FURTHER STUDIES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF PARADISE LOST

(THE MATTER OF THE ARMADA)

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Milton's Poetry as a Repository of Older Epic Plans

In his treatise entitled *Studies concerning the Origin of "Paradise Lost"* (Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis [Dorpatensis] B V. 6, 1924), the present writer investigated a large number of verbal parallelisms between Milton's *History of Britain* and his *History of Moscovia* on the one hand and *Paradise Lost* and the *Minor Poems* on the other. The conclusion was reached that certain passages in Milton's poetry were based on passages in the *Histories* and their sources. This observation led to the formulation of the theory that both the *Histories* were largely built up out of materials originally assembled by Milton towards the composition of heroic epic poems, one on Brutus, one on Arthur, and a conjectural one on the First Discovery of Russia by the North-East (*Studies, etc.*, pp. 67—9). A reason for his abandoning these plans was also suggested *(ib.*, p. 71). Many other projects were framed by him and also came to nothing. He, no doubt, was ambitious from the first to produce a national epic which was to secure to its author that fame of which he speaks in *Lycidas* as "that last infirmity of noble mind" (l. 71).

Milton on his Plans for a More Comprehensive National Epic

It is the object of the present investigation to follow up certain indications of further epic plans provided by Milton himself in the concluding paragraphs of his first prose pamphlet *Of Reformation in England* (1641). In view of the importance of this passage it is quoted below, with but slight omissions. The paragraphs have been numbered to facilitate reference*):

*The spelling of the English texts quoted in this treatise has been modernized throughout.

(I) O thou, that, after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations and the succeeding sword of intestine war, soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless revolution of our swift and thick-coming sorrows; when we were quite breathless, of thy free grace didst motion peace and terms of covenant with us; and having first well-nigh freed us from antichristian thraldom, didst build up this Britannic empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter-islands about her; stay us in this felicity, let not the obstinacy of our half-obedience and will-worship bring forth that viper of sedition, that for these fourscore years hath been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her cast her abortive spawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing kingdom: that we may still remember in our solemn thanksgivings, how for us, the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was scattered with the proud shipwrecks of the Spanish armada, and the very maw of hell ransacked, and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

(II) O how much more glorious will those former deliverances appear, when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyself, tie us everlastingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne.

(III) And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad intelligencing tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas: but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought: let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them embattle themselves, and be broken, for thou art with us.

(IV) Then, amidst hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in

new and lofty measures to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgements in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day, when thou, the eternal and shortly-expected king, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; when they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever.

(V) But contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, (which God grant them,) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where, under the dispiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and downtrodden vassals of perdition. (Robert Fletcher's edition of *Milton's Prose Works*, 1835 = Fl., p. 21 a, b).

Milton here speaks of the political situation in England which he contemplates in the light of the past. His starting-point is the defeat of the Armada in 1588 (I). The Rise of the Britannic Nation is envisaged as directed by Providence; "divine mercies and marvellous judgements in this land throughout all

ages" have made the nation "great and warlike", and trained it in "the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness" (IV). This purging and training has been accomplished by "the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations, and the succeeding sword of intestine war" (I). The expression "bloody inundations" is to be taken to mean the invasions of England by foreign elements in the course of her history. These invasions may be identified with those more or less fully described by Milton in his own *History of Britain*, viz.:

(a) The Trojan invasion under the leadership of the legendary Brutus.
(b) The Roman invasion under Caesar and others.
(c) The Anglo-Saxon settlement.
(d) The Danish invasion.
(e) The Norman Conquest.

The sixth intended invasion by the Spanish Armada having been happily averted through the merciful intervention of Providence, Milton has a most inspiring vision of the future: under divine guidance and protection, the English nation will continue to flourish in virtue and piety, and prove the unquestionable leader among the peoples of the world (IV).

This, in brief words is the outline of a poem Milton plans composing: "Some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains . . . to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgements in this land throughout all ages" (IV). It is to be an epic poem, as is evident from the allusion to the "new and lofty measures" (IV) in which it is to be written. By this, Milton clearly means blank-verse, which was "new" in its application to epic poetry on a larger scale. In his note on "The Verse" prefixed to certain copies of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, reprinted in most subsequent editions, and written at the special request of the publisher to satisfy those who wanted to know "why the poem rhymes not" (David Masson, Globe edition of Milton's *Poetical Works*, p. 4), Milton explains that "the measure is English heroic verse, without rhyme", i. e., blank-verse, and that "this neglect then of rhyme so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it is rather to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and

modern bondage of rhyming". The characteristic of identical metre, therefore, forms another link between the epics planned, but never executed, and *Paradise Lost*, of which, in the present writer's opinion, large parts — more specifically Books 1, 2, 4, 6, and 9 — were constructed out of materials collected and, to a varying degree, also elaborated in pursuance of earlier schemes of a vastly different type. A further and more substantial and particular link between the promised epos on the Rise of the Britannic Nation on the one hand, and of *Paradise Lost* on the other, can be traced in the high moral purposes of both plans as enterprises of uplift: if *Paradise Lost* was intended to

> assert Eternal Providence,
> And justify the ways of God to men (Book 1, ll. 25/6),

it was the more limited aim of the historical epic to justify the ways of God to Englishmen, whose past history Milton envisages as under the auspices of a wise and benevolent Providence (I, II).

Other matters of great interest contained in the above extract from *Of Reformation*, such as Milton's allusion to the belief in the impending millennium then prevalent among the "Saints" (IV), and his egocentric expectation of special personal glory and renumeration (IV) must be passed over here as not immediately belonging to the subject in hand.

Examination of Milton's Epic Plans in the Light of his *History of Britain*

Milton's ambitious epic projects, announced with such emphasis, never came to fruition — a typical case of those "great promises and small performance" on which the irreverent Samuel Johnson asked leave to look "with some degree of merriment" *(Life of Milton)*. The general character of the intended poem may, however, be inferred from Milton's treatment of the historical events as contained in his *History of Britain*. The latter ponderous compilation more and more proves itself to be but a poor outcome of his poetic schemes, a second best of doubtful quality, with its endless stretches of intricate prose and its tedious recitals of irrelevant happenings. The "five bloody inundations" form the main subject of the *History*, the Armada enter-

prise not being treated, as the book mercifully ends with the crowning of William the Conqueror. Originally, some of these invasions seem to have been attempted separately before they were combined into the more comprehensive plan, as will appear from the following discussion.

(a) Brutus

The matter of Brutus and his Trojans must have appealed to the youthful poet more than any other comparable subject. In dealing with it, he would have been able to vie with that epic author then esteemed the foremost among his compeers, the great Roman Virgil who, in his *Æneid*, had sung the praises of the founder of the Roman nation, Æneas, the great-grandfather of the British hero. The text of *Paradise Lost* contains certain echoes of Milton's interest in the adventures of the heir to Trojan greatness (see *Studies, etc.*, p. 69). In his *History*, Milton makes special excuses for dwelling at considerable length on the legendary lore that had accumulated around the mythical figure of Brutus. Having himself failed to give poetic shape to these mediaeval inventions, he now records these "reputed tales" "in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians" for judicious use (Fl., p. 475 b), a resolution not altogether consistent with the wholesale condemnation of profane fables, worldly histories, romances, and fiction of any kind by the Puritan. Referring to the numerous "absurd and unconscionably gross" inventions concerning the early history of Albion or Britain (Fl., p. 476 a), he remarks: "Hitherto the things themselves have given us a warrantable dispatch to run them over. But now of Brutus and his line, with the whole progeny of kings, to the entrance of Julius Caesar, we cannot so easily be discharged; descents of ancestry, long continued, laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrowed, or devised, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; defended by many, denied utterly by few. For what though Brutus and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded up; (seeing they who first devised to bring us from some noble ancestor, were content at first with Brutus the consul; till better invention, although not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous age, and by the same remove lighting on the Trojan tales in affectation to make the Britain of one original with the Roman, pitched there;) yet

those old and inborn names of successive kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been remembered, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity" (Fl., p. 476 b). Thin and specious are the arguments by which the poet triumphs over the historian!

In his *Epitaphium Damonis* (1639/40), Milton expressly speaks of his preoccupation with early British history in the following lines which are quoted by almost all writers on the origin of *Paradise Lost*:

161 Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per aequora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniae ...

The providential significance of Brutus' coming is expressly stated; he brought civilization to the shores of Britain, and thus laid the foundations of the country's future greatness: "The island, not yet Britain but Albion, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of giants, whose excessive force and tyranny had consumed the rest. Them Brutus destroys, and to his people divides the land, which with some reference to his own name he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwall, as now we call it, fell by lot; the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants in rocks and caves were said to lurk still there; which kind of monsters to deal with was his old exercise" (Fl., p. 478 b).

(b) Caesar and the Romans

Milton, the enthusiastic admirer of the "civilest and the wisest of European nations, both Italy and Greece" (Fl., p. 483 a), took a special interest in the story of Rome's relations with early Britain. Caesar is said by him to have attempted the conquest "upon no unjust pretended occasion" (Fl., p. 483 b). The Romans conferred a great benefit upon the nation: "But the gospel, not long after preached here, abolished such impurities, and of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some civility; likely else to have continued longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life" (Fl., p. 488 a).

(c) The Saxons

After the departure of the Romans, the depraved state of the Britons called for another intervention of Providence. "Wanton-

ness and luxury" had grown up fast, "and with them ... all other vices ..." (Fl., p. 506 a). Thus the Saxons appeared on the scene, "a barbarous heathen nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all their neighbours, both by sea and land" (Fl., p. 506 b). These "strangers and pagans" brought "miseries and desolations" on the Britons, "a perverse nation", and drove them "when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair country, into a mountainous and barren corner" (Fl., p. 514 a).

Originally, in his poetic schemes, Milton seems to have concentrated on the figure of King Arthur as a particularly suitable hero for an epic of chivalry. In his reference to the Arthurian subject contained in his poem addressed to Mansus, the moral purpose, later put in the foreground, is not evident, attention being focussed on the martial prowess of the British king, and on his crushing victories over the barbarian invaders:

O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum,
Phoebaeos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,
Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictae sociali foedere mensae
Magnanimos Heroas, et (O modo spiritus adsit)
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!
(*Mansus*, 1638/9).

In contrast to this outline, addressed to a foreigner, Arthur receives but short shrift in the *History*. He is relegated to the realm of fable; not only his "parentage", but also his "puissance" are questioned (Fl., p. 511 a).

(d) The Danes

The next "forcible landing of a fierce nation", that of the Danes (Fl., p. 529 a) is again viewed as a further and necessary step in the education of the inhabitants of Britain. More than elsewhere, Milton, in this connection, vents his particular spleen on alleged misuses in a hierarchical church: "But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it. God hath purposed to punish our instrumental punishers, though now Christians, by other heathen, according to his divine retalia-

tion; invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britons were at their arrival, broken with luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of arms, and the study of all virtuous knowledge, some betook them to overworldly or vicious practice, others to religious idleness and solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive visions; easily perceived such by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the gospel, or utterly forbidden, ceremonies, relics, monasteries, masses, idols; add to these ostentation of alms, got ofttimes by rapine and oppression, or intermixed with violent and lustful deeds, sometimes prodigally bestowed as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when religion itself grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shows of purity were impured?" (Fl., p. 529 b).

