

**STUDIES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF
"PARADISE LOST"**

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Milton's Method of Composition.

It is the object of the present treatise to elucidate the very obscure and hitherto almost completely neglected problem of the origin of Milton's great epic by inquiring into the close and curious connection which exists between the latter and its author's two prose works (1) the "History of Moscovia", and (2) the "History of Britain". Milton will be demonstrated to have "borrowed" from his own prose works by the same method which he often employed in deriving ideas, words, and phrases from the literary productions of others. In order to illustrate his conduct in such cases, a highly instructive specimen of such borrowing will be given for analysis before the main thesis is taken in hand. According to Verity (in his edition of "Paradise Lost", Cambridge University Press 1921, p. 588) it was Warton (1728—90) who first pointed out the numerous "verbal similarities" existing between PL. IX. 1101—11 and a certain passage in Gerard's "Herball" (1597), the "standard Elizabethan work on botany". A reprint of the prose original as well as of the "derived" poetic passage is subjoined, with the words borrowed bodily printed in italics, and with the words and phrases rendered by synonyms in thick type. Each word marked in the prose text is followed by a reference to the line containing its counterpart.

The Original Text according to Verity.

"The *arched* (1107) Indian *Fig-tree* (1101). — The ends [of its branches] hang down, and touch *the ground* (1104), where they *take root* (1105) and *grow* (1105) in such sort, that those *twigs* (1105) become great trees; and these . . . being grown up unto

the like greatness, do cast their *branches* (1104) or twiggy tendrils unto the earth, where they likewise take hold and root; by means whereof it cometh to pass, that of one tree is made a great wood . . . which the *Indians* (1102) do use for **coverture** (1109) against the extreme *heat* (1108) of the sun. Some likewise use them for pleasure, cutting down by a direct line a long *walk* (1107) . . . *through* (1110) the *thickest* (1110) part, from which also they *cut* (1110) certain *loopholes* (1110) or windows in some places, to the end to receive thereby the fresh *cool* (1109) air that entreth thereat, as also for light that they may see **their cattle that feed thereby** (1109) . . . The first or *mother* (1106) of this *wood* (1100) is hard to be known from the **children** (1105).

Paradise Lost IX. 1099—1110.

1099 So counselled he, and both together went
 1100 Into the *thickest wood*. There soon they chose
 1101 The *fig-tree* — not that kind for fruit renowned,
 1102 But such as, at this day, to *Indians* known,
 1103 In Malabar or Decan spreads her arms
 1104 *Branching* so broad and long that in *the ground*
 1105 The bended *twigs take root*, and **daughters grow**
 1106 About the *mother tree*, a pillared shade
 1107 High *overarched*, and echoing *walks* between:
 1108 There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning *heat*,
 1109 **Shelters in cool**, and tends his **pasturing herds**
 1110 At *loop-holes cut through thickest shade* . . .

Significance of the above Extracts.

A comparison of the two texts as printed above, with their "honeycombed" appearance, will help the student of Milton to realize by what laborious processes some of the most effective passages in the latter's poetry have come into being. On the following pages an attempt will be made to prove that the same method was applied by Milton on a much larger scale than is generally suspected. The "History of Moscovia" is itself a compilation from well known sources — from the collections of Hakluyt and Purchas as stated in its footnotes. The present author has only been able to consult one of these originals, viz. Hakluyt, "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and

Discoveries of the English Nation" (quoted from E. Goldsmid's reprint, Edinburgh 1886). From the latter work, Milton copied his prose text almost verbatim. For this reason, the original text of Hakluyt's collections has also been examined in each case of inter-relation between Milton's prose and poetry, with the result that borrowings from Hakluyt were discovered in "Paradise Lost" as well as in the Minor Poems that have not passed into the prose compilation.

The Influence of the "History of Moscovia" on "Paradise Lost".

The singular and much neglected History and Description of the Russian Empire was not published until eight years after its author's death. He may have shrunk from enabling the public to find out to what an extraordinary extent his poetry was indebted to his prose, or rather to the sources of the latter, though experience has shown that he might have felt safe for almost two centuries and a half. On the following pages will be given (1) those passages of the original prose text (taken from Fletcher's edition) which have been chiefly exploited, and (2) those passages of PL. influenced, in the opinion of the present writer, by the prose text and some of the sources of this prose text, together with a running commentary. The different books of PL. are treated in the order in which they are conjectured to have been written: IV, IX, I, II, III, V, etc. Italics and thick type are used as in the former extract. In the reprint of the prose text, references to book and line of PL. are added to the words marked in the manner described above. In order to facilitate reference, the sentences of the prose text have been numbered.

A Brief History of Moscovia, and of other less known Countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay.

Chap. I. A brief description.

1. The empire of Moscovia, or as others call it *Russia* (10. 431), is *bounded* (3. 432) on the north with Lapland and the ocean; southward with the *Crim Tartar* (3. 432); on the west by Lithuania, Livonia, and Poland; on the east by the river Ob, or Oby, and the *Nagayan Tartars* (10. 431) on the Volga as far as *Astracan* (10. 432).

