1. that *Jack Juggler* cannot have been written during the reign of Edward VI, because under a Protestant king the doctrine of transubstantiation was naturally not enforced, so that in this period there could be no reason for the writer to utter the complaint:

1. 1000. Such is the fashyon of the worlde now a dayes
but that the play must have been composed under the reign of Queen Mary,
when the Roman Catholics got into power;

2. that its writer must have been a Protestant.

These points afford us another clue as to the authorship of the piece, for we may now ask: who is the Protestant writer, who, between 1553—1558, composed a play which shows all the characteristics enumerated in the course of this article.

Now we know that if any man showed himself a zealous Protestant, that man was Nicholas Udall. Already at Oxford he became one of the earliest adherents of the Protestant movement among the tutors. Later on, under the patronage of Catherine Parr, he translated into English part of Erasmus's *Paraphrase of the New Testament* and translated himself the Gospel of St. Luke. In 1549 he was, by Edward VI, ordered to reply to the Devonshire Catholics, who demanded among others the restoration of the mass. It was in his *An answer to the articles of the comoners of Devonshire and Cornwall* that Udall showed most distinctly his Lutheran tendencies, reasoning with great force against the Catholic arguments. For a man, who on many occasions stood up for the Protestant cause, it must have been particularly galling, when, after the accession of Queen Mary, the mass was re-established, the doctrine of transubstantiation was enforced again and many sanguinary laws were revived against the heretics and I can understand that, when in 1554 there came a warrant from the Queen, directing Udall to prepare "dialogues and interludes to be performed in the royal presence," Udall could not forbear making an attack on that which had been a point of great vexation to him. That he did not, on this occasion, attack the Roman Catholic church openly, shows that he was sensible enough to understand that, by doing so, he would have incurred the displeasure of the Queen, not to speak of more serious consequences.

It is on the grounds alleged above that I have come to the conclusion mentioned in the beginning of this article.

Groningen.

G. DUDOK.

'MELIBŒUS OLD' IN MILTON'S *COMUS*.

Before the Attendant Spirit relates the story of Sabrina (*Comus*, ll. 824—857), and after informing the Brothers that

"We cannot free the Lady that sits here

In strong fetters fixed and motionless."

he proceeds in l. 820.

"Yet stay: be not disturbed; now I bethink me,
Some other means I have which may be used,
Which once of Melibœus old I learnt,
The soothest shepherd that e'er piped on plains."

In his notes on l.l. 822 and 823 Prof. Masson¹⁾ tells us that "*Melibœus old*" is "Possibly Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that "*soothest*" is "said ironically, if Geoffrey of Monmouth was Melibœus."

The fact that irony would be altogether out of place in this passage, should have convinced Prof. Masson that Milton could not possibly have thought of Geoffrey of Monmouth when he wrote it.

"The soothest shepherd that e'er piped on plains" can never be said in reference to an old Latin Chronicler, not even ironically, and least of all by a true poet in a pastoral poem. It is true that the story of Sabrina was first told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, as Prof. Masson himself states²⁾, the legend was "repeated by Spenser, Drayton, and other poets". I am the more surprised at Prof. Masson's conclusion, as in the same note, after relating the legend as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the learned editor says: — "In Spenser (*F. Q. II. x*) it is only Sabrina that is so drowned, her mother being disposed of otherwise; and *in this Milton follows Spenser*³⁾, changing also other particulars."

Now, to which of the poets who repeated the legend, can Milton have referred? It is not difficult to answer this query, when we consider that Melibœus is a name of pretty common occurrence in pastoral poetry. It was the name of one of the shepherds in Virgil's first Eclogue, and Spenser uses it twice in reference to Sir Francis Walsingham, Sydney's father-in-law, once in *The Ruines of Time*, and again in the last book of *The Faerie Queene* calling him Melibœ.

In *The Faerie Queene*⁴⁾ old Melibœ is represented as the foster-father of Pastorella, who is made love to by Sir Calidore. Spenser, who intended a compliment to his friend Sir Philip Sidney, must have thought of him as the author of *Arcadia* when he called Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter Pastorella and represented her as the adopted child of old Melibœ, by whom he undoubtedly meant Virgil.

Now, if we may call the author of "The Shepheardes Calender" the English Virgil, there is no reason why Milton, who followed Spenser in his story of Sabrina, so must have known Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and probably most of his other poems, if not all, together with particulars of Spenser's life, should not have been struck by the personal note in stanzas xxiv and xxv of Book VI, IX, written by the original of the "Suter" in "Mother Hubberds Tale".

Is it not, as if Spenser referred to his own experiences when old Melibœ says:

1) *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (1882), Vol. III, 274.

2) Note on l.l. 826—857, Vol. III, 274.

3) The italics are mine.

4) Bk VI, ix.

VI, IX, XXIV.

"The time was once, in my first prime of yeares,
 When pride of youth forth pricked my desire,
 That I disdain'd amongst mine equall peares
 To follow sheepe and shepherds base attire:
 For further fortune then I would inquire;
 And, leaving home, to roiall court I sought,
 Where I did sell my selfe for yearely hire,
 And in the Princes gardin daily wrought:
 There I beheld such vaineesse as I never thought.

XXV.

With sight whereof soone cloyd, and long deluded
 With idle hopes which them doe entertaine,
 After I had ten yeares my selfe excluded
 From native home, and spent my youth in vaine,
 I gan my follies to my selfe to plaine,
 And this sweet peace, whose lacke did then appeare:
 Tho, backe returning to my sheepe againe,
 I from thenceforth have learn'd to love more deare
 This lowly quiet life which I inherite here."

This resemblance must have struck Milton, as it must strike every one who knows the life of Spenser, and so, by calling Spenser "Melibœus old, the soothest shepherd that e'er piped on plains" Milton paid a very high and well deserved compliment to his master, could not have chosen a better place for it than his own beautiful Masque, and at the same time stands acquitted of the bad taste of which he would have been guilty, if Prof. Masson's surmise as to the irony implied, were true.

In his note on l. 852 Prof. Masson says: — "*as the old swain said*: — i. e. the Melibœus of line 822. But neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Spenser has this development of the legend." Now, just as Milton is his own mythologist sometimes¹⁾, he may have been his own chronicler or historian as well, and deviated in some particulars from Melibœus old.

If the objection to Spenser's being meant should be the insertion of the adjective old, I think we can easily account for its use here, apart from the fact that Spenser used the same epithet. When we consider that Spenser had been dead some ten years before Milton was born, that he belonged to the preceding century, that he wrote on a subject which may be regarded as mediæval rather than modern, conveyed in language resembling Chaucer's rather than Shakespeare's, and finally, that half a century must have appeared longer to Milton than it does to us, I think there can be no objection to regarding Melibœus old to be synonymous with Spenser.

Moreover, who, among the distinguished audience at Ludlow Castle, for whose benefit *Comus* was written, would have thought of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and who would not at once have thought of the author of *The Fairie Queene*?

Arnhem.

J. F. BENSE.

¹⁾ See Prof. Masson's note on l.l. 14—23 in *L'Allegro*, Vol. III, 246.