method, rather than being uniform, could be turned to polemical advantage; the detection and expunction of 'forgeries', as we shall see, could serve different purposes and different textual traditions. In order to account for the ingenuity with which Swift constructed the attacks contained in the *Tale* miscellany, we need to be wary of falling back into yet another binary opposition in the guise of Modern philology vs. Ancient doctrine. Instead, philology, confessional polemics, and theological speculation worked synergetically.[254] Although philological method would keep historicizing dogma, thus lessening its normative value, we must shed such teleology in order to see how the theological and confessional uses of philology shaped not only Swift's literary efforts, but also conceptions of 'literature' itself.

The Battle of the Books may well appear as a secular or even secularizing quarrel, and yet we will see how both sides were entangled in other adjacent controversies where theological elements were much more clearly in evidence. One, certainly, was the authorship of the Pentateuch,[255] but others also appear intermittently. As the presence of Vossius's treatise on Swift's reading list suggests, another contentious point was the status of the Septuagint, especially

---

[252] In a previous version of this chapter which I prematurely published, I argued for such a simplistic framework – see "Traditions of Learning in the English Battle of the Books", *The Seventeenth Century* 33/1 (2018), 87-112.
[253] Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 373-402.
[254] For a critical synthesis of much recent scholarship that has shifted the historiographical paradigm in this direction, see Dmitri Levitin, "From Sacred History to the History of Religion", *The Historical Journal*, 55/4 (2012), 1117-1160.
[255] On this, see Noel Malcolm, "Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible", in *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford, 2002), 383-431.

in relation to the Masoretic Hebrew text of the Old Testament.[256] Linked to this latter problem was the issue of the role of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, which itself impinged on a question of canonicity and canon-formation in the early church.[257] In other words, not only were various controversial aspects of biblical philology imbricated, but even other scholarly and literary quarrels brought with them assumptions and implications that had been formed by biblical and ecclesiastical scholarship, and consequently by confessional motives.

From Temple to Vossius: China and the Septuagint

Take Sir William Temple's essay *Upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, which itself sparked off the first hostilities of the Battle in 1690. There, the problem of the place of the Bible within his oppositional scheme appears as an occluded offshoot of the central argument, and it is tied to another, apparently unconnected and secular debate about Chinese culture. The status of China, however, had come to be inextricably linked to the value of the Septuagint as a biblical version.

The appeal of China in the context of Temple's essay stemmed from the conviction that far Eastern culture had enjoyed a constant tradition of learning and letters, unlike the West, where the Middle Ages had marked an irreversible caesura between Ancients and Moderns. This position brought with it a more controversial point, for the annals of the Chinese polity stretch beyond the accepted chronology of the world as given in the Hebrew Bible. These ancient records, Temple says, "make such Excursions beyond the periods of time given us by the Holy

---

[256] On these issues my debts are to Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 249-372; id., "The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England", in Killeen, Smith, and Willie (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2015), 117-130; Scott Mandelbrote, "English Scholarship and the Greek Text of the Old Testament, 1620-1720", in Hessayon and Keene (eds.), *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2006), 74-93; id., "Isaac Vossius and the Septuagint", in Jorink and van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden, 2012), 85-117; J. C. H. Lebram, "Ein Streit um die Hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta", in Lunsingh Scheurleer and Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 1975), 21-63.

[257] On this, my debts are to Jean-Louis Quantin, "*Apocryphorum nimis studiosi*? Dodwell, Mill, Grabe et le Problème du canon Néo-Testamentaire", in Mimouni (ed.), *Apocryphité: Histoire d'un Concept Transversal aux Religions du Livre* (Turnhout, 2002), 285-306; Alastair Hamilton, *Apocryphal Apocalypse* (Oxford, 1999).

Scriptures that we are not allowed to reason upon them".[258] Yet he allows himself to give us a hint: the Chinese annals, carefully preserved by the stability of letters and traditions, have such unquestionable credentials that even "Religious men" have been content to abandon "the vulgar Chronology of Scripture" in favour of "that of the *Septuagint*"[259] (which records longer life-spans for the patriarchs between Adam and Noah, thus making the world older than in the Hebrew chronology). The remembrance of a vast, bitter corpus of erudite disputation is couched under the nonchalant smoothness of Temple's remark. Unsurprisingly, the unmentioned authority for this controversial opinion is Isaac Vossius,[260] whom Temple had probably met in The Hague in the 1660s,[261] and with whom he shared an enthusiastic (and disingenuous) Sinophilia.[262]

Vossius's own chronological arguments had recurred throughout his career,[263] but they had been especially crystallized in relation to China in a debate that took place between the Dutch humanist and the FRS Robert Hooke in the 1680s, and that in many ways prefigured the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. This exchange has been studied in detail by William Poole,[264] and I will only dwell on the aspect that impinged more or less directly on biblical scholarship. This had to do with the role of the Chinese script in the preservation of learning, which could itself become a platform to tackle contiguous controversies about the aptness or defectiveness of other scripts, such as those of Hebrew or Greek. We will see later how such a critical focus on the history of *literae* in its strictest sense of 'written signs' was a versatile method that enabled engagement in the fields covered by the figurative meanings of *literae*, such as 'learning' and indeed 'literature', and that could be plied both to 'Modern' and to 'Ancient' purposes at will.

---

[258] William Temple, *Miscellanea: The Second Part* (London, 1690), 7.
[259] *Ibid.*, 22.
[260] On Vossius, see the essays collected in Jorink and van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689)*, and F. F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle* (Groningen, 2000).
[261] The possibility is suggested by Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, 259.
[262] On Vossius's Sinophilia, see Thijs Weststeijn, "Vossius's Chinese Utopia", in Jorink and van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius*, 207-242; on the heterodox uses of China, see id., "Spinoza Sinicus", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68/4 (2007), 537-561, and especially William Poole, "Heterodoxy and Sinology", in Mortimer and Robertson (eds.), *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy, 1600-1750* (Leiden, 2012), 135-153.
[263] See Anthony Grafton, "Isaac Vossius, Chronologer", in Jorink and van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius*, 43-84.
[264] Poole, "Heterodoxy and Sinology", esp. 144-153.

Indeed, in Vossius's essay 'De Artibus & Scientiis Sinarum', published in 1685, Chinese and its script was but a ploy to mourn the fate of Greek and Latin as the scholarly idioms of the West. According to Vossius, the classical languages were the only preservatives of ancient wisdom and the only safeguards against ignorance, and their neglect in the Middle Ages had profoundly crippled modern learning. Thus, they ought to be constantly upheld and cherished lest their practice be cut off again. Chinese traditions of learning, by contrast, had suffered no interruption thanks to the continuous linguistic knowledge of the scholarly class. What truly worried Vossius was the fact that the growing reputation of the vernaculars (which are naturally unstable) as possible media for erudition threatened to displace Latin, and to herald a new relapse of knowledge into oblivion.[265] Such melancholy-tinged elitism could not fail to appeal to Temple.

Hooke's inventive response (in English) stressed in contrast how the Chinese script had suffered the same fate as all other ancient languages: Chinese, like Greek or biblical Hebrew, was once a spoken idiom that had endured changes in pronunciation over the centuries, and had therefore been made ineffable by the mutability of time. As the original sound of each Greek letter is irrecoverable, so is the primeval phonetics of Chinese lost in a distant past. Each Chinese character, Hooke conjectured, was once a word, and each stroke that went to form each sign was once a letter with a fixed pronunciation: the original Chinese script may thus have been alphabetic. What was once possibly a 'literal character', in which each stroke represented a sound, became in time a 'real character', in which the relation of the strokes to each other is lost to memory. Thus, in time, each sign became a logogram, only made effable in after-ages with an erratic, unsystematic pronunciation. For Hooke, the history of the Chinese script described the decay from alphabet to logography: it was a history of the loss of 'method', which was the key to discriminate between a limited number of effable strokes and the current colossal multitude of characters that depresses the memory of the learner. "[T]he whole Character becomes a Real and

[265] Isaac Vossius, *Variarum Observationum Liber* (London, 1685), 69-85, esp. 82, 85.

not a Litteral Character: and an Immethodical one to such as want a method, that must be learnt by roat and depend wholly upon the strength of the Memory to retain it".[266]

And yet, Hooke thought, a method could be recovered: the ancient Chinese script could be methodized by modern interpreters by arbitrarily imposing a logical system of pronunciation on the script, thus creating an artificial language above the corruptions of vernacular speech. Hooke's argument thus moves from historical reconstruction to scientific projection. Such a strikingly 'Modern' view, however, was sustained by an 'Ancient' precedent in biblical scholarship: the system of pronunciation he proposes may "serve *As well* for a help to learn the Signification of words, or *Word Combinations* of Characters, as if we now knew the exact Primitive Pronounciations, as Critically as the *Masorethæ* are said to have done that of the Hebrew".[267] The Jewish grammarians who, between the sixth and the tenth century, had added the vowel points to the consonantal Hebrew text of the Old Testament could thus provide an ancient example of how to revive a script threatened by oblivion. If, as Hooke implies when describing some Chinese compound characters that he considers syllabic,[268] only the presence of a vowel can make a sign effable, then the Masoretes performed a task of methodization of the ancient Hebrew script which bears a direct affinity with Hooke's plan for Chinese.

Unsurprisingly, if the Masoretes were critics for Hooke, or even forerunners of his own linguistic projects, for Vossius they were corrupters who had obliterated the traces of the historical transmission of the Hebrew *Urtext* of the Old Testament. Such anti-rabbinic sentiment had been a constant feature of Vossius's scholarly publications. In his *De vera Ætate Mundi* (1659), Vossius had already used the example of China to uphold the Septuagint chronology against heterodox opinions of about a pre-Adamitic race of men proposed by Isaac La Peyrère,[269] and, unsurprisingly, he had backed this up by casting scorn on Jewish textual traditions. The Masoretes, in his opinion, had relied on their own judgement in the performance of their critical

[266] Robert Hooke, "Some Observations, and Conjectures concerning the Chinese Characters", *Philosophical Transactions*, 16 (1686), 63-78, 74.
[267] Ibid., 78.
[268] Ibid., 72.
[269] See Grafton, "Vossius Chronologer", 43-45; van Miert, *Emancipation of Biblical Philology*, 220-229.

labours, without considering other authoritative traditions that had preserved the Bible, among which that of the Septuagint was preeminent.[270] The stories the Rabbis told about the care with which the sacred books were preserved were, for Vossius, nothing but impostures.[271] As Vossius stressed in his *De Septuaginta Interpretibus* (1661), the blame rested as much on the untrustworthiness of Jewish traditions of learning as it did on the Hebrew script: its deficiency in vowels had permitted the loss of the original pronunciations, which had been forgotten in the lapse of ages, during which time the Jews had foolishly relied only on an oral tradition of liturgical reading. If king David came back to life to hear his own Psalms sung in modern synagogues, he would enquire in what language the Jews are chanting.[272]

Vossius thought that the authoritativeness of a biblical version, or indeed that of any ancient text, depended on the credentials of the tradition of witnesses that preserved it. The warrant of this tradition relies on its continuity (China's *perpetuus antiquorum librorum intellectus* is the exact reverse of the lack of *constans librorum sacrorum conservatio* among the Jews),[273] on the quality of its script and writing media (he thought that Chinese typography was older and superior to European printing, and Hebrew characters defective),[274] and on the authority of the institutional body that ensured its perpetuation. Thus, China was a foil for ideas whose preeminent application was in biblical criticism. To rely on the Masoretes meant for Vossius privileging the rabbis over the Greek church fathers who had upheld the Septuagint; the Septuagint itself had enjoyed the longest uninterrupted tradition within the Greek Church, even longer than that of Jerome's Latin Vulgate among the Catholics. Such extremes of Protestant

---

[270] "Quamvis autem non omnino improbandus Massoretaru[m] labor in expurgandis Sacri codicis erroribus, in eo tamen reprehendi sunt quam maxime, quod suo solum fusi judicio, dubium adeo & difficile opus aggressi sint neglectis & non consultis cum aliis versionibus, tum præcipue illa septuaginta interpretum, quam si ad partes suas vocassent, longe felicius veras lectiones à falsis dignoscere potuissent", in Isaac Vossius, *De Vera Ætate Mundi* (The Hague, 1659), VI-VII.
[271] "Desinant itaque viri boni semetipsos decipere, ac Judæorum fabellis assensum præbere. Quæcunque illi tradunt de perpetua & constanti librorum sacrorum conservatione, meræ sunt imposturæ", *ibid.*, VI.
[272] "Ab hominibus barbaris & etiam in vernacula quam jactant lingua peregrinis [i.e. the Masoretes], ecquid aliud quam vitiosum &ab omni ratione alienum potuit proficisci? Periit Hebraicæ linguæ sonus & pronuntiatio. Rex David si revivisceret ac in hodiernis Judæorum Synagogis Psalmos legi aut cantari audiret, sciscitaretur quanam lingua uterentur isti homines", in Isaac Vossius, *De Septuaginta Interpretibus* (The Hague, 1661), 97-98.
[273] *Variarum Observationum Liber*, 82 (cf. *De Vera Ætate*, VI).
[274] *Ibid.*, 81.

Hebraica Veritas threatened, as he said with a strikingly scornful formulation, to turn theology into 'rabbinology'.[275]

Thus, behind Temple's smooth reference to China and the Septuagint chronology, and presumably behind his gift of *De Sibyllinis Oraculis* to Swift, lay a series of controversial positions that were 'Ancient' (in their support of the permanence of a Greek textual *traditio*) only at the expense of being resolutely 'Modern' in their dismissal of Jewish traditions of learning as impostures. Conversely, the 'Modern' Hooke was envisaging his linguistic projects on the basis of ancient precedents.

Temple seems to have unproblematically and naively accepted the insidious antagonism embedded in Vossius's drive to pit one ancient biblical version against another. Indeed, we can detect this thread of debate not just in Temple (who believed that no Hebrew or Aramaic text predating the time of Augustus survived),[276] but also in his main 'Modern' adversary William Wotton, who stressed instead that the Jews had been particularly solicitous in preserving their sacred texts since the end of the Babylonian captivity, while indicting the Septuagint as a faulty version.[277]

What this suggests is that the Battle of the Books was not simply a clash about the relative excellence of ancient and modern literatures. It was also a way to explore and debate some issues of critical method that had clear parallels in the much more sensitive area of biblical scholarship. The Battle, rather than a secularizing episode, was a displacement strategy: by taking place in the relatively safe field of classical *literae*, it enabled disputants to engage in discussions whose covert stakes were in other fields, namely biblical and ecclesiastical scholarship. As such, it did not bypass the confessional structures that usually shaped these other fields; rather, it

[275] "Nescio utrum magis mirer simplicitatem eorum, qui tam misere decipi se patiuntur, an illorum [i.e. of the Jews] calliditatem, qui merces suas tam care distrahunt, & incautis emptoribus somnia pro oraculis divendunt. Id sane adsecuti sunt hac nostra ætate, ut explosis patribus & omnibus Christianæ Ecclesiæ doctoribus, tota fere Theologia in Rabbinologiam sit conversa", *De Septuaginta Interpretibus*, 'Ad Lectorem', sig. c2^{r}.
[276] Temple, *Miscellanea*, 38.
[277] William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London, 1694), 322-325.

grafted them onto a different 'literary' landscape. It is therefore particularly important to excavate the confessional implications of the different positions taken by various participants, for it reveals how 'literature' could be invested with theological preoccupations, and its study animated by critical tools that had been fashioned to serve doctrinal purposes.

Inspiration, Forgery, Apocrypha

Temple was probably wise in occluding the strand of his argument on the Septuagint chronology. In fact, the ease with which he incorporated Vossius's ideas into his conception of 'ancient literature' obscures the fact that these ideas were, from both a critical and a theological point of view, problematic. One of the central cruxes shared by Vossius and Temple in their literary systems was the acceptance of forged texts as central witnesses to a tradition of learning. Just as the spurious Epistles of Phalaris bore much of the weight of Temple's argument, so were Vossius's ideas about the pre-eminence of the Septuagint not only buttressed by a recourse to 'apocryphal' texts such as the Sibylline Oracles, but they were also rooted in another counterfeit Greek text, the *Letter of Aristeas*.[278] The *Letter* was a specious document that recounted how the Septuagint came into existence: the supposed author was an ambassador to Jerusalem from the king of Egypt Ptolemy II Philadelphus (third century BCE), who wanted to include the Hebrew Scriptures in the Library of Alexandria. According to 'Aristeas', seventy-two elders (six from each of the Twelve Tribes of Israel) had come from Jerusalem to Alexandria, and had faithfully translated the Bible from pure Hebrew manuscripts into Greek.[279] Vossius's reliance on 'Aristeas', just as Temple's on 'Phalaris', implied that a text was authenticated thanks to the credentials of its authorship – a position that could lead to critical blind spots as much as to

[278] For a study of Anthonie van Dale, a scholar interested in the problems of forgeries and critical of Vossius, see Scott Mandelbrote, "Witches and Forgers: Anthonie van Dale on Biblical History", in van Miert *et al.* (eds.), *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Oxford, 2017), 270-306.

[279] See Abraham Wasserstein and David J. Wasserstein, *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge, 2006), esp. 238-269. Also, on the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century reception of the letter, see Scott Mandelbrote, "The *Letter of Aristeas*: Three Phases in the Readership of a Jewish Text", in Mandelbrote and Weinberg (eds.), *Jewish Books and their Readers* (Leiden, 2016), 15-44.

theological contortions especially as far as the doctrine of inspiration was concerned. Indeed, in Vossius's case, the *Letter* was doubly important and doubly problematic, for the authenticity at stake was not just that of Aristeas himself, but also that of the elders who translated the Septuagint, and consequently of the ecclesiastical writers that had made use of it.

The tensions in Vossius's stubborn upholding of the Septuagint were already latent in his early publications on the biblical version in the late 1650s and early 60s, and they did not just stem from chronology, but also clearly impinged on theological ground. Vossius's long-time correspondent Coenraad van Beuningen captured the problem in a letter dating from 1662, in which he expressed agreement with his friend's claims as much as doubts about their implications. Vossius, in van Beuningen's opinion, should especially steer clear of the theological question of the Septuagint's inspiration. Even patristic consensus could not bear the weight of proof in this case: Origen's comparison of various biblical versions and Jerome's new translation suggested that the fathers disagreed about the value of the Septuagint.[280] Indeed, van Beuningen wrote, 'if we rely on the authority of the fathers, the Sibyls too were inspired'; had not the ancient Christian writers even embellished on Aristeas, giving their assent to the additional fable about the translators working individually in separate cells and yet producing the exact same text?[281] The faultlessness of the Greek translation, van Beuningen continued, can be evinced from human industry rather than divine inspiration, and Vossius would avoid controversy by skirting the question of whether the translators were directly guided by a prophetic Spirit.[282] Thus, even

[280] Van Beuningen to Vossius (2nd March 1662), in MS D'Orville 470 (Oxford, Bodleian Library), 14: "causa[m] τῆς θεοπνευστίας ut ingenue loquar non video quibus satis validis argumentis defendi queat: in consensu patrum non est satis authoritatis neque ponderis ad tantam rem, et ille forte neque in ipsis primis seculis fuit omnium, neque constans satis quod opera quam Origenes in conquirendis et excolendis textu hebraico et plurimis aliis versionibus posuit, & nova Hieronymi interpretatio docere videtur". The original of this letter is in Amsterdam University Library, MS OTM: hs. III E 10, fol. 255, which I have been unable to check. On the patristic scholarly patterns represented by Jerome and Origen, see Scott Mandelbrote, "Origen Against Jerome in Early Modern Europe", in Bergjan and Pollmann (eds.), *Patristic Tradition and Intellectual Paradigms in the Seventeenth Century* (Tübingen, 2010), 105-135.

[281] Ibid.: "si authoritate patrum standum est erunt etiam Sibyllae θεόπνευσται: crediderunt illi fabulae de LXX cellulis, et de admirabili consensu etiam in singulis verbis, qui in libris seorsim versis a LXX viris repertus dicitur. hinc illa opinio de θεοπνευστίᾳ quam recte fidem invenit apud eos qui huic miraculo crediderunt non vero apud eos qui pro figmento illud habent". The switch from the perfect *crediderunt* to the present *habent* is perhaps significant.

[282] Ibid., 14-15: the lack of errors in the version "ab humano ingenio effici potuit. Ad argumenti tui summam parum confert an fidi interpretes vel praeterea θεόπνευσται fuerint, et dare potes adversariis tuis nolle te cum iis contendere si sedem patribus de θεοπνευστίᾳ non habeant".

almost twenty years before the publication of *De Sibyllinis Oraculis* with its arguments about inspired forgeries, such developments seemed to be on the horizon.

Van Beuningen's was sound advice. Vossius had as much to gain by upholding the Septuagint as he stood to lose by arguing for the prophetic nature of the translation. In England especially, interest in the Septuagint had been fuelled by the arrival on the island of the Codex Alexandrinus, a very ancient manuscript of the Septuagint sent by the patriarch of Constantinople to Charles I in 1627.[283] The manuscript seemed to hold great potentialities for the controversies about the text of Scripture that had been raging in Europe for decades. Indeed, when Vossius relocated to England in 1670, he was even rumoured to be the scholar who, after many abortive attempts, would finally edit the Codex for the press established at Oxford by John Fell, dean of Christ Church.[284]

And yet, the English reception of Vossius's ideas proved ambivalent.[285] The climate of Restoration Anglicanism was particularly eager to bolster the role of clerical learning in the interpretation of Scripture. Already in the 1650s, in the 'Prolegomena' to the London Polyglot Bible (a text to which Swift had access in his personal library),[286] the editor Brian Walton had accepted the genuineness of 'Aristeas' as a part of his project to uphold ecclesiastical erudition on the Septuagint as a crucial guide for scriptural interpretation.[287] He was, however, reluctant to say anything more than that the version had appeared 'not without God's providence', preparing the way for the advent of Christ.[288] In other words, Walton rejected the idea that the Septuagint was a

---

[283] On the acquisition of the Codex and its impact on English scholarship, see Mandelbrote, "English Scholarship and the Greek Text of the Old Testament".
[284] On Vossius as a possible editor of the Codex, see Mandelbrote, "Vossius and the Septuagint", 85-90. On the press under Fell, see Vivienne Larminie, "The Fell Era 1658-1686", in Gadd (ed.), *The History of Oxford University Press. Volume I: Beginnings to 1780* (Oxford, 2014), 79-104; also Poole, *John Fell's New Year Books*.
[285] See Thomas Roebuck, "'Great Expectations Among the Learned'", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 23/3 (2016), 307-325, 316-320.
[286] See above, chapter 1, 19, n. 45.
[287] See Scott Mandelbrote, "The Authority of the Word", in Crick and Walsham (eds.), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), 135-153, esp. 146-151; Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 362-370, esp. 365-368, correcting earlier appraisals of the dogmatic minimalism of the London Polyglot, such as Peter Miller, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653-1657)", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62/3 (2001), 463-482.
[288] 'Prolegomena', §5.4.1: "Prima [versio] & omnium antiquissima est nobilis illa 72 Seniorum [...] Quæ non sine speciali Dei providentia facta est [...] ut ante ortum Solis Justitiæ, quasi Prodromus orbem tenebris

product of inspiration rather than historical human erudition; conversely, he emphasised that the Septuagint was only the most important among various ancient versions that had been providentially preserved in different ecclesiastical bodies.[289] Thus, it seems that Vossius's enthusiasm for the Septuagint could be incorporated into the mainstream of Anglican scholarship only by removing his claims about the Greek version's pre-eminence over the Hebrew text. For example, when John Fell's close friend and Royalist churchman Richard Allestree read Vossius's *De Septuaginta Interpretibus*, he left some manuscript notes in his copy that dwelled on the uses of the Septuagint in the comparison with other texts (mainly the Masoretic text and the Greek New Testament) rather than on its text-critical superiority over them.[290]

But Vossius was not prepared to let go of his pet obsession. In the late 1670s, he was drawn into a quarrel that forced him to clarify his stance on biblical inspiration. Vossius had to defend himself from the criticisms of the French Oratorian priest Richard Simon,[291] whose *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (1678) had become highly controversial in its attempt to combine a Catholic conception of the necessity of ecclesiastical tradition with the most advanced biblical criticism of the day.[292] Moreover, we have evidence that Swift could follow at least part of this debate, for not only did he own the 1685 authoritative edition of Simon's *Histoire Critique* (also containing reprints of earlier controversial pieces with Simon's replies),[293] but he also

---

immersum aliquo modo illustraret; & viam pararet pro adventu Salvatoris", in *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, 1, 34.

[289] 'Prolegomena', §9.8: the things that Aristeas relates about the translators working together "plane afflatui Prophetico repugnant. Si enim inter se contulerunt, non prophetarunt. […] Propterea si Sp. S. afflati scripserint, numerus talis superfluus fuisset", in *ibid.*, 57. See also remarks on the version's lack of theological *authentia* in §9.55-56, esp.: "Aliam itaque auctoritatem Versioni Græcæ non tribuimus, quam aliis Versionibus, quarum nulli Authentiam proprie convenire existimamus: sed auctoritatem tantum humana[m]", *ibid.*, 80 [misnumbered as fol. 67ᵛ].

[290] Extant in Christ Church Library, Oxford, R.2.13(1), front flyleaf: "[we do] Not know w[ha]t Corr Gr words signified but for yᵉ Heb." (recto, inner margin).

[291] On the Vossius-Simon debate, see Mandelbrote, "Vossius and the Septuagint", 100-106, and Jean Steinmann, *Richard Simon et les Origines de l'Exégèse Biblique* (Paris, 1960), 180-184.

[292] On Simon as a critic, see now Timothy Twining, "Richard Simon and the Remaking of Seventeenth-Century Biblical Criticism", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 3/4 (2018), 421-487.

[293] Richard Simon, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (Rotterdam, 1685), henceforth *HCVT* – see *Library and Reading*, 3, 1696-1698. The edition also contains Ezekiel Spanheim's *Lettre à un Amy* (565-622) which explicitly defends Vossius at 582-586 and 615. On the editorial history of Simon's work, which was at first suppressed and the first edition pulped in 1678 by order of Bossuet, see Paul Auvray, *Richard Simon (1638-1712)* (Paris, 1974), 45-53, and Patrick J. Lambe, "Biblical Criticism and Censorship in Ancien Régime France", *Harvard Theological Review* 78/1-2 (1985), 149-177.

certainly read the first of Vossius's counter-attacks, as it was published as an appendix to his *De Sibyllinis Oraculis*.[294]

Simon's objections to Vossius were part of his larger scheme, which was critical and polemical at the same time: by showing the obscurity and instability of the Hebrew text as well as of all Scriptural versions, Simon aimed to prove the deep misunderstandings at the basis of the Protestant scripturalism, and consequently the necessity of ecclesiastical traditions. In pursuing this line of argument, Simon made some bold claims about the nature of the textual transmissions that had preserved the different texts of the Bible. Most notoriously, he denied that Moses wrote the Pentateuch as we have it; for him, the text was the product of schools of inspired 'scribes' or 'prophets' who had compiled it from genuinely Mosaic documents preserved in the archives of the Hebrew polity.[295] The Septuagint, though uninspired, was the product of similarly multiple origins: the 'diversity of style' in various parts of the translation confirmed their different authors, with the Pentateuch being only the original core of the version.[296] For Simon, the fathers who supported the inspiration of the Septuagint were doing so for the same apologetic reasons that prompted them to accept the authenticity of the Sibylline Oracles, and in such cases their judgement has no critical value.[297] In decrying the Hebrew text as corrupted by Jews intent on manipulating chronology to their advantage, Vossius has not simply been unjust and too extreme;[298] he has also fallen into so stubborn a defence of the Septuagint as to 'canonize' it, considering it completely inspired.[299]

In England Simon's work was expected with interest and apprehension, especially thanks to the information conveyed by the Huguenot bibliophile Henri Justel, who would be instrumental

---

[294] 'Isaaci Vossi ad Objectiones Nuperæ Criticæ Sacræ Responsio', in *De Sibyllinis Oraculis*, second pagination (henceforth 'Responsio').
[295] For discussions of the significance of this hypothesis, see Vincent Bedon, "Simon, Bossuet et la Bible", *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 120/1 (1998), 60-74; Jean Bernier, "Richard Simon et l'Hypothèse des Écrivains Publics", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 87/2 (2007), 157-176.
[296] *HCVT*, 190.
[297] *HCVT*, 189.
[298] *HCVT*, 204.
[299] *HCVT*, 212: "M. Vossius ne s'est pas contenté de donner des loüanges à cette ancienne Version, mais il l'a, pour ansi dire, canonisée, en la considerant comme inspirée de Dieu"

in sending two copies of the 1678 first edition of the *Histoire Critique* to London, while the majority of the remaining copies was pulped on the orders of bishop Bossuet.[300] Rumours especially circulated about the Catholic priest's criticism both of Vossius and of Walton.[301] Indeed, it would not take long for Vossius to defend himself. In his 'Responsio' appended to *De Sibyllinis Oraculis*, the humanist reiterated his opinions with an argument that appeared paradoxical to the point of triviality: on the authority of 1 Corinthians 14 and Luke 24, as well as that of Philo and other ancient Jewish writers, Vossius claimed, against the opinion of Jerome, that 'prophet' primarily means 'interpreter' or 'translator', and added a long list of pagan and Christian authority to emphasise that 'not only those who foretell future things were called *prophets*, but also those who explain or teach past and present ones'.[302]

Simon seized this occasion for further attack: by recurring to such arguments about the inspiration of the Septuagint translators, Vossius showed himself a true 'Sibyllist', eager to fabricate new prophets and oracles hitherto unknown.[303] Should we accept Vossius's definition of apocryphal prophecy (Simon argues), then a whole new canon of inspired writings must emerge, including all those impostures that went under the names not just of the patriarchs, but also of pagan sages such as Hystaspis, Hermes Trismegistus, Zoroaster, the Sibyls, Orpheus, etc., thus debasing the true authority of prophetic books.[304] As Simon would put it in a further satirical reply written under the pseudonym 'Hieronymus Le Camus', Vossius himself must have been infused

---

[300] See the letters from Justel to Henry Compton, bishop of London, dated 12th March and 13th April 1678 in MS Rawlinson C. 984 (Bodleian Library), fols. 16-17 and 27-28, transcribed in Louis I. Bredvold, *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden* (Ann Arbor, 1956), 156-159; on the suppression see above n. 301.
[301] See the correspondence of Henri Justel to Thomas Smith, in MS Smith 46 (Bodleian Library), 268, 385.
[302] 'Responsio', 5-7: "Si enim Scripturas recte sunt interpretati, utique fuere Prophetæ, teste non Apostolo tantum I. Cor. XIV. ubi omnem S. literarum interpretationem vocat prophetiam, sed & ipso Christo postremo Lucæ, ubi discipulis donum confert intelligendi Scripturas. Sic Philo sic omnes antiquiores senserunt Judæi, cum Propheta idem illis sit, quod interpres; & προφητεύειν, interpretari. […] Non illi tantum qui futura prædicerent, sed & qui præterita & præsentia explicarent aut docerent, Prophetæ dicebantur".
[303] Richard Simon, *Opuscula Critica Adversus Isaacum Vossium* (Edinburgh [=Rotterdam], 1685), 24: "Sibyllista est Vossius, qui novos Prophetas & Fatidicos hactenus incognitos commentus est".
[304] *Ibid.*, 8-9: "Vili veneunt apud Vossium Prophetæ, qui non modo LXX. Interpretes inter Prophetas recenseat, sed & his quoque adscribat celeberrimos impostores, qui ementitis Patriarcharum & Prophetarum, nec non virorum aliquot magnæ apud Gentiles existimationis nominibus, libros Adami, Enochi, Abrahami, Moysis, Esaiæ, Hieremiæ, Hystaspis, Mercurii Trismegisti, Zoroastris, Sibyllarum, Orphei, Phocyllidæ & complurium aliorum libros in lucem protulerunt"; the Simon's critique of Vossius's reliance on the Apocrypha is especially emphasised by Sascha Müller, *Kritik und Theologie: Christiliche Glaubens- und Schrifthermeneutik nach Richard Simon* (St. Ottilien, 2004), 61-62.

with an unheard-of *propheticum ingenium* surpassing the authority of all the fathers, to be able to thus rewrite the canon of the true ancient prophets.[305] Happy is the Anglican church, that, thanks to Vossius, has thus increased in this late age the number of its prophets and prophetesses, and may now fill with saintly names all the gaps in its Reformed liturgy![306]

The direction of Simon's insinuations is clear: in pursuing an idiosyncratic form of scripturalism based on the Septuagint rather than on the Hebrew Bible, Vossius was hypocritically turning his back to Reformed Christianity. He was adopting a stance that could easily lapse either into Roman Catholicism with its proneness to believe in the inspiration of an ecclesiastical tradition, or into radical forms of Protestantism with their reliance on individual judgement to determine the nature of prophecy.

But Vossius was not just coming under attack from the Catholic Simon, and Bentley was not the only Anglican critic to attack Vossius's scheme. In 1684, Humphrey Hody (who would also contribute to the edition of John Malalas) published a book entitled *Contra Historiam Aristeae*, which openly aimed to debase the claims made on behalf of the Septuagint by scrutinizing the witness of Aristeas.[307] Hody's project was far-reaching. As the title of his dissertation implied, and as he made clear in the discussion, he was impugning not only the forged text by 'Aristeas' as we have it; just as Scaliger had done before him, he was attacking "Historiam ipsam" – i.e. he denied that the events themselves recounted in the text ever happened.[308] Different fabulous stories must have been circulating about the circumstances of the translation, and several accounts of them must have been written up at different times for apologetic reasons –

---

[305] [Richard Simon], *Hieronymi Le Camus Theologi Parisiensis Judicium de Nupera Isaaci Vossii ad Iteratas P. Simonii Objectiones Responsione* (Edinburgh [=Rotterdam], 1685), 27: "Nihil simile umquam præviderunt Patres, quibus omnibus oculatior est Vossius, qui *cor solus habet, solus & ingenium* [cf. Martial, *Epigrams*, 3.26]; ingenium scilicet Propheticum, quod videt ea quæ non sunt tanquam ea quæ sunt, & quo impellente judicavit novos suos Prophetas dignos esse qui cum aliis Prophetis inter Scripturæ Sacræ libros recenserentur".
[306] *Ibid.*, 25: "Felix sane est Ecclesia Anglicana, quæ a dilecto filio suo Isaaco Vossio ætate nostra aucta fuerit tot Prophetis ac Prophetidibus, habeatque nunc unde longam sanctorum Prophetarum, Patriarcharum, Doctorum, Virginum & Viduarum Litaniam contexat, quæ Liturgiæ suæ inseratur".
[307] See Hody's remarks in the preface: "*Et quia compertum habui, Versionis Græcæ authoritatem fere totam in libro hoc Aristeæ niti, operæ pretium videbatur de illius libri dignitate disquisitionem instituere, & exquirere utrum nihil in eo deprehendi posset, unde liceat conficere illum esse fictitium*", in *Contra Historiam Aristeæ. De LXX Interpretibus Dissertatio* (Oxford, 1684), sig. a4^{v}-b1^{r}.
[308] *Ibid.*, 20.

which explains the discrepancies between the extant witnesses that refer to these events.[309] Moreover, for Hody, the authority of the fathers who had given their assent to Aristeas should be discounted according to the rule that 'all subordinate witnesses are no witnesses', for they all relied on the original imposture.[310]

Hody envisaged his dissertation on Aristeas as part of a much larger work on the relative merits of different biblical texts, which would only see the light in 1705 as *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus*. In it, Hody set his initial debunking of Aristeas in the context of arguments aiming not to destroy the authority of the Septuagint but to relegate it to the status of one among different useful versions in biblical scholarship.[311] Unsurprisingly, Hody was particularly critical of claims made on behalf of the Greek translators' inspiration – a point that is often linked to that other fable (absent in Aristeas but present in patristic literature, as van Beuningen had said), according to which the translators worked in separate cells and yet produced the same version. The fathers who made use of the legend, Hody explains by quoting Andreas Masius, did so only for apologetic reasons.[312] The fable, according to Hody, had been especially well received among the *Pontificii*, and even those Roman Catholics who reject it still believe that the translators' work was guided by the Holy Spirit.[313] Vossius, clearly, was not in the best of companies. Indeed, after amassing arguments to prove the spuriousness of this story as well, Hody concludes the chapter

---

[309] *Ibid.*, 25: "Videtur vero Judaiculum quondam, (seu forsan Christianum,) qui Græca lingua uteretur vernacula, in librum compegisse quæ de opificio interpretationis alio atque alio modo jactata fuerint, & ista sub nomine Aristeæ in publicum edidisse, aliquanto scilicet tempore post emissam primam Aristeæ fabulam. Atque hinc videtur codicem diversum ab eo, quem legerunt Josephus & Eusebius, quique nobis etiamnum superest, Epiphanio venisse in manum, ut forsan Sancto etiam Augustino, & Pseudo-damaso".
[310] *Ibid.*, 50: "Certissima enim est Regula, *Subordinatos testes esse nullos testes*. Sic omnes fere antiquorum ad Aristeam reduci debere, ideoque authoritate parum valere, fatetur quidam Aristeanæ fabulæ propugnator".
[311] See Hody's comments in the preface (which also recalls his quarrel with Vossius in mock-heroic terms): "*Neque eo tamen tendit hic noster labor, ut Versionis istius auctoritas usque adeo diminuatur & labefactetur, ut prorsus nulla ei supersit.* […] *Quin & eam esse quantivis pretii thesaurum lubens fateor Ego atque etiam profiteor*", in *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus* (Oxford, 1705), sig. b2^{r}.
[312] *Ibid.*, 140 (quoting Masius's 'Praefatio' to his commentary on Joshua): "*Porro Justini, tanti viri, testimonium deinde nostri, sive Græci sive Latini, libentissime secuti sunt: quibus eadem illa de causa utilis erat illa opinio atque existimatio tanquam vaticinationis ex divisis cellulis nata*".
[313] *Ibid.*, 139: "Traditionem hanc de Cellulis LXXII. amplectuntur hodie vulgo *Pontificii*. Inter eos tamen non desunt, qui ut falsam eam commentitiamque rejiciunt. Ex his nonnulli, quamvis Cellulas varias non agnoscant, statuunt tamen Interpretes Numine fuisse correptos, & uno ore vertisse [...]".

with a brief put-down of Vossius's 'inept cavils' about the identity of 'prophets' and 'interpreters'.[314]

Thus, by the time Temple wrote his essay *Upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, the profound ambivalence of Vossius's theories had been revealed by the blow and counter-blow of controversy. If Simon's reply construed them as undermining Reformed Christianity, Hody's intervention was prompted by what he saw as the dangers inherent in Vossius's all too easy acceptance of forged texts when they suited his purposes. The question of inspiration had especially emerged as a vexing crux where criticism and theology intersected. As Simon insinuated, the inescapable implication of tampering with inspiration was to call into question the received canon, and thus to redefine its relation to apocryphal texts. Criticism, rather than being an autonomous method imposing its own conclusions, was still easily plied to different readings that supported various confessional positions. It is exactly this ambivalence of purpose that made it attractive to apologists. Simon was aware of this not just in his attacks on Vossius's work, but also in the presentation of his own: Swift, for example, could have read a preface in his 1685 edition of the *Histoire Critique* where Simon, writing under the guise of a Protestant publisher, presented the book as amenable to Reformed Christianity.[315] Similarly, the 1682 English translation of Simon stressed its utility for Anglican scholarship, while subsequent publications of abridgments could be used to uphold a much more radical agenda.[316] John Dryden's own poem in praise of the 1682 translation, *Religio Laici* (1682), similarly stressed the utility of Simon's erudition in the Anglican fight against Deism; and yet, in many of its arguments, it also looks forward to Dryden's conversion to Catholicism and to *The Hind and the Panther*. Unsurprisingly, as we shall see, when Swift came to write his own confessional apologetics, he exploited precisely this indistinctness of purpose to fashion his own attacks.

---

[314] *Ibid.*, 158-159: "Concludetur hoc caput *Isaaci Vossii* inepta cavillatione […] Quid enim hoc est nisi pueriliter (mitiori verbo uti non possum) sine judicio cavillari?".
[315] *HCVT*, sig. *2^{r}-**4^{v}.
[316] See Justin A. Champion, "Père Richard Simon and English Biblical Criticism, 1680-1700", in Force and Katz (eds.), *Everything Connects* (Leiden, 1999), 39-61.

Biblical criticism in the Battle

The problems that the foregoing analysis has highlighted may seem far removed from the immediate context of the Battle of the Books. Paradoxically, this impression is the result of their proximity: it was only by keeping them out of direct reference that the disputants could engage in discussion of critical issues without risking that the ambivalence of their methods be turned against them. It is unsurprising that this pattern is best seen at work in a scholar who was, like Vossius, highly invested in the study of 'apocryphal' writings and their relation to canonical texts, but who was also, unlike Vossius, committed to a historical vision of primitive Christianity that had direct implications for his confessional allegiance – the Non-juror Henry Dodwell.[317]

Dodwell's involvement in the Battle of the Books stemmed from a minor detail.[318] In 1701, Dodwell published an antiquarian dissertation on Greek and Roman calendars, and, to settle a point about the chronology of early Sicily, he used the Epistles of Phalaris. His argument was that, although the Epistles' words clearly bore the signs of later sophistic embellishment, their matter ('res gestae') was genuine, and the historical observations contained in them solid; the Epistles were thoroughly unlike the usual rhetorical exercises of later antiquity.[319] Dodwell had forewarned Bentley of his opinion. In a letter to him dated 1698, Dodwell had explained that a later writer had probably cast the Epistles in their current shape, taking the "Liberty of a Paraphrast" in altering the names of the Sicilian towns to those current in his time, and in changing the dialect from the ancient Doric to the common Greek of imperial times.[320] Indeed, according to Dodwell, the very fact that the Epistles were originally written in Doric accounts for

[317] On Dodwell, see especially the work of Jean-Louis Quantin, "Anglican Scholarship Gone Mad? Henry Dodwell (1641-1711) and Christian Antiquity", in Ligota and Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship* (Oxford, 2006), 305-356; and *Church of England*, 327-395. See also the treatment of Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom*, 516-523, and of C. D. A. Leighton, "Ancienneté among the Non-Jurors: A Study of Henry Dodwell", *History of European Ideas* 31 (2005), 1-16.
[318] On Dodwell's intervention, see Levine, *Battle of the Books*, 93-101.
[319] Henry Dodwell, *De Græcorum Romanorumque Cyclis* (Oxford, 1701), 253: "Nec video sane cur Epistolas illas in dubium vocemus, fuerintne vere *Phalaridis*. Sunt sane *verbis* illæ satis quidem, pro Sophistarum arte, comtæ. Sed *rebus* gestis solidisque *Observationibus* longe copiosiores quam solent esse μελετήματα".
[320] Henry Dodwell to Richard Bentley (May 14th 1698), in MS Cherry 22 (Bodleian library).

the lack of mentions of them by classical Greek authors, "because y^{e} Dorick was so little understood"; Bentley himself had identified the cause of the "perishing of y^{e} Pythagorean Philosophy" in the fact that it was formulated in Doric. Dodwell also warned Bentley against the bitterness he had showed in the dispute, urging him to consider "y^{e} Duty of Christian Humility [which,] as a Divine, you are obliged to teach […] to us of y^{e} Laity".[321]

Thus, in Dodwell's view, Bentley's work on the Epistles was not historicist enough. Bentley's endeavour to purge the canon of early writings by ejecting texts that did not match the 'literary' qualities expected of them risked dismissing sources that could still be valuable. In 1704, as Swift was publishing the *Tale* and the Quarrel was rekindled, Dodwell felt compelled to clarify his opinions, not to the English public who had enjoyed the trivialization of an abstruse scholarly controversy carried out, for once, in the vernacular, but to the Latinate Republic of Letters abroad.

In his *Exercitationes Duae* (1704), Dodwell refused to give a final opinion on the spuriousness of the epistles. Instead, he thought it more useful to discuss the uncertainty of the history of the early uses of letters. On the authority of the Christian writer Tatian (second century CE), who quotes the lost historian Hellanicus (fifth century BCE), Bentley had argued that Persian Atossa was the first to use the alphabet to write epistles; and, as she was younger than Phalaris by at least one generation, the tyrant of Agrigentum could not have written epistles himself.[322] According to Dodwell, however, the use of letters, must have sprung, as all other human inventions, from quotidian, individual necessity. Private use predates public practice. The communicative function of alphabetic scripts must have quickly extended to the custom of writing epistles, while the practice of composing histories in more refined styles, whose end is to communicate with distant posterity, was a more modern development. It is likely that the memory of the first inventor of epistles had perished much before a historian could record the fact. The style of the early epistles must have been rudimentary, in keeping with their very pragmatic

[321] Ibid.
[322] Bentley, *Dissertation*, 535-537.

purposes, and the writers must have relied on artless media, such as wooden tablets covered with wax (‘tabulae pugillares’). These humble writing implements, in the eyes of later historians, could not deserve the name of ‘epistulae’, which were latterly written on paper-like sheets (‘charta’). If a later ‘paraphrast’ (‘transcriptor’) rewrote the epistles from these materials, it is very possible that he embellished them and gave them the names that were current in his own time, thus introducing the anachronisms that Bentley used to arraign Phalaris’s text.[323]

What Dodwell’s disagreement with Bentley implies is that Bentley’s philological criticism was itself anachronistic, or rather ahistorical, in its workings: in order to function, it needed to assume that ‘letters’ had always been used in the same way across the centuries of antiquity, that ‘texts’ had always subsisted in the same format, so as to be able to use ancient testimonies (as in the case of the fragment of Hellanicus) in order to convict Phalaris on its own ancient ground. It needed to presuppose that the standards of a later age, that of the impostor or ‘paraphrast’, were the same as those of the age he was faking, so that the foolish errors he committed in creating his forgery would furnish the evidence leading to a verdict of condemnation. For Dodwell, such errors were not necessarily malicious, but rather the product of the fact that each age, when relating to the matter of its past, overwrites it with its own standards, and replaces earlier ‘literary’ customs with its own. And, because this superscription could never perfectly tally, the resulting lapses could alert interpreters to the historical tradition, or transmission, that a text enjoyed. The history of *literae*, in its full sense, from ‘learning’ to ‘literature’ and to ‘scripts’, was a powerful method not only to salvage the value of sources that a maximalist approach to forgery threatened, but also to create a novel vision of antiquity – one in which authors were less important than the traditions they preserved. Such a reconsideration of the phenomenon of forgery was much more sophisticated than Vossius’s, but, as we shall see, this sophistication was not the result of a method in which theology played a lesser role.

[323] Henry Dodwell, *Exercitationes Duae* (London, 1704), ‘Praefatio’, v-vi.

The transformative potential of this approach, both for historical studies and for theology, is captured particularly well by an epistolary exchange between Dodwell and one of his long-standing correspondents, the Dutch humanist Jacob Perizonius,[324] who was exactly one of those continental members of the Republic of Letters for whom Dodwell was writing. Perizonius himself was an advocate for a thoroughly historicist approach to texts,[325] and a moderate supporter of the Ancients in the European Quarrel, as a controversy he carried out with Jean Le Clerc on the merits of the Latin historian Curtius Rufus had shown.[326] His response to Dodwell's *Exercitationes*, and Dodwell's further replies show precisely how easily a secular debate such as that of the Epistles of Phalaris could impinge on the controversies of biblical scholarship outlined above.

Dodwell sent his *Exercitationes* to Perizonius, and, in a letter dated 1705, he summarized the debate, censuring the *acerbitas* with which the disputants had argued. The fact that the Epistles of Phalaris are not in the Doric dialect, Dodwell tells Perizonius, should not disqualify them: a later 'interpreter' could have exploited their matter with the same liberty that other authors had used in paraphrasing earlier works. 'It is no reason why the learned man [Bentley] should despise them, when so great a number [of later authors] made use of the writers of the history of Sicily, who had perished long since, even that same ancient impostor ["antiquus impostor"], whoever he might have been, who impersonated Phalaris'.[327]

---

[324] Their correspondence dates from the first decade of the eighteenth century. The Bodleian holds twelve letters from Perizonius to Dodwell (MS Cherry 23 – two letters; MS St Edmund Hall 13 – eight letters; MS Eng. Letters c. 28 – two letters). Nine letters from Dodwell to Perizonius are extant in Leiden University Library (MS BPL 337, no. 9).

[325] On Perizonius's quarrel with Jean Le Clerc on Curtius Rufus (whom Le Clerc censured because of his use of rhetorical embellishment in historical narrative, while Perizonius claimed that to impose modern standard on ancient texts amounted to faulty method), see Anthony Grafton, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 1-61; on Perizonius's scholarship on the early Roman historical traditions, see Arnaldo Momigliano, "Perizonius, Niebuhr and the Character of Early Roman Tradition", *Journal of Roman Studies* 47/1-2 (1957), 104-14, and Ronald T. Ridley, *The Historical Observations of Jacob Perizonius* (Rome, 1991); on his relation to the philosophical and scholarly cultures of the late seventeenth century, see Fabrizio Lomonaco, "Tra Pirronismo Storico e Tradizione Romana", in *Lex Regia: Diritto, Filologia e Fides Historica* (Naples, 1990), 187-241.

[326] See Frederic Clark, "Universal History and the Origin Narrative of European Modernity: The Leiden Lectures of Jacob Perizonius (1651-1715) on *Historia Universalis*", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 2 (2017), 359-395.

[327] Dodwell to Perizonius (18th September 1705), in MS BPL 337 (Leiden): "Sed nec esse propterea cur ipsas Epistolas aspernetur Vir Doctissimus, cum tot usurpârit Historiae Siculae Scriptores, qui jam olim

In March 1706, Perizonius responded with enthusiasm. 'What you say about the epistles of Phalaris', he wrote, 'reminds me of what I have for a long time thought about the Pentateuch of Moses'. For, is it not true that, reportedly, the mythical Cadmus brought just sixteen letters from Phoenicia into Greece, which were only later supplemented to the current total of twenty-four? The implication is that Phalaris, who lived before the improvement of the alphabet, must have written Greek with an elementary and defective script now lost to us. The case of the Pentateuch is the same, because, although it contains the earliest Hebrew books, we now have it in a form and a script that are not dissimilar from those of the rest of the Hebrew Bible. 'It follows', Perizonius continued, 'that the script ["stylus"] of the Pentateuch is the same – or certainly its language is the same, as that which was in use many ages afterwards, even in Ezra's time, when, however, that language must have already suffered as many mutations as any other vernacular'.[328] The Pentateuch, therefore, must have been reedited in later times, and made coherent with the rest of the Old Testament. The achievements of Ezra the scribe in restoring the Law after the Babylonian captivity as narrated in the eponymous Old Testament book pointed to him and to the Great Sanhedrin that he presided as likely candidates for such work of revision.

Perizonius's insight depends exactly on the same critical focus on internal evidence as Simon's. He looked at the formal coherence of the Hebrew text, where, however, lapses in the smoothness of the surface could be detected, providing cues to imagine the transmission of the text. Perizonius spotted these lapses in the formations of proper nouns, in different pronunciations of the same word in different tribes ("veluti Schibboleth & Sibboleth", referring to Judges 12:6), and, most significantly, in the fact that the same thing was called by a different name at the time of the scribe ('scriptor') who reedited the biblical text (and the role of this 'scribe' seems to

perierint, ipse ille, quicunq; demum fuerit, qui personam Phalaridis egerit, antiquus impostor. Fecit autem styli illa, quâ uterq[ue] Adversarius usus est, acerbitas, ut Argumentum ipsum, plusquam aequum esset, contemnerent nostrates." The manuscript had no foliation, but letters are organized by correspondent. This is the fifth letter by Dodwell, dated 18th September 1705.

[328] Perizonius to Dodwell, in MS St Edmund Hall 13 (Bodleian), fol. 34: "Quod de Phalaridis Epistolis ais, […] in mentem mihi revocat quod Ego de Pentateucho Mosis dudum arbitratus sum. Etenim dicitur Cadmus sedecim tantum literas attulisse in Graeciam. […] Et tamen in Pentateucho habemus jam tunc omnes usque ac in aliis seu serioribus Hebraicae Linguae Scriptis. Accedit quod stylus Pentateuchi sit idem, vel certe Lingua plane eadem, qua fuit tot saeculis post etiam Ezrae tempore, quum tamen ea Lingua aeque mutationibus fuerit obnoxia, ac alia vernacula".

closely match that of the 'transcriptor' or 'paraphrast' described by Dodwell). To prove this last point, Perizonius referred to 1 Samuel 9:9 ("Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer: for *he that* is now *called* a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer"). Perizonius quotes the Hebrew text (spelling it without vowel points): 'a Prophet was once called 'Seer' רואה'.[329] Thus, the 'writer' of 1 Samuel must have added this verse to explain an obsolete usage to his readers, whose language had changed from that of earlier biblical literature, even if nowadays it is harder for us to see such change, since it has been obscured in transmission.