2. The north parts of this country are so barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thousand miles; and so cold (4.329) in winter, that the very sap of their woodfuel burning on the fire freezes at the brand's end, where it drops...
3. The bay of St. Nicholas... lieth in sixty-four degrees; called so from the abbey there built of wood, wherein are twenty monks... their church is fair, full of images and tapers...
4. In the bay over against the abbey is Rose Island, full of *damask* (4.334) and red **roses, violets and wild rosemary** (4.334); the isle is *in circuit* (4.586; 784) seven or eight miles; about the midst of May, the snow there is cleared, having two months been melting; then the ground in fourteen days is dry, and the **grass** (4.325) knee-deep within a month; after September frost returns, and snow a yard high: it hath a house built by the English **near to** (4.326) *a fresh* (4.229; 326) fair **spring** (4.229, 326); north-east of the abbey, on the other *side* (4.333) of Duina is the castle of Archangel...
5. The river Duina, beginning about seven hundred miles within the country, having first received Pinega, falls here into the sea, very large and swift, but shallow.
6. It runneth pleasantly between hills on either side; beset like a *wilderness* (4.135, 136) with *high* (4.138) *fir* (4.139) and **other trees** (4.139)...
7. *North-east beyond* (10.292) Archangel standeth Lampas, where twice a year is kept a great fair of Russes, Tartars, and Samoëds; and to the *landward* (10.292) Mezen, and Slobotca, two towns of traffic between the river Pechora, or *Petzora* (10.292), and Duina: to *seaward* (10.292) lies the cape of Candinos...
8. The *river* (4.223; 12.157)... *Petzora*, holding his *course* (4.224) *through* (4.224) *Siberia*, *how far* (9.617) the Russians thereabouts *know not* (4.235; 9.619), *runneth* (4.223; 12.158) *into the sea* (12.159) *at seventy-two mouths* (9.618, 19; 12.157), **full of ice** (10.291); *abounding* (9.620) with swans, ducks, geese, and partridge, which they take in July, sell the feathers, and **salt** (9.621, 22) the bodies for winter *provision* (9.623).
9. On this *river* (4.226) **spreading** (4.261, 454) to a *lake* (4.261, 455) stands the town of Pustozera...

10. The Russians that have travelled say, that this *river* (4. 226) springs out of the *mountains* (4. 226) of Jougoria, and runs *through* (4. 223) Permia.
11. Not far from the mouth thereof are the **straights** (4. 224) of Vaigats . . . more *eastward* (4. 223) is the point of Naramzy . . .
12. Touching the Riphæan **mountains**, our men could hear **nothing** (4. 235); but rather that the whole *country* (4. 235) is *champaign* (4. 134), and in the northernmost part **huge and desert woods** (4. 140—2) of *fir* (4. 139), abounding with black wolves, bears, buffs, and another beast called rossomakka, whose female **bringeth forth** (9. 624) by *passing* (4. 232) through some narrow place, as between two stakes, and so presseth her womb to a *disburdening* (9. 624; 5. 319).
13. Travelling *southward* (4. 211, 23) they found the country more *pleasant* (4. 214; 9. 448), fair, and better inhabited, **corn, pasture, meadows** (9. 450), and **huge woods** (4. 217).
14. Arkania . . . is a place of English trade, from whence a day's *journey* (4. 173) distant Colmogro stands on the Duina . . .
15. The English have here lands of their own, given them by the emperor, and fair houses: not far beyond, Pinega, running between *rocks of alabaster* (4. 283, 543, 44) and *great woods* (4. 538), meets with Duina . . .
16. Thence continuing by water to Wologda, a great city so named of *the river* (3. 358) which *passeth through the midst* (3. 358) . . . This is a town of much traffic, a thousand miles from St. Nicholas.
17. All this way by water no *lodging* (4. 720) is to be had but *under open sky* (4. 721) by the *river side* (4. 741), and other provision only what they bring with them.
18. From Wologda by sled they go to Yeraslave on the Volga, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs two thousand seven hundred versts to the Caspian sea, having his **head spring** (4. 283) out of Bealozera, which is a lake, amidst whereof is *built* (4. 211) a strong *tower* (4. 211), *wherein* (4. 276, 50) the kings of Moscovy **reserve their treasure** (4. 278, 80) in time of war . . .
19. Between Yeraslave and Mosco, which is two hundred miles, the country is so *fertile* (4. 216; 5. 319), so *populous* (9. 445; 1. 770) and full of *villages* (9. 448), that in a forenoon seven

