

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix

Acknowledgements xi

Introduction: Archdeacon Grantly's Secret; or, Being Rabelaisian	1
PART I. FICTION, SATIRE AND TRANSLATION, 1590–1694	17
1 Monstrous Wit: Rabelais in English Before the English Rabelais	19
<i>The Double Personality of Rabelaisian Comedy</i>	19
<i>'A Master of Scoffing'</i>	28
<i>'Such a Gargantuist': Prose Satire in the 1590s</i>	35
<i>Pedagogy and Pantagruelism</i>	43
2 A Rabelaisian Scotsman in King Oliver's Court: Language, Utopia and the Nonsense of Revolution	50
<i>Scottish Utopians</i>	50
<i>A Civil War of Words</i>	53
<i>The Politics of Nonsense</i>	60
<i>'Posteriour uses'</i>	65
3 Gargantua and the Leviathan: Translation, Patronage and Cultural Politics in the British Republic	70
<i>'Most Noble and Illustrious Drinkers'</i>	71
<i>'Of wit corrupted': Anti-Puritan Republicanism</i>	76

	<i>The Rabelaisian Body Politic of Post-Regicide Britain</i>	81
	<i>Inventing a Culture Without a King</i>	86
	<i>'A fit of excessive laughter'</i>	92
4	Rabelais in the Restoration Coffeehouse: Wit, Conversation and Anticlerical Satire	95
	<i>Coffee, Books and Buffooning</i>	95
	<i>'Betwixt the Civil and the Ecclesiastical Giant': Anglo-French Networks of Wit</i>	102
	<i>'A jerking, flirting way of writing': Anatomising Priestcraft</i>	107
5	A Rabelaisian Refugee in the Whig World: Religious Persecution, Forced Migration and the Politics of Literary Translation	114
	<i>The Disintegration of Laughter?</i>	114
	<i>Rabelais in Grub Street</i>	121
	<i>The Religious Politics of Pantagruelism</i>	128
	<i>Whigs and Tories, 'Pantagruellists' and 'Andouillians'</i>	136
PART II. TRANSLATION, SATIRE AND THE NOVEL, 1694–1775		143
6	'Betwixt some meaning & no meaning': Pope, Swift and the Scriblerian Rabelais	145
	<i>'Dr Swift likes it much'</i>	145
	<i>'Mr Pope seems to be quite angry with that writer'</i>	149
	<i>'The great Original of Banter': Ridicule and the Rabelaisian Style</i>	154
7	'An Emblem without a Key to't': <i>A Tale of a Tub</i> , the Moderns and the Rabelaisian Reader	162
	<i>Heresy, Modernity and Narrative</i>	162
	<i>Translation and 'the Humour of the Age'</i>	171
	<i>'Taste me this fine Chapter': Consuming Texts</i>	177
	<i>Platonic and Rabelaisian Dogs</i>	184

8	'Rablais himself [...] was the <i>Gulliver</i> of that Age': <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> , <i>A Modest Proposal</i> and <i>Body Politics</i>	190
	<i>Gulliver's Rabelaisian Wonderland</i>	190
	' <i>The Anagrammatick Method</i> ': <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> and <i>Political Allegory</i>	195
	' <i>Sun-Beams out of Cucumbers</i> ': <i>the Rabelaisian Project of Gulliver's Travels</i>	200
	' <i>A grave Author, an eminent French Physician</i> ': <i>Debased Bodies in A Modest Proposal</i>	204
9	'As Rabelaic a Fellow as ever piss'd': Sterne, the English Rabelais, and the Morality of Fiction	212
	<i>Fiction, Translation, Dirtiness</i>	212
	' <i>The prudish humour of particulars</i> ': <i>Indecency and Interpretation</i>	218
	<i>Rabelaisian Monks and the 'spirit of Shandeism'</i>	224
	' <i>A Fragment in the Manner of Rabelais</i> '	228
10	'Motley emblem of my work!': <i>Tristram Shandy</i> , <i>A Sentimental Journey</i> and the Rabelaisian Novel	233
	' <i>Suffer her not to look into Rabelais</i> '	233
	' <i>The dark Veil of Allegories</i> ': <i>from A Political Romance to Tristram Shandy</i>	240
	' <i>And pray who was Tickletohy's mare?</i> '	245
	' <i>One compleat system of modern politics</i> '	251
	' <i>All the wit that ever Rabelais scatter'd</i> ': <i>from Tristram Shandy to A Sentimental Journey</i>	257
	Epilogue: Orwell's Pornographer; or, Archdeacon Grantly Remembered	265

Notes 273

Bibliography 327

Index 365

Introduction

ARCHDEACON GRANTLY'S SECRET; OR, BEING RABELAISIAN

IN *THE WARDEN* (1855), the first of Anthony Trollope's novels about the micro-climate of ecclesiastical life in the fictional English cathedral town of Barchester, the true character of the archdeacon, Dr Theophilus Grantly, is revealed to be somewhat at odds with his ferociously upright public persona by the nature of his private reading:

After breakfast, on the morning of which we are writing, the Archdeacon, as usual, retired to his study, intimating that he was going to be very busy, but that he would see Mr Chadwick if he called. On entering this sacred room he carefully opened the paper case on which he was wont to compose his favourite sermons, and spread on it a fair sheet of paper and one partly written on; he then placed his inkstand, looked at his pen, and folded his blotting paper; having done so, he got up again from his seat, stood with his back to the fire-place, and yawned comfortably, stretching out vastly his huge arms and opening his burly chest. He then walked across the room and locked the door; and having so prepared himself, he threw himself into his easy-chair, took from a secret drawer beneath his table a volume of Rabelais, and began to amuse himself with the witty mischief of Panurge; and so passed the Archdeacon's morning on that day.

Not only does Dr Grantly read this volume behind a locked door but, we learn a few paragraphs later, he also keeps a key for his 'secret drawer' so that he can 'fasten up his Rabelais' away from his wife and the rest of the household.¹

We are not told whether the archdeacon is reading the tales of gluttonous, bibulous giants and their fantastic adventures by François Rabelais

(ca. 1483–1553), collectively known as *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and published in five books between 1532 and 1564, in the original French or in English translation. Given the difficulty of Rabelais's sixteenth-century French, it is more likely the translation begun by Sir Thomas Urquhart in the 1650s and completed by Peter Motteux in the 1690s—the sole English version of Rabelais before the 1890s—that Trollope has in mind. If so, Grantly is following assiduously the sort of advice to possessors of an English Rabelais given in *The Foreign Quarterly Review* in 1843:

To a reader of modern times the obscenity of Rabelais appears something tremendous; there is no book admitted as literature, which will bear a moment's comparison with *Pantagruel* for indecency [. . .]. Therefore we do advise every father of a family to keep from his house, or at any rate, under very secure lock and key, the English version of Rabelais. The French version is not so dangerous, as it is furnished with a kind of natural barrier against indiscriminate reading, by the old style and spelling; but as for the translation, we can conceive of no event more horrible than the opening of it, by chance, in the midst of a respectable family. The terror excited by a bomb-shell, flung into the midst of a quiet tea-party [. . .] would be trivial compared to that of perceiving Urquhart's Rabelais opened by a young lady in white muslin.²

This wonderfully hyperbolic warning against the threat of Rabelais in English to female sensibility and family respectability might be taken as typically Victorian in its prudishness. After all, the English version of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* became the focus of protests by the Society for the Suppression of Vice in the 1870s, leading the bookseller W. H. Smith to withdraw an 1873 edition of the Urquhart and Motteux translation with illustrations by Gustave Doré. The secretary of the Society, Charles Hastings Collette, insisted that if the work was to be 'sold at railway stalls' in English, then it must first be bowdlerised of its many 'filthy passages'.³ In this light, Grantly's closet reading of Rabelais while he pretends to be writing sermons for the Christian edification of the people of Barchester might be taken as emblematic of the hypocrisy of a character whom we constantly see scheming to preserve the material comforts of the ecclesiastical establishment.

This assumption has some justification, but it does not tell the whole story. Grantly's fondness for Rabelais is also meant to tell us something more complex about a man who, the narrator insists in the final pages of *The Warden*, is 'represented in these pages as worse than he is', and whose 'aspirations are of



FIGURE 1. Gustav Doré, engraving of *Gargantua*, chapter 38 ('How Gargantua did eat up six Pilgrims in a sallet'), in the 1873 edition of the Urquhart and Motteux translation of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.

a healthy, if not of the highest, kind'; the pleasure he takes in Rabelais is indicative, like his 'huge arms' and 'burly chest', of a man of large but predominantly natural appetites.⁴ Indeed, even Hastings Collette allowed that Rabelais might be kept to the confines of both the difficult original French and a gentleman's library: it was specifically the easy availability of the translation to which he lodged moral objection. The author of the piece in *The Foreign Quarterly*

Review does not simply condemn Rabelais for his indecency, but rather regards him as reading fit only for educated and experienced men of the world, able to appreciate the true sophistication of his provocative wit. The author goes on to describe Rabelais as ‘the literary parent of so many authors, since without him we would probably have never known a Swift, a Sterne [. . . ;] an author who did not appear as a steadily shining light to the human race, but as a wild, startling meteor, predicting the independence of thought, and the downfall of the authority of ages: an author who, for the union of heavy learning with the most miraculous power of imagination, is perhaps without a competitor.’⁵

The notion that Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) was a type of Rabelais in English was already commonplace in Swift’s own lifetime. Indeed, Trollope’s description of Grantly settling down in ‘his easy-chair’ to read Rabelais alludes to Alexander Pope’s address to Swift in the opening of the 1729 *Variorum* edition of *The Dunciad* (1st edn 1728) as a master of various satiric styles:

O Thou! Whatever title please thine ear,
Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver!
Whether thou choose Cervantes’ serious air,
Or laugh and shake in Rab’lais’ easy chair.⁶

A few years later, this comparison was common enough for Voltaire to dispute, in *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733), the ascription of ‘the title of the English Rabelais which is given the Dean.’ ‘Dean Swift’, declared Voltaire in a striking phrase, is rather ‘Rabelais in his senses’—a kind of Enlightenment version of Rabelais who ‘posseseth all the delicacy, the justness, the choice, the good taste, in which particulars our giggling rural vicar Rabelais is wanting.’⁷ Voltaire’s ‘rural vicar Rabelais’ sounds more like Archdeacon Grantly than one of the great writers of the European Renaissance.