But the issue is more complex. The original Hebrew script had been overwritten, as every scholar in the late seventeenth century knew, with the Masoretic system of vocalization.[330] Perizonius admits these problems: 'I suspect that the sense of the Pentateuch is mostly the same as it was transmitted by Moses to the memory of posterity, but that the script ['stylus'], the words, and the phrases were recast in the language and mode of writing ['scriptura'] which was then [at the time of the 'transcriber'] current'. Moses is likely to have written with the old system of consonantal vocalization, and Perizonius mentions the Hebrew letters "א י ה ע" as the 'vocal letters' ('literae vocales') he must have used. However, these letters were later overwritten by the pointed script that forms the Masoretic text of the Old Testament, and that was invented only a long time after Moses.[331] Thus, the sacred language appeared no different from Latin: if Livy had survived complete, and had quoted an ancient inscription, Perizonius argued, he would have

[329] Ibid.: "[The textual change appears] ex eo, quod olim eadem res alia voce, quam postea, seu Scriptoris tempore, designata fuit veluti quod olim Propheta dictus fuit Videns רואה". I am grateful to Kirsten Macfarlane for her help in reading the Hebrew of this letter, which I found before becoming myself captivated by Hebrew.

[330] For a review of the scholarship on the Masoretic vocalization and its theological implications, see Richard Muller, "The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10/1 (1980), 53-72.

[331] MS St Edmund Hall 13, fol. 34-35: "Ex his suspicor, Sensus quidem Pentateuchi fere esse eosdem, prout a Mose sunt memoriae proditi, sed stylum, verba, & phrases in receptam tunc Linguam & Scripturam fuisse conversa. Et certe, si statuimus puncta non ab ipsis Scriptoribus fuisse cognita & adhibita, sed diu postea demum inventa, ut valde id mihi quidem verisimile est, tum sane necessario aliter singula verba a Mose, cum suis scil.[icet] vocalibus, א י ה ע, fuerunt scripta, quam nunc leguntur, substitutis in locum vocalium literarum punctis". Perizonius is mistaken about the letter *'Ayin* (ע), which, unlike the other three, is never used as a *mater lectionis*. I suspect that his information on Old Testament scholarship was second hand, and that he derived it from Simon.

transcribed it according to the script current in his time, without preserving the original spelling. It is also no different from Greek, as the case of Phalaris proved.

While Vossius had argued for the permanence of scripts and letters in order to uphold the historical *fides* of apparently untrustworthy texts, here the same aim was pursued via the opposite path: it was the history of literary disruptions and changes that guaranteed the veracity of a textual tradition. It was not the uncorrupted transmission of a pure origin that made history; as for Simon, the very origin of a text was a diachronic, irregular process.[332]

It could be tempting to interpret Perizonius's ideas on the transmission of the Old Testament as a doomed compromise attempting to conciliate the advances of criticism (and of scepticism) with the doctrine of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. After all, did not Atterbury accuse Bentley of practicing a method that could cast doubt on Moses just as it did on Phalaris? And did Simon not pay a high price for the boldness of his radical ideas on the schools of 'public scribes' responsible for editing the Pentateuch? And yet, when the pious Dodwell received Perizonius's letter, he responded with great enthusiasm. Not only was he comfortable with Perizonius's suggestions, but he was also ready to take them further than his Dutch correspondent or even Simon had done.

Less than a month after Perizonius wrote his letter, Dodwell replied with a controversial elaboration of his correspondent's hypotheses. He referred to the biblical book of Nehemiah, where we read that Ezra and the Levites convened the people for a public reading of the Law, and "read […] distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused *them* to understand the reading" (8:8). For Dodwell, this showed that the Hebrew language had changed drastically by the time of Ezra and the end of the Babylonian captivity, for the people needed the words of the Law to be interpreted

[332] See Nicholas Piqué, "Du Texte de l'Origine à l'Origine du Texte: La Querelle entre Richard Simon et Jean Le Clerc", in Thouard, Vollhardt, and Mariani-Zini (eds.), *Philologie als Wissensmodell* (Berlin, 2010), 285-307.

to them; it also showed that the 'dialect' of the Law had become obsolete, and was in need of a 'restoration' on the part of Ezra and the Levites.[333]

But Dodwell pushed his speculation even further: for him, in order to reaffirm the reliability of Scripture even under these conditions (i.e. that Ezra had interpolated the text of the Pentateuch with interpretations for the people), one needed to consider the tradition of Ezra and the Great Sanhedrin as equally authoritative as Moses himself. Moreover, the Ezran 'interpolations' are also to be found in the Samaritan Pentateuch (the Samaritan sect only recognized the Pentateuch as a sacred text and their Torah scrolls were written in an ancient Hebrew script, which had only reached European scholars for the first time at the beginning of the seventeenth century).[334] If, for Simon, the similarity of the Samaritan Pentateuch and of the Hebrew text suggested that the redaction of the Torah had taken place before Ezra,[335] for Dodwell it implied that the Samaritan schism must post-date Ezra, and that therefore Ezra must have written the text in the paleo-Hebrew script used by the Samaritans. The inescapable implication is that the redaction of the Old Testament as we have it in the square character must have been the product of even more recent times. Furthermore, and most importantly, Dodwell speculated that, because the Samaritan schism had not yet taken place, the canon of the Old Testament must have only included the Pentateuch at the time of Ezra, and that the Prophets and the Writings had not yet been canonized (or some of them even written).[336]

---

[333] Dodwell to Perizonius (15th April 1706), in MS BPL 337, letter n. 6 (Leiden University Library): "[…] non est quod miremur, si cum linguâ patriâ, qualis ante Captivitatem fuerat, & Codicum Sacrorum Dialectus intercideret, a Sacerdotibus in usum Populi post postliminium in patriam reversi instauranda, quod sane verba praedicta innuunt". I am grateful to Jean-Louis Quantin for pointing me to these letters.
[334] On the rediscovery of the Samaritans, see Peter N. Miller, "A Philologist, a Traveller and an Antiquary Rediscover the Samaritans", in Mulsow and Zedelmaier (eds.), *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 2001), 123-146; more generally, Jean-Pierre Rothschild, "Autour du Pentateuque Samaritain. Voyageurs, Enthousiastes et Savants", in Armogathe (ed.), *Le Grand Siècle et la Bible* (Paris, 1989), 61-74.
[335] As a footnote in the 1685 edition specifies – *HCVT*, 4.
[336] MS BPL 337, loc. cit.: "Id tamen, in novâ tuâ hac Hypothesi cavendum erit, ne Esdrae cum Synedrio suo Magno e Chaldaeâ reduci Authoritas inferior asseratur quàm fuerit Mosaica. Sic enim fiet ut nec Interpretationis fides periclitetur, nec interpolationum. […] Suspicor ergo Textum Esdrae literis tamen antiquis fuisse conceptum. Inde etiam contigisse ut illum, nondum nato Schismate, acceperint qualem tum repererant, etiam Samaritani. Sed nondum constitutis alijs a Sinagogâ Magnâ Codicibus Prophetarum at[que] Hagiographorum. Et causam adeo hanc fuisse, cur Codicos illos alios nunquam agnoverint Samaritani. Esdrâ ergo recentior fuerit novarum literarum in novâ Dialecto usus, sed Schismate, ut videtur, antiquior".

Clearly, Dodwell was comfortable with an image of canon-formation as a diachronic process subject to the fluctuations of historical contexts. By the time of his correspondence with Perizonius, Dodwell had developed, as Jean-Louis Quantin has shown, similar ideas about the development of the canon of the New Testament.[337] Such a vision did not diminish the doctrinal prescriptiveness of ancient texts; rather, it called for a transformation of the very concept of authoritativeness, one that would be uncoupled from that of authorship. It is unsurprising that such a transformation necessitated the support both of apocryphal literature and of a new conception of inspiration.

Thus, in his letter to Perizonius on the Old Testament canon, Dodwell referred to the legend of Ezra's divinely inspired rewriting of the Law as a '<u>very ancient</u> tradition' (Dodwell's emphasis) which had many followers among 'our Christian forefathers', and which favoured Perizonius's hypothesis.[338] Unsurprisingly, this tradition stemmed from an apocryphon: in the second book of Esdras (an apocalyptic text only preserved in the Latin of the Vulgate until scholars became aware of an Arabic version in an Oxford manuscript around the turn of the eighteenth century),[339] it is recounted how God inspired Ezra to dictate the lost Law to five scribes for forty days, and then to hide seventy of the two hundred and four books produced, just as He had commanded Moses on mount Sinai, saying "These words shalt thou declare, and these shalt thou hide" (2 Esdras 14:7). Such a story not only bore a similarity to the *Letter of Aristeas*, but it also smacked of that suspiciously miraculous aura that pervaded the legend of the seventy elders' inspired identical translation as they worked separately. Indeed, the most important of those 'ancient Christians' subscribing to the legend of Ezra was Irenaeus, who mentioned it precisely in conjunction with the account of the seventy cells, with the aim of proving God's operation in the preservation of His word.[340]

---

[337] Quantin, "*Apocryphorum Nimis Studiosi*?", 291-300.
[338] MS BPL 337, loc. cit.: "[…] Favet [tuae hypothesi] praeterea <u>vetustissima</u> Traditio in Esdrae hodiernis de Codicibus Sacris Divino afflatu postquam perierant, ab Esdrâ restauratis. […] Et magnos habuit Traditio illa, apud majores nost. Christianos, adstipulatores".
[339] See Hamilton, *Apocryphal Apocalypse*, 225-297.
[340] *Opus Eruditissimum Divi Irenaei*, ed. Erasmus, 190-191; on the importance of Irenaeus for Dodwell, see Quantin, *Church of England*, 369-375.

And yet Dodwell was not being gullible, nor was he uncritical. The second book of Esdras had indeed become a favourite among radical 'enthusiasts', millenarian mystics and Paracelsians in the post-Reformation thanks to its apocalyptic appeal and the status of its supposed author.[341] Dodwell's endeavour to draw a firm distinction based on historical lines between these people and his enquiries is particularly significant precisely because it suggests that contemporaries were alert to the dangers of such slippage. Just as Vossius had been indirectly accused of enthusiasm by Simon, so was Dodwell partially exposed to the same uncandid reading.

In fact, even more than twenty years before his letter to Perizonius, in the fourth of his *Dissertationes Cyprianicae* (written to accompany John Fell's 1682 major edition of that other ante-Nicene father, Cyprian), Dodwell had specified that 2 Esdras was certainly not by Ezra: it was much more recent than it pretended to be, and had probably been written at the end of the first century CE.[342] And yet its pseudepigraphic status did not seem to impair its importance: Dodwell rejected the tendency of critics to automatically ascribe ante-Nicene texts of visions and revelations to heretical milieus and especially to Montanism (the second-century heresy according to which private direct revelations from God had not ceased).[343] For him, these texts proved instead that up to the time of Cyprian the church had enjoyed a period in which God had bestowed prophetic charisms upon its members. The documents of this period were particularly precious as they threw light on primitive Christianity, and little did it matter who the precise 'authors' were. The canonical book of Revelation may have been written by John the Apostle or by John the Presbyter, but it was still an important late first-century witness to the persistence of visions in the church.[344] The mere fact that these texts, like the story of Ezra, had formed an early Christian

---

[341] Hamilton, *Apocryphal Apocalypse*, 115-203.
[342] Henry Dodwell, *Dissertationes Cyprianicae* (Oxford, 1684), 39: "His fortasse temporibus [i.e. the time of Clement of Rome, end of first cent.] coævus erat *auctor* librorum *Esdræ* Apocryphorum, quorum partem longe maximam faciunt id genus *visiones* atque *revelationes*". On the editorial history of the *Dissertationes*, printed in 1684 both in folio (to be bound at the end of Fell's 1682 edition of Cyprian) and separately in octavo, see Quantin, "Erudition and Orthodoxy", 60-61, footnote 85.
[343] *Ibid.*, 38: "Male itaque faciunt eruditi qui quæ legunt in illius seculi auctoribus de *visionibus*, ea ad *Montanum* trahunt atque *Montanistas*, quasi vero ab ipsis usque Apostolorum temporibus *visiones* in Ecclesia defecerint, omnisque earum prætextus in *Ecclesia* suspectus fuerit atque improbatus, solisque *Montanistis* relictus".
[344] *Ibid.*: "Sub primi seculi finem scripta illa est, quam habemus, *Apocalypsis*, sive ab *Apostolo*, seu forte a *Joanne Presbytero*, quæ tamen omnis in *visionum* argumento versatur".

traditio was enough for them to accrue authoritativeness. They, in other words, preserved indispensable further attestation of the idiosyncratic language ('idiotismus') of a period during which prophetic inspiration had not yet ceased.[345] To unlock the meanings in the writing of this period, scholars needed to learn such language. Antiquity had to be interpreted on its own terms.[346]

It is precisely this restriction of the concept of 'Antiquity' that enabled Dodwell to draw the line between his adventurous enquiries into the 'mystical' ancient *literae* and modern 'enthusiastic' speculation.[347] The period between the Apostles and Cyprian was a clearly delimited time during which God had granted to the church prophetic gifts that had disappeared in subsequent eras. Those gifts had irredeemably come to an end. The looseness with which Dodwell allowed himself to treat the canon also stemmed from such a parallel election of a historically circumscribed period of special divine guidance. Conversely, the question of authorship decreased in importance just as the issue of a shared 'prophetic' language gained prominence.

Such enquiries, moreover, were not free from a confessional agenda. In Dodwell's eyes (as in Fell's), the practices of primitive Christianity as discovered through historical enquiry were normative: the episcopal church-government that these documents described offered crucial support for Anglican episcopalism, especially in its most extreme form of a *jure divino* institution.[348] Cyprian would in fact become a key author for Non-jurors,[349] and this kind of

---

[345] See especially Dodwell's prefatory remarks to the *Dissertationes Cyprianicae*, sig. a3^{v}-a4^{r}: "*Pro illius nimirum* ætatis *captu conceptæ sunt a Sp. S. Scripturæ, pro* Prophetiarum *etiam a* Judæis *receptarum moribus, pro* Enthusiastarum *etiam* Gentilium idiotismis […] *Qui tamen* mysticas expositiones *magni fecerunt, quas nos hodieque contemnimus;* […] *Qui ea etiam (inquam) ætate in qua dona* Prophetica *viguerunt, quæ eosdem prorsus retinerent* idiotismos *quos* Propheticæ Scripturæ *(quæ* Cypriani *nostri ætate etiamnum viguisse probavimus) non est equidem mirandum si ab illis solidiora habeamus nonnulla quam quæ a literatissimis* hodie *veterumque morum peritissimis, speranda sint*".
[346] *Ibid.*, sig. a4^{r}: "*Quid igitur?* Vetustatemne *ipsam rebus* vetustis *indagandis utilem negabunt* [the moderns]*?* Novitatem *suam in lucro ponent?*".
[347] *Ibid.*, sig. a3^{r-v}: "*Tum in illis ratiociniis* mysticarum *etiam* argumentationum *gustum aliquem præbui, ut inde constaret quam non essent illæ, ut primo videntur intuitu, ridiculæ commentitiæque, sed vero* solidæ, *virisque* prudentissimis *dignissimæ. Mediamque in his viam institi, ita ne sint in* veteribus *spernendæ, ut tamen audaciam non faciant* hodiernis Enthusiastis […] *Non est igitur quod ab hodiernis* Enthusiastis *literarum* antiquarum *hostibus sani quidpiam expectemus, aut quod cum* veterum Propheticis *scriptis, vel* Spiritus Sancti sententia *conveniat*".
[348] Quantin, "Erudition and Orthodoxy".
[349] See John C. Findon, "The Nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689-1716", (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978).

scholarship looks forward to the High Church ideology shared by the Christ Church scholars around Atterbury, and, indeed by Swift, who, as I mentioned in chapter 1, was reading Cyprian together with Irenaeus in February 1698.[350]

Unsurprisingly, this is also the area where Perizonius, agree with Dodwell's methods though he might, was not willing to follow his correspondent. If from his subsequent letters to Dodwell it seems that he let the subject of Ezra drop, some of his previous letters shed light on the reasons why he might have been unwilling to engage in speculation about the fluidity of the scriptural canon too openly. In a letter from 1704, for example, Perizonius had conceded that episcopacy was a very effective manner of church-government, but he refused to believe that it had any divine sanction, or that any such endorsement from God could be proved out of the traditions of the early church.[351] More revealingly, in a 1705 letter, Perizonius had sketched yet another critical middle way between Dodwell's exaltation of apostolic traditions outside the canon and Le Clerc's attempt to diminish their authoritativeness and inspiration. Both projects, Perizonius warned Dodwell, would end up damaging the New Testament.[352]

There is some truth in Perizonius's insight about an opposition between Le Clerc and Dodwell as two critical extremes. As Jean-Louis Quantin pointed out, Le Clerc was suspicious of the scholarship of Dodwell and his High Church Anglican colleagues because it seemed to bear

---

[350] See above, chapter 1, 23, n. 55. Regrettably, I have found no way to establish which edition of Cyprian Swift was using (none appears in his later library catalogues). However, given the importance of Fell's edition as the flagship enterprise of Oxford patristics, it may be considered a more than likely candidate.

[351] Perizonius to Dodwell (12th August 1704), in MS Eng. Letters c. 28, fol. 68 (Bodleian): "Fecere id [i.e. episcopacy] postea Homines, inducti etiam hac humana, sed bona, ratione, quod, quum antea perpetuus Presbyterii Praeses esset is, qui Presbyterorum erat vetustissimus, & is saepe per aetatem aut alia de causa, minus esset idoneus ad res Ecclesiae jam crescentis gerendas, utilius fuit visum, eligi aliquem ex omnibus maxime idoneum, qui Praeses esset h[oc] e[st] κατ' ἐξοχήν, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ πρεσβύτερος".

[352] Perizonius to Dodwell (15th July 1705), in MS Eng. Letters c. 28, fols. 70-71: "Fateor nihil me divini juris auctoritatis, revelationis agnoscere, nisi in eo quod Sapientissimus ille Deus in Canonicis & Sacris libris suae Ecclesiae voluit relictum, & ab Apostolis ipsis posteritati proditum. Et miror, quo tibi modo convenire queat cum nostro Clerico, qui plane in omnia alia extrema abit. Nam sicut Tu mihi nimium videris tribuere scriptis et traditionibus primitivae Ecclesiae, ut etiam pro divinis habeas, ita ille e contrario canalem hunc traditionis, per quem Christiana religio, & ipsa Scriptura S. ad nos pervenit, adeo foetidum & sordidum reddit, ut nihil supra describit enim subinde nobis praecipuos Patres […] ut homines rerum imperitissimos, ingenio & judicio destitutos, pessima fide suae tantum causae inservientes, moribus et vita contaminatissimos. Ego sane neq[ue] auctoritati illorum tantum tribuo, ut eorum interpretationes Scripturae S. aut opiniones sequar, & recipiam ubiq[ue], sed nec velim ita ex professo traduci per ora & oculos quorumvis hominum illos, quorum tamen fide & scientia nititur Scripturae N.T. Canon".

the traces of too strong an interest in apocryphal writings.[353] Thus, for example, he criticized Johann Ernst Grabe (a scholar that was close to Dodwell) for suspending judgement on the spuriousness of the letters of Christ and Agbar (an apocryphon preserved in Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica*): the writer who forged these letters was only badly impersonating (*personam agere*) the king of Edessa, and Christ even worse; the 'verbal imitations' characterizing these documents were not part of a shared literary culture to be decoded, but rather the grounds for identifying forgery.[354] Similarly, Le Clerc had waged a famous attack on Richard Simon's hypothesis of the multiple stratified origins of the Old Testament: for him, Simon had failed in his attempt to give the history of a book because he had not discussed 'the author's design': according to Le Clerc, the critic must always endeavour to highlight the *dessein* with which the author composed, the occasion that prompted him to write, and the opinions and events to which he refers.[355] For Simon, instead, to write on such matters was to produce a commentary rather than a critical history.[356] It is unsurprising that Le Clerc rejected Simon's theory of a succession of public scribes to conjecture instead that a single, specific *Sacrificateur Israëlite* was the 'author' of the Pentateuch: Le Clerc needed an *auteur* whose 'design' could be discovered and weighed.[357] The shady area of pseudonymous apocrypha made him ill at ease. There must remain a clear dividing line between author and persona.

Le dessein de l'Auteur – this is a key expression for Le Clerc. My reader may remember from chapter 1 that what Le Clerc found fault with when he reviewed Swift's *Tale* miscellany was precisely the fact that readers struggle to discern *quel est son dessein* – and this was the case even

---

[353] Quantin, "*Apocryphorum Nimis Studiosi?*", 304.
[354] Jean Le Clerc, *Historia Ecclesiastica Duorum Primorum a Christo Nato Saeculorum* (Amsterdam, 1716), 333: "SED qui Agbari personæ satis convenienter loqui non potuit, multo minus Christi personam apte agere scivit. Inducit Christum sic loquentem: *Beatus es, Agbare, qui in me credideris, quem non vidisti*; quæ verba imitatio sunt eorum, quæ Thomæ dixit Christus".
[355] [Jean Le Clerc], *Sentimens de Quelques Théologiens de Hollande* (Amsterdam, 1685), 6: "Il faut encore nous découvrir, si cela se peut, dans quel dessein l'Auteur l'a composé, quelle occasion lui a fait prendre la plume, & à quelles opinions, ou à quels évenemens, il peut faire allusion dans cet Ouvrage".
[356] See, for example, the comments in Simon's reply – *Réponse au Livre Intitulé Sentimens de Quelques Théologiens de Hollande* (Rotterdam, 1686), 12: "[Le Clerc] tâche de penetrer le dessein de St. Jean. Mais je ne croi pas que si Mr. Simon nous donne son Histoire Critique sur le Nouveau Testament, il s'avise de faire un Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse: il aimera mieux laisser ce soin-là à Mr. le Clerc, qui voit clair dans les Propheties les plus obscures".
[357] [Le Clerc], *Sentimens*, 129-130. Cf. 2 Kings 17:28.

though Le Clerc was reading the *Tale* in an edition that unproblematically identified Swift as the author. What this suggests is yet again the fact that critical methods that shaped a scholar's response to one field could easily migrate into other areas that we nowadays identify as the province of 'literature'. Conversely, Swift's satires are works that inhabit that shady textual world of pseudonymity and exalted inspiration that made Le Clerc as well as many other turn-of-the-century scholars uncomfortable.

Indeed, by the early eighteenth century, such a dialectic between the historical appeal of authorless apocrypha and their ambiguity in doctrinal matters had become deeply entrenched. Johann Albert Fabricius, the scholar who, more than any other, contributed to define the field of apocryphal literature with his bibliographical labours of the *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (1703) and *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (1713), also contributed an eloquent preface to Vincent Placcius's *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum* (1708) – a pioneering bibliographical catalogue of satirical and polemical writings by 'authors' who had shielded their responsibility by the use of personae or by publishing anonymously, or who had tried to heighten their authority by passing off their writings under the names of more renowned writers.[358] This phenomenon, as Fabricius stressed in his preface, was very ancient; indeed, it was often prompted by the very reverence that Antiquity commanded, and aimed at augmenting the 'authority of the transmitters' (*traditorum auctoritas*).[359] The *traditiones* of antiquity, fluctuating between namelessness and divine authority, were fascinating, but also deeply suspicious. Fabricius's catalogues of extra-canonical biblical literatures strove to mediate between this captivation with ancient pseudonymous traditions and the very modern suspicions that such authorlessness evoked. The very solidification, at Fabricius's hands, of the labels of 'New Testament Apocrypha' and

[358] See Annette Yoshiko Reed, "The Modern Invention of 'Old Testament Pseudepigrapha'", *Journal of Theological Studies* 60/2 (2009), 403-436; and Martin Mulsow, "Practices of Unmasking: Polyhistors, Correspondence, and the Birth of Dictionaries of Pseudonymity in Seventeenth-Century Germany", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67/2 (2006), 219-250.

[359] See Fabricius's preface in Vincent Placcius *et al.*, *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonimorum* (Hamburg, 1708), sig. a1^{v}: "Antiquissimus videtur fuisse genus eorum, qvi nomen suum latere voluerunt ideo, qvod lectorum interesse arbitrati sunt auctorem monumenti alicujus, vel plane ignorari vel diviniorem atque augustiorem credi, qvo major videlicet esset traditorum auctoritas, & utilia præcepta atqve inventa præclara tanto facilius imbiberentur animis, latiusqve ac lubentius admitterentur, verterenturqve in usum, atqve in posteros usqve propagarentur".

'Old Testament Pseudepigrapha' served this purpose: it neutralized the subversive potentialities of these texts by placing them in broad categories that stood in opposition to the accepted canon,[360] on which theology must exclusively rely.

It would be difficult not to see a parallel with the shift in attitude to satire which I have described in chapter 1, and to which Placcius's *Theatrum* was contributing. Just as pseudonymous satire was no more than libellous slander to be cast out of an emerging canon of 'satirical literature', so were the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha to be treated carefully and with suspicion, perhaps even with contempt. Indeed, the very creation of such corpora was ancillary to a redefinition of what 'Literature' (and consequently 'Ancient Literature') was. Fabricius, for example, was eager to emphasise that these authorless texts could only be useful for students of ecclesiastical history and of the early Christian heresies; such scholars lived in a modern time that provided them with new lights of truth that could neutralize the harm that these texts contained.[361] However, the Apocrypha ought not to be translated in vernacular languages, nor should they be in any way imitated.[362] This part of Christian Antiquity, for Fabricius, must remain inaccessible except for specialized scholars interested in the early history of Christianity, and it ought to have no normative value in theology. Its interest, in other words, was purely historical rather than in any way 'literary'. If we think back of the way in which Vossius had used the Sibylline Oracles, auspicating a renewed use of them in apologetics, we can gauge the distance separating such approaches.

---

[360] See Fabricius's preface 'ad Lectorem' in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1703), 1, sig. a5^{v}: "[the Apocrypha] ad usum Canonicæ autoritatis quam invadere voluerunt inepta reddere studui"; sig. a6^{v}: "Fortassis etiam operæ pretium est, quid distent æra lupinis, propius cognoscere". Cf. 'ad Lectorem' in *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1713-1733), 1, sig. a3^{v}: "*Eo promisso* [i.e. the volume on the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha] *jam me exsolvo, Lector Benevole, non quod fabulis ejusmodi ducor, aut fraudes illas probo, sed quoniam ad illas rejiciendas atq; explodendas nihil fieri posse existimo accomodatius, quam ut junctim ita inspiciendæ exhibeantur & contemtui omnium exponantur*".

[361] Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*, sig. a7^{r}: "E contrario viris doctis & Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ peritis constat hos libros, in tanta præsertim qua divino beneficio hodie fruimur divinæ Veritatis luce, non modo legi posse sine detrimento, sed cum utilitate quoque, si idoneus lector accesserit. Nam cum hypobolimæa quidem at pervetusta sint hæc scripta pleraque, res ipsa docet Historiam veterum hæresium & loca quædam veterum Ecclesiæ Doctorum ex iis posse illustrari".

[362] *Ibid.*: "Qui usus, cum ad vulgus indoctum redire non possit, hoc a lectione eorundem potius removendum quam translatione vernacula turbandum atque cœcis ita scandalum ponendum esse duxerim".

Thus, there were scholars such as Fabricius, Le Clerc, or indeed Bentley, who, in different ways, sought to underline the importance of the *auctor* as a fixed point on which to ground an idea of *literae*, while other scholars, such as Dodwell, Perizonius, and Simon, were more attracted to the concepts clustering around the notion of *traditio* as the backbone of literary history. I hope that the foregoing discussion has dispelled the impression that may arise from the previous sentence, i.e. that these two tendencies constituted fast groups or that they demarcated some clear lines of division between ideologically opposed camps. What I want to emphasise instead is that these unresolved questions of scholarly method were flexibly adapted to the polemical and confessional needs at hand on a case-by-case basis, and that, consequently, it is against this background that the Battle of the Books, and the larger Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns ought to be read. These were indeed some of those issues which the Battle would necessarily run up against, and which are crucial for an understanding of Swift's 'satyrical' practices. Now that these areas of tension have been uncovered, we can turn back to Swift's *Tale* miscellany, and try to highlight how 'satyre' performed its heuristic work of discovery.

III. Swift's 'Satyres' in Operation

Scarce attempts have been made to inscribe the *Tale* within the landscape sketched in the foregoing section, and the little done so far has been waylaid by more contemporary theoretical concerns such as the 'textual' status of Swift's early satires,[363] or is by now outdated.[364] In truth, we are still very far from understanding precisely how, for example, reading Richard Simon influenced Swift.[365] However, what seems to transpire from the poorly documented years that

[363] See Marcus Walsh's influential article, "Text, 'Text', and Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *Modern Language Review* 85/2 (1990), 290-303, which is also marred by oversimplifications of complex questions of biblical criticism and of their use in Anglican apologetics (e.g. 204 on the 'oral Torah' in Kabbalah); see also Nicholas Hudson, "'O Divinum Scripturae Beneficium!'", *The Age of Johnson* 7 (1996), 343-363, esp. 350-352.

[364] See the tentative steps of Everett Zimmermann, *Swift's Narrative Satires* (Ithaca, 1983), 17-60; also, Jay A. Levine, "The Design of *A Tale of a Tub* (with a Digression on a Mad Modern Critic)", *ELH* 33/2 (1966), 198-227.

[365] Marcus Walsh has briefly discussed Simon in relation to the English Quarrel and the development of the scholarly apparatus – "Scholarly Documentation in the Enlightenment", in Bullard and Tadié (eds.), *Ancients and Moderns* (Oxford, 2016), 97-112.

Swift spent at Moor Park with Temple is a strong sympathy for High Church Anglicanism and especially for the plight of the Non-jurors. As we have seen, his reading of Irenaeus and Cyprian (two key church fathers for the High Anglican 'case for tradition')[366] seems to point in this direction. One wonders to what degree Swift was aware of the work of Dodwell (a fellow Anglo-Irish, and also an alumnus of Trinity College, Dublin), with whom he also shared a common personal contact in the Anglo-Irish bookseller Benjamin Tooke, who was responsible for the publication both of the *Dissertationes Cyprianicae* and, in due course, of the *Tale* miscellany.[367]

In the early 1690s, Swift even wrote a tortured and unfinished Pindaric ode in praise of the deprived archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, whose shining example of Truth could only "imperfect pass" in the topsy-turvy reflections of the "glass" of this world.[368] As he wrote to his cousin Thomas Swift (who was studying at Oxford and would later claim the authorship of the *Tale*), the ode in praise of Sancroft ("a gentleman I admire at a degree more than I can express") was undertaken at the behest of another Non-juror, Francis Turner, the "unhappy reverend Gentleman my L^{d} the Bishop of Ely with whom I usd to converse about 2 or 3 years ago, and very often upon that Subject" (the letter is dated May 1692).[369] Whatever the substance of this boast, what can be evinced is not just an admiration for the deprived bishops, but also Swift's youthful desire to appear bold and daring in his affiliations, at a time when he was already staying with Temple, who entertained friendly relation with the new Williamite court (unsurprisingly, the ode was never published during Swift's lifetime).

This difference between Swift and Temple also suggests a larger area that is in need of revision. A renewed focus on their respective religious stances indicates that far from being the straightforward product of a relation of patronage, the *Tale* came into being also under the

---

[366] Cf. Quantin, *Church of England*, 327-395.
[367] On Dodwell and Tooke, see Quantin, "Erudition and Orthodoxy", 53-54. On Tooke himself, see Henry Robert Plomer, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 293.
[368] "Ode to Dr. William Sancroft", in *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, 3 vols., 2nd edition, edited by Harold Williams (Oxford, 1958), 1, 35, ll. 23-24. See also Edward W. Rosenheim, "Swift's *Ode to Sancroft*: Another Look", *Modern Philology* 73/4, 'Part 2: A Supplement' (1976), S24-S39.
[369] *Correspondence*, 1, 110.

influence of very different positions (indeed it was published after Temple's death and the deterioration of the Swift's ties with the Temple family).[370] It would be more accurate to describe the *Tale* as Swift's disingenuous attempt to mediate between his allegiance to Temple (especially clear in the *Battel* and the *Tale*'s digressions) and his own High Church Anglicanism (obviously most prominent in the *Tale*'s allegorical narrative).[371] And yet even this description risks driving a wedge between different parts of the miscellany, thus fomenting another modern debate in literary criticism about the compositional and authorial unity behind the *Tale*.[372] If there is one thing that I hope the discussion above has proved, it is the fact that the controversy over Phalaris was a trivial epiphenomenon masking some deeper-lying tensions in scholarship; to disjoin the contexts of the *Tale* miscellany into an 'Anglican' background and an 'Ancient-vs-Modern' one is to compartmentalize issues that stemmed from a single (though not homogeneous) literary culture. Rather, the question is how Swift managed to transform the worldly 'glass' that distorted the paragon of piety and truth in the 'Ode to Sancroft' into that 'glass of satyre' whose 'reflections', as I mentioned in chapter 1, could paradoxically deliver a form of truth.

To attempt an answer, we must lay aside suggestive but inconclusive biographical details and concentrate on the miscellany itself, and it may be fitting, given my argument about the irrelevance of the question of the *Tale*'s unity, to start by considering a trope that recurs both in the parts on religion and in those on learning. This is the act of tailoring of the coats given to the three brothers. This central conceit, however, is not of Swift's own making: it is found in contemporary High Church propaganda, and, unsurprisingly, ultimately derives from Cyprian.[373] Although, as I will argue in the next chapter, a more complex patristic lineage mediated the image of the Christian cloak to Swift, it is important to stress here that the Cyprianic element of the

---

[370] This point of difference was already clear to Irvin Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 1, 126, but little has been made of it; Ehrenpreis, however, stresses the continuities between Swift and Temple – a point that is starting to be revised: see e.g. Marshall, *Swift and History*, 51-79.

[371] On the latter, see especially Ian Higgins, *Swift's Politics: A Study in Disaffection* (Cambridge, 1994), 38-143. Higgins interpretation of Swift as a Tory and even crypto-Jacobite builds on the earlier efforts of F. P. Lock, *Swift's Tory Politics* (London, 1983).

[372] See e.g. Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered*, 115-192, with a list of earlier positions on 327, endnote 1.

[373] The parallel was first mentioned by A. H. De Quehen, "Cyprian and Swift's Coats", *Notes and Queries* 229 (1992), 37-8.

conceit consists in the idea that schism (and, by consequence, religious deviance and dissent) is a form of tearing of Christ's mystical coat.[374]

Thus, in his *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, Cyprian had cautioned against schism as a breaking of the 'sacrament of unity' via a reference to the Crucifixion, for in John 19:23-24 we read how the soldiers took Christ's coat, which "was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be". Cyprian was particularly captivated by the idea that the coat was "woven from the top", or 'from above' (*de parte superiore*): this proved that church unity was a sacred mandate descended from heaven, and consequently that 'anyone who tears and divides the Church of Christ cannot possess the garment of Christ'.[375] It was a point on which Fell was eager to insist, both in a footnote in his edition,[376] and in a 1681 translation of this treatise, where a preface stressed the precise contemporary applicability of Cyprian's injunctions against schism to an Anglican church beset by Romanist idolatry on one side and internal dissent on the other.[377] Similarly, the conceit lapsed into High Church and Non-juring writing just as into Swift's *Tale*, and we find it, for example, in a pamphlet by the indefatigable Jacobite Charles Leslie, who compared schism to the "tearing [of] *Christ*'s seamless *Coat*, because we like not the *colour*, or to mend the Fashion of a Sleeve".[378]

---

[374] Dryden had also used this patristic image in the *Hind*, where the Hind challenges the Panther to show "such a seamless coat, from schism so free" (l. 1192) – see John M. Aden, "Dryden and Swift", *Notes and Queries* 200 (1955), 239-240.

[375] *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani Opera*, ed. by John Fell (Oxford, 1682), 109-110: "Hoc unitatis sacramentum, hoc vinculum concordiæ inseparabiliter cohærentis ostenditur; quando in Evangelio tunica domini Jesu Christi non dividitur omnino […] Unitatem illa [i.e. the coat] portabat de superiore parte venientem, id est, de cœlo & a patre venientem; quæ ab accipiente ac possidente scindi omnino non poterat, sed totam semel & solidam firmitatem inseparabiliter obtinebat. Possidere non potest indumentum Christi, qui scindit & dividit Ecclesiam Christi".

[376] *Ibid.*, 110: "Ad eandem ergo mentem vocem illam hic loci trahit D. Cyprianus; & Unitatem, ceu cœlo lapsam, tunica Christi, quæ ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλου, adumbrari statuit".

[377] Cyprian, *Of the Unity of the Church*, transl. by John Fell (Oxford, 1681), sig. a2^{r-v}: "*I need not say how parallel a case we have in the Church of England. When we are now assaulted by the plots and machinations of Idolatrous Rome, we are molested by domestic dissentions from within, upon the same pretences that we are polluted with the conversation of the Ungodly, and favor those who are Idolators; are lukewarm Professors, Popishly affected, and protestants in Masquerade*".

[378] [Charles Leslie], 'Primitive Heresie', in *Five Discourses by the Author of the Snake in the Grass* (London, 1700), 152; noted by Higgins, *Swift's Politics*, 107.

The power of this "mysterious emblem of […] concord and union" (Fell's translation)[379] is certainly pervasive in the *Tale*. And yet, in Swift's hand, the schismatic rift thereof also becomes a symbol for the practices of the 'true critick'. In 'Section III' (a key chapter in which the hack produces his own preposterous anatomy of the art of criticism), the hack reports that the "secret Detractors" of the 'true criticks' claim

> that a *True Critick* is a sort of Mechanick, set up with a Stock and Tool for his Trade, at as little Expence as a *Taylor*; and that there is much Analogy between the Utensils and Abilities of both: That the *Taylor's Hell* is the Type of a Critick's *Common-Place-Book*, and his Wit and Learning held forth by the *Goose*: That it requires as many of these, to the making up of one Scholar, as of the others to the Composition of a Man: That the Valour of both is equal, and their *Weapons* near of a Size.[380]

The works of the 'true criticks' are thus presented as unsightly patchwork of textual scraps collected in a tailor's 'hell' (the pit under the sewing board where left-over shreds are thrown). The image not only recalls the description of the "*Idol*" whose worshippers induce the brothers to alter their coats in 'Section II' ("This God had a *Goose* for his Ensign […] At his left Hand, beneath the Altar, *Hell* seemed to open, and catch at the Animals the *Idol* was creating"),[381] thus initiating the process of degeneration from primitive Christianity. It may also effectively describe Swift's own working methods, for the *Tale* miscellany bears all the signs of being composed out of different strips strung together by threads of witticisms, which, when they become so over-refined as to be no more connectable, are joined by the expedient method of a series of asterisks pretending a lacuna in the original manuscript (the method is clearest in 'Section XI', where the narrative of the three brothers is interrupted by asterisks and a "*Desunt nonnulla*", after which Swift places a string of quips on the subject of 'ears').[382]

Thus, not only is a vision of textual fragmentation at the basis of Swift's modern 'satyre', but this image also stems from the books both of patristic theology and of criticism which Swift had been reading, and with which the Battle on Phalaris obliquely engaged. The work of Simon

---

[379] Cyprian, *Of the Unity of the Church*, 11.
[380] *Tale*, 66.
[381] *Tale*, 49.
[382] *Tale*, 129; on the 'gaps in the manuscript' and the bogus textual apparatus, see Marcus Walsh, "Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and the Mock-Book", in Bullard and McLaverty (eds.), *Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge, 2013), 101-118.

especially had shown how a critical history of ancient texts could itemize several layers of redaction, and turn an ancient 'author' into a series of acts of transmission and manipulation; conversely, the attractiveness of such methods for scholarly supporters of the 'Ancients' such as Dodwell and Perizonius suggests their ambivalence as much as their usefulness in preserving, paradoxically, the authority of ancient texts. It is from these critical backgrounds that the *Tale* miscellany emerged. Swift's own pseudepigraphic 'satyre' was written under the influence of these scholarly developments, which, as their uses in confessional and literary polemics suggested, could be as appealing as they were insidious. There is an inescapable dialectic between scholarship and 'satyre'.

Indeed, just after the comparison of the 'true criticks' to tailors, the hack proceeds to conclude his anatomy of criticism by quoting, "*after the manner of* […] Bentley", a "certain Author, whose Works have many Ages since been lost", but who, nonetheless, conveys an ancient maxim on the value of criticism. The maxim claims that

> [Critics'] *Writings are the Mirrors of Learning*. This [the hack explains] I understand in a literal Sense, and suppose our Author must mean, that whosoever designs to be a perfect Writer, must inspect into the Books of *Criticks*, and correct his Invention there as in a Mirror.[383]

And yet Swift is also suggesting a figurative meaning: ancient mirrors, according to the hack, were "made of *Brass*, and *sine Mercurio* […] For, *Brass* is an Emblem of Duration, and when it is skilfully burnished, will cast *Reflections* from its *Superficies*, without any Assistance of *Mercury* from behind".[384] Modern criticism's long-lastingness, Swift insinuates, is inversely proportional to the critics' brazen arrogance and lack of wit, witness the fact that 'Ancient' criticism, together with the transmitter of the maxim, has been lost 'many ages since'.

And yet we cannot fail to sense that Swift is describing, through the oblique intermediary of the hack, the workings of the 'glass of satyre' whose malevolent 'reflections' have the power to reveal the inner tendencies of intellectual endeavours. Swift's 'satyre', as the hack suggests, was indeed the product of invention corrected (or inspired) by inspecting books of critics, for it inverts

---

[383] *Tale*, 66.
[384] *Ibid.*

their methods in an effort to expose their tensions. Nowhere does this appear more clearly than in this 'Section III', titled "*A Digression concerning* Criticks", in which the hack is in fact cast as a naïve adulator of Modern criticism. If scholars like Wotton had argued for the modern invention of criticism as a proof for the superiority of Modernity over Antiquity, the hack foolishly weaves a panegyric that strives to trace the genealogy of criticism by deriving it from the most Ancient stock. As such, the basic structure of this section is that of the traditional mock-encomium.[385] And yet much is revealed by paying attention to the distortions that Swift's 'satyre' performs.

The hack starts off by admitting his error in forgetting to add to his work "the due Discourses, Expostulatory, Supplicatory, Deprecatory with my *good Lords* the *Criticks*" – an "unpardonable Omission", which he intends atone for by presenting them "with a short Account of themselves and their *Art*, by looking into the Original and Progress of the Word […] and very briefly considering the antient and present State thereof".[386] Then the hack begins his anatomy: the word 'critic', according to him, once described "three very different Species of mortal Men", of which, however, the first two types "have been for some Ages utterly extinct", thus giving rise to the "Third, and Noblest Sort […] the *TRUE CRITICK*".[387] The first type, from the hack's description, corresponds to those who took "the Appellation of *Critick* in a literal Sense", and therefore laid down prescriptive rules, "by observing which, a careful Reader might be able to pronounce upon the productions of the *Learned,* form his Taste to a true Relish of the *Sublime* and the *Admirable*, and divide every Beauty of Matter or of Style from the Corruption that Apes it".[388] The second type was represented (before its extinction) by "the Restorers of Antient Learning from the Worms, and Graves, and Dusts of Manuscripts".[389] But who are then the triumphant 'true criticks'?

[385] Cf. Henry Knight Miller, "The Paradoxical Encomium with Special Reference to its Vogue in England", *Modern Philology* 53/3 (1956), 145-178.
[386] *Tale*, 60.
[387] *Ibid.*, 60-61.
[388] *Ibid.*, 60.
[389] *Ibid.*, 61.

Their description starts with a comparison that would have been familiar to seventeenth century readers (and that has escaped contemporary Swiftian studies).[390] True criticism not only boasts an ancient heavenly descent, but it also bears "a close Analogy […] to *Heroick Virtue*", and in fact its admirers have placed its origins "in Heaven, among […] *Hercules, Theseus, Perseus*";[391] as such, the offices of its practitioners are described mythographically, through mocking parallels with the labours of Hercules.[392] The association of scholarly toils with the Herculean labours, however, was utterly commonplace, having been introduced (as Swift certainly knew) by one of the most famous of Erasmus's *Adagia*, i.e. 'Herculei Labores', which headed the third chiliad of the collection. It is the longest of all the *Adagia*, and very memorable because highly essayistic in character. In it, Erasmus compares his own massive compilation of ancient proverbs to a Herculean labour, 'for if any human labour deserves this appellation of 'Herculean', it is certainly the work of those who toil in restoring the monuments of true ancient learning ['literatura']'.[393] One of the main difficulties was precisely 'the overwhelming corruption of manuscripts, both Greek and Latin, so that, as you are about to excerpt a passage, it almost invariably happens that an error either glaringly offends the eye or surreptitiously gives off a suspect smell'.[394]

Thus, what Swift is doing in the hack's account of the progress of the critical art is to take a famous Erasmian passage describing a type of scholarship which would be more properly applied to the hack's first or especially second type of critics, and to invert it, so that it stands as a hidden and mocking parallel to the third, degenerate category of the 'true criticks'. Indeed, just as Erasmus's labour consisted in detecting and gathering 'little gems' out of a vast morass of

---

[390] For a specific analysis of this trope (but without mention of its commonplace nature or of its origin), see Kevin L. Cole, "Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *Explicator* 57/2 (1999), 75-77.
[391] *Tale*, 61.
[392] *Ibid.*, 62: "to drag out the lurking Errors like *Cacus* from his Den; to multiply them like *Hydra*'s Heads; and rake them together like *Augeas*'s Dung […]".
[393] Erasmus, *Adagia*, n. 2001, in *Opera Omnia*, II-5, 27: "Quodsi vllis hominum laboribus hoc cognominis debetur, vt Herculani dicantur, eorum certe vel maxime deberi videtur, qui in restituendis antiquae veraeque literaturae monimentis elaborant".
[394] *Ibid.*, 29: "Age vero, quid ego nunc allegem prodigiosam librorum deprauationem, quae sic Latinorum pariter et Graecorum codices omneis occupauit, vt, quicquid attigeris citaturus, vix unquam contingat, quin aut manifestum mendum offendat aut suboleat occultum?".

writings to create a dazzling encyclopaedia of ancient usages for the use of posterity,[395] so is the 'true critick' "*a Discoverer and Collector of Writers Faults*", so that "the very Quintessence of what is bad, does of necessity distil into [his] own [works]".[396] And yet such scholarship, according to the hack, has not only justly disregarded the beauties of the Ancients; 'true criticism' has even proved that

> the very finest Things delivered of old, have been long since invented, and brought to Light by much later Pens, and that the noblest Discoveries those *Antients* ever made, of Art or of Nature, have all been produced by the transcending Genius of the present Age.[397]

The swipe, as a marginal note specifies, is obviously directed at Wotton, but the passage is also reflecting on the risks implicit in the literary scholarship of Bentley, whose *Dissertation* appeared as precisely one of such collections of faults and errors intending to prove the lower age of the 'Phalaris' impostor. The implication is that the power of 'true criticism' is to overwrite the past with its own standards, and to subvert ancient texts according to modern concerns; 'true criticism', in other words, transcends time to become the self-serving norm of the present. To expose its preposterousness, Swift has the hack perform some flagrant anachronisms. Indeed, 'true criticism' can even prove its own antiquity – "I easily concluded", the hack revealingly proceeds,

> that these *Antients*, highly sensible of their many Imperfections, must needs have endeavoured from some Passages in their Works, to obviate, soften, or divert the Censorious Reader, by *Satyr*, or *Panegyrick* upon the *True Criticks*, in Imitation of their *Masters* the *Moderns*.[398]

Then, a mock-Erasmian collection follows: the hack gathers some obscure images of animals (asses, serpents) from ancient descriptions, claiming to prove that such 'hieroglyphs' obscurely represent the 'true criticks', who must have inspired even then such fear in the Ancients that they referred to these formidable entities only "with abundance of Caution" – which "gave ground to

---

[395] *Ibid.*, 28: "Siquidem adagia ceu gemmulae, quod minuta sint, fallunt nonnunquam venantis oculos, ni acrius intendas".
[396] *Tale*, 62.
[397] *Ibid.*, 62-63.
[398] *Ibid.*, 63.

superficial Readers, for urging the Silence of Authors, against the Antiquity of the *True Critick*".[399]

Thus, the Erasmian outline of the passage works as a kind of spectral reminder of how far scholarship has degenerated: where Erasmus transmitted Antiquity, modern criticism overwrites and obliterates it. The hack does not even realize how blind his panegyric is, and how thin is the line that divides it from 'satyre'; by 'satyre' the triumph of the 'true critick' is thus shown to be hollow, for it destroys the very materials criticism supposedly studies. Two visions of literary history are implicitly opposed: in one, Antiquity can remain fruitful by acts of transmission of whatever good can be painstakingly restored from manuscripts or gathered from ancient writing; in the other, a collection of flaws leads to a disregard of the true matter of the past to the point of a foolish blindness to the destructive consequences that such a focus on error entailed.

Such a 'satyric' exposure of the anti-historicist tendencies of some modern criticism is perceptive; we have seen how Dodwell and Perizonius felt similarly about Bentley and Le Clerc. And yet, it is certainly bought at the price of inheriting some of the obtuse elitism that characterized Temple's *Essay*. The labels of 'Ancient' and 'Modern' were useful tools to achieve such an exposure by dint of 'satyre', but the side effect of this stark opposition is that the ideal scholarly middle way that Erasmus might have represented for Swift recedes from view, and must remain conspicuously absent in order for the trivializing work of 'satyre' to be effective. The more positive siblings of the 'true critick' must be "utterly extinct" to meet the maximalist requirements of the genre.

It would be easy to infer from Swift's 'satyres' that his attitude to criticism was mainly characterized by an intransigent literariness, or even by an incipient belletrism, and that it excluded historical scholarship. This inference, however, is the result of the obfuscations by which 'satyre' worked. If we do not catch the glimpse of Erasmus in 'Section III', for example, we are left at the mercy of such misinterpretations. Swift himself had the hack report in the

[399] *Ibid.*

'Preface' that "*Wit* has its Walks and Purlieus, out of which it may not stray the breadth of a Hair, upon peril of being lost".[400] This affirmation is certainly another swipe at the presentism of Modernity, but it also captures the idea that an understanding of satirical genres must rely on historical contextualization. We must strive, therefore, to walk the critical purlieus that Swift walked in order not to take the obfuscations of his 'satyre' for substantial indicators of his sympathies, but for the caricatures that they were, which aimed to perform, and thus to draw out in the open, the inner tensions of scholarly endeavours.

Thus, for example, we should be wary of reading a text like the *Battel* as a straightforward vindication of Ancient literary excellence over Modern historical pedantry, and to take its overt anti-intellectualism at face value. Even when 'Vossius' appears alongside Temple, we ought to pause. Indeed, once we turn back to the *Tale*, the argument that Swift simply agreed with Temple and Vossius about the Septuagint and the Oracles turns out to be untenable. In 'Section VIII', which is an attack on the dissenters' belief in direct divine inspiration, the Sibyls are mentioned to prove that "these *Æolists* [i.e. the dissenters] [were] very antient in the World":[401] the Quakers' allowance of female preachers is, for example, directly derivable from the "Oracular *Gusts*" that were once thought to inspire the Sibyls.[402] Thus, Swift seems to have seen through Vossius's scholarship in its problematic tendency to redraw the confines of the doctrine of inspiration. (I will further discuss the theological aspects of this question in chapter 4).

Similarly, the legends surrounding the origin of the Septuagint become fodder for the hack's enthusiastic presentation of his own "miraculous treatise" (the *Tale* itself).[403] To reveal the wonderful abundance of new meanings hidden therein, the hack proposes

---

[400] *Ibid.*, 27.
[401] *Ibid.*, 102
[402] *Ibid.*; on the theme of the oracles in Swift (though without mentioning Vossius), see William Kupersmith, "Swift's Æolists and the Delphic Oracle", *Modern Philology* 82 (1984), 190-194; on Swift's connections to anti-Quaker satire, see Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, "Swift and the Quakers, I", *Swift Studies* 4 (1989), 34-62, and "Swift and the Quakers, II", *Swift Studies* 5 (1990), 53-89.
[403] *Tale*, 119.