- or eight hundred sleds are usually seen coming with salt-fish, or laden back with corn (9. 450).
20. Mosco the **chief city** (3. 549), lying in fifty-five *degrees* (3. 502), *distant* (3. 501) from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the *suburbs* (1. 773), but rudely *built* (1. 773); their houses and churches most of timber, few of stone, their streets unpaved; it hath a fair **castle** (1. 773), four-square (2. 1048), upon a *hill* (3. 546), two miles about, with brick *walls* (3. 503) very *high* (3. 503, 546), and some say eighteen foot thick, sixteen *gates* (3. 505), and as many **bulwarks** (2. 1049; 3. 550); in the castle are kept the chief markets, and in winter on the river, being then firm ice.
 21. The river Moscua on the south-west side *encloses* (4. 283) the castle, *wherein* (4. 276, 80) are nine fair **churches** (3. 550) with *round* (2. 1048) *gilded* (3. 506, 551) *towers* (2. 1048), and the **emperor's palace** (3. 505) . . .
 22. From Cazan to the *river* (4. 276) Cama falling into Volga from the province of Permia, the people dwelling on the left side are *Gentiles* (4. 277), and live in woods without houses . . .
 23. From Mosco to Astracan is about six hundred leagues. The town is situate in an *island* (4. 275) on a hill-side walled with earth . . . the houses . . . poor and simple; the *ground* (1. 767) utterly barren, and without wood.
 24. They live there on fish, and sturgeon especially; which hanging up to dry in the streets and houses brings whole *swarms* (1. 767, 776) of *flies* (1. 772), and infection to the *air* (1. 767; 2. 718), and oft great *pestilence* (2. 711).
 25. This island in *length* (2. 709) twelve leagues, three in breadth, is the Russian limit toward *the Caspian* (2. 716), which he keeps with a strong garrison, being twenty leagues from that sea, into which Volga falls **at seventy mouths** (4. 229, 233)...
 26. Westward from St. Nicholas twelve hundred miles is the city of Novogrod . . . the **greatest mart town** of this dominion, and *in bigness* (1. 778; 2. 1052) not inferior to Mosco.
 27. The way thither is through the western bottom of St. Nicholas bay, and so along the *shore* (9. 117) full of dangerous *rocks* (9. 118) to the monastery Solofsky, wherein are at least two hundred monks; the people thereabout in a manner savages, yet tenants to those monks.

28. *Thence* (4. 230) to the dangerous *river* (9. 116) *Owiga*, wherein are *waterfalls* (4. 230, 260) as *steep* (4. 231) as from a **moun-tain** (4. 261), and by the violence of their descent kept from freezing . . .
29. The Russian armeth not less in time of war than three hundred thousand men . . . Their *armour* (4. 553) is coat of plate, and a skull on their heads.
30. Some of their coats are covered *with* velvet, or cloth of *gold* (4. 554); for they desire to be **gorgeous in arms** (4. 554), but the duke himself above measure; *his pavilion* (2. 960) covered with cloth of *gold* (2. 947) or silver, set with precious stones . . .
31. They fight without order; nor willingly give battle, but *by stealth* (9. 68; 2. 945) or ambush . . .
32. Their *dead* (3. 477) they bury with new shoes on their *feet* (3. 485, 86) as to a long journey; and *put* (3. 479) letters testimonial in their hands, that this was a Russe or Russess, and *died* (3. 479) in the true faith; which, as they **believe** (3. 480), *St. Peter* (3. 484) having read, forthwith admits him *into* (3. 489) *heaven* (3. 484, 86) . . .
33. They have no **learning** (9. 837), nor will suffer to be among them; their greatest friendship is drinking; they are great talkers; liars, flatterers, and dissemblers.
34. They delight in gross meats and noisome fish; their *drink* (9. 838; 5. 344) is better, being **sundry sorts** (5. 341) of *meath* (5. 345); the best made with *juice* (5. 327) of a *sweet* (5. 346) and crimson *berry* (5. 346) called *Maliena* . . .
35. Another *drink* (9. 838) they use in the spring drawn from the *birch-tree* (9. 834) root, whose *sap* (9. 837) after June dries up . . .

Chap. III. *Of Tingoësia, and the countries adjoining eastward,
as far as Cathay.*

36. Beyond *Narim* and *Comgoscoi* the soldiers of those garrisons, travelling by appointment of the Russian governor in the year 1605, found many goodly countries not inhabited, many vast deserts and rivers; till at the *end* (4. 398) of ten weeks they *spied* (4. 403) certain cottages and *herds* (4. 350, 396), or companies of people, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and signified to the Samoëds and Tar-