If Voltaire regarded Rabelais as lacking in taste and reason compared to Swift, Laurence Sterne (1713–1768) went out of his way to cultivate an association with Rabelais both in his fiction and in his correspondence, and encouraged his friends to do likewise. Here was the English Rabelais: so pronounced William Warburton, bishop of Gloucester and self-perceived arbiter of English letters, on the publication of the first volumes of *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67). The association has persisted as a key aspect of modern critical views of Sterne, due in large part to D. W. Jefferson’s landmark, frequently reprinted 1951 essay, ‘*Tristram Shandy* and the Tradition of Learned Wit’, in which Jefferson declared that the survival into the eighteenth century of the ‘type of

learned wit' on display in Sterne's novel—a type of wit which derives from 'intellectual habits belonging to the pre-Enlightenment world of thought' and 'against which the Enlightenment set its face'—may be attributed 'partly to an isolated event in literary history: the publication of the English Rabelais', in the form of the Urquhart and Motteux translation.⁸ While Sterne undoubtedly drew on the humanist tradition of learned satirical wit of which *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was a significant part, the noise made about the comparison with Rabelais by Sterne and his promoters has more recently been seen as strategic, enabling Sterne to 'pre-empt allegations of indebtedness to his immediate contemporaries and so assist his standing, paradoxically, as an original himself.'⁹ Yet this noise was also designed to catch the ear of the urbane, self-consciously literate audience who had come to regard Rabelaisian satire as their sort of thing. As one of Sterne's first biographers put it, carefully placing his subject in a line of satiric inheritance: 'All read, most approved, but few understood [the opening volumes of *Tristram Shandy*]. Those who had not entered into the ludicrous manner of Rabelais, or the poignant satire of Swift, did not comprehend them.'¹⁰ Sterne and his circle evidently believed the title of the 'English Rabelais' would give his fiction the status of a 'classic' of learned wit and guard against it being dismissed as mere bawdy nonsense catering to the crude tastes of an unsophisticated readership. The adjective 'Rabelaisian' was, according to the *OED*, coined by the same early memoirist: '[Sterne] decently lived a becoming ornament of the Church, till his Rabelaisian spirit, which issued from the press, immersed him into the gaieties and frivolities of the world.'¹¹

Trollope's description of Archdeacon Grantly's secret reading in *The Warden* introduces several recurring themes of this book, which explores aspects of the reception, translation and circulation of Rabelaisian comedy in Britain and Ireland from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, with particular focus on the period from Urquhart's translation of the first two books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in 1653 to the publication of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67), the first part of which appeared just over a century later. (As in this introduction, there will be occasional glances also at continuities or differences in Romantic, Victorian and twentieth-century receptions and perceptions of Rabelaisian comedy.) The success of Sterne, Warburton and others in identifying Sterne's originality with his translation of the Rabelaisian mode into English has tended to obscure the impact on earlier English writing of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. It was rightly observed some twenty-five years ago that the 'historical specificity' of the literary connection between Sterne

and Rabelais has remained largely unexamined because ‘criticism has lacked a full consideration of what constituted the “Rabelaisian” by the mid-eighteenth century’, particularly in terms of the character and reception of the first translations.¹² While our understanding of the presence of Rabelais in English literary culture before the appearance of the Urquhart translation has been entertainingly updated in terms of modern theories of reception and influence by Anne Lake Prescott in *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (1998), there has been no dedicated study of the English Rabelais from Urquhart onwards since Huntington Brown’s still informative but scattergun survey of 1933, *Rabelais in English Literature*.¹³

‘Rabelaisian’ is an adjective which in both criticism and common linguistic currency has become detached from its literary and authorial origins and become an alternative term for, as the *OED* has it, the ‘bawdy’, the ‘vulgar’, and the ‘earthily humorous’: we can see the process beginning from the moment the term is coined to describe Sterne’s character rather than appraise his literary style, evoking a sensibility healthily drawn to festivity and indulgence but also somewhat at odds with Christian decency. The generality of the term has doubtless contributed to the vagueness of much critical discussion. The influence of Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of the ‘carnavalesque’ in *Rabelais and His World*, a work first published in Russian in 1965 and which continues to be a staple on ‘introduction to theory’ courses in the humanities, has also encouraged a perception of the ‘Rabelaisian’ as a natural, elemental energy, essentially ahistorical despite Bakhtin’s identification of its flourishing in Europe with the folk culture of the medieval and early Renaissance periods. As we shall see, Bakhtin (1895–1975) actually regarded the completion of the English Rabelais as a manifestation of the Enlightenment suppression of the ‘tradition of popular-festive laughter that informed Rabelais’s work’—as an embodiment of, as he put it in his opening chapter on ‘Rabelais in the History of Laughter’, ‘the disintegration of laughter that took place in the seventeenth century’.¹⁴ *Rabelais and His World*, completed in its original form in the Soviet Union during the Second World War, is an attractive and inspiring work of criticism, but its theory of the carnivalesque is better regarded as a heuristic that can be applied to cultural artefacts than as a coherent historical narrative: one of the goals of this book is to challenge the dominance of the Bakhtinian account of the history of laughter by showing how the very developments in the translation of Rabelais that Bakhtin regards as suppressing the ‘tradition of popular-festive laughter’ in fact contributed to new forms of comic and satirical narrative that were integral to the origins of the English novel.

The history of the completion of the first English translation of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* is unusually long and piecemeal. Cervantes (1547–1616) and Rabelais were conventionally paired in eighteenth-century criticism as the great comic writers of their age in Europe, but Thomas Shelton's English version of the first part of *Don Quixote* was available to buy within seven years of the original 1605 publication, while Cervantes was still alive, whereas the first English translation of parts of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was published exactly a century after Rabelais's death. The rumbunctious translation by Sir Thomas Urquhart (1611–1660) of books one (*Gargantua*) and two (*Pantagruel*) incongruously appeared in 1653, on the cusp of the establishment of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate in England. In 1693 Peter Anthony Motteux (1663–1718) published a revision, with a preface and notes, of Urquhart's version of these first two books, and also Urquhart's previously unpublished version of *Le Tiers Livre*, the manuscript of which Motteux had mysteriously obtained. To these Motteux added the following year his own translation of the fourth (*Le Quart Livre*) and fifth books (*Le Cinquième Livre*, now considered probably inauthentic but which was attributed without question to Rabelais in this period). The complete translation was reissued in 1708. Motteux's text was then revised in 1737 by John Ozell (d. 1743), who added both his own notes and translations of the commentary in the 1711 French edition of the Huguenot scholar Jacob Le Duchat (1658–1735); and it was this palimpsest of translations and notes and commentary (Urquhart revised and added to by Motteux, revised by Ozell) that was used by Sterne. So, the author pronounced by contemporaries as the 'English Rabelais' was of Irish birth (Sterne, who lived in Ireland for the first ten years of his life), while the English translation upon which he relied was largely the work of a Scottish laird (Urquhart) and a French Huguenot exile—Motteux, who, as Pierre-Antoine Le Motteux, had fled to London after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. It must be emphasised that when the term 'English literature' is used in this book, it is to mean writing in English, not writing solely produced by the English.

The history of the English translation of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* thus bears out claims for the 'constant theme of mobility' in the process of vernacular translation in early modern Europe. This is particularly the case with Motteux, a neglected figure whose life and work as a translator opens up a world of forced migration and religious refugees that has increasingly been seen as offering an important new perspective on the history of early modern Europe.¹⁵ This theme of 'mobility'—the ways in which translation moved 'in a polyglot environment, crossing, and indeed transcending, national and

linguistic boundaries’—has in recent years become central also to a burgeoning scholarly interest in early modern ‘cultures of translation.’¹⁶ The increasing importance placed on translators and translation across the humanities is encapsulated by A.E.B. Coldiron: ‘translation challenges major critical categories such as authorship, genre, and periodization, and thus animates literary, historical, and theoretical inquiries alike.’ ‘Translators’, Coldiron continues, ‘intervened both transculturally and transtemporally, challenging the usual national and period categories on which humanities scholarship has been based.’ In the 1550–1800 period, the practice of translation ‘served not only the very broad “Renaissance” agenda of remaking the ancient past, but also the forward-looking “early modern” agendas of competitively appropriating (which in some cases meant colonizing) current foreign materials.’¹⁷ The chapters which follow offer examples of these challenges to ‘the usual national and period categories’ posed by translation as they explore the various ways in which the major prose fiction of the French Renaissance was appropriated as an English ‘classic’ in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by an expanding colonial and Protestant nation, in fierce competition, and often open conflict, with Catholic France.¹⁸ In the case of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, however, such appropriation was much complicated by its notoriety as an obscene and irreligious text.¹⁹

A notable feature of recent scholarly interest in ‘cultures of translation’ has been a focus upon the transnational networks of actors—authors, printers, publishers, booksellers, readers and annotators—that make up the social history of a translation. *Comic Enlightenment* is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of the European circulation and reception of an author and their books on the grand scale, or with the deep level of empirical data, of a study such as Warren Boucher’s recent, two-volume *The School of Montaigne* (2017).²⁰ Nor is it concerned with applying in any concerted fashion the material approaches of book and print history, although there is some discussion of specific copies of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and their ownership and annotation.²¹ Indeed, chapter 4 below challenges some of the methodological assumptions that underlie the history of reading, which has become virtually a subdiscipline of the humanities in recent years. *Comic Enlightenment* is primarily a work of historical criticism which pays particular attention to how the reception and translation of Rabelais was shaped by, and interacted with, the cultural politics of Britain and Ireland in consecutive historical periods: during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (chapters 2 and 3); in the early Restoration (chapter 4); and in the aftermath of the so-called Glorious Revolution

of 1689 (chapter 5). The second part of the book is concerned with the literary consequences of the completed translation of Rabelais for eighteenth-century satire and comic fiction, while continuing to emphasise the political origin and resonance of those consequences. Chapters 6–10 argue for the significance for Swift and Sterne—and thus for the development of the English novel—of the Rabelaisian fascination with the materiality of language and the fragmentation of narrative; but the earlier attraction of those aspects of Rabelais to his translators is evident in Urquhart’s elaborate, semi-parodic proposals for a universal language and Motteux’s detailed political readings of episodes of linguistic play and confusion in *Gargantua and Pantagruel*.