(e) The Normans

Civil discord and the corruption of the clergy, the latter being Milton's bugbear, are again given as the vices of the now much-mixed English people which called for the fifth punishment by a new invasion. Duke William's coronation in London, after the annihilation of the Saxon army, is fittingly apostrophized as follows: "Thus the English, while they agreed not about the choice of their native king, were constrained to take the yoke of an outlandish conqueror. With what minds and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, William of Malmsbury spares not to lay open. Not a few years before the Normans came, the clergy, though in Edward the Confessor's days, had lost all good literature and religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin service; he was a miracle to others who knew his grammar. The monks went clad in fine stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in itself no fault, yet to their consciences was irreligious. The great men, given to gluttony and dissolute life, made a prey of the common people, abusing their daughters whom they had in service, then turning them off to the stews; the meaner sort tippling together night and day, spent all they had in drunkenness, attended with other vices which effeminate men's minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of war, they gave to William their conqueror

so easy a conquest. Not but some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity ofttimes exempts not good men from their share in evil times with the bad" (Fl, p. 561 b).

* * *

The *History of Britain* is wound up with a brief peroration in which the argument propounded in *Of Reformation* is once more briefly summarized: "If these were the causes of such misery and thraldom to those our ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, than here in fit season to remember this age in the midst of her security, to fear from like vices, without amendment, the revolution of like calamities?" (Fl., p. 561 b). The word *revolution*, in the original Latin sense of "revolving", significantly links up the *History of Britain* with the concluding paragraphs of *Of Reformation*, quoted above: "the sad and ceaseless revolution of our thick-coming sorrows" (V) is to be viewed as forming steps in the progress of the nation towards that state of power and peace enjoyed after the defeat of the Armada. In his treatise *Tendenz und Entstehungsgeschichte von Milton's "History of Britain"* (Berlin Doctor's Thesis, 1921), Dr. E. Lehmann dwells on the educational character of this book; he finds that Milton wished to impress upon his countrymen the high value of *virtus*, and to voice his distrust of tyrants, ecclesiastics, and women. On the strength of the foregoing investigation, it seems necessary to add that he further desired to represent the past sufferings of his nation as a prolonged process of punishment and purification, and thus, as stated above, "to vindicate the ways of God to Englishmen", who are acclaimed as the leading nation among their rivals.

It has to be admitted that this is not exactly the stuff that heroic poems are made of, and that, moreover, in the style of the epic of chivalry. Nevertheless, Milton must have spent much time and energy on his plans, both single and comprehensive, and it was surely with a devastating sense of mortification that he felt compelled to abandon his ambitious schemes. The reasons for this egregious failure are to be looked for partly in the physical and mental peculiarities of his constitution, and partly in the change of taste among his prospective public. The Elizabethan temper, so favourable to imaginative poetry of the boldest type, became

more and more superseded by the Puritan mentality. When the aging poet put on his singing robes for his grandest bid for fame, he wisely fixed upon a biblical subject to conceal from the eyes of his public — with but partial success — his real intentions and opinions, which a laborious and unprejudiced scholarship is only now beginning to uncover. Unwilling to consign to complete oblivion the magnificent visions of his fervent youth not yet vitiated by the spirit of uplift, he utilized as much as possible the fruits of his earlier poetic ecstasies. These disjecta membra he plentifully distributed over those books of *Paradise Lost* which, in consequence, make the strongest appeal to the reader, and thus make him condone the comparative flatness of the rest.

Methods for Discovering Traces of Milton's Interest in the Armada Subject

Breaking off as it does at the coronation of William the Conqueror, the *History of Britain* contains no treatment of the Defeat of the Armada which, however, is expressly referred to as an integral part of the projected epic. And yet this subject must have attracted the poet's attention to an unusual degree, and that long before the year 1641, as can be demonstrated by a close scrutiny of the vocabulary and contents of certain passages in *Paradise Lost*. The method employed in this investigation will consist in the discovery and co-ordination of so-called "parallel word-constellations". A constellation of words is a grouping-together, within the limited space of a comparatively few lines, of a number of significant words; two such constellations in two different texts are said to be "parallel" if they contain identical words, and if they prove similar in general character. To Milton, words were of enormous importance; for him, certain words were indissolubly linked with certain ideas and conceptions, as has been demonstrated by Dr. S. A. Nock in his elaborate thesis on *Parallel Word-Constellations in the Writings of John Milton* (Tartu Doctor's Thesis; a type-written copy is deposited in the Tartu University Library). These words in the majority of cases seem to be those Milton had found in his original "sources": the argument of the present writer's *Studies, etc.* was wholly based on the application of this principle.

Three types of word-constellations may be discovered:

(1) Between different passages of the poetic works. By way of example, two passages from Books 4 and 9, respectively, of *Paradise Lost* are given below:

4.359 *Into our room* of bliss thus high *advanced*
360 *Creatures* of other mould, *Earth*-born perhaps,
Not Spirits, yet to *Heavenly Spirits* bright
Little inferior . . .

9.148 Determined to *advance into our room*
A *creature* formed of *earth*, and him endow
150 Exalted from so base original,
With *Heavenly spoils* . . .

(2) Between the prose works and the poetry. Abundant examples may be found in *Studies, etc.*

(3) Between the works, both poetry and prose, and Milton's sources. Examples in *Studies, etc.*; see also the present writer's *Milton's Eyesight and the Chronology of his Works* (Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis [Dorpatensis] B V. 1, pp. 41 ff.). J. L. Lowes's *The Road to Xanadu* (1927) is largely concerned with similar parallelisms in Coleridge's poetry.

The presence of parallel word-constellations may serve to prove an intimate connection between the texts involved.

Book 6 of *Paradise Lost* the Chief Repository of Armada Materials

The passage from *Of Reformation* which was the starting-point of the present treatise clearly refers to the Armada, especially paragraphs I and III: the scurrilous epithet "the great whore" is, of course, meant for the Roman Church, whereas "that sad intelligencing tyrant" stands for the king of Spain. These descriptions compare very unfavourably with the dignified language of Milton's evident source, viz., Camden's report on the origins of the Armada enterprise in his *Annales* (for full title, see below), which is here reproduced with the parallelisms italicized: "*Pontifex* enim *Romanus*, Religiosi quidam Hispani, & Angli nonnulli patria profugi *Hispanum* ad *consil*ium (*consul*ting;

let them all take *counsel* together) debellandi Angliam, Lusitanico bello ante annos decem interruptum, jampridem revocaverant..." (p. 513).

Milton did not object to perpetrating an anachronism when the object was to produce an effect.

The question now arises whether it is possible to discover parallelisms which link other parts of Milton's works with the Armada passage in *Of Reformation.* A close scrutiny of the vocabulary of the poetic works yields an especially large number of correspondences to Book 6 of *Paradise Lost.* It is impossible to reproduce here all the details of this minute investigation. Only the parallelisms in Book 6 are reproduced below; the words or parts of words italicized are to be found in the text of Book 6 in the lines quoted in the brackets. It was found useful to extend the investigation to the paragraphs preceding the text as quoted above.

Extract from *Of Reformation*

(h. l. = hapax legomenon, a word or group of words found only once in Milton's poetry.)

(I) ...Were it such an incurable *mischief* (488, 503, 636) to make a little trial, what all this would do to the flourishing and growing up of Christ's mystical body? as rather to use every poor shift, and if that serve not to threaten *uproar* (668) and *combustion* (225), and *shake* (712) the brand of *civil* (667) *discord* (210)?

(II) O, sir, I do now feel myself inwrapped on the sudden in those mazes and labyrinths of *dreadful* (225) and *hideous* (206) thoughts . . .

(III) Thou, therefore, that *sit*test *in* (671/2) light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, thee I implore, *omnipotent* (136, 227) *King* (the eternal King Omnipotent 227), redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, *ineffable* (721) and everlasting Love!...

(IV) O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of *the bottomless pit* (866, h. l.), expecting the watchword to open and let out those *dreadful* (105, 225) locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in

that pitchy *cloud* (28, 539; -s 56) of darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of *truth* (32, 122, 173, 381) again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of *morn*ing *sing* (Now when fair *morn* orient in Heaven appeared . . . The matin trumpet *sung* 524/6) . . .

(V) O thou, that, after the *impetuous* (i. fury 591) *rage* (635) of five bloody inundations and the succeed*ing sword* (aveng*ing sword* 278, grid*ing sword* 329) of *intestine war* (259 h. l.), soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the *sad* and ceaseless *revolution* (*sad resolution* 541) of our *swift* (-est 535) and *thick-com*ing (so *thick* a cloud he *come*s 539) sorrows; when we were quite breathless, of thy *free* (181, 292) *grace* (703) didst *motion* (192, 302, 532) *peace* (267, 560, 617) and *terms of co*venant (*terms of co*mposition 612, terms 621) with us; and having first wellnigh freed us from anti-christian *thral*dom (en*thralle*d 181), didst build up this Britannic *empire* (303) to a *glorious* (39) and *envi*able (envy 793) *height* (793), with all her daughter-islands about her; stay us in this felicity, let not the obstinacy of our half-*obedience* (740, 902) and will-worship bring forth that viper of *sedition* (*seditio*us 152 h. l.), that for these fourscore years hath been breeding to eat through the *entrails* (346, 517, 588) of our *peace* (267, 560, 617); but let her *cast* (869) her abortive spawn without the *danger* (418) of this travailing and throbbing *kingdom* (183, 815): that we may still *remember* (912) in our solemn thanksgivings, how for us, the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was scattered *with* the proud ship-*wreck*s (all Heaven Had gone to *wrack*, *with* ruin overspread 669/70) of the Spanish armada, and the very maw of *hell* (183, 186, 276, 291, 705, 867, 874, 876) ransacked, and made to give up her concealed *destruction* (162, 253), ere she could *vent* (583) it in that *horrible* (210) and damned *blast* (-ed 372).

(VI) O how much more *glorious* (39) will those former *deliverance*s (468) appear, when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest *miseries* (268, 462, 904) past, but to have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyself, tie us everlastingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne.

(VII) And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and *defence* (337, 467), that thine *enemies* (466, 677, 826) have been *consulting* (673) all the sorceries of the great whore, and have *joined* (494) their *plots* (-ting 901) with that sad intelligencing tyrant that *mischief*s (488, 503, 636) the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to *revenge* (151, 905; *aveng*ed 676) his naval *ruin*s (193, 456, 519, 670, 797, 874) that have larded our seas: but let them all take *counsel* (494) together, and let it come to nought; let them *decree* (683), and do thou *cancel* (-ed 379 h. l.) it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them *embattle* (-ed 16, 550, re-embattled 494) themselves, and be broken, for thou art with us.