- tars, which were *guides* (4. 442) to the Russian soldiers, that they were called Tingoësi; that their *dwelling* (4. 377, 78) was on the great river Jenissey.
37. This river is said to be *far* (4. 453) bigger than Ob, *distant from* (4. 453) the mouth thereof four days and nights sailing; and likewise falls into the sea of Naramzie: it hath *high mountains* on the east, some of which cast out *fire* (4. 402; 2. 620), to the west a *plain* (4. 455) and fertile country, which in the spring-time it *overflows* (4. 454, 55) about seventy *leagues* (4. 375); all that time the inhabitants keep them in the mountains, and then *return* (4. 463, 64) with their cattle to the *plain* (4. 455).
38. The Tingoësi are a very *gentle* (4. 404) nation, they have great swoln throats, like those in Italy that live under the *Alps* (2. 620)... at persuasion of the Samoëds they **forthwith submitted to the Russian government** (4. 390): and at their request travelling the next year to discover still eastward, they came *at length* (4. 357) to a river, which the savages of that *place* (4. 385) called Pisida, somewhat less than Jenissey.
39. In April and May they were much delighted with the *fair* (3. 554) *prospect* (3. 548) of that **country** (3. 548), *replenished with* (7. 447) many rare trees, plants, and flowers, beasts and *fowl* (7. 447) . . .
40. They relate, that from Tooma in ten days and a half, three days whereof over a lake, where rubies and *sapphires grow* (4. 605, 694; 2. 1050), they *came* (4. 598) to the Alteen king . . .
41. Through his land in five weeks they passed into the country of Sheromugaly, or Mugalla, where reigned a *queen* (4. 608) called *Manchica* (4. 609); whence in four days they came to the **borders** (2. 644) of Cathay, *fenced* (4. 697) with a stone *wall* (4. 697), fifteen fathoms *high* (4. 181, 82, 554, 694, 99; 2. 644); along the *side* (4. 179, 695) of which, having on the other *hand* (4. 552, 689) many pretty towns belonging to queen Manchica, they travelled ten *days* (4. 564) without *seeing* (4. 579) any one on the wall, till they *came* (4. 555, 64, 80) to the *gate* (2. 645); where they *saw* (4. 179) very great ordnance *lying* (4. 569), and three thousand men in *watch* (4. 550, 62, 79; 2. 648).

42. They traffic with other nations at the *gate* (4. 178, 579), and very few at once are suffered to *enter* (4. 180, 563, 704).
43. They were travelling from Tooma to this *gate* (4. 178, 579) twelve weeks; and from *thence* (4. 582) to the great city of Cathay ten *days* (4. 712).
44. Whence being **conducted** (4. 605) to the house of ambassadors, *within* (4. 182, 586) a few days there came a secretary from King Tambur, with two hundred men well apparelled, and riding on asses, to feast them with divers *sorts* (4. 582) of wine, and to demand their message; but having *brought* (4. 713, 17) no **presents** (4. 715) with them, they could not be admitted to his *sight* (4. 573, 77).
45. Only with his letter to the emperor they *returned* (4. 576) . . . to Tobolsca.
46. They report, that the land of Mugalla reaches *from* (4. 569) Boghar to the *north* (4. 569) sea, and hath many castles built of *stone* (4. 702), foursquare, with towers at the corners covered *with glazed tiles* (4. 702); and on the gates alarm-bells, or watch-bells . . . their houses built also of *stone* (4. 702), the **ceilings** (4. 692) cunningly painted with *flowers* (4. 697, 98, 709) of *all colours* (4. 698).
47. The people are **idolators** (4. 705 ff.); the country exceeding fruitful . . .
48. The people of Cathay say, that this great wall stretches from Boghar to the north sea, four months *journey* (4. 173), with *continual* (4. 175) towers a *slight* (4. 181) shot distance from each *other* (4. 179), and beacons on every tower; and that this *wall* (4. 182) is the *bound* (4. 181) between Mugalla and Cathay.
49. In which are **but five gates** (4. 178); those narrow, and so low, that a **horseman sitting upright cannot ride in** (4. 177).
50. Next to the *wall* (4. 182) is the city Shirokalka; it hath a castle well **furnished** (4. 779) with short ordnance and small shot, which they who keep *watch* (4. 780, 83) on the **gates** (4. 778), towers and walls, *duly* (4. 180) **at sun-set and rising** (4. 779) discharge thrice over.
51. The city abounds with *rich* (4. 189) *merchandise* (4. 189; 2. 639), velvets, damasks, cloth of gold, and tissue, with many sorts of **sugar** (4. 166, 709).
52. Like to this is the city Yara, their markets *smell* (4. 165,

4. 709) *odoriferously* (4. 157, 696) *with* (4. 165) *spices* (4. 162; 2. 640), and *Tayth* (2. 639) more *rich* (4. 701) than that.
53. *Shirooan* yet more *magnificent* (1. 718), half a day's *journey* (4. 173) through, and exceeding populous.
54. *From hence* (3. 723) to *Cathaia* the *imperial* (2. 1047) city is two days journey, built of white stone, foursquare, *in circuit* (4. 586, 784; 2. 1048; 3. 721) four *days* (3. 725) *going* (4. 586), cornered with four white *towers* (2. 1049), **very high and great** (1. 710), and others very fair along the *wall* (3. 721), white intermingled with blue, and loopholes furnished with ordinance.
55. In the midst of this white city stands a castle *built* (1. 713) of magnet, *where* (1. 713) the *king* (1. 721; 5. 870) *dwells* (1. 720), in a sumptuous *palace* (1. 713) the top whereof is *overlaid with gold* (1. 714, 15; 12. 250).
56. The city *stands on even ground* (3. 178, 79; 11. 348) *encompassed with* (3. 148, 49; 5. 876; 11. 352) the river *Youga*, seven days journey from the sea.
57. The people are very fair, but not *warlike* (4. 780), *delighting most* (3. 168) in rich traffic.
58. These relations are referred *hither* (3. 722), because we have them from the Russians; who *report* (5. 869) also, that there is a sea *beyond Ob* (9. 78), so warm, that all kind of sea-fowl live thereabout as well in winter as in summer.
59. Thus much briefly of the *sea and lands* (9. 76) between Russia and Cathay.