The history of the English reception of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* is characterised by a productive tension between the reputation of Rabelais as obscene and irreligious, indeed even pornographic and blasphemous, and a sense among those who knew—or at least claimed to know—their Rabelais that such familiarity signalled their status as members of a sophisticated, cosmopolitan elite, conversant in modern languages and able to appreciate the true wit of such outrageous fictions. Hence in Elizabethan and early Stuart England, before *Gargantua and Pantagruel* was put into English, references and allusions to Rabelais tended to flourish, as chapter 1 below shows, among literary circles and enclosed communities associated with the universities, the Inns of Court, and the London literary scene which revolved around Ben Jonson (1572–1637) and those he called his ‘sons’. It is, however, often difficult to be sure how familiar English writers really were with Rabelais before Motteux’s translation, even when they are writing in what looks like a Rabelaisian style or citing characters and episodes apparently taken from *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. The most obvious example of this is Thomas Nashe (1567–ca. 1601), whose prose style and obsession with the materiality of language can appear obviously Rabelaisian but who can nowhere be pinned down definitively as imitating Rabelais. Yet new archival research indicates that Nashe had encountered *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (or at least bits of it). Locating Nashe at the very beginning of a tradition of the reception of Rabelais in English—not coincidentally, perhaps, Nashe is recorded as the first to use the term ‘obscenity’ in English, and he does so with reference to classical literature—lends an element of historical specificity to the otherwise vague notion that, in their common techniques of ‘digression and intertextual parody’, Nashe’s prose fiction should be regarded as a precursor to *Tristram Shandy* in the development of the novel in English.²²

The daring treatment of religion in *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, and the fact that Rabelais was both placed on the Index by the Roman Catholic church and

condemned by Luther and Calvin, made Rabelaisian comedy and satire particularly appealing to those engaged in anticlerical and anti-sectarian polemic. Thomas Urquhart found in Rabelais, among other things, a means to express his scorn for the Presbyterians whom he blamed for fomenting civil war in Scotland. Chapter 2 below shows how Urquhart's seemingly sincere proposals for a universal language, published separately the year before his translation, apply Rabelaisian play with meaning and communication to the breakdown in understanding that royalists perceived in their contemporary world of civil war Britain. Urquhart's brilliantly eccentric translation of the first two books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and the astonishing personal and political circumstances in which it appeared are the subject of chapter 3. Amid the turbulence of the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century, other royalist writers found in Rabelaisian comedy a resource for mockery of radical religious claims to divine authority and inspiration. And yet, contrary to traditional literary-historical assumptions about Cavalier libertinism and Roundhead puritanism, Urquhart's Rabelais turns out to have been a work that was encouraged, and perhaps even sponsored, by those seeking to represent the demise of the Stuart court and the inauguration of the new British republic as a moment of cultural and literary renewal.

After the restoration of the monarchy, the new urban social context of the coffeehouse fostered a political culture in which Rabelaisian satire was put to sceptical and anticlerical use: the prose satires of Andrew Marvell (1621–1678), the member of Parliament and former Cromwellian civil servant who is the central figure of chapter 4 below, suggest the appeal of Rabelaisian jokes to the sort of urbane readership in the coffeehouses that Marvell sought to reach. The case of Marvell also highlights the fragmentary and uncertain nature of reference to Rabelais before Motteux completed the English translation. Marvell had spent considerable time in France in both the 1640s and 1650s and his references to Rabelais indicate less his thorough reading of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* than his exposure through travel and conversation to jokes and anecdotes attributed (erroneously) to Rabelais. The twist in the tale of Marvell's use of Rabelaisian satire is that he may not actually have read Rabelais at all—the references are rather traces of Marvell's movement through various social contexts, or 'conversable' worlds, in both France and England. Such uncertain or indirect reference unsettles some of the assumptions of conventional literary history, which has tended to be based upon a model of influence which involves the direct reading of one author by another.

The publication of the complete translation in the final decade of the seventeenth century not only made Rabelais finally fully available as a literary

resource in English: Motteux also provided an extensive commentary or ‘key’ to the text, in which he exhaustively interpreted its episodes as allegories of political events and religious controversies in Rabelais’s own time and, more remarkably, of Motteux’s own recent experience as a persecuted Huguenot. While there had previously been continental Protestant attempts to provide an historical key to Rabelais, Motteux’s commentary was on a new scale of detail. It was upon this ‘historic-allegorical method’ of reading Rabelais that Bakhtin blamed the beginning of the ‘disintegration of laughter’ in early modern Europe. But Motteux’s work needs to be taken on its own terms and understood in the personal and political contexts from which it emerged. Chapter 5 below shows how Motteux’s ‘historic-allegorical method’ represented *Gargantua and Pantagruel* to an English-speaking readership as a proto-Protestant polemic against Catholic tyranny and persecution, and the translation as perfectly suited to the moment of its appearance in a more tolerant, post-revolutionary England. Bakhtin was anticipated by Alexander Pope in his scorn for attempts such as Motteux’s to impose political allegory on comic fiction. Pope equated such an approach with anti-Catholic Whig politics and the philistine modernity of Grub Street, both of which Motteux personified.

Motteux’s method was novel and influential in the eighteenth century, and it was received in more subtle and creative ways than Bakhtin would have us believe.²³ As chapters 6 and 7 here explore, Motteux’s English Rabelais inspired new comic and satirical forms that played with the notion of a key which unlocked the ‘real’ meaning of fictional narratives. The scepticism of Pope, Swift and their ‘Scriblerian’ circle towards the Whig political ideals to which Motteux dedicated his enterprise helps to ensure that the possibility of political allegory is always treated with a greater or lesser degree of irony. Such allegorical reading was parodied by Pope in his mock ‘key’ to his own poem, *The Rape of the Lock* (1714), as a symptom of the political and cultural disease of modernity. The possibility of satire as extended allegory had earlier been one of the multiple perspectives that Swift played with in *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), a new mode of satirical prose which both intrigued and provoked its readers, and which soon had its own published ‘key’ that claimed to assist readers in deciphering its ‘real’ meaning. Swift, who could read *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in French, makes few explicit references to Rabelais outside his correspondence—and in one startling moment in his late satire on English treatment of the Irish, *A Modest Proposal* (1729)—but the Rabelaisian example of a ridiculous comic travel narrative involving grotesque giants and absurd civilisations that might (or might not) contain a micro-allegory of political

reality is a structuring element of *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), the focus here of chapter 8.

Sterne's desire to develop a Rabelaisian style in English is apparent from the manuscript draft that is now regarded as 'a first essay at what would very soon become *Tristram Shandy*' and that was first published in 1775, seven years after Sterne's death, in bowdlerised form as 'A Fragment in the Manner of *Rabelais*'.²⁴ The fragment exhibits Sterne's fascination with the language of the Urquhart-Motteux translation in Ozell's 1737 edition, on which he was reliant for access to *Gargantua and Pantagruel*; but, like Swift, Sterne's satiric and political imagination was fired by Motteux's transformation of bawdy comedy into extended political and religious allegory. Chapters 9 and 10 below show how Sterne, from the parodic 'Key' that he appended to *A Political Romance* (1759) to the continual play with claims to deeper signification and obsession with systems of interpretation in *Tristram Shandy*, is as creatively influenced by Ozell's edition of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* as by Rabelais's work itself. Sterne follows Pope and Swift in playing with Motteux's conviction that comic obscenity must be an allegory of the political, or signify something other than itself, while never quite discounting its possibility.

In an influential study of Sterne, Thomas Keymer has persuasively argued against the critical tendency to separate his debt to the tradition of 'learned wit', up to and including Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*, from his relationships, satirical or otherwise, with the varieties of mid-eighteenth-century fiction: rather the 'Rabelaisian', like the 'Cervantic', was part of the 'currency' of discourse about the novel in the period.²⁵ Chapters 9 and 10 below flesh out this observation by exploring how the 'Rabelaisian' became part of this novelistic currency through a long history of translation and imitation. The satiric tradition of 'learned wit' that derived from the Renaissance is part of the story of *Tristram Shandy*, but Sterne's Rabelaisian inheritance is something less musty and more modern—and more political, given the strongly Whig version of British and European history to which Motteux sought to have his translation contribute. The ways in which the reception of Motteux's Rabelais shaped innovation in the eighteenth-century English novel can contribute to our increasing but still sketchy understanding of 'the early novel as a transnational, cosmopolitan, even perhaps borderless phenomenon'.²⁶ Three of the principal objections to Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (1957), the single most influential study of the history of the novel in English, have been 'the rigidity of a generic definition based on circumstantial and psychological realism to the exclusion of non-realist modes', 'a teleological bias that

neglects, misrepresents, or downgrades phases and types of fiction production, such as the richly variegated category of Elizabethan fiction' and 'a reductive Anglo-centrism that leaves out of account the translation, reception, and pervasive influence from the sixteenth century onwards' of non-English texts and traditions.²⁷ In relation to the last objection, it is Bakhtin's dictum in his essay 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse', first published in English in 1981, that the novel has 'always developed on the boundary line between cultures and languages' which has rather guided twenty-first-century scholarship (although the essay in which Bakhtin says this was actually written in 1940).²⁸

Yet *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, whether in French or in translation, is entirely absent from subsequent rival accounts of the novel's emergence, such as Michael McKeon's *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (1987) and J. Paul Hunter's *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (1990); and while the influence of Cervantes and 'Quixotism' on eighteenth-century English literature has been the subject of several major studies, Rabelais and 'the Rabelaisian' have not attracted anything like the same degree of attention—not featuring even in a collection such as *Remapping the Rise of the European Novel* (2007), which specifically sets out to revise Watt's account of the novel as originating in 'specifically English causes: empiricism, Protestantism, the development of modern capitalism and industrialization, a process that began in England before spreading to the rest of Europe.'²⁹ *Comic Enlightenment* offers an alternative, or perhaps rather parallel, history of the novel that engages with all three of the above objections to Watt's perdurable study by showing how a French prose fiction in a non-realist mode was received in English from the late Elizabethan period onwards; how its translation over the course of the latter half of the seventeenth century was shaped by, and responded, to specific historical and cultural circumstances; and how this French prose fiction, its reception, and its translation influenced several of the major instances of the eighteenth-century novel in English. The modern novel began to develop in the last decades of the seventeenth century 'through intersections and interactions among texts, readers, writers, and publishing and critical institutions that linked together Britain and France.'³⁰ The reception and translation of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* is a comparatively neglected aspect of that development. Ireland should also be added to this network of intersections and transactions: the examples of Swift and of Sterne also suggest there may be something to the claim that Irish writers have been particularly attracted to the idea of the Rabelaisian, or *raibiléiseachas*. Terry

Eagleton finds *Tristram Shandy* to be like ‘many an Irish text from Swift to Beckett’ in the way it ‘plays off the humiliated body against the hubris of the mind.’³¹ *Gargantua and Pantagruel* offers probably the most elaborate comic exploration of that theme in European literature, and Swift and Sterne learned much from it; but the Rabelaisian presence in their writing is more variegated, and more bound up with matters of translation, than has previously been realised.