(VIII) Then, amidst *hymns* (745) and *hallelujahs* (744) of *saints* (742, 767, 801, 882), some one may perhaps be heard offering at *high* (745) strains in new and lofty *measures* (821), to *sing* (744) and *celebrate* (-ed 888) thy divine mercies and marvellous judgements in this land throughout all ages; whereby *this great* and *war*like (this great war 702) nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and *righteous*ness (804), and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy *emul*ation (-ous 822) to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day, when thou, the *eternal* (227) and shortly-expected *king* (227, 886), shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy *through heaven* (through mid Heaven 889) and *earth* (893); when they undoubtedly, that by their labours, *counsel*s (494), and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior *order*s (855) of the blessed, the regal addition of *principalities* (447), *legions* (64, 142, 206, 655), and *thrones* (199, 366, 723, 841) into their *glorious* (39) titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble *circl*e (-ing 743) of eternity, shall clasp inseparable *hand*s (747, 892) with *joy* (774) and *bliss* (729, 892), in over*measure* (-ing 893) *for ever* (733).

(IX) But they contrary, that by the *impair*ing (-ed 691) and diminution of the *true* fai*th* (137), the distresses and *servitude* (175,8) of their country, *aspire* (-s 383, -ing 132, 793, 899) to high dignity, *rule* (he who rules 177) and *pro-motion* (remote 173) here, after a *shame*ful (340) *end* (172) in this life, (which *God* [175,6] grant them,) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of *hell* (183,6), where, under the *despite*ful (340, 906) control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the *anguish* (340) of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that *plight* (607) for *ever* (184), the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and downtrodden vassals of perdition. (Fl., pp. 20 b, f.).

Notes on the Above Text

(a) The most remarkable parallelism is found in l. 340: three significant words from one and the same paragraph (IX) occur in one line of poetry; both the prose and the verse refer to the conduct of the damned:

6.339 . . . there they him (i. e., Satan) laid
340 Gnashing for *anguish*, and *despite*, and *shame*
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humbled by such rebuke . . .

(b) The word *entrails* (V), in combination with the context, establishes a connection with Book 6, l. 516. It belongs to the well-established "mining complex" with its numerous ramifications: It is *impious* to delve into the *bowels* or *entrails* of *Mother Earth*. The consequences of such doings are disastrous. If the earth is *ransacked* (V) or *rifled*, either *treasure better hid* is discovered and used to *mischief the world* (VII; 1, below), or such substances are dug up as serve to prepare *engines* and ammunition of destructive war (2, below).

(1) In Book 6, the invention of artillery is ascribed to Satan as an offset to the Almighty's thunder and lightning; see ll. 438—42, 470—520, more particularly the following:

6.509 . . . in a moment up they turned
510 Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath
The originals of Nature in their crude
Conception; sulpherous and nitrous foam
They found, they mingled, and, with subtle art
Concocted and adusted, they reduced
515 To blackest grain, and into store conveyed.
Part hidden veins digged up (nor hath this Earth
Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
Whereof to found their *engines* and their balls
Of missive ruin; part incentive reed
520 Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.

In Book 2, Satan prophetically refers to this future event, the noun *engine* (2.65, 6.518) being one of the verbal links:

2.64 . . . when to meet the noise
65 Of his almighty *engine* he shall hear
Infernal thunder, and for lightning see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels, and his throne itself
Mixed with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire,
70 His own invented torments.

In *Of Reformation,* the use of artillery is specifically ascribed to the Spaniards as a distinctive feature: by them, "the very maw of hell was ransacked, and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she (i. e., the Armada) could vent it in that horrible and damned blast" (V). Milton here conveniently ignores the fact that it was largely to their superior gunnery that the English owed their victory in that struggle.

In the detail of the invention of gunpowder and firearms, as in many others, Milton closely followed Erasmo Valvasone (1523—93), whose epic *Angeleida* (1590) deals with the very same subject as Book 6 of *Paradise Lost*, namely the war between the Faithful and the Rebel Angels (see Gregor v. Glasenapp, *Il Disarmo secondo il pensiero di Machiavelli, Ariosto, Valvasone, Milton* [*Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto*, VII, 1927, pp. 667 ff.]). The existence of this poem, no doubt, encouraged Milton, a great believer in literary precedent and authority, in his enterprise of remodelling his Armada plans. Ll. 482—90 and 509—20 are

most intimately connected by parallel word-constellations with the corresponding passage in Valvasone, as quoted by v. Glasenapp:

> Di salnitro e di zolfo oscura polve
> Chiude altri in ferro cavo, e poi la tocca
> Dietro col foco, e in foco la risolve,
> Onde fragroso suon subito scocca,
> Scocca e lampeggia, ed una palla volve,
> Al cui scontro ogni duro arde e trabocca:
> Crudel saetta che imitar s'attenta
> L'arma che il Sommo Dio dal ciel avventa.

(2) The Spaniards are again significantly identified with Satan and his crew with regard to the search for precious minerals. The king of Spain is said to "mischief the world with his mines of Ophir" (VII). Two hapax legomena, *ransacked* (1.686, V), and *vision beatific* (1.684, VIII) connect *Of Reformation* with the description of the first digging for gold in Book 1:

1.678 . . . Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
680 From Heaven, for ever in Heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In *vision beatific*. By him first
685 Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransacked the Centre, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth
For treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
Opened into the hill a spacious wound
690 And digged out ribs of gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane.

(c) A whole cluster of parallelisms connecting Book 1 with *Of Reformation* may be discovered in ll. 338—45:

1.338 As when the potent rod
Of Amran's son, in Egypt's evil day,
340 Waved round the coast, up called a *pitchy cloud*
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,

That o'er the realms of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and *dark*ened all the land of Nile:
So numberless were those bad Angels *see*n
345 Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell . . .

With which lines compare: " . . . expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful *locusts* (341) and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that *pitchy cloud of* (340/1) *dark*ness (343), where we shall never more *see* (344) the sun of truth again . . ." (IV).

impetuous fury, Book 1, l. 175, a hapax legomenon, links up the same Book with the prose text; it is changed to *impetuous rage* in Book 6, l. 591.

(d) A group of correspondences connecting four lines of Book 6 with a short passage of the prose text (VIII) is exhibited below:

6.742 Then shall thy *Saints*, unmixed, and from the impure
Far separate, *circl*ing thy holy mount,
Unfeigned *hallelujahs* to thee *sing*,
745 *Hymns* of *high* praise, and I (i. e., Christ; in the prose, Milton) among them chief.

The striking similarity of contexts should not be overlooked.

(e) Yet another group may be discovered in Book 6, ll. 882—93, connecting with VIII:

6.882 To meet him (i. e., Messiah) all his *Saints*, who silent stood
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanced; and as they went,
885 Shaded with branching palm, each order bright
Sung triumph, and him sung victorious *King*,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
Worthiest to reign. He *celebrated*, rode
Triumphant *through* mid *Heaven*, into the courts
890 And temples of his mighty Father throned
On high; who into glory him received,
Where now he sits at the right *hand* of *bliss*.
Thus, *measur*ing things in *Heaven* by things on *Earth* . . .

(f) Hapax legomena of note, connecting Book 6 with *Of Reformation* are:

6.152 sedition (V, seditious)
6.259 intestine war (V)
6.866 the bottomless pit (IV)

(g) The examination of a further passage from about the middle of *Of Reformation* may serve to demonstrate that the concluding paragraphs are not isolated in embodying materials originally intended by Milton for his poetry. By a comparison both of the vocabulary and the contents it is possible to establish very strong connections with Book 4, ll. 29—42, 156—8, of *Paradise Lost:*

4.29 Sometimes towards *Heaven* and the full-blazing Sun [Satan looked]
30 Which now sat *high in his* meridian *tower:*
Then, much revolving, thus in sighs began:
"O thou *that*, with surpassing *glory* crowned,
Look'st *from* thy sole dominion like the *god*
Of this new World — at whose sight all the stars
35 Hide their diminished heads — to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how *glori*ous once above thy sphere,
40 Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Warring in *Heaven* against *Heaven*'s matchless King!
Ah, wherefore? He *deserved* no such return . . .
156 . . . Now *gentle*'*gales*,
*Fan*ning their odoriferous *wings*, dispense
Native perfumes . . .

Compare *Of Reformation* (Fl., p. 16 b):

But ever blessed be he, and ever *glori*fied (32, 39), *that from* (32/3) *his high* (30) watch*tower in* (30) the *heaven*s (29, 41), discerning the crooked ways of perverse and cruel men, hath hitherto maimed and infatuated all their damnable inventions . . . had *God* (33) been so minded, he could have sent a spirit of mutiny [i. e., Satan*), the speaker in the poetic text] amongst us, as he did between Abimelech and the Sechemites . . . but he, when we least *deserved* (42), sent

out a *gentle gale* (156) and message of peace from the *wings* (157) of those of his cherubim that *fan* (157) his mercy-seat.

Ll. 32—41 of Book 4 are reported by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, to have been composed about the year 1642, and to have been originally intended to form the opening words of a tragedy on the subject of Paradise Lost (Masson, Introduction to the Globe edition of Milton's *Poetical Works*, pp. 13/4). The implications of this clue cannot be followed up here, however.

*) Judg. 9.23: Then God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech (Authorized Version).

Book 6 of *Paradise Lost* constructed out of Armada Materials

The critic unacquainted with the principle of "parallel word-constellations" and with Milton's methods of manipulating his limited vocabulary, will certainly be inclined to consider the evidence for a closer connection between Book 6 and *Of Reformation* as very slender indeed. To the trained observer, however, the parallelisms exhibited above are, in spite of an admitted "haziness", of sufficient strength to embolden him to formulate a "working hypothesis" which would account for an assumed connection. This working hypothesis is as follows:

When intending to write epics on Brutus, or Arthur, or, as has been conjectured, on the First Discovery of Russia by the North-east, Milton very carefully studied all the available sources, and searched them for words to describe the events and to express his own thoughts in connection with the narrative (see *Studies, etc.*, pp. 65 ff.). Both the *History of Britain* and the *History of Moscovia* derive from collections made for poetic elaboration. Such epics were not completed, or at least not published. The materials accumulated, either in the crude form of notes from sources, or in some more advanced state of poetic elaboration, were used in the composition of other works, notably *Paradise Lost*. The so-called "purple patches" in his early prose works, those vigorous and passionate outbursts interrupting his often uninspired argumentation, also may be viewed as items from his poetic repertory.