Chap. IV. *The succession of Moscovia dukes and emperors . . .*

60. *Basilius*, unexpectedly thus attaining his supposed right, enjoyed it not long in quiet, for *Andrew* and *Demetrius*, the two sons of *George*, counting it injury not to succeed their father, made war upon him . . .
61. *John Vasiliwich*, his son, was the first who brought the Russian name out of obscurity into renown. To secure his own estate, he put to death as many of his kindred, as were likely to pretend . . .
62. He had war with *Alexander* king of Poland, and with the *Livonians*; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his daughter *Helena*, whom he had to wife, from the Greek church to the Romish; with the *Livonians* **for no other cause, but**

- to enlarge his bounds (2.502): though he were often foiled by Plettenbergius, great master of the Prussian knights . . .
63. This princess, of a **haughty** (4. 971) mind, often complaining that she was married to the Tartar's *vassal* (2. 252), at length by continual persuasions, and by a wile, found means to *ease* (2. 256,61) her husband and his country of that *yoke* (4. 975; 2. 256).
64. For *whereas* (4. 960) till then the Tartar had his procurators, who dwelt **in the very castle of Mosco** (4. 964), to oversee *state* (2. 251) affairs, she feigned that from *heaven* (4. 973; 2. 251) she had been warned, to build a temple to saint Nicholas on the same *place* (2. 260) where the Tartar agents had their house.
65. Being therefore delivered of a son, she made it her request to the prince of Tartary, whom she had invited to the baptizing, that he would *give* (4. 969) her that house, which *obtaining* (2. 250), she razed to the ground, and removed those overseers *out of* (2. 261) the castle; and so by degrees *dispossessed* (4. 961) them of all which they held in Russia.
66. She *prevailed* (4. 973) also with her husband, to transfer the dukedom from Demetrius the son of John deceased, to *Gabriel* (4. 1005) his eldest by her . . .
67. Ivan Vasiliwich, being left a child, was committed to George his uncle and protector; at twenty-five years of age he vanquished the Tartars of Cazan and *Astracan* (10. 432), **bringing home with him their princes captive** (4. 465, 70); made *cruel war* (2. 501) in Livonia, pretending right of inheritance.
68. **He seemed exceedingly devout** (2. 485); and whereas the Russians in their churches use out of *zeal* (2. 485) and *reverence* (2. 478) to **knock their heads against the ground** (2. 477), his forehead was seldom free of swellings and bruises, and very often seen to bleed . . .
69. Pheodor Ivanowich, being under age, was *left* (10. 437) to the protection of Boris, brother to the young empress, and third son by adoption in the emperor's will.
70. After forty days of mourning, **the appointed time** (4. 779) of coronation being *come* (2. 507,8), the *emperor* (2. 510) *issuing* (4. 779) **out** (2. 506) of his palace, **the whole clergy before him** (2. 511)

- entered **with his nobility** (2.507) the church of Blaveshina or blessedness; whence after service to the church of Michael, then to our lady church, being the cathedral.
71. In *midst* (2.508; 10.441) whereof a **chair** (2.1; 10.445) was **placed** (10.447), and **most unvaluable garments** (10.446) put upon him; there also was the imperial crown set on his *head* (10.449) by the *metropolitan* (10.439), who out of a small book in his *hand* (2.3) read exhortations to the emperor of justice and *peaceable* (2.499) government.
 72. After this, *rising* (2.15) from his **chair** (2.1) he was invested with an *upper* (10.446) robe, so thick with **orient** (2.3) *pearls* (2.4) and stones, as weighed two hundred pounds, the train borne up by six dukes.
 73. His staff imperial was of a unicorn's *horn* (10.433) three foot and a half *long* (5.355), *beset* (5.356,57) *with* (5.356) *rich* (2.3; 5.355) stones; his *globe* (2.512) and six crowns carried before him by *princes* (5.355) of the blood.
 74. His *horse* (5.356) at the church *door* (10.443) stood ready with a covering of embroidered *pearl* (2.4), saddle and *all* (5.357) suitable, to the value of three hundred thousand marks.
 75. There was a kind of *bridge* (2.1028) *made* (9.550) three *ways* (9.550; 2.1026), one hundred and fifty fathom *long* (9.551; 2.1028), three foot *high* (2.1), two fathom *broad* (2.1026), whereon the emperor with his *train* (9.548; 5.351) went *from* (2.1029) **one church to another** (2.1031) above the infinite *throng* (5.357; 10.453) of people making *loud acclamations* (2.520; 10.455).
 76. At the emperor's *returning* (2.520; 10.455) from those churches they were *spread* (10.446) *underfoot* (10.445) with cloth of *gold* (5.356), the porches with red velvet, the bridges with scarlet and stammel cloth, all which, as the emperor *passed* (2.1031) by, were cut and snatched by them that stood next...
 77. The *empress* (9.568) in her palace was placed before a *great* (2.515) open window in rich and **shining** (9.568) robes, *among* (9.547) her ladies.
 78. After this the *emperor* (10.429) came *into* **parliament** (10.428), where he had a banquet *served by* (9.547) his **nobles** (10.427) in princely order; two standing on either side his chair *with battleaxes of gold* (2.513); three of the next rooms