It is an intriguing peculiarity of the story of Rabelais in English that Rabelaisian comedy tends to spill out from fiction into the lives of its translators—or rather their deaths. In Robertson Davies’s comic novel *The Rebel Angels* (1981), the plot of which is driven by the supposed discovery of a new manuscript by Rabelais, the professor of European Renaissance culture at the College of St John and the Holy Ghost is a Scot of outrageous and dubious character, Urquhart ‘Urky’ McVarish. While showing his rooms to Maria Theotsky, a PhD student working on Rabelais, McVarish expresses his surprise at meeting a ‘female Rabelaisian’ as ‘[t]hey used to say that no decent woman could read Rabelais’ (although he adds that he hopes she is not decent). He directs her to the portrait ‘above his mantel of a man in seventeenth-century lace cravat and a green coat the shade our host himself was wearing, whose nose was as long and whose face was as red as Urky’s own.’ This is revealed by McVarish to be ‘my great forebear Sir Thomas Urquhart, first and still unquestionably the best translator of Rabelais.’ When Maria responds that she has never read the Urquhart translation and prefers to ‘stick to the French’, McVarish exclaims, ‘But what are you missing! A great monument of scholarship and seventeenth-century English! And what rich neologisms! Slabberdegullion druggels, lubbardon louts, blockish grutnols, doddipol joltheads, lobdotterels, codshead loobies, ninny-hammer flycatchers, and other suchlike defamatory epithets!’³²

Urquhart’s translation of the first three books, which is still in print today in an Everyman edition along with Motteux’s version of the fourth and fifth books, is half as long again as the original, and Urquhart repeatedly exaggerates even the most exaggerated of the lists that parody the epic catalogues in Rabelais. So, where Rabelais has the cakemakers of Lerné hurl twenty-eight different insults at the shepherds of Grangousier in *Gargantua*, they are given forty-three ‘defamatory epithets’ to express their disdain in the version by Urquhart from which McVarish quotes. Most notably, where Rabelais has thirteen synonyms for Gargantua’s penis, Urquhart has thirty-eight, ranging from ‘gallant wimble’ to ‘bunguetee.’³³ Urquhart is a more ‘Rabelaisian’ writer than

Rabelais himself. In *The Rebel Angels*, Urky McVarish goes on to connect implicitly the personality of his supposed ancestor with his excessive literary style: 'He was a tremendous swell. Did you know that he is supposed to have died of ecstasy on hearing of the Restoration of his Sacred Majesty King Charles the Second?'³⁴ This anecdote was first recounted by an eighteenth-century editor of Urquhart's original writings: 'he died suddenly in a fit of excessive laughter, on being informed by his servant that the king was restored.'³⁵ The tale of Urquhart's supposed death by 'excessive laughter' is recounted by the editor with a straight face—the medical theories about laughter propounded by Rabelais's contemporary, the French physician Laurent Joubert, included discussion of how an extreme bout of laughter may suffocate its victim—but it sounds like a parodic version of the various admonitory tales concerning Rabelais's own fate which circulated in early modern Europe. One of these is to be found in the section on 'Epicures and Atheists' in *The Theatre of Gods Judgements* (1597), the popular catalogue of providential punishments translated from French and augmented with English examples by Thomas Beard, a Puritan cleric and schoolmaster: 'Francis Rabelais, having suck't up also this poison [of atheism], used like a prophane villain, to make all Religion a matter to laugh and mocke at: but God deprived him of all his senses, that he had led a brutish life, so that he might die a brutish death; for he died mocking all those that talked of God.'³⁶

The equally spectacular fate that apparently befell Peter Motteux is rather better documented. On 19 February 1718, Motteux was 'found dead in a House of very ill Fame, in Star-Court in the Butcher-Row near Temple-Bar [in London; . . .] there being Several Circumstances which ma[d]e it strongly suspected that he was murdered'. A contemporary account records that Motteux was 'suppos'd to have been strangled by Whores, who forgot to cut the cord They ha[d] ty'd ab[ou]t hi[s] Neck to provok[e] venery'. The mistress of the brothel and others who were present were subsequently acquitted of murder, in what has been claimed to be the first legal case of assisted erotic asphyxia.³⁷ These are Rabelaisian deaths indeed. But more famous now are the final words given to Rabelais on his deathbed in the biographical sketch which first appeared in English in the 1664 reprint of Urquhart's translations: 'I am going in quest of a great perhaps.'³⁸ As the chapters which follow show, the literary category of 'Rabelaisian' in English before the nineteenth century should encompass not only obscene or grotesque comedy, or a verbally exuberant style, but also matters of literary innovation, national identity, political allegiance and religious tolerance.

INDEX

- Aberdeen, 50; King's College, 52, 54
Addison, Joseph, 303n89
Aesop and Aesopian, 80, 121, 139, 177–79,
184–85, 253, 303n86
Alcock, Thomas, 292n11
Alemán, Mateo, 20
allegory and allegorical reading, 11–12, 26,
42–43, 79–80, 112–15, 117–21, 127–33,
139–40, 149–51, 156, 166–67, 171–80,
184–202, 205–8, 210, 213, 221–23, 234–35,
240–43, 245, 250–58, 266–72, 287n13,
298n19, 301nn56 and 57, 313n19, 320n6
Anabaptists, 156, 163
Ancients and Moderns, quarrel between,
123, 156, 171–73, 175, 178, 192, 221, 230,
299n36. See also *Phalaris, Epistles of*
Anne, queen of Great Britain, 119, 122,
146–47, 150–51, 167, 188, 199, 200, 242, 252
Annesley, Arthur, 1st Earl of Anglesey, 101–2,
109, 293n23
anticlericalism, 10, 22, 31, 78–80, 87, 100,
104–7, 110–12, 150, 157, 160, 168, 175, 266,
296n55
Arabic, 47, 148
Aramaic, 47
Arbuthnot, John, 145–46, 149, 192, 208,
312n7
Aretino, Pietro, 36–37
Ariosto, Ludovico, 39, 70
Aristophanes, 19, 215, 267
Aristotle and Aristotelian, 58, 228, 262, 270
Aristotle's Masterpiece, 270
Asgill, John, 157
astrology, 94
atheism, 15, 22, 33, 106
Atterbury, Francis, 197, 199, 200
Aubrey, John, 110
Babel, Tower of, 45, 48, 51, 65
Bacon, Francis, 24, 31–33, 65, 112, 120, 167,
171, 193
Baddeley, Richard, 286n2
Bakhtin, Mikhail, 6, 11, 13, 34, 41, 114–18, 270,
276n2, 280n65, 305n34, 325n21
Baldwin, Richard, 125, 137, 300nn40 and 42,
302n73
Barclay, John, 130, 301n56
Barrie, J. M., 285n38
Barrier Treaty (1715), 119
Bathurst, Allen, 1st Earl Bathurst, 154,
305n29
Bayle, Pierre, 122, 140
Beale, John, 51
Beard, Thomas, 15
Besant, Walter, 267–68, 325n11
Beaumont, Francis, 73, 86–87
Beckett, Samuel, 14
Béda, Noël, 37
Bentley, Richard, 183–84, 192–93, 312nn7
and 8
Berkenhead, John, 78, 85
Bible, the, 102, 215, 225, 231, 234, 251–52, 263:
Authorized Version, 70; Corinthians, 163;
Genesis, 45; Job, 233–35, 240; Revelation,
103. See also Babel, Tower of
Black, Joseph, 280n58

- Blount, Charles, 158, 160
Boccaccio, Giovanni, 171
Boccalini, Trajano, 173, 175, 309n39
Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas (Boileau),
122–23, 221, 263, 299n35
Bolingbroke. *See* St. John, Henry, Viscount
Bolingbroke
Bosse, Abraham, 83
Bouchet, Guillaume, 245
Boutcher, Warren, 8
Bouhéreau, Élie, 127–29, 300n51
Boyer, Abel, 106, 116–17, 122, 133, 174–76, 179,
193–94, 195, 205, 310n55. *See also*
Huguenots
Boyle, John, Earl of Orrery, 208
Boyle, Robert, 65
Bradshaw, John, 293n16
Brébeuf, Georges de, 105
Briscoe, Samuel, 302n73
Brome, Alexander, 73
Brooks, Peter, 118
Brown, Huntington, 6, 19, 267, 308n22
Brown, Tom, 148, 221, 304n12, 314n32
Browne, Thomas, 87
Browning, Robert, 270
Bruscambille, 245
Bullard, Paddy, 313n23
Bunyan, John, 195
Burnet, Gilbert, 188
Burnet, Thomas, 188–89, 312n77
Butler, James, 1st Duke of Ormond, 255
Butler, James, 2nd Duke of Ormond, 255
Butler, Samuel, 96, 102, 168, 191, 234, 278n26,
291n5, 308n22
Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 324n6

Caesar, Augustus, 89
Caesar, Julius, 108–9
Calvin, Jean, 10, 20–22, 31, 72, 106, 163, 184,
198; Calvinism and Calvinists, 34, 131, 105,
155, 288n19
Cambridge, 77–78, 80, 83–84, 224, 268;
Christ's College, 84; St. John's College,
65; Trinity College, 24, 179

Campbell Ross, Ian, 224
Candy, Hugh C. H., 89
Care, Henry, 136–37, 302n80
Carew, Thomas, 33–34
Caroline court, 33, 53, 73
Castaing, John, 122
Catholicism, Roman, and Roman
Catholics, 8, 9–10, 119–21, 123, 132, 134–35,
156, 163, 180, 234, 251–53, 266, 294n38;
satire on, 11, 26, 106, 111–12, 117, 120–26,
136–37, 150–51, 155–56, 189, 198, 209, 222,
241, 244
Cavalier poets. *See* royalism and royalists
Cave, Terence, 48, 52, 70
Cecil, Robert, 32
censorship, 76–77, 99, 130, 139–40, 160, 168,
170, 179, 221, 267, 270, 297n13
Centlivre, Susanna, 116–17
Cervantes, Miguel de, 19, 93, 102, 167, 171,
175, 257; Cervantic style, 13, 100, 103, 257,
275n29, 317n19; *Don Quixote*, 7, 20, 93–94,
136, 148, 171–74, 188, 199, 206, 244, 246;
Rabelais compared to, 4, 20, 116, 148,
153–54, 172, 194, 213–15, 222, 258, 272,
305n33
chapbooks, French, 31
Chappelow, Leonard, 234
Charles I, king of England, 34–35, 54, 90;
execution of, 52, 62, 71, 82
Charles II, king of England, 15, 54, 74, 91, 99,
108–9, 111, 137, 255
Charles V, king of Spain, 304n7
China, 140
Church of England and Anglicanism, 33, 35,
100, 107, 160, 162–63, 169, 176, 181, 191, 231,
234, 251
Cibber, Colley, 150–51
Civil Wars, British and Irish, 8, 10, 49, 71, 74,
77–78, 87–88, 92, 99, 107, 163, 166, 201,
252–53, 255, 278n33, 283n14, 287n13
Clarke, Samuel, 157, 229, 248
Cleaver, Robert, 98
Cleveland, John, 88
Clifford, Lady Anne, 20