> that every Prince in *Christendom* will take seven of the *deepest Scholars* in his Dominions, and shut them up close for *seven* Years, in *seven* Chambers, with a Command to write *seven* ample Commentaries on this comprehensive Discourse [the *Tale*].[404]

The result is, however, revealingly unimpressive. The hack proceeds:

> I shall venture to affirm, that whatever Difference may be found in their several Conjectures, they will all be, without the least Distortion, manifestly deduceable from the Text.[405]

The sting of this deflation is that the enthusiastic esoteric enquirers that Swift is attacking enact precisely a series of 'distortions' in order to find new meanings in the text. As the hack explains, the texts by the 'mysterious' writers of his kind are "like Seeds, which, however scattered at random, when they light upon a fruitful Ground, will multiply far beyond either the Hopes or Imagination of the Sower"[406] – a sentence that enacts that miraculous multiplication of meaning by distorting the biblical parable of the sower (Matthew 13:3-9) to apply it to the exegetical labour of commentary on the *Tale*.

And yet, without reference to Vossius's ideas about the Septuagint, we risk taking Swift's own 'satyrical' distortion as straightforward ridicule cast on occultism or on hermeneutical excesses in general. Rather, the point is remarkably similar to Simon's own attack on Vossius: by accepting the ancient witnesses about the purity of the Septuagint, which are often highly fabulous, the critic is in danger of falling either into Jack's enthusiasm or into Peter's credulity, thereby multiplying the texts that may justly be considered canonical, and effectively forging a new heterodox Bible. Indeed, the following paragraphs in the section are the ones that recycle Gnostic theology from Irenaeus that I have analysed at the start of chapter 1.

Conversely, Swift's own attitude to the biblical canon seems to have been of caution and doubt. For example, in his final derision of Jack's scriptural literalism, he has the narrator describe how, when he happened to soil himself for lack of time to reach a toilet, Jack would refuse to clean, "Because, having consulted the Will upon this Emergency, he met with a Passage

---

[404] *Ibid.*
[405] *Ibid.*; the 1720 edition of the *Tale* (a Dutch pirated issue also containing dubiously 'Swiftian' materials such as 'the History of Martin') made the reference to the Septuagint explicit by adding the comment that "This alludes to the story of the Seventy Interpreters" – see [Swift], *Miscellaneous Works, Comical and Diverting: By T.R.D.J.S.D.O.P.I.I.* (London [= The Hague], 1720), 151.
[406] *Tale*, 120.

near the Bottom (whether foisted in by the Transcriber, is not known) which seemed to forbid it".[407] This possibly spurious 'passage near the bottom' is Revelation 22:11 (the last chapter of the canonical New Testament), where we read that "he which is filthy, let him be filthy still". In a footnote added to the 1710 edition of the *Tale,* the voice of the scholiast mystifies the issue ("*I cannot guess the Author's Meaning here, which I would be very glad to know, because it seems to be of Importance*"),[408] but the implication is evident: Swift was covertly casting doubt on the canonicity of Revelation. We have seen how Dodwell was similarly inclined to call into question the authorship of the book, and to relate it to the literary-historical context of the influx of prophetic Pseudepigrapha in the early church. Indeed, a long tradition of doubt stretching from the patristic period to the Reformation surrounded the book; Erasmus himself had been sceptical of its place in the canon.[409] It is certainly to this scholarly tradition that the 'author's meaning' refers.

Indeed, much earlier in the *Tale*, the narrator of the history of the three brothers had compared Peter's skill with texts (gained by reading Aristotle's "wonderful piece *de Interpretatione*") in "find[ing] out a Meaning in every Thing but it self" to "Commentators on the *Revelations*, who proceed Prophets without understanding a Syllable of the Text".[410] Such collapsing of scholastic hermeneutical subtleties and radical Reformed scripturalism is typically Swiftian (and indeed High-Church Anglican), and should by now be familiar. What is crucial here is, once again, to be able to infer the third interpretative option, which would have been clear to contemporary readers of Swift's 'satyre' – i.e. to find out the meaning of the text itself not by appeals to inspiration, nor by rules of great logical or critical tortuosity, but by uncovering its historical context as a way to circumscribe the possible significations of its idiosyncratic language.

***

[407] *Ibid.*, 124.
[408] *Ibid.*
[409] See Irena Backus, "The Church Fathers and the Canonicity of the Apocalypse in the Sixteenth Century", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29/3 (1998), 651-666.
[410] *Tale*, 55.

Swift's 'satyre', then, grew out of a background of transformations in critical method, in the conception of 'literary' corpora and canons, and in the scholarship on Antiquity, both Christian and classical; the Battle of the Books both reflected and displaced these debates. The interest of the *Tale* miscellany stems precisely from the fact that, far from bewailing these changes in the manner of Temple or some other supporters of the 'Ancients', Swift built on them to create a text that captured their tensions by way of 'literary' performance. If we compare, for example, the "*Digression concerning* Criticks" with its Erasmian echoes with another intervention in the Battle by the Non-juror Thomas Baker, this difference is plain.

Baker, in his anonymously published *Reflections upon Learning* (1699), went through all branches to knowledge with the semi-serious intent of showing them deficient, and thereby to exalt revelation as the only source of true satisfaction.[411] In the section on 'critical learning', Baker compared "*Erasmus* and the first set of Critics" with his contemporaries (Simon and Le Clerc are especially selected for attack).[412] According to Baker, if the former "had Matter enough to work upon", the latter "Modern Critics have usually degenerated into mere Grammarians, or if they soar higher, it is too often, by venturing too freely upon those Books [the Bible and the fathers], which ought to be handled with greater tenderness"; criticism, in short, "is at a low Ebb, Men will be finding faults in Authors, and yet our store is well near exhausted, for there are few Faults in this kind, that have not been taken notice of".[413]

Baker's complaint, then, is remarkably similar to Swift's "*Digression*", where the first two branches of criticism are declared 'extinct', and the 'true criticks' are mockingly praised in Erasmian terms as 'collectors of writers' faults'. And yet, Swift's 'satyrical' mirror could do much more than Baker's reactionary book – it could turn confessional unease about the uses of scholarship into literary polemics.

---

[411] [Thomas Baker], *Reflections Upon Learning* (London, 1699), on which, see Frans Korsten, "Thomas Baker's *Reflections upon Learning* (1699)", in Janssens and Aarts (eds.), *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History, and Bibliography* (Amsterdam, 1984), 133-148; also, Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom*, 209-210.
[412] *Ibid.*, 187-188.
[413] *Ibid.*

We have seen how Fabricius drew a neat line between the discipline of theology (based on the canon of Scripture) and that of ecclesiastical history and heresiology (which could greatly benefit from apocryphal and pseudepigraphic texts), just as he participated in an effort to expunge anonymous 'satyres' from scholarly and 'literary' practices. Swift's miscellany is a text that challenges precisely that distinction: as an authorless 'satyre', it is pervaded by a fascination with pseudepigraphic and rebarbative writing, and especially with the concept of heresy and, as the next chapter will explain, with the practice of heresiography. It is, in other words, a text that defies the literary categories and the disciplines conventionally used to explain it. In this chapter I have endeavoured to show how the *Tale* miscellany engaged in the intellectual and scholarly contexts that surrounded it. In the next, I turn to an examination of the influence of ancient heresy and heresiography on Swift's writing. I will thus extend this chapter's arguments about the scholarly charge of 'satyre', while at the same time nuancing them by showing how, just as scholarship finding it increasingly difficult to uphold straightforward confessional positions, 'literature' could take over similar polemical purposes.

Chapter 3

The 'Satyrical' Uses of Heresy: Swift among the Heresiologists

In a passage from 'Section V' of the *Tale* (entitled "*A Digression in the Modern Kind*"), the hack justifies his rambling and self-referential method of literary composition by appealing to the rights of the Moderns:

> I hold my self obliged to give as much Light as is possible, into the Beauties and Excellencies of what I am writing, because it is become the Fashion and Humor most applauded among the first Authors of this Polite and Learned Age, when they would correct the ill Nature of Critical, or inform the Ignorance of Courteous Readers. […] I cannot deny, that whatever I have said upon this Occasion, had been more proper in a Preface, and more agreeable to the Mode, which usually directs it there. But I here think fit to lay hold on that great and honourable Privilege of being the *Last Writer;* I claim an absolute Authority in Right, as the *freshest Modern*, which gives me a Despotick Power over all Authors before me.[414]

We are by now familiar with these strategies. Through the hack's arrogant blunders, Swift is not just indirectly rebuking Dryden's famous 'prefaces' and his prescriptiveness in matters of literary writing (as we have seen in chapter 1); he is also exposing the self-serving nature of such Modern normativity, and its tendency to flagrant contradiction. The hack may 'hold himself obliged' to the 'mode' of the age, but he can also 'lay hold' on the intrinsic right of Modernity to dictate new fashions, thereby debasing the value of any normative prescription. The Moderns, in other words, have invalidated any possible normativity by embedding a 'despotic power' to prescript in their practices.

As I have emphasised at the end of chapter 2, this 'satyrical' exposure of Modernity has as much to do with Swift's 'Ancient' literary allegiance as with his confessional affiliation. The fashions under attack are the novel literary vogues as much as the unsteady religious opinions that prompt the brothers to tailor their Christian coats according to the needs of the age.[415] Indeed, in the *Tale*'s 'Preface' the hack had already expressed a similar view to the one in the above-quoted

---

[414] *Tale*, 84-85.

[415] On Swift's satire on fashion, see most recently Corrina Readioff, "'Very Plain, and with Little or No Ornament'", *Swift Studies* 33 (2018), 18-32, which, however, does not treat the intellectual backgrounds of the attacks.

passage, but in revealingly different terms. In the 'Preface', after elaborating on the transience of wit, which loses its spark as soon as circumstances change (thus making ancient satires obsolescent and present ones imminently so), the hack affirms:

> yet I must subscribe to the Justice of this Proceeding: because, I cannot imagine why we should be at Expence to furnish Wit for succeeding Ages, when the former have made no sort of Provision for ours; wherein I speak the Sentiment of the very newest, and consequently the most Orthodox Refiners, as well as my own.[416]

The clue is in the adverb "consequently", collapsing as it does the 'new' and the 'orthodox'. The Modern tendency to overwrite and thus overrule the past is not just a cultural degeneration, but it also conceals much more sinister consequences: for, with it in the ascendancy, the appeal to Christian Antiquity as the standard of orthodoxy would be gone, and heresy would compete on a par with orthodox Reformed Christianity. Once again, confessional anxiety and literary polemics turn out to be intertwined, with the latter as a proxy for the former.

These two parallel passages from the *Tale* are useful in introducing this chapter because they point to a crucial issue that we are now in a position to consider, namely the role of heresy and heresiography in Swift's early 'satyres'. In chapter 1, I briefly noted how Swift presented the hack's literary labours as an unwittingly heretical text by placing Irenaeus's Gnostic formula on the *Tale*'s title-page; there I also mentioned how, according to some humanist literary theories, heresiography itself could be a form of *satyra*. Conversely, chapter 2 has repeatedly proposed the perhaps surprising thesis that 'literature' and especially 'satyre' incorporated confessional preoccupations through their dependence on ecclesiastical and patristic scholarship. This chapter will thus concentrate on the detail of this dynamic. The hack may scorn the lack of a 'provision of wit' handed down by the Ancients; but, fittingly, this chapter will show how much Swift was indebted to the 'wit' or to the 'satyrical' structures of ancient heresiography, and how creative he was in recombining different and heterogenous aspects of it.

This recombination, I shall argue, was facilitated or even enabled by the confessional stakes with which heresiography had been transmitted to Swift. Indeed, as we will see, he was

---

[416] *Tale*, 27.

reading the ancient heresiographers through the lenses of the confessional polemics that they had been made to serve in the two centuries between the Reformation and the *Tale*. The very texts of the fathers that he was using were encased in apparatuses that had precise contemporary polemical or doctrinal purposes; in these editions, Christian Antiquity was very much alive. Indeed, its vitality was aided by the fact that, from the perspective of the early modern period, heresiography was not a codified genre, but rather a practice of literary and historical writing that could easily borrow and adapt a wide range of generic instances (such as the catalogue, the dissertation, and indeed 'satyre'), which could themselves be turned to intellectual and confessional advantage. The various 'heresiological arguments' that these books contained were powerful and appealing polemical tools.[417]

Thus, this chapter will dedicate a section to an analysis of how Swift was influenced by the most conspicuous heresiographic tradition, namely the comprehensive catalogue, which was started, indeed, by Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses* (ca. 180 CE), and reached its apogee with the *Panarion* ('medicine chest', ca. 375 CE) by Epiphanius of Salamis. I will concentrate especially on the 'structure of knowledge' inherent in this tradition,[418] arguing that it was precisely the confessional cruxes which it posed that enabled its transposition into 'satyrical' writing. However, behind this tradition, other types of heresiography infiltrated literary 'satyre', especially through the influence of another patristic writer who had been largely forgotten in the Middle Ages but was enthusiastically rediscovered in the Renaissance: Tertullian of Carthage (early third century).[419] An analysis of the various debts that linked Swift to Tertullian will take up the last part of the chapter, revealing not just the pervasiveness of Tertullian's influence on the *Tale*, but

[417] I take the term from the title of a helpful collection of studies: see Irena Backus, Philippe Büttgen, and Bernard Pouderon (eds.), *L'Argument Hérésiologique: L'Église Ancienne et les Réformes, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 2012).
[418] See Averil Cameron, "How to Read Heresiology", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003), 471-492.
[419] The many contributions of Pierre Petitmengin are crucial for an understanding of the philological rediscovery of Tertullian. See his "L'Édition de Tertullien, de Nicolas Rigault à Migne", in Deitz (ed.), *Tempus Edax Rerum* (Luxembourg, 2001), 27-40; "De Théodore de Bèze à Jacques Godefroy", in Backus (ed.), *Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605)* (Geneva, 2007), 309-337; "Jacques de Pamèle Passeur de Manuscrits Perdus de Tertullien", in Sordet (ed.), *Passeurs de Textes* (Turnhout, 2009), 124-137; "Pierre Pithou, Théodore de Bèze et la chronologie des traités de Tertullien", in Pitassi and Solfaroli Camillocci (eds.), *Crossing Traditions* (Leiden, 2018), 200-215.

also how the confessional apparatus with which Tertullian had come to be enveloped was particularly useful for the purposes of 'satyre'.[420]

A consideration of Swift's debts to the ancient heresiographers will show that heresiography was a multifarious set of practices with literary as much as intellectual implications: heresio-*graphy* is always a form of heresio-*logy*. It is, in other words, a compelling instrument of scholarly and intellectual discovery. It is worth emphasising this because it has been all too easy, in modern historiography, to dismiss heresy-hunting as a form of benighted persecution dictated by zealous blindness – quite the opposite of rational impartial enquiry. But, just as we had to suspend our expectations of impartiality to see 'satyre' as an intellectual tool of discovery, so do we now need to overcome the modern repellence that facilitates a hasty dismissal of this sort of writing as the product of irrational zeal.

Modern scholarship has begun to do so especially through a focus on the social and cultural history of the fear and anxiety that heresy generated, and on concepts closely related to heresy such as dissent and persecution. Scholars have enlightened the 'charitable hatred' (to use Alexandra Walsham's phrase)[421] driving such rebarbative persecution of dissent, and the complex shift in ideas and practices of (in)tolerance through the early modern period.[422] In the field of literary studies, this focus has resulted in a tendency to analyse heresy as a 'discourse',[423] and in a renewed interest in the language and tropes connoting heresy and radical religion, especially in the contexts of vernacular culture and popular unrest (the mid-century civil wars having emerged

---

[420] On the uses of Tertullian in doctrinal debates, see the work of Irena Backus: *Historical Method and Confessional Identity*, 152-172; "Le Tertullien de Lambert de Daneau", in Cortesi (ed.), *I Padri Sotto il Torchio* (Florence, 2002), 33-52; "Quelques Remarques sur les Annotations Doctrinales de Bèze dans son Exemplaire de Tertullien", in Backus (ed.), *Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605)* (Geneva, 2007), 339-352.
[421] Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006).
[422] See the essays collected in Ole Peter Grell and Jonathan Israel (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration* (Oxford, 1991), in John Christian Laursen (ed.), *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002), and in Ian Hunter, John Christian Laursen, and Cary J. Nederman (eds.), *Heresy in Transition* (Aldershot, 2005); also, John Marshall, "Defining and Redefining Heresy up to Locke's *Letters Concerning Toleration*", in Loewenstein and Marshall (eds.), *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), 254-281; Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Religious Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).
[423] See John Flood and Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, "Editors' Introduction", in Flood and Ní Chuilleanáin (eds.), *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Early English Literature, 1350-1680* (Dublin, 2010), 11-22.

as particularly fruitful area).[424] Concomitantly, the problems arising from heresiography as an intellectual practice with specific arguments have opened some propitious lines of enquiry.[425] It is then unsurprising that the only study of Swift's relation to heresiography explores the link between the *Tale* miscellany and just one particularly conspicuous example of vernacular heresiography from the 1640s, namely Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena* (1646)[426] – of which Swift possessed a "compleat" copy, as his 1715 library inventory records.[427] Thus, by showing that Swift's interest in heresiography went much deeper than the *Gangraena*, and that he aimed to go *ad fontes* in his heresiological studies, this chapter indirectly engages with these areas of research. It suggests that there is another neglected dimension to early modern heresiology – a dimension in which the study of heresy was driven less by fear or intolerance (though they were by no means absent) than by the intellectual gains that various heresiographic formats could secure, both in confessional and in literary polemics. Indeed, this chapter's central claim is that Swift's literary ingenuity in the *Tale* stemmed precisely from the intellectual energies that for almost two centuries had nurtured the confessional uses of heresiology. In other words, by concentrating on early modern scholarship on ancient heresy, we will be able to witness very closely the multiple ways in which 'literary' works such as the *Tale* miscellany could incorporate the argumentative devices and tensions that had shaped the recourse to the ancient heresiologists in confessional polemics.

---

[424] The study of radical religion has become particularly popular after Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down* (London, 1972). For more recent contributions in literary studies, see Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000); the essays collected in David Loewenstein and John Marshall (eds.), *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge, 2006); David Loewenstein, *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2013).

[425] See William Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall* (Cambridge, 2005), 83-95.

[426] Nicholas McDowell, "Tales of a Tub Preachers: Swift and Heresiography", *Review of English Studies* 61/248 (2010), 72-92. See Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena: Or, a Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time*, 2nd edition (London, 1646). Edwards's catalogue has been the object of some helpful studies by Ann Hughes: see *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), and "Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena* and Heresiological Traditions", in Loewenstein and Marshall (eds.), *Heresy, Literature, and Politics*, 137-159; on Edwards, see further Sammy Basu, "'We Are in Strange Hands, and Things Are Come to a Strange Passe'", in Laursen (ed.), *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002), 11-32. On the background of 'heresy' during the 1640s and 50s, see Kei Nasu, "Heresiography and the Idea of 'Heresy' in mid-Seventeenth-Century English Religious Culture" (DPhil thesis, University of York, 2000).

[427] As his book inventories indicate: see *Library and Reading*, 1, 559-561. Swift therefore possessed either the second or third edition (both with an enlarged text).

Crucially, however, this transfer from scholarly disputation to 'literature' was not straightforward. Rather, it took place precisely at a time when the confessional uses of heresiology (and indeed of patristics) were fragmenting, largely as a result of their own refinement. To clarify this claim, it will be helpful to turn back to the *Tale*'s Irenaean title-page, and to William Wotton's polemical reaction to it, before considering Swift's reading of Epiphanius and Tertullian.

I. Irenaeus's Heresies and the Fragmentation of 'Heresiological Arguments' in Scholarship

---

Basima eacabasa eanaa irraurista, diarba da caeotaba

fobor camelanthi. *Iren. Lib.* 1 *C.* 18.

This is the typographic appearance of the baffling heretical formula from Iranaeus's *Adversus Haereses* on the title-page of the *Tale* miscellany. As we have seen in chapter 1, Swift was quoting it out of Erasmus's outdated edition of Irenaeus, which only gave the ancient Latin translation of the original Greek text (Erasmus had even mistakenly suggested that Irenaeus wrote his heresiography in Latin).[428] The passage from which the formula comes is a garbled account of various Gnostic opinions about baptism and redemption, especially according to the Marcosians and Heracleonites.[429] What drew Swift to this passage, and what was he suggesting by selecting this formula as an epigraph? Swiftian scholarship has barely asked these questions,[430] even though they open up fields of enquiry of particular relevance both for Swift and for the literary culture that he inhabited. A consideration of the original Irenaean passage as Swift would have found it in Erasmus's edition will introduce many issues that will recur throughout this chapter, while a look at the contemporary scholarship on it and similar passages will reveal how fraught these issues

[428] See above, chapter 1, 24.
[429] *Opus Eruditissimum Divi Irenaei*, ed. Erasmus, 39-41.
[430] Paulson, *Theme and Structure*, 96-103, is the only exception; it is, however, more than fifty years old and it wrongly claims, on the authority of Wotton(!), that Swift was using Grabe's edition (98); and it does not address the question of heresiography in the period.

actually were in contemporary scholarship. 'Literature', in other words, could take up what confessionalized learning was finding increasingly harder to hold.

The original passage in Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses* makes much of the unsteady opinions of the heretics in matters of dogma and orthopraxy. In the report of the Latin translator of Irenaeus, the Gnostics of the Marcosian and Heracleonite schools believed that there are two types of baptism and redemption. One is the 'animal baptism' of the 'visible Jesus', the other is the 'redemption' performed by the Christ who came down in Jesus, which tends to 'perfection', and is thus 'spiritual'[431] – a point that they prove out of Christ's own words in Luke 12:50 ("But I have a baptism to be baptized with"). Their rites reflected these opinions: a rite of initiation, for example, was performed in a 'bridal chamber', where a 'spiritual wedding' may take place for the disciples to be initiated, in resemblance of the spiritual copulations of the great transcendent entities of their emanationist theology, the Aeons (Achamoth, whom we met in chapter 1, being the last of the thirty aeons).[432] During the rite, they would pronounce the incomprehensible 'Hebrew' formula quoted above, which means, according to the Latin translator, 'I invoke that which is above all power, which is called light, and spirit, and life, for to be born again [others read: you have reigned] in the body'.[433] Others (the report continues) also use this other 'name of restitution': "messiaufar magnoin seenchaldia mosomeda eaacha faronepseha Iesu Nazarene" – meaning, 'I do not divide the spirit, the heart, the merciful supra-celestial power, may I profit by your name, saviour of truth'.[434] The rite of redemption is then accomplished by anointing the initiated with balsam. Others still refine the system even more, and say that carnal rites have no value, while only 'knowledge' has the power to redeem the 'inner man'. For them, 'redemption is not corporeal, for the body is corruptible, nor is it animal, for the soul ["anima"] is flawed, as a

[431] *Ibid.*, 39-40: "Et baptisma quidem apparentis Iesu in remissionem esse peccatorum, Redemptionem autem esse eius qui in eo descenderit Christus ad perfectionem, & illud quide[m] animale, illa autem spiritalia esse repromittunt".
[432] *Ibid.*, 40: "Quida[m] enim ex ipsis sponsale cubiculum quoddam adaptantes, & quasi mysticum conficiunt cum quibusdam prophanis dictionibus hijs qui sacrantur, & spiritales nuptias dicunt esse id quod ab eis fit secundum similitudinem supernarum coniugationum".
[433] *Ibid.*: "quod est super omnem uirtutem inuoco, quod uocatur lumen & spiritus & uita, quoniam in corpore renasci [others read: regnasti]".
[434] *Ibid.*: "Nomen quod est restauratio[n]is messiaufar [etc.] Et horum interpretatio est talis, Christi no[n] diuido spiritum cor & supercœlestem uirtutem misericordem fruar nomini tuo saluator ueritatis".

simple vessel for the spirit; it is therefore spiritual: in fact through knowledge the spiritual inner man is redeemed; for them the knowledge of all is thus sufficient, and this is the true redemption'.[435]

The convolution of Irenaeus's account may be difficult to account for, but it is also expedient in insinuating that the 'knowledge' to which the heretics lay claim is really just baseless figments – a meaningless jumble of perverted scriptural phrases or, in the language of Swift's miscellany, of those "Theological Polysyllables" that, according to the virtuoso speaking in the *Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, are crucial to the success of the "Art of Canting" practised by dissenters during their rites.[436] Such fragmentation of meaning haunts the whole of the *Tale* miscellany, and indeed the Irenaean quotation on the title-page is followed by another excerpt from Lucretius, which, fittingly, talks of the benefit of 'excerpting new flowers' to weave a novel literary crown – 'novel' except for the fact that these scraps turn out to be the hollow remnants of ancient heterodoxy.[437] The methods of Modern literary composition are thus collapsed with the insignificant fragments of heresy long forgotten but now newly revived in almost mechanical, unconscious way. 'Modernity' is consequently associated with suspicion that attempts at glossolalia evoked after the excesses of the civil wars, when fragments of 'Hebrew' and Oriental tongues had become a political signifier and a theological instrument to mould a novel language of prophecy among radical 'Puritans'.[438]

And yet, the conspicuousness of this polemical strategy on Swift's part tends to conceal much subtler engagements with ancient heresiography. Irenaeus, as we shall see later, was only

---

[435] *Ibid.*, 41: "neq[ue] corporalem esse eam [redemptionem], corruptibile enim est corpus, neq[ue] anima est, quoniam anima de labe est spiritus velut habitaculum, spiritalem ergo oportere & rede[m]ptionem esse, redimi enim per agnitionem interiorem hominem spiritale[m], & sufficere eis uniuersorum agnitionem, & hanc esse redemptionem uera".
[436] *Operation*, 180.
[437] "*Juvatque novos decerpere flores,/Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,/Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora Musæ*", from *De Rerum Natura*, I.926-930. Swift possessed three copies of Lucretius, one of which, *De Rerum Natura* (Amsterdam, 1631), survives with marginal markings in the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York), shelfmark: E-2 50D. See *Library and Reading*, 2, 1122-1134.
[438] See Nigel Smith, "The Uses of Hebrew in the English Revolution", in Burke and Porter (eds.), *Language, Self, and Society* (Cambridge, 1991), 51-71; more generally on language and theology among the radicals, see *id.*, *Perfection Proclaimed* (Oxford, 1989), esp. 268-307; for the particularly captivating example of the 'glossolalic' prophet TheaurauJohn Tany, see Ariel Hessayon, *'Gold Tried in the Fire'* (Aldershot, 2007).

one (and probably the least prominent)[439] of the heresiographers to which Swift was indebted. Indeed, this strategy of eye-catching insinuation could also backfire. As I mentioned in chapter 1, William Wotton, when attacking Swift in the "Observations Upon the *Tale of a Tub*" (1705), impugned precisely the Irenaean quotation as a proof of the author's irreligious delight in playing "with what some part or other of Mankind have always esteemed as Sacred".[440] For Wotton, it was the 'author' and not the parodied modern hack that took on board the ancient formula. In chapter 1, I argued that Wotton was here wilfully exploiting the ambiguity of 'satyre' to misconstrue Swift's reference for polemical gain. We can now nuance this argument by considering the ease with which Wotton exposed how Irenaeus himself was no trustworthy guide in such matters. In fact, just as Wotton was eager to score a point against Swift by insinuating heresy and irreligion by subverting the purpose of the Irenaean report, he was also trying to prove that the Moderns could free themselves of the positive doctrinal normativity inherent in Anglican patristic. As he had already put it in the *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, the fathers lacked 'method' in theology and did not know the necessary Semitic languages for solid exegesis.[441] The Anglican tendency to establish parallels between ancient and modern Christianity (both orthodox and heterodox) was thus misguided. Therefore, just as Wotton turned the accusation of ancient heresy against Swift in literary polemics, he also showed himself sceptical of the validity of such arguments in scholarship.

Indeed, Wotton was no stranger to the latest developments in the field of patristics: during the 1690s, he had coordinated the efforts to translate the Catholic Louis Ellies Dupin's multi-volume *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques* – a 'literary history' of ancient Christianity that aimed to use 'criticism' as "a Torch, that lights and conducts us in the obscure Tracks of Antiquity, by making us able to distinguish Truth from Falsehood, History from Fable,

[439] Against the claims of others who, lacking familiarity with early modern patristics, see in Irenaeus "one of the major models of Swift's own attacks on religious individualism" – cf. Claude Rawson, "Cannibalism and Fiction", *Genre* 10/4 (1977), 667-711, 690.
[440] "Observations", 225. See above, chapter 1, 21-22.
[441] Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, esp. chapter 28: "*Of the Theological Learning of the Moderns*", 322-341.

and Antiquity from Novelty".[442] Using such modern 'methods', Dupin promised to purify the ancient records from forgeries and spurious pieces – the main cause of which was "the Malice of Hereticks", closely followed by the wanton desire of those who "have been guilty of this Imposture, without any other Design, than to divert themselves at the Expence of their Readers".[443] In the case of Irenaeus, Dupin had shown little interest in his heresiographic notices: the first book of the father's heresiography was in his opinion "extremely tedious, being fill'd with almost nothing else but the wild Conceits [*folies*], and extravagant Imaginations of the primitive Hereticks".[444]

Moreover, Irenaeus was described as holding many "particular Opinions" typical of ancient Christianity but not in line with future orthodoxy, for which the primitive Christians "ought to be excused".[445] This would have meant very different things to Catholic and to Anglican readers: if a Catholic could explain this divergence of opinions on the basis of the temporal development of doctrine through the ages, an Anglican could not fail to see in it a rebuke of the normativity that a branch of High Church Anglicanism had attempted to instil in the ecclesiastical scholarship on 'primitive Christianity'.

It is significant that such a rebuke could take the form of a translation of Catholic patristic literary history. It intimates a pattern that I have already briefly sketched in the previous chapter when considering the Protestant reception of Richard Simon, i.e. that scholarship was becoming increasingly ambivalent in relation to confessional debates. Wotton was quick to characterize this shift in terms of the emergence of 'historical truth': "*Our* Author", he wrote in his preface, "*is indeed in the Communion of the Church of* Rome [but] *Truth, I confess, is the same, whoever*

---

[442] Louis Ellies Dupin, "The Author's Preface", in *A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers […] Volume the First*, transl. Wotton (London, 1693), vii. On issues related to French ecclesiastical 'criticism', see Jean-Louis Quantin, "Reason and Reasonableness in French Ecclesiastical Scholarship", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 74/3 (2011), 401-436.
[443] *Ibid.* – The English text's emphasis on those 'guilty of imposture' heightens the original French, which only talks of those "qui ont supposé des ouvrages"; cf. Dupin, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques […] Tome Premier*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1690), 14.
[444] *Ibid.*, fol. 60r, cf. *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, 72.
[445] *Ibid.*, fol. 60v.

speaks it".[446] And yet from these same lines it is clear that he did not conceive of this emergence in opposition to confession but rather in a dialectic relation with it: "*as long as* [our author] *never suffers the* Sorbonist *to break in upon the* Historian," Wotton wrote,

> *his Writings carry an Authority with them greater than they could have done had they come from a* Protestant […] *all Men grant, that* [Truth] *carries a more Convictive Force along with it, when extorted from those whose Ingenuity over-bears their Interest, than when it freely comes from Men that advance their Cause by telling it.*[447]

There is little impartiality here. Wotton's language is reminiscent of confessional controversy, and it is indeed the interaction of 'interest' and 'ingenuity' rather than impartiality that looms behind the 'Modern' acquisition of a surer method to establish historical truth.[448] A scholar's 'truth' could be another's 'interest'. Dupin's Gallicanism could certainly be more easily transported into Anglican territory than hardcore Tridentine Catholicism.[449] But the fact that Wotton included several footnotes animadverting on the Frenchman's conclusions rather suggests that patristics, rather than being de-confessionalized, was reaching a point where confessional interests were best served by a dialectic of indirect (or even, 'footnoted') polemics rather than by straightforward approaches to issues such as 'primitive Christianity'.

We can catch a glimpse of these tensions at work in Wotton's refutation of Swift's use of Irenaeus. In fact, after insinuating the irreligion of the *Tale* by referring to the heretical origins of the title-page quotation, Wotton could not refrain from adding a footnote aimed as scoring a point in favour of Modern method:

> The *Greek* Words which were faulty at first, made the *Latin* ones yet more so; it is probable that *Irenaeus* might not understand them right at first: They are *Syriac*, in the very Learned Mr. *Grabe*'s Edition of *Irenaeus*, they are very ingeniously restored out of *Jacobus Rhenferdius*'s *Dissertation, upon the Redemption of the Marcosians and Heracleonites*.[450]

Thus, in Wotton's view, modern philology was better equipped to understand ancient heresy than the orthodox writers who had uncomprehendingly transmitted the very notices of heterodoxy. The

---

[446] "Advertisement concerning this Translation", in *ibid.*, unpaginated.
[447] *Ibid.*
[448] On the role of theological controversy in forging 'modern' ideas of history, see Nicholas Piqué, *De la Tradition à l'Histoire* (Paris, 2009).
[449] Cf. J. H. M. Salmon, *Renaissance and Revolt* (Cambridge, 1987), 155-190, 155-6 on Wotton and Dupin.
[450] "Observations", 225.

ingenuity of Johann Ernst Grabe and of Jacob Rhenferd, Wotton implies, proves the emancipation of Modernity from a slavish adherence to patristic texts that could easily turn out to be faulty.

And yet, once we turn to Grabe's edition of Irenaeus, which appeared as the latest Oxford patristic edition in 1702, and especially to the 'dissertation on the redemption' of these heretics (published in 1695)[451] by the German Orientalist Rhenferd,[452] the issue becomes much more complex. In particular, Rhenferd's piece is a philological tour de force in service of a thesis that sat uneasily with Wotton's use of a 'heresiological argument' against Swift. In fact, according to Rhenferd, once the formulas are restored, their sense is revealed as thoroughly worthy of an orthodox Christian,[453] and even coincident with the doctrine of Reformed Heidelberg Catechism.[454] Under the scrutiny of modern philology, ancient 'heresy' could thus turn out to be orthodoxy misunderstood by faulty transmitters, whose lack of linguistic skills had obscured the matter. As Rhenferd put it in his conclusion, if these formulas are indeed those of the Marcosians and Heracleonites, then 'these people, who were called and treated as heretics by the Greeks and Latins, were more tenacious adherents to the ancient custom and the original formulas than their very judges, by whom they were accused and condemned so inclemently'.[455] While such an argument would have certainly appealed to Wotton's desire to downplay the authority of the fathers, it would also have voided his insinuation of ancient heresy in literary polemics. Thus, the increasingly unsteady foundations of 'heresiological arguments' in historical learning did not hamper their use in controversies of a less technical kind.

---

[451] Jacob Rhenferd, *Dissertatio Philologica de Redemtione Marcosiorum et Heracleonitarum* (Franeker, 1695) – reprinted in *Jacobi Rhenferdii Opera Philologica* (Utrecht, 1722), 194-224, from which I quote.
[452] Rhenferd (1654-1712), professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Franeker, remains an obscure figure. For a start, see the bio-bibliographical entry on him in Johann Heinrich Zedlers, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste*, 64 vols. (Halle, 1732-1750), 31, 1129-1131.
[453] Rhenferd, *Opera Philologica*, 196: "Quo facto [restoring the formulas] spondere ausim fore, ut genuinus horum verborum sensus, & præclara ac homine Christiano atque orthodoxo dignissima sententia eluceat".
[454] *Ibid.*, 202: "Quæ omnia si recte consideretur, constare poterit, illos idem diceret catechumenus Reformatus ad primam quæstionem respondet".
[455] *Ibid.*, 224: "Sin vero easdem [i.e. the formulas] statuere lubeat ex primitivæ Ecclesiæ Judæo-Christianæ praxi derivatas & mutuatas esse, quod nobis quidem vero similius videtur, sequetur, ipsos illos qui Græcis Latinisque hæretici dicti sunt atque habiti, antiqui moris & priscarum formularum tenaciores fuisse ipsis judicibus suis, a quibus tam inclementer accusati sunt & damnati".

It is worth dwelling a little longer on Rhenferd's dissertation, for it reflects a tendency in historical scholarship on primitive Christianity that was contributing to the fragmentation of confessionalized patristics. For him, in fact, the true religion to which Protestantism harked back was the 'Ecclesia Judaeo-Christiana' which was reflected in the New Testament and which had given rise to groups such as the misunderstood followers of Marcus and Heracleon. In his attempt to elucidate this context, Rhenferd called upon several Judaic sources. The heretics' conception of 'redemption' itself had been misinterpreted by Irenaeus: the Greek ἀπολύτρωσις corresponds to the Hebrew גאולה, and it was best understood by reference to the prescriptions about prayers invoking a 'Redeemer' recorded in the Talmudic tractate Berachoth.[456] Thus, these 'heretics', being Christians of Jewish extraction, kept a similar formula and simply introduced a clause identifying Jesus of Nazareth as this 'Redeemer'. This is the precisely the second formula quoted in Irenaeus (starting with "messiaufar" etc.), which Rhenferd turns into Hebrew square characters before translating the original Aramaic into this orthodox confession of faith: 'Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah and Redeemer, who redeemed our soul from this world and from all things that are in it in the name of the Lord, and atoned for us with the ransom of his soul'.[457]

But Irenaeus had not just erred through his lack of linguistic knowledge. He had also neglected the deeper meaning of 'redemption' in the primitive Judaeo-Christian church, which, according to Rhenferd, had three significations: 'cabbalistic', 'metonymic', and 'proper'.[458] Irenaeus had started his account of the heretical 'redemption' by sarcastically reporting that these

---

[456] Rhenferd quotes Berachoth 4b, where rabbi Yochanan says that a 'prayer of redemption' (גאולה) should be joined to the evening prayer – the morning prayer looking back to the 'liberation' or 'redemption' of Israel from Egypt, the evening one looking forward to the 'redemption' by the Messiah, as appears from both Berachoth 4b and 12a. See *Ibid.*, 200-201.

[457] From the Latin translator's "messiaufar magnoin seenchaldia mosomeda eaacha faronepseha Iesu Nazarene", Rhenferd turns to the corresponding Greek (detaching and reattaching some syllables and duplicating some sounds found in the Greek text) "Μεσια Ουφαρυγα Δεφαρεγ Ναψαν Μεν αλεμα ανα Ου μεν χυλ Δεβη Βασμη δ ΙΑΩ Ουκαφραν Βεφουρκανα Δεναψη Ου Ιησου Ναζαρια", which becomes in square characters "משיחא ופרוקא דפרק נפשן מן עלמא הנא ומן כל דבה בשמה דיהוה וכפרן בפורקנא דנפשה הו ישוע נצריא" – which he translates as (interjecting a sarcastic comment against heresy-hunters): "*Jesus Nazarenus,* arrigite aures Hæreticomastyges & confessionem hanc demiramini; *Jesus Nazarenus,* inquiunt, *est Messias et Liberator, qui vindicavit animam nostram ab hoc seculo,* vel *mundo, & ab omnibus quæ in eo sunt, in nomine IAO,* sive *Jehova, & expiavit nos lytro animæ suæ*", in *Ibid.*, 194-200, 202.

[458] Rhenferd, *Opera Philologica*, 205: "Observandum itaque primum, vocem *Redemtionis*, Απολυτρώσεως, tres distinctas & inter se multum diversas significationes habere Τεχνικήν sive Cabbalisticam, Metonymicam, & denique Propriam.".

heretics called it 'mother of incomprehensible and invisible things', before going on to report their varying opinions on the appropriate rituals.[459] But, Rhenferd proceeds, anyone familiar with Kabbalah knows that the third sephirah, 'Binah' ('understanding', corresponding to the third person of the Trinity), is also called 'Redemption' and 'Mother'.[460] Irenaeus had thus started by misunderstanding the 'cabbalistic' meaning of redemption before confusing it with the 'metonymical' meaning, which is the one implied in the formulas and rituals that, though multiple, always metonymically refer to one original doctrine.[461] Rhenferd then instanced a significant parallel to explain such variation: just as the different 'metonymical' formulas in use in the primitive church were underpinned by the same 'cabbalistic' meaning, so do the Protestant churches today agree in the main on all topics ("in summa rei per omnia conveniunt"), even if they have produced such a great variety of creeds as to necessitate a 'catalogue of confessions'.[462]

Even in the case of the description of the rites themselves Irenaeus had erred, as a comparison with the parallel heresiographic notices of Epiphanius showed. To say that the ritual of redemption was performed in a 'thalamus nuptialis' ('bridal bed') was inaccurate slander: the place for it was a 'lectum aegrotantis' ('sickbed'),[463] where believers congregated to pray for the dying, according to the apostolic precept in James 5:14-15,[464] to which the praxis of the

---

[459] Irenaeus, *Opus Eruditissimum*, ed. Erasmus, 39: "Redemptionis autem ipsorum traditionem euenit inuisibilem esse & incomprehensibiliu[m] & inuisibiliu[m] mater".
[460] Rhenferd, *Opera Philologica*, 205-206: "Nimirum in Sephiroth Cabbalisticis, quarum tres primæ doctrinam Trinitatis exhibent, tertia Sephira, sive proprietas, nos *Personam* dicimus, vulgo & frequentissime בינה *Intelligentia* vocatur, & *Spiritum Sanctum* notat, quod hic non est probandi locus. Eadem vero ex methodo & scopo Cabbalistarum alias etiam אם *Mater*, & גאולה *Redemtio* appellatur, ut multis Hebræorum locis probare possemus". Rhenferd is getting his information from the kabbalistic lexicon at the start of the first volume of Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*, 2 vols. (Sulzbach, 1677), 1, 119 (*s.v.* "אם"), 222 (*s.v.* "גאולה").
[461] *Ibid.*, 206: "Simul ac vero Irenæus de hac *Redemtione* Cabbalistica agere cœperat; e vestigio ad alias vocis significationes delabitur, & de *Metonymica* & *Propria Redemtione* agere incipit".
[462] *Ibid.*, 207: "Quod [Irenaeus's accusation of variation] *Redemtioni Cabbalisticæ*, sive tertiæ illi Sephiræ, minime convenit, quæ procul dubio ab omnibus eadem agnita fuit; sed *formulæ confessionis* optimæ quadrat, quam alii aliis verbis conceperint atque pronunciarint, etsi rem eandem omnes dicebant. […] Haud secus atque hodie Ecclesiæ Protestantes, quæ in summa rei per omnia conveniunt, tot & tam varias concinnarunt *fidei suæ Confessiones*, ut inde tandem integrum *Syntagma Confessionum* sit enatum".
[463] *Ibid.*, 213: "Nisi nos omnis ratio fugit, nihil hic thalamo nuptiali, nihil ipsis nuptiis relictum est loci, sed *lectum ægrotantium* ab Irenæo dictum oportebat, quem cum *thalamo* perperam confundit".
[464] "Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him".

Heracleonites and Marcosians could not be more similar.[465] Indeed, the ritual is as easily aligned with the first answer of the Heidelberg Catechism as it has nothing to do with the Catholic sacrament of extreme unction.[466] According to Rhenferd, the gibberish formula from Irenaeus used by Swift, albeit more corrupt than the other, clearly refers to this orthodox context, and the fragments it contains are restored and translated as 'in Your name most benevolent Father… In the life of light… The Holy Spirit's unction… In your body you reigned'.[467] Clearly, Rhenferd's philology was not shorn of confessional implications, notwithstanding his tendency to minimize the doctrinal import of patristic heresiography.

Rhenferd's method of approaching early Christianity through the study of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism was not a new development (even though his recourse to Kabbalah is certainly very eccentric). Indeed, a tradition of comparative scholarship stretched across the early modern Hebraism, informing exegesis as much as antiquarianism.[468] Rather, the novelty of Rhenferd's work stemmed from his willingness to reclaim what had passed for ancient heterodoxy as doctrine amenable to modern Reformed orthodoxy. In other words, his heresiological scholarship was not recovering ancient heresy to question modern confessional boundaries or to intervene directly in contemporary doctrinal debates by an appeal to Christian

---

[465] Rhenferd, *Opera Philologica*, 214: "Ovum itaque ovo similius esse non potest, quem Heracleonitarum, & hinc etiam Marcosiorum praxis, præcepto Jacobi".

[466] *Ibid.*, 216: "[they used these formulas in health as well as in sickness, and on them they] veluti extrema anchora niti debebant, adeo ut ex formula rursus Catecheseos Heidelbergansis, *hæc unica illorum consolatio fuerit in* VITA PARITER ET IN MORTE, *quod non sui, sed fidissimi sui* SERVATORIS JESU CHRISTI *proprii essent*"; 217: "Quod vero Epiphanius de *unctione* eundem in finem adhibita addit, pro more suo facit, ut distincta confundat; siquidem ex simplici hominum illorum praxis non magis id fluat, quam extrema unctio Pontificiorum ex doctrina Jacobi, cum quorum argumentandi ratione illam Epiphanii narrationem vel collectionem conferre non veremur".

[467] *Ibid.* 218-221. The rearranged Greek "Βασεμαχ αβα ασια… βααιαι (vel βααιη) νωρα… μιστα δαρουα δακουδσα… βαφαγραχ μελαχθ" becomes in Aramaic in square characters " ...בחיי נוהרא... בשמך אבא חסיא משחתא דרוחא דקודשא... בפגרך מלכת", translated as "*In nomine tuo benignissime Pater… in vita lucis… Unctio Spiritus Sancti… in corpore tuo regnasti*" (221).

[468] The bibliography is extensive. For a recent overview, see Anthony Grafton "Christianity's Jewish Origins Reconsidered", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1 (2016), 13-42; and, more generally, William Horbury, "The New Testament and Rabbinic Study", in Bieringer (ed.), *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature* (Leiden, 2010), 1-40, esp. 22-28. For earlier scholarship, Aaron Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984). For specific examples, Joanna Weinberg, "A Sixteenth-Century Hebraic Approach to the New Testament", in Ligota and Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship* (Oxford, 2006), 231-250; Kirsten Macfarlane, "Translating the 'Hebraeo-Hellenic Apostles'", *Review of English Studies* 68 (2017), 689-707; Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue'* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), 164-230; Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, 2, 415-422; Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, 183-193.

antiquity.[469] Instead, it took a standard of modern confessional orthodoxy such as the Heidelberg Catechism as a platform from which to challenge assumptions about the ways in which historical scholarship identified ancient heresy. According to him, the authority of Irenaeus on the matter should be overruled by other methods such as those of Oriental philology and of historical comparison.[470] The notices of ancient heresy should therefore be set alongside other texts to recover a broader picture of the history of Christian antiquity and of its changes from the original 'Judaeo-Christian church' (whose doctrine was, according to Rhenferd, consonant with Reformed orthodoxy).

It might seem at first surprising that Grabe's edition of Irenaeus, with all its appearance as an 'Anglican Irenaeus' and its air of Oxford patristics, would integrate Rhenferd's work without overt challenge. And yet, as Jean-Louis Quantin has recently shown, Grabe's Irenaeus was only outwardly Anglican; the content of Grabe's notes reveals instead the 'the crisis of relations, around the turn of the eighteenth century, between patristic scholarship and confessional orthodoxies'.[471] Johann Ernst Grabe was in fact a scholar that had lived through several confessional ruptures: born a Lutheran in Prussia, he had been at first drawn to Roman Catholicism, before deciding for Anglicanism as the contemporary church that best reflected the practice of Christian antiquity;[472] and yet, after his passage to England in 1697, he had cemented relations with Non-jurors as well as with other more marginal scholars and preachers who

[469] Rhenferd's work sits uneasily with the categories of early modern 'histories of heresy' suggested by Martin Mulsow, "The Trinity as Heresy", in Laursen (ed.), *Histories of Heresy* (New York, 2002), 161-170.
[470] Rhenferd identifies a possible objection to his conclusions in the fact that "verosimile non videri, homines, qui ab Irenæo aliisque hæreseos sint damnati, tam præclaram confessionem de Christo Redemtore edidisse", but, he goes on, "Id quod nos a nostra sententia minime depellere potest; si quidem tamen nobis certum est, & omnes qui Syriace intelligunt fatebuntur, vocabula ita scripta & cum subjecta versione Irenæi diligenter collata, alium commodum sensum non admittere; imo si praxin & Judæorum & Apostolorum addas, hunc solum flagitare" – in *Opera Philologica*, 223-224.
[471] Jean-Louis Quantin, "Le Triomphe de l'Église Anglicane? Johann Ernst Grabe Éditeur d'Irénée", in Pitassi and Solfaroli Camillocci (eds.), *Crossing Traditions* (Leiden, 2018), 230-249, 231: "L'Irénée d'Oxford illustre ainsi la crise des rapports, au tournant des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles, entre erudition patristique et orthodoxies confessionnelles".
[472] On Grabe's biographical details, see Günther Thomann, "John Ernest Grabe (1666-1712): Lutheran Syncretist and Anglican Patristic Scholar", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43/3 (1992), 414-427; Nicholas Keene, "John Ernest Grabe, Biblical Learning and Religious Controversy in Early Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58/4 (2007), 656-674.

advocated further ecclesiastical reform, especially of the liturgy.[473] His idiosyncrasies attracted much contemporary gossip (recorded, for example, in the notes and diary of the Non-juror Thomas Hearne) about his true positions about various points of doctrine.[474]

As such, his edition of the first Christian heresiologist, although the product of a long gestation stretching back to John Fell, was marked by these misalignments of scholarship and confession. On the concept of redemption among these heretics, for example, Grabe could easily integrate Rhenferd's recourse to the Talmudic tractate Berachoth to argue that it identified a formula in use among the Jews.[475] When it came to the formulas themselves, we can see Grabe negotiating between an acceptance of Rhenferd's reconstructions and a desire to harmonize them with Irenaeus's notice. On the first formula (the one on the *Tale*'s title-page), for example, he chose Rhenferd's interpretation out of several possibilities. In fact, in a letter addressed to Grabe in 1699, the Parisian Orientalist Louis Picques had proposed his own reconstruction by turning the formula into the eastern Syriac script known as 'Chaldean' or 'Nestorian', and had given it a Trinitarian spin by translating it as 'In the Name of the Omnipotent, of the father, of the only-begotten son, and of the Holy Spirit, in the body of the one god'.[476] Picques had also referred Grabe to the conjectures on the passage by the earlier scholar Joannes Croius, whose interpretation was also vaguely Trinitarian (Croius's *Specimen Conjecturarum* was in fact reprinted and bound at the end of Grabe's edition, even if Croius wrongly accepted Irenaeus's

---

[473] On his contacts with Dodwell especially, see Quantin, "*Apocryphorum Nimis Studiosi*?"; on his relations with the small London congregation of Edward Stephens, see Quantin, "Le Triomphe de l'Église Anglicane?"; also, George Every, "Dr. Grabe and his Manuscripts", *Journal of Theological Studies* 8/2 (1957), 280-292. A draft of an English liturgy composed by Grabe is extant in the Bodleian in MS Grabe 21, fols. 159^{v}-166 – reproduced and briefly discussed in Günther Thomann, "John Ernest Grabe's Liturgies", in *Studies in English Church History*, 2nd edition, (Stoke-on-Trent, 1993), 89-126.

[474] See Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1885-1921), e.g. 1, 25-26, 170-171; 2, 271, 284; 6, 292; 7, 199-100; 9, 249-251, 390; 10, 201-202; 11, 460-461. The Grabe manuscripts in the Bodleian contain many papers relating to theological controversy, cf. esp. MS Grabe 13 and MS Grabe 4.

[475] Irenaeus, *Contra Omnes Haereses Libri Quinque*, ed. Grabe, 61: "Per *Redemtionem*, quam hic & paulo post memorat, certam orationis formulam intelligendam esse, non modo ipse Irenæi contextus […] ostendit, sed & Judaici ritus plane confirmat, quam ex Viri Docti, Jacobi Rhenferdii Disputatione de Redemtione Marcosiorum & Heracleonitarum §21 explicatam dabo" – the note continues by quoting the same texts as Rhenferd from Berachoth 4b and 12a.

[476] Louis Picques to Grabe (15th April 1699), in MS Grabe 23 (Bodleian Library), fol. 12^{v}: "Chaldaicus seu Syrus character Nestoriano [sic]: ܒ ܟܡܐ ܟܝܢ ܟܪܝܣ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܟܐ ܟܠ ܡܝ ܟ ܒܥ. […] hanc puto veram Interpretationem: In nomine Omnipotentis, patris et filii Unigeniti et Sp[irit]us S[anc]ti In corpore dei unius". The limitations of Microsoft Office have not allowed me to change the Syriac script from Estrangelo to Nestorian.

notice that the formulas were in Hebrew rather than Aramaic or Syriac).[477] In the notes to his Irenaeus, Grabe admitted to be following Rhenferd, but silently changed his interpretation of the second word "cacabasa/Χαμοσση": where Rhenferd had the Aramaic "אבא חסיא" ('[in your name,] benevolent father'), Grabe read the Hebrew past participle "כָּמֻס" ('[in the name which is] hidden'), so as to have it match Irenaeus's notice of another formula (only given in Greek) that refers to a 'hidden name'.[478] Thus, Grabe indirectly emphasized (in line with Irenaeus) the heretics' recourse to a possibly spurious esotericism, while at the same time accepting that the father had misunderstood the formulas, which were to be recovered through modern philology.