Milton clearly states that he intends to write on the Defeat of the Armada; he speaks about this subject in the concluding paragraphs of *Of Reformation*; these paragraphs appear to be linked up with Book 6 of *Paradise Lost* more than with any other unit of his poetry: hence the conclusion may be advanced that Book 6 is connected with the Armada subject. This would mean that the description of the fight between the Faithful Angels and the Fallen Angels was, in certain important details, conceived in terms of the events that led up to the destruction of the Spanish fleet. Heaven would stand for England, the Faithful Angels for the English, the Fallen Angels for the Spaniards, Christ Triumphant for Queen Elizabeth, and Satan for the King of Spain or his admiral. There would be nothing surprising in such substitution; for did not Milton not shrink from saying of God in *Of Reformation* what he says of the Sun in Book 4 of *Paradise Lost*, as was shown above (p. 22)? It is true that Milton, in his *Eikonoklastes* (1649), that venomous attack upon the memory of King Charles I, accused the unhappy king of blasphemy for having used in his private devotions, as was alleged, a prayer originally addressed to a heathen deity. But this circumstance need not unduly disturb the inquirer; for Milton never was particular in his choice of methods when desirous of annihilating a political enemy (see S. B. Liljegren, *Studies in Milton*, pp. 39 ff.).

Milton had been working towards an epic on the Defeat of the Armada; this poem never reached the publishing stage. Abandoning his original plan, he resolved to follow his usual course by incorporating his materials, suitably adapted, in his *Paradise Lost*. The very idea of inserting an extensive description of the war between the Angelic hosts may have arisen from the sole desire to utilize the Armada materials; for it would be difficult to discover other reasons for such a strange decision. Above all, it was a subject that could be treated in a style similar to that of the epic of chivalry. The plots of the other books written in the same style, namely Books 1, 2, 4 and 9, no doubt were constructed on similar principles: the biblical story had to be adapted so that the very disparate fragments of earlier elaborations might be fitted into it.

This working hypothesis of the origin of Book 6 requires confirmation. Now the proof of an hypothesis is in the application thereof. If Milton at any period in his career as an author

planned the composition of an epic on the Defeat of the Armada, he must have gone about it by his well-attested method, i. e., he must have made a close study of "sources". It further follows that these sources should have left traces on the outcome of his literary efforts, namely on the text of Book 6 as well as on the concluding paragraphs of *Of Reformation*.

Sources of Milton's Armada Materials

The following possible sources have been investigated:

Petruccio Ubaldini (1524?—1600?), A Discovrse concerninge the Spanishe fleete inuadinge Englande in the yeare 1588 and ouerthrowne by her Ma:ties Nauie vnder the conduction of the Right-honorable the Lorde Charles Howarde highe Admirall of Englande: written in Italian by Petruccio Vbaldino [sic] citizen of Florence, and translated for A. Ryther . . . London (from a rotograph of the copy in the British Museum)

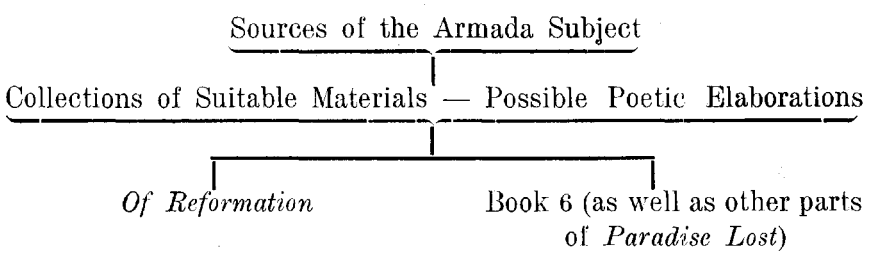
William Camden (1551—1623), Annales Rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizabetha . . . Lugduni Batavorum, 1625

William Camden, The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene of England, composed by Way of Annals. Neuer heretofore so Faithfully and fully Published in English. London 1630

There exists evidence of Milton's acquaintance with the *Annales* from entries in his Common-place Book (see J. H. Hanford, *The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. XXXVI, no. 2, p. 270); Milton made use of this source-book in *Of Reformation* (see W. T. Hale's edition of *Of Reformation*, Yale Studies in English).

Below it will be shown to be probable that Milton must have used further, perhaps unprinted, materials; Laughton's collection of documents, *State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Armada* (Navy Record Society i. 1—18) were, unfortunately, not available for inspection.

The relations existing between the various texts to be studied in conjunction may be expressed in the following pedigree:



This pedigree serves to explain the "haziness" of the relations between the prose of *Of Reformation* and the poetry of Book 6, as the connection between them is shown to be of an indirect nature only. An examination of the text of Book 6 in the light of the Armada sources yields a considerable number of significant parallelisms both verbal and textual, sufficient to establish the theory advanced above.

The Opening of Book 6

Book 6 opens with a description of Abdiel travelling "through Heaven's wide champaign" (l. 2), i. e., the sea separating England from Spain. He does not find the forces of Heaven (= England) unprepared as he had expected them to be. To make an unexpected descent upon England had been part of the Spanish plan: "Hi putarunt, iisdem expensis Angliam posse facilius expugnari, certamque & exploratam fore victoriam, si instructissimus ex Hispania & Belgio exercitus, valida classe ad Tamisis ostium exponatur, & Londinum urbs primaria inopinato assultu opprimatur" (*Annales*, p. 515). The same stratagem is expressly stated as intended by Satan and his forces:

6.86 ... for they weened
That self-same day, by fight or by surprise,
To win the Mount of God (= London?), and on his throne
To set the envier of his state, the proud
90 Aspirer.

Compare also the opening lines of Abdiel's address to Satan:

6.131 Proud, art thou met? Thy hope was to have reachéd
The highth of thy aspiring unopposed —
The throne of God unguarded, and his side
Abandoned at the terror of thy power
135 Or potent tongue.

The queen, however, was not caught unprepared: "Elizabetha contra, ne incauta opprimeretur, classem quantum maximam, & omnia ad bellum necessaria singulari studio apparat" (*Annales*, p. 517). She put her fleet in readiness, and had large bodies of troops stationed at the points of danger: "Ad terrestre bellum, per littora Australia disponuntur XX M bellatorum, duo praeterea exercitus à delectu et disciplina lectissimi conscribuntur: quorum alteri, qui constabat ex Equitibus M, Peditibus XXII M, praefuit Leicestrius, castraque ad Tilburiam haud procul à Tamisis ostio, habuit: (hosti enim certum constitutumque fuit Londinum primum aggredi,) alteri qui constabat ex XXXIV millibus peditum & II M equitum ad Reginam stipandam, praeficitur Baro Hunsdonius" (*Annales*, p. 517).

This passage is paralleled in the following lines of Book 6:

6.15 . . . when all the plain
Covered with thick embattled squadrons bright,
Chariots, and flaming arms, and fiery steeds,
Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his (i. e., Abdiel's) view.
War he perceived, war *in procinct*, and found
6.20 Already known what he for news had thought
To have reported.

This passage is linked up with the Latin text by the expression *in procinct*, a hapax legomenon, found on p. 518, immediately after the passage quoted above, in the following context: "Prolato Henrici Octavi exemplo, cum Imperator & Gallus, instigante Pontifice, *in procinctu* essent ad Angliam invadendam . . ." (*Annales*, p. 518). Milton, with his customary versatility, ascribes the readiness for war to the defenders of Heaven, i. e., England, and not to its prospective invaders. *In procinct* is very rare in English; the *New English Dictionary* records for the 17th c. only two examples apart from the Miltonic one:

1611 Chapman, Homer 12.89: in procinct of warre
1639 Wotton, Let. in Reliq.: Being then in procinct of his travels

The approach of the Spanish fleet is described most impressively by Camden; the meanings of the italics and of the references in brackets will be explained presently:

> " . . . The next day the English *descried* (2.636, 6.530) the Spanish *fleet* (2.636) with lofty *towers* (2.635) castle-like, in front like a halfmoon, the horns stretching forth about the breadth of seven miles, *sailing* (2.638, 6.534) as it were with labour of the *winds* (2.637), and groaning of the ocean, *slowly* (6.533) though with full *sails*" (English version, p. 132).

The slowness of the movement did not appeal to Milton's sense of poetic fitness as appropriate for the first approach; hence he judiciously changed it into the "furious expedition" of his corresponding passage:

6.85 The banding powers of Satan hasting on
With furious expedition: for they weened
That self-same day, by fight or by surprise
To win the Mount of God . . .

Milton, however, discovered other poetic possibilities in Camden's report, and he made use of them in Book 2, also in connection with one of Satan's enterprises:

2.630 Satan . . .
Puts on *swift wings* (6.535), and towards the gates of Hell
Explores his solitary *flight* (flying 6.536): sometimes
He *scours* (6.529) the right hand *coast* (6.529), sometimes the left;
Now shaves with level *wing* (6.535) the deep, then soars
635 Up to the fiery concave towering high.
As when far off at sea a fleet *descried* (6.530)
Hangs in the *clouds* (6.539), by equinoctial winds
Close *sailing* (6.534) from Bengala . . .

Milton put the same complex to use in a highly impressive picture of the beginning of the second fight between the Angelic hosts which clearly bears the impress of the original as containing unmistakable nautical terms: "scouts each coast light-armèd scour", "with speediest sail". The expression "under

spread ensigns" (6.533) seems inspired by "with full sails"; *slow* (6.533) echoes the adverb *slowly* of the prose report: it is more fittingly applied to the second approach of the rebel host after their ardour had been damped by the defeat on the day before:

6.524 Now, when fair Morn orient in Heaven appeared,
525 Up rose the victor Angels, and to arms
The matin trumpet sung. In arms they stood
Of golden panoply, refulgent host,
Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
Looked round, and scouts each *coast* (2.633) light-armed
scour (2.632),
530 Each quarter, to *descry* (2.636) the distant foe,
Where lodged, or whither fled, or if for fight,
In motion or in halt. Him soon they met
Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow
But firm battalion: back with speediest *sail* (2.638)
535 Zophiel, of Cherubim the *swift*est *wing* (2.631, 4),
Came *fly*ing (2.632) . . .

The argument is clinched by cross-references from Book 6 to Book 2, and from both Books to the common source; the word-echoes may be tabulated as follows:

Book 6	Book 2	Camden
529 (each) coast	633 (sometimes the right-hand) coast (sometimes the left)	—
529 scour	632 scours	—
530 descry	636 descried	descried
533 slow	—	slowly
534 sail	638 sailing	sailing
535 swiftest wing	631,4 swift wings	—
536 flying	632 flight	—
539 cloud	637 clouds	—
—	635 towering	towers
—	636 fleet	fleet
—	637 winds	winds

The First Fight

An examination of the vocabulary of Milton's description of the first encounter between the Faithful Angels and the Rebels yields a vast number of parallelisms connecting with the account of the second battle between the English and the Spanish fleets as contained in the English version of Camden and in Ubaldini's treatise. A passage further down in Ubaldini can be shown to have provided Milton with additional suggestions.

The three texts, with cross-references and notes added, are reprinted below:

Paradise Lost, Book 6, ll. 198—261

C=Camden U=Ubaldini

The numbers enclosed in brackets refer to the notes below.