- clubs, 29–30, 54, 73, 83–84, 88, 96–97, 131, 146, 224, 268; Calves-Head, 197; Demoniacs, 224–28; Hellfire, 225; Rabelais, 268; Rota, 100, 292n15. *See also* Scriblerus Club and the Scriblerians
- coffeehouses, 10, 30, 95–102, 109, 111–12, 116, 146, 157, 220, 254, 291n1, 292nn9 and 15, 318n41; Miles's, 100, 292n15; Rainbow, 96, 122; Short's, 95–96; St. John's, 213; Will's, 115
- Cohen, J. M., 268, 288n25
- Coldiron, A.E.B., 8
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 183, 265–67, 315n50
- Collette, Charles Hastings, 2–3
- Collins, Anthony, 122, 157, 160, 307n50
- Collins, Joseph, 268
- Colonna, Francesco, 61
- Comenius, Jan Amos, 50–51, 62, 66, 283n8
- commonplace books, 101–2, 110, 183
- Commonwealth government, 56–57, 59, 62–69, 81, 84–86, 90, 125; Council of State of, 57, 62, 64, 72, 74, 91–92
- Congreve, William, 121
- conversation and 'conversable worlds', 10, 25, 96–113, 146, 148, 151–54, 208, 213–14, 224, 292n15, 293n21, 294n38, 295n50, 306n43
- Cooper, Anthony Ashley, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, 122, 157–58, 160, 175, 306n43
- Coryate, Thomas, and *Coryats Crudities*, 25–28, 32, 97, 278nn25 and 26, 286n57
- Cotgrave, Randle, 30–31, 44, 75, 278n25, 293n20, 319n64
- Cowley, Abraham, 98
- Cram, David, 58
- Creech, Thomas, 159
- Crichton, James ('the admirable Crichton'), 60, 75, 202, 285n38
- Critical Review*, 217, 317n19
- Cromarty, in the Scottish Highlands, 53–54, 57, 62, 74, 77, 81, 91–92
- Cromwell, Henry, 302n77
- Cromwell, Oliver, 7, 57, 69, 70, 77, 81–83, 89–92, 94, 99; Cromwellian Protectorate, 7, 10, 64, 84, 89, 125, 139, 290n74; and union of England and Scotland, 90–92
- Curll, Edmund, 118, 120, 176, 186, 193–94, 241
- d'Ablancourt, Nicolas Perrot, 22
- Dacier, Anne, 221
- d'Albret, Henri, of Navarre, 130–31
- Dalgarno, George, 50–52, 58, 62, 66
- Dashwood, Sir Francis, 225
- Davies, John, of Kidwelly, 80–87, 93
- Davies, Robertson, 14–15
- Day, W. G., 258–59
- 'de La Salle, John'. *See* Hall, John, of Durham
- Defoe, Daniel, 99, 164, 202, 258, 272; *Robinson Crusoe*, 194–95, 258
- Deism and deists, 117, 156–60, 229, 234–35, 306n46, 308n11
- Denham, John, 299n38
- Denne, Henry, 179
- Des Maizeaux, Pierre, 122, 140
- Diderot, Denis, 214
- Digges, Leonard, 20
- digression and digressive form, 9, 38, 56, 176, 182–83, 187, 203, 217, 222, 256, 263–64, 265, 312n77
- Dissent and Dissenters, 35, 95, 98, 102, 111, 117, 121, 136–37, 140, 162–65, 168, 175, 180, 183–84, 191, 195, 202, 251, 303n81
- Dod, John, 98
- Dodsley, Robert, 214, 250
- Donne, John, 22, 32, 80, 84, 133, 135–36, 278n26; *Coryats Crudities*, poems in, 24–27
- Doré, Gustave, 2–3, 267, 269
- Dorp, Martin, 103
- Drake, James, 139
- drolleries, 73
- Drummond, William, 91
- drunkenness and drink, 35–36, 46, 48, 73–74, 130, 133, 156, 180, 189, 191, 210–13, 224, 226–27. *See also* taverns and alehouses; clubs
- Dryden, John, 22, 86, 88, 98–99, 121–23, 134–35, 177, 262

- Du Moulin, Pierre, 106
- Dublin, 146, 156, 168, 172, 186, 192, 206, 208, 270, 300n51; Marsh's Library, 127–29; St. Patrick's Cathedral, 146, 212; Trinity College, 145. *See also* Ireland and the Irish
- Duckett, George, 188–89, 312n77
- Dunton, John, 187–88, 311nn73 and 74
- d'Urfé, Honoré, 130
- Durham, 64
- Dury, John, 62–64, 69
- Dutch republic and the Dutch, 65, 92, 115, 117, 119, 122, 126, 136, 141, 246; Amsterdam, 127, 138, 140, 218; Dutch language, 48, 59; Leiden, 34, 172
- Dutton, William, 99
- Eachard, John, 96
- Eagleton, Terry, 14
- Edinburgh, 90
- Edwards, Thomas, 165, 167, 308n13
- Eliot, John, 44–49, 66
- Elliot, Sir John, 265
- Elyot, Thomas, 21
- Elzevier family, 127, 130, 300n50
- England: Elizabethan, 9, 24, 35, 164, 187, 268; Georgian, 155, 252, 270; Stuart, 9, 24, 29, 97, 133, 146, 220, 224, 268, 278n33
- Enlightenment, the, 4–6, 111, 155–56, 266
- enthusiasm and enthusiasts, 83, 163–65, 168, 183, 186, 206, 230, 234. *See also* inspiration, divine
- Epicureanism, 15, 21, 157
- episcopacy, 54, 99, 107, 215. *See also* Church of England and Anglicanism
- Erasmus, Desiderius, 21–23, 37, 42, 97, 111, 222, 324n84; and *copia*, 27; *Moriae encomium*, 21, 42, 103, 251, 307n50
- Erskine-Hill, Howard, 151, 281n77, 312n3
- Euripides, 37
- Evans, Thomas, 265
- Evelyn, John, 117
- Exclusion Crisis, 125
- Ezell, Margaret, 121–22
- fables, 121, 139–40, 150, 163, 177–80, 184–87, 235, 250, 253, 267, 303n86
- Fairfax, Thomas, 99, 322n52
- Family of Love, the, 164
- Faulkner, George, 192
- Fénelon, François, 179, 310n54
- Ferriar, John, 216–17, 222
- fiction, 118, 130, 160, 165, 170–71, 176, 189, 191, 214, 257–60, 268; amatory, 119; Elizabethan, 13, 35–43, 75–76, 187, 223, 261, 272; French, 93, 225, 271; and the novel, 211, 242, 263, 271–72; Restoration, 98, 246; satire, and, 176, 194–95, 199–200, 210, 222; utopian, 181, 193. *See also* novels
- Fielding, Henry, 19–20, 23, 213, 215, 222, 267, 276n2, 278n31, 305n33
- Firth, C. H., 90
- Fischart, Johann, 288n22
- Flecknoe, Richard, 100, 112
- Fletcher, John, 73, 86–87
- Florio, John, 44, 70
- Flying Post, The*, 149
- Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de, 123
- Ford, Charles, 197, 304n6, 314n30
- Foreign Quarterly Review*, 2–4
- Fountayne, John, 240
- Fowler, Alastair, 70, 165
- France and the French, 8, 10, 25, 83, 93, 99–102, 106–13, 117–20, 125–34, 138, 140, 156, 159, 197–98, 246, 258–60, 271, 293n16, 294n35, 306n35, 316n9, 323n67; French Catholic church, 120; French language, 44–49, 62, 87, 218, 246; French literature, 13, 93–94, 274n16; French wars of religion, 45, 49, 106; Paris, 21, 37, 48, 61, 67, 85, 104, 127, 131, 138, 147, 148, 191, 198, 228, 259, 267, 269, 272. *See also* Huguenots; *libertin* writing and culture
- Francis I, king of France, 127, 166–67, 198, 243, 254–55
- freethinking, 100, 111, 113, 155, 157, 160, 162, 225, 266
- 'fustian' language, 24, 66

- Gale, Robert, 179
Gallandus, Petrus, 228
Garasse, François, 106
Garrick, David, 234
Gastrell, Francis, 157–58
Gay, John, 145, 194, 208
Gayton, Edmund, 93–94, 173, 291n80
Geneva, 20, 90, 106, 133
Genoa, 132
George I, king of England, 146, 151, 159
George II, king of England, 242, 252
George III, king of England, 253
Gilbert, John, 240
Gildon, Charles, 158, 221
Gingle, Jacob, 191
Gray, Alasdair, 68–69
Greek language and literature, 19–24, 26, 47, 56, 61, 86, 96, 126, 152, 227, 229, 248, 250, 260, 263, 305n33
Greenblatt, Stephen, 34
Gregory, George, 235
Grève, Marcel de, 106–7, 295n43
Grey, Richard, 234
Grey, Zachary, 191, 234, 278n26, 308n22
Griffiths, Ralph, 258
Grub Street, 11, 116, 123, 150, 177–80, 183, 187–89, 193, 223, 235–36, 256
Guardian, The, 303n89
Guevara, Antonio de, 171
Gunpowder Plot, 253

Habermas, Jürgen, 292n15, 294n35
Hall, John, of Durham: *The Advancement of Learning*, 64–67; commendatory poem for Richard Lovelace's *Lucasta*, 78–79, 85–86, 99; commendatory poem for Thomas Urquhart's *Rabelais*, 64–66, 79–82, 139; death of, 93, 99; employee of republican governments, 77–93, 108, 289n37; friendship with royalist writers, 86–88, 285n47, 288n27; and Hartlib network, 64–65, 285n49; Longinus, translation of, 86, 230; *Mercurius Britannicus*, 64, 78, 83–85, 88; *Paradoxes*, 84–85; Sir Thomas Urquhart, collaboration with, 89–92
Hall, Joseph, 41–43, 73, 281n77
Hall-Stevenson, John, 224–27, 256, 273n11, 322n61
Hammond, Brean, 150, 304n15
Hardy, Thomas, 268
Hare, Henry, 2nd Baron Coleraine, 131
Hare, Hugh, 131
Harington, Sir John, 24, 39–41, 70, 112, 223, 261, 277n19, 278n39, 281nn66 and 71
Harley, Robert, 1st Earl of Oxford, 159, 175, 188–89, 195
Harrington, James, 100
Hartlib, Samuel, 50–52, 60, 62–65, 69, 99, 201, 283n8, 293n16; Hartlib network, 59, 62–66, 68, 77
Harvey, Gabriel, 24, 31, 36–37, 47
Hawley, Judith, 222, 304n15, 318n41
Hazlitt, William, 210
Head, Richard, 181, 310n57
Healey, John, 41–43
Hebrew, 45, 47, 48, 126, 166
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 85
Henry II, king of France, 127, 198, 243
Henry III, king of France, 130
Henry IV, king of France, 130
Herrick, Robert, 64, 73, 79, 87
Hickeringill, Edmund, 95–96, 103
Hickes, Francis, 23
Hickes, Thomas, 23
Hobbes, Thomas, 68, 83, 169, 241, 307n50; Hobbesian ideas, 157
Hogarth, William, 205, 207, 213–14, 225, 238, 316n9
Hollis, Thomas, 253
Homer and the Homeric, 29, 37, 42, 70, 96, 124, 129, 152–53, 178, 181, 192, 276n36, 280n56, 286n59; *The Iliad*, 42, 124, 221
Hone, Joseph, 196, 297n8
Hooke, Robert, 205, 315n46
Horace, 105, 185, 192, 262
Hugo, Victor, 268