In fact, when Irenaeus mentioned that the heretics called the redemption 'mother', Grabe incorporated Rhenferd's references to Kabbalah and admitted that Irenaeus had misjudged the meaning of 'redemption' among these groups. At the same time, he referred to an earlier work of his, the *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Haereticorum* (1698-9), which dwelled upon this theme in a discussion of the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews.[479] There, Grabe had shown that the identification of a 'mother' with the rites of baptism could be explained as error rather than as heresy: the authors of the Gospel of the Hebrews had misinterpreted the appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove at Christ's baptism, together with a celestial voice declaring "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matthew 3:17).[480] Thus, although Grabe was not prepared to follow Rhenferd's assertion that the Marcosians and Heracleonites had been orthodox, he nonetheless recognized that the study of ancient heresy could not rest straightforwardly on the

---

[477] Ibid.: "Ceterum moneo legi utiliter posse Jo. Croii Specimen Conjecturarum". Cf. Croius, *Specimen Conjecturarum et Observationum* (first published 1632), reprinted in Irenaeus, *Contra Omnes Haereses*, 30 (new pagination): "Restitutio: בשם הקדוש אב ובן האורה מצויה ורוח חיה טובה שבגוף מלכת. Id est, *In nomine Sancto Patris, & Filii, qui vocatur lumen, & Spiritus Sancti, qui est vita bona; quia in corpore regnasti*".

[478] Irenaeus, *Contra Omnes Haereses*, 90: "a כָּמַס *abscondit*, unde כָּמֻס *absconditum* Deuteronom. XXXII.34. Atque ita posterior formula habet τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον".

[479] *Ibid.*, 89: "Supra pag. 61 n. 1. ex Jacobi Rhenferdii Disputatione […] explicatam dedi significationem vocis ἀπολυτρώσεως […] Sed & alia hujus vocabuli notio inter istos hæreticos origine, nisi fallor, Judæos, obtinuit, quæ Irenæum fugisse videtur. Scilicet quæ Cabbalistis dicitur בינה *Intelligentia, & mater superior*, influxus accipiens a Patre, (id est *Spiritus S.* unde istud in Evangelio secundum Ebræos dictum: *Modo accepit me mater mea Spiritus S.* de quo vide Spicilegium Patrum Tom. 1. pag. 27.) eadem גאולה *Redemtio* ab iisdem vocabatur".

[480] See Grabe, *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Haereticorum*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1698-9), 1, 327-328: "Auctores Evangelii secundum Ebræos, non quidem hæretici, sed haud perfecti, vel satis in sermonibus fidei eruditi Christiani, Spiritum S. vocarunt matrem Christi [Matthew 3 quoted] Hanc vocem Dei Patris de cœlis Hebræi minus considerate ascribebant ei, qui tunc insimul sub specie columbæ cœlitus apparuit, Spiritui S. quasi ipse Christum baptizatum vocasset filium suum".

notices of the heresiographers. Rather, it had to be set within the broader context of a history of the early Christianity in which heretics had participated, and such a history could correspond to modern orthodoxies only unevenly.

Grabe's *Spicilegium* is a key work, and in fact the research for it had overlapped with Grabe's efforts on the text of Irenaeus.[481] The work, as the title itself suggests (*spicilegium* means a 'gleaning of ears of corn'), aimed to approach ante-Nicene Christianity in a very different way from editions such as Fell's Cyprian. Rather than focussing on improving the text of one author (and thereby claiming him for a contemporary confession), it proposed to collect all the overlooked fragments and scraps of text that could be found in manuscripts (mainly from Oxford libraries) such as Byzantine catenae of the fathers and other second-hand sources, and to organize all these lost or forgotten texts into a chronological literary history. As Grabe stated in the dedication of the first volume, both the texts of the heretical schools and the apocryphal writings circulating alongside the canon were included in the collection because they contribute *ad historicam priscarum rerum notitiam*.[482] According to Grabe, heretical writings, though harmful to malicious minds, still have several uses for pious enquirers.[483]

Grabe was certainly referring to the late seventeenth-century flourishing of scholarly interest in what historical enquiry on ancient heresy could reveal about primitive Christianity. Such investigations were pioneering as they were increasingly more varied in form and aims. Rhenferd, as we have seen, had pursued his line of enquiry through the traditions of Hebraism. Conversely, Grabe's friend, the Non-juror Henry Dodwell, who had started to work on an edition of Irenaeus before handing over his materials to Grabe, had written on the topic in his *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* (1689)[484] – a book that, by Dodwell's own admission, had grown out

[481] As Grabe himself stated in his dedication of the second volume (on the second century) to Henry Aldrich – see Grabe, *ibid.*, 2, sig. a4^{v}: "*Ut taceam, unam tantum quasi manum huic operæ intentam fuisse, altera altero occupata opera, expolienda scilicet & adornanda nova S.* Irenæi *editione*".
[482] *Ibid.*, 1, sig. a3^{v}.
[483] Grabe, 'Præfatio ad Lectorem', in *ibid.*, 1, sig. c1^{r}: "hæreticorum scripta, malignis quidem ingeniis noxia, sed bonis varium præstantia usum".
[484] On the *Dissertationes,* see the work of Jean-Louis Quantin, "*Apocryphorum Nimis Studiosi*?", 292-298; "Anglican Scholarship Gone Mad?", 342-345; *Church of England,* 369-379.

of an original plan to enlighten the early history of heresies.[485] In the first 'dissertatio', Dodwell had even argued that heretics did not appear openly until the end of the reign of Trajan, in the early second century, when the 'first generation' of Christianity, that of the 'eyewitnesses' of Christ and of the Apostles, came to an end,[486] and heresiarchs felt emboldened to bring out in the open the clandestine schools that they had run beforehand.[487] The contentiousness of such a position is registered by subsequent historical heresiology. The Leipzig theologian Thomas Ittig, for example, in his own literary history of the heresiarchs of the apostolic age (published just after Dodwell's *Dissertationes*), felt compelled to add a few prefatory pages to refute this claim.[488] For Ittig, heresy and open apostasy was an apostolic phenomenon, attested in New Testament passages such as the First Epistle of John and Revelation.[489] Dodwell (Ittig implied by echoing the preface to the *Dissertationes in Irenaeum*) should have stuck to his original plan of explicating the ancient heresies, rather than confusing the status of heresy in the primitive church.[490]

The reasons for Ittig's averseness to Dodwell's thesis may have stemmed from the radical consequences that lurked in his Anglican colleague's endeavours. In fact, Dodwell's idea that heresy had remained hidden in apostolic times would have upended the structure of Ittig's heresiology. Where Ittig had written a catalogue that followed the traditional 'genealogy' of

---

[485] See Dodwell, 'Præfatio', in *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* (Oxford, 1689), sig. a3^{r}: "*Cum enim primum nos Operi huic admoveret Pater Optimus FELLUS, Episcopus nuper Oxoniensis; id erat in animo præcipue ut* Hæreses *omnium antiquissimas, easdemque obscurissimas, pro virile explicarem*".

[486] *Ibid.*, 19: "Ad hæc *Trajani* tempora *Virginem* permansisse Ecclesiam, puram Scilicet atque incorruptam, testem habemus antiquissimum, *Hegesippum*, propter *Hæreses* tunc nimirum ortas, quæ ejus integritatem *vitiaverint* [Dodwell refers to a fragment of Hegesippus quoted in Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.32]".

[487] *Ibid.*, 20: "Simulque intelligimus non *illum* Hæreticorum *ortum* voluisse *Hegesippum*, quo dogmata impia primum *adinvenerint*, aut quo *Scholas* etiam sibi proprias conflarint, *clam* tamen illas, & in *latebris*, *Serpentium* more in cavernis φωλευόντων (hæc enim etiam *Superstitibus Apostolis* fecisse idem ibidem testatur *Hegesippus*) sed quo *secessum* ab Ecclesia, & Sacra sibi *propria*, & Mysticam γνῶσιν *palam* profiterentur".

[488] Thomas Ittig, preface 'Historiae Ecclesiasticae Studiosis', in *De Haeresiarchis Aevi Apostolici & Apostolico Proximi* (Leipzig, 1690), sigg.)(2^{r}-)(4^{v}.

[489] Ibid., sigg.)(3^{v}-)(4^{r}: "Ipsos Apostolos si audiamus, passim illi apertam hæreticorum discessionem notant [Ittig then quotes 1 John 2:19 and mentions the references to the Nicolaitans found in Revelation 2:6 and 15]".

[490] Ibid., sig.)(4^{v}: "Utinam vero tantum otii Clarissimo Viro & virium suppetat, ut reliqvas etiam in Irenæum dissertationes erudito orbi propediem communicare possit, in qvibus arduo qvidem sed utilissimo opere antiqvissimas easdemq[ue] obscurissimas hæreses pro virili se explicaturum, ac, qvo tempore veteres Hæresiarchæ orti fuerint, & qvas monstrosissimorum dogmatum occasione captaverint, diligenter inquisiturum pollicetur". Cf. Dodwell's preface quoted above in n. 493.

heresiarchs, subdividing his chapters according to the proliferation of different schools and to the proponents of various heterodox dogmas, Dodwell's vision of the imbrication of heresy and orthodoxy in the early church would necessarily transform the very tools by which the history of heresy must be approached. Conversely, Grabe's *Spicilegium*, with its discussion of apocryphal texts alongside the fragments of heretical and genuinely apostolic writings, is a scholarly work that appears to put Dodwell's theories into literary-historical practice. In other words, the study of primitive Christianity could no more rely on what later heresiographic fathers had said, or on the structures that they had employed to organize their subject matter (the genealogical catalogue pre-eminently). Rather, it had to veer towards a synthetic treatment of disparate texts, and to incorporate the methods of Oriental philology as much as a recourse to those apocryphal and pseudepigraphic texts circulating in the early churches, which, as we have seen in chapter 2, were capturing the attention of turn-of-the-century scholars and were being systematically catalogued for the first time.

Indeed, in Dodwell's scheme, the late appearance of heresy under Trajan significantly intersected with another phenomenon to which it was inextricably tied: the search for true 'apostolic traditions' to counter the false ones spread abroad by the heretics.[491] The implication of this is that there must have a dialectical process linking canon-formation to heretical imposture: the canonical Scriptures of the New Testament must have solidified partly in response to this threat. And yet, as Dodwell was eager to stress at the outset of the *Dissertationes*, the integrity of the New Testament could nonetheless be affirmed by positing the same divine authority inspiring both canonical Scripture textually and the primitive church historically.[492] The primitive church had in fact, and for a brief time, enjoyed extraordinary means and charisms given by God to discern the apostolic truth that formed Scripture from the mistaken interpretations that had

[491] Dodwell, *Dissertationes in Irenaeum*, 19: "Occasio inquirendi in *Traditiones Apostolorum*, eo [Trajano] imperante, prima orta est. Sub eo scilicet primi orti sunt *Hæretici*, qui, cum *receptis* ab Ecclesia *Traditionibus* diversas admodum atque *contrarias* Apostolorum nomine venditarent, ita tandem præbuerunt *Ecclesiasticis*, occasionem indagandi quæ demum Traditiones *vere* essent *Apostolis* tribuendæ".
[492] 'Praefatio', in *ibid.*, sig. c2^{r}: "*Nec vero ullum sequitur incommodum, si* parem *eandemque* Primævæ *hujus, quæ Miraculis floruit,* Ecclesiæ, *Librorumque* Canonicorum *Auctoritatem agnoscamus*".

fomented heresy.[493] The business of contemporary scholarship, therefore, was to recover and elucidate the earliest Christian documents in order to recapture the inspired 'sense' in which these texts interpreted revelation (or preserved other non-canonical parts of it), and then to readjust the theology of modern churches on those bases. Just as the solidity of the canon was indirectly called into question by this approach, so did the assumptions that later heresiologists had bequeathed to early modern scholarship appear increasingly insufficient for a synthetic study of the early church. Indeed, Dodwell had started to work in this direction even before the *Dissertationes in Irenaeum*. For example, in the fourth of his *Dissertationes Cyprianicae* (1684) on visionary charisms in the ante-Nicene church, which I briefly discussed above in chapter 2, he had already warned against the tendency to ascribe all visionary writing to the late second-century heresy of Montanism (according to which further revelations from God in visions and private communications had not yet ceased).[494] Heretical texts, just as apocryphal ones, had a greater role to play in historical scholarship than scholars had realized. The boundary that separated them from 'orthodox' text was not any more so clear-cut.

To conclude this section, let us briefly turn back to Swift's title-page. What does the scholarly context that I have been explicating suggest about Swift's use of Irenaeus? Given all these advancements in the historical understanding of early heresies, it might at first appear puzzling that Swift would be content to rely on the outdated text of Erasmus, paying no overt attention to the increasing sophistication of the ecclesiastical scholarship produced by his Anglican or Lutheran peers. From this point of view, it would be easy to justify Wotton's rebuke. And yet, as I have argued in the discussion of Wotton's 'Observations' above, it is precisely this apparent disjunction of scholarship and literary polemics that reveals the less obvious links connecting them. Swift's 'satyres' appeared at a time when the traditional heresiology was

[493] *Ibid.*, sig. c2ᵛ: "*Sed potuit (inquietis) etiam* nescientibus, *etiam minime* consciis *error tamen irrepere* […] *Potuit, fateor, ni certiora Scripturis intelligendis subsidia* ætas *ipsa qua vixere suppeditasset, quam suppetunt hodiernis Scripturarum interpretibus. Potuit sane, si* humanis *duntaxat* & Mediis & Ingeniis, *quæ sola adhibent hodierni, Scripturas fuisse* interpretati. *Non potuit autem, si, quod contendimus,* Deum *habuerint ipsum, sanctumque* Spiritum, *& quidem modo* Extraordinario, *Scripturarum* interpretem".
[494] Dodwell, *Dissertationes Cyprianicae*, 38: "Male itaque faciunt eruditi qui quæ legunt in illius seculi auctoribus de *visionibus,* ea ad *Montanum* trahunt atque *Montanistas*".

fragmenting, to be recombined into newer forms and structures of enquiry that could enable a better (though by no means more secular) comprehension of the Christian past. As I will argue in the next sections, it was indeed this fragmentation that enabled Swift to integrate disparate fragments of earlier confessionalized heresiology in his 'satyres'. In other words, the *Tale* came into being precisely out of this increasingly heterogenous crucible. The scholarly works we have been considering trace (so to speak) the 'horizon of the possible' for turn-of-the-century writers on heresy, and it was a time when this horizon was drastically expanding. Swift would certainly make something different from Rhenferd or Grabe out of these new possibilities to approach Christian antiquity, but to keep their scholarly contributions in mind as we read the *Tale* is crucial to understand the dynamics connecting literary polemics and historical learning. It is not by chance that Swift's unproblematic integration of an obsolete version of Irenaeus's heretical formula coincided with a time when scholarship was transforming the foundations by which confessions could appeal to the authoritativeness of the writers of the early church. To grasp the full extent of Swift's own recombination of disparate traditions of heresiography in his confessional 'satyre', we must now turn to his reading and redeployment of other fathers and other types of heresiological arguments.

II. Swift's Heresiographies: Epiphanius and Tertullian

Our knowledge of Swift's reading of the fathers depends on two bibliographical sources as well as on the traces that his reading left in the *Tale* miscellany. The first source I mentioned in chapter 1, and it is a copy of an early biography of Swift by John Hawkesworth, which was extensively annotated by John Lyon, Swift's guardian in his later years of senility.[495] Through Lyon, we know that Swift was reading and making abstracts from Epiphanius and Tertullian together with Irenaeus and Cyprian in the 1690s.[496] But from him we can also gather that Swift's reading of

[495] See above, chapter 1, 23, n 55. The copy is now in London, in the National Art Library (V&A museum), shelfmark: 48.D.39, and was part of the John Forster bequest to the museum.
[496] NAL 48.D.39, 20.

patristics was scattered and unsystematic, and that he devoted himself to a thorough study of church history only later in life, after 1714,[497] even though Lyon also clarifies that his library was better stocked in ecclesiastical books than Hawkesworth thought.[498] Indeed, from the second bibliographical source (his library catalogues) we can identify which patristic editions of the fathers in question he owned. These editions are interesting because, like Erasmus's Irenaeus, they are very much outdated. Rather than being the result of the latest scholarship, they are the product of the fully confessionalized patristics of the period immediately following the Reformation and of the wars of religion. As for Epiphanius, he owned the *editio princeps* in Latin translation of Epiphanius's *Panarion*, published in Basel in 1545 by Erasmus's friend Janus Cornarius,[499] a German humanist specializing in medical texts and inclined to favour the Reformation.[500] Moreover, this book is marked with an asterisk in the 1745 auction catalogue of Swift's library, indicating that it contained annotations in Swift's hand (unfortunately, the copy is lost).[501] In the case of Tertullian, he owned a 1584 Antwerp edition known as a 'Pameliana' from the name of its Catholic editor, the Flemish Jacques de Pamèle, bishop of Saint-Omer,[502] famous for presenting Tertullian in a 'post-Tridentine' garb through the extensive apparatus of notes and prefatory materials.[503]

---

[497] Ibid., 77, where Lyon corrects Hawkesworth's assertion thus (Lyon's strikethrough, superscript corresponding to Lyon's marginalia): "It has been suggested that the Acquaintance he fell into with Men of Learning made it necessary for him about this time [after 1714] to review ~~his~~ some of those Greek Authors, too long layd aside for Politicks; wch as he said, obliged him sometimes to cast his Eye to ye left side of ye Leaf, where ye Latin Translation is generally printed, and also to read the principal Writers of Ecclesl. History ~~and Latin, and obtain some Acquaintance of Church History~~; but surely he who studied eight Hours a Day for seven Years […] had little occasion to review his Greek and Latin".

[498] Ibid., 87, where Lyon corrects Hawkesworth thus: "that, in this Interval [between 1716 and 1720] he went through a voluminous course of Ecclesiastical History, seems rather ~~im~~probable, by a letter to Lord *Bolingbroke*, dated *April* 5, 1729, in which it appears, that he was then reading *Baronius*, ~~and *Baronius* was the only Piece of Church History was found~~ He had also the Magdeburg Ecclesl. History with some others which were in his Library".

[499] Epiphanius, *Contra Octoaginta Haereses Opus, Panarium, sive Arcula*, transl. by Janus Cornarius (Basel, 1545). See *Library and Reading*, 1, 571-573.

[500] On Cornarius, see Ilse Guenther, "Janus Cornarius", in Bietenholz and Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1985-1987), 1, 339-340.

[501] See *A Catalogue of Books, The Library of the Late Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin* (Dublin, 1745), 10 (n. 369).

[502] Tertullian, *Tertulliani Opera Quae Hactenus Reperiri Potuerunt Omnia*, ed. by Jacques de Pamèle (Antwerp, 1584). See *Library and Reading*, 3, 1816-1821.

[503] See Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity*, 152-172.

In other words, Swift read two fathers who had written very dissimilar types of heresiography in two drastically different editions, both in purpose and in confessional affiliation. One of them (Pamèle's Tertullian) blatantly served the needs of Catholic polemics; the other (Cornarius's Epiphanius) was aimed to help the furtherance of religious reform. Both were obsolete from a scholarly point of view. As I shall argue, such disparity is consonant with Lyon's notices about Swift's unmethodical approach to ecclesiastical history; similarly, the editions' obsolescence was particularly useful for the purposes of Swift's confessional attacks. Indeed, just as the very materials of heresiography were plural and heterogenous, so were the ways in which Swift redeployed his reading in the *Tale* miscellany unsystematic and disruptive. The fact that a fully-fledged confessional 'satyre' such as the *Tale* could be built on such disparate foundations should be explained with reference to the fragmentation of confessionalized patristics that I traced in the previous section.

Indeed, the *Tale* had to wage its attacks on several and distinct apologetic fronts: if on the one hand it could rely on a long tradition of anti-Catholic controversy that emphasized how errors had crept into the fabric of orthodoxy in the lapse of ages, on the other it had to address the more recent problem of Protestant unity against radical Dissent, which tended instead to stress the illicitness of schism.[504] It is no wonder that the 'reactionary' schism of the Non-jurors remains as latent in the *Tale* as the text of the 'satyre' is patently steeped in those tropes of High Church apologetics that constellate the writings of the Non-juring 'schismatics'.[505] Indeed, just as the study of ancient heresy and primitive Christianity was being readapted, through the work of scholars such as Dodwell and Grabe, to these newly fractured conditions, so a novel form of controversy by 'heresiological arguments' had to be framed. The ancient heresiographers, as mediated by the humanists of the age of the wars of religion, could offer different and at times conflicting solutions to these more modern ruptures; an analysis of Swift's efforts to compose

[504] For a brief and compelling overview of these issues, see J. G. A. Pocock, "Within the Margins: The Definition of Orthodoxy", in Lund (ed.), *The Margins of Orthodoxy* (Cambridge, 1995), 33-53.
[505] Cf. above, chapter 2, 113-117.

them into a polemical synthesis has much to reveal about the ways in which 'literature' could inherit, and in turn uphold, confessional preoccupations.

Epiphanius and the Genealogical Catalogue of Heresies

Epiphanius's *Panarion* would certainly appear, to the eyes of modern students of literature, as a most rebarbative and perplexing text. It is a vast and purportedly exhaustive catalogue surveying the compendious history of human error, from the heresies that appeared before Christ ('Barbarism', 'Scythianism', 'Hellenism', and 'Judaism' heading his list), to the early Christian sects that we have already briefly encountered in Irenaeus, down to the latest perversions of the Truth in Epiphanius's own time (second half of the fourth century).[506] The number of these errors totals eighty, thus matching the number of king Solomon's concubines as opposed to his one beloved, the true church, as reported in the Song of Songs.[507] Each heresy is described and refuted for its various departures from Nicene orthodoxy, and, by way of closure of each entry, compared to a repellent animal, most often a venomous snake. And yet, as we shall see, it is precisely the ponderous historical encyclopedism of Epiphanius's catalogue that proved intellectually compelling for early modern scholars and writers, Swift included.

In fact, in the *Panarion* Epiphanius enshrined into a foundational structure a concept that had been explored in earlier and that would be central to all subsequent heresiography: that heresy has a genealogy, and that a *traditio* of error ties together the lineal descent of sects through the history of humankind.[508] Indeed, just as the Gnostics, as I have mentioned, had framed their theology according to a genealogy of aeons and kindred emanations (and were therefore frequently refuted with the (pseudo-)Pauline injunction to "avoid foolish questions and genealogies"),[509] so did Epiphanius assemble a counter-genealogy of sects, one begetting the next,

[506] See, most recently, Young R. Kim, *Epiphanius of Cyprus* (Ann Arbor, 2015), esp. 44-82.
[507] Cf. Song of Songs, 6:8-9.
[508] See Cameron, "How to Read Heresiology", 477.
[509] Titus 3:9.

in the course of which he often resorted to the language of the theatre and of poetry as a form of abuse. Against the followers of Simon Magus (the "principium" of the Gnostics), for example, Epiphanius accused their master of being a 'cheat in imitation of the mimes of Philistion' (Cornarius's edition at this point specified in the margin that Philistion and, by extension, Simon were but a type of "*poëta comicus*").[510] Against the Valentinians, he indicted Valentinus as a 'tragœdiæ poëta',[511] who shamelessly plagiarized his genealogy of thirty aeons from Hesiod's *Theogony*, which likewise recounts the generation of thirty pagan gods. The knot that is tied here between heresy and rhetoric is crucial, although its potential remains unexploited in Epiphanius. For, if the stuff of heresy is but ill-recycled literature, then such rhetoric could also become the parodic 'handle' (to use a Swiftian term)[512] by which heresy could be refuted. We have seen in chapter 1 how Irenaeus had suggested this strategy – a strategy that had become traditional in patristic literature as well having had, by Swift's time, some fortune in English poetry (for example in the treatment of Chaos in *Paradise Lost*, as William Poole has recently suggested).[513]

Indeed, the *Panarion* itself intimated the presence of such a tradition of heresiographic writing in antiquity. In fact, the catalogic structure of the *Panarion* made clear that there is a genealogy of heresiography as well as a genealogy of heresy, and Epiphanius's encyclopaedia is a text that advertises its own literary descent by commemorating, quoting, and building on Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses* alongside other early Christian heresiologists. The *Panarion* is thus a text that not only composes its own vision of history by stringing together heterogenous entries on disparate heretical groups, but it is itself a composite text, which functioned, as early modern readers recognized, according to a principle of 'incrementum'.[514] It is also through such practices

[510] Epiphanius, *Panarium*, transl. Cornarius, 27: "ad Philistionis imitatione[m], deceptor ille in ludibrium".
[511] *Ibid.*, 77 (the copy I consulted reads "portam" rather than "poëtam" – no doubt a misprint).
[512] Frank H. Ellis, "Notes on *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 1 (1986), 9-14, 10.
[513] William Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017), 172-177 – Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Fowler, 2nd ed., revised (London, 2007), book II, esp. ll. 951-967.
[514] See for example the description of the catalogue by the literary historian William Cave, who quotes Photius's judgement on this point: "Opus, inquit Photius, omnibus ante eum scriptis adversus Hæreses lucubrationibus uberius atque utilius; quippe cui ex Justini Martyris, Irenæi, Hippolyti, aliorumque veterum scriptis incrementi haud parum accessit: nihil enim ab iis excogitatum intactum reliquit Epiphanius, quæque ipse proprio Marte elaborarat, addidit" – in *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (London, 1688), 185. On Cave, see Wright, "William Cave and the Fortunes of *Historia Literaria*".

of quotation that Swift could have gained insight into the specific nature of Epiphanius's work in relation, for example, to Irenaeus.

Take Epiphanius's refutation of the Secundians – a section that is likely to have caught Swift's attention, as it describes how Secundus and Epiphanes refined Valentinus's system by tagging their master's doctrine with the 'Platonic' tenet of the community of women.[515] (This idea is in fact, according to the virtuoso speaking in Swift's *Mechanical Operation*, the "one fundamental point, wherein [all heretics and fanatics] are sure to meet, as Lines in a Center".)[516] Epiphanius's text is here almost a patchwork from Clemens Alexandrinus's *Stromateis*, and especially from Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses*, and Epiphanius pays his respects to both. However, the relevant section of Irenaeus on Secundus is particularly ambiguous, for it is one of the few moments in which Irenaeus adds parody to refutation and insult. Significantly, Epiphanius quotes it only selectively: he does include the section in which Irenaeus, "deridens", exclaims sarcastically "Iu iu […] & heu heu" (a typical outburst in Greek tragedies), and derogatorily qualifies as "tragicum" the myth-making of the Secundians, who write such "ridicula figmenta" (the genealogy of the aeons etc.) and give them such bombastic names.[517] But Epiphanius omits Irenaeus's parody of this myth-making (by comparing the names of the aeons to a nomenclature of his own including words such as 'pumpkin' and 'cucumber'), and only refers to Irenaeus's "ridicula verba" on the matter.[518] Clearly, as heretical errors are multiple, so are also the methods employable to attack them. The Epiphanian construction could only partially accommodate the Irenaean ridicule.

And yet it does not follow from this that Swift had little use for Epiphanius. Rather, the opposite is true. What drew Swift to the *Panarion* was precisely the hair-splitting compositeness of its structure and contents – which is also the value that many early modern thinkers found in it, although Swift redeployed it in a novel direction. We can see this happening in the passage

[515] The Latin Epiphanius in Swift's library conveniently adds "*Vxores communes*" in the margin – *Panarium*, 100.
[516] *Operation*, 185.
[517] Epiphanius, *Panarium*, 101.
[518] *Ibid.* – cf. Irenaeus, *Opus*, ed. Erasmus, 22-23.

mentioned above from the *Mechanical Operation*, where the virtuoso affirms to have "collected [the ancient heretics'] Systems from infinite Reading", and to have "compar[ed] them with those of their Successors in several Ages since".[519] In fact, the genealogical continuity at the basis of Epiphanius's great historical atlas of heresy naturally invited comparison, and it was because of this intrinsic tendency that the *Panarion* was valued in early modern thought. Even in antiquity, Epiphanius's catalogue had spawned a tradition of handbooks of heresy (Augustine's *De Haeresibus* being the most famous) whose usefulness resided precisely in how they defined and construed orthodoxy by discriminating and mapping heresies both recent and ancient.[520] Janus Cornarius was eloquent on this point in the dedication of his translation: he claimed to be offering the public, with the edition that Swift would read a century and a half later, a timely intellectual tool to compare doctrines and discriminate heresy at a time of religious upheaval and confusion such as the Reformation; for Cornarius, Epiphanius's catalogic example could supplement Scripture as the touchstone ("*index*") by which to discover and reject heresies.[521] Even in Swift's own time, as Irena Backus has shown, a thinker such as Leibniz could rely on Epiphanius for similar reasons (and different purposes): for him, Epiphanius was a reasonable authority that could guide the understanding of doctrine through a historical discrimination of heresy and orthodoxy.[522]

Thus, what Swift is doing in his 'satyre' is to identify the catalogic method of comparison and distinction at the basis of Epiphanius's genealogical heresiography, and to attribute it to his persona in the *Mechanical Operation*, thereby placing such intellectual practices at one remove from his own. It is a similar strategy to the one that, according to Nicholas McDowell, Swift

---

[519] *Operation*, 185.
[520] See Judith McClure, "Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries", *Journal of Theological Studies* 30/1 (1979), 186-197.
[521] See Cornarius's dedication in *Panarium*, sig. a2^{v}: "*expetendum maxime est hoc D. Epiphanij opus, nostro præsertim sæculo, in quo nihil uulgarius est quam hæreseos nomen alterum alteri obijcere, sicut etiam multarum sectarum est feracissimum. Tametsi enim veræ fidei ratio in sacris literis expressa, index sit, per que*[m] *omnis adulterina doctrina probatur, ac reproba comperitur; tamen ipsæ quoque hæreses palam propositæ ostensæq*[ue] *ac per diuinam scripturam confutatæ, uanitatem ac putiditatem suam apud omnes detegunt, dum suo inani prætextu per ueritatem denudantur*".
[522] See Irena Backus, "Leibniz et l'Hérésie Ancienne", in Bakus, Büttgen, and Pouderon (eds.), *L'Argument Hérésiologique* (Paris, 2012), 69-94, esp. 75-79 – cf. *ead.*, *Leibniz: Protestant Theologian* (Oxford, 2016), 179-204, esp. 195-196.

pursued with the much more modern heresiography of the Presbyterian Thomas Edwards, namely that of turning his *Gangraena* against Presbyterians and sectarians themselves by parodying the very voice of the fastidious heresy-hunting cataloguer.[523] Indeed, we can clearly witness such 'satyrical' distortion at work in the *Tale* itself, most conspicuously in Swift's attack on Dissenters and Quakers, which takes the form of a mock-panegyric grafted onto a genealogy investigating the "Original, as well as Principles" of "the most Illustrious and Epidemick Sect of *Æolists*, who with honourable Commemoration, do still acknowledge the Renowned *JACK* for their Author and Founder".[524]

But another passage is engaging more subtly with Epiphanius's genealogical methods by evoking the same fatigue of 'infinite reading' as the virtuoso of the *Mechanical Operation*. It occurs much earlier in the narrative of the three brothers and it follows a minute description of the tenets of the 'tailor-worshipping' sect holding sway at the time of the brothers' first alteration of the Christian coat. It is then that the hack interrupts the exposition with this paragraph:

> I have with much Pain and Reading, collected out of antient Authors, this short Summary of a Body of Philosophy and Divinity, which seems to have been composed by a Vein and Race of Thinking, very different from any other Systems, either *Antient* or *Modern*. And it was not meerly to entertain or satisfy the Reader's Curiosity, but rather to give him Light into several Circumstances of the following Story [the brothers' alteration of the coat]: that knowing the State of Dispositions and Opinions in an Age so remote, he may better comprehend those great Events which were the issue of them. I advise therefore the courteous Reader, to peruse with a world of Application, again and again, whatever I have written upon this Matter. And so leaving these broken Ends, I carefully gather up the chief Thread of my Story, and proceed.[525]

Many of the questions reviewed above are at play here. On the one hand, the hack assures us that the theology of the fictitious tailor-worshippers has been gathered from genuinely 'ancient' sources, and that this sect represents the prime root of all the subsequent misfortunes endured by the brothers (i.e. the church) until Martin's reformation (the story that the heresiographic excursus enlightens is the one "following"). Indeed, the hack seems to uphold Cornarius's principle of ancient heresiography as an intellectual tool, for such knowledge of antiquity can lead to a 'better comprehension' of the "great Events which were the issue" of heretical origins. And yet, on the

[523] McDowell, "Tales of a Tub Preachers".
[524] *Tale*, 94.
[525] *Tale*, 51.

other hand, the genealogical impulse of such research is frustrated by the fact that the mock-theological system of the tailor-worshippers is "very different" from any subsequent manifestation of heresy. Genealogy as an enterprise is thus occluded, even as the hack invites us "to peruse with a world of Application" the "broken Ends" of his description. There is more than meets the eye in such an invitation: as we shall see in the next section, once we peruse the tenets of the tailor-worshippers with an eye on Tertullian rather than Epiphanius or Irenaeus, we will see how Swift was indeed integrating, in his own composite account, ancient notices as well as heresiographic methods of different kind. He was drawing out the comic thread that latently runs through Epiphanius and turning the theatricals of heresy into full-blown spectacle.

But, before we turn to Tertullian, some concluding reflections on the Epiphanian 'heresiological argument' are in order. In fact, Cornarius's statement on the touchstone quality of genealogical heresiography suggests the perspective of the immediate post-Reformation period, and the dynamics of debate *within* Protestantism itself. Conversely, Swift's 'satyres' reflect a situation in which confessionalization has solidified the lines of defence against the heterodoxy that stood on the other side. Paradoxically, Epiphanius's comprehensiveness, because it worked by subtle discriminations between orthodoxy and sectarianism, was less suited to the needs of direct attack and invective; its classifications, as Swift implies by attributing the Epiphanian method to the hack, always ran the risk of being inconclusive, and of betraying the constructed nature of its orthodoxy. Indeed, notwithstanding their outwardly paraded commitment to the applicability of ancient heresiological models, apologists of the age of confessions knew very well that there was also a profound discontinuity between ancient and modern heresy.[526] The heresiographic challenge was no more simply to refute a multiplicity of *sects*, but to defend one's church against rival *confessions* that equally claimed the attributes of apostolicity and equally indicted the rest of heterodoxy. The unifocal structure of Epiphanius's heresiology could only partially advance the dialectic of confessional disputes, especially when dispute, as was Swift's

[526] This is eloquently put by Irena Backus and Philippe Büttgen in the "Introduction" to *L'Argument Hérésiologique,* 13-20, 19.

case, had to be carried out on two fronts simultaneously (against Catholicism and Dissent). The appropriation of another aspect of heresiography was needed in order to supplement the foreseeable weaknesses of the catalogue, and to build stronger confessional defences, which, unsurprisingly, had their foundations in the uses of 'satyre' as a legitimate weapon against heresy.

Tertullian's heresiographic 'festivitas'

The last sentence's description of Swift's use of Tertullian as 'appropriation' is not casual. Indeed, he was not only appropriating a different (and less prominent) weapon of ancient heresiography for his modern polemical synthesis; he was especially wresting it out of the Roman Catholic hands that deployed it against Protestantism in the edition of Tertullian in his possession. The 1584 'Pameliana' of Tertullian's *Opera Omnia* was in fact studded with annotations that were themselves in open conflict with the Reformers and in often adversarial dialogue with Beatus Rhenanus, the scholar who produced the *editio princeps* of Tertullian in 1521 (enlarged in 1527 and 1539), and whose comments had been deemed anti-Catholic enough for the edition to be put on the Index.[527] As we will see, Swift was eager to use and misuse the Catholic apparatus of the edition against the confession of its editor, and, though less prominently, against Protestant radicals.

Thus, if Cornarius's Epiphanius offered an ancient instrument for the modern Reformation, Pamèle's Tertullian exemplified instead the appeal of the Latin father in the age of confessions. For instance, a dedicatory epistle to Philip II of Spain presented Tertullian as the heresiologist *par excellence*, by summarizing and modernizing Tertullian's treatise *De Praescriptionibus Adversus Haereticos* (described as a 'truly golden work' in the 'Tertulliani Vita' that follows).[528] This was Tertullian's most influential work in the sixteenth and seventeenth

[527] On Rhenanus's edition, see John F. D'Amico, "Rhenanus, Tertullian and the Reformation: A Humanist's Critique of Scholasticism", in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980), 37-63.
[528] Pamèle, "Tertulliani Vita", in Tertullian, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Pamèle (1584), 36.

centuries, as the number of editions and translations show, especially in Catholic lands.[529] Such influence was certainly due to the treatise's argument, which seemed to cut through to the root of the problem of heresy by recurring to the Roman legal concept of *praescriptio* (originally the procedural formula written at the top of a lawsuit to delimit its applicability, which Tertullian uses less precisely to identify any 'invalidation' or 'exception' used by the defendant to show the claim void).[530] Tertullian had in fact argued that any group of heretics (the accusers) have no right to instance any claim against the orthodox (the defendants), because the latter can produce 'prescriptions' to show that Scripture only belongs to them, and that heretics cannot prove the status of their sect as apostolic, universally in agreement with the rest of the church etc. (the specific number of possible prescriptions varied according to different scholars). He had especially emphasised the idea that, because Truth is always the *principium* and Error always follows, any subsequent schism from the church must be fallacious.

Pamèle could easily 'catholicize' this argument through anachronism: Tertullian, "*harena uersatissimus*", has shown that heretics (Protestants included), who "*semper sui sunt similes*",[531] always fail to produce proof of the *traditio* that ties them to the apostles and to Scripture, and thus have no right of admission "*ad ullam de scripturis disputationem*", the "*congressio scripturarum*" ('combat on Scripture') being a useless tool against them.[532] If Epiphanius examined the doctrine of each sect to prove it heretical, creating thereby a historical archive of heterodoxy where scriptural 'congressio' is the main weapon, Tertullian (and his editors) aimed to offer through the 'prescriptions' a criterion capable of identifying and therefore condemning heresy by formal rather than substantial standards. Where the Protestant appeal to Epiphanius rested on the

---

[529] See Jean-Claude Fredouille, "Le *De Praescriptionibus* ou 'la Methode la Plus Facile et la plus assurée…'? Le Traité de Tertullien dans Quelques Écrits de Controverse des XVIe et XVIIe Siècles", in Backus, Büttgen, and Pouderon (eds.), *L'Argument Hérésiologique* (Paris, 2012), 131-159.
[530] See Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia, 1953), in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43/2 (1953), 645, s.v. "Praescriptio".
[531] See Pamèle's dedication "Monarchæ Philippo II", in Tertullian, *Opera Omnia*, 11: "*Diserte id profecto admodum Tertullianus: quod quum & in hæreticos, ut semper sui sunt similes, nostri temporis aptissime competat: uideamus, quibus auctor in hac, quod aiunt, harena uersatissimus, Præscriptionibus aduersus eosdem uti pergat, uti & nos intelligamus, quibus artibus cum illis sit congrediendum a nostri ordinis uiris*".
[532] Ibid.

identification of the genealogy of error as the ground for just schism, the Catholic use of Tertullian's 'praescriptio' emphasised how any novel schism is, by necessity, erroneous and heretical.

Pamèle was therefore exploiting the loose legalism of Tertullian's treatise to fashion a new polemical device suited to his times, by which he could overcome the necessity to confute *heresies* in their doctrinal specificity and on their own terms, and instead defeat *Heresy*, defined formally rather than historically. The text of the treatise itself (which introduced the third section of the complete works, including all of Tertullian's heresiography) was tagged with endnotes that mixed philology with much anti-Protestant abuse, and enlarged on the principle of the fundamental sameness of heresy across time. Indeed, for many of these notes Pamèle was openly indebted to the Paris-based professor of canon law Jean Quintin (Pamèle calls him "*uir eruditiss*[imus]" and "*meus quondam præceptor*"),[533] who had edited *De Praescriptionibus* separately and for polemical purposes in 1561.[534] Pamèle constantly follows Quintin (and other previous editors) in capitalizing on any Tertullianic hint that may bear a Catholic turn doctrinally, and in collapsing ancient Gnostics and modern Reformers.[535] Significantly, Pamèle concludes the annotations by quoting approvingly Quintin's comment that he 'who is guilty of one heresy, is simultaneously guilty of all', with an explicit reference to the 'Gnostics in this century [*hoc ævo*]' being the culmination of all previous heretics: the Reformers 'have never fabricated anything so ridiculous or fabulous that had not been proposed by the [ancient] Gnostics'.[536]

---

[533] *Ibid.*, 388.
[534] Published as *Tertulliani Liber Adversus Haereticos*, ed. by Jean Quintin (Paris, 1561). As Fredouille notes ("Le *De Praescriptionibus* ou 'la Methode la Plus Facile'", 132-136), Quintin directly envisaged the edition as a tool to discriminate 'what (*quid*) is a heretic', and to fuel contemporary controversy.
[535] E.g. Pamèle's note 201 on the growing 'eloquentia' and 'facundia' of the modern 'heresies' that, like their ancient forebears, "*Ab annis quadraginta* [i.e. from the 1520s] *nouari cæperunt*" (430; cf. *Liber Adversus Haereticos*, 93-94); note 260 on "mulieres hæreticæ" in ancient sects and in modern congregations after the translation of the Bible "*anno 1521*" (441; cf. *Liber*, 117); note 275 on the Gnostics' wayward way of life, which resembles modern-day heretics, both recognizing each other as 'vipers' do (443-444; cf. *Liber*, 120).
[536] *Ibid.*, 446 (cf. *Liber*, 127): "*Unius heresεωs reus, omnium simul reus est* […] *Qui Gnosticus est hoc ævo, Simonianus est, Manichæus est, Arrianus est, Atheus est, & quiuis alius est ex eo numero. Nihil enim tam impium commenti sunt illi, nihil umquam tam ridiculum seu fabulosum mentiti sunt, quod sectatores non habuerit, & quod à Gnosticis in medium modò non proferatur*".

For Swift, these must have been copious but unpromising materials. How could he overcome this hostile apparatus enclosing Tertullian? Or, even better, how could he find a way to exploit it? An answer awaited him, should he decide to examine the merits of Quintin's abusive claim about the Gnostic-like ridiculousness of Reformed theology, and turn to Tertullian's own refutation of the Valentinian Gnostics in the father's *Adversus Valentinianos*. Another path was to use the apparatus as a finding tool for materials to redeploy in his own composite heresiography, reversing the Catholic interpretation of Tertullian's 'praescriptio' by insisting not on the preservation of apostolic doctrine in the tradition of the church, but on its corruption through it. As we shall see, Swift did both. The former provided him with a method of apologetic ridicule, and the latter with hints to frame his narrative of Christian degeneration, especially in the early sections of the *Tale*, against Peter's taking inspiration from the tailor-worshippers to alter the seamless coat, but also against the Catholics' counterparts in theological corruption, the radical Protestants-Æolists. Indeed, in this last case, Swift was also anticipating an overt appeal, on the part of Anglicanism, to Tertullian's 'praescriptio' against internal Dissent, which would find full expression in Joseph Betty's first English translation of the treatise in 1722, which claimed that "[t]he great Variety of Heresies and Schisms which have of late arose in the Church" fully justified a recourse to Tertullian's weapon.[537]

Tertullian's *Adversus Valentinianos* is a text that is very different from both Epiphanius and Irenaeus (though Tertullian was clearly indebted to the latter for his knowledge of Gnostic doctrines). In terms of method, it is a work that elects the principle of *festivitas* in attack and explicitly eschews the *congressio* against the *vanitas* of Valentinian theology. In it Tertullian elevated Irenaeus's occasional recourse to ridicule into a fully sanctioned tool of polemical theology, thus remaining faithful to the idea that heretics should not be refuted by admitting them to serious 'combat on Scripture'. A series of programmatic statements on the value of mockery (which are highly relevant for Swift's method) occur at the start of the work:

---

[537] Joseph Betty, "A Preliminary Discourse to Tertullian's Prescription", in Tertullian, *Tertullian's Prescription against hereticks; and the apologeticks of St. Theophilus Bishop of Antioch to Autolycus* (Oxford, 1722), 1.

> If we laugh sometimes, the matter itself deserves it. Many things are worthy of being refuted thus [i.e. by ridicule], lest they become more valued by being taken seriously [ne grauitate adornentur]. Mirth properly agrees with vanity [Vanitati propriè festiuitas cedit], and even Truth may laugh, because she is cheerful [quia lætans], and may mock her mimics [de æmulis suis ludere], because she is secure […] Wherever ridicule is required, it is a duty [officiu[m] est].[538]

Moreover, these sentences were not just hidden away in the middle of the folio of Tertullian's complete works, but Pamèle also summarized them at the start of his headnote to the *Adversus Valentinianos*, emphasising Tertullian's "*errorum, seu potius fabularum, cum risu narrationem*".[539] Similarly, in his endnotes to the work, he commented on Tertullian's election of *festivitas* as a polemical principle by remarking how Irenaeus had already made use of it, as Epiphanius reminded the readers of his *Panarion* (the reference is to the above-mentioned passage on the Secundians).[540]

Such a focus on *narratio cum risu* as a weapon that is sufficient to undo heresy could not have escaped Swift, for the *Tale* works precisely on this principle. Conversely, Tertullian's conception of an *officium* of ridicule against heresy partakes in the ideas both of a Christian 'duty' to the church and of a specific 'office' or 'role' that functions according to codified rhetorical norms. Indeed, in the case of the Gnostics (and, for Swift, the Catholics), such office simply implies exposing the actual content of their esoteric doctrines, which, because of their inherent ridiculousness, they strive to hide from all but the 'adepti' who have undergone a long period of training. The Valentinians, Tertullian states at the opening of the work (indulging his taste for paradoxical formulations), 'care about nothing more than to conceal what they preach [Nihil magis curant quàm occultare quod prædicant]',[541] and he goes on to compare their rites to the pagan mystery cults of Eleusis. The proper Christian 'office' to hold against such pretension, for Tertullian as much as for Swift, is mockery and, indeed, 'satyre'.

Take, for example, Tertullian's explosion of Valentinian eschatology. The fate of the human race in the final consummation will vary according to the three types of humans envisaged

---

[538] Tertullian, *Opera*, 525.
[539] *Ibid.*, 514.
[540] *Ibid.*, 538: "*Atqui subinde etiam ridet Irenæus, maximè sub finem cap. 5 l. 1, ubi cucumeres vocat Valentinianos Æones, pepones, & cucurbitas, verbis etiam ab Epiph. citatis hæres. 32*".
[541] *Ibid.*, 524.

in Gnostic theology: the 'clayey' ("choicæ") or 'material' humanity will be utterly extinguished; the 'psychics', who are just but not perfect (these are non-Gnostic Christians), will dwell in the intermediate space with the Demiurge (i.e. the God who framed the material world as recounted in Genesis – Tertullian, sarcastically: "Agimus gratias"); meanwhile, the 'spirituals' (i.e. those who have the perfect Gnosis) will be elevated to the original *locus* of the aeons, the Pleroma, where they will become "spiritus in totum […] intellectuales" and be married anew (and consummate the marriage, and conceive 'little aeons'); the material world will be extinguished – "& nulla iam fabula".[542] But, because Gnostic anthropology distinguishes between *spiritus* and *anima* (as an endnote by Pamèle explains),[543] before the final consummation the 'spirituals' will have to 'undress themselves, that is, their inner men [despoliantur homines ipsi, id est interiores] – to undress meaning to depose the souls of which they appeared clothed [induti]'.[544] Tertullian extends the trope of *despoliari* to insinuate the absurd spiritual intercourse on the wedding night of Gnostic eschatology, thus indirectly opposing the preposterous Valentinian view of the undressing of the 'homo interior' with the Pauline teaching on the necessity of being 'clothed' with God's dwelling, and with Jesus's parable on the kingdom of heaven as a wedding feast for which a 'wedding garment' must be worn.[545]

Swift was certainly well-equipped to enjoy the sophisticated irony of this passage, and Tertullian's sarcasm in affecting fear of Achamoth's anger for 'exposing such a great sacrament irreverently [inludendo]':[546] he would have already been familiar with Gnostic esoteric eschatology, and with the Valentinian views on the undressing of the souls from the 'inner men', for, as my reader will recall, these are in fact recounted and exposed to public view in Irenaeus, and more specifically in the very same chapter of the *Adversus Haereses* that recounts the heretical views of the redemption, recording the 'gibberish' formula of the Marcosians appearing on the *Tale*'s title-page. In other words, Swift must have been aware that the *corpus* of the ancient

[542] 'The comedy is over' – *Ibid.*, 532.
[543] *Ibid.*, 560. The note, as Pamèle says, is by Tertullian's earlier editor Beatus Rhenanus.
[544] *Ibid.*, 532.
[545] Cf. 2 Cor. 5:2, 4; Matt. 22:1-14.
[546] Tertullian, *Opera*, 532: "Sed næ ego temerarius, qui tantum sacramentum etiam inludendo prodiderim".

heresiologists in his library formed a self-conscious (though plural and disparate) tradition in which also ridicule had a rightful place, having been practiced and memorialized throughout the earliest ages of the church.

Thus, the section on the tailor-worshippers in the *Tale* represents not just Swift's oblique engagement with this tradition of heresiology and heresiography, but also his attempt to turn the materials of ancient heresy which he found embedded in a Catholic framework against Catholicism itself (the fictitious sect is, after all, the cause of Peter's first cavils to change the coat with shoulder-knots, which were thought to identify the "*Soul*").[547] Among the tailor-worshippers, the hack recounts,

> [Some] of these professors though agreeing in the main System, were yet more refined upon certain Branches of it; and held that Man was an Animal compounded of two *Dresses*, the *Natural* and the *Celestial Suit*, which were the Body and the Soul: That the Soul was the outward, and the Body the inward Cloathing; that the latter was *ex traduce*; but the former of daily Creation and Circumfusion.[548]

It seems evident that the first 'broken ends' of tailor-worshipping divinity came to Swift via his research on the Gnostics, and especially from their preposterous interpretation of the Pauline 'homo interior'[549] as a spiritual or 'pneumatic' seed different from the soul (which characterizes 'psychic' humanity). The Tertullianic account of the undressing of the soul in Valentinian eschatology provided a trope that Swift was eager to elaborate on: as Tertullian insinuated the carnality of such undressing, so did Swift literalize the doctrine by making the body the 'inward' and the soul the 'outward man', thus suggesting the hypocrisy of the whole system, whose hidden aim is to dismiss the rational faculties of the soul in favour of the satisfaction of bodily instincts. Indeed, this debt finds confirmation in Swift's statement in later life (in a sermon 'On the Excellency of Christianity') that "[t]he Platonic system, first taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for some early heresies in the Church"[550] – the Platonism of the Valentinians (and of the Gnostics more generally) being one the blunders repeatedly charged against them in

---

[547] *Tale*, 54: "Strait, all the World was *Shoulder-knots;* no approaching the Ladies *Ruelles* without the *Quota* of *Shoulder-knots; That Fellow,* cries one, *has no Soul; where is his Shoulder-knot?*".
[548] *Tale*, 50
[549] Cf. Rom. 7:22; 2 Cor. 4:16; Eph. 3:16.
[550] Swift, *The Prose Works of Swift*, ed. Davis *et al.*, 14 vols. (Oxford, 1939-1968), 9, 249.