198 Amazement seized
The rebel Thrones, but greater rage, to see
200 Thus foiled their mightiest; ours joy filled, and shout,
Presage of victory, and fierce desire
Of *battle* (U): whereat Michaël bid sound
The Archangel trumpet. Through the vast of Heaven
It sounded, and the faithful armies rung
205 Hosannah to the Highest, nor stood at gaze
The adverse legions, nor less hideous joined
The horrid shock. Now storming fury rose
And clamour such as *heard* in Heaven *till now* (1)
Was never (2), arms on armour clashing brayed
210 Horrible discord, and the madding wheels
Of brazen chariots raged, dire was the noise
Of *conflict* (U); *overhead* (3) the dismal hiss
Of fiery darts (4) in flaming volleys *flew* (5),
And, flying, vaulted either host with fire.
215 So under fiery *cope* (6) together rushed
Both *battle*s (U) main with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage. All Heaven
Resounded, and, had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her centre shook. What wonder, when
220 Millions of fierce *encountering* Angels *fought*
On either side (7), *the least* of whom could wield

These elements, and arm him *with* (8) the force
Of all their regions? How much more of power
Army against *army* (C) *number*less (9) to raise
Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
Though not destroy, their happy native seat;
Had not the Eternal *King Omnipotent*
From (10) his *strong* hold of Heaven *high* (11) overruled
And *limited* their *might* (12), *though number*ed (C) *such*
As each *divided* (13) legion *might* (U) have seemed
A numerous host, in *streng*th each *armèd* (14) *hand* (U)
A legion! Led in *fight* (U, C), yet leader seemed
Each warrior single as in chief; expert
When to advance, or stand, or *turn* (15) the sway
Of *battle* (U), open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war. No *thought* (C, U) of flight,
None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
That argued fear; each on himself relied
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of *victory* (C). Deeds of eternal fame
Were done, but infinite; for wide was spread
That war, and various: *sometimes* on firm ground
A standing *fight* (U); *then* (16), soaring on main wing,
*Tormen*ted (4) all the air; all air seemed then
*Conflict*ing (U) fire. Long time in even scale
The *battle* (U) hung, till Satan, who *that day*
Prodigious power had shown, and met in arms
No *equal* (17), ranging through the dire attack
Of *fight*ing seraphim *confused* (18), at length
Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and felled
Squadrons (C) at once: with huge two-handed sway
Brandished *aloft* (C), the horrid edge came down
Wide-wasting. Such *destruction* (U) to withstand
He hasted, and opposed the rocky orb
Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield,
A vast circumference. At his approach
The great (U) Archangel from his warlike toil
Surceased, and, glad, as hoping here to end
Intestine war (19) in Heaven, the Arch-foe subdued
Or captive dragged in chains, with hostile frown
And visage all *inflamed* (20), first thus began . . .

Camden

The numbers enclosed in brackets refer to lines of Book 6.

(pp. 138 f.) The 23rd day of the month, betimes in the morning, the Spaniards taking the benefit of a northerly wind, turned about against the English: who for their advantage soon turned aside towards the west: and after they had strived to get the wind one of another, they prepared themselves on both sides to fight; and *fight* they did *confused*ly (249) and with variable fortune, whilst on the one side the English manfully rescued the ships of London that were hemmed in (see note 21) by the Spaniards, and on the other side the Spaniards as stoutly delivered Recalde being in danger. *Never was heard* (208/9) greater thundering of ordnance on both sides; which notwithstanding from the Spaniards *flew* for the most part *over* (212/3) the English without harm: Only Cock (= *Cope?* 215, see note 6) an Englishman died with honour in the midst of the enemies in a small ship of his. For the English ships being far *the less*er (*the least* 221) charged the enemy *with* (222) marvellous agility, and having discharged their broadsides, flew forth presently into the deep, and levelled their shot directly without missing at those great ships of the Spaniards, which were heavy and altogether unwieldy. And the Lord Admiral *thought* (236) not good to hazard *fight* (232) by grappling with them, as some unadvised people persuaded him. For, the enemy had a *strong army* (224; in *streng*th each *armèd* hand 231) in the fleet, he had none. Their ships were far mo in *number* (-less 224; -ed 229), of bigger burthen, *strong*er, and *high*er (228) built: so as from those which defended *aloft* (252) *from* (228) the hatches, nothing but certain death would hang *over* the *head*s (overhead 212) of those which should charge from beneath. And he foresaw that the overthrow would endamage him much more than the *victory* (240) would avail him . . .

The 24th day of the month they ceased on both sides from fighting: The Lord Admiral sent some of the smaller ships to the next coasts of England, to fetch powder and other provision for fight: and *divided* (230) the whole fleet into four *squadrons* (251; see note 22) . . .

Ubaldini

A — (pp. 14 f.) ... And thereupon he was *sometimes* more, and *sometimes* (242) less eager in the *conflict* (212; -ing 245) as necessity required, giving thereby evident example how others should behave themselves. It might well be said that for the time it was not possible to see *before this* (= till now 208) *battle* (202, 16, 35, 46) in this sea so hard a *conflict* (212, 45), nor so terrible a spoil of ships, by reason of the pellets that *flew* (213) so thick every way: to conclude, there *was never* (209) seen so vehement a *fight* (sb. 232, 43; fought 220), *either side* (221) *en*deav*ouring* (*en*counter*ing* 220) through an headstrong and deadly hatred the other's spoil and *destruction* (253). For albeit the musketeers and harquebuseers were in either fleet many in number yet could they not be discerned or heard, by reason of the more violent and roaring shot of the greater ordnance, that followed so thick one upon another, and played so well *that day* (246) *on either side* (221), that they were *thought* (sb. 236) to be *equal* (248) in number to common harquebuseers in an hot skirmish. The *battle* (202, 35, 46; -s 216) was not only long, but also near at hand within half a musket shot, and that to *the great* (257) advantage of the Englishmen . . .

B — (p. 19) ... But the Spaniards with all speed sent tidings to the Duke of Parma of their arrival, who at this present was at Bruges, who having retained with him all his seafaring men (see note 22) many days before to this purpose, yet proceeded no farther in the matter for that time, al*though* for *such* time *as* (*though* numbered *such as* 229/30) *the king had limited* (227/9) him, he for his part took as much care as *might* (sb. 229; vb. 230) be looked for at his *hand*s (231) . . . But in the mean time such a chance fell out as made frustrate not only his, but the conceit also of the Duke of Medina, and wholly overthrew their enterprise, in that Her Majesty was not a little careful and troubled in mind concerning the success of these affairs, albeit she herself had committed her whole fortune into the hands of *Almighty* (Omnipotent 227) God.

Notes

(1) *till now* = *before this battle* U

(2) = *never was heard* greater thundering C

(3) = certain death would hang *over* the *head*s of those . . . C

(4) The failure of the Armada expedition was in large measure due to the superior artillery of the English; in fact, this was the first naval war to be decided by the new arm. In adapting his materials to the purpose in hand, Milton, in his story of the first fight, changed the cannon-shot of his originals, Ubaldini's "pellets", into *fiery darts* (213), deferring the invention and application of artillery to the second fight. Milton, the pacifist, contemplated firearms with strong disapproval, and ascribed the invention of gunpowder to Satan (6.470 ff.), following, in this respect, Ariosto, in the latter's *Orlando Furioso* (IX, 28 ff. and XI, 21 ff.), and Valvasone (see G. v. Glasenapp, *l. c.*).

The first shot in the Armada struggle was fired by the English: "Vicesimo primo Julii, Angliae Admirallus praemissa celoce Defiance dicta, bellum *displo*sione (*displode* h. l., 6.605) denuntiavit, & mox Praetoriam quam putavit Hispanorum (sed ea erat Alphonsi Laevae) è sua praetoria (Archa Regia dicta) primum crebra ejaculatione adortus est. Mox Dracus, Hawkinsus, & Forbisherus [sic] in ultimum agmen quod Recaldus regebat, detonuerunt (*thunder*ed C, 6.606), qui nihil non fecit ut suos ad classem fugientes sisteret, donec ipsius navis multis ictibus diverberata, & jam inutilis, in aciem se aegre reciperet. Quo tempore Dux Medinae dissipatam (*dissipat*ion h. l., 6.598) hinc inde classem collegit, & majoribus velis pansis cursum intendit. Nec aliud poterat, cum & ventus Anglis faveret, & eorum naves incredibili celeritate ad impetus faciendos, flexus recursusque capiendos, in quamcunque partem se converterent" (p. 525).

displosio is paralleled by the hapax legomenon *displode*, a very rare word in the English language; the *New English Dictionary* records it as first found in *Paradise Lost*. The hapax legomenon *dissipation* parallels *dissipatam*. These two hapax legomena are found together with *thunder* < *detonuerunt* in Book 6 in close proximity, in a context that reminds one, in many respects, of the Latin text quoted above, though what is said of the Spaniards there is, in the Miltonic remodelling, applied to their opponents, i. e., the Faithful Angels, the substitutes for the English:

6.597 . . . but now
Foul *dissipation* followed, and forced rout;
Nor served it to relax their serried files.
600 What should they do? If on they rushed, repulse
Repeated, and indecent overthrow
Doubled, would render them yet more despised,
And to their foes a laughter — for in view
Stood ranked of Seraphim another row,
605 In posture to *displode* their second tire
Of *thunder* . . .

Camden uses the word *tormentum* to describe a cannon: the plural, *tormenta*, is translated by *ordnance*. The verb *to torment* (6.244) is used by Milton in a significant context, namely in the description of what appears in the original, i. e., in Camden, as an artillery duel. The noun *torment* is even more closely associated with the idea of artillery in Book 2, ll. 64—70; in fact, it might here be rendered by "cannon" or "gun". Moreover, this passage is closely connected, by means of parallel word-constellations, with the passage in Book 6 which deals with the invention of artillery. These passages are 2.64—70 and 6.482—7, respectively. They have the following words in common: *noise, engine, infernal, thunder(ing), fire, shot-shoot, invent(ed)*.

(5) Compare: *flew* for the most part *over* (211) the English C

(6) The name of the "only" sailor — presumably the only one of any rank — to lose his life in the second encounter is given as *Cope* in a contemporary document (British Museum, Julius F X, f. 111, quoted by W. F. Tilton, *Die Katastrophe der spanischen Armada*, Doctor's Thesis, Freiburg i. B., 1894, p. 39). He is there described as a "coxmaster", which designation may have been misinterpreted as signifying "Cox — master", i. e., captain, by others, so that his name is given as "William *Cocks, captain* of a little pinnace called the Violet" (U, p. 14), and as *Cock-Cockus* (C, p. 139 of the translation, p. 527 of the Latin original). The correct name of this naval hero cannot have remained hidden from Milton, as he must have known a large number of contemporaries of the grand struggle; his father, e. g., born about the year 1563 *(Dictionary of National Biography)*, was 25 in the memorable year. As a conscientious scholar and assiduous reader, he would have explored more authorities than

the few texts studied for the present treatise. It is, therefore, suggested, that the name *Cope* found its way into his collections, was worked into the original draft of his conjectured Armada epic, and was reproduced, though with a totally different meaning, in Book 6 of *Paradise Lost*, together with the other echoes. Milton thus, in spite of his original failure, has succeeded in erecting to the memory of this brave sailor — with or without intention — a monument more lasting than the proverbial brazen images of kings and princes.