- Huguenots, 7, 11, 26, 100, 107, 111, 120–27, 130–37, 166, 168, 176, 179, 202–3, 298n22 and 28, 299n34, 303n81, 310n54; and the book trade in London, 120–22, 173–75; in Ireland, 127–29, 168, 186; refugees, 117, 120–21, 134, 140, 302n70; Saumur, Protestant academy of, 99–100, 104–6, 109, 111, 127, 294n37, 38, and 39; Savoy church, 121. *See also* France and the French; migration; refugees
- Hull, 107
- Humanism and humanist tradition, 5, 21, 23–27, 31, 37–39, 42, 47–48, 87, 97, 111, 153, 170
- Hunter, J. Paul, 13, 171, 311n73
- Hutson, Lorna, 38–39
- Independents, 78–79, 91, 109, 163, 165, 225
- Index of Prohibited Books (*Index librorum prohibitorum*), 9, 20, 168
- Inns of Court, 9, 24, 34, 84; Gray's Inn, 84
- Inquisition, the, 109, 127, 135
- inspiration, divine, 10, 73, 163–64, 168, 237. *See also* enthusiasm and enthusiasts
- Ireland and the Irish, 7, 8, 13–14, 49, 77, 121, 146–47, 246, 252–53, 255, 271, 275n31; Church of, 163, 175; Huguenots in, 121, 127–29; Irish language, 192; in *A Modest Proposal*, 208–10; Ulster, 163, 181. *See also* Dublin; Swift, Jonathan
- Irenaeus, 164–65
- Italy and the Italian language, 25, 35–36, 40, 44, 48, 59, 93, 98, 132, 134, 137, 171, 175, 193, 219–20
- Jack, R.D.S., 59
- Jacobitism and Jacobites, 117, 131, 135, 139, 147, 175, 189, 197, 199, 254, 303n86. *See also* James II, king of England
- James, Henry, 268
- James I, king of England, 31–32, 34, 106, 279n49
- James II, king of England, 121, 123, 125–26, 132, 159, 180. *See also* Jacobitism and Jacobites
- Japan, 140
- Jeanneret, Michel, 25
- Jefferson, D. W., 4–5, 168, 304n15
- Jervas, Charles, 145, 185
- Jesuits, 90, 106, 119
- Johnson, Samuel, 221
- Jones, Katherine, Viscountess Ranelagh, 105
- Jones, Richard, 105
- Jonson, Ben, 9, 24, 38, 88, 278n39; and the Apollo club, 25, 29–30, 73, 107, 224; and *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, copy of, 30–32, 108, 293n20; and the 'sons of Ben', 29–30, 34, 88
- Joubert, Laurent, 15
- Joyce, James, 70, 118, 268–70, 272, 325nn16 and 19
- Juvenal, 112
- Kennet, Basil, 173–74
- Kenrick, William, 244
- Kerby-Miller, Charles, 152, 303n2
- Keymer, Thomas, 12, 139, 252, 254, 322nn52 and 53
- 'Keys' to literary texts, 11, 12, 43, 114, 118–20, 126–27, 130, 138, 140, 149–51, 172, 176–77, 179, 186–88, 193–94, 208, 218, 241–45, 250–55, 297n14, 305n16, 311n69
- Kiberd, Declan, 205
- Kimber, Edward, 244
- Kingsley, Charles, 325n11
- Kinner, Cyprian, 51
- 'Kit-Kat club', 131
- Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 131, 300n40, 301n60, 305n16
- Knox, John, 54, 90
- Kundera, Milan, 210, 266–67
- La Bruyère, Jean de, 159, 173, 175
- Lamb, Jonathan, 229, 319n69, 321n40
- language, learning of, 44–49
- Lascelles, Robert, 225

- Latin, 23, 25, 31, 33, 42, 47, 130, 153, 183, 219, 225
- Laud, William, 34–35
- Le Duchat, Jacob, 7, 140, 198, 213, 218
- learned wit, 12, 24, 48, 168, 272
- Lefebvre, Lucian, 306n35
- Leland, Charles Godfrey, 268
- Leslie, Charles, 163, 165
- L'Estrange, Roger, 121, 136–40, 165, 177, 303nn85 and 86
- Lewis, Rhodri, 60
- libertin* writing and culture, 87, 93, 99–100, 104, 106–7, 111, 293n17
- libraries, 95–96, 101, 246. *See also* Rabelais, François, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*: library of Saint Victor in
- Lilly, William, 94
- literary circles, 9, 29–30, 73, 101, 146, 268, 277n22, 278n33, 288n27, 295n52
- Littlebury, Isaac, 179
- Locke, John, 101, 237, 239, 320n17
- Lodge, Thomas, 35–37
- Lodwick, Francis, 51, 58, 65
- London, 7, 9, 45, 48, 72, 106–7, 109, 145, 154, 156, 188, 208, 215, 220, 225, 228, 234, 331n73; Bridewell, 108; Covent Garden, 19–20, 101, 109, 213; Dutch Church in, 65; Elizabethan, 35; Fleet Street, 97; Interregnum, 51, 56–57, 92–93; Newgate, 115; Restoration, 30, 97–98, 102, 121–22, 139–40, 146, 174–75, 187–88, 224, 291n1, 292n9, 298n28; Stuart, 25, 28–30, 53, 84, 88, 97, 146; Temple Bar, 15; Thames embankment, 100; Tower of, 54–55, 189; Whig circles in, 223, 253; Whitehall, 53, 108, 125
- London Magazine*, 214
- Long, Kingsmill, 130
- Longinus, Dionysius, 86, 229–30, 237, 263, 321n40. *See also* sublime, the
- Louis XIII, king of France, 104
- Louis XIV, king of France, 104, 117, 123, 125, 132, 137, 147
- Lovelace, Richard, 64, 73, 77–78, 85, 87–88
- Lowth, Robert, 234–35, 320n6
- Lucan, 105
- Lucian, 19, 158–59, 185, 192, 215, 221, 307n50; translation of, 20–24, 106, 135–36, 160, 277nn12 and 14, 302n73; Lucianic tradition, 47, 108, 135, 148, 191
- Lucretius, 159
- Luther, Martin, 10, 20–21, 198; Lutheranism, 155
- Lyall, R. J., 60
- Lyttelton, George, 191–92, 221
- Maat, Jaap, 58
- Mabbe, James, 20
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, 20, 90, 100, 171, 290n74, 293n19; Machiavellian language, 105
- Malcolm, Noel, 25, 53, 286n57
- Mandeville, Bernard, 116–17
- Manley, Delarivier, 119
- Marivaux, Pierre de, 215
- Marprelate, Martin, 33, 37–38
- Marvell, Andrew, 10, 35, 76–77, 95–112, 160, 253, 292n15, 295nn51 and 52, 322n52; and French, knowledge of, 99; as Member of Parliament, 107, 110; and patronage, 99; *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*, 95–112, 292n14, 294n38; religious identity of, 111, 295n52; in Rome, 100; in Saumur, 99–100, 127, 293n16, 294nn37 and 38; social life of, 110–11
- Mary II, Queen, 132, 253
- Masham, Abigail, 167
- masques, court, 33, 74
- Mayne, Jasper, 80, 85
- Mazzio, Carla, 47
- McKeon, Michael, 13, 242
- Mead, Richard, 220, 224
- memory, art of, 101–2
- Menippus and Menippean satire, 23, 25, 38, 292n14
- 'merry gang', 98
- migration, 7, 133–34, 271. *See also* Huguenots; refugees

- Millenarianism, 51, 69
- Milton, John, 62, 68–69, 78, 82–83, 85, 99–100, 105, 125, 192, 253, 289n37, 293n16, 294n37
- Molière, 215
- Monluc, Jean de, 131
- Montaigne, Michel de, 8, 44, 70, 171
- Monthly Review*, 258
- Moore, Steven, 60–61, 171
- More, Henry, 83
- More, Thomas, 21–23; *Utopia*, 25, 53
- Morley, Henry, 267
- Moseley, Humphrey, 85
- Motte, Benjamin, 200
- Motteux, Peter Anthony (Pierre-Antoine Le Motteux), 114–41, 299n32; Alexander Pope on, 135–36, 173–75; *Beauty in Distress*, 123, critical scorn for, 114–116; death of, 15, 140; *Don Quixote*, translation of, 122, 140, 148, 173–75, 199, 314n29; *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translation of: 2, 5, 7, 12, 26, 45, 80, 114–41, 148, 161, 166–68, 170, 175–76, 179, 187, 198, 203–4, 213, 243, 249–51, 256, 260, 300n40; *The Gentleman's Journal*, 22, 121–25, 135, 159, 299n38, 302n73; plagiarism, accused of, 124–25; as refugee, 117, 120–21, 133–34, 140, 175; and shop in London, 140–41; and Whig patronage, 131–32, 300n40, 301n60; and Williamite panegyric, 122–24
- Moyle, Walter, 158, 160
- Mullan, John, 313n16
- Murphy, Arthur, 19
- Nantes, Edict of, 7, 117, 121–22, 140
- narrative form, 9, 31, 165, 186–87, 235. *See also* fiction; novels
- Nashe, Thomas, 9, 31, 36–39, 41, 43, 60, 75, 187, 223, 261, 274n22, 280nn58 and 65
- Navarre, Marguerite de, 38
- New, Melvyn, 258–59, 320n6, 323n67
- New Model Army, 62, 70
- newsbooks, 64, 73, 78, 83–85, 88, 90, 136–37; and newspapers, 122, 125, 149, 167
- Nine Years' War, 255
- nonsense writing, 24–25, 28, 45–46, 53, 61, 68, 286n57
- Norbrook, David, 78, 89, 91
- novels, 6, 9, 12–13, 170–71, 244–45, 271–73; epic and, 41; female readers of, 246–47; parody of, 211, 223, 263–64; 'ramble', 244; Scottish, 60. *See also* fiction; narrative form
- Obscene Publications Act (1857), 267
- Oldenburg, Henry, 105
- Oldham, John, 111–12
- Oldmixon, John, 159, 307n48
- Oldys, Alexander, 98, 246
- Orwell, George, 270–71
- Osborn, James, 298n18, 305n22
- Ovid, 42, 70, 120, 247, 321n37
- Owen, John, 101
- Oxford, 23, 95–96, 146, 159, 224, 234; Christ Church, 95–97; New College, 179; Wadham College, 50–51
- Ozell, John, 166, 219–23, 226–27, 237, 247, 251, 258, 262–63, 299n34, 317nn24 and 34, 319n59, 325n18; Rabelais edition (1737), 7, 12, 123, 148, 189, 213, 219, 221–22, 243, 304n9; Rabelais edition (1750), 221, 243, 304n9
- Paré, Ambroise, 226–28, 245
- Parker, Samuel, 99–103, 106–8
- Parliament, 125, 253; Barebone's, 70, 82; Rump, 57, 70, 81–82, 87, 89–90, 108. *See also* Commonwealth government; Cromwell, Oliver
- 'Parliament of women' satires, 108, 225, 295n47
- Parnell, Thomas, 145–46, 148–50
- patronage, 30, 54, 62–64, 92, 97–98, 104, 117, 126, 131, 150, 188, 290n74; in British republic, 66–68, 71, 86–87
- Patterson, Annabel, 130, 293n23, 297n13