Tertullian, and especially emphasized in his 'Pameliana'.[551] This is not to say, however, that Swift envisaged the tailor-worshippers as Gnostics, but only that his research on this topic in the heresiographic fathers furnished him with humorous materials (and with a sanction to redeploy them) which he subsequently recombined according to his own polemical needs. Unsurprisingly, for Swift, beyond Epiphanius and Irenaeus, stood his true model – the complex and perplexing Tertullian, whose learning in all the human disciplines was mobilized apologetically with sharpness and mirth.[552]

And yet Tertullian was also a very ambiguous guide into theology, as the Pamèle edition made clear: he may well be ranked as the first theologian to write in Latin, but at the same time he had advanced a series of heterodox opinions, on the account of which his works had been made 'apocryphal' (i.e. 'hidden', unfit for public readings) by the *Decretum Gelasianum* in the sixth century.[553] In his later life, he had lapsed into the Montanist heresy, which maintained that direct revelations from God had not yet ceased, and that the heresiarch Montanus was in fact the God-sent 'Paraclete' (the 'Advocate' or 'Comforter') that Jesus promised to the apostles to assist them after his death.[554] If Tertullian's earlier editor Beatus Rhenanus had placed a list a 'ecclesiastical dogmas' at the close of his edition to forestall latent Tertullianic heterodoxies,[555] Pamèle now prefaced the father's text with a list of his 'paradoxa', to which was added 'Pamèle's antidote'.[556] This list, however, could serve a heuristic function for Swift, for there he would have easily retrieved evidence that showed how Tertullian himself was partly responsible for the mischief

---

[551] E.g. in Tertullian's *De Anima* 23, "Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum [esse]" in *Opera*, 581; *De Praescriptione Adversus Haereticos* 7, "Ipsæ denique hæreses à Philosophia subornantur. Inde Æones et formæ, nescio quæ, & trinitas hominis apud Vale[n]tinum: Platonicus fuerat", 390-391; and *De Praescriptione* 30, "Vbi tunc Valentinus Platonicæ [philosophiae] sectator?", 396; but see especially the introductory epigram to the whole work by Andreas Hoius, stating that Tertullian "Lepidoque Platonica risu,/Tecta VALENTINI nugis, fert monstra sub auras", 15.

[552] See, e.g. Cave's comments on the literary qualities of Tertullian (after quoting the judgements of Jerome and Lactantius on his learning and convolutedness), in *Historia Literaria* (1688), 57: "[h]abet […] Tertulliani stylum majestatem quandam sibi propriam, & grandem eloquentiam sale & acumine plurimùm conditam, quæ simul legentis ingenium exercet, & animum suaviter delectat".

[553] See the dedication of Pamèle's edition, in Tertullian, *Opera* 3.

[554] Cf. John 14:16.

[555] Cf. the *editio princeps* by Rhenanus, *Opera Tertulliani inter Latinos Ecclesiae Scriptores Primi* ([Basel], 1521), 589-614. The expanded editions of 1528 and 1539 followed the same method.

[556] There are thirty-one 'paradoxa', ranging from exegetical errors to Montanist doctrines, and to Tertullian's too obscure pronouncements on the Trinity (49-64).

about the materiality and shape of the soul, its traducianism (that the soul, like the body, is *ex traduce,* i.e. transmitted from parents to children via generation), and its sinful nature. In particular, 'Paradoxa' three to eleven rehearsed Tertullian's errors about the soul, 'paradoxon' fifteen concerned Tertullian's notorious opinion that God must be corporeal, 'because nothing incorporeal can exist',[557] and 'paradoxon' twenty-six refuted the doctrine that Montanus was the Paraclete – all giving helpful chapter and section references to the places where these opinions were expressed in Tertullian's works. Using this key, Swift could obtain easy access to several heterodox Tertullianic *loci* dispersed throughout Pamèle's heavy folio. Even by itself, Pamèle's list of errors summarized much learning on each 'paradoxical' doctrine, often quoting later fathers (Augustine especially) who had castigated Tertullian for them, thus betraying a degree of unease about the construction of orthodoxy two centuries after Tertullian's incautious pronouncements.

Take the fourth 'paradoxon' on the soul's traducianism: Pamèle mentions two places in Jerome that refute Tertullian's opinion that the soul is transmitted from parents to children,[558] and summarizes Jerome's statement of the 'Ecclesiastica sententia' as 'God daily infuses new souls into bodies that have already been conceived [Deum nouas quotidie animas corporibus iam conceptis infundere]'[559] – which directly recalls the idea of the 'most refined' tailor-worshippers that "the [soul is] of daily Creation and Circumfusion".[560] This point of tailor-worshipping divinity is thus the orthodox opinion of the church, only with a preposterous inversion of inward and outward (from infusion to circumfusion). The 'paradoxon' also quotes an epistle of Augustine to Optatus on the origin of the soul, where Tertullian is taxed not so much for traducianism itself as for its theological consequences, and pre-eminently for the implication that, if the soul is thus transmitted, then it must be corporeal and carriable via "corpulentis seminibus", commenting – "Quo peruersius quid dici potest?"[561] Clearly Swift had some ideas about how to answer.

---

[557] "[E]o quòd nihil incorporale sit", *ibid.*, 55.
[558] These are Jerome's *Apologia Adversus Rufinum,* book II, 8-9 (cf. *PL*, 23, 430-431), and especially his *Apologia ad Pammachium Adversus Errores Ioannis Hierosolymitani*, 22 (*PL*, 23, 372-373).
[559] Pamèle, 'Paradoxa', in Tertullian, *Opera*, 50.
[560] *Tale*, 50.
[561] Pamèle, ibid.; cf. Augustine, epistola CXC (*PL*, 33, 861).

The seventh 'paradoxon' is entirely dedicated to this Tertullianic heterodoxy (the soul's corporeality), and it transcribes the last two chapters of book 10 of Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*, which explicitly refute Tertullian and especially his idea that the soul is "*effigiatam* & *coloratam*".[562] A sentence from Tertullian's *De Anima* is quoted in full as a particularly perverse description of the soul: 'here is the inner man, different from the outer, and yet one in its duplicity [ecce homo interior, alius exterior, dupliciter unus]; it too has its own eyes and ears, by which people [some editions emend *populus* to *Paulus*] must have seen God, and also its limbs, through which it operates in thoughts and acts in dreams' (the sentence is in italics in the 'paradoxon').[563] Following Pamèle's reference, Swift could turn to the relevant place in Tertullian's *De Anima*, chapter nine, where he would have found a fuller description of how it is but natural that the soul should be a transparent human form: 'since everything that is thin and pellucid [omne tenue et perlucidum] imitates the air, such will also be the soul, as it is wind and *tradux* of breath [hoc erit anima quâ flatus est & spiritus tradux]'.[564] Such emphasis on the aerial resemblance of the soul reappears in turn in Swift's characterization of the dissenting *Æ*olists, according to whom "whether you please to call the *Forma informans* of Man, by the Name of *Spiritus*, *Animus*, *Afflatus*, or *Anima*; What are all these but several Appellations for *Wind?*".[565]

Indeed, this question of the soul was also inextricably linked to another problem: Tertullian's own Montanist heresy. Thus, in the very same chapter of *De Anima*, Tertullian explained that the knowledge of the soul's form ('effigies') came from the private visions of a 'sister' of Tertullian's congregation, who had received the charism of further revelations. As Pamèle's seventh 'paradoxon' and one of his endnotes to this passage explain,[566] this must have been a 'Montanistica fœmina', and consequently the treatise on the soul must be placed among those that Tertullian wrote after his lapse into heresy. The twenty-sixth 'paradoxon' (*de Paracleto Montano*) had already attempted to forestall the problems of Tertullian's subscription to this

[562] Pamèle, ibid., 51; cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, 10, 25-26 (*PL*, 34, 427-428).
[563] Ibid.
[564] Tertullian, *ibid.*, 572. The word *tradux* is of difficult translation, originally identifying a 'vine branch'.
[565] *Tale*, 99.
[566] Tertullian, *Opera*, 52, 611.

opinion, which, by associating the Holy Spirit with the Paraclete, envisaged private (and infallible) human communications with God: '[Tertullian] twists [detorquet]', Pamèle writes, 'in favour of his heresy that place in John, chapter 16, *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth*'.[567]

We have already briefly encountered the problem of Montanism. As I mentioned above, Dodwell's fourth 'dissertatio cyprianica' had argued against the tendency to ascribe all early Christian visionary writing to this heresy, in an attempt to rediscover the scholarly uses of seemingly heretical texts to enlighten primitive Christianity.[568] It is unsurprising that such a rediscovery coincided with an uptake in the deployment of this heresy in pieces of literary controversy such as Swift's *Tale*. Indeed, the 1715 catalogue of Swift's library also contains one entry that, although chronologically irrelevant for the *Tale* itself, bears witness to Swift's interest in the polemical potential of ancient heresy,[569] namely a new edition of a sermon by the Non-juror George Hickes entitled *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised* (1709).[570] This enlarged version (it was first published in 1680)[571] in fact comprised a lengthy 'History of Montanism' by the physician Francis Lee, which characterized the Montanist belief that the 'Spirit' still operates in believers by granting new private revelations as the root of all subsequent heresy and dissent. Not only does Lee's 'History' share with Swift the strategy of medicalizing heresy as a form of mad fanaticism stemming from a melancholic condition,[572] but Lee, just like Hickes and Swift, was also writing his history of heresy with an eye on contemporary polemics, and his work is an indirect attack on the so-called 'French Prophets' – a group of radical millenarian Huguenots who had settled in London after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.[573] Thus, just as Dodwell

---

[567] *Ibid.*, 61.
[568] See above, 107, 149.
[569] *Library and Reading*, 2, 855-856.
[570] George Hickes, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised* (London, 1709).
[571] On the influence of this sermon, see Quantin, *Church of England*, 301-305.
[572] On this widespread literary tradition of medicalization of melancholy, see Christopher Tilmouth, "Sceptical Perspectives on Melancholy", *Review of English Studies* 68 (2017), 924-944.
[573] On Lee's connection of Montanism and the French Prophets, see Stacey Searl-Chapin, "Francis Lee and the French Prophets: The *History of Montanism* (1709)", in Laursen (ed.), *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2002), 33-49.

was attempting to contextualize Montanism in early Christianity, the very same ancient heresy was enjoying a newly found fortune in controversy and 'satyre', spurred by a sudden influx of radical Huguenots whose appeals to 'new prophecy' reminded Anglican observers of the worst traits of religious radicalism that had characterized the mid-century civil wars.[574]

A pattern seems to emerge: just as historical scholarship challenged the demarcations that separated heretical and orthodox texts, thereby neutralizing straightforward parallels between ancient heresiology and contemporary doctrine in scholarly debates, literary texts of controversy became increasingly supple in their ability to recombine polemical arguments of patristic origin and to upend the confessional structures in which they had been enshrined. Joseph Betty could thus translate the traditionally Catholic heresiographic 'prescription' to fight internal Dissent, and Francis Lee's work on Montanism was similarly marked by a desire to elevate an ancient example of heresy into an essential paradigm of trans-historical heterodoxy. As Swift's (mis)use of Pamèle's apparatus suggests, the store of polemical devices that had been accumulating through almost two centuries of confessional strife had itself become large archive from which apologists could draw for new purposes. 'Literature' could thus advance what scholarship was finding increasingly difficult to pursue, and consequently inherit the intellectual value that early modern learning had discovered in polemical heresiology.

The Pallium: Swift's 'Satyre' and Patristic Scholarship

There is one final aspect of Swift's repurposing of Tertullian that merits our attention, and one last Tertullianic text that captures several of the problems that I have been treating so far. It is perhaps the most enigmatic of all of Tertullian's works, both in terms of language and of interpretation. It is Tertullian's mock-oration on the 'pallium' (the Greek philosophical cloak), known as *De Pallio*. An analysis of the traces that *De Pallio* left on the *Tale* is a fitting end of this

[574] On the French Prophets, see Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets* (Berkeley, 1980), and *id.*, *Knaves, Fools, Madmen and that Subtile Effluvium* (Gainesville, 1978).

chapter because it reintroduces the question of 'satyre', thus bringing into focus the idiosyncrasies of the *Tale* rather than the continuities which link it to other texts of early eighteenth-century controversy. In fact, the first chapter of this thesis showed how 'satyre' was becoming an increasingly marginalized genre around the turn of the century; there, I suggested that some of the disturbing ambiguity that haunted the *Tale*'s immediate reception stemmed precisely from Swift's attachment to this genre. Conversely, this chapter has pursued the thread of rhetorically-coded ridicule that runs through the ancient heresiologists, touching on the confessional uses that had been made of it (e.g. in Quintin's accusations against the Reformers). Indeed, while a text such as the *Adversus Valentinianos* presented Swift with comic hints and with a justification for his polemical project, readapting *De Pallio* represented a definite step further into a 'satyrical' territory where few of Swift's contemporaries were prepared to follow him.

At a first reading, *De Pallio*, which stood on the threshold of the 'Pameliana' as the first of Tertullian's works, appears innocuous enough. In many ways, it represents the prototypical σπουδογελοῖον that Dryden found so objectionable,[575] being a serio-comic exhortation to the pagan notables of Carthage, prompting them to leave the quintessentially Roman toga for the humble Greek pallium, the lowly cloak traditionally worn by the philosophers. As such, it is almost devoid of references to Christianity, assembling instead a vast array of recondite allusions to pagan myths of cross-dressing, and elaborately describing natural phenomena such as the seasons, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions as precedents warranting clothes-swapping. The new religion is only alluded to at the end of chapter four as the 'wisdom that denies [renuit] all vain superstitions', whose adoption of the pallium should, in the eyes of a pagan, turn this lowly 'habitus' into an 'noble vestment [augusta vestis]' that itself 'denies your one error [vnius erroris tui renunciatore[m]]' (meaning paganism).[576] At the climactic closure of the piece, the speaker addresses the cloak itself, describing Christianity as the 'divina secta ac disciplina' that has now a "co[m]mercium" with the pallium, which should therefore 'rejoice and exult', because 'a better

[575] See above, chapter 1, 33.
[576] Tertullian, *Opera Omnia*, 9.

philosophy has deemed you worthy [melior iam te philosophia dignata est], ever since you started to dress a Christian'.[577] On the basis of these references, Pamèle linked the modest coat with a venerable Christian fashion of humility of dress (itself of apostolic descent),[578] and assumed that Tertullian wrote the piece *in propria persona* when he first converted to Christianity, as an apology to his fellow-citizens who were astonished to see him abandon the toga.[579] (Hence Pamèle's placement of *De Pallio* on the threshold of Tertullian's works, as his first work chronologically, and as a symbolic 'change of dress' from paganism to Christianity).

As such, *De Pallio* is no text of heresiography. And yet, the most direct use that Swift found for it was yet again for the hack's heresiological analysis of the tailor-worshippers. Thus, while rehearsing the tenets of the sect, the hack invites the reader to "[l]ook on this Globe of Earth, you will find it to be a very compleat and fashionable *Dress*"[580] – which appears directly borrowed from the orator of *De Pallio*, who, equally addressing his auditors, instances the changeableness of the seasons, 'when you look at the earth itself, which loves to dress seasonably [& terram, si recenseas, temporatim vestiri amantem]'.[581] According to the hack, the tailor-worshippers maintain that "Nature [has] trim[med] up the *vegetable* Beaux" by giving the beech a periwig and the birch a satin doublet,[582] and Tertullian's orator had similarly talked of plants as clothing: 'even trees dress up, and the grassiness of flax, after greenness, turns white with washing [& arbusta vestiunt, & lini herbida post virorem lauacro niuescunt]'.[583] Even the very climax of the passage in the *Tale*, which ends with a mock-rhetorical question "Is not Religion a *Cloak*",[584] seems to literalize Tertullian's central trope of the 'pallium' as a vestment capable of synecdochally embodying Christianity as much as of chastising vice even without speaking.

---

[577] *Ibid.*, 10.
[578] This, Pamèle annotates, "*satis patet* […] *ex picturis sculpturisque superioris vestis Apostoloru*[m] *Christi, quæ etiamnum exstant*", in *ibid.*, 10.
[579] E.g. in endnote n. 93 (on the reference to Christianity at the end of chapter 4), Pamèle annotates that Tertullian here "*tacitè adtingit suam ad Christianismum co*[n]*uersionem*" (19), thus collapsing the speaker of the oration with Tertullian himself.
[580] *Tale*, 49.
[581] *Opera*, 6.
[582] *Tale*, 49.
[583] *Opera*, 7.
[584] *Tale*, 50.

Indeed, Swift would have noticed the irony in Tertullian's close of the mock-oration, where, in a prosopopoeia of the cloak, the pallium talks about the powers of its own "sermo palliatus" ('becloaked speech'), while paradoxically affirming that it does not need to speak in order to chase away vice, for its very appearance is enough to make the vicious blush of shame.[585] (Further parallels that are less relevant for the discussion at hand can also be adduced).[586]

It is unsurprising that the most direct verbal echoes between *De Pallio* and the *Tale* occur in a section of mock-heresiography. Indeed, around the turn of the century, *De Pallio* was increasingly read as a text produced under the influence of Montanism. The literary historian William Cave, for example, classed it (along with most of Tertullian's works) among those the father wrote *post lapsum*,[587] and Francis Lee emphasized that, even if Tertullian might have written the mock-oration while still in communion with the orthodox, the short work was marked by his "natural Genius and Disposition […] to pursue what was extreme"; "hence [i.e. from *De Pallio*]", Lee concluded, "it may easily be seen that what afterwards manifested itself, through his Conversation with *Montanus* was at first rooted in his very Nature".[588] Thus, what Swift was doing with *De Pallio* could at first sight be unproblematically aligned with the way in which he used Pamèle's 'paradoxa' or the *Adversus Valentinianos* – i.e. taking notices of ancient heresy, both from texts of heresiography and from heterodox writings themselves, and recasting them into his own polemical narrative of Christian degeneration.

And yet, with *De Pallio*, Swift was not just dealing with a perplexing speech possibly written under the influence of heterodox thinking. Instead, he was redeploying a text that the

---

[585] *Opera*, 10.
[586] For example, critics have wondered about Swift's description of the chameleon feeding on wind, which is therefore considered the 'devil' by the Æolists, "devour[ing] large Influences of their God" (*Tale*, 103), and have often proposed far-fetched *loci* as possible sources (see Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken, "Interpretations the Author Never Meant", *Notes & Queries* 230 (1985), 201-203). Since we know that Swift was reading Tertullian before writing the *Tale*, it seems natural that the likeliest source (which has never been proposed) is *De Pallio*'s 'mock-heroic' description of the chameleon, which "oscitans vescitur, follicans ruminat, de vento cibus" (*Opera*, 7). *De Pallio* also contains a highly sarcastic passage on the "ingenia […] vestificinæ" which "primum tegendo homini qua necessitas præcessit, dehinc & ornando imo & inflando, qua ambitio successit, varias indumentorum formas promulgauere" (7) – this is comparable to the *Tale*'s narrative of the brothers' ambition and vanity in altering the shapes of their coats.
[587] Cave, *Historia Literaria*, 59.
[588] Francis Lee, "History of Montanism", in George Hickes, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised* (London, 1709), 234-235.

dynamics of confessional strife had turned into a full-blown *satyra*. It was, in other words, a text that had come to be charged with the most extreme forms of confessional vituperation, and that therefore still bore traces of the practice of 'satyre' as a proxy for religious war that I have discussed in the first chapter, and that Swift's age was eager to gloss over. To use *De Pallio* as a central 'satyrical' device was to follow in the footsteps of earlier polemicists that had been at ease with using invective for confessional advantage. The survival of these polemical vectors in Swift highlights the extent to which he was tied to paradigms of controversy that had their roots in an earlier age, and that his contemporaries increasingly found uncomfortable.

There is no space here to dwell on the details of the early modern fortunes of *De Pallio*, which, unsurprisingly, peaked during the high point of the wars of religion, most prominently in the four decades between the 1590s and the 1620s.[589] However, the transformation of the pallium into a specific polemical trope was especially the product of one quarrel that was famous for the depths of insult to which the disputants had stooped,[590] as later scholars pointed out.[591] It involved the humanist Claude Saumaise, who had converted to Protestantism in his youth, and produced a philologically ground-breaking edition of Tertullian's mock-oration in 1622,[592] and the Jesuit Denis Petau, who abusively attacked Saumaise under the pseudonym 'Antonius Kerkoëtius Aremoricus' (to whom Saumaise replied in kind, disguised under the name of 'Franciscus Francus').[593] The quarrel's intensity was particularly expedient in foregrounding the central strategy of Saumaise's edition, which was to argue for a precise and novel dating of the text. According to the editor, in fact, the pallium was the original priestly cloak, and, consequently,

[589] I have written separately on this early seventeenth-century phenomenon, in "Between Antiquarianism and Satire: Tertullian's *De Pallio* in the Age of Confessions, ca. 1590-1630" (hopefully forthcoming).
[590] See Thomas Conley, "Vituperation in Early Seventeenth-Century Historical Studies", *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 22/2 (2004), 169-182, esp. 175-177.
[591] See e.g. Pierre Bayle's remarks on this quarrel in the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 3, 690: "La Guerre qu'ils se firent fut très-longue & très-violente […] C'est dommage qu'ils n'aient pas écrit avec moins d'emportement".
[592] Tertullian, *Liber de Pallio*, ed. by Claude Saumaise (Paris, 1622).
[593] [Denis Petau], *Antonii Kerkoëtii Aremorici Animadversorum Liber ad Claudii Salmasii Notas in Tertullianum de Pallio* ([Rhedonis=] Paris, 1622); [Claude Saumaise], *Confutatio Animadversorum A. Cercoetii ad C. Salmasii Notas in Tertullianum de Pallio. Auctore Francisco Franco* (Middelburg, 1623).

Tertullian must have pronounced the speech when he was ordained presbyter in the church of Carthage.

As Petau discerned, much of polemical weight of Saumaise's edition hinged on this small point, for it was on this basis that Saumaise had constructed a prefatory antiquarian dissertation to the notes of the edition, which delineated the history of degeneration of the priestly garments from the venerable humility of dress of the primitive church to the luxurious indulgence in secular fashions of late antique and medieval Christianity. In other words, Saumaise's discussion of the way in which the Christian priestly cloak had been altered and finally overcome by the trends of the *saeculum* had traced the polemical pattern that the *Tale* was to reproduce using the same Tertullianic trope. Indeed, Saumaise's dissertation was steeped in insinuations against Catholic luxury;[594] in it, the history of dress worked synecdochally for the history of doctrine.[595] It is no coincidence that such veiled polemics on Saumaise's part were contemporaneous with a novel tendency in the scholarship on *De Pallio,* i.e. to read the mock-oration as a 'satyra apologetica sive apologia satyrica'.[596] Indeed, Saumaise capitalized on this development: he was not just reading *De Pallio* as a 'satyre' in its original context (as an exposure, on Tertullian's part, of the folly of paganism), but he was giving a 'satyrical' turn to the edition itself, which was in fact a platform for a thinly disguised attack on the corruption of Roman Catholicism. Saumaise's *De Pallio* was 'satyrically' rebuking historical paganism as much as a contemporary confession that stood on the other side of the religious divide.

---

[594] Cf. e.g. Saumaise, 'Notae', in *De Pallio* (1622), 8, on the degeneration from primitive Christian humility: "Nam qui disciplinæ Christianæ diligentissimos & exactissimos cultores præstare volebant in omnibus, hi Christiani philosophi erant, & dicebantur. Tales Tertulliani ætate Episcopi presbyterique & omnes clerici, ac postea monachi; nunc vero πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δέ τε βάκχοι [*many bear the thyrsus but few are Bacchi*]" ; or later, on the use by clerics of the precious garment called 'dalmatica' in the early Middle Ages – 29: "Et sane vestitus quem soli olim delicati usurparunt, postea castissimorum Ecclesiæ sacerdotum proprius factus est". Commodus and Helagabalus are then mentioned as examples of those who used to show themselves 'dalmaticati'.

[595] E.g. ibid., 21: "Verum ut mores subinde mutant ac tempora, nihilque rerum humanarum in eodem statu permanet, etiam hæc res in Ecclesia Dei mutatione passa est. atque utinam quidem hactenus, ne de gravioribus queri possemus. Nam hæc levissimi momenti res est, habitus mutatio, si sola spectetur: sed fere semper, aut morum ruinam trahit, aut jam inclinatos sequitur mores, præcipue cum luxo magistro, delicatior & inflatior vestis viliorem & modestam excludit". The ambiguity of Saumaise's *graviora* is telling.

[596] This is the formulation used by an earlier editor and commentator on *De Pallio*, Théodore Marcile, who was the first to call the mock-oration a *satyra* explicitly. See Tertullian, *Liber de Pallio*, ed. by Théodore Marcile (Paris, 1614), 10.

Thus, when Swift framed his own synthesis of disparate strands of confessionalized patristics in the *Tale* by tracing the history of a cloak, he was dusting off a well-worn eristic trope. Saumaise had shown apologists how to create an instrument of combat combining the animus of ancient 'satyre' and the intellectual charge of modern scholarship. He had especially indulged in a rhetoric and a practice of studied 'satyrical' concealment: just as Tertullian had 'hidden' his true meaning in the folds of his loquacious pallium,[597] so was Saumaise disguising the controversial import of his edition behind a veneer of copious learning. In his pseudonymous attack, Petau was but attempting to turn Saumaise's game against him by accusing him of having 'revealed' his Calvinist heresy with his new edition of Tertullian.[598]

It is unsurprising that Swift would thus find in the pallium a device that could function as the central plank of a composite 'satyre' such as the *Tale*, and that could hold together his wider recourse to the disparate 'heresiological arguments' that he found in the editions of the fathers in his possession. Indeed, much effort had been expended in the previous century in the shaping of a series of polemical tools to be used in scholarship as much as in invectives against rival confessions. What is striking is the fact that, just as these tools had started to become too cumbersome for scholarly investigation, a text such as the *Tale* emerged, integrating and recombining them in a novel way, and for novel purposes. In particular, Swift's redeployment of that pallium that Saumaise had fashioned into a specific polemical device intimates how more overtly 'literary' works could inherit the confessional stakes with which scholarship had been charged. It is only by seeing the *Tale* in this long trajectory of literary and scholarly controversy that we can gain a fuller sense both of its literary and intellectual ingenuity and of the tensions that it created in its contemporary environs.

---

[597] See, for example, Saumaise's statements in the dedication to his father, in Tertullian, *Liber de Pallio*, sig. *5^{r}: "*Profecto non magis pallii sui circumjectu omnia corporis involvisse & contexisse Cynicos olim certum est, quam Tertullianus cæcis hujus Pallii ambagibus mentem suam ubique infuscavit & operuit*".

[598] [Petau], *Animadversorum Liber*, sig. A2^{v}: "*Nam cum & religione, vt fama est, Calvinista sis, & scripta tua, postrema maximè, ex temeritate, arrogantia, & inscitia conflata sint, manifestum est, quid & ab hæretico, corruptelæ; & ab homine temerario, falsitatis; & ineptiarum ab imperito in Patrum scripta comportandum sit; nisi consilijs tuis obuiam eatur*".

***

There is one final aspect of the quarrel between Saumaise and Petau that I should mention, for it throws light on this nexus between 'literature' and theology in the context of confessional strife. When Saumaise retaliated against 'Kerkoëtius' under the disguise of 'Franciscus Francus', his main line of defence against Petau's (wholly justifiable) attacks was to stress the intrinsic difference between his position as a 'grammaticus' and that of Petau as an academic theologian. Against Petau's accusations of having trespassed into the province of patristic theology, Saumaise asserted that Tertullian's *De Pallio* was purely a work of 'grammar and history', and that therefore the study of it naturally fell to philologists rather than to theologians. Indeed ('Francus' claimed), should we follow Petau's reasoning and classify as theology whatever a theologian might write, then even Kerkoëtius's own abusive speech, 'all that most dirty flow of an impure mouth with which you have shat your papers ("qua chartas tuas concacasti"), must be genuine flowers of Theology'.[599] Saumaise, in other words, was seizing the occasion offered by 'satyrical' vituperation (he is clearly alluding to Catullus)[600] to turn the very disciplinary boundaries between literature and theology to polemical advantage. And yet, as we have seen, Saumaise was being utterly disingenuous, for he had been more than willing to use *De Pallio* as a platform for a disguised attack on Roman Catholicism.

What this suggests is that disciplinary divisions in the age of confessions were not as fast as we might assume. Rather, confessional 'satyre' was a tool that could call their precincts into question as much as presenting them as firmly set, depending on the strategy that suited polemicists in their local circumstances. 'Literature' could thus be constructed both in opposition and in alliance to theological enquiry, but it was never truly disengaged from it. By drawing from this long tradition of learned confessional 'satyre', Swift was not simply polemizing against 'Modernity', nor even just against rival confessions (be it radical Protestantism or Roman

[599] [Saumaise], *Confutatio*, sig. e1^{r}: "*Calumniæ, strophæ, conuitia, maledicta, circulatricis linguæ probra, cetera virulentiæ propudia, tota illa denique fædissima proluuies oris impuri qua chartas tuas concacasti, Theologiæ meri flores essent*".
[600] See Catullus's polemics against Volusius's "cacata charta", in *Carmina* 36.1.

Catholicism). He was also, in the office of an Anglican priest and of a ‘satyrist’, making some positive, though indirect, statements of theology.

This chapter has focussed on patristic heresiography to show how a book like the *Tale* miscellany, which has been the traditional preserve of literary critics, was also an intellectually cogent product of other traditions of confessional and scholarly polemics. Conversely, I have followed the traces of historical scholarship on ancient heresy at the turn of the eighteenth century to demonstrate how these traditions were splintering in scholarly discourse. This is not to say that anything like a definitive dichotomy established itself between confessionally minded ‘learning’ and rhetorically constructed ‘literature’. Rather, my analysis of the *Tale* shows instead that their interrelation was increasingly complex and plural. The next and final chapter will focus on those ‘statements of theology’ that the *Tale* inescapably made; as such, it will test the limits of this interrelation, asking to what extent Swift’s contemporaries were comfortable with ‘satyre’ as a theological instrument.

Chapter 4

The Anglicanism of the *Tale of a Tub*: Theology, Confessional Apologetics, and Freethinking

"This Author, being born a Wit, and being bred, first a Schollar, and then a Rake, was certainly the fittest man in the world to set up for a pleasant Ridiculer of Religion […] And surely He, who believes there are no Spirits, neither good nor bad; no Hell, nor Heaven; neither God nor Devil; surely such a man as he, must needs play booty when he sets up for an Advocate of the Church of England; since it plainly appears, y^{t} in his heart he verily believes that all Revealed Religion is no better than a Tale of a Tub".[601]

With these scathing words the Roman Catholic priest Silvester Jenks, who was reading the *Tale* soon after its publication, concluded a series of manuscript excerpts from the religious sections of Swift's miscellany.[602] What is striking about this *judicium* is its Catholic provenance. Rather than refuting the *Tale* as a product of the theological errors of Protestantism, Jenks was here independently following the same strategy that the Low-Church Anglican Wotton would in his "Observations"[603] – to treat the *Tale* as a Trojan horse that, under the guise of the expected confessional assaults, sought to undermine religion itself. The theological learning that the author must have acquired (he was "first a Schollar, and then a Rake") was being turned against the institutions it was meant to serve, and used to ridicule all revelation.

These responses seem to trace a familiar pattern, namely that heterodoxy and disbelief have orthodox roots.[604] And yet what this chapter emphasizes is the extent to which this interpretation has its own roots in the very debates that it seeks to explain, at least in the case of

---

[601] Letter-book of Silvester Jenks, MS 29,612 (London, British Library), fol. 25^{r-v}.
[602] On Jenks, see Thompson Cooper and D. Milburn, "Jenks, Silvester", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* < https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:4563/10.1093/ref:odnb/14742 > [accessed 12th December 2018].
[603] See above, chapter 1, 21-22.
[604] See e.g. Justin Champion, *Republican Learning* (Manchester, 2003), 190-212; Joseph Levine, "From Tradition to History", in Grafton and Salmon (eds.), *Historian and Ideologues* (Rochester, 2001), 181-210; Quantin, "Anglican Scholarship Gone Mad?".

the *Tale*. To unpack the previous sentence, we may look at another competing interpretation offered by a friendlier reader of the *Tale*. Francis Atterbury (the High-Church propagandist and future dean of Christ Church) wrote to the bishop of Exeter Jonathan Trelawny in June 1704, urging him to read the *Tale* as a book that "comes from Christ Church", and (in a later letter) hoping that the authors of the *Tale* (whom he misidentifies) would employ their pens further, for "they would be able to do service".[605] Certainly he was referring to the role of the 'Christ Church wits' in the Phalaris controversy; and yet not only did this controversy, as I showed in the second chapter, hide deeper concerns, but there were also other, more political and ecclesiastical meanings in Atterbury's reference to the 'service' that the *Tale* performed,[606] and even, as I will argue, some theological implications. In this chapter, the case of the *Tale* will once again trace a pattern that may shed light on what has been provocatively identified by William Bulman as the 'Anglican Enlightenment'.[607]

There is then a divergence of interpretation regarding the purpose and efficacy of the *Tale* between Jenks and Wotton on the one hand and Atterbury on the other. According to the former interpretation, the polemical threshold of the *Tale* miscellany is an outward one: the line of combat separates revelation and irreligion, piety and freethinking. Conversely, the latter encourages us to look inward: the *Tale* is a text that fights an internal battle, with an ideal version of Anglicanism pitted against the degenerate Christianity of rival confessions and schismatic sects (or even of variant forms of Anglicanism), and their associated cultural decadence that would foster further corruption.

Ever since its first publication, further explications of the *Tale* have been defined by these divergent fault-lines.[608] Some readings have gravitated towards the former, 'outward' view,

---

[605] Francis Atterbury, *The Epistolary Correspondence of Francis Atterbury*, 4 vols. (London, 1783-1787), 3, 203, 214.
[606] These have been highlighted by Ian Higgins, *Swift's Politics*, 96-143, 100-101.
[607] William Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648-1715* (Cambridge, 2015).
[608] For a review of how the 'myth' of Swift's irreligion emerged in his early biographers and influences later critics, see Nathalie Zimpfer, "Swift and Religion: From Myth to Reality", *Swift Studies* 24 (2009), 46-69. On the immediate controversy surrounding the *Tale* at the time of publication, see Frank T. Boyle, "Profane and Debauched Deist", *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988), 25-38.

emphasizing how the use of ridicule was a dangerous weapon in religious debate,[609] arguing for Swift's covert deism or unbelief as opposed to his overt pro-clericalism,[610] and seeing the *Tale* as an inherently subversive work.[611] According to these interpretations, the *Tale* is a prescient text that, by ridiculing modernity, foreshadows modern secular or even materialist concerns. Another, more historicist strand has taken Swift's word about his allegiance to the Church of England, and it has attempted to locate the miscellany in a series of 'inward' polemical contexts, most prominently anti-Romanist apologetics and biblical hermeneutics,[612] and anti-sectarian and anti-enthusiasm attacks,[613] with the label of 'Anglican Rationalism' having proved as longaevous as it has turned out to be ill-defined.[614] These readings tend to stress instead the belatedness of the *Tale* as an eighteenth-century satire that plays by the rules of seventeenth-century controversy.

To overcome the stalemate, we need to recognize that belatedness itself can be timely, and that the semblance of foresight may just be the result of modern short-sightedness. The *Tale* is certainly not a pious book, but it does not follow thence that it is inwardly subversive of all

---

[609] E.g. Lund, *Ridicule, Religion and the Politics of Wit*, 155-187. For an earlier treatment on religious ridicule, see Raymond A. Anselment, *'Betwixt Jest and Earnest'* (Toronto, 1979).
[610] Most recently, Sarah Ellenzweig, *The Fringes of Belief* (Stanford, 2008), 83-131; but also, Michael DePorte, "The Road to St Patrick's", *Swift Studies* 8 (1993), 5-17, and *id.*, "Swift, God, and Power", in Fox and Tooley (eds.), *Walking Naboth's Vineyard* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1995), 73-97.
[611] Warren Montag, *The Unthinkable Swift* (London, 1994), who goes as far as claiming that Wotton was Swift's "most acute critic" (84); on the *Tale*'s inherent 'subversiveness' in style and thought, see also Claude Rawson, "The Character of Swift's Satire", in Rawson (ed.), *The Character of Siwft's Satire* (Newark, 1983), 21-82, esp. 71.
[612] E.g. Walsh, "Text, 'Text', and Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*"; Paul J. Korshin, "Swift and Typological Narrative in *A Tale of a Tub*", in Bloomfield (ed.), *The Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 67-91.
[613] The line of enquiry into 'anti-puritanism' has grown out of the older work of C. M. Webster, "Swift's *Tale of a Tub* Compared with Earlier Satire of the Puritans", *PMLA* 47 (1932), 171-178; "Swift and some Earlier Satirists of Puritan Enthusiasm", *PMLA* 48 (1933), 1141-1153; "The Satiric Background of the Attacks on the Puritans in Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *PMLA* 50 (1935), 210-233. For more recent treatments, see Ormsby-Lennon, "Swift and the Quakers, I", "Swift and the Quakers, II". But see also the cautions of Carole Fabricant, "The Voice of God and the Actions of Men", in Real and Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift* (München, 1998), 141-154. On the tradition of 'anti-enthusiasm', see Michael Heyd, *'Be Sober and Reasonable'* (Leiden, 1995).
[614] Phillip Harth, *Swift and Anglican Rationalism* (Chicago, 1961) is still the main reference point for the religious intellectual history behind the *Tale*. See the re-assessments by Michael DePorte ("Phillip Harth's *Swift and Anglican Rationalism*: A Restrospective Evaluation"), Peter J. Schakel ("The Context of Phillip Harth's *Swift and Anglican Rationalism*"), Michael J. Conlon ("*Swift and Anglican Rationalism*: A Restrospective Review"), Marcus Walsh ("*Swift and Anglican Rationalism* and the Grounds of Interpretation"), and Phillip Harth himself ("Recent Religious History and *A Tale of a Tub*"), all in *Swift Studies* 14 (1999), 5-6, 7-12, 13-20, 21-28, 29-36 respectively. But see the cautions on the elusive meaning of 'reason', see the cautions of Lotte Mulligan, "'Reason', 'Right Reason', and 'Revelation'", in Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1984), 375-402, and by John Spurr, "'Rational Religion' in Restoration England", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49/4 (1988), 563-585.

religion. Concomitantly, its reactionary outlook must not lead us to assume that Swift subscribed to a monolithic idea of what 'Anglicanism' was.[615] Anglican orthodoxy itself must be understood dynamically, as a system of beliefs that, in the words of J. G. A. Pocock, "has its own history, is in history and has history in it".[616] As I will argue, the competing interpretations of the *Tale* as looking either 'inwards' or 'outwards' are not binaries, but rather the product of tensions that were themselves operative and fertile in the Anglican theology that shaped Swift's 'satyre'. This chapter will thus show how a turn to the history of theology can make us discern a novel dimension to the most entrenched cruxes of literary criticism; conversely, integrating the *Tale* into the 'history of orthodoxy' will enlighten the intellectual vitality of Anglicanism, at a time of profound transformations both in doctrine and in the apologetic methods by which doctrine was upheld.[617]

A passage in John Hawkesworth's *Life of Swift* with a manuscript annotation by John Lyon captures these hermeneutical cruxes (Lyon's strikethrough):

> An Abhorrence of Hypocrisy, was a striking Particular in *Swift*'s Character, but it is difficult to determine, whether it was more a Virtue than a Vice, for it brought upon him the Charge of irreligion, ~~and encouraged others to be irreligious~~ [Lyon corrects: "among the Fanaticks & other Formalists"]. In proportion as he abhorred Hypocrisy, he dreaded the Imputation of it, and therefore concealed his Piety, with as much Diligence as others conceal those Vices, which Custom has not made reputable.[618]

For Hawkesworth, Swift's hypersensitiveness to religious hypocrisy betrayed him into subtler forms of opacity through concealment and minimization; moreover, this hiding of piety enabled others to reveal their irreligion. Lyon, however, refines further: the very charge that concealment takes place in Swift is the result of an interpretative rigidity ('formalist') that characterized precisely the zealous Christian extremists ('fanatics') that Swift sought to attack.

---

[615] This is the tendency of many studies on Swift's 'orthodoxy' – see e.g. Marcus Walsh, "Swift and Religion", in Fox (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge, 2003), 161-176; Irvin Ehrenpreis, "The Doctrine of *A Tale of a Tub*", in Real and Vienken (eds.), *Proceedings* (München, 1985), 59-71.
[616] Pocock, "Within the Margins", 35.
[617] See especially Quantin, *Church of England*; Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*; and Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom* –all works have subverted the conception of 'Anglicanism' around the turn of the eighteenth century.
[618] NAL 48.D.39 (London, National Art Library), 158.

Thus, the divergent thresholds open up, inside and outside, at the very sources of Swiftian exegesis. It is then unsurprising that a modern biography of Swift claimed in its title to be 'reversing a hypocrite',[619] and that a collection of essays called him the 'enigmatic Dean',[620] emphasizing the elusive, spectral quality of his writings, which still seem to preserve an agency to haunt, tease and vex their readers (Swift included).[621] So far, this thesis has eschewed digging into Swift's personality to account for his works, while pursuing instead the different genealogies of ideas and practices that came to shape, or surrounded, and by surrounding defined, the *Tale*. It would not be unfair to describe my methods as purposefully jettisoning the category of the 'author', a category that has dominated Swiftian scholarship. This chapter will not renege on these premises. Rather, it seeks to qualify the problems that plagued Swift's early biographers as well as the later literary critics of his works, and to do so by taking, once again, a double perspective that is both micro- and macroscopic, thus hoping to do justice to the intellectual dynamism of Swift's book as well as of the ecclesiastical establishment of which he was part.

On the one hand, I will therefore consider the theological books that Swift was reading, the traces that he left in them, and finally the textual history of the *Tale* itself, from the first 1704 to the fifth 1710 edition.[622] These minutiae will prove that Swift was not just exposed to doctrinal texts that thematised the problems of an internal versus external religion, but also that he was himself responsible, in the 1710 edition, for overwriting the inward confessional polemics that characterized the *Tale* (and that the foregoing chapters have enlarged upon) with an outward face that looked to freethinking as its real essential target.

---

[619] David Nokes, *Jonathan Swift, a Hypocrite Reversed* (Oxford, 1985).
[620] Rudolf Freiburg, Arno Löffler, and Wolfgang Zach (eds.), *Swift, the Enigmatic Dean: Festschrift for Hermann Joseph Real* (Tübingen, 1998).
[621] The use of biography in criticism is widespread in Swiftian scholarship – see e.g. Irvin Ehrenpreis, *The Personality of Jonathan Swift* (London, 1958), and, for a recent deployment of 'Swift's temperament' as a critical lens, see Claude Rawson, *Swift's Angers* (Cambridge, 2014), esp. 1-18; on Swift's treatment of his own posterity, see Alan D. Chalmers, *Jonathan Swift and the Burden of the Future* (Newark, 1995); on the 'spectral' and 'conjuring' quality of Swift, see Hugh Ormsby-Lennon, "Swift's Spirit Reconjured", *Swift Studies* 3 (1988), 9-78, and for images of foreboding and exorcism, see David Womersley, "'Now Deaf 1740'", in Rawson (ed.), *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift* (Cambridge, 2010), 162-184.
[622] For the details of the *Tale*'s textual history, see David Wooley, "The Textual History of *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 21 (2006), 7-26; and James E. May, "The Duodecimo Editions of Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* ('1711') and *A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub* (1714)", in Juhas, Real, and Simon (eds.), *Reading Swift* (München, 2013), 95-129.

On the other, a broader history of Anglican orthodoxy will delineate the forces that operated on the *Tale*, and that the *Tale* itself attempted to turn to polemical advantage. It will show how the Church of England negotiated debts to different and sometimes opposing theological traditions, and how it came to elaborate its own distinctive confessional profile. One controversy above all, which shook Anglicanism between the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, will highlight the tensions that spurred this process of renegotiation: the trinitarian debates. Swift's engagement with this controversy and his writings on the doctrine of the Trinity will enlighten a foundational tension in his works and in Anglicanism itself between an external profession of faith and internal belief.

This double perspective will be structured on a chronological progression: a consideration of Swift's theological reading in the 1690s will set out the problems that found their way into the *Tale*; it will then lead me to consider the contemporary trinitarian debates, dwelling on Swift's different responses to them at different times. Finally, I will analyse the 1710 edition, its circumstances, and especially the 'Apology' that Swift prefixed to the text, which I will read both against the long backdrop of the theological and apologetic shifts in Anglicanism, and against the more immediate one of Swift's own development as a religious thinker. I hope thus to offer, by way of conclusion, some answers to the issues that chapter 1 has raised, namely Swift's reasons for shifting away from vitriolic, confessionally controversial and theologically open-ended 'satyre' towards the more familiar forms of his later career as a satirist. The recurring baseline will be that most vexing critical problem of the relation between inward and outward hermeneutics, and, in parallel, between belief and allegiance.

I. Swift's Theological Reading

Consider two *loci* in Swift's library:

A leather-bound folio of the first edition of William Laud's *Conference with Fisher* (1639) – a piece of anti-Catholic polemics written by the soon-to-be-beheaded archbishop of

Canterbury against the Jesuit John Percy (*alias* Fisher).[623] On the flyleaf, an erased but still legible inscription records that the volume was a gift from Sir William Temple, dated 16th April 1692.[624] Below the inscription, a much older Swift wrote this *judicium* of the book:

> This Book is not ill writt, but in some parts too Theologically nice for me. It excuseth him [Laud] entirely from being Popishly inclined, and equally excuseth his Master [Charles I]. Yet they both lost their Heads as Favourites of Popery; I mean on that Pretence; for the Murderers knew that they both were innocent on that Article. The Author seemes also to have a Tast of Wit, and was surely well skilld in the Controversy he handles.
>
> May.15.th 1735.
>
> Jonath Swift

In the text, Swift left other traces of his readings of the book, among which a crossmark in pencil and a marginal comment in ink next to this this passage in Laud's dedicatory epistle to Charles I:

> *'Tis true, the* Inward Worship *of the Heart, is the* Great Service of God […] *But the* Externall worship of God *in his Church is the* Great Witnesse *to the World, that Our heart stands right in that* Service of God. […] Your Majesty, *These* Thoughts *are they, and no other, which have made me labour so much, as I have done, for* Decency *and an Orderly settlement of the* Externall Worship of God in the Church. *For that which is* Inward *there can be no* Witnesse *among men, nor no* Example *for men.*[625]

In response to Laud's description of his efforts, Swift writes: "For which he sufferd much Obloquy" – presumably referring to the suspicion raised by Laud's ceremonialism that he might indeed be "Popishly inclined".

Secondly, consider Swift's copy of the *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique* by the French Catholic bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, renowned stylist, preacher, and apologist during the reign of Louis XIV. The book is listed in the 1715 inventory of Swift's library, which makes it likely that he acquired it early in life, together with most of his other books of divinity.[626] Once again, some marginal dashes in pencil highlight the passages that presumably captivated Swift's interest: on page 16, in the course of a defence of the Catholic veneration of saints against

---

[623] William Laud, *A Relation of the Conference betweene William Lawd […] and Mr. Fisher* (London, 1639). See *Library and Reading*, 2, 1044-1047. Swift's copy is now in a private collection, but all markings were catalogued by C. P. Daw, "'A Tast of Wit'", in Fisher, Real, and Wooley (eds.), *Swift and his Contexts* (New York, 1989), 159-174.

[624] The erasure is in Swift's typical circular overwriting; see Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, 97-110.

[625] Laud, *Conference*, sig. *3r-v.

[626] See *Library and Reading*, 1, 271-273. Swift possessed a 1681 Brussels edition, from which I quote. From a comparison of the 1715 and 1745 inventories of Swift's library, it seems that all the books of theology that he possessed had already been acquired before 1715, most likely in the 1690s as he prepared to take holy orders; Dirk F. Passmann suggest 1702 as a possible date for Swift's acquisition of the Bossuet volume – see "Jonathan Swift as a Book Collector", *Swift Studies* 27 (2012), 7-68, 12.

Protestant misrepresentations of it, a dash draws our attention to Bossuet's conviction that 'outward worship is established to bear witness to the inward feelings of the soul';[627] on the next page (about image-worship), another dash marks a sentence expressing the necessity of "quelques marques exterieures" (such as self-humiliation in front of an image) in order to 'bear witness' to the extent of our submission to God.[628]

We have then two books of confessional apologetics from mutually opposing camps, and also two sets of marginal marks which in turn bear witness to a point of significant overlap and of tension: the necessity to turn an internal faith into an external token of worship, inward orthodoxy into outward orthopraxy. But, if Laud and Bossuet saw such outward signs as marks of sincerity, for Swift they are the grounds of obloquy – an ambiguous show which certainly proves Catholic hypocrisy, and from which Laud may have to be 'excused' by writing his book of controversial theology to establish his 'innocence'. Such obloquy (at least in the case of Laud) may be unfounded, but it is natural enough, considering how, in his cross-reading beyond confessional lines, Swift was marking passages whose intersection might indeed call into doubt the external professions of the disputants, and substantiate the possibility that their speech and actions are but 'pretence'. Here then, in these markings, we already find the problems that Hawkesworth would impute to Swift's 'abhorrence of hypocrisy': if there can be no witness 'for that which is inward', and yet what is outward necessarily attracts misgivings about the sincerity of its proponent, what space is left untainted by suspicion?

The *Tale*, as Swift's own 'testimony' offered to the Church of England, is invested with this ambivalence: the obliqueness of its 'witnessing' by foolish personae may turn its confessional attacks, waged *within* the precincts of Christianity, into evidence that its author covertly belongs *without* it. In other words, it is in the crucible of theological polemics inside Christianity that was

---

[627] Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique* (Brussels, 1681), 16: "le culte exterieur [est] établi pour témoigner les sentimens interieurs de l'ame". Swift's copy is now in the Kroch Library (Ithaca), shelfmark BX1750.B74.1681.

[628] *Ibid.*, 16-17. The dashes concentrate between 16-21 and between 80-98 (the end of the work), drawing attention to passages defending Catholic doctrines such as transubstantiation, eucharist in one kind only, the apostolic origin of oral traditions, the necessity of submission to the church, the primacy of the Pope.

forged the interpretative framework which sees Swift himself as a religious hypocrite. Around the concept of 'witnessing' clustered a series of tensions that are unresolved and yet foundational, in the *Tale* as well as in the Anglican theology that the *Tale* channelled. An understanding of the *Tale* miscellany cannot neglect the detail of the theological debates in which it was steeped.

Take then another theological *locus* present Swift's library: early in the first part of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (of which Swift initially possessed a copy of the fourth edition, and, after 1715, he acquired another copy of the final fifth edition),[629] the reformer formulated his doctrine of the 'internal testimony of the Spirit' as the principle by which we know the canonical Scriptures to be of divine authority.[630] Arguing against Catholic reliance on the judgement of a human church to validate Scripture as divine, Calvin maintained that the Holy Spirit operates within the singular readers of Scripture by offering an 'internal testimony' that 'affixes a seal' (*obsignat*) to the heart, bearing witness to the fact that the text is the word of God.[631] In the fifth edition of the *Institutio* Calvin had even gone further, to the point of affirming a double operation of the Holy Spirit in Scripture: firstly, the Spirit externally came down to the biblical prophets to inspire them and dictate the divine revelation, and secondly, this same Spirit works internally in the hearts of modern readers of the Bible to persuade them that this revelation has been faithfully recorded.[632]

Compare this with the flippancy of the *Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*: the virtuoso speaking therein seeks to counter the denial "by certain Criticks, that the *Spirit* can by any means be introduced into an Assembly of Modern Saints, the Disparity being so great in many material

---

[629] See *Library and Reading*, 1, 330-335. Of the fourth edition Swift possessed a 1553 Geneva copy; of the fifth, a 1561 Strasbourg copy.
[630] On this and the elaboration of the doctrine in Reformed scholasticism, see Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, 2003-2006), 2, 255-285, esp. 257-260 and 266-267.
[631] John Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Geneva, 1553), fol. 5r: "[…] altius pete[n]da, quàm ab humanis vel rationibus, vel indiciis, vel coniecturis, Scripturæ authoritas: nempe ab interiori Spiritus sancti testificatione […] tantum nunc sciamus, veram demum esse fidem, quam Spiritus Dei cordibus nostris obsignat".
[632] Calvin, *Institutio Religionis Christianae* ([Strasbourg], 1561), 16: "Idem ergo Spiritus qui per os Prophetarum loquutus est, in corda nostra penetret necesse est, vt persuadeat fideliter protulisse quod diuinitus erat mandatum".

Circumstances, between the Primitive Age of Inspiration, and that which is practised in the present Age".[633] But, the virtuoso replies:

> Now, the Force of these Objections, seems to consist in the different Acceptation of the Word, *Spirit:* which if it be understood for a supernatural Assistance, approaching from without, the Objectors have Reason, and their Assertions may be allowed; but the Spirit we treat of here, proceeding entirely from within, the Argument of these Adversaries is wholly eluded.[634]

Swift thus has his foolish persona confuse and call into question Calvin's double operation of the Spirit by distinguishing inspiration without and inspiration within – which indirectly grants the premise of his 'critics', who stress the "Disparity" of 'primitive' versus modern inspiration. After all, the insidious implications of Calvinist pneumatology had already been exploded in the *Tale*'s heresiographic section on Jack's descendants, the "Learned *Æolists*",[635] who, just like the ancient Montanists, believe both in the materiality of the human spirit and in the direct revelations afforded by such private inspiration. Indeed, just as the question of inspiration plagued the biblical criticism of Isaac Vossius,[636] so did it capture the interest of many Anglican apologists seeking, like Swift, to find a weapon (we may even say a 'prescription') to wield against both Catholics and Dissenters. We can trace this interest in the *Tale* itself, in contemporary Anglican apologetics, and especially in Swift's theological reading.