(7) Compare: there *was never* (209) seen so vehement a *fight, either side en*deav*ouring* U

(8) Compare: *the les*ser charged the enemy *with* marvellous agility C

(9) Compare: mo in *number* C

(10) Compare: aloft *from* the hatches C

(11) Compare: *strong*er and *high*er built C

(12) The sequence: "*Had* not the Eternal *King* Omnipotent . . . *limited* their *might* " (227—9) is, in the present writer's humble opinion, the gem of the whole collection of correspondences to the Armada sources; taken together with all the other agreements, both verbal and textual, it seems to clinch the argument for dependence quite definitely. The fact that *might* is used as a verb in the original does not invalidate this appraisal: Milton simply succumbed to the greater poetic force of the noun. He evaluated words as much according to their sound as according to their meaning in his peculiar practice of a kind of "free association". For this practice, numerous examples could be given from a study of his use of sources. Moreover, *might* is echoed as a verb in the very next line: "As each divided legion *might* have seemed A numerous host . . ." (230/1), thus exemplifying the poet's love of repetition. What was originally stated of the king of Spain, who had *limited* the Duke of Parma, is now said of God, which again is not surprising in any way to those familiar with Milton's methods of manipulating his materials.

(13) Compare: *divided* the whole fleet into four squadrons C

(14) in *streng*th each *armèd* hand = *strong army* C

(15) The verb *to turn* reminds one of a very important passage in the English version of Camden: "Neither could he (i. e., the Duke of Medina) do any other, seeing both the wind favoured the English, and their ships would *turn* about with incre-

dible celerity, which way soever they would to charge, wind, and tack back again" (p. 138). This remark compares well with Milton's description:

6.232 Led in fight, yet leader seemed
Each warrior single as in chief; expert
When to advance, or stand, or *turn* the sway
235 Of battle, open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war.

Ll. 335/6 may have been inspired by the following sentence of the Latin original, also in the same context: "Recaldus . . . qui nihil non fecit ut suos ad classem fugientes sisteret, donec ipsius navis multis ictibus diverberata, & jam inutilis, in aciem se aegre reciperet" (p. 525). The next lines: "No *thought* of flight, None of retreat, etc." (236 ff.), may be considered a poetic re-interpretation of the concluding sentence of Camden's paragraph, joining on to the words ". . . and tack back again": "And now they had maintained an hot fight the space of 2 hours, when the Lord Admiral *thought* (236) not good to continue the fight any longer . . ." (p. 138).

(16) *sometimes . . . then* (242/3) reproduces the sense of "he was *sometimes* more, and *sometimes* less eager in the *conflict* (245)" U. *Less eager* occurs as a hapax legomenon in Book 6, l. 378.

(17) Compare: and played so well *that day* (246) on either side, that they were thought *equal* U

(18) The adverb *confusedly* is found, also in the immediate neighbourhood of the verb *to fight*, as a hapax legomenon in Book 2, in the following context:

2.912 . . . neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
But all these in their pregnant causes mixed
Confusedly, and which thus must ever *fight* . . .

(19) *Intestine war* is a hapax legomenon in Milton's poetry; but it is also found in the Armada passage in *Of Reformation* (V). The expression occurs in the introduction to Camden's treatment of the history of the Armada: "Ad haec, opportunitatem jam divinitus esse oblatam, cum nec à Turca, pactis nuper induciis, nec à Gallis *intestino* nunc *bello* implicatis, sit metuendum" (p. 514).

(20) Compare: And yet he (i. e., the Duke of Parma), a skilful and industrious warrior, seemed to omit nothing, being *inflamed* with the desire of conquering England. C, p. 144.

(21) The verb *to hem* is found as a hapax legomenon in a highly significant context in Book 4:

4.977 While thus he spake, the angelic *squadron* bright
Turned fiery red, sharpening in *moonèd horns*
Their *phalanx*, and began to *hem* him (i. e., Satan) round
980 With ported spears . . .

The word *squadron* is a general naval term, and is often used in the English version of Camden. In the Latin text it appears as *phalanx*, the first occurrence of the plural *phalanges* being interpreted by *squadrons* in the margin (p. 527). The hapax legomenon *moonèd horns* reminds one of the following most impressive passage in the English Camden already quoted (p. 28): "The next day the English descried the Spanish fleet with lofty towers castle-like, in front like a *half moon*, the *horns* stretching forth about the breadth of seven miles . . ." (C, p. 137). Immediately above, the prose text contains the words: "*with* . . . admirable *alacrity*", which seem echoed in the poetic text in line 1012: "*With* fresh *alacrity*", *alacrity* being a hapax legomenon.

(22) The combination *seafaring men* occurs as a hapax legomenon in Book 2, l. 288:

2.284 He (i. e., Mammon) scarce had finished, when such
murmur filled
285 The assembly as when hollow rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had roused the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Seafaring men o'erwatched, whose *bark* by chance,
Or pinnace, anchors in a craggy bay
290 After the tempest.

bark in combination with *pinnace* (288/9) is another hapax legomenon, also found in Ubaldini: "The 19th of June his Honour had intelligence by a *bark or pinnace*, whose captain was Thomas Flemming, amongst other behind him in the Sleeve for discovery, that the Spanish fleet was discovered near unto the

Lizard" (p. 6); the combination is repeated, though with a slight alteration, in another place: ". . . whereupon the Lord Admiral sent diverse *barks* and *pinnaces* to the shore for a new supply of such munition" (p. 15).

The *seafaring men* were *o'erwatched* (288); they had been "retained many days before" (U, p. 19); or, as Camden's English version has it: "But he (i. e., the Duke of Parma) being unready could not be present at their call, his flat-bottomed boats for the shallow channels leaked, his provision of victuals was not ready and *his sailors having been stayed hitherto against their wills*, had withdrawn themselves" (p. 144). The next sentence contains the verb *to watch*: "There lay *watch*ing (2. 288) also at the entrance of the havens of Dunkirk and Newport . . . the ships of the Hollanders and Zeelanders . . .", i. e., they were "*anchored*" (2. 289), though not exactly in a "craggy bay". The passage from Book 2 under discussion is also closely connected with materials gathered by Milton from his Russian sources (see *Studies, &c.*, No. XXXIV, pp. 34f., and Appendix). The word *pinnace* which occurs in both sources may have been the connecting element that brought about the fusion of the two streams of poetic materials.

Overthrow and Expulsion of the Enemy and Triumph of the Victor

Towards the end of Book 6 another large complex of parallelisms is traceable; the lines concerned are 853—92. The passages involved are given below, edited and commented upon in the usual way:

Paradise Lost 6.853—92

6.853 Yet half his strength he put not *forth* (C), but checked
His thunder in mid-volley; for he meant
855 Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven (1).
The overthrown (C) he *raised* (2), and, *as a herd*
Of goats or timorous flock (3) together thronged,
Drove them before him (4) thunderstruck, pursued
With terrors and with furies to the bounds
860 And crystal wall of Heaven; which, opening wide,

Rolled inward, and *a spacious gap disclosed* (5)
Into the wasteful *Deep* (C). The monstrous sight
Strook them with horror backward; but far worse
Urged them behind: headlong themselves they threw
Down from the verge of Heaven: eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the *bottomless pit* (6).

Hell hears the unsufferable noise, Hell saw
Heaven *ruin*ing (6) from Heaven, and would have fled
Affrighted, but strict Fate hat cast too deep
Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound.
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roared,
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
Through his wild Anarchy; so huge a rout
Encumbered him with *ruin* (6). Hell at last,
Yawning, *received* (C, U) them whole, and on them closed —
Hell, their fit habitation, fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.
Disburdened Heaven (7) *rejoiced* (C), and soon repaired
Her mural breach, *returning* (U) whence it rolled.
Sole victor, from the expulsion of his foes
Messiah his *triumphal* (C) *chariot* (C) turned.
To meet him *all* his *Saints* (C), who silent *stood* (C, U)
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanced; and, as they *went* (C),
Shaded *with branch*ing palm, each *order* (U; 8) bright
Sung *triumph* (C), and him sung *victorious* (U) *King* (C),
Son, Heir, and *Lord* (C), to him dominion *given* (C, U),
Worthiest to reign. He *celebrated* (6) rode,
Triumphant (C, U) *through* (9) mid Heaven, into the courts
And *temple* (C) of his mighty *Father* (U) throned
On high; who *into glory* (C) him *received* (C, U),
Where (10) now he sits at the right hand of bliss.

Camden

(p. 142) ... The English *gave over the chase* (compare 853/4), because (as the Spaniards think) they saw them almost carried to their *ruin* (874): for, the west-north-west wind blowing, they could not but run aground upon the sands

and shallows near Zeeland. But the wind turning presently into the south-west and by west, they sailed before the wind and being clear of the shallows, in the evening they consulted what to do: and by common consent it was resolved to return into Spain by the North Ocean, for that they wanted many necessaries, especially great shot, their ships were torn and no hope there was that the Prince of Parma could bring *forth* (853) his fleet.

Wherefore being now carried forth *into the deep* (862), they directed their course northward, the English fleet *having them in chase* (858): against which now and then they turned head . . .

(p. 144) The Spanish *king* (886) himself bare *the overthrow* (-n 856) patiently, as *received* (875, 91) from God, and gave and commanded to be *given* (887) *all* over Spain, thanks to God and the *Saints* (882), that it was no more grievous; and used singular mercy in relieving the distressed soldiers and sailors. Queen Elizabeth in like manner commanded public *rejoic*ing (-ed 878) and prayers and thanksgiving to be used throughout all the churches of England: and she herself going as it were in *triumph* (886) *went with* (884/5) a very gallant train of noblemen *through* (889) the streets of London (mid Heaven 889), which were hung with blue cloth, and the companies of the city, *st*and*ing* (*stood* 882) on both sides *with* their *ban*ners (*with bran*ching palm 885) in goodly *order* (885), being carried in a chariot (881) drawn with two horses . . . to Paul's Church (*Templ*um Paulinum [Latin original] 890) . . . gave most humble thanks to God, and was present at a sermon *wherein* (892) the *glory* (891) was *given* (887) to God. To the *Lord* (887) Admiral she assigned certain rents for his service and many times commended him and the captains of her ships, as born for the preservation of their country. The rest she graciously saluted by name as oft as she saw them, as men of passing good desert, (wherewith they held themselves well rewarded,) and those that were hurt and poor, she rewarded with reasonable pensions. The learned both at home and abroad, congratulating the *victory* (-ious 886) with hearts leaping for joy wrote *triumphal* (881) poems in all languages (see note 11).