- great and large, being set *round* (2.511; 10.439) with plate of gold and silver, from the ground up to the roof.
79. This triumph lasted a week, wherein many *royal* (2.1) pastimes were seen; after which election was made of the nobles to new offices and *dignities* (2.25).
80. The conclusion of all was a peal of **one hundred brass ordnance** (2.1036) two miles without the *city* (10.424), and twenty thousand harquebuzes twice over; and so the emperor with *at least* (9.555) fifty thousand horse *returned* (2.1038) through the city to his palace, where all the nobility, officers and merchants brought him rich presents.
81. **Shortly** (10.440) after the emperor, by direction of Boris, conquered the large country of Siberia, and took prisoner the king thereof . . .
82. In sum, a great *alteration* (2.1024) in the government *followed* (2.1025), yet all **quietly** and *without tumult* (2.1040).
83. These things reported abroad strook such awe into the neighbour kings, that the Crim *Tartar* (10.431) with his wives also, and many nobles and personable men, came to visit the *Russian* (10.431).
84. There came also twelve hundred Polish gentlemen, many Circassians, and people of other nations, to offer service; ambassadors from the *Turk* (10.434), the **Persian** (10.433), Georgian, and other Tartar princes . . .
85. But this glory (10.451) lasted (10.449) not long, through the treachery of Boris, who procured the *death* (2. 840, 45, 54) first of Demetrius, then of the emperor himself, whereby the imperial *race* (2.834), after the succession of three hundred years, was **quite extinguished** (2.835) . . .

A Survey of the Passages of "Paradise Lost" based upon the "History of Moscovia".

I. *The Approach to Paradise, compared to the Forests of Northern Russia.*

- 4.131 So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,
As with a rural mound, the *champain* head

- 5 Of a steep *wilderness*, whose hairy sides
 With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
 Access denied; and overhead up-grew
 Insuperable *highth* of loftiest shade,
 Cedar, and pine, and *fir*, and branching palm,
 140 **A sylvan scene**, and, as the ranks ascend
 Shade above shade, a **woody theatre**
 Of stateliest view.

Compare Nos 6 and 12 of the prose text. — The conception of the situation of Paradise is based on the experience of the English travellers, who had to pass through the dense woods of the north before emerging into the fertile plain of the interior: this connection is unquestionably proved to exist by the introduction of the two characteristic words “wilderness“ and “champain“. Cp. NEDict. 1635: A *champain* region is a space of land either altogether void, or scarce furnished with trees.

II. *Spices.*

- 4.156 . . . now gentle gales,
 Fanning their *odoriferous* wings, dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
 160 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
 Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
 Sabaeon odours from the *spicy* shore
 Of Araby the blest: with such delay
 Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
 165 Cheered *with* the grateful *smell* old Ocean smiles:
 So entertained those odorous sweets the Fiend . . .

Compare Nos 51, 52. — The word “odoriferous (ly)“ occurs but once in Milton’s poetry (hapax legomenon), viz. in the above context.

III. *The Enclosure of Paradise compared to the Chinese Wall.*

- 4.172 Now to the ascent of that steep savage hill
 Satan had *journeyed* on, pensive and slow;
 But further way found none; so thick entwined,
 175 As one *continued* brake, the undergrowth
 Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplexed
All path of man or beast that passed that way.
One gate there only was, and that looked east
 On the *other side*: which when the Arch-Felon saw,

180 *Due entrance* he disdained, and in contempt
 At one *slight bound high* overleaped all *bound*
 Of hill or *highest wall*, and sheer *within*
 Lights on his feet . . .

Compare Nos 14; 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50. — Line 177 proves that Milton occasionally allowed his reliance on external helps to damage the probability of his narrative. The introduction of "man" is a glaring anachronism, evidently modelled on the "horseman" (man or beast), passing with difficulty through the low and narrow gate (No 49).

IV. *The Rich Burgher.*

4.189 The allusion to the "rich burgher" was evidently provoked by the combination of *rich* with **merchandise** in No 51, in connection with the preceding passage.

V. *Paradise and the Fertile Interior of Russia.*

4.205 Beneath him, with new wonder, now he views,
 To all delight of human sense exposed,
 In narrow room Nature's whole wealth . . .

210 . . . Eden stretched her line
 From Auran eastward to the royal towers
 Of great Seleucia, *built* by Grecian kings . . .
 . . . In this *pleasant* soil

215 His far more *pleasant* garden God ordained.
 Out of the *fertile* ground he caused to grow
All trees of noblest kind . . .

Compare Nos 13, 18, 19. — A complete parallel exists between the English travellers admiring the fertility of the interior of Russia after their passage through the northern forests (see No I!), and Satan contemplating the beauty of Paradise after threading his way through the "woody wilderness".