- Paulin, Tom, 210
- Paulson, Ronald, 195, 314n29, 316nn7 and 9, 324n84
- Peacham, Henry, 25
- Peacock, Thomas Love, 267
- Perce Forrest, king of Britain, 109
- persecution, religious, 11, 26, 76, 98, 112, 117, 130, 132–37, 140, 179, 202, 221
- Peters, Charles, 234
- Phalaris, Epistles of*, 171, 184, 309n32
- Phillips, Edward, 125, 133, 309n40
- Phillips, John, 173
- picaresque narrative, 20
- Pitt, William, 253
- Plato and the Platonic, 42, 83, 178, 184, 193
- Plautus, 217
- politeness, conventions of, 118, 120, 219, 221, 259
- Pope, Alexander, 11, 12, 32, 241, 297n8; and *Don Quixote*, copy of, 173–75; *The Dunciad*, 4, 115–18, 125, 135, 145, 153–54, 183, 193, 208, 213, 215, 221, 250–51, 265, 305nn33 and 34, 312n8, 321n46; and Jacobitism, 117; and Jonathan Swift, relationship with, 153–54; *A Key to the Lock*, 118–20, 130, 149–51, 199, 223, 241, 243–44, 254, 298n18, 302n79, 305n20 *Peri Bathous*; or, *The Art of Sinking*, 116, 135, 189, 221, 229–30; and Rabelais, opinion of, 146–52, 199; *The Rape of the Lock*, 11, 118–19, 124, 136, 150–51, 176, 193, 199, 241, 298n18. *See also* Scriblerus Club and the Scriblerians
- 'Popish Plot', 112
- Potter, Lois, 74
- Pound, Ezra, 268, 325n14
- Powys, John Cowper, 325n21
- Presbyterianism and Presbyterians, 10, 54, 60, 74–81, 90–92, 111, 163–65, 168, 202, 295n52. *See also* Dissent and Dissenters; Puritanism and Puritans
- Prescott, Ann Lake, 6, 24, 38
- Protectorate government. *See* Cromwell, Oliver
- Prynne, William, 80
- public sphere, 35, 97–100, 121, 292n15, 294n35
- publishing and book trade, 120–21, 123, 127; and political allegiance, 100, 125
- Purcell, Henry, 121
- Puritanism and Puritans, 10, 15, 195, 246; anti-, 24, 34–35, 71–81, 87–89, 93–94, 162, 164, 168, 290n63. *See also* Presbyterianism and Presbyterians; Dissent and Dissenters; enthusiasm and enthusiasts
- Pythagoras and Pythagorean, 127, 178, 288n27
- Quakerism and Quakers, 156, 163–65
- Quint, David, 310n52
- Rabelais, François: death of, 15; jokes ascribed to, 104–11; *Pantagrueline Prognostication*, 94, 170
- Rabelais, François, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*: allegorical reading of, 11, 26, 42, 80, 115, 117, 120–21, 127–32, 140, 149–51, 172–73, 176, 178, 180, 186, 191–94, 197–99, 207–10, 223, 242, 251–52, 266–72; Amsterdam edition of (1741), 7, 140, 198, 213, 218; blasphemy of, 7, 36, 274n19; and the body, 14, 31, 34, 81–83, 136, 146–47, 169, 191, 205, 210, 229, 256, 271; Brussels edition of (1659), 114, 138, 218, 243, 255, 321n28; and the carnivalesque, 6, 34, 115, 270, 280n65, 305n34; and communication in, problems of, 38–39, 44, 52–53, 60–61, 67–68, 132–33, 202, 301n65; copies of, in libraries, 102, 246–47; drunkenness and drink in, 35, 181–83, 210–11, 262; in England, reading of, 23–29, 99–113, 138, 145–53, 212–13; Elzevier edition of (1663), 127, 130, 300n50; female readers of, 98, 222, 246–47; and French, difficulty of its, 2, 20, 31, 87; *Gargantua*, 7, 28, 36, 40, 42–43, 67, 79, 112, 147, 153, 178–80, 183, 190–91, 229, 234; genealogy in, 28, 56–57, 67, 152–53, 241, 260–61, 284n22; *Le*

- Rabelais, François, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (Continued)
Cinquième Livre, 7, 14, 29–30, 181, 196, 200–204, 209, 229, 249; *Le Quart Livre*, 7, 14, 22, 26, 29, 36, 45, 132–33, 138, 166–67, 170, 189, 191, 196, 206, 219, 227, 229, 231, 245, 247; *Le Tiers Livre*, 7, 38, 94, 124, 169, 187, 229, 239, 269; Leiden edition of (1666), 127–29, 172; library of Saint Victor in, 32, 37, 41, 84, 112, 137, 180, 234; and libertinism, 20, 31, 37, 72, 87, 223; obscenity of, 2, 7–9, 12, 15, 19–20, 23, 149, 219, 221, 266–67, 270; *Pantagruel*, 7, 25, 32–33, 39, 46–47, 61, 67–68, 82, 103, 146, 153, 226, 229; paradoxical encomium in, 24, 84, 169; as proto-Protestant, 11, 114–41; the ‘Rabelaisian’ and, 5–6, 12–14, 25, 70, 213, 215–16, 275n31; scatology of, 24, 34, 60, 67, 203, 229, 246; the Silenus figure in, 42–43, 79, 178–79; Thélème, abbey of, in, 109, 225, 288n25; twentieth-century translation of, 268; Victorian translation of, 268. *See also* Motteux, Peter Anthony: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translation of; Urquhart, Sir Thomas: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translation of
- Racine, Jean, 122, 133, 176
- Ramus, Petrus, 228
- Rapin, René, 172, 174, 188
- Rawson, Claude, 170, 182, 195, 230, 263, 312n1
- reading, the history of, 101–2, 109–11, 293n22
- realism, 12–13, 244–45, 271
- Reformation, the, 130–31, 156, 191, 198, 252, 302n70
- refugees, 7, 117, 127, 133–34, 140, 175, 302n70.
See also Huguenots; migration
- Regan, Shaun, 219, 220, 275n23, 316n15, 323n66
- republic, British, 10, 52–53, 64, 68–69, 71–94, 99. *See also* Commonwealth government; Cromwell, Oliver
- republicanism, 30, 63, 71, 78, 82, 85–86, 93, 100, 122, 253
- Restoration, the, 8, 10, 15, 30, 35, 62, 88, 93–111, 115, 118, 121–22, 137, 146, 165–69, 187, 195, 202, 220, 224, 242, 246, 248, 253, 272, 291n1, 292n15, 295n51, 299n32, 303n82
- Revolution, Glorious, 8–9, 117, 120–21, 125, 137, 195, 252–53
- Richardson, Samuel, 222, 246, 272, 278n31
- Rivero, Albert J., 222
- Rogers, Pat, 312n1, 317n34
- romance, 41, 60, 85, 93–94, 109, 118, 130, 172, 173, 176, 179, 194–95, 202, 241, 260, 281n71, 291n79
- Royal Society, 196, 201, 203, 205, 315n46
- royalism and royalists, 10, 54–56, 62, 64, 71–94, 182, 253, 255, 291n79; drinking rituals of, 73–74, 84; and translation, 87
- Russell, Edward, 126
- Russell, William, 126
- Sacheverell, Henry, 253, 322n55
- Saint-Amant, Antoine Girard de, 87, 99
- Salisbury, John of, 243
- Salmon, Vivian, 60
- Sandford, John, 25
- Sanger, Egbert, 123
- Sarpi, Paolo, 171
- satire, 9–11, 19–20, 33, 53, 69, 126, 156, 159, 164–65, 171, 175–76, 182, 188–96, 207–8, 211, 213, 234, 257, 266, 269, 272; Elizabethan, 35–43, 76; of language-learning, 44–49; live performance of, 98; prose, 35–43, 88, 116, 148–49, 153, 188, 208, 240; Restoration, 95–113. *See also* anticlericalism; enthusiasm and enthusiasts; Lucian; Menippus and Menippean satire; Scriblerus club and the Scriblerians; systems, satire upon
- ‘sayings’, 97, 102, 106, 110, 113
- Scarron, Paul, 93, 239, 323n63
- scepticism and sceptics, 22, 95, 135, 157–58, 320n17
- Schlegel, Friedrich, 261
- Schmidt, Michael, 31
- Scotland and the Scots, 7, 10, 50–54, 57, 60, 62, 68, 72–75, 81, 89–92, 202, 226, 253, 288n19