Ubaldini

(p. 26) And therefore to knit up this present treatise, this is reported, that after Her Majesty was thoroughly assured of the *return* (879) of the duke into Spain, and that *her seas were clear and free from all her enemies* (878), and having called home the Lord Seymour with his fleet, it seemed good unto her (as a convenient thing) that her people should render unto Almighty God as great thanks as might be, for that it had pleased him thus to work and bring about the deliverance of them all. And therefore the 19th of November, by public edict and *order* (885) from Her Majesty, there was generally made throughout the whole realm, a most frequent assembly of all sorts of people publicly to *give* (887) thanks unto God all the day long, for so singular a benefit *received* (875), with this intention, that the remembrance of the said benefit, should upon the same day of every year to ensue, be renewed in the mind and the eyes of all men throughout the whole nation, with an evident and religious acknowledgement, that the common safety of them all was accomplished by the special favour of God, the *Father* (890) of all good *things* (893; see note 12).

Her Majesty also being afterwards desirous to do the like in her own behalf (as it was convenient) came into Paul's Church in London on Sunday being the 24th of the same month, with a most decent *order* (885) and assembly of all the magistrates and companies of the City *stand*ing (882) in a rank in the street, replenished most abundantly with people, *through* (889) which Her Majesty was to pass, being accompanied with such a princely train of all those that had been instruments of that notable *victory* (886), that it seemed Her Majesty with the rest, having gotten the *victory* (886), was desirous in *triumph*ing (889) manner to show her thankful mind unto the Londoners also . . .

Notes

(1) The idea expressed in ll. 853—5 corresponds to what is related by Ubaldini of the attitude of the Lord Admiral towards the retreating Armada: his original resolution "utterly to disperse and overthrow" the enemy was abandoned, and, having made

sure of the Spaniards' final departure from English waters, he withdrew his own ships and "returned into England". The complete context is given below, as it is impossible to convey its general spirit by condensation:

(pp. 23 ff.). The Lord Admiral therefore determined to follow the Spanish fleet only so long until they might be shot up to the northward, whither the Spanish fleet directed her course, but to what end it was not known. And that he with the same wind might come to the Frith, which is upon the coast of Scotland, if so be that he saw the enemy pass those parts. Whereupon he thought moreover, that it was good to stay his fleet from attempting aught upon the Spaniard, until he should have good intelligence of their purpose, thereby to work a mean utterly to disperse and *overthrow* them. But the Spaniards kept their course about the islands of Orkney, declaring thereby, that they minded to *return* that way into Spain along by the north coast of Scotland, which as skilful men conjectured, would be to their evident danger, as it fell out afterward. Perceiving therefore the purpose of the enemy, when he was shot up 55 deg. 13 min. to the northward, and 30 leagues off from Newcastle, the Lord Admiral resolved with himself to let the Spanish fleet keep on her way: albeit at the first he was minded to give them a strong assault upon the second of August: but persuaded otherwise by a more safe advice and counsel, he wisely stayed himself from that action, leaving the event that should ensue unto fortune, who might work some farther matter upon them: seeing the enemy had taken that way to save himself . . .

The Spanish fleet therefore, as for her own welfare it was requisite, having gone on so far before, the Lord Admiral resolved to put into the Frith in Scotland, as well to refresh himself with new victuals, as also to dispatch certain other matters which he thought necessary. But the wind being much westward and against him, the day following he changed his course, and returned into England with his whole fleet the 7th of August . . .

(2) The verb *to raise* may be connected with Camden's Latin text where the latter describes the king of Spain's conduct after

the return of the remnants of the defeated Armada: "Hispanus cladem acceptam ut à Deo, composito animo tulit, Deoque et Sanctis, quod non tristior fuerit, gratias egit, et per Hispaniam agi jussit: *afflictos*que (852) milites et nautas *sublevando* (856) misericordiam adhibuit singularem" (p. 534).

To raise serves as a translation of *sublevare;* the latter appears in close contact with *afflictus*, which, in its Englished form, is found in the poetic text in a line immediately preceding:

6.849 . . . and shot forth pernicious fire
850 Among the accursed, that withered all their strength,
And of their wonted vigour left them drained,
Exhausted, spiritless, *afflicted*, fallen.

Milton evidently took *sublevare* to have its original sense here, i. e., *to raise*, and not the secondary sense of *to relieve*, by which it is rendered in the English version, as quoted above (p. 41).

The details *acceptum (ut) à Deo*, and *Sanctis*, are found in close proximity in ll. 801 ff.:

6.801 Stand still in bright array, ye *Saints;* here stand,
Ye Angels armed; this day from battle rest.
Faithful hath been your warfare, and *of God*
Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause;
805 And as ye have *received*, so have ye done,
Invincibly. But of this cursèd crew
The punishment to other hands belongs . . .

The sentiments are shifted by the poet from the Spanish king, represented in *Paradise Lost* by Satan, to the latter's opponent, i. e., Christ. The adverb *invincibly*, in l. 806, cannot fail to recall the subject of the Armada. Such shiftings of situations and epithets have their roots in Milton's sense of poetic fitness.

(3) The document from which the corrected name of the naval hero Cope is taken (see above, p. 35) describes the Spaniards as "running like sheep before the English fleet" (die Spanier liefen wie Schafe vor der englischen Flotte her, sagt ein englischer Berichterstatter, Tilton, *op. c.*, p. 95).

(4) Compare: the English fleet having them in chase C

(5) The conception of the "spacious gap disclosed Into the

wasteful Deep" may very well have been inspired by a well-meant but sadly halting poem prefixed to Ryther's English edition of Ubaldini:

To the Reader

Who list to hear and see what God hath done
For us, our realm, and Queen against our foe,
Our foe the Spaniard proud, let him o'errun
This little book, and he the truth shall know:
The place, the time, the means expressèd be
In book to read, in graven map to see.

Which when you read, and see, retain this thought,
That howsoe'er the mean deservèd well,
T'was chiefly God against our foe that fought,
And sent them quick through midst of sea to hell.
Whether both quick, and thick let them go down,
That seek to alienate the title of our crown. T. H.

(6) Three significant words connect with the passage from *Of Reformation* quoted above (pp. 15 ff.): *the bottomless pit* (IV); *ruin* (his naval *ruins* that have larded our seas, VII), and *celebrated* (VIII).

(7) The phrase *disburdened Heaven* may have been inspired by the statement "her seas were clear and free from all her enemies" U.

(8) Compare: *with* their banners in goodly *order* C

(9) Compare: *through* the streets of London C

(10) Compare: *wherein* the *glory* was *given* C

(11) The "learned" writing "triumphal poems in all languages" strangely remind one of Milton's promise to sing and celebrate, "amidst hymns and hallelujahs of saints", among other matters, the very same subject, viz., the Defeat of the Armada.

(12) The plural *things* occurs twice in l. 893, immediately following upon l. 890 which exhibits the noun *father*:

6.888 He, celebrated, rode
Triumphant through mid Heaven, into the courts
890 And temple of his mighty *Father* throned
On high; who into glory him received,
Where he now sits at the right hand of bliss.
Thus measuring *things* in Heaven by *things* on Earth . . .

Conclusion

It is hoped that in judging the general conduct of the argument the unprejudiced reader will carefully refrain from taking to pieces the evidence presented and from fixing on isolated parallelisms instead of looking at a word-constellation as a whole: minor correspondences which have, if taken separately, no conclusive power whatever, assume the important functions of corroborative evidence if treated as they should be. It may safely be maintained that there exists nothing in the whole range of English literature, apart from the works examined for the present investigation, that will furnish anything like the word-constellations brought forward. Even if, which is wholly improbable, such a page should be unearthed in an assiduous search of, say, the vaults of the British Museum, it would still remain to be demonstrated that Milton could have read the book in question, or that he contemplated, on his own confession, writing on the subject treated therein.

A complete and unreserved approval of the method employed and of its results would in no way detract from the greatness of Milton as a poet. It may safely be suggested that all epic and dramatic poets use sources: "ils prennent leur bien où ils le trouvent", and they are to be judged not by what they take but by what they make of their borrowings. If this standard is applied, even the guardians of the neo-Puritan Milton legend need not fear the implications of the present investigation. Quite on the contrary, they ought to rejoice at being now able to recognize how fervently their idol must have striven to increase the honour of his country by the production of a nobly conceived national epic.

APPENDIX

The Sources of Milton's Poem *On Shakespeare*

Milton's methods of composition may be well illustrated by an investigation into the "sources" of his famous poem *On Shakespeare*. This is the very piece in which he most aptly characterizes his own art as "slow-endeavouring", in contrast to that of the admired, and, perhaps, also envied Shakespeare, whose manuscripts, according to the statement made by his editors, were almost entirely free from deletions (John Heminge and Henry Condell, in their preface to the first folio edition of Shakespeare's plays, 1623). Milton's *On Shakespeare* was published for the first time in the second folio, in 1632:

On Shakespeare 1630

What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
The labour of an age in pilèd stones?
Or that his hallowed relics should be hid
Under a star-ypointing pyramid?
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a livelong monument.
For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart,
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued book
Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,

Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving,
And so sepulchred in such pomp dost lie
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

This piece appeared as one of seven other poems in laudation of the immortal playwright, four of which had been taken over from the first folio. Milton's brief poem of but 16 lines may be pronounced one of his most characteristic and successful productions. The poet, still animated by the fire of youthful aspiration, and full of the hope of a sweeping literary fame to be won before long, is seen trying to do a highly typical thing: he attempts to achieve an ecstatic fit by gradually working himself up to the final consummation. *On Shakespeare* thus worthily takes its place by the side of the more elaborate *Lycidas* (see the present writer's *Der andere Milton*, Bonn & Leipzig, 1920, pp. 98 ff.). So far, four different "sources" have become known, and they account for a very considerable part of the vocabulary.

(1) Ben Jonson's Laudatory Poem

The principal idea in Milton's poem is unquestionably derived from Jonson's laudatory poem in the first folio. The lines —

Thou art a monument without a tomb,
And art alive still, while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praise to give —

express the very felicitous and sane conception that Shakespeare's printed plays will prove his most lasting monument. This conception is seized upon by Milton; it is then extravagantly exaggerated, and strained almost to breaking-point. Milton goes far beyond Jonson: not the book is the lasting monument, but the reader of that book is himself turned, by the "Delphic" or magic power of Shakespeare's poetry, into a marble statue. This statue forms the tomb or monument of the great enchanter, who thus lies shrined in the heart of the entranced admirer.

In addition, Milton has the following verbal items in common with Jonson:

Milton *line*		Jonson *line*
1	my Shakespeare	19
1	honour(ed)	32
2	age	17
4	star	77
5	fame } [rhyming words]	2
6	thy name }	1
7	wonder	18
8	monument	22
11	thy . . . book	2
12	lines	68
16	a tomb	22

In judging the value of these correspondences it should be borne in mind that Jonson's poem runs to 80 lines, as compared with Milton's sixteen. Nevertheless, it seems unadvisable to speak of a parallel word-constellation here, though some of the items are rather striking.