Thus, at the close of the narrative of the *Tale*, we hear of how, although Peter and Jack abhorred and constantly tried to avoid each other, "it was their perpetual Fortune to meet".[637] The narrator thus explains the coincidence: "the Phrenzy and Spleen of both, having the same Foundation, we may look upon them as Pair of Compasses, equally extended, and the fixed Foot of each, remaining in the same Center".[638] This 'centre' is certainly the operation of the Holy Spirit, and the infallibility that is necessarily attached to such operation. If for Catholics the Holy Spirit operated externally, having been promised to Christ's clerical successors and to the pope pre-eminently, for Dissenters who distorted Calvin in a radical direction, the Spirit operated

---

[633] *Operation*, 174.
[634] *Ibid.*, 175.
[635] *Tale*, 99.
[636] See chapter 2 above, 88-95.
[637] *Tale*, 128.
[638] *Ibid.*

internally in the heart of believers, emboldening them to think infallible what in truth are but their private opinions. George Hickes had been eloquent on this point in his sermon *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised* (1680), the 1709 edition of which was, as mentioned in chapter 3, in Swift's library (together with the appended "History of Montanism").[639] The *Tale*'s 'fixed foot' of Jack and Peter's 'compass' finds a direct parallel in Hickes's refutation of claims to infallibility granted via the operation of the Holy Spirit: the Catholics who ascribe it to the pope, for example, give their religion "a sandy foundation […] [f]or it must be resolved into this Enthusiastical principle of immediate inspiration".[640]

Concurrently, in Swift's copy of Laud's *Conference*, we find this sentence underlined: "Every *Heretick* will shelter himselfe and his *Vanities* under this Colour of *Infallible Verities*".[641] What captured Swift's attention (and won his assent) in this pronouncement? Firstly, it justifies suspicion: any recourse to infallibility by internal inspiration or external assistance of the Holy Spirit should be suspect of heresy, rather than ensure the truth of the claims made by it. But there is more to be discovered by paying attention to the context in which it appears – a context that gives patristic precedent for such suspicion. The sentence is in fact Laud's polemical paraphrase of a passage in Augustine's ninety-seventh 'tractate' on the Gospel of John (the Latin original is in the margin),[642] which Laud is redeploying against the Catholic claim that the Holy Spirit infallibly assists the pope because it was promised by Christ to the apostles and their successors in John 16:13 ("Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth […]" – this is part of Christ's speech to the apostles the night before the crucifixion).

However, in Augustine there is no mention of infallibility, and the polemic is against the heretics who rely on John's preceding verse ("I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now", 16:12) as a justification for Gnostic and magical esoteric doctrines that

---

[639] See chapter 3 above, 169, n. 577.
[640] Hickes, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised* (London, 1680), 37; cf. the 1709 edition (London, 1709), 61.
[641] Laud, *Conference*, 97.
[642] Given in Laud as "*Omnes vel insipientissimi hæretici, qui se Christianos vocare volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum, quas maxime exhorret sensus humanus, hac Occasione Evangelicæ sententiæ* [i.e. John 16:12] *colorare conentur*"; cf. Augustine, 'In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus', XCVII, in *PL*, 35, 1879.

are not revealed in the New Testament. Thus, what in Augustine is a polemic against contemporary Gnosticism and magic becomes in Laud a 'prophecy' of the future Roman Catholic 'heresy' of infallibility: "Saint *Augustine* hath in a manner *prophecyed*" the Catholic perversion of John 16:13 to prove that the pope (and not just the apostles, as the evangelist records) will enjoy the Holy Spirit's guidance into "all truth".[643] This Catholic perversion of John 16:13, Laud implies, is precisely one of those innovations that, according to Augustine, ancient heretics justified on the basis of the esotericism suggested in John 16:12.

This moment of convergence is important not just because it suggests how Swift came to the resolution of writing parts of the *Tale* as heresiography (John 16:12-13 is for example the place that Pamèle accused Tertullian of wresting in favour of Montanism).[644] In fact, it also shows that, in his reading of apologetics, Swift would have been exposed to various intellectual trends that had found in the pretence to inspiration a polemical front that united inter- and infra-confessional enemies (i.e. against Catholics and radical Protestants); a theology that stood in opposition to it could synthesize its apologetic energies on a unified line. Not only was Laud's *Conference* alert to these possibilities, but Swift's further marginalia in his copy of it intimate that he was reading Laud from the perspective of the later seventeenth century, when these possibilities had further solidified, opening, however, further points of tension.

One of these areas of tension that is already latent in Laud is, indeed, the Calvinist inheritance about the 'internal testimony of the Spirit' and its uses in anti-Catholic controversy. Laud's discussion of the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti internum* (though Calvin is not named) occurs in a section of the *Conference* dealing with the question of the resolution of faith, i.e. of the final *locus* of authority in religion. This is unsurprising, considering that Calvin himself had formulated the doctrine in opposition to (and in dialogue with) the Catholic recourse to the present church and its traditions as the ultimate warrant of faith and as the only guarantor of the divinity of Scripture. Laud, however, was careful to eschew, in a confrontation with a Catholic,

[643] Laud, *Conference*, 97.
[644] See chapter 3 above, 169, n. 575.

direct engagement with Calvin: for Laud, the "*Testimonie of the Holy Ghost* […] is most infallible, but […] is not so much as considerable in this Question, which is not, how, or by what means we *believe*, but how the Scripture may be proposed as a *Credible Object*, fit for *Beliefe*".[645] Thus, by reintroducing the Augustinian distinction between *fides qua creditur* (i.e., as Laud put it, "the *Habit, or Act of Divine infused Faith*, by which vertue they doe believe the Credible Object")[646] and *fides quae creditur* ("the Object of Faith that is to bee believed"),[647] Laud sought to neutralize Catholic accusations that "*That we* [Protestants] *resolve all our Faith into the Dictates of a private Spirit*",[648] and to show that in Anglican theology such internal testimony was only operative in the former category of faith, and not in the latter. The question at hand, for Laud, concerned only "such outward, and evident meanes, as other men may take notice of", and the private testimony of the spirit, because internal, has nothing to do in validating Scripture as the object of belief, nor any other articles of faith.[649] Should the opposite be the case, Laud implies, all sorts of 'private revelations' would legitimately disturb the established outward structure of the church. The only form of admissible 'witness' is an external one.

While Swift's copy of Laud does not bear annotations in this discussion, there is other evidence that Swift was reading Laud's anti-Catholic apologetics with an awareness of how its tendency to downplay Calvin's 'internal witness' could be used against radical Protestants. Indeed, a later section on the 'private spirit' attracted Swift's attention, as is evident from the index of the volume, where Swift inserted the lemma "Private Spirit", and keyed it to page 137. The page shows Laud intent on refuting the Catholic imputation of the sin of schism to the Protestants, which the Jesuit Fisher had charged on them by referring to the authority of Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine. Laud retorts that, instead, the "*Prime Cause*" of Protestant separation was the "*Corruptions and Superstitions of Rome*",[650] and that Fisher had misunderstood his authors: St Bernard's sermon quoted by Fisher only talks of the 'superbia' of opposing one's

[645] Laud, *Conference*, 80.
[646] *Ibid.*, 72.
[647] *Ibid.*; the distinction reaches back to Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XIII, 2, 5.
[648] *Ibid.*, 71-72.
[649] *Ibid.*, 74.
[650] *Ibid.*, 136.

private judgement to the "*whole Congregation*" ("*Toti Congregationi*"), i.e. to "that *particular Congregation* to which he was preaching", and not, as Fisher would have it, to the church as a whole.[651] Indeed, Laud adds (and this is probably the passage that captured Swift's attention):

> '[T]is one thing for a private man, *Iudicium suum præferre*, to preferre and so follow his private Iudgement, before the *Whole Congregation*, which is indeed, *Lepra proprii Consilii* (as S. *Bernard* there cals it) the proud Leprosie of the Private Spirit. And quite another thing for an Intelligent man, and in some things unsatisfied, modestly to propose his doubts even to the *Catholike Church*. And much more may a whole Nationall Church, nay the whole Body of the *Protestants* doe it.[652]

As for Augustine, the church father does brand the challenging of established norms with the epithet 'insolentissima insania', but he "speakes there expresly of the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church*"; Augustine's scathing judgement only refers to "Things done, and to be done, and not [to] Things believed, or to be believed", and this only in the universal church (and not in any way in the Roman church).[653] The sins of the 'private spirit', in other words, only become such when an individual, emboldened by his conscience and his personal opinions on the orthodoxy of certain points, challenges the orthopraxy of the church at large.

Fittingly, one final annotation that Swift left in his copy shows him expressing a personal opinion on the appropriateness of one of Laud's arguments about Anglican orthodoxy, which, unsurprisingly, deals with the problem of defining the operation of the Holy Spirit in a way that is distinct both from Calvin and from Roman Catholicism. This annotation occurs in a very 'theologically nice' part of the *Conference*, dealing with the authoritativeness of the ancient ecumenical councils. Here Laud tries to steer a middle course between a denial of the councils' inherent infallibility and the Anglican acceptance of the first four general councils as orthodox,[654] by refuting the claim of the English Catholic theologian Thomas Stapleton (and of Cardinal Bellarmine) that Christ's ministers were provided with a "facultate omnem veritatem infallibiliter docendi".[655]

---

[651] *Ibid.*, 137; for Bernard's sermon 'De Resurrectione', see *PL*, 183, 290 (quoted in the margin in Laud).
[652] *Ibid.*
[653] *Ibid.*, 138; for Augustine's epistle, see *PL*, 33, 202 (quoted in the margin in Laud).
[654] *Ibid.*, 53 (on Anglican acceptance of the first four councils); the section discussing the infallibility of councils is towards the end of the book, 223-280.
[655] Thomas Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Relectio Scholastica & Compendiaria* (Antwerp, 1596), 'Præfatio ad Lectorem', sig. ***3v.

To the Roman Catholic belief that the infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit inheres in councils because it was promised in Scripture to the clerical successors of Christ (and to the Pope pre-eminently), Laud replies that Scripture promises such assistance "to the *Catholike Body of the Church it selfe*": thus, the Holy Spirit inhabits a council only "by *Consequent*" (inasmuch as a true council represents the whole of the church), and its infallibility is conditional on the concord with the church at large and especially with Scripture.[656] If we allow (as Roman Catholics do) the assistance of the Holy Spirit to be unlimited and not subservient to "this Spirit of Truth in the Scripture", then, Laud argues, it would be "applyable to private *Assemblies* as well as *Generall Councels*, which none grant to be Infallible, but some mad *Enthusiasts*".[657] The enthusiastic reliance on the testimony of the Spirit appears dangerously close to the 'inspiration' of ancient councils, and it seems that this section alerted Swift: where Laud writes "That the Assistance of the *Holy Ghost* is without Error; That's no Question, and as little there is, That a Councell hath it",[658] Swift retorts – "this may be disputed".

Upon what grounds did Swift think to dispute Laud's assertion? The unaddressed problem in Laud's discussion is the precise relation between the assistance of the Holy Spirit and infallibility, and the *degree* to which the latter is consequent on the former. In the sentence after the one that Swift thought 'disputable', Laud wrote: "the Doubt that troubles, is, *Whether all assistance of the Holy Ghost be afforded in such a High manner, as to cause all the Definitions of a Councell in matters Fundamentall in the Faith, and in remote Deductions from it, to be alike infallible*".[659] The Jesuit Thomas Carwell (*alias* Thorold), in his reply to Laud, published in 1658 as *Labyrinthus Cantuariensis*, would bring the problem out of the archbishop's "*in such a High manner*" and "*alike infallible*": Laud, according to Carwell, was here foolishly "graduating Infallibility" in his attempt to preserve divine assistance for the ancient councils while at the same time denying their inherent infallibility *qua* councils.[660]

---

[656] Laud, *Conference*, 239.
[657] *Ibid.*
[658] *Ibid.*, 230.
[659] *Ibid.*
[660] Thomas Carwell, *Labyrinthus Cantuariensis* (Paris [=London?], 1658), 245.

Although it is unclear if Swift ever read Carwell's *Labyrinthus*, he certainly did read the next Anglican response to the Jesuit, i.e. Edward Stillingfleet's *A Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion* (1665), tellingly subtitled 'A Vindication of the Archbishop of Canterbury [Laud]'s Relation of a Conference'.[661] Stillingfleet is rather evasive in his rebuff of the Jesuit's "cavil about *a graduated Infallibility*" of church councils: the texts of Scripture on which the controversy hinges, he remarks, only promise a local infallible assistance, "there being no reason at all given, why any *Infallibility* at all is promised by them to the *Church* after the *Apostles* times".[662] Stillingfleet's assertiveness on this matter may have been a kind tactic aimed at evading the problem while preserving the force of the argument used by Laud, in defence of whom he was writing. Swift was not bound by such constraints.

As is clear from his marginal response, Swift's debt to Laud in anti-Catholic controversy was not unmediated, and it indeed reflects the perspective of the later seventeenth century, i.e. of a time when Anglican polemics against Roman infallibility had come to rely on a more fully articulated conception of the nature and rule of faith.[663] Stillingfleet's resolution of the controverted point by way of exegesis of the New Testament passages in question as warranting only a historically circumscribed period of apostolic infallibility shows the influence of another Anglican tradition, which was being incorporated into the recuperation of Laudianism by Restoration divines. This is the scripturalism of William Chillingworth's *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation* (1638), another deeply influential book of anti-Catholic polemics which is listed as borrowed and "lost by Mr Curtis" in the 1715 inventory of Swift's library,[664] and which left a noticeable imprint on the theology of the *Tale*, as well as in other books on Swift's shelves, such as the *Works* of the archbishop of Canterbury John Tillotson.[665]

---

[661] We know this from a letter Swift wrote to his successor in the Irish parish of Kilroot, John Winder, dated 13th January 1698/9: Swift says that he left behind some books in Ireland, and "Stillingfleet's Grounds" is mentioned among those that Winder could keep for himself, as "they might have been usefull to You". To pass this judgement, he must have read the book (Swift, *Correspondence*, 1, 137).
[662] Edward Stillingfleet, *A Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion* (London, 1665), 514.
[663] See Quantin, *Church of England*, 305-309.
[664] *Library and Reading*, 1, 401-403.
[665] *Ibid.*, 3, 1858-1861. Swift owned the third edition of *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr John Tillotson* (London, 1701), which included Tillotson's *Rule of Faith* (1st ed., 1666).

Chillingworth had been especially forthright in his dismissal of an inherent authoritativeness of church councils: having seen that "there are Popes against Popes, Councells against Councells, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a Consent of Fathers of one age against a Consent of Fathers of another age, the Church of one age against the Church of another age", Chillingworth famously claimed that "The BIBLE, I say, The BIBLE only, is the Religion of Protestants".[666] In the *Tale*, the status of the father's will as a 'plain and easy' (though wilfully neglected) text is clearly reminiscent of Chillingworth's version of *sola scriptura*,[667] which, as Jean-Louis Quantin notes, was as opposed to Roman Catholic notions of the infallibility of faith as it was hostile to the Calvinist idea of an internal testimony of the Holy Spirit infallibly speaking in Scripture to work faith in the elect.[668]

In fact, according to Chillingworth's conception, a recourse to church tradition is necessary only in order to ascertain that the received Scripture is indeed Scripture, i.e. the revealed word of God. Such an assent does not require any presupposition of infallibility on the part of the church or any internal testimony of the Spirit, and indeed a 'moral certainty' (as opposed to a 'mathematical' or 'metaphysical' one) provides enough ground for an act of faith. This faith is of a historical character, being no different from believing (as Chillingworth put it) in the trustworthiness of "*Cæsars* Commentaries, or the History of *Salust*".[669] This argument was present *in nuce* in Laud (who says that "it is morally as *evident* to any Pagan, that S. *Matthew* and S. *Paul* writ the Gospell, and Epistles which beare their Names, as that *Cicero*, or *Seneca* wrote theirs"),[670] but it is only in Stillingfleet's *Rational Account* that Laud's point is defended with Chillingworth's much more fully articulated theory of moral certainty as the grounds of faith.[671]

---

[666] William Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford, 1638), 375-376. On Chillingwoth's *sola scriptura* see the analysis of Quantin, *Church of England*, 221-228.
[667] On the influence of Chillingworth and other apologists on the *Tale* in relation to the status of Scripture, see Walsh, "Text, 'Text', and Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*".
[668] Quantin, *Church of England*, 227, 261.
[669] Chillingworth, *Religion of Protestants*, 327.
[670] Laud, *Conference*, 107.
[671] On Stillingfleet's discussion of certainty, see Robert T. Carroll, *The Common-Sense Philosophy of Religion of Bishop Edward Stillingfleet* (The Hague, 1975), 57-79.

According to Stillingfleet, it is preposterous to ask for "*Mathematical evidence*" in religion: those who lived in Christ's time but did not see his miracles needed the same moral certainty to believe as we do now, the tradition of the church being "a kind of *derivative* and *perpetuated sensation* to us; it being of the same use to *us* now which our *eyes* and *ears* had been, if we had been actually present when *Christ* delivered his Doctrine and wrought his Miracles".[672] When Catholics postulate the need for a judge made infallible by the Holy Spirit (the pope) to authenticate the infallibility of doctrine, they but "beg the Question, and suppose that already to be [i.e. infallibility], which you are proving the *existence* of";[673] only a moral conviction that the historical evidence is reliable and trustworthy is necessary for an act of faith.

What we can see happening in these exchanges is a profound transformation within the margins and under the surface of Anglican orthodoxy, as apologists strove to make a case for the distinctive profile of the Church of England in explicit opposition to the Romanist claim of papal infallibility, but also, implicitly, to Calvin's 'internal testimony'. In parallel, Chillingworth's ideas about degrees of certainty,[674] which were developed in a similarly anti-Catholic and anti-Calvinist context, were rather silently incorporated into the fabric of Restoration Anglicanism. In a church that increasingly based its identity on a recourse to the fathers, Chillingworth's scripturalism, and the anti-patristic stance with which he would later come to be associated,[675] were against the theological trend. Swift's comment dissenting from Laud's claim of conciliar infallibility reveals the extent of this unobtrustive transformation, just as his other marginalia emphasize his compliance with a Laudian vision of external conformity of worship. Indeed, it was exactly the question of conciliar authority that, in the later seventeenth century, would lead to renewed theological wrangling,[676] for, if a historically grounded scripturalism together with the early

---

[672] Stillingfleet, *Rational Account*, 205-206.
[673] *Ibid.*, 206.
[674] On these ideas and their influence on scientific discourses of 'certainty', see H. G. Van Leeuwen, *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought, 1630-1690* (The Hague, 1963), esp. 15-32.
[675] On the later association of Chillingworth and the French Protestant Jean Daillé's anti-patristic manual *Traité de l'Emploi des Saints Pères* (1632), but also on the convergence of their ideas, see Quantin, *Church of England*, 238-240. On Daillé, see *id.*, "Un Manuel Anti-Patristique", in Frank, Leinkauf, and Wriedt (eds.), *Die Patristik in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2006), 299-325.
[676] See Paul C. H. Lim, *Mystery Unveiled* (Oxford, 2012), 217-270.

fathers were to be the basis of faith, then a number of problems would remain extant, most prominently the Trinity. In fact, the outlines of trinitarian doctrine were hardly definable on the authority of the 'primitive church',[677] let alone on scriptural bases. The doctrine had acquired solidity only during the conciliar period of the ancient church, especially out of the rulings of the first ecumenical council held at Nicaea in 325 CE, which had anathematized the heretical teachings of Arius on the subject of Christ's divinity.

Unsurprisingly, then, in the later seventeenth century and especially in the 1690s, the Trinity turned, from a mystery of faith and an object of devotion, into the foremost problem in theology.[678] In the 1630s, Chillingworth could still follow his premises to their conclusion and say (in a private letter) that "whosoever shall freely and impartially consider [the Trinitarian theology of the ante-Nicene fathers] […] he shall […] confesse […] that the Doctrine of *Arrius* is eyther a Truth, or at least no damnable Hæresy".[679] For Swift, writing at the turn of the eighteenth century, however, pursuing the apologetic line against Catholic infallibility and Calvin's 'internal testimony' developed by Laud, Chillingworth, and Stillingfleet was a much more complex business. The resurgence of Arianism that characterized the turn of the century was certainly a product of these theological premises;[680] and in fact, as we shall see in the next section, Swift's own writings bear the traces of the struggle with the phantom of Arius. What is striking is the rigid boundary that these problems created between public profession and private admission, while 'satyre' offered a less determinate space in which unorthodox ideas could be explored under the guise of attack.

Indeed, the Trinity, because of its dependence on other issues such as the divinity or humanity of Christ (and indeed the operation of the Holy Spirit), was seen as a liminal doctrine

---

[677] On the fluidity of the term, see John C. English, "The Duration of the Primitive Church", *Anglican and Episcopal History* 73/1 (2004), 35-52.
[678] This is the formulation of Philip Dixon, *'Nice and Hot Disputes'* (London, 2003), 1.
[679] The letter, undated, is quoted by Thomas Birch in his "Life of Chillingworth" prefixed to Chillingworth, *Works*, 10th ed. (London, 1742), v; quoted and discussed by Quantin, *Church of England*, 228.
[680] On turn-of-the-century British Arianism, see Maurice Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy* (Oxford, 1996), 62-164.

that traced a line between Christians and other religions.[681] Thus, the inter-confessional front that we have been considering so far started to verge towards a problem that, while stemming from within the history of Christian orthodoxy, outlined the confines of Christianity against a 'Socinianism' (the antitrinitarian doctrine of Fausto Sozzini, d. 1604) that was perceived as a non-Christian theology.[682] In other words, these developments were not the result of challenges from radicals outside the established church, but they rather arose within Anglicanism itself, in the process of renegotiation of its debts to different strands of Reformed theology.[683] To follow Swift's oblique pronouncements on the Trinity in the *Tale* and other texts enables us to see the future dean of St Patrick's becoming aware of this emergent 'external front', and of the 'satyrical' occasions that its ambivalence afforded in controversy and theology.

II. Swift and the Trinitarian Debates

One of the charges that both Wotton and Jenks separately brought against the *Tale* to prove its blasphemy is that its author "looks asquint at the TRINITY"[684] in his "banter[ing] the profound Number Three; the profound Mystery of the Most B. Trinity".[685] Their reference is to the hack's projected "Panegyrical Essay" upon "the profound Number *THREE*"[686] which appears both in the initial list of mock-books by the hack "which will be speedily published",[687] and also at the very outset of the *Tale*, in the first section (the "Introduction"). As usual, in doing so, they were exploiting the ambiguity of the parodic persona to read the speech of the hack as Swift's own.[688]

---

[681] See Martin Mulsow, "The Trinity as Heresy", and *id.*, "Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship", *Al-Qanṭara* 31/2 (2010), 549-586.
[682] On the history of Socinianism in England, see, for older treatments Herbert McLachlan's *The Story of a Nonconformist Library* (Manchester, 1923) and *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1951), and E. M. Wilbur's *A History of Unitarianism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946); more recently, Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2010).
[683] This is especially well captured in Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians* (Oxford, 2008).
[684] Wotton, "Observations", 219.
[685] BL, MS 29,612, fol. 16^{v}.
[686] *Tale*, 37.
[687] *Ibid.*, 4.
[688] Cf. Wotton, "Observations", 224: "in other Places, where [the author] speaks in his own Person, and imitates none but himself, he discovers an equal mixture of Lewdness and Irreligion. Would any Christian compare a *Mountebank*'s-*Stage*, a *Pulpit*, and a *Ladder* together?", referring to the three machines that make up the hack's mock-Trinity.

And yet, they were also picking on a *locus* whose possible 'satyrical' meanings were shifting significantly as the climate of suspicion about trinitarian statements set in after the 1690s. An analysis of this passage will highlight the different apologetic trends in operation in the *Tale*, and consequently the tensions that Swift was attempting to hold in balance, both at the time of writing the miscellany, and in his later writings of the 1700s.

The "Introduction" starts with the hack heaping praise on "three wooden Machines, for the Use of those Orators who desire to talk much without Interruption", and therefore need to elevate themselves into "*Edifices in the Air*" to address a rumbling crowd below.[689] These machines are the pulpit, the ladder (leading up to the gallows), and the stage-itinerant. To make matters even more bizarre, the hack goes into foolish raptures about the 'profound number three', which he has reached "in imitation of that prudent Method observed by many other Philosophers and great Clerks, whose chief Art in Division has been, to grow fond of some proper mystical Number, which their Imaginations have rendered Sacred".[690] That a mock-Trinity lies behind this "Physico-logical Scheme of Oratorial Receptacles or Machines" is further suggested by the hack's assertion that they contain "a great Mystery, being a Type, a Sign, an Emblem, a Shadow, a Symbol" – with the enumeration purposely heaping up theological terms without discrimination.[691] And yet, aside from Wotton's and Jenk's antagonistic interpretation, there are two further and interrelated ways to account for Swift's 'satyrical' move, both of which are 'internal' to the history of doctrine as well as looking 'outward', at how heterodox forms of Christianity could lead to a breakdown of all religion. One relates to the familiar context of anti-enthusiastic attack, while the other arises from the more problematic theological disputations on the Trinity that were taking place in the 1690s.

To follow the former line of enquiry we must focus on the ladder. Although interpretation is deliberately obstructed by a "*Hiatus in MS.*" obscuring the hack's explication of why the ladder

[689] *Tale*, 34.
[690] *Ibid.*, 37.
[691] *Ibid.*, 39.

leading up to the scaffold is "an adequate Symbol of *Faction*",[692] a hint can be gathered from the placement of the machine in the second place after the pulpit, which makes it coincide with the second person of the Trinity, Christ the Son. From his reading (e.g. Henry More's *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, 1656), Swift would have known of a venerable tradition of new Messiahs in the radical Reformation, one of whom (the Anabaptist leader David Jorisz, *alias* David George) is explicitly mentioned in the *Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*,[693] alongside John of Leiden (the 'king of Münster' during the Anabaptist rebellion of 1534-5) and Adam Neuster (the Arian Calvinist theologian turned convert to Islam, d. 1576).[694] Not only was the theology of most of these radicals openly antitrinitarian,[695] but their self-presentations as new Christs sometimes led them to imitate, in what appeared as a blasphemous parody, the events narrated in the Gospels, up to the cry of dereliction pronounced by Christ on the cross,[696] when they were about to be executed.[697]

The impression that Swift's second machine is a mock-passion in the vein of the radical Reformation is also reinforced by the hack's Hobbesian explanation of the appositeness of the ladder as a symbol of faction "because it is a Preferment attained by transferring of Propriety, and a confounding of *Meum* and *Tuum*". In fact, in *Leviathan* (a copy of which Swift annotated),[698] Thomas Hobbes had described the civil laws as the "Rules of Propriety (or *Meum* and *Tuum*) and of *Good*, *Evill*, *Lawfull*, and *Unlawfull* in the actions of Subjects"[699] as opposed to the 'state of war', in which "there be no Propriety, no Dominion, no *Mine* and *Thine* distinct".[700] Through this

---

[692] *Ibid.*, 40.
[693] *Operation*, 185; cf. Henry More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (London, 1656), 32-33: "That *David George* is the *true Christ* and *Messias*, the dear Son of God, born not of the flesh but of the holy Ghost and Spirit of Christ, which God had reserved in a secret place, his body being reduced to nothing, and has infused it wholly into the soul of *David George*".
[694] On Swift and Neuster, see Dirk F. Passmann, "The Dean and the Turk", *Swift Studies* 22 (2007), 113-145, 133-139.
[695] On Neuster's anti-trinitarianism, see Christopher J. Burchill, *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians* (Baden-Baden, 1989).
[696] Cf. Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34 ("My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?").
[697] See Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall*, 86-95.
[698] *Library and Reading* 2, 869-886. The copy is lost.
[699] Thomas Hobbes, *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan*, ed. Malcolm (Oxford, 2012), vol. 4, 274.
[700] *Ibid.*, 196.

evocation of Hobbes's state of war, the hack's ladder is thus linked to a crucial point of the political theology of the Protestant radicals, i.e. the abolition of private property, and to the civil war and violence that religious radicalism was invariably believed to unleash.[701]

And yet, if on the one hand the hack's mock-trinity is a polemical vehicle for an attack against enthusiasm, on the other it could not but carry additional implications in the context of the trinitarian controversy. Indeed, the controversy starkly exposed, in William Bulman's words, a "problem of public theology".[702] It raised, as Brent S. Sirota recently argued, a political and institutional question, as well as a theological one, about who were the true guardians of orthodoxy, and who had the power to restrict or define the methods by which doctrine was to be taught and explicated.[703] In fact, the most vexing aspect of the debates was how the Anglican front against Unitarians and freethinkers splintered into smaller groups of churchmen disagreeing about the proper way of understanding and explicating the Trinity, while the antitrinitarians co-opted that most Anglican format of discussion, the synthetic historical treatise, with the aim of proving (rightly) that ante-Nicene 'primitive' Christianity was non-trinitarian.[704] In doing so, the freethinkers were also drawing from long-standing confessional controversy, for Catholic scholars had insisted on the non-trinitarian theology of the ante-Nicene fathers to stress the necessity of a recourse to unwritten ecclesiastical traditions against Protestant scripturalism.[705]

The imbrication and indeed the fragmentation of various polemical fronts was thus painfully exposed in a series of debates carried out in English, pitting Anglican apologists against one another, and opening up novel and more oblique argumentative strategies that exploited the rifts within orthodoxy itself. To see the hack's mock-trinity in this light enables us to join the anti-

---

[701] On Swift and Hobbes's state of war, see Jonathan Lamb, "Swift, *Leviathan*, and the Persons of Authors", in Hudson and Santesso (eds.), *Swift's Travels* (Cambridge, 2008), 25-38.
[702] Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, 263.
[703] See Brent S. Sirota, "The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State", *Journal of British Studies* 52/1 (2013), 26-54.
[704] See Kristine L. Haugen, "Transformations of the Trinity Doctrine in English Scholarship", *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3/1 (2001), 149-168; Justin Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken* (Cambridge, 1992), 99-118. This pattern of appropriation was also operative among radicals such as the Quakers, with their exponent Richard Barclay writing formal theological treatises such as his *Theses Theologicae* (1675).
[705] The point was made especially by the Jesuit Denis Petau. On Petau on the Trinity, and on the English reception of his ideas, see Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom*, 455-541.

enthusiasm attack encapsulated in the ladder to a more ambiguous and shifting area of controversy, where debates within orthodoxy were becoming charged with the suspicion of possibly heterodox or even irreligious meanings. This multiplicity of interpretations may have been risky, but it also created a space where 'satyre', with its obliqueness and indirection, could thrive, and perform its intellectual work of detection.

If we accept Bulman's and Sirota's view of the trinitarian debates as a controversy with prominent political and institutional bearing, it may be important to recall at this point Francis Atterbury's evaluation of the *Tale* as a book that "comes from Christ Church". The comment points us to a part of the controversy that involved the Oxford college (and subsequently several Oxford Tories and high-churchmen, Atterbury included), in the person of one of its canons, Robert South,[706] who defended the traditional scholastic language used to describe the Trinity against the novel theological terms introduced by another, more innovative apologist, William Sherlock, dean of St Paul's.[707] Sherlock's *A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity* (1690) in fact borrowed several ideas from the continental Arminian tradition of Jean Le Clerc and Etienne de Courcelles, discarding the terms of Aristotelian scholasticism (and, according to Sherlock's enemies, completely misinterpreting the meaning of the terms used by the church fathers), to propose instead that the concept of 'consciousness' as the key to understanding the 'persons' of the Trinity: the three persons are three infinite minds or spirits, and they are such because each has its own 'self-consciousness' (accounting for divine distinction), while also having a 'mutual consciousness' with the other two persons (accounting for divine unity).[708]

In a series of acerbic rejoinders, South accused Sherlock of dangerous innovation in his reliance on the Arminians and on Descartes:[709] according to South, Sherlock's preposterous

---

[706] On South, see Gerard Reedy, *Robert South, 1634-1716* (Cambridge, 1992), esp. 137-142.
[707] The best account of the Sherlock-South debate is Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*, 129-161.
[708] William Sherlock, *Vindication* (London, 1690), 'Section IV', pp. 45-99; on the debt to continental Arminianism, see Hampton, *ibid.*; see also Udo Thiel, "The Trinity and Human Personal Identity", in Stewart (ed.), *English Philosophy in the Age of Locke* (Oxford, 2000), 217-243.
[709] Robert South, *Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book* (London, 1693), 88: "this Proposition [*Cogito ergo sum*], which *Des Cartes* lays as the Basis and Groundwork of his Philosophy, our Author places with its Heels upwards in his Divinity"; on Le Clerc misguidedly influencing Sherlock, see South, *Tritheism Charged upon Dr. Sherlock's New Notion of the Trinity* (London, 1695), 82-86.

theology led directly to tritheism and polytheism by positing "Three distinct and infinite Minds",[710] and thus turning the Trinity into "a *Council* or *Cabal of Gods*".[711] For South, the only possible explication of the Trinity was via conventional Reformed scholastic arguments, attempting to show that God (who is, emphatically, *one* infinite being) is only 'modally distinguished' into the three persons of the Trinity, each subsisting under a *modus* of God, as "a Posture" is a *modus* of a body.[712] On this point, the Calvinist inheritance of the Church of England had to stand firm. Only Calvin's doctrine of the Son being 'begotten' by the Father only in the 'person' and still 'god of himself' (αὐτόθεος) in the 'essence' could safeguard theology from sliding from Arminianism into Arianism and antitriniarianism by subordinating the Son to the Father.[713] But the deeper problem, for South, lay in the rash attempt by exponents of 'novel' fashionable divinity to explain a mystery of faith, which, by making plain what God had deliberately left obscure, nullified Christianity itself.[714] 'Modern' divinity risked explaining Mystery away by philosophizing theology.

This was a position that Swift shared. The hack's raptures about the 'profound number three' that he has achieved "in imitation of [the] prudent Method [of] other Philosophers" and by an "Art of Division" suggest Sherlock's novel 'tritheistic' divinity as Swift's target. Behind the hack's careless accumulation of theological terms and his ludicrous explanations of them, we catch a glimpse of Sherlock's 'modern' attempt to explain an ancient mystery in reasonable and philosophical terms. Indeed, from an autobiographical manuscript that Swift wrote between 1726-8, we know that "the famous Dr South" had been an "intimate friend" of Swift's Oxford-based uncle Thomas (father of Thomas Swift Jr., who would later claim to be the author of the *Tale*),

---

[710] Sherlock, *Vindication*, 66.
[711] South, 'Several New, Heterodox, and Extraordinary Propositions', in *Tritheism*, sig. a2^{v}.
[712] South, *Animadversions*, 241. On the Reformed doctrine of the Trinity and its terminology, see Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, 4, esp. 143-195.
[713] South, *Animadversions*, 138-139: Sherlock's claim that the Father is 'the fountain of the deity' "affords the Arians and Socinians no small Advantages against this Doctrine". See Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*, 162-191. On the Arminian debates on the Son as αὐτόθεος, see Richard A. Muller, "The Christological Problem in the Thought of Jacob Arminius", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 68/2 (1988), 145-63.
[714] See Sirota, "The Trinitarian Crisis", 46-48.

and that he supported Swift's aunt during her old age after her husband's death.[715] A family connection may not necessarily imply agreement or even extensive familiarity with South's works on Swift's part,[716] but the Sherlock-South debate is instructive on two further aspects. One concerns the role of Calvinism in the reshaping of Anglican orthodoxy: if on the one hand Swift was exposed, through the works I discussed in the previous section, to a tendency that downplayed Calvin's doctrine of Scripture and of the Holy Spirit, on the other the trinitarian controversy starkly exposed the centrality of Calvin's Christology to counter Arminian subordinationism and of Reformed scholasticism in the explication of the Trinity. The second important aspect of the Sherlock-South debate is the way in which the variations that it revealed within Anglican orthodoxy would end up providing materials for attacks against Anglicanism and Reformed Christianity itself. In other words, the debate delineated the interpretative strategies that Jenks and Wotton would later deploy against the *Tale* to prove it blasphemous and irreligious. To explore this further we must in fact turn to the freethinking and Unitarian misconstructions of the debate – texts with which Swift was familiar and that he would later go on to exploit in the 1700s.

The mutual accusations of heterodoxy exchanged by South and Sherlock (often in satirical terms and by dint of obscene innuendos) turned out to be fertile material for caricature. For example, in the heat of the controversy South's position was attacked as a 'nominalist Trinity' (i.e. one essence whose only distinction into three persons was by no more than three names), and as the 'Trinity of Aristotle' or 'Peripatetic Trinity'. The latter charge came anonymously from Stephen Nye, in a book written on behalf of the heterodox Unitarians;[717] the former attack was most fully elaborated by Matthew Tindal, the notorious freethinker and ex-Roman Catholic convert, who, in a short anonymous *Letter to the Clergy* (1694), opposed the 'nominal trinitarianism' of South and others to the 'real' one of Sherlock. This distinction was polemically and disingenuously intended: by simplifying the claims of each camp, and by writing under the

[715] Swift, "The family of Swift", in *Prose Works*, 5, 191. The dating of the MS is suggested by Deane Swift, who first published it in 1755 as an appendix to his *Essay upon Dr. Swift*, 7.
[716] Though some points of convergence between Swift and South are explored by Irène Simon, "Swift and South on Enthusiasm", *Swift Studies* 5 (1990), 113-116.
[717] [Stephen Nye], *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity* ([London?], 1693), 19.

persona of a perplexed, unprejudiced believer who simply wants to point out contradictions, Tindal sought to show both trinitarian positions heterodox by the standard of the Anglican church itself: "[the 'nominals'] evidently demonstrate the real or substantial Trinitarians are direct Polytheists, and on the contrary, the Real prove the Nominals no other […] than disguised Unitarians".[718] The variations within Anglican orthodoxy could thus be turned into positions that only outwardly masqueraded as Christianity, and suspicion could drive a wedge between external professions of trinitarianism and supposedly non-trinitarian internal beliefs.

It is no wonder that Wotton and Jenks exploited this fault-line to cast doubt on the *Tale*. The hack's mock-Trinity, though intended 'satyrically' as an attack on the sects beyond the pale of Anglicanism and on those Anglican apologists that had incautiously innovated in theology, could easily be turned into an ambivalent sign that hinted at the author's covert irreligion just as it only awkwardly defended the church. And yet, it was precisely this ambivalence that showed Swift a new, fruitful frontier along which to develop his apologetics. We can see this happening both in Swift's later refutation of Tindal and other freethinkers, entitled *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* (written in 1707-8 and published in 1711), and in the 1710 'Apology' added to the *Tale,* which strove to reorient the polemical horizon of the miscellany. But, before we consider the 'Apology', an analysis of the gestation of *An Argument* will reveal how the tensions within orthodoxy that we have pursued so far pushed Swift to compromise internally as much as to focus on 'external' attacks against freethinking, rather than on the confessional targets that the original *Tale* envisaged.[719]

In 1706, Tindal published an incendiary book entitled *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted,* whose trenchant Erastianism and implicit anti-trinitarianism (evident in the influence of Socinian theology on Tindal's treatment of Christ's office on earth) were intended to destroy the High-Church patristic case for *jure divino* episcopal ecclesiology, especially as it had been upheld

[718] [Matthew Tindal], *A Letter to the Reverend Clergy of Both Universities, Concerning the Trinity and the Athanasian Creed* ([London?], 1694), 31.
[719] The details of the High-Church ideology behind *An Argument* are explored in Ian Higgins, "*An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* and its Contexts", in Real (ed.), *Reading Swift* (München, 2008), 203-223, which covers similar ground to my discussion.

by Atterbury.[720] At first, Swift, like many other apologists, envisaged a point-by-point refutation, a manuscript of which survived and was published posthumously in 1763 as "Remarks upon a Book Intitled *The Rights of the Christian Church*"; however, he quickly abandoned this format to elaborate an attack which cut through Tindal's scholarship and arguments to get to the heart of his (in Swift's opinion) disingenuous stances.[721] In this case, then, we have two texts, one of plain refutation recurring to arguments of divinity, and the other a satire that seemingly abandons theology for oblique polemics. Their comparison is thus very instructive, and, once again, the Trinity turns out to be a vital point linking the two.

An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity is a typically Swiftian *reductio ad absurdum* of freethinking through the foolish persona of a tentative freethinker.[722] According to the sedate 'arguer', England seems justly set on abolishing Christianity altogether – and yet, he argues, caution should be exercised, for such abolishment might carry some drawbacks. That Christianity might indeed have some advantages is perhaps "too great a Paradox, even for our wise and paradoxical age to endure", and the 'arguer' crucially explains it by "borrow[ing] a Distinction from the Writers on the other Side, when they make a Difference between nominal and real *Trinitarians*".[723] In fact, the advantages of Christianity (things such as churches offering meeting-places for gallants, and religion providing a fund of ridicule for the wits) are only those of 'nominal' rather than 'real' Christianity. Indeed, should the bill to abolish Christianity proceed, then, the 'arguer' adds, all religion should be prohibited, "[f]or, as long as we leave in Being a God, and his Providence, […] we do not strike at the Root of the Evil, […] For, of what Use is Freedom of Thought, if it will not produce Freedom of Action; which is the sole End, how remote soever, in Appearance, of all Objections against Christianity?".[724] It is significant that Swift (via

[720] For this analysis of Tindal's *Rights*, I rely on Dmitri Levitin, "Matthew Tindal's *Rights* and the Church-State Relationship", *The Historical Journal* 54/3 (2011), 717-740, 730 (on the influence of Socinian theology on Tindal).
[721] On the relation between the "Remarks" and *An Argument*, see Robert M. Philmus, "Swift's 'Lost' Answer to Tindal", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 22/3 (1980), 369-393.
[722] Cf. J. A. Richardson, "Swift's *Argument*: Laughing Us into Religion", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 13/2 (1989), 35-45.
[723] Swift, *An Argument against Abolishing Christianity*, in *Prose Works*, 2, 27.
[724] *Ibid.*, 37-38.

the 'arguer') proves this to be the case by instancing the example of the Trinity: "This was happily expressed by him, who had heard of a Text brought for Proof of the Trinity [the Johannine Comma], which in an antient Manuscript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the Hint, and by a sudden Deduction of a long *Sorites*, most logically concluded; Why, if it be as you say, I may safely whore and drink on, and defy the Parson".[725] Thus, by redeploying the polemical constructions of the 1690s Trinitarian disputes as satiric weapons, Swift was obliquely suggesting that "the Quarrel is not against any particular Point of hard Digestion in the Christian System; but against Religion in general".[726]

Just as Tindal, in his *Letter to the Clergy*, had exploited the internal divisions among Anglicans on the Trinity to construct a disingenuous attack on the church, so was Swift now using Tindal's devious professions of impartiality as an instrument to belie their author's irreligion. The persona of the unprejudiced believer that Tindal had worn in the *Letter* was being exposed by Swift as a strategy of displacement: South might have been a 'nominal' trinitarian, but Tindal was, in Swift's eyes, a nominal Christian. Cavils on the Trinity were but a ruse to attack Christianity as a whole by targeting the spot that appeared most vulnerable. The developments of seventeenth-century Reformed theology had made the Trinity a liminal doctrine that flagged the divergence not just of Christianity from freethinking, but of external profession from internal (un)belief. The polemical front that emerged as a result was political as much as it seemed to abandon the inter-confessional controversy on which Anglican apologists, Swift included, had laboured so much.

Thus, in another pamphlet published at the height of his political influence (*Mr. Collins's Discourse of Freethinking, Put into Plain English*, 1713), Swift covertly attacked freethinking through a persona that explicated their claims "for the Use of the Poor", offering an 'edifying' abstract of the freethinker Anthony Collins's "*compleat Body of* Atheology" (i.e. his *Discourse of*

[725] *Ibid.*, 38.
[726] *Ibid.*

Freethinking, 1713).[727] It is unsurprising, given this shift from internal disagreements over doctrine to external attacks on freethinking, that this other Swiftian *reductio ad absurdum* makes much of the trinitarian debates, using them as a satirical occasion to caricature freethinking positions, just as the freethinkers themselves had seized them for their covertly 'anti-Christian' purposes. "[W]hat different Notions of [the Trinity] do the *English* Priests pretend to deduce from Scripture," asks Swift's freethinking persona, "explaining it by *Specifick Unities, eternal Modes of Subsistence*, and the like unintelligible Jargon?".[728] Similarly: "Dr. *South* describes the Incarnation of Christ as an astonishing Mystery […] *ergo*, it is contradictory to itself, and to Reason, and ought to be exploded by all *Free Thinkers*".[729] Thus, after deist writers co-opted the inward doctrinal fissures in the Anglican tradition, apologetics had to realign itself against these external challenges, although such a move would appear to marginalize the vitality and importance of the various tendencies which were coming together in the formation of an Anglican identity, and to which the *Tale* had encapsulated in a very different way.

Indeed, this shift was no entrenchment in a sclerotic form of anti-intellectual clericalism against the forces of innovation. Swift's abandoned "Remarks" against Tindal show instead that, behind the surface of *An Argument*, this shift was the result of a series of compromises and adjustments between various aspects of Reformed orthodoxy. It was no coincidence, for example, that Swift there expressed a renewed acceptance of the methods of Reformed scholasticism. Thus, against a passage in Tindal's book about the "miserable Gibberish of the Schools" and its nefarious consequences for philosophy,[730] Swift confessed that "[w]e have exploded Schoolmen as much as he, and in some People's Opinion too much" for their "following *Aristotle*", who, however, "is doubtless the greatest Master of Arguing in the World". Indeed, Swift deplored the current "Fashion [of] explod[ing] *Aristotle*", into which "this Man [Tindal] hath fallen" through his attack on scholasticism (and which Swift would parody in *Mr Collins's Discourse*).[731] Swift's

[727] Swift, *Prose Works*, 4, 27. Cf. [Anthony Collins], *A Discourse of Freethinking, Occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Freethinkers* (London, 1713).
[728] *Ibid.*, 34.
[729] *Ibid.*, 35.
[730] [Matthew Tindal], *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted*, 2nd edition (London, 1706), 226.
[731] Swift, "Remarks upon a Book", in *Prose Works*, 2, 97.

recantation of his own ridicule of Aristotelian scholastic theology (which recurs in the *Tale* and its companion pieces) suggests his awareness of the dangers inherent in its repudiation – of which the Trinitarian debates had provided an apt paradigm.

Indeed, this fits with Swift's revisions of the *Tale* for the publication of the fifth edition in 1710: most relevantly, Swift proceeded to tone down the more openly anti-Calvinist features of his satire, especially in his attack on the Dissenters' reliance on the doctrine of predestination. For example, in the original 1704 text, Jack, walking the city with eyes shut, excused his bumping into lamp-posts by referring to how "*Providence thought it fit to send us both* [Jack and the lamp-post] *into the World in the same Age*" (the meeting having been "*ordained* […] *some few Days before the Creation*"), and even incautiously attributing the broken nose caused by the 'rencounter' to the fact that "*Providence either forgot, or did not think it convenient to twitch me by the Elbow*".[732] In the 1710 text, however, Swift cleansed the passage of its more overtly theological and anti-Calvinist vocabulary, substituting 'providence' with 'nature' and 'fortune'. It is perhaps within this framework that we should interpret the fact that, after 1715, Swift acquired another copy of Calvin's *Institutio*, this time with the final text, while, for example, he owned none of Luther's works.

Then, the 1690s and 1700s were decades of profound changes, both in Swift's intellectual life and in the history of Anglican orthodoxy that shaped his literary output. The irony of these changes is that, vigorous though they were, the energies that sustained them were directed towards a new external front against freethinking, and thus led to what appears as a marginalization of the subtleties of theology in polemics. When Swift substituted 'providence' with 'nature' and 'fortune' in Jack's speech he was doing so for reasons that stemmed directly from within the vital tensions of orthodoxy. And yet, on the surface, such a substitution can lead us astray by intimating a disengagement from theological concerns, especially when we, as modern readers in a secular age, forget the centrality and indeed the intellectual dynamism of

[732] [Swift], *A Tale of a Tub* (London, 1704), 199-200. Cf. "Textual Notes", in *Tale*, 303.

theology in the 'Enlightenment'.[733] As we turn to inspect the traces of these changes in the 1710 'Apology', it is worth keeping in mind how the trinitarian controversy, as a crisis of public theology, delineated this outer front of orthodoxy, and therefore facilitated a 'political turn' in apologetics. To plot Swift's development as an apologist and as a religious thinker is in fact to tell a story of institutionalization, for which the *Tale* had to be repurposed along this firmer external frontier.

III. Reorienting the *Tale* post-1704

"I think I am civiller than I used to be; […] They may talk of the *you know what*; but, gad, if it had not been for that, I should never have been able to get the access I have had; and if that helps me to succeed, then that *same thing* will be serviceable to the church."[734]

With these circumspect words Swift referred to the *Tale* miscellany on October 7th, 1710. He was writing to Esther Johnson, just after a crucial meeting with the Tory politician Robert Harley, Queen Anne's chancellor of the Exchequer, and soon to become Lord High Treasurer and first earl of Oxford. It was for Harley that Swift would soon be working, writing the periodical *The Examiner* and composing other pieces of propaganda.[735] In these same months, the fifth expanded edition of the *Tale* appeared.[736]

It is difficult not to see a connection between Harley's willingness, as Swift reported to Stella, to "do every thing to bring me over"[737] and the '*you know what*' that was then being printed with a new 'Apology' and many polemical footnotes borrowed from Wotton's "Observations". And yet the 'talk' about the *Tale* that Swift disdainfully refers to has all the

[733] For a recent attempt to re-focus Enlightenment historiography on theological issues, see the essays collected in William Bulman and Robert Ingram (eds.), *God in the Enlightenment* (New York, 2016).
[734] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 31.
[735] See Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 2, 390; also, David Oakleaf, *A Political Biography of Jonathan Swift* (London, 2008), 51-64.
[736] See Marcus Walsh's "Introduction" in *Tale*, xxxiv.
[737] *Journal to Stella*, 30.

marks of suspicion.[738] By vindicating its serviceableness for ecclesiastical politics, Swift draws our attention to the ambivalence that characterized the immediate reception of the 'satyre' as a text open to misconstructions as well as useful in local polemical circumstances. That Harley would later rally Swift by calling him "Dr. Thomas Swift" and "Dr. Martin" is further testimony to the appeal that the *Tale* had for the Tory politician.[739] The 1710 edition of the miscellany reflects this process of institutionalization, which turned Swift from a relatively obscure Irish parson into a candidate for an English bishopric, and eventually into the dean of St Patrick's. In particular, the 'Apology' builds on the original ambivalence of the *Tale* to overwrite it with new concerns. We have here, once again, an underground transformation that seems to alter little on the surface, and yet reflects crucial changes taking place in conceptions of literature and satire as well as in theology.

The 'Apology', which is dated June 1709 (though Swift probably already envisaged it in 1708),[740] is in fact a work of mystification that has more of the writer of *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* than of newly ordained priest of the 1690s. It is, in other words, an attempt to realign the *Tale* in consequence of the shifts in apologetics that I have been tracing in the foregoing sections, and to mould it anew on a literary persona that Swift was forging for himself. This persona was to become the 'author' of the *Tale*, with a clear polemical 'design' retroactively applied to his text. Swift might claim that "*the Book seems calculated to live at least as long as our Language, and our Tast admit no great Alterations*",[741] but the 'Apology' itself shows how much circumstances had already surreptitiously altered its 'design'.

Such subtle changes are well captured in Swift's disingenuous self-descriptions: the *Tale* is said to have been "*finished above thirteen years since* [around 1696] *which is eight years before it was published*", the 'author' then being "*a young Gentleman much in world*", with "*his*

[738] On the gradual recognition of Swift as the author, see Karian, *Swift in Print and Manuscript*, 52-59.
[739] *Ibid.*, 216, 297.
[740] An "Apology" was listed in 1708 among the works to be included in a volume of *Miscellanies* (which would appear in 1711). The list itself was transcribed by John Lyon in his copy of Hawkesworth's *Life of Swift*, NAL 48.D.39, interleaved between 36 and 37.
[741] 'Apology', in *Tale*, 5.