- Scott, James, 1st Duke of Monmouth, 253
- Scott, Sir Walter, 202
- Screech, M. A., 20
- Scriblerus Club and the Scriblerians, 11, 145–54, 188, 192, 208–9, 215, 221–23, 230, 234, 236, 303n2, 304n15, 315n51 318n41; *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, 152–53, 188–89, 192, 199, 222, 230, 236, 241
- Scudamore, James, 105
- secret history, 120, 125–26, 159, 197, 298nn18 and 19
- Seidel, Michael, 269, 313n17
- Selden, John, 24, 171
- Seven Years' War, 252–54, 322n53
- Shakespeare, William, 28, 31, 44, 116, 215, 221, 248, 251, 278n39, 281n71, 322n47
- Shelton, Thomas, 7
- Sherburn, George, 145
- Sherburne, Edward, 87
- Shirley, James, 79, 85, 87
- Shirley, John, 180
- Shklovsky, Viktor, 271
- Sidney, Sir Philip, 37, 130, 171, 297n13
- Smith, Nigel, 106
- Smith, W. F., 268
- Smith, W. H., 2, 267
- Smollett, Tobias, 217–18, 317nn19 and 20
- Society for the Suppression of Vice, 2, 267
- Socinianism, 158
- Socrates, 42, 79, 178
- Sorel, Charles, 93
- Southey, Robert, 266
- Soviet Union, 6
- Spanish Succession, War of the, 207, 242, 252, 255
- Spectator, The*, 140, 303n89
- Spence, Joseph, 116, 148–53, 192, 298n18, 305n22, 312n6
- Sprat, Thomas, 205, 315n46
- St. John, Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke, 146–49, 167, 175, 197, 304n6
- Stanley, Thomas, 64, 73, 79, 87, 93, 99
- Starkey, John, 97, 100, 127, 293n19
- Sterne, Laurence: and allegorical reading, 43, 223, 240–56; and aposiopesis, 261–62; Cervantes, as compared to, 213–17, 222, 226, 257–58; correspondence of, 212–13, 220, 224–28; and the Demoniacs, 224–28; 'Fragment in the Manner of Rabelais', 12, 228–232, 242, 248, 257; and French, knowledge of, 218, 237, 245, 260; Jonathan Swift, as compared to, 211–12, 222–23; library of, 218; and Ozell's edition of Rabelais, use of, 218–23, 243–44; *A Political Romance*, 12, 223, 240–45, 250, 252, 257, 260; Rabelais, as compared to, 4–6, 19, 26, 70, 212, 214–18, 234, 254–55, 265; *A Sentimental Journey*, 217, 223, 231–32, 257–64; sentimentalism, and, 223, 257–64; *Sermons of Mr Yorick*, 215, 249; and 'Shandeism', 225–26, 256, 264, 265; and Tobias Smollett, 217–18; and Whigs, 253–55; York, and 220, 223, 224–25, 240, 241, 253, 260, 322n52
- Sterne, Laurence, *Tristram Shandy*, 4–5, 9, 12–14, 22, 27, 187, 211, 212–64; black page in, 250–51; eighteenth-century annotated copy of, 217–18; female reader in, 246–47, 249; 'keys' to, 254–55; and Lockean philosophy, 237–39; marbled page in, 245–51, 321n42; material text in, 260–61; political allegory in, 252–56; Rabelais in, 227–28, 237–40, 245–51, 255–60; 'Slawkenbergius's Tale' in, 230, 236, 252, 259–60; and systems, satire upon, 235–36; and *A Tale of a Tub*, 236, 250–51, 256, 263–64
- Sterne de Medalle, Lydia, 228
- Stevenson, Robert Louis, 268
- Stillman, Robert E., 60
- Stuart, James Edward (the Pretender), 147, 149, 200
- Stuart, John, 3rd Earl of Bute, 253
- sublime, the, 64, 86, 178–79, 221, 229–30. See also Longinus, Dionysius
- Suckling, Sir John, 85

- Swift, Jonathan, 12–14; and Alexander Pope, relationship with, 153–54; *Battel of the Books*, 124, 155–56, 164, 170, 176, 183–84, 241, 309n32; correspondence of, 145–49; *A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, 155, 161–65, 170, 176, 183–84, 230; *Drapier's Letters*, 204; *The Examiner*, 167; and fragmentation, 28, 170–71, 182–83, 186–87, 262–63, 311n62; and French, knowledge of, 147–48; *The Intelligencer*, 172; Ireland, and, 163, 203–8, 314n40; library of, 165, 168, 170, 308n14; 'Life and Genuine Character of Doctor Swift', 200; *Memoirs of Capt. John Creighton*, 202, 314n37; *A Modest Proposal*, 11, 204–11; at Moor Park, 163, 171; 'On Poetry: A Rhapsody', 262–63; *Polite Conversation*, 221; Rabelais, as compared to, 4, 116, 153–54, 161, 180–81, 265–66; and Rabelais, opinion of, 151–52; and the Scriblerus Club, 145–54; in Ulster, 163; universal language proposals of, 49, 201–2, 314n35; Voltaire on, 155–56
- Swift, Jonathan, *Gulliver's Travels*, 12, 43, 118, 154–55, 190–211, 223, 236, 269–71; Abel Boyer on, 175–76, 193; and Brobdingnag, 191–93; *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, as compared to, 191–96, 200–204; Houyhnhnms, 192–93, 211; interleaved copy of, 197, 204–5; Ireland in, 203–5; 'keys' to, 193; and Lagado, 133, 196–97, 200–208; and Lilliput, 159, 190–91, 194, 197–98, 253; and narrative form, 189, 195–96, 211, 263, 271; and Yahoos, 163, 211
- Swift, Jonathan, *A Tale of a Tub*, 11, 96, 118, 124, 154–89, 203–4, 222–23, 229–32, 234, 236, 262; deism associated with, 156–58, 229, 235, 308n11; fifth edition of (1710), 'Apology' in, 96, 158, 162, 176–77, 183; *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, as compared to, 159–61; 'keys' to, 176; as mock edition, 158; and the novel, 170–71, 263–64, 271–72; and translation, 173–76, 189
- Swift, Thomas, 176
- systems, satire upon, 12, 49, 53, 120, 149, 151, 171, 176–83, 185–86, 189, 223, 230, 235–36, 254
- Tallemant des Réaux, Gédéon, 104–7, 109, 294n35, 295nn41 and 43
- Tarleton, Richard, 38
- Tate, Nahum, 125–26
- taverns and alehouses, 23–25, 29, 34, 73–74, 96–98, 146, 224, 278n33. *See also* clubs; drunkenness and drink
- Taylor, John, 68
- Temple, Sir William, 147, 156, 163, 171–72, 223, 304n8
- Theobald, Lewis, 116
- Théophile de Viau, 87, 99
- Theophrastus, 174–75
- Thomason, George, 70, 82, 89, 286n2, 289n37
- Thomson, Ann, 122
- Thurloe, John, 57
- Tindal, Matthew, 116–17, 157–59, 306n46
- Toland, John, 116–17, 122, 156–57
- toleration, religious, 11, 15, 33, 78, 98, 102, 106–7, 109, 111, 121–22, 131–35, 155, 165, 225, 266; Toleration Act (1689), 163
- Tomkis, Thomas, 24
- Tonson, Jacob, 118
- Topham, Francis, 220, 240
- Torbay, 253
- Tories and the Tory party, 119, 136–38, 146, 159, 163–67, 179, 223, 297n9
- translation, 263, 274nn16 and 18; and cultural politics, 71; and 'domestication', 75–76; and Grub Street, 116, 189; and humanism, 19–24; and mobility, 7–8. *See also* Motteux, Peter Anthony: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translation of; Urquhart, Sir Thomas: *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translation of
- Traugott, John, 178
- travel narratives, 11–12, 21–22, 193, 195
- Trollope, Anthony, 1–5, 270
- Trumbull, Sir William, 131, 300n40, 301n60
- Tyndale, William, 251
- Tyrrell, James, 158

- Udall, Nicholas, 97
- universal and rational languages, 50–69.
See also Swift, Jonathan: universal language proposals of; Urquhart, Sir Thomas: universal language proposals of
- Urquhart, Sir Thomas: anti-Presbyterianism of, 10, 74–81, 89–92, 226; death of, 14–15, 93–94; *Epigrams: Divine and Moral*, 53–55; exile of, 94–95; *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, translation of, 2, 7, 10, 12, 14–15, 24, 31, 57–58, 69–94, 96–97, 124, 147–48, 168, 219–20, 226, 234, 249, 267–69, 271, 286n2; and Hartlib network, 62–66; imprisonment of, 52–58, 61–69, 71–94; *The Jewel (Ekskubalauron, or, The Discovery of a Most Exquisite Jewel)*, 48, 52, 55–69, 74, 76, 81, 90–91, 202, 262; and John Hall of Durham, 64–65, 70–91; knighted, 53; *Logonpandecteis*; or, *An Introduction to the Universal Language*, 49, 56–58, 61; manuscripts of, 54, 124, 261, 283n14; and mathematics, 54, 58; *Pantochronochanon, or, A peculiar promptuary of time*, 56, 67; and propaganda for Cromwellian state, 89–94; rhetorical excess of, 43–44, 61, 66, 70, 75–76; universal language proposals of, 9, 43, 49, 50–69, 72, 74, 182, 201, 236, 261
- utopia and utopianism, 47, 50–53, 181, 191, 193. See also More, Thomas
- Vanini, Lucilio, 93
- Veiras, Denis, 312n10
- Venice, 63
- Venuti, Lawrence, 75–76
- Villiers, George, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, 98–99, 112
- Virgil, 37, 82, 153, 262, 286n59, 319n60; *Aeneid*, 134, 323n75
- Vivonne, Catherine de, marquise de Rambouillet, 104
- Voltaire, 4, 154–56, 160–61, 183, 214–15, 266–67, 286n59, 306n35
- Vorstius, Conrad, 34–35
- Waller, Edmund, 85, 92, 290n74
- Wallis, John, 50
- Walpole, Horace, 215
- Walpole, Robert, 150, 194, 197
- Walsh, Marcus, 160–61, 162, 169, 173, 307n51, 308n20
- Warburton, William, Bishop of Gloucester, 4–5, 26, 32, 215, 233–35, 237, 240, 255, 320n6
- Ward, Ned, 197, 221
- Ward, Seth, 50
- Wars of the Three Kingdoms. See Civil Wars, British and Irish
- waste, writing as, 38–41, 66–67, 217, 259, 261, 280n62, 323n72
- Watt, Ian, 12–13, 271–72
- Whibley, Charles, 115–16
- Whigs and the Whig party, 11–12, 117–27, 131, 136–38, 140, 146, 149–51, 158–59, 167–68, 173–75, 183, 188, 194–99, 221–25, 241, 251–55, 296n55, 300n42, 322n53; radical, 127, 158, 253; ‘real’, 125, 298n28
- Whitaker, Laurence, 25, 32
- Wilkes, John, 253
- Wilkins, John, 50–52, 58, 62, 201–3
- Wilkinson, C. H., 89
- William III, king of England, 117, 122–23, 125–26, 242, 252, 253
- Wilmot, John, Earl of Rochester, 98, 292n11
- Windsor Castle, 54–55
- Wolfe, Jessica, 276n36, 280n56
- Womersley, David, 196, 204
- Wood, Anthony, 95–96, 110
- Wood, William, 204
- Woolf, Daniel, 110
- Worcester, Battle of, 54, 56–57, 63, 66–67, 72, 74, 85, 91, 94, 241, 261
- Worden, Blair, 130, 289n37, 297n13
- Wotton, William, 156–58, 162, 171, 176, 184–87
- Wycherley, William, 123
- Xerxes, 108–9
- Young, Edward, 148–49