(2) Massinger and Field's *The Fatal Dowry*

In his extension of Jonson's conception, Milton was stimulated by a further source which was pointed out by Professor H. W. Garrod (see *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. 12, 1926, pp. 372 ff.). Attention is drawn there to the following lines in *The Fatal Dowry*, a play by Philip Massinger and Nathaniel Field:

> He [i. e., the son of the deceased] cannot raise thee
> a poor monument,
> Such as a flatterer or a usurer hath;
> Thy worth, in every honest breast, builds one,
> Making their friendly hearts thy funeral stone.

A textual parallelism of this kind naturally leads the critic acquainted with Milton's methods of composition to look for verbal correspondences in the immediate neighbourhood of the lines involved. The results of such an inquiry are tabulated below in the usual way by underlinings and cross-references. The

plain numbers refer to lines of *On Shakespeare*, the composite ones to books and lines of *Paradise Lost*. The opening lines of Charalois's speech in the scene in which Prof. Garrod discovered an evident parallelism with *On Shakespeare* must have strongly appealed to Milton's constitutional love of darkness and twilight illumination (see the present writer's treatise *The Secret of John Milton*, Dorpat, 1924). It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that this passage should have furnished him with two hapax legomena and a well-developed parallel word-constellation in *Paradise Lost*, in addition to certain verbal materials reproduced in the laudatory poem, the most striking example being found in l. 87: the change from the somewhat trite *holy relics* to the strangely effective *hallowed relics* is a very happy example of Milton's improving artistry.

From Act II, Scene I

Charal. How like *a silent stream* (2.582 h. l.) *shaded with* (6.855 h. l.) *night* (2.286),
And gliding softly with our *windy* Antiq (2.286) sighs,
Moves the whole frame of this solemnity!
Tears, sighs, and blacks *filling* (2.284) the simile;
Whilst I, the only *murmur* (2.285) in this grove
Of death, thus *hollowly* (2.285) break forth . . .
Of all that ever thou hast done good to,
These only have good *memories* (5); for they
Remember best forget not gratitude.
I thank you for this last and friendly love:
[To the Soldiers.
And though this country, like a viperous mother,
Not only hath eat up ungratefully
All means of thee, her son, but last, thyself,
Leaving thy *heir* (5) so bare and indigent,
He cannot raise thee a poor *monument* (8),
Such as a flatterer or a usurer hath;
Thy worth, in every honest breast, builds one,
Making their friendly *hearts* (10) thy funeral *stone* (2).
Pont. Sir.
Charal. Peace! O, peace! this scene is wholly mine.
What! weep ye, soldiers? blanch not. — Romont weeps.

Ha! let me see! my miracle is eased,
The gaolers and the creditors do weep;
Even they that make us weep, do weep themselves.
Be these thy body's balm! these and thy virtue
Keep thy *fame* (5) ever odoriferous,
Whilst the great, proud, rich, undeserving man,
Alive stinks in his vices, and, being vanish'd,
The golden calf, that was an idol deck'd
With *marble* (14) pillars, jet, and porphyry,
Shall quickly, both in *bone* (1) and *name* (6), consume,
Though wrapt in lead, spice, searcloth, and perfume!
1 Cred. Sir!
Charal. What? away, for shame! you, profane rogues
Must not be mingled with these *holy relics* (3):
This is a sacrifice; — our shower shall crown
His *sepulchre* (15) with olive, myrrh, and bays,
The plants of peace, of sorrow, victory:
Your tears would spring but weeds.

(*The Plays of Philip Massinger*, London, 1805, vol. III, pp. 372 ff.)

The parallel word-constellation in the opening lines points to a passage in Book 2 of *Paradise Lost* already treated above as influenced by the Armada sources (see p. 33). As the very same passage has been shown to exhibit traces of Milton's Russian materials as well, it may now be linked up with three different "sources":

A = Armada sources
F = The Fatal Dowry
R = Russian materials

2.284 He scarce had finished, when such *murmur* (F) *fill*ed (F)
285 The assembly as when *hollow* (F) *rocks* (R) retain
The sound of blustering *wind*s (F, R) which all *night* (F, R) long
Had roused *the sea* (R), now with hoarse cadence lull
Seafaring men o'erwatched (A), whose *bark* by chance,
Or pinnace (A, R) *anchors* (R) in a craggy *bay* (R)
290 After the *tempest* (R).

(3) Thomas Tomkis's Albumazar

Prof. Garrod, in the same essay, refers to a further source of *On Shakespeare*, namely a passage in the play *Albumazar*, by Thomas Tomkis. The passage is quoted below, in an extended form, edited in the usual manner:

> *[Pandolfo.]* Come hither, Cricca,
> *Wonder* (7) for me, admire, *and* be *astonish*'d (7);
> Marvel thyself to *marble* (14) at these engines,
> These strange Gorgonian instruments.
> *Cricca.* At what?
> *Pandolfo.* At this rare perspicil and otacousticon:
> For, with these two, I'll hear and see all secrets;
> Undo intelligencers.

(*A Select Collection of Old Plays*, in twelve volumes [Dodsley's Plays], 2nd edition, London, 1780, vol. VII, pp. 143 f., Act I, Scene IV)

The agreements between Milton's poem and its source certainly are most striking. L. 4 is also echoed in l. 42 of *Il Penseroso*, in the address to the "Goddess Melancholy":

> Come; but keep thy wonted state,
> With even step, and musing gait,
> And looks commercing with the skies,
> Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes:
> There, held in holy passion still,
> Forget *thyself to marble*, till
> With a sad leaden downward cast
> Thou fix them on the earth as fast.

The quotation from *Albumazar* has been extended beyond l. 5 in order to draw the reader's attention to the plural *intelligencers*, i. e., "spies", because this word reminds of the *intelligencing tyrant* in the passage from *Of Reformation* which formed the starting-point of the above inquiry into the Armada sources (p. 17, par. VII). Strangely enough, the form *larded*, i. e., "covered, strewn (with)", closely connected with the *intelligencing tyrant* in

Milton's prose, also makes its appearance in *Albumazar*, and that only three pages ahead of the *intelligencers*, viz., on page 141. The fact is stated here for what it is worth; nevertheless, the question may be put, did these two rare words become fixed in Milton's mind when reading the play, to be reproduced together, though slightly adapted to the new circumstances, on a future occasion in a most effective manner? In *Of Reformation*, the passage reads as follows: "And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad *intelligencing* tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have *larded* our seas . . ." Other points of contact may be discovered by the imaginative researcher into the curious workings of Milton's mind in the full context of the play. The extracts reproduced below are all about that "strange Gorgonian instrument", the "perspicil", an optic glass which is supposed to allow the user to watch distant events, a conception which must have made a strong appeal to Milton, a sufferer from the extremest form of short-sightedness:

'Twill draw the moon so near, that you would swear
The bush of thorns in't pricks your eyes; the crystal
Of a large arch multiplies millions,
Works more than by point blank, and, by refractions
Optic and strange, searcheth, like the eye of truth,
All closets that have windows. Have at Rome;
I see the Pope, his cardinals, and his mule,
The English college, and the Jesuits,
And what they write and do . . .
What see you? —
Wonders! wonders! I see, as in a landscape,
An honourable throng of noble persons,
As clear as I were under the same roof . . .
Why that's the court at Cambridge, forty miles hence.
What else? —
A hall thrust full of bare heads, some bald, some bush'd,
Some bravely branch'd. —
That's the university,
Larded with townsmen. (pp. 140 f.)

(4) The Epitaph ascribed to Shakespeare

The parentage of the very striking, though ungrammatical, *star-ypointing pyramid* (l. 4) was discovered by Dr. S. A. Nock (see his thesis, quoted above, p. 13, pp. 21 ff.). In Dugdale's collection of epitaphs is found the following piece ascribed — mistakenly, as one may hope — to "William Shakespeare, the late famous tragedian", and dedicated to the memory of Sir Thomas Stanley. It is reprinted below; the italicized words taken together form a parallel word-constellation connecting with Milton's *On Shakespeare.* Note, in particular, the identical rhymes *(for his. . .) bones: stones,* and *fame: name:*

Ask, who lies here, but do not weep,
He is not dead, he doth but sleep.
This *stony* (2) register is *for his bones* (1),
His *fame* (5) is more perpetual than these *stones* (2),
And his own goodness, with himself being gone,
Shall *live* (8) when earthly *monument* (8) is none.

Not *monumental* (8) *stone* (2) preserves our *fame* (5),
Nor *sky-aspiring pyramids* (4) our *name* (6):
The *memory* (5) of him for whom this stands
Shall outlive *marble* (14) and defacers' hands:
When all to time's consumption shall be given,
Stanley, for whom this stands, shall stand in heaven!

(Reprinted from N. Delius, *Shakespeare's Werke,* 6th ed., vol. II, p. 816.)

The grammatical malformation *ypointing* is an exact reproduction of the rhythm of the original expression, which must have struck the poet's ear as particularly felicitous. The substitution of *star* for *sky* is in perfect harmony with Milton's predilection for the heavenly bodies, that of *ypointing* for *aspiring* avoids the accusation of pathetic fallacy. (On the grammatical anomaly involved in the use of the prefix *y-* with a present participle see R. M. Smith, *The Variant Issues of Shakespeare's Second Folio and Milton's First Published English Poem,* Lehigh University, 1928, and *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 3, 1928).

* * *

Milton's poem is once more reproduced with added references to the four "sources" discussed above:

A = Albumazar
E = Epitaph
J = Jonson
F = The Fatal Dowry

On Shakespeare 1630

What needs *my Shakespeare* (J) *for his honoured* (J) *bones* (E)
The labour of an *age* (J) in piléd *stones?* (E)
Or that his *hallowed relics* (F) should be hid
Under a *star*(J)-*ypointing pyramid* (E)?
Dear son of *memory* (E, F), great *heir* (F) of *fame* (E, F, J),
What need'st thou such weak witness of *thy name* (E, J)?
Thou in our *wonder* (A, J) *and astonish*ment (A)
Hast built thyself a *live*long (E) *monument* (E, F, J).
For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart,
Hath from the leaves of *thy* unvalued *book* (J)
Those Delphic *lines* (J) with deep impression took,
Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make us *marble* (A, E, F) with too much conceiving,
And so *sepulchre*d (F) in such pomp dost lie
That kings for such *a tomb* (J) would wish to die.

* * *

Having reached the end of his expositions, the author ventures to express the hope that his readers will have come to the conclusion that the search for "parallel word-constellations" is a real factor in the scientific study of Milton, that the discovery of such constellations may lead to far-reaching results, and that such a pursuit has nothing to do with that idle "source-hunting" which only too frequently takes its origin in the desire of the critic to belittle the efforts of a great poet.

Note on page 19, line 13

The use of the word "prophetically" seems justified by Milton's wording though not by the situation, as the action of Book 2 is the continuation of the events related in Book 6. But even Homer sometimes nods!