Invention at the Height, and his Reading fresh in his Head".[742] And yet, at the time of writing the *Tale*, Swift was no gentleman, but had already been ordained in the Anglican church.[743] If he is honest about the dating, in 1696 he was also not at all 'much in the world', but had just spent some long months in the remote Irish parish of Kilroot, in Ulster, where the local church was in ruins, Anglicans a small minority (there had been a sustained influx of Presbyterians from Scotland), and his predecessor ejected for drunkenness and immoral behaviour.[744] Even at Moor Park with Sir William Temple, Swift was a dependent secretary rather than the mundane gentleman that he might have resembled in the late 1700s.[745]

But Swift describes 'himself' further: "*By the Assistance of Thinking, and much Conversation,* [the 'author'] *had endeavor'd to Strip himself of as many real Prejudices as he could; I say real ones, because under the Notion of Prejudices, he knew to what dangerous Heights some Men have proceeded*".[746] The distinction of 'real' versus 'notional' prejudices is redolent of the developments in apologetics of the 1700s.[747] Compare it with this sentence from the 'arguer' of *An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity*: "the Gospel System […] obliges Men to the Belief of Things too difficult for Free-Thinkers, and such who have shaken off the Prejudices that usually cling to a confined Education".[748] The rhetoric of 'prejudice' having been co-opted by freethinkers, Swift introduces this distinction to adjudicate impartiality to his earlier self, thus showing how responsive he had become to the line dividing internal conviction and outward disingenuousness. Against his critics' accusations of irreligion, and their "*unnatural, and uncharitable Applications*" of irreverent and false meanings, Swift claims that the *Tale* "*celebrates the Church of* England *as the most perfect of all others in Discipline and Doctrine, it advances no Opinion they reject, nor condemns any they receive*";[749] the clergymen who wasted time to object to the *Tale* would have better employed their efforts in replying to those "*heavy,*

[742] Ibid.
[743] He was ordained in 1694-5. See Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 1, 150-154.
[744] See Louis A. Landa, *Swift and the Church of Ireland* (Oxford, 1954), 1-24.
[745] Elias, *Swift at Moor Park*, 1-68.
[746] 'Apology', 5.
[747] On this distinction, see Higgins, *Swift's Politics*, 120.
[748] *Prose Works*, 2, 29.
[749] 'Apology', 6.

illiterate Scriblers" who find a large audience only on account of their "*bold, false, impious Assertions, mixt with unmannerly Reflections upon the Priesthood, and openly intended against all Religion*".[750]

Indeed, the 'Apology' does not just ascribe a persona to the young parson who wrote the *Tale* in the 1690s, but it also overlays the *Tale* with a concomitant authorial 'design'. This author, in fact, is presented as a learned, worldly layman, and, as such, he is said to have written "*to the Tast of those who were like himself; therefore in order to allure them, he gave a Liberty to his Pen, which might not suit with maturer Years, or graver Characters*".[751] Swift seems particularly keen to mark the difference between the *Tale* and the conventional clerical apologetics to which the previous century had been accustomed: "*He resolved to proceed in a manner, that should be altogether new, the World having been already too long nauseated with endless Repetitions upon every Subject*".[752] There seems to be a contradiction: on the one hand, Swift remarks the novelty of the *Tale*'s manner, but on the other he talks of a 'taste' to which he adapted his text to lure readers to the satire, in all likelihood so that they would find themselves stung by its attacks. From this description, it seems that the readers that the young 'author' was hoping to enthral were the polite and the fashionable that the hack constantly praises, indeed the readers of those freethinking 'scribblers' quoted above. The *Tale*, the 'Apology' emphasizes, "*was not intended for* [the clergymen's] *perusal*", and, given the hostile reception of the book from several prelates, it is clear that "*many of that Reverend Body* [the Church of England] *are not always very nice in distinguishing between their Enemies and their Friends*".[753]

But Swift was more than a friend of the Church of England, he was a part of that 'reverend body'. His 'satyre' might have been 'new' in the ingenuity of its recombination, but, as I hope the previous chapters have proved, it was thoroughly indebted to many stands of confessional apologetics and clerical polemics that stretched back to the Reformation. The

[750] Ibid.
[751] Ibid., 5.
[752] Ibid.
[753] Ibid., 6.

'Apology' is then a telling piece of obfuscation that strives to streamline and simplify the openness of the text by ascribing to it a 'design' that responds to changed circumstances. Indeed, it implicitly grants the point of Wotton and other critics who had endeavoured to construe the *Tale* as irreligious: as the 'Apology' puts it, "*this Answerer* [Wotton] *insists, and says, what he chiefly dislikes, is the* Design" (Swift's emphasis) – to which Swift retorts, "*But it would be good to know what* Design *this Reflecter* [Wotton] *was serving* […] *surely this* [i.e. Wotton's insinuations that Swift plagiarized some hints] *must have had some Allay of Personal Animosity, at least mixed with the* Design *of serving the Publick by so useful a Discovery*".[754] Here we have further confirmation of what I suggested in chapter 1 and 2,[755] namely that the concept of the 'author's design' emerged as polemical construct in order to probe the real motivations of anonymous 'satyre', and thereby to circumscribe its meaning. By overwriting the *Tale* with the fictitious 'design' of having written for a polite audience to safeguard them from the snares of the enemies of religion, Swift was implicitly repositioning the miscellany along the emergent divide between Christianity and irreligion, and between overt profession and covert intention. With the rise of the 'persona' of the 'author', satyre has started to turn into 'satire'.

It is significant that the only refutation of a specific charge of irreligious intention in the 'Apology' concerns the "*three wooden Machines mentioned in the Introduction*".[756] By way of explanation, Swift yet again mystifies:

> *In the Original Manuscript there was mention of a Fourth, which those who had the Papers in their Power, blotted out, as having something in it of Satyr, that I suppose they thought was too particular, and therefore they were forced to change it to the Number* Three, *from whence some have endeavour'd to squeeze out a dangerous Meaning that was never thought on. And indeed the Conceit was half spoiled by changing the Numbers; that of* Four *being much more Cabalistick, and therefore better exposing the pretended Virtue of Numbers, a Superstition there intended to be ridicul'd.*[757]

Textual accident is no doubt an awkward excuse for the hack's mock-Trinity. The disdain with which Swift brushes off the implications of his original construction seems proportional to the

[754] Ibid., 10.
[755] See above, chapter 1, 18-19; chapter 2, 110-111.
[756] 'Apology', 8.
[757] Ibid.

sensitiveness that the Trinity doctrine had accrued by dint of debate. Just as with the expunction of 'providence' from Jack's speech, Swift appears to disown the most overtly theological aspects of the *Tale*. And yet, once again, this is the result of the tensions within the history of orthodoxy, tensions that had indeed provided a novel 'outward' frontier where further satirical potentialities could be explored. Conversely, such a disavowal by distinction of authorial intention from textual accident could not but substantiate, at least in part, the interpretative strategies of Wotton and Jenks, who had exploited the openness of the original text to construct their own vision of the hidden authorial design. It was on the 'author' that the hermeneutical conflict had come to focus. By giving in to the premises of this conflict, Swift was also responsible for superimposing this fault-line on his 'satyre', and for introducing suspicion about the author's internal beliefs as a key interpretative tool.

Theology might have shifted to the background, but it kept operating, albeit more covertly. Fortunately, there are two later Swiftian texts that capture the ongoing energy of the theological problems that we have been exploring, while at the same time showing how prevalent the divide between internal beliefs and external compliance had become. Unsurprisingly, they both focus on the Trinity. Fittingly, one is a public and official performance (a sermon "On the Trinity"),[758] while the other is a private extemporal piece (Swift's "Thoughts on Religion"), which remained in manuscript until 1765. Taken together, they intimate an increasingly firm dialectic between profession and belief, while at the same time their tensions clearly arose from the theological and apologetic contexts that this chapter has explored. As such, they exemplify the political turn of Anglican theology towards peace and outward uniformity over freedom of expression as the natural result of liberty of thought; they thus highlight the evolving framework in which the *Tale* was being set.

[758] On the public nature of religion in Swift's sermons, see Roger D. Lund, "Swift's Sermons, 'Public Conscience', and the Privatization of Religion", *Prose Studies* 18/3 (1995), 150-174; but also Nathalie Zimpfer, "The Paradoxical Rhetoric of Swift's Homiletics", in Juhas, Real, and Simon (eds.), *Reading Swift* (München, 2013), 265-282.

Swift's sermon "On the Trinity" luckily survived the routine destruction to which the dean of St Patrick's was accustomed to consigning his homiletic efforts,[759] and it was first published in 1744.[760] By then, Swift was already senile and in no fit state to control or prevent the text's publication. Institutional responsibility rather than personal preference seems to have dictated the choice of subject-matter (although undated, it was apparently preached on Trinity Sunday)[761] and of text to be commented on, 1 John 5:7 – the controversial Johannine Comma ("For there are Three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these Three are One"). Predictably, Swift makes no mention of the philological problems plaguing the verse, which is the main scriptural witness to the doctrine of the Trinity in the New Testament, and whose spuriousness had been debated since Erasmus's New Testament editions.[762] Indeed, the tenor of the sermon is almost schoolmasterly in Swift's insistence on levelling complex doctrine "to the meanest understanding":[763] "the whole doctrine is short and plain, and in itself incapable of any controversy", he stresses, reducing the problem to the affirmation that within God "there is a union and a distinction; but what that union, and that distinction is, all mankind are equally ignorant".[764] A few lines below, he inculcates the lesson again: "it is positively affirmed in Scripture [that] God is [in the New Testament] expressed in three different names, as Father, as Son, and as Holy Ghost; that each of these is God, and there is but one God. But this union and distinction are a mystery utterly unknown to mankind".[765]

---

[759] See his remark in the above-mentioned letter to John Winder (194, n. 669): "Those sermons [of mine] were what I was firmly resolved to burn and especially some of them the idlest trifling stuff that ever was writt" (*Correspondence*, 138); judging by the rate of survival of these texts, Swift does not seem to have changed his mind in his later career. For theoretical reading of "On the Trinity", see Todd C. Parker, "'The Idlest Trifling Stuff that Ever was Writ'", in Parker (ed.), *Swift as Priest and Satirist* (Newark, 2009), 58-71.

[760] Published as *Three Sermons by the Reverend Dr. Swift* (London, 1744).

[761] Swift is open about his reluctance to preach on the Trinity: "And thus I have done with my Subject, which probably I should not have chosen, if I had not been invited to it by the Occasion of this Season, appointed on purpose to celebrate the Mysteries of the Trinity, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost", *Three Sermons*, 63-64.

[762] For a review of the quarrels about the Johannine Comma, see Grantley McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2016), also discussing Swift at 214-218.

[763] *Three Sermons*, 63.

[764] *Ibid.*, 62, 49.

[765] *Ibid.*, 50.

This sermon is a striking performance, showing Swift at his most dogmatic, and giving the impression (reinforced by Swift's dislike of homiletics) that the preaching of it was a chore that put the dean in the uncomfortable position of writing in a genre that imposes straightforwardness as a primary requirement of communication. Religion appears as what we are commanded to believe, and faith as that virtue "by which any thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us".[766] Concomitantly, the insistence on the centrality of 'mystery' in religion is reminiscent of Robert South's treatment of the Trinity, where the emphasis on the mysterious also functioned as a tool to prove the necessity of authority and church tradition against an insidiously seditious overconfidence in the powers of human reason.

The sermon's public exercise in stifling animadversion finds a counterpart in the private paper entitled "Thoughts on Religion". Here as well we find concerns about the nature of belief and about the Trinity, and this ephemeral piece appears as another performance, though of a different kind. "To say a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor nonsense", Swift enigmatically writes, playing on the connotations of "bound": if doubts are bound to arise internally as a result of the reason that God has granted to humankind, a Christian is bound (given that profession of belief is by God's command) "to conceal those doubts from others, […] to subdue them, [so that] they have no influence on the conduct of […] life".[767] Swift's presentation of belief thus hovers in an ambivalent area between private conscience and public affirmation, and forms a tense relation with reason, which, as both the Trinity sermon and the "Thoughts on Religion" suggest, destabilizes belief; reason is but "weak and wavering" in individuals,[768] and therefore to be curbed ('bound') in religious matters, especially when Scripture presents us with a 'mystery'.

And yet, in the "Thoughts on Religion", Swift considers the mystery of Christ's divinity ambiguously. It is one of the 'fundamentals', whose removal "is impossible, and the attempt wicked, *whether [they] be true or false*" (my emphasis), having "been universally received by all

---

[766] *Ibid.*, 55.
[767] "Thoughts on Religion", in *Prose Works*, 9, 261-262.
[768] *Three Sermons*, 31.

bodies of Christians, since the condemnation of Arianism under Constantine and his successors".[769] Conversely, Swift goes on, "[t]he Christian religion, in the most early times, was proposed to the Jews and Heathens, without the article of Christ's divinity; which, I remember, Erasmus accounts for, by it's [*sic*] being too strong a meat for babes".[770] The 'Erasmian' recollection is interesting not only because it stops just short of saying that the Trinity was subsequently 'added' to Christian doctrine as the Johannine Comma was interpolated in the text of the New Testament,[771] but also because the 'remembrance' is entirely of Swift's own making. Erasmus only has a passage of this tenor in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, where, elaborating on some scriptural verses,[772] he describes God's wisdom in accommodating His language to our weak understanding, which is like those of infants who need to be gradually weaned before eating solid food, but saying absolutely nothing about Christ's divinity.[773] It thus seems that Swift, in search for an earlier authority for his own opinions, merged Erasmus's notorious opposition to the Johannine Comma and the accommodationism of this passage to suggest the slow development of Christian doctrine. But, if the early Christians were saved without believing in Christ's divinity, should not the same case apply to eighteenth-century Anglicans?

Another thought also suggests that Swift saw orthodoxy as a historical construct: "I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and less from reason or good policy".[774] And yet these subtleties must be accepted and (shown to be) believed. Crucially, the Socinians who publicly argue for the late incorporation of the Trinity into Christianity are described not as heretics or teachers of falsities, but they are rather put down in political terms: they are "vain and unwarrantable", and their error only seems to stem from the fact that "they will never be able to

[769] *Prose Works*, 9, 261
[770] *Ibid.*, 262.
[771] On Erasmus and the Johannine Comma, see Joseph Levine, "Erasmus and the Problem of the Johannine Comma", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58/4 (1997), 573-596; and McDonald, *Biblical Criticism*, 13-55.
[772] Cf. Hebr. 5:12ff., I Cor. 3:1-2, Rom. 14:2.
[773] *Enchiridion*, in *Opera Omnia*, V-8, ed. Domański and Marcel (Leiden, 2016), 120.
[774] *Prose Works*, 9, 262.

advance their own opinion, or meet any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world".[775] Trinitarian orthodoxy may be historically constructed, but public investigations into its history must be 'bound' according to the needs of the present. Even in the private "Thoughts", Swift is being circumspect: his trenchant insistence that doubts must be concealed from public view implies that he probably harboured some; at the same time, he seems to be betraying the content of these doubts in his discussion of Christ's divinity and of Socinianism, which is as ambiguous as it is brief. Indeed, the more private doubts would deconstruct the 'niceties' of orthodoxy and enlarge the scope of *adiaphora*, the more adamant Swift appears in enforcing a rigorous set of fundamentals to bind public professions of belief.

It should not surprise us that Swift developed a covert sympathy for Arianism, nor that he offset it by 'binding' public theological speculation, and by complete conformity to High-Church Anglicanism. These developments are unsurprising not because of any penchant for hypocrisy on Swift's part, but because both the slide into a quasi-Arian subordinationism and a renewed emphasis on orthopraxy over orthodoxy had become staples of Anglican theology. And yet this shift away from open theological statements is not an erasure of theology from literature. When Swift, under the persona of the 'arguer', was picking the Trinity as the 'point of hard digestion' that the freethinkers use as a ruse to attack religion, he was turning his own internal reservations to polemical advantage. The doubts that made a freethinker could as easily make a loyal High-Church apologist. Intellectual renewal could come from heterodox figures outside the church as much as from deep within it, albeit in less direct forms, which we are ill-equipped to recognize without a knowledge of the history of theology.

One last sermon may be worth mentioning by way of conclusion, as it brings back the concept of 'witness' with which I opened the chapter. In 1715, Swift preached a sermon to his Dublin congregation on the ninth commandment ("Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour", Ex. 20:16).[776] Swift's "On False Witness" is a virtuoso performance of guarded

[775] *Ibid.*, 261.
[776] The dating was proposed by Carl P. Daw, "An Annotated Edition of Five Sermons by Jonathan Swift" (PhD thesis, University of Virginia, 1970), 87-88; See also Ehrenpreis, *Swift*, 3, 13-18.

speech on a subject that touched the dean of St Patrick's very closely. At a time when Swift was both fearful of allegations against him about the possible Jacobite designs of the Tory ministry that he had served in 1710-1714, and under pressure to turn informer himself,[777] his sermon on false witness acquires the poignancy of an *apologia pro se*. Being called to witness, Swift preaches, is to undertake "an Office, so subject to Censure, and so difficult to perform" that it is "in its own Nature not very desirable".[778] Tellingly, the "contrary" of false witness, is not, primarily, a true witness, but a "faithful" one.[779] A witness, then, should be true to people before facts. Here, indeed, 'truth' is conceived as 'troth'.[780] The only ground Swift concedes to turn witness voluntarily is when there are positive reasons to believe that the public safety of the community would be endangered by the failure to disclose information. In all other cases, a witness is falsified by personal, internal motives that turn even a testimony that is true to the facts into sin. Just as in the Laud marginalia, a very thin line seems to discriminate between testimony and obloquy, and indeed the former always invites an additional share of the latter.

The notion of 'faithfulness' that lies behind Swift's sermon is not so much one of *fides* (i.e. of the 'credit' of a witness, as is found in rhetorical, legal and natural-philosophical discourses)[781] as one of *fidelitas*, i.e. of 'faithfulness' conceived as a commitment to and dependence on an entity that warrants the testimony. It is, in other words, a question of allegiance. The primary meaning of this allegiance seems to point outwards to a commitment to the community to which a witness belongs. However, the concept extends out as it does inwards to the conscience of the witness: Swift's idea that a testimony is only verified or falsified by the internal motives that bring one to witness implies that witnesses should search their conscience to avoid all prejudice.[782] The witness is, in a sense, the first judge of the testimony. Conversely, as

---

[777] See Jeanne Clegg, "Swift on False Witness", *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 44/3 (2004), 461-485.
[778] *Prose Works*, 5, 188.
[779] *Ibid.*
[780] Clegg, "Swift on False Witness", 469.
[781] See Richard Serjeantson, "Testimony and Proof in Early-Modern England", *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 30/2 (1999), 195–236.
[782] Swift's fifth case of false witness is one who reports the truth out of evil motives, and consequently "a false Witness in the Sight of God, although what he says be true", 183.

Swift put it in another undated sermon "On the Testimony of Conscience", conscience "is nothing else but the Knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing", and thus "it can guide us no further than Knowledge reacheth".[783] Hence the necessity to find an external guide on which to rest to mend the fallibility of our private conscience; such guides are the established structures of religion, and their safety and preservation. Any testimony that solely relies on private conscience, is suspect of either foolishness or knavery. Such is the case, Swift immediately subjoins, of "those who differ from the Worship established":

> Ask [them] why they do not come to Church? They will say, they dislike the Ceremonies, the Prayers, the Habits, and the like, and therefore it goeth against their Conscience: But they are mistaken, their Teacher hath put those Words into their Mouth; for a Man's Conscience can go no higher than his Knowledge; and therefore until he has thoroughly examined by Scripture, and the Practice of the ancient Church, whether those points be blameable or no, his Conscience cannot possibly direct him to condemn them.[784]

We are again in the province of the Laud marginalia: the Dissenters' 'obloquy' against ceremonialism proves the testimony of their conscience foolishly deceived by their lack of knowledge. Their error, for Swift, is that they mistake their opinions for certainties, and, indeed, that they believe in an unproblematic coincidence of the external with the internal: they immediately associate overt ceremonialism with covert Catholicism, and, in the same way, they are so infallibly certain of the fallible private testimony of their conscience that they have no qualms in publicly acting in defiance of established church and state.

And yet we have seen how Swift, in his private reading, had encountered and marked a very similar sentiment in the Catholic Bossuet – similar to Laud's in the insistence on the necessity of consistent outward orthopraxy to bear witness to private orthodoxy, but also similar to the Dissenters' argument, inasmuch as it implies the same belief in a smooth convertibility of the external and the internal. Thus, Swift saw disjunction where Catholics and Dissenters foolishly found continuity – the former from ceremonies to faith, and the latter from conscience to a defiance of traditional worship. There is then a direct line linking Swift's reading in theology and his later 'political' professions of allegiance. Indeed, the line stretches further, through the

---

[783] *Prose Works*, 5, 150.
[784] *Ibid.*, 151.

early biographies of Swift, down to contemporary Swiftian scholarship, which has long debated his possible religious hypocrisy, and the covert ‘design’ of his satires. What this chapter has shown is that an answer to such problems cannot be sought without a recourse to the details of the history of orthodoxy. Not only would literary criticism benefit from such a recourse, but the history of theology would also stand to gain by integrating a book such as the *Tale* miscellany among its sources.

Conclusion

It is perhaps surprising (and ironic) that a highly sarcastic phrase from the *Tale* miscellany has now become a common and trite English idiom – I mean the "sweetness and light" which Aesop claimed proves the excellence of the 'Ancient' bee. Swift would have certainly reviled the laughable saccharinity with which the phrase has been associated ever since Matthew Arnold reused it to describe his ideal of 'culture'. Here is the passage from *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) that gave it its currency:

> [T]he Greek word εὐφυΐα, a finely tempered nature, gives exactly the notion of perfection as culture brings us to conceive it: a harmonious perfection, a perfection in which the characters of beauty and intelligence are both present, which unites "the two noblest of things,"—as Swift, who of one of the two, at any rate, had himself all too little, most happily calls them in his *Battle of the Books*,—"the two noblest of things, *sweetness and light*."[785]

What is particularly captivating, however, is that there seem to be covert continuities as well as disjunctions in the use of the entomological fable as an image of knowledge. As I mentioned in the introduction, Bacon had framed it in an aphorism that encapsulated an epistemological reflection. Swift, on his part, redeployed it polemically, truncating the ant from its original structure. With Arnold, we get one step further: Swift, although he possessed little sweetness, nonetheless provides a point of reference for a definition, elusive though it is, of the good that 'culture' can do. But there are also clear discontinuities in this lineage. Just as Swift overlooked the Baconian ant, so does Arnold in turn omit the bee from his discussion. Thus, the critical focus shifts away from the process by which sweetness and light are generated (the bee- and ant-like gathering of various ingredients), to concentrate instead on the result of this process – the autonomous piece of art that is both sweet and enlightening for its reader. The history of culture becomes itself a selection of works that engage with such criteria of 'perfection'.

---

[785] Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ed. R. H. Super, in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, vol. 5 (Ann Arbor, 1965), 99.

The influence of Arnold and of *Culture and Anarchy* on the institutionalization of English Literature as a discipline and on the humanities as we now conceive them is beyond the scope of this thesis, and certainly beyond that of my expertise.[786] But what I wish to suggest is that this is an apposite point on which to conclude, because, in this thesis, I have endeavoured to take a different path from the one that Arnold intimates and that English Literature departments have, more or less problematically, inherited. If the resulting idiosyncrasies of this thesis cannot be denied, I hope that they may be conducive to a fresh understanding not just of Swift, but also of the very discipline in which his works have been placed.

I have tried, then, to avoid conceiving of Swift's works as autonomous, self-explainable 'literary' works that communicate a coherent or unified vision (anarchic or self-defeating though that vision might be), but rather to emphasize their enmeshment in the scholarly and intellectual culture, indeed in the '*litteratura*', of their times. This is not simply an argument about historicism or the importance of context. As I showed in chapters 1 and 2, Swift's 'satyres' were purposefully deployed as instruments of debate engaging in a series of disparate polemical circumstances. It is then not just the case that we better understand them when we read them in context; rather, their heuristic, 'satyrical' value resided in their ability to operate differently in different local environs. To read into them an 'authorial design', even when this is done under the auspices of historical reconstruction, is to misconstrue the nature of their function as *satyrae*. They were texts thrown into the world like opaque, multifaceted touchstones, hurtling against different surfaces, and leaving different marks depending on the materials against which they scratched.

This is also why I have avoided giving an overall interpretation of the *Tale* miscellany, focussing instead on specific textual moments, and on the ligaments that tie them, more or less explicitly, to other surrounding texts. Indeed, this thesis is a 'single-author' dissertation only in appearance. By dissolving 'Swift' into a series of trajectories, be it the practice of heresiography or the development of Anglican orthodoxy, this thesis has indirectly staged a challenge to the

[786] See Helen Small, *The Value of the Humanities* (Oxford, 2013), 59-88; Stefan Collini, *Matthew Arnold* (Oxford, 1988), 3, 46-68

methods through which we conceive of literary history, and of 'English Literature' as a discipline. We may now wince at the earnestness of Arnold's call for "sweetness and light" in culture, but literary studies have remained defined, whether because of entrenched institutional practices or out of genuine belief, by the idea that the pleasure of 'literature' is somehow inherently enlightening. I do not necessarily seek to deny this, but rather to enrich and nuance our practices by showing how the literary 'authors' that we study found enlightenment (and perhaps pleasure, if not sweetness) in texts that may appear drastically un-literary and rebarbative to our sensibilities. In short, through my own gathering of textual moments combining 'learning' and 'literature', I have endeavoured to recover the neglected ant in the entomological genealogy of our discipline.

Leaving the metaphor aside, I think that much is to be gained by integrating the history of scholarship into the mainstream of the humanities. While this thesis is neither intellectual history nor literary criticism, I believe that, by foregrounding erudition and its uses in controversy, it may hold some hints for both fields. Intellectual historians may gain an appreciation of how ideas were transmitted not just by arguments and proofs, but also by rhetoric and polemics, and thus recognize that the oblique practice of 'satyre' was not just a slanderous proxy to entrench social and religious divisions, but rather an intrinsic form of intellectual debate. Conversely, literary critics may acquire a more nuanced sense of their discipline as well as of their sources, which, as in the case of the *Tale* miscellany, were in different ways both expedient and refractory to the construction of 'literature' as we now conceive of it. Much remains to be explored in both these areas, but I hope that this thesis may at least suggest some new paths, and some methods to tackle such problems afresh.

Appendix

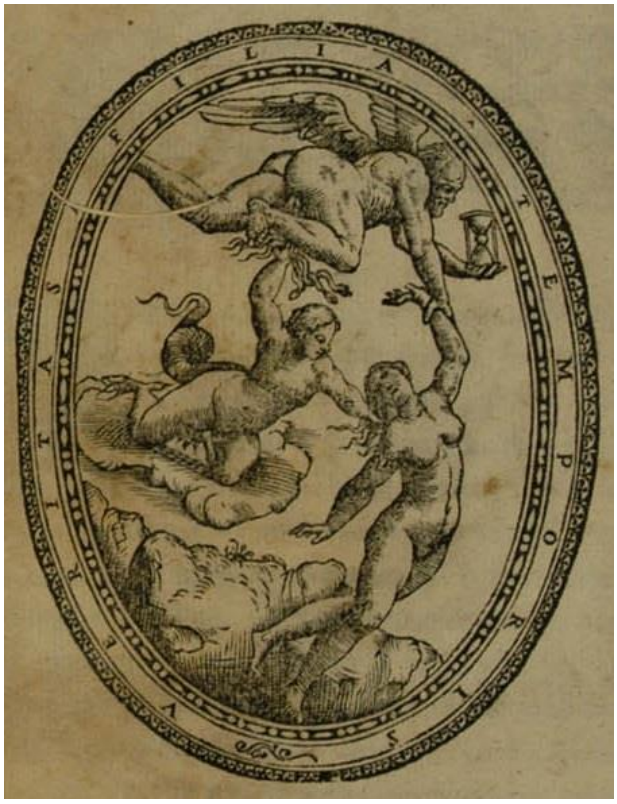


Fig. 1:

[Unknown artist]

Marcolino da Forlì's device, *Veritas Filia Temporis*, 1536.

First used for Willaert, *Liber Quinque Missarum* (Venice, 1536).



Fig. 2:

[Unknown artist]

Marcolino da Forlì's (and subsequently Aretino's) device, *Veritas Odium Parit*, 1536.

First used for Willaert, *Liber Qinque Missarum* (Venice, 1536).

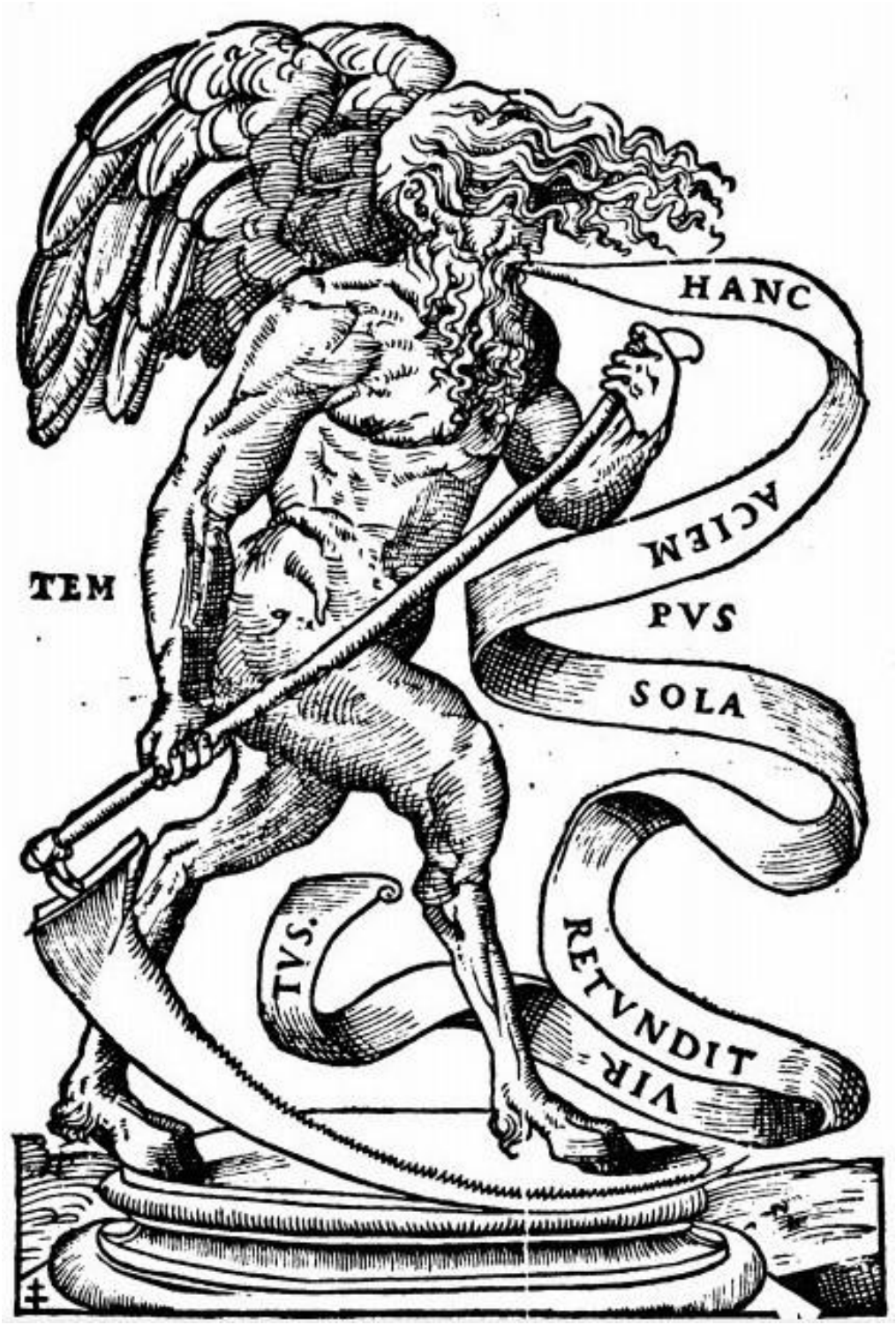


Fig. 3:

[Unkown artist]

Simon de Colines's device, *Tempus: Hanc Aciem Sola Retundit Virtus,* 1520s-30s.



Fig. 4:

Albrecht Dürer, *Satyr Family*, engraving, 1505.



Fig. 5:

[Unknown artist]

Conrad Bade's device, *God by Time Restoreth Truth and Maketh Her Victorious*.

From *The Nevve Testament of Our Lord Iesus Christ*, ed. and transl. Whittingham *et al.* (Geneva, 1557).

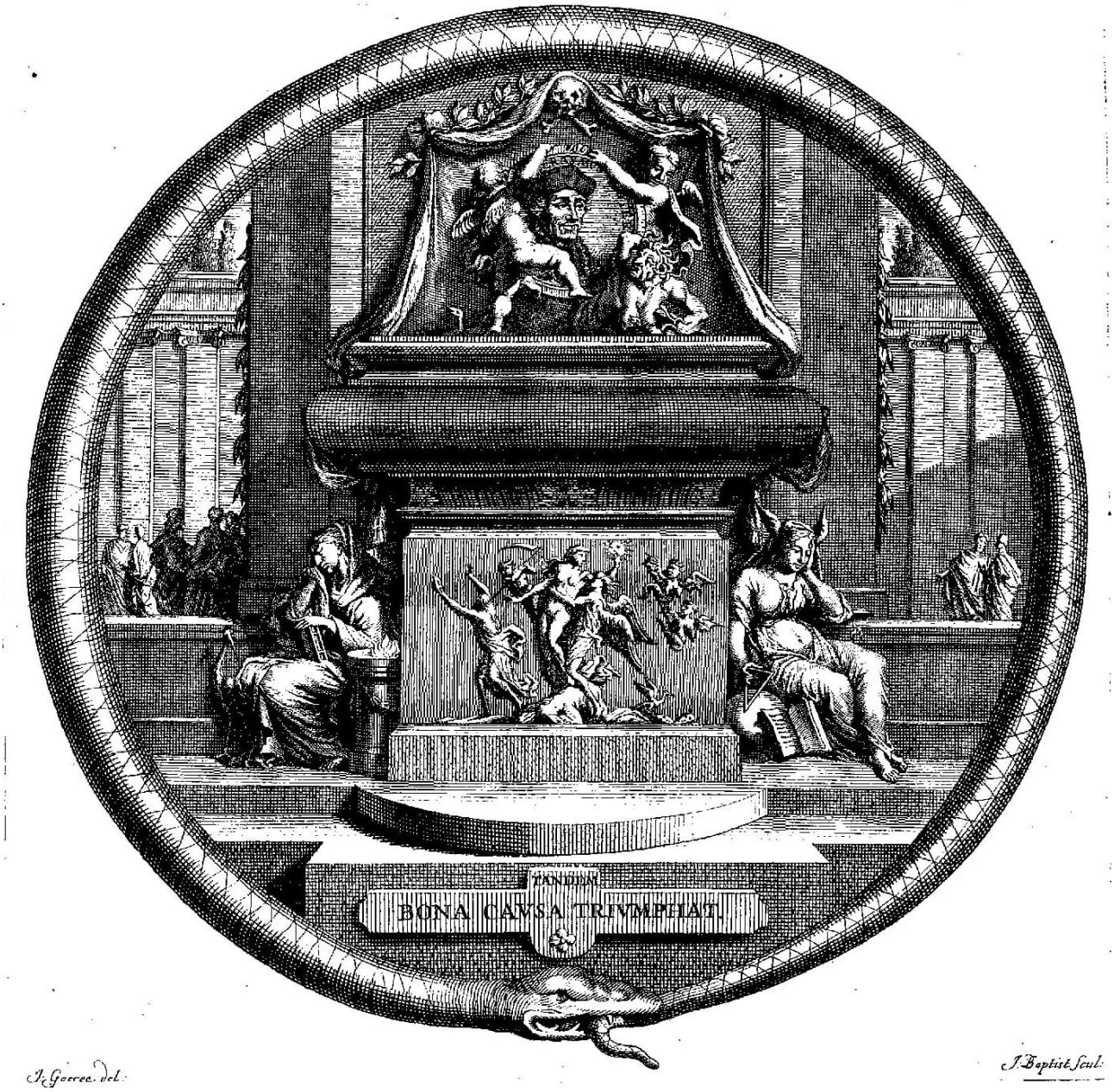


Fig. 6:

Jan Goeree (draughtsman), Jacobus Baptist (engraver), *Tandem Bona Causa Triumphat*, 1703.

Designed for the title-pages of the 10 volumes of Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Jean Le Clerc (Leiden, 1703-1706), published by Pieter van der Aa.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscripts and *Libri Annotati*

Amsterdam, University Library:

MS OTM: hs. III E 10 – autograph letters to Isaac Vossius.

Cambridge, Trinity College Library:

RW 12.2.2321 – Jonathan Swift's copy of Isaac Vossius's *De Sibyllinis Oraculis* (1679).

Ithaca, Kroch Library (Cornell University):

BX1750.B74.1681 – Jonathan Swift's copy of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique* (1681).

Leiden, University Library:

MS BPL 337 – autograph letters to Jacob Perizonius, including Henry Dodwell's.

London, British Library:

MS 29,612 – letter-book of Silvester Jenks, including excerpts from the *Tale* miscellany.

London, National Art Library (V&A Museum):

NAL 48.D.39 – John Lyon's annotated copy of John Hawkesworth's *Life of the Revd. Jonathan Swift* (1755).

S Fol. 361 – Jonathan Swift's copy of Francis Bacon's *Operum Moralium et Civilium Tomus* (1638).

New Haven, Beinecke Library:

Ik Sw55 Zz6125 – Jonathan Swift's copy of the *Satyre Menippée de la Vertu du Catholicon d'Espagne* (1612).

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library:

E2 50D – one of Jonathan Swift's copies of Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* (1631).

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

MS Cherry 22 – miscellaneous letters, including copies of Henry Dodwell's letters.

MS Cherry 23 – miscellaneous letters, including Jacob Perizonius's letters to Henry Dodwell.

MS D'Orville 470 – copies of letters to Isaac Vossius (volume 3).

MS Eng. Letters c. 28 – miscellaneous letters, including Jacob Perizonius's letters to Henry Dodwell.

MS Grabe 4 – Johann Ernst Grabe's notes and papers on theological subjects.

MS Grabe 13 – Johann Ernst Grabe's unpublished writings of controversial theology.

MS Grabe 21 – Johann Ernst Grabe's papers, including a liturgy in English of his composition.

MS Grabe 23 – autograph letters to Johann Ernst Grabe.

MS Rawlinson C. 984 – letters from Henri Justel to Henry Compton.

MS Smith 46 – autograph letters to Thomas Smith.

MS Smith 47 – autograph letters to Thomas Smith.

MS St Edmund Hall 13 – miscellaneous letters, including Jacob Perizonius's letters to Henry Dodwell.

Oxford, Christ Church Library:

R.2.13(1) – Richard Allestree's copy of Isaac Vossius's *De Septuaginta Interpretibus* (1661).

Printed Sources

A Catalogue of Books, The Library of the Late Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin (Dublin, 1745).

Arnold, Matthew *Culture and Anarchy, with Friendship's Garland and Some Literary Essays*, edited by R. H. Super, in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, vol. 5 (Ann Arbor, 1965).

Atterbury, Francis, *The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rocherster*, 4 vols. (London, 1783-1787).

Bacon, Francis, *The Two Bookes of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Humane* ([London, 1605]).

————, *Francisci Baconi, Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani, Operum Moralium et Civilium Tomus* (London, 1638).

————, *The Instauratio Magna. Part II, Novum Organum and Associated Texts*, edited by Graham Rees and Maria Wakely (Oxford, 2004).

[Baker, Thomas], *Reflections Upon Learning, Wherein is Shewn the Insufficiency Thereof, by a Gentleman* (London, 1699).

Barclay, Robert, *Theses Theologicae* (Amsterdam, 1675).

Bayle, Pierre, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 4th ed., 4 vols. (Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague, Utrecht, 1740).

Bentley, Richard, *Epistola ad Millium*, in John Malalas, *Joannis Antiocheni Cognomento Malalæ Historia Chronica*, edited by Edmund Chilmead (Oxford, 1691).

————, *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the Objections of the Honourable Charles Boyle* (London, 1699).

Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, edited by Brian Walton *et al.*, 6 vols. (London, 1657).

Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne, *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les Matières de Controverse* (Brussels, 1681).

[Boyle, Charles =] Francis Atterbury, George Smalridge, Robert Freind, John Freind, and Anthony Alsop, *Dr Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop, Examin'd* (London, 1698).

Boyle, John, *Remarks upon the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, 3rd edition (London, 1752).

Calvin, John, *Institutio Christianae Religionis, Iohanne Calvino Authore* (Geneva, 1553).

————, *Institutio Christianae Religionis, in Libros Quatuor Nunc Primum Digesta, Certisque Distincta Capitibus, ad Aptissimam Methodum* ([Strasbourg], 1561).

Carwell, Thomas, *Labyrinthus Cantuariensis: Or, Doctor Lawd's Labyrinth, Beeing an Answer to the Late Archbishop of Canterburies Relation of a Conference between Himself and Mr. Fisher* (Paris [=London?], 1658).

Casaubon, Isaac, *De Satyrica Graecorum Poësi et Romanorum Satira* (Paris, 1605).

Cave, William, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, A Christo Nato usque ad Saeculum XIV Facili Methodo Digesta* (London, 1688).

Chillingworth, William, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation: Or, an Answer to a Booke Entitled Mercy and Truth, or, Charity Maintain'd by Catholiques* (Oxford, 1638).

————, *The Works of William Chillingworth*, 10th ed. (London, 1742).

Clemens Alexandrinus, *Opera Graece et Latine Quae Extant*, edited by Daniel Heinsius (Leiden, 1616).

[Collins, Anthony], *A Discourse of Freethinking, Occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Freethinkers* (London, 1713).

Cyprian, *Of the Unity of the Church, A Discourse Written a Thousand Four Hundred and Thirty Years Since*, translated by John Fell (Oxford, 1681).

————, *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani Opera Recognita & Illustrata per Ioannem Oxoniensem Episcopum*, edited by John Fell (Oxford, 1682).

Dodwell, Henry, *Dissertationes Cyprianicae* (Oxford, 1684).

———, *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* (Oxford, 1689).

———, *De Veteribus Graecorum Romanorumque Cyclis, Obiterque de Cyclo Judaeorum Aetate Christi, Dissertationes Decem* (Oxford, 1701).

———, *Exercitationes Duae: Prima, de Aetate Phalaridis; Secunda, de Aetate Pythagorae Philosophi* (London, 1704).

Dryden, John, *The Works of John Dryden*, 20 vols. (Berkeley, 1956-2000).

Dupin, Louis Ellies, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques […] Tome Premier: Des Auteurs des Trois Premiers Siècles de l'Église*, 2nd edition (Paris, 1690).

———, *A New History of Ecclesiastical Writers […] Volume the First: Containing the Authors that Flourished in the First Three Ages of the Church*, translated by William Wotton (London, 1693).

Edwards, Thomas, *Gangraena: Or, a Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time*, 2nd edition (London, 1646).

Epiphanius, *D. Epiphanii Episcopi Constantiae Cypri, Contra Octoaginta Haereses Opus, Panarium, sive Arcula, aut Capsula Medica Appellatum*, translated by Janus Cornarius (Basel, 1545)

Erasmus, Desiderius, *Desiderii Erasmi Opera Omnia*, edited by Jean Le Clerc (Leiden, 1703-1706).

———, *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1969-2009).

———, *Desiderius Erasmus: Prefaces to the Fathers, the New Testament, On Study*, edited by Robert Peters (Menston, 1970).

Fabricius, Johann Albert, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1703).

———, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1713-1733).

Grabe, Johann Ernst, *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et Haereticorum, Seculi post Christum Natum I. II. & III.*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1698-1699).

Hawkesworth, John, *The life of the Revd. Jonathan Swift, D. D. Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin* (Dublin, 1755).

Hearne, Thomas, *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1885-1921).

Heinsius, Daniel, *Laus Asini Tertia Parte Auctior* (Leiden, 1629).

———, *On Plot in Tradegy*, translated by Paul R. Sellin, Jon J. McManmon (Northridge, Cal., 1971).

———, *La Constitution de la Tragédie*, translated by Anne Duprat (Geneva, 2002).

Hickes, George, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised* (London, 1680).

———, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised*, 4th edition (London, 1709).

Hobbes, Thomas, *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes. Leviathan: The English and Latin Texts*, 3 vols. (n. 3-6), edited by Noel Malcolm (Oxford, 2012).

Hody, Humphrey, *Contra Historiam Aristeæ. De LXX Interpretibus Dissertatio* (Oxford, 1684).

————, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Græcis, & Latina Vulgata: Libri IV* (Oxford, 1705).

Hooke, Robert, "Some Observations, and Conjectures concerning the Chinese Characters", *Philosophical Transactions*, 16 (1686), 63-78.

Horace, *Quintus Horatius Flaccus. Accedunt Nunc Danielis Heinsii de Satyra Horatiana Libri Duo*, edited by Daniel Heinsius (Leiden, 1629).

Irenaeus, *Opus Eruditissimum Diui Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis in Quinque Libros Digestum, in quibus Mire Retegit & Confutat Veterum Hæreseon Impias ac Portentosas Opiniones*, edited by Desiderius Erasmus (Basel, 1526).

————, *Diui Irenaei Libri Quinque Aduersus Portentosas Hæreses Valentini & Aliorum*, edited by Nicolas Des Gallars (Paris, 1570).

————, *D. Irenaei Opus Eruditissimum in Quinque Libros Digestum*, edited by Johann Jacob Grynaeus (Basel, 1571).

————, *Diui Irenaei Lugdunensis Episcopi, et martyris, Aduersus Valentini, & Similium Gnosticorum Hæreses, Libri Quinque*, edited by François Feu-ardent (Paris, 1576).

————, *Diui Irenaei Lugdunensis Episcopi, et martyris, Aduersus Valentini, & Similium Gnosticorum Hæreses, Libri Quinque*, edited by François Feu-ardent (Köln, 1596).

————, *Sancti Irenæi Episcopi Lugdunensis Contra Omnes Hæreses Libri Quinque*, edited by Johann Ernst Grabe (Oxford, 1702).

Ittig, Thomas, *De Haeresiarchis Aevi Apostolici & Apostolico Proximi, seu Primi & Secundi a Christo Nato Seculi Dissertatio* (Leipzig, 1690).

[Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian], *Kabbala Denudata seu Doctrina Hebraeorum Transcendentalis et Metaphysica atque Theologica*, 2 vols. (Sulzbach, 1677).

Laud, William, *A Relation of the Conference between William Lawd, Then Lrd. Bishop of St. Davids, Now Lrd. Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit* (London, 1639).

[Le Clerc, Jean], *Sentimens de Quelques Théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, composée par le P. Richard Simon de l'Oratoire* (Amsterdam, 1685).

————, *Historia Ecclesiastica Duorum Primorum a Christo Nato Saeculorum* (Amsterdam, 1716).

————, *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, vol. XV (Amsterdam, 1721).

[Lee, Francis], "The History of Montanism", in George Hickes, *The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised*, 4th edition (London, 1709), 73-352.

[Leslie, Charles], *Five Discourses by the Author of the Snake in the Grass, viz. On Water Baptism, Episcopacy, Primitive Heresie of the Quakers, Reflections on the Quakers, A Brief Account of the Socinian Trinity* (London, 1700).

Lipsius, Justus, *Ivsti Lipsi[i] V.C. Opera Omnia, Postremvm ab Ipso Avcta et Recensita*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1637).

Milton, John, *Paradise Lost*, edited by Alastair Fowler, 2nd edition, revised (London, 2007).

[Nye, Stephen], *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, By Dr. Wallis, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. S—th, Dr. Cudworth, and Mr. Hooker* ([London?], 1693).

Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, edited by Jacques-Paul Migne *et al.*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864).

Persius, *Avli Persii Flacci Satirarum Liber*, edited by Isaac Casaubon (Paris, 1605).

[Petau, Denis], *Antonii Kerkoëtii Aremorici Animadversorum Liber ad Claudii Salmasii Notas in Tertullianum de Pallio* ([Rhedonis=] Paris, 1622).

[Phalaris], *Φαλαρίδος ἐπιστολαί. Phalaridis Epistolæ*, edited by Charles Boyle (Oxford, 1695).

Placcius, Vincent *et al.*, *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonimorum, ex Symbolis & Collatione Virorum per Europam Doctissimorum ac Celeberrimorum* (Hamburg, 1708).

Pope, Alexander, *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, edited by John Butts *et al.*, 11 vols. (London, 1939-1969).

————, *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, edited by George Sherburn, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1956).

————, *The Dunciad in Four Books*, edited by Valerie Rumbold, 2nd edition (Abingdon, 2014).

Rabelais, François, *Les Oeuvres de Me François Rabelais, Docteur en Medicine. Contenant Cinq Livres de la Vie, Faicts, et Dits Heroïques de Gargantua, et de son Fils Pantagruel* (Lyon, 1558 [=Rouen, 1620?].

Rhenferd, Jacob, *Dissertatio Philologica de Redemtione Marcosiorum et Heracleonitarum* (Franeker, 1695).

————, *Jacobi Rhenferdii Opera Philologica, Dissertationibus Exquisitissimi Argumenti Constantia* (Utrecht, 1722).

Satyre Menippée de la Vertu du Catholicon d'Espagne ([Paris ?], 1612).

[Saumaise, Claude], *Confutatio Animadversorum A. Cercoetii ad C. Salmasii Notas in Tertullianum de Pallio. Auctore Francisco Franco* (Middelburg, 1623).

Sherlock, William, *A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity, and the Incarnation of the Son of God* (London, 1690).

[————], *A Defence of Dr. Sherlock's Notion of a Trinity in Unity. In Answer to the Animadversions upon his Vindication* (London, 1694).

Simon, Richard, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (Rotterdam, 1685).

————, *Richardi Simonis Gallicanæ Ecclesiæ Theologi Opuscula Critica Adversus Isaacum Vossium* (Edinburgh [=Rotterdam], 1685).

[————], *Hieronymi Le Camus Theologi Parisiensis Judicium de Nupera Isaaci Vossii ad Iteratas P. Simonii Objectiones Responsione* (Edinburgh [=Rotterdam], 1685).

[————], *Réponse au Livre Intitulé Sentimens de Quelques Théologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* (Rotterdam, 1686).

South, Robert, *Animadversions upon Dr. Sherlock's Book, Entituled A Vindication of the Holy and Ever-Blessed Trinity &c.* (London, 1693).

————, *Tritheism Charged upon Dr. Sherlock's New Notion of the Trinity and the Charge Made Good* (London, 1695).

Stapleton, Thomas, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Relectio Scholastica & Compendiaria* (Antwerp, 1596).

Stillingfleet, Edward, *A Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion: A Vindication of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference* (London, 1665).

Swift, Deane, *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character, of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, 2nd edition (London, 1755).

[Swift, Jonathan], *A Tale of a Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. To which is Added an Account of a Battel between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library*, 1st edition (London, 1704).

[————], *A Tale of a Tub. Written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind. To which is Added an Account of a Battel between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library*, 5th edition (London, 1710).

[————], *Miscellaneous Works, Comical and Diverting: By T.R.D.J.S.D.O.P.I.I.* (London [=The Hague], 1720).

————, *Le conte du tonneau, contenant tout ce que les arts, & les sciences ont de plus sublime, et de plus mystérieux. Avec plusieurs autres piéces très-curieuses*, [translated by Justus van Effen] (The Hague, 1721).

————, *Three Sermons by the Reverend Dr. Swift* (London, 1744).

————, *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, edited by Herbert Davis *et al.*, 14 vols. (Oxford, 1939-1968).

————, *A Tale of a Tub, to which is Added the Battle of the Books, and the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, edited by A. C. Guthkelch and David N. Smith (Oxford, 1958).

————, *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, 3 vols., 2nd edition, edited by Harold Williams (Oxford, 1958).

————, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, edited by David Woolley, 5 vols. (Frankfurt, 1999-2014).

————, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, edited by Marcus Walsh (Cambridge, 2010).

————, *Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713* (Cambridge, 2013).

Temple, William, *Miscellanea: The Second Part. In Four Essays* (London, 1690).

Tertullian, *Opera Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani inter Latinos Ecclesiae Scriptores Primi*, edited by Beatus Rhenanus ([Basel], 1521).

————, *Opera Q. Septimii Tertulliani inter Latinos Ecclesiae Scriptores Primi*, edited by Beatus Rhenanus (Basel, 1528).