VI. *The River Petzora in Paradise.*

4.223 *Southward* through Eden went a river large,
 Nor changed his *course*, but *through* the **shaggy hill**
 225 *Passed* underneath engulfed; for God had thrown
 That *mountain* as his garden-mould, high-raised
 Upon the rapid current, which, through veins
 Of porous earth with kindly thirst up-drawn,
 Rose a *fresh fountain*, and with many a rill

230 *Watered the garden; thence united fell*
 Down the *steep glade*, and met the nether flood,
 Which from his darksome *passage* now appears;
 And now, **divided into four main streams**,
Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm

235 And *country* whereof here **needs no account** . . .

Compare Nos 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 25, 28. — The allusion to the "straights" of Vaigats (No 11) seems to have inspired the poet with the invention of the subterranean course of the river of Paradise. On Milton's predelection for similar conceptions see the present writer's article on "Milton's Eyesight and the Chronology of his Works", *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis* B V 1, 1924, pp. 13 f. — Further similarities may be discovered in the original version as contained in Hakluyt: "The northern side *stretcheth* to the Scythian Ocean"; cp. l. 210: "Eden *stretched* her line . . ." — "Issuing both out of one *fountain* (229), *run* (234) very far *through the land* (223); "*divers* (234 *passages* (232)"; "and runs *toward the South* (223)"; "running by *many great and large countries* (234/5)" (Chancellor's Report, Goldsmid's reprint, vol. 3, p. 62).

VII. *The River Owiga and the Lake of Pustozera Combined.*

4.260 . . . meanwhile murmuring *waters fall*
 Down the slope **hills dispersed**, or in a *lake*,
 That to the fringed bank with myrtle crowned
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.

Compare Nos 9, 28.

VIII. *The Island Retreat of Bealozera.*

4.275 . . . nor that Nysean *isle*,
 Girt with the *river* Triton, *where* old Cham,
 Whom *Gentiles* Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
Hid Amalthea, and her florid son,
 Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye;

280 Nor *where* Abassin kings *their issue guard*,
 Mount Amara, though this by some supposed
 True Paradise, under the Ethiop line
 By Nilus' *head*, enclosed with **shining rock** . . .

Compare Nos 15, 18, 21, 22, 23. — Verity, in his edition of PL., quotes a number of verbal similarities connecting the above passage with the anti-Puritan writer Heylin's "Microcosmus" (1621),

Milton's "chief authority in matters relating to the customs of foreign nations and geography". The word *enclosed* is among those "similarities" (p. 460).

IX. *The Idyll of "Rose Island"*.

- 4.325 Under a tuft of shade, that on a **green**
 Stood whispering soft, **by a fresh fountain-side**,
 They sat them down; and after no more toil
 Of their sweet gardening labour than sufficed
 To recommend cool Zephyr, and make ease
 330 More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
 More grateful, to their supper-fruits they fell,
 Nectarine fruits, which the compliant boughs
 Yielded them, *sidelong* as they sat recline
 On the soft downy bank *damasked* with **flowers**.

Compare Nos 2,4. — The word "bank" (l. 334) was evidently suggested by the "island" nature of the original locality ("bank" = "sloping margin of river", as well as "raised shelf of ground"). The word *damask(ed)* is a hapax legomenon. — See No LXIX.

X. *Satan and the Conquest of Siberia*.

- 4.355—408 In this passage, Satan is made to refer to his intention of seducing the first couple in the following terms:
 390 Honour and **empire** with revenge **enlarged**
 By conquering this new World . . .
 which bear a certain resemblance to the description of the Russian advance into Siberia given in chapter III of the prose work; see more particulary No 38. A large number of verbal similarities spread over the whole passage, singly or in clusters, prove such a connection to exist.
 336 **the brimming stream** may have been suggested by the remark that the river Jenissey was **far bigger than Ob** (No 37).
 350 The word *herds* (No 36; see also **cattle**, No 37) is found in line 390, and rendered by circumlocution in lines 350—2:
 . . . Others on the **grass**
 Couched, and now filled with pasture gazing sat,
 Or bedward ruminating . . .

357. *at length* (No 38).

375—78 *league* (No 37), *dwelling* (No 36). In the prose text, the former word denotes a "measure of road-distance", in the poem the meaning is "compact for mutual protection and assistance". This curious use of homonyms shows that sometimes Milton relied on his model in a completely mechanical manner. *league* is also found in line 339.

385 *place* (No 38).

398 *end* (No 36).

401 ff. . . . About them round

A lion now he stalks with *fiery glare*;
Then as a tiger, who by chance hath *spied*
In some purlieu two *gentle fawns* at play . . .

Compare Nos 36, 37, 38. — The alleged connection is further proved to exist by the borrowings from the same part of the prose text to be discovered in the lines immediately following (see No XI).

XI. *Eve's Mirror and the Inundation of the River Jenissey.*

4. 453 Not *distant far from thence* a murmuring sound
Of waters issued from a cave, and **spread**
Into a liquid plain . . .

Compare No 37. — Further similarities may be discovered in lines 442 (*guide* No 36), and 463,5 (*return* No 37). — The expression *to spread to a lake* is found in No 9.