————, *Opera Q. Septimii Tertulliani Carthaginensis*, edited by Beatus Rhenanus (Basel, 1539).

————, *Tertulliani Liber Adversus Haereticos*, edited by Jean Quintin (Paris, 1561).

————, *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginiensis Presbyteri Opera Quae Hactenus Reperiri Potuerunt Omnia*, edited by Jacques de Pamèle (Antwerp, 1584).

————, *Tertulliani Liber de Pallio cum Interpretatione, Notisque Criticis & Historicis Theodori Marcilii*, edited by Théodore Marcile (Paris, 1614).

————, *Tertulliani Liber de Pallio, Claudius Salmasius Recensuit, Explicauit, Notis Illustrauit*, edited by Claude Saumaise (Paris, 1622).

————, *Tertullian's Prescription against Hereticks; and the Apologeticks of St. Theophilus Bishop of Antioch to Autolycus, Against the Malicious Calumniators of the Christian Religion*, translated by Joseph Betty (Oxford, 1722).

Tillotson, John, *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Late Archbishop of Canterbury: Containing Fifty Four Sermons and Discourses, on Several Occasions. Together with the Rule of Faith*, 3rd edition (London, 1701).

[Tindal, Matthew], *A Letter to the Reverend Clergy of Both Universities, Concerning the Trinity and the Athanasian Creed* ([London?], 1694).

[————], *The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted, Against the Romish, and all other Priests who Claim an Independent Power over it*, 2nd edition (London, 1706).

The Life of Alexander Pope, esq; With a True Copy of His Last Will and Testament (London, 1744).

The Nevve Testament of Our Lord Iesus Christ [edited by William Whittingham *et al*.] (Geneva, 1557).

The Parliament of Criticks (London, 1702).

[Vaughan, Thomas =] Eugenius Philalethes, *Anima Magica Abscondita. Or a Discourse of the Universall Spirit of Nature, with his Strange, Abstruse, Miraculous Ascent, and Descent* (London, 1650).

————, *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, edited by Alan Rudrum (Oxford, 1984).

Vossius, Isaac, *De Vera Ætate Mundi* (The Hague, 1659).

————, *De Septuaginta Interpretibus Eorumque Tralatione & Chronologia Dissertationes* (The Hague, 1661).

————, *De Sibyllinis Aliisque Quæ Christi Natalem Præcessere Oraculis* (Oxford, 1679).

————, *Variarum Observationum Liber* (London, 1685).

Wotton, William, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (London, 1694).

————, "Observations Upon the *Tale of a Tub*", in Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, edited by Marcus Walsh (Cambridge, 2010), 217-230.

Zedlers, Johann Heinrich, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste*, 64 vols. (Halle, 1732-1750).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Aden, John M., "Dryden and Swift", *Notes and Queries* 200 (1955), 239-240.

Anselment, Raymond A., *'Betwixt Jest and Earnest': Marprelate, Milton, Marvell, Swift & the Decorum of Religious Ridicule* (Toronto, 1979).

Auvray, Paul, *Richard Simon (1638-1712): Étude Bio-Bibliographique avec des Textes Inédits* (Paris, 1974).

Bakhtin, Mikhail M., *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, transl. C. Emerson (Minneapolis, 1984).

Backus, Irena, "The Church Fathers and the Canonicity of the Apocalypse in the Sixteenth Century: Erasmus, Frans Titelmans, and Theodore Beza", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29/3 (1998), 651-666.

————, "François Feu-ardent Éditeur d'Irénée: Le Triomphe de la Grande Église et le Rejet du Millénarisme", in Luc Deitz (ed.), *Tempus Edax Rerum: Le Bicentenaire de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Luxembourg* (Luxembourg, 2001), 11-26.

————, "Le Tertullien de Lambert de Daneau dans le Contexte Religieux du Seizième Siècle Tardif", in Mariarosa Cortesi (ed.), *I Padri Sotto il Torchio: Le Edizioni dell'Antichità Cristiana nei Secoli XV-XVI* (Florence, 2002), 33-52.

————, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378-1615)* (Leiden, 2003).

————, "Quelques Remarques sur les Annotations Doctrinales de Bèze dans son Exemplaire de Tertullien", in Irena Backus (ed.), *Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605): actes du colloque de Genève (septembre 2005)* (Geneva, 2007), 310-339.

————, Philippe Büttgen, and Bernard Pouderon (eds.), *L'Argument Hérésiologique: L'Église Ancienne et les Réformes, XVIe-XVIIe siècles: Actes du Colloque de Tours, 10-11 Septembre 2010* (Paris, 2012).

————, "Leibniz et l'Hérésie Ancienne", in Irena Bakus, Philippe Büttgen, and Bernard Pouderon (eds.), *L'Argument Hérésiologique: L'Église Ancienne et les Réformes, XVIe-XVIIe siècles: Actes du Colloque de Tours, 10-11 Septembre 2010* (Paris, 2012), 69-94.

————, *Leibniz: Protestant Theologian* (Oxford, 2016).

Baltes, Sabine, "Father Time: The Emblematic and Iconographic Context of 'The Epistle to His Royal Highness Prince Posterity' in *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 20 (2005), 41-50.

Bass, Marisa, "Justus Lipsius and His Silver Pen", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007), 157-194.

Basu, Sammy, "'We Are in Strange Hands, and Things Are Come to a Strange Passe': Argument and Rhetoric Against Heresy in Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena* (1646)", in John Christian Laursen (ed.), *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration* (New York, 2002), 11-32.

Bedon, Vincent, "Simon, Bossuet et la Bible", *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 120/1 (1998), 60-74.

Bennett, G. V., *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1975).

Berger, Adolf, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia, 1953), in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43/2 (1953).

Bernier, Jean, "Richard Simon et l'Hypothèse des Écrivains Publics: Un Échec Humiliant", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 87/2 (2007), 157-176.

Bietenholz, Peter G., *History and Biography in the Work of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Geneva, 1966).

Blanchard, W. Scott, *Scholars' Bedlam: Menippean Satire in the Renaissance* (Lewisburg, 1995).

————, "Swift's *Tale*, the Renaissance Anatomy, and Humanist Invective", *Swift Studies* 16 (2001), 83-97.

Blok, Frans Felix, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle: His Life until His Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden 1618-1655* (Groningen, 2000).

Borkat, R. F., "The Spider and the Bee: Jonathan Swift's Reversal of Tradition in *The Battle of the Books*", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 3 (1976), 44-46.

Bower, R. H., "Bacon's Spider Simile", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17/1 (1956), 133-135.

Boyle, Frank T., "Profane and Debauched Deist: Swift in the Contemporary Response to *A Tale of a Tub*", *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 3 (1988), 25-38.

————, *Swift as Nemesis: Modernity and its Satirist* (Stanford, Calif., 2000).

Bravo, Benedetto "*Critice* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Rise of the Notion of Historical Criticism", in Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Paper from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford, 2006), 135-195.

Bredvold, Louis I., *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden: Studies in Some Aspects of Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Ann Arbor, 1956).

Bullard, Paddy, "What Swift Did in Libraries", in Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty (eds.), *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge, 2013), 65-84.

Bullard, Paddy, and Alexis Tadié (eds.), *Ancients and Moderns in Europe: Comparative Perspectives* (Oxford, 2016).

Bulman, William, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire, 1648-1715* (Cambridge, 2015).

Bulman, William, and Robert Ingram (eds.), *God in the Enlightenment* (New York, 2016).

Bunge, Wiep van, "The Politics of Appropriation: Erasmus and Bayle", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 33 (2013), 3-21.

Burchill, Christopher J., *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians: Johann Sylvan, Adam Neuser, Matthias Vehe, Jacob Suter, Johann Hasler* (Baden-Baden, 1989).

Burkard, Thorsten, "Heinius' *De Satyra Horatiana Liber* von 1612", in Eckard Lefèvre and Eckart Schäfer (eds.), *Daniel Heinsius: Klassischer Philologe und Poet* (Tübingen, 2008), 277-295.

Butterworth, Emily, *Poisoned Words: Slander and Satire in Early Modern France* (London, 2006).

Cameron, Averil, "How to Read Heresiology", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003), 471-492.

Carnochan, W. B., *Lemuel Gulliver's Mirror for Man* (Berkeley, 1968).

————, "Notes on Swift's Proverb Lore", *Yearbook of English Studies* 6 (1976), 63-69.

Carroll, Robert T., *The Common-Sense Philosophy of Religion of Bishop Edward Stillingfleet* (The Hague, 1975).

Cast, David, *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in the Humanist Tradition* (New Haven, 1981).

Castle, Terry, "Why the Houyhnhnms Don't Write: Swift, Satire and the Fear of the Text", *Essays in Literature* 7 (1980), 31-44.

Castrop, Helmut, *Die Varronische Satire in England, 1660-1690: Studien zu Butler, Marvell und Dryden* (Heidelberg, 1983).

Cave, Terence, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford, 1979).

Chalmers, Alan D., *Jonathan Swift and the Burden of the Future* (Newark, 1995).

Champion, Justin A., *Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies 1660-1730* (Cambridge, 1992).

————, "Père Richard Simon and English Biblical Criticism, 1680-1700", in James Force and David S. Katz (eds.), *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard H. Popkins* (Leiden, 1999), 39-61.

————, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696-1722* (Manchester, 2003).

Clark, Frederic, "Universal History and the Origin Narrative of European Modernity: The Leiden Lectures of Jacob Perizonius (1651-1715) on *Historia Universalis*", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 2 (2017), 359-395.

Clegg, Jeanne, "Swift on False Witness", *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 44/3 (2004), 461-485.

Cohen, Simona, *Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden, 2014).

Cole, Kevin L., "Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *Explicator* 57/2 (1999), 75-77.

Collini, Stefan, *Matthew Arnold: A Critical Portrait* (Oxford, 1988).

Condren, Conal, *Hobbes, the Scriblerians and the History of Philosophy* (London, 2012).

Conley, Thomas, "Vituperation in Early Seventeenth-Century Historical Studies", *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 22/2 (2004), 169-182.

Conlon, Michael J., "*Swift and Anglican Rationalism*: A Restrospective Review", *Swift Studies* 14 (1999), 13-20.

Craven, Kenneth, *Jonathan Swift and the Millennium of Madness: The Information Age in Swift's A Tale of a Tub* (Leiden, 1992).

D'Addio, Mario, *Il Pensiero Polito di Gaspare Scioppio e il Machiavellismo del Seicento* (Milano, 1962).

D'Amico, John F., "Rhenanus, Tertullian and the Reformation: A Humanist's Critique of Scholasticism", in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980), 37-63.

Daniell, David, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, 2003).

Daw, C. P., "An Annotated Edition of Five Sermons by Jonathan Swift" (PhD thesis, University of Virginia, 1970).

————, "'A Tast of Wit': Laud, Swift, and *A Tale of a Tub*", in John Irwin Fisher, Hermann J. Real, and James Wooley (eds.), *Swift and his Contexts* (New York, 1989), 159-174.

DeJean, Joan, *Ancients versus Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin de Siècle* (Chicago, 1997).

DePorte, Michael, "The Road to St Patrick's: Swift and the Problem of Belief", *Swift Studies* 8 (1993), 5-17.

————, "Swift, God, and Power", in Christopher Fox and Brenda Tooley (eds.), *Walking Naboth's Vineyard: New Studies on Swift* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1995), 73-97.

————, "Phillip Harth's *Swift and Anglican Rationalism*: A Restrospective Evaluation", *Swift Studies* 14 (1999), 5-6.

De Quehen, A. H., "Cyprian and Swift's Coats", *Notes and Queries* 229 (1992), 37-8.

————, "Richard Bentley's Spider-Webs", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 1/2 (1994), 92-104.

De Smet, Ingrid, "The Legacy of the Gourd Re-Examined: The Fortune of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and its Influence on Humanist Satire", in Rudolf De Smet (ed.), *La Satire Humaniste: Actes du Colloque International des 31 Mars, 1er et 2 Avril, 1993* (Leuven, 1994), 49-75.

————, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters 1581-1655* (Geneva, 1996).

————, "Livres, Érudition et Irénisme à l'Époque des Guerres de Religion: Autour de la Satyre Ménippée", in Jeanine Landtsheer and Henk Nellen (eds.), *Between Scylla and Charybdis: Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2010), 185-202.

————, "Calumnia Dira Pestis: Slander, Memory and Collective Identity in the Republic of Letters, or How Polemics are Historicized", *Lias* 38/2 (2011), 185-206.

De Smet, Rudolf (ed.), *La Satire Humaniste: Actes du Colloque International des 31 Mars, 1er et 2 Avril, 1993* (Louvain, 1994).

Dixon, Philip, *'Nice and Hot Disputes': The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 2003).

Dodds, Gregory, "Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, Anti-Calvinism, and the Seventeenth-Century Debate about the English Reformation", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 27 (2007), 59-68.

———, *Exploiting Erasmus: The Erasmian Legacy and Religious Change in Early Modern England* (Toronto, 2009).

———, "'Betwixt Heaven and Hell': Religious Toleration and the Reception of Erasmus in Restoration England", in K. A. E. Enenkel, K. A. E. (ed.), *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2013), 103-127.

Edelstein, Dan, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy* (Chicago, 2010).

Ehrenpreis, Irvin, *The Personality of Jonathan Swift* (London, 1958).

———, *Swift: The Man, His Works, and the Age*, 3 vols. (London, 1962-1983).

———, "The Doctrine of *A Tale of a Tub*", in Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken (eds.), *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 1985), 59-71.

Elias, A. C., Jr., *Swift at Moor Park: Problems in Biography and Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1982).

Ellenzweig, Sarah, *The Fringes of Belief: English Literature, Ancient Heresy, and the Politics of Freethinking, 1660-1760* (Stanford, 2008).

Ellis, Frank H., "Notes on *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 1 (1986), 9-14.

English, John C., "The Duration of the Primitive Church: An Issue for Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Anglicans", *Anglican and Episcopal History* 73/1 (2004), 35-52.

Epp, Eldon J., "Critical editions of the New Testament, and the Development of Text-Critical Methods: From Erasmus to Griesbach (1516-1807)", in Euan Cameron (ed.), *The New Cambridge history of the Bible. Volume 3: From 1450 to 1750* (Cambridge, 2016), 110-137.

Every, George, "Dr. Grabe and his Manuscripts", *Journal of Theological Studies* 8/2 (1957), 280-292.

Fabricant, Carole, *Swift's Landscape* (Baltimore, 1982).

———, "The Voice of God and the Actions of Men: Swift among the Evangelicals", in Hermann Josef Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Third Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 1998), 141-154.

Fauske, Christopher J., *Jonathan Swift and the Church of Ireland, 1710-1724* (Dublin, 2002).

Findon, John C., "The Nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689-1716", (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1978).

Flood, John and Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin, "Editors' Introduction", in John Flood and Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin (eds.), *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Early English Literature, 1350-1680* (Dublin, 2010), 11-22.

Fredouille, Jean-Claude, "Le *De Praescriptionibus* ou 'la Methode la Plus Facile et la plus assurée…'? Le Traité de Tertullien dans Quelques Écrits de Controverse des XVIe et XVIIe Siècles", in Irena Backus, Philippe Büttgen, and Bernard Pouderon (eds.), *L'Argument Hérésiologique: L'Église Ancienne et les Réformes, XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 2012), 131-159.

Freiburg, Rudolf, Arno Löffler, and Wolfgang Zach (eds.), *Swift, the Enigmatic Dean: Festschrift for Hermann Joseph Real* (Tübingen, 1998).

———, "Enlightened Darkness: The Treatment of Arcane Learning in Jonathan Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", in Rudolf Freiburg, Arno Löffler, Wolfgang Zach (eds.), *Swift, the enigmatic Dean: Festschrift for Hermann Josef Real* (Tübingen, 1998).

Frost, William, "Dryden and 'Satire'", *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 11/3 (1971), 401-416.

Frye, Northrop, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, 1973).

Fumaroli, Marc, "Les Abeilles et les Araignées", in Anne-Marie Lecoq (ed.), *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes: XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris, 2001), 7-218.

Goldgar, Anne, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven, 1995).

Gordon, Donald, "Veritas Filia Temporis: Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3/3-4 (1940), 228-240.

Graeber, Wilhelm, "Swift's First Voyages to Europe: His Impact on Eighteenth-Century France", in Real (ed.), *The Reception of Jonathan Swift in Europe* (London, 2005), 5-16.

Grafton, Anthony, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1983-93).

———, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, 1990).

———, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

———, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007).

———, "Isaac Vossius, Chronologer", in Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden, 2012), 43-84.

———, "Christianity's Jewish Origins Reconsidered: The Roles of Comparison in Early Modern Ecclesiastical Scholarship", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1 (2016), 13-42.

Grafton, Anthony, and Joanna Weinberg, *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011).

Grell, Ole Peter, and Jonathan Israel (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991).

Griffin, Dustin H., *Satire: A Critical Reintroduction* (Lexington, 1994)

———, *Swift and Pope: Satirists in Dialogue* (Cambridge, 2010).

Guenther, Ilse, "Janus Cornarius", in Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1985-1987), 1, 339-340.

Hall, Basil, "Biblical scholarship: Editions and Commentaries", in S. L. Greenslade (ed.), *Cambridge history of the Bible. Volume 3: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1963), 38-93.

Hamilton, Alastair, *Apocryphal Apocalypse: The Reception of the Second Book of Esdras (4 Ezra) from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1999).

Hammond, Brean S., "Swift's Reading", in Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fourth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 2003), 133-146.

Hammond, Eugene R., "A Swiftian Borrowing from Erasmus' *Colloquies*", *Notes & Queries* 225 (1980), 32-33.

————, "In Praise of Wisdom and the Will of God: Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* and Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *Studies in Philology* 80/3 (1983), 253-276.

————, *Jonathan Swift: Our Dean* (Newark, 2016).

Hampton, Stephen, *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (Oxford, 2008).

Hardy, Nicholas, "The Enlightenments of Richard Bentley", *History of Universities* 26/2 (2012), 196-219.

————, "The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England, from the King James Bible (1611) to the London Polyglot (1657)", in Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1520-1700* (Oxford, 2015).

————, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford, 2017).

————, "Literary History as Critical Practice: Dryden's 'Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire'", in Henry Power and Nicholas McDowell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1640-1714* (Oxford, forthcoming).

Harth, Phillip, *Swift and Anglican Rationalism: The Religious Background of 'A Tale of a Tub'* (Chicago, 1961).

————, "Recent Religious History and *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 14 (1999), 29-36.

Haugen, Kristine Louise, "Transformations of the Trinity Doctrine in English Scholarship: From the History of Beliefs to the History of Texts", *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3/1 (2001), 149-168.

————, "Death of an Author: Constructions of Pseudonymity in the Battle of the Books", in Robert J. Griffin (ed.), *The Faces of Anonymity: Anonymous and Pseudonymous Publication from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke, 2003).

————, *Richard Bentley: Poetry and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011).

————, "Hebrew Poetry Transformed, or, Scholarship Invincible Between Renaissance and Enlightenment", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 75 (2012), 1-29.

Hazard, Paul, *La Crise de la Conscience Européenne (1680-1715)* (Paris, 1935).

Hessayon, Ariel, *'Gold Tried in the Fire': The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution* (Aldershot, 2007).

Heyd, Michael, *'Be Sober and Reasonable': The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1995).

Higgins, Ian, *Swift's Politics: A Study in Disaffection* (Cambridge, 1994).

———, "Dryden and Swift", in Claude Rawson and Aaron Santesso (eds.), *John Dryden (1631-1700*) (London, 2004), 217-234.

———, "*An Argument Against Abolishing Christianity* and its Contexts", in Hermann J. Real (ed.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fifth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 2008), 203-223.

Hill, Christopher, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London, 1972).

Hinnant, Charles H., "The 'Fable of the Spider and the Bee' and Swift's Poetics of Inspiration", *Colby Library Quarterly* 20 (1984), 129-136.

Hinz, Vinko, *Nunc Phalaris Doctum Protulit Ecce Caput: Antike Phalarislegende und Nachleben der Phalarisbriefe* (Munich, 2001).

Horbury, William, "The New Testament and Rabbinic Study: A Historical Sketch", in Reimund Bieringer (ed.), *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature* (Leiden, 2010), 1-40.

Hudson, Nicholas, "'O Divinum Scripturae Beneficium!': Swift's Satire of Writing and its Intellectual Context", *The Age of Johnson* 7 (1996), 343-363.

Hughes, Ann, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004).

———, "Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena* and Heresiological Traditions", in David Loewenstein and John Marshall (eds.), *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), 137-159.

Hunter, Ian, John Christian Laursen, and Cary J. Nederman (eds.), *Heresy in Transition: Transforming Ideas of Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2005)

Israel, Jonathan, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford, 2006).

Jackson Williams, Kelsey, "Canon Before Canon, Literature Before Literature: Thomas Pope Blount and the Scope of Early Modern Learning", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 77/2 (2014), 177-199.

Jardine, Lisa, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, 1993).

Jaumann, Herbert (ed.), *Kaspar Schoppe, 1576-1649, Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation: Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des Europäischen Späthumanismus* (Frankfurt, 1998).

Johnson, James W., "That Neo-Classical Bee", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22/2 (1961), 262-266.

Jolliffe, J. W., "Satyre: Satura: ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ: A Study in Confusion", in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 18/1 (1956), 84-95.

Jones, R. F., *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Background of the Battle of the Books* (St Louis, 1936).

Jones, Emrys, "Pope and Dulness", in J. V. Guerinot (ed.), *Pope: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1972), 124-157.

Jorink, Eric, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575-1715* (Leiden, 2010)

Jorink, Eric, and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden, 2012).

Kaplan, Benjamin, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Religious Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

Karian, Stephen, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (Cambridge, 2010).

Katchen, Aaron, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth-Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984).

Katz, David S., "Vossius and the English Biblical Critics, 1650-1689", in Richard H. Popkin and Arjo J. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and Irreligion in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1993), 142-184.

Kaufmann, Lynn F., *The Noble Savage: Satyrs and Satyr Families in Renaissance Art* (Epping, 1984).

Keene, Nicholas, "John Fell: Education, Erudition and the English Church in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford", *History of Universities* 17 (2003), 62-101.

————, "John Ernest Grabe, Biblical Learning and Religious Controversy in Early Eighteenth-Century England", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58/4 (2007), 656-674.

Kim, Young R., *Epiphanius of Cyprus: Imagining an Orthodox World* (Ann Arbor, 2015).

Kirk, Eugene, *Menippean Satire: An Annotated Catalogue of Texts and Criticism* (New York, 1980).

Kivistö, Sari, *The Vices of Learning: Morality and Knowledge at Early Modern Universities* (Leiden, 2014).

Klibansky, Raymond, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (London, 1964).

Knight Miller, Henry, "The Paradoxical Encomium with Special Reference to its Vogue in England, 1600-1800", *Modern Philology* 53/3 (1956), 145-178.

Korshin, Paul J., "Swift and Typological Narrative in *A Tale of a Tub*", in Morton W. Bloomfield (ed.), *The Interpretation of Narrative: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 67-91.

Korsten, Frans, "Thomas Baker's *Reflections upon Learning* (1699)", in G. A. M. Janssens and Flor Aarts (eds.), *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History, and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T. A. Birrell on Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (Amsterdam, 1984), 133-148.

Kupersmith, William, "Swift's Æolists and the Delphic Oracle", *Modern Philology* 82 (1984), 190-194.

Lamb, Jonathan, "Swift, *Leviathan*, and the Persons of Authors", in Nicholas Hudson and Aaron Santesso (eds.), *Swift's Travels: Eighteenth-Century British Satire and its Legacy* (Cambridge, 2008), 25-38.

Lambe, Patrick J., "Biblical Criticism and Censorship in Ancien Régime France: The Case of Richard Simon", *Harvard Theological Review* 78/1-2 (1985), 149-177.

Landa, Louis A., *Swift and the Church of Ireland* (Oxford, 1954).

Larminie, Vivienne, "The Fell Era 1658-1686", in Ian Gadd (ed.), *The History of Oxford University Press. Volume I: Beginnings to 1780* (Oxford, 2014), 79-104.

Laursen, John Christian (ed.), *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration* (New York, 2002).

Lebram, J. C. H., "Ein Streit um die Hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta", in Theodoor Herman Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden, 1975), 21-63.

Leighton, C. D. A., "Ancienneté among the Non-Jurors: A Study of Henry Dodwell", *History of European Ideas* 31 (2005), 1-16.

Levine, Jay A., "The Design of *A Tale of a Tub* (with a Digression on a Mad Modern Critic)", *ELH* 33/2 (1966), 198-227.

Levine, Joseph M., *Dr. Woodward's Shield: History, Science and Satire in Augustan England* (Berkeley, 1977).

————, "Edward Gibbon and the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns", *The Eighteenth Century* 26/1 (1985), 47-62.

————, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, 1991).

————, "Erasmus and the Problem of the Johannine Comma", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58/4 (1997), 573-596.

————, *The Autonomy of History: Truth and Method from Erasmus to Gibbon* (Chicago, 1999).

————, *Between the Ancients and the Moderns: Baroque Culture in Restoration England* (New Haven, 1999).

————, "From Tradition to History: Chillingworth to Gibbon", in Anthony Grafton and J. H. M. Salmon (eds.), *Historian and Ideologues: Essays in Honor of Donald R. Kelley* (Rochester, NY, 2001), 181-210.

Levitin, Dmitri, "Matthew Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church* (1706) and the Church-State Relationship", *The Historical Journal* 54/3 (2011), 717-740.

————, "From Sacred History to the History of Religion: Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity in European Historiography from Reformation to 'Enlightenment'", *The Historical Journal*, 55/4 (2012), 1117-1160.

————, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science: Histories of Philosophy in England c. 1640-1700* (Cambridge, 2015).

Ligota, C. R., and Jean-Louis Quantin, "Introduction", in C. R. Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford, 2006), 1-38.

Lim, Paul C. H., *Mystery Unveiled: The Crisis of the Trinity in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2012).

Lock, F. P., *Swift's Tory Politics* (London, 1983).

Loewenstein, David, and John Marshall (eds.), *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge, 2006).

————, *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2013).

Lomonaco, Fabrizio, "Tra Pirronismo Storico e Tradizione Romana: Il Criticismo Filologico di Perizonio", in *Lex Regia: Diritto, Filologia e Fides Historica nella Cultura Politico-Filosofica dell'Olanda di Fine Seicento* (Naples, 1990), 187-241.

Lugt, Mara van der, *Bayle, Jurieu and the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Oxford, 2016).

Lund, Roger D., "Swift's Sermons, 'Public Conscience', and the Privatization of Religion", *Prose Studies* 18/3 (1995), 150-174.

————, "The Eel of Science: Index Learning, Scriblerian Satire, and the Rise of Information Culture", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 22/2 (1998), 18-42.

————, *Ridicule, Religion and the Politics of Wit in Augustan England* (Farnham, 2012).

Lynall, Gregory, "Swift's Alchemical Satire and Satiric Alchemy in *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 24 (2009), 27-45.

Macfarlane, Kirsten, "Translating the 'Hebraeo-Hellenic Apostles': Hugh Broughton and the Scholarly Context of the English New Testament", *Review of English Studies* 68 (2017), 689-707.

Mack, Maynard, *Collected in Himself: Essays Critical, Biographical, and Bibliographical on Pope and Some of His Contemporaries* (Newark, 1982).

Malcolm, Noel, "Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible: The History of a Subversive Idea", in *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford, 2002), 383-431.

Mandelbrote, Scott, "The Authority of the Word: Manuscript, Print and the Text of the Bible in Seventeenth-Century England", in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), 135-153.

————, "English Scholarship and the Greek Text of the Old Testament, 1620-1720: The Impact of Codex Alexandrinus", in Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (eds.), *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2006), 74-93.

————, "Origen Against Jerome in Early Modern Europe", in Silke-Petra Bergjan and Karla Pollmann (eds.), *Patristic Tradition and Intellectual Paradigms in the Seventeenth Century* (Tübingen, 2010), 105-135.

————, "Isaac Vossius and the Septuagint", in Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden, 2012), 85-117.

————, "The *Letter of Aristeas*: Three Phases in the Readership of a Jewish Text", in Scott Mandelbrote and Joanna Weinberg (eds.), *Jewish Books and their Readers: Aspects of the Intellectual Life of Christians and Jews in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2016), 15-44.

————, "Witches and Forgers: Anthonie van Dale on Biblical History and the Authority of the Septuagint", in Dirk van Miert, Hank Nellen, Piet Steenbakkers, and Jetze Touber (eds.), *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Oxford, 2017), 270-306.

Mansfield, Bruce, *Phoenix of His Age: Interpretations of Erasmus c. 1550-1750* (Toronto, 1979).

———, “Erasmus in the Age of Revolutions”, in Willem Frijhoff and Weiland J. Sperna (eds.), *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Man and the Scholar: Proceedings of the Symposium Held at the Erasmus University, Rotterdam, 9-11 November 1986* (Leiden, 1988), 228-239.

Margolin, Jean-Claude, “Mémoire, histoire et survie du ‘moi’ au jugement d’Érasme”, in Dominique De Courcelles (ed.), *Mémoire et Subjectivité, XIVe-XVIIe Siècle: l’Entrelacement de Memoria, Fama et Historia: Actes de la Journée d’Etude Organisée à l’Ecole Nationale des Chartes, Paris, 4 avril 2002* (Paris, 2006), 19-40

Marshall, Ashley, “The Myth of Scriblerus”, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31 (2008), 77-99.

———, *Swift and History: Politics and the English Past* (Cambridge, 2015).

Marshall, John, “Defining and Redefining Heresy up to Locke’s *Letters Concerning Toleration*”, in David Loewenstein and John Marshall (eds.), *Heresy, Literature, and Politics in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), 254-281.

Martin, Kelly, “Swift and Post-Structuralism: The Death of the Author in *A Tale of a Tub*”, *Swift Studies* 31 (2016), 40-52.

Massing, Jean-Michel, *Du Texte à l’Image: La Calomnie d’Apelle et Son Iconographie* (Strasbourg, 1990).

Matheeussen, Constantinus, and Chris L. Heesakkers (eds.), *Two Neo-Latin Menippean Satires* (Leiden, 1980).

May, James E., “The Duodecimo Editions of Swift’s *A Tale of a Tub* (‘1711’) and *A Complete Key to the Tale of a Tub* (1714)”, in Kirsten Juhas, Hermann J. Real, and Sandra Simon (eds.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Sixth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 2013), 95-129.

McCann, E. J. W., “Jonathan Swift’s Library”, *Book Collector* 34 (1985), 323-341.

McClure, Judith, “Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries”, *Journal of Theological Studies* 30/1 (1979), 186-197.

McDonald, Grantley, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Trinitarian Debate* (Cambridge, 2016).

McDowell, Nicholas, “Tales of a Tub Preachers: Swift and Heresiography”, *Review of English Studies* 61/248 (2010), 72-92.

McLachlan, Herbert *The Story of a Nonconformist Library* (Manchester, 1923).

———, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1951).

Medine, Peter E., “Isaac Casaubon’s *Prolegomena* to the *Satires* of Persius: An Introduction, Text, and Translation”, *English Literary Renaissance* 6/2 (1976), 271-298.

Meltzoff, Stanley, *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savonarola: Theologia Poetica and Painting from Boccaccio to Poliziano* (Florence, 1987).

Meter, Jan H., *The Literary Theories of Daniel Heinsius: A Study of the Development and Background of his Views on Literary Theory and Criticism During the Period from 1602 to 1612*, translated by Ina Swart (Assen, 1984).

Mezciems, Jenny, "Swift's Praise of Gulliver: Some Renaissance Background to the *Travels*", in Claude Rawson (ed.), *The Character of Swift's Satire: A Revised Focus* (Newark, 1983), 245-281.

Miert, Dirk van, "Scaliger Scatologus: Rhetorical Roots of Obscene and Abusive Language in the Letters of Joseph Scaliger", *EMF: Studies in Early Modern France*, 14 (2010), 17-31.

————, "Structuring the History of Knowledge in an Age of Transition: The Göttingen *Geschichte* between *Historia Literaria* and the Rise of the Disciplines", *History of Humanities* 2/2 (2017), 389-416.

————, *The Emancipation of Biblical Philology in the Dutch Republic, 1590-1670* (Oxford, 2018).

Miller, Peter N., "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653-1657)", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62/3 (2001), 463-482.

————, "A Philologist, a Traveller and an Antiquary Rediscover the Samaritans in Seventeenth-Century Paris, Rome and Aix: Jean Morin, Pietro della Valle, and N.-C. Fabri de Peiresc", in Martin Mulsow and Helmut Zedelmaier (eds.), *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 2001), 123-146.

Momigliano, Arnaldo, "Perizonius, Niebuhr and the Character of Early Roman Tradition", *Journal of Roman Studies* 47/1-2 (1957), 104-14.

Montag, Warren, *The Unthinkable Swift: The Spontaneous Philosophy of a Church of England Man* (London, 1994).

Mortimer, Sarah, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge, 2010).

Muller, Richard A., "The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10/1 (1980), 53-72.

————, "The Christological Problem in the Thought of Jacob Arminius", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 68/2 (1988), 145-63.

————, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, 2003-2006).

Müller, Sascha, *Kritik und Theologie: Christiliche Glaubens- und Schrifthermeneutik nach Richard Simon (1638-1712)* (St. Ottilien, 2004).

Mulligan, Lotte, "'Reason', 'Right Reason', and 'Revelation' in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England", in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1984), 375-402.

Mulsow, Martin, "The Trinity as Heresy: Socinian Counter-Histories of Simon Magus, Orpheus, and Cerinthus", in John Christian Laursen (ed.), *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration* (New York, 2002), 161-170.

————, "Practices of Unmasking: Polyhistors, Correspondence, and the Birth of Dictionaries of Pseudonymity in Seventeenth-Century Germany", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67/2 (2006), 219-250.

———, “Socinianism, Islam and the Radical Uses of Arabic Scholarship”, *Al-Qanṭara* 31/2 (2010), 549-586.

Murphy, Kathryn and Anita Traninger (eds.), *The Emergence of Impartiality* (Leiden, 2014).

Nasu, Kei, “Heresiography and the Idea of ‘Heresy’ in mid-Seventeenth-Century English Religious Culture” (DPhil thesis, University of York, 2000).

Nelles, Paul, “Historia litteraria and Morhof: Private Teaching and Professorial Libraries at the University of Kiel”, in Françoise Waquet (ed.), *Mapping the World of Learning: The Polyhistor of Daniel Georg Morhof* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 31-56.

———, “*Historia litteraria* at Helmstedt: Books, Professors and Students in the Early Enlightenment University”, in Helmut Zedelmaier and Martin Mulsow (eds.), *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 2001), 147-76.

Nokes, David, *Jonathan Swift, a Hypocrite Reversed: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, 1985).

Norman, Larry, *The Shock of the Ancient: Literature & History in Early Modern France* (Chicago, 2011).

Oakleaf, David, *A Political Biography of Jonathan Swift* (London, 2008).

Ormsby-Lennon, Hugh, “Swift’s Spirit Reconjured: Das Dong-an-sich”, *Swift Studies* 3 (1988), 9-78.

———, “Swift and the Quakers, I”, *Swift Studies* 4 (1989), 34-62.

———, “Swift and the Quakers, II”, *Swift Studies* 5 (1990), 53-89.

———, “Commonplace Swift”, in Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig, *Reading Swift: papers from the Third Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 1998), 13-44.

Ossa-Richardson, Anthony, *The Devil’s Tabernacle: The Pagan Oracles in Early Modern Thought* (Princeton, 2013).

Panofsky, Erwin, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, 1939).

Parenty, Hélène, *Isaac Casaubon Helléniste: Des Studia Humanitatis à la Philologie* (Geneva, 2009).

Parker, T. H. L., *Calvin’s New Testament Commentaries*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh, 1993).

Parker, Todd C. “‘The Idlest Trifling Stuff that Ever was Writ’, or, Why Swift Hated his Sermons”, in Todd C. Parker (ed.), *Swift as Priest and Satirist* (Newark, 2009), 58-71.

Parr, Anthony, “Time and Satyr”, *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 68/3 (2005), 429-465.

Passmann, Dirk F., and Heinz J. Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook. Part I*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 2003).

———, “The Dean and the Turk: Jonathan Swift, ‘Mahometanism’, and Religious Controversy before the *Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*”, *Swift Studies* 22 (2007), 113-145.

———, “Jonathan Swift as a Book Collector: With a Checklist of Swift Association Copies”, *Swift Studies* 27 (2012), 7-68.

Paulson, Ronald, *Theme and Structure in Swift's Tale of a Tub* (New Haven, 1960).

Petitmengin, Pierre "L'Édition de Tertullien, de Nicolas Rigault à Migne", in Luc Deitz (ed.), *Tempus Edax Rerum: le bicentenaire de la Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg (1798-1998)* (Luxembourg, 2001), 27-40.

————, "De Théodore de Bèze à Jacques Godefroy", in Irena Backus (ed.), *Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605): actes du colloque de Genève (septembre 2005)* (Geneva, 2007), 309-338.

————, "Jacques de Pamèle Passeur de Manuscrits Perdus de Tertullien", in Yann Sordet (ed.), *Passeurs de Textes. 2, Imprimeurs, éditeurs et lecteurs humanistes dans les collections de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, (Turnhout, 2009), 124-137.

————, "Pierre Pithou, Théodore de Bèze et la Chronologie des Traités de Tertullien", in Maria Cristina Pitassi and Daniela Solfaroli Camillocci (eds.), *Crossing Traditions: Essays on the Reformation and Intellectual History in Honour of Irena Backus* (Leiden, 2018), 200-215.

Phiddian, Robert, *Swift's Parody* (Cambridge, 1995).

Philmus, Robert M., "Swift's 'Lost' Answer to Tindal", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 22/3 (1980), 369-393.

Pigman III, G. W., "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance", *Renaissance Quarterly* 33/1 (1980), 1-32.

Pinkus, Philip, "*A Tale of a Tub* and the Rosy Cross", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 59/4 (1960), 669-679.

————, *Swift's Vision of Evil: A Comparative Study of A Tale of a Tub and Gulliver's Travels*, 2 vols. (Victoria, 1975-1977).

Piqué, Nicholas, *De la Tradition à l'Histoire: Éléments pour une Généalogie du Concept d'Histoire à Partir des Controverses Religieuses en France (1669-1704)* (Paris, 2009).

————, "Du Texte de l'Origine à l'Origine du Texte: La Querelle entre Richard Simon et Jean Le Clerc", in Denis Thouard, Friedrich Vollhardt, and Fosca Mariani-Zini (eds.), *Philologie als Wissensmodell = La Philologie comme Modèle de Savoir* (Berlin, 2010), 285-307.

Pitassi, Maria Cristina, *Entre Croire et Savoir: Le Problème de la Méthode Critique chez Jean Le Clerc* (Leiden, 1987).

————, "Figures de l'Erasmisme: le cas de Pierre Bayle", *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 50, 1 (2014), 95-119.

Plomer, Henry Robert, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922).

Pocock, J. G. A., "Within the Margins: The Definition of Orthodoxy", in Roder D. Lund (ed.), *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660-1750* (Cambridge, 1995), 33-53.

Podhurst, Suzanne J., "The Scriblerians Uncensored: Libel, Encryption, and the Making of Copyright in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2012).

Poole, Kristen, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000).

Poole, William, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall* (Cambridge, 2005).

————, "Heterodoxy and Sinology: Isaac Vossius, Robert Hooke and the Early Royal Society's Use of Sinology", in Sarah Mortimer and John Robertson (eds.), *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy, 1600-1750* (Leiden, 2012), 135-153.

————, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017).

————, *John Fell's New Year Books: 1666-1686* (Oxford, 2018).

Porter, David A., "Neo-Latin Prose Satire", in Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2014), 1 (Macropaedia).

Probyn, Clive, "Haranguing upon Texts: Swift and the Idea of the Book", in Hermann J. Real and Heinz J. Vienken (eds.), *Proceedings of the First Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 1985), 187-197.

Quantin, Jean-Louis, "Irénée de Lyon entre Humanisme et Réforme: Les Citations de l'*Adversus Haereses* dans les Controverses Religieuses, de Johann Fabri à Martin Luther (1522-1527)", *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 27(1994), 131-175.

————, "*Apocryphorum nimis studiosi*? Dodwell, Mill, Grabe et le Problème du canon Néo-Testamentaire au Tournant du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle", in Simon Claude Mimouni (ed.), *Apocryphité: Histoire d'un Concept Transversal aux Religions du Livre, en Hommage à Pierre Geoltrain* (Turnhout, 2002), 285-306.

————, "Anglican Scholarship Gone Mad? Henry Dodwell (1641-1711) and Christian Antiquity", in Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Paper from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford, 2006), 305-356.

————, "Un Manuel Anti-Patristique: Contexte et Signification du *Traité de l'Emploi des Saints Pères* de Jean Daillé (1632)", in Günther Frank, Thomas Leinkauf, and Markus Wriedt (eds.), *Die Patristik in der Frühen Neuzeit: Die Relektüre der Kirkenväter in den Wissenschaften des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2006), 299-325.

————, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2009).

————, "Reason and Reasonableness in French Ecclesiastical Scholarship", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 74/3 (2011), 401-436.

————, "Erudition and Orthodoxy: John Fell and Patristic Scholarship in Restoration Oxford", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1/1 (2016), 43-78.

————, "Le Triomphe de l'Église Anglicane? Johann Ernst Grabe Éditeur d'Irénée", in Maria Cristina Pitassi and Daniela Solfaroli Camillocci (eds.), *Crossing Traditions: Essays on the Reformation and Intellectual History in Honour of Irena Backus* (Leiden, 2018), 230-249.

Rawson, Claude, "Cannibalism and Fiction: Reflections on Narrative Form and 'Extreme' Situations", *Genre* 10/4 (1977), 667-711.

————, "The Character of Swift's Satire: Reflections on Swift, Johnson, and Human Restlessness", in Claude Rawson (ed.), *The Character of Siwft's Satire: A Revised Focus* (Newark, 1983), 21-82.

————, *Swift's Angers* (Cambridge, 2014).

Readioff, Corrina, "'Very Plain, and with Little or No Ornament': Coats, Allegory, and the Politics of Fashion in Jonathan Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 33 (2018), 18-32.

Real, Hermann J., and Heinz J. Vienken, "Interpretations the Author Never Meant: Problems of Annotation in *A Tale of a Tub*", *Notes & Queries* 230 (1985), 201-203.

Reedy, Gerard, *Robert South, 1634-1716: An Introduction to his Life and Sermons* (Cambridge, 1992).

Relihan, Joel, "Prose Satire", in Victoria Moul (ed.), *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature* (Cambridge, 2017), 340-357.

Richardson, J. A., "Swift's *Argument*: Laughing Us into Religion", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 13/2 (1989), 35-45.

Ridley, Ronald T., *The Historical Observations of Jacob Perizonius* (Rome, 1991).

Roberts, Marie Mulvey, "Science, Magic and Masonry: Swift's Secret Texts", in Marie Mulvey Roberts and Hugh Ormsby-Lennon (eds.), *Secret Texts: The Literature of Secret Societies* (New York, 1995), 97-113.

Roebuck, Thomas, "'Great Expectations Among the Learned': Edward Bernard's Josephus in Restoration Oxford", *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 23/3 (2016), 307-325.

Roncali, Renata, "L'*Apocolocyntosis* nel Cinquecento: Da Erasmo all'Elezione di Enrico IV", *Quaderni di Storia* 6 (1980), 365-376.

Rosenheim, Edward W. Jr., "Swift's *Ode to Sancroft*: Another Look", *Modern Philology* 73/4, 'Part 2: A Supplement to Honour Arthur Friedman' (1976), S24-S39.

Rossi, Paolo, "Ants, Spiders, Epistemologists", in Fattori (ed.), *Francis Bacon: Terminologia e Fortuna nel XVII Secolo. Seminario Internazionale, Roma, 11-13 Marzo 1984* (Rome, 1984), 245-260.

Rothschild, Jean-Pierre, "Autour du Pentateuque Samaritain. Voyageurs, Enthousiastes et Savants", in Jean-Robert Armogathe (ed.), *Le Grand Siècle et la Bible* (Paris, 1989), 61-74.

Salmon, J. H. M., *Renaissance and Revolt: Essays in the Intellectual and Social History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 1987).

Saxl, Fritz, "Veritas Filia Temporis", in Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton (eds.), *Philosophy & History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer* (New York, 1963), 197-222.

Schakel, Peter J., "The Context of Phillip Harth's *Swift and Anglican Rationalism*", *Swift Studies* 14 (1999), 7-12.

Schreiber, Fred, *Simon de Colines: An Annotated Catalogue of 230 Examples of his Press 1520-1546* (Provo, Utah, 1995).

Schwartz, Hillel, *Knaves, Fools, Madmen and that Subtile Effluvium: A Study of the Opposition to the French Prophets in England, 1706-1710* (Gainesville, 1978).

————, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berkeley, 1980).

Searl-Chapin, Stacey, "Francis Lee and the French Prophets: The *History of Montanism* (1709)", in John Christian Laursen (ed.), *Histories of Heresy in Early Modern Europe: For, Against, and Beyond Persecution and Toleration* (New York, 2002), 33-49.

Sellin, Paul R., *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England: With a Short-Title Checklist of the Works of Daniel Heinsius* (Leiden, 1968).

Serjeantson, Richard W., "Testimony and Proof in Early-Modern England", *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 30/2 (1999), 195–236.

Sherbert, Garry H., *Menippean Satire and the Poetics of Wit: Ideologies of Self-Consciousness in Dunton, D'Urfey, and Sterne* (New York, 1996).

Simon, Irène, "Swift and South on Enthusiasm", *Swift Studies* 5 (1990), 113-116.

Sirota, Brent S., "The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State: Religious Controversy and the Making of the Postrevolutionary Church of England, 1687-1702", *Journal of British Studies* 52/1 (2013), 26-54.

Small, Helen, *The Value of the Humanities* (Oxford, 2013).

Smith, Nigel, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion* (Oxford, 1989).

————, "The Uses of Hebrew in the English Revolution", in Peter Burke and Roy Porter (eds.), *Language, Self, and Society: A Social History of Language* (Cambridge, 1991), 51-71.

Sperrin, Dan, "Cozening Dryden and Swift", *Essays in Criticism* 68/2 (2018), 167-189.

Spurr, John, "'Rational Religion' in Restoration England", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49/4 (1988), 563-585.

Stedmond, J. M., "Another Possible Analogue for Swift's *Tale of a Tub*", *Modern Language Notes* 72 (1957), 13-18.

Steinmann, Jean, *Richard Simon et les Origines de l'Exégèse Biblique* (Paris, 1960).

Terry, Richard, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past 1660-1781* (Oxford, 2001).

Thiel, Udo, "The Trinity and Human Personal Identity", in M. A. Stewart (ed.), *English Philosophy in the Age of Locke* (Oxford, 2000), 217-243.

Thomann, Günther, "John Ernest Grabe (1666-1712): Lutheran Syncretist and Anglican Patristic Scholar", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43/3 (1992), 414-427.

————, "John Ernest Grabe's Liturgies: Two Unknown Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth Century", in *Studies in English Church History: Essays in English Liturgy and Piety from the Celtic Church to the Nonjurors*, 2nd edition, (Stoke-on-Trent, 1993), 89-126.

Tilmouth, Christopher, "Sceptical Perspectives on Melancholy: Burton, Swift, Pope, Sterne", *The Review of English Studies* 68 (2017), 924-944.

Tinkler, John F., "The Splitting of Humanism: Bentley, Swift, and the English Battle of the Books", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49/3 (1988), 453-472.

Tissoni, Francesco, "The Reception of Nonnus in Late Antiquity, Byzantine, and Renaissance Literature", in Domenico Accorinti (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis* (Leiden, 2016), 691-713.

Traugott, John, "*A Tale of a Tub*", in Claude Rawson (ed.), *The Character of Swift's Satire: A Revised Focus* (Newark, 1983), 83-126.

Tunstall, Kate, "Pseudonyms, Ghosts, and Vampires in the Republic of Letters: Adrien Baillet's *Auterurs Déguisez* (1690)", *Romance Studies* 31/3-4 (2013), 200-211.

Twining, Timothy, "Richard Simon and the Remaking of Seventeenth-Century Biblical Criticism", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 3/4 (2018), 421-487.

Van Leeuwen, H. G., *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought, 1630-1690* (The Hague, 1963).

Vessey, Mark, "Fashions for Varro in Late Antiquity and Ways with Books", in Carol Harrison, Caroline Humfress, Isabella Sandwell, and Gillian Clark (eds.), *Being Christian in Late Antiquity: A Festschrift for Gillian Clark* (Oxford, 2014), 253-277.

Vienken, Heinz J., "'Nobody has Ever Written a Good Book on Jonathan Swift': Scouring the Recesses of the Swiftian Mind", in Hermann J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fourth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 2003), 147-157.

Waddington, Raymond B., *Aretino's Satyr: Sexuality, Satire and Self-Projection in Sixteenth-Century Literature and Art* (Toronto, 2004).

Walsh, Marcus, "Text, 'Text', and Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *Modern Language Review* 85/2 (1990), 290-303.

————, "*Swift and Anglican Rationalism* and the Grounds of Interpretation", *Swift Studies* 14 (1999), 21-28.

————, "Swift and Religion", in Christopher Fox (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift* (Cambridge, 2003), 161-176.

————, "Swift's *Tale of a Tub* and the Mock-Book", in Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty (eds.), *Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge, 2013), 101-118.

————, "Scholarly Documentation in the Enlightenment: Validation and Interpretation", in Paddy Bullard and Alexis Tadié (eds.), *Ancients and Moderns in Europe: Comparative Perspectives* (Oxford, 2016), 97-112.

Walsham, Alexandra, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006).

Wasserstein, Abraham, and David J. Wasserstein, *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge, 2006).

Webster, C. M., "Swift's *Tale of a Tub* Compared with Earlier Satire of the Puritans", *PMLA* 47 (1932), 171-178.

————, "Swift and some Earlier Satirists of Puritan Enthusiasm", *PMLA* 48 (1933), 1141-1153.

———, "The Satiric Background of the Attacks on the Puritans in Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*", *PMLA* 50 (1935), 210-233.

Weinberg, Joanna, "A Sixteenth-Century Hebraic Approach to the New Testament", in Christopher Ligota and Jean-Louis Quantin (eds.), *History of Scholarship: A Selection from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford, 2006), 231-250.

Weinbrot, Howard D., "'He Will Kill Me Over and Over Again": Intellectual Contexts of the Battle of the Books", in Herman J. Real and Helgard Stöver-Leidig (eds.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Fourth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (Munich, 2003), 225-248.

———, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, 2005).

Welle, J. A. van der, *Dryden and Holland* (Groningen, 1962).

Weststeijn, Thijs, "Spinoza Sinicus: An Asian Paragraph in the History of the Radical Enlightenment", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68/4 (2007), 537-561.

———, "Vossius's Chinese Utopia", in Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689): Between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden, 2012), 207-242.

Wilbur, E. M., *A History of Unitarianism: Socinianism and its Antecedents* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946).

Wiles, Maurice, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries* (Oxford, 1996).

Womersley, David, "'Now Deaf 1740': Entrapment, Foreboding, and Exorcism in Late Swift", in Claude Rawson (ed.), *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives* (Cambridge, 2010), 162-184.

Wooley, David, "The Textual History of *A Tale of a Tub*", *Swift Studies* 21 (2006), 7-26.

Wright, Alexander, "William Cave and the Fortunes of *Historia Literaria* in England", (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2018).

Yoshiko Reed, Annette, "The Modern Invention of 'Old Testament Pseudepigrapha'", *Journal of Theological Studies* 60/2 (2009), 403-436.

Zimmermann, Everett, *Swift's Narrative Satires: Author and Authority* (Ithaca, 1983)

Zimpfer, Nathalie, "Swift and Religion: From Myth to Reality", *Swift Studies* 24 (2009), 46-69.

———, "The Paradoxical Rhetoric of Swift's Homiletics", in Kirsten Juhas, Hermann J. Real, and Sandra Simon (eds.), *Reading Swift: Papers from the Sixth Münster Symposium on Jonathan Swift* (München, 2013), 265-282.

ONLINE SOURCES

Cooper, Thompson, and D. Milburn, "Jenks, Silvester", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* < https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:4563/10.1093/ref:odnb/14742 > [accessed 12th December 2018].

Penney, Christine: Hurd Library Blog, < http://thehurdlibrary.tumblr.com/post/63020355017/intellectum-da-mihi-et-vivam > [accessed January 15th 2018].

Oxford English Dictionary < http://www.oed.com/ >.