XII. *The Angelic Guard and the Great Wall of China.*

4.536—548 The description of the gate leading into Paradise begins with a reference to the *rock of alabaster* (ll. 543,4), taken from No 15, which is also responsible for *wood* (l. 538).

4.549—588 This passage is based partly on the description of the Russian military forces (Nos 29, 30), and partly on the description of the Great Wall (Nos 41—46, 54).

Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
550 Chief of the angelic **guards**, awaiting night;
About him exercised heroic games
The unarmed youth of Heaven; but nigh at *hand*
Celestial *armoury*, shields, helmets, and spears,
Hung *high*, with **diamond flaming** and *with gold*.

- 555 Thither *came* Uriel . . .
 560 . . . He thus began in haste:
 "Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given
 Charge and strict *watch*, that to this happy place
 No evil thing approach or *enter in*.
 This *day* at highth of noon *came* to my sphere
 565 A Spirit, zealous, as he seemed, to know
 More of the Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,
 God's latest image. I described his way
 Bent on all speed, and marked his airy gait;
 But in the mount that lies *from Eden north*,
 570 Where he first lighted, soon discerned his looks
 Alien from Heaven, with passions foul obscured.
 Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
 Lost *sight* of him. One of the banished crew,
 I fear, hath ventured from the Deep, to raise
 575 New troubles; him thy care must be to find."
 To whom the winged warrior thus *returned*:
 "Uriel, no wonder, if thy perfect *sight*,
 Amid the Sun's bright circle where thou sitt'st,
 See far and wide. In at this *gate* none pass
 580 The **vigilance** here placed, but such as *come*
 Well-known from Heaven; and since meridian hour
 No creature *thence*. If Spirit of other *sort*,
 So minded, have o'erleaped these earthly bounds
 On purpose, hard thou know'st it to exclude
 585 Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.
 But if *within* the *circuit* of these **walks**,
 In whatsoever shape, he lurk of whom
 Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know."

Apart from the hapax legomenon *rock of alabaster*, none of the above similarities is very striking. It is their frequency within such a comparatively small compass that speaks in favour of the conjectured connection. See also the next passage.

XIII. *Queen Manchica.*

4.598—609 The famous description of the approach of night contained in lines 598—609 provides a number of "echoes" from Nos 40 and 41, which were also drawn upon by the author in the preceding passage. *Mantle* for *Manchica*

is a most curious example of the effect of sound apart from the sense.

598 *came* (No 40).

604 . . . Now glowed the firmament
605 With **living sapphires**; Hesperus, that **led**
The starry host, rode brightest, till the Moon,
Rising in clouded majesty, at length
Apparent *queen*, unveiled her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver *mantle* threw . . .

Living sapphires for **growing sapphires** is a highly ingenious substitution!

XIV. *Adam and Eve's Bower adorned in the Chinese Style.*

4.689 Thus talking, hand in hand they passed
690 On to their blissful bower. It was a place
Chosen by the sovran Planter, when he framed
All things to Man's delightful use. The **roof**
Of thickest cover was inwoven shade,
Laurel and myrtle, and what *higher grew*
695 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either *side*
Acanthus, and each **odorous bushy shrub**,
Fenced up the verdant *wall*; each *beauteous flower*,
Iris *all hues, roses, and jessamine*,
Reared *high* their flourished heads between, and wrought
700 Mosaic; under-foot the **violet**,
Crocus, and **hyacinth**, with *rich inlay*
Broidered the ground, **more coloured than** *with stone*
Of costliest emblem. Other creature here,
Beast, bird, insect, or worm, durst *enter* none;
705 Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bower
More sacred and sequestered, **though but feigned**,
Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph
Nor Faunus haunted. Here, in close recess,
With flowers, garlands, and *sweet-smelling herbs*
710 Espoused Eve decked first her nuptial bed,
And Heavenly choirs the hymenaeon sung,
What *day* the genial Angel to our sire
Brought her, in naked beauty more adorned,
More lovely, than Pandora, whom the gods
715 Endowed with all their **gifts**; and, O! too like

In sad event, when, to the unwiser son
Of Japhet *brought* by Hermes, she ensnared
Mankind with her fair looks, to be avenged
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.

Compare Nos 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52. — The above passage affords excellent illustrations of Milton's methods of borrowing:

(1) *Direct Derivation*: *fenced* in connection with *wall*; *brought*.

(2) *Substitution*: **gifts** for **presents**; *all hues* for *all colours*.

(3) *Elaboration*: *flowers* is elaborated into a long list of names drawn from his poetic repertory.

(4) *Inversion*: The **ceilings painted with flowers** become the **broidered ground** with its **mosaic of flowers**. — What is reported of a work of art, viz. of the Chinese house, is attributed to the "bower", a work of nature.

(5) *Suggestions*: The markets "odoriferously smelling with spices" suggest the idea of the "sweet-smelling plants". — The word "idolators" makes him introduce references to Pan, Sylvanus, Faunus, and the Nymphs, **though but feigned**. — The allusion to the custom of bringing **presents** causes the reference to Pandora and her history.

XV. *Adam and Eve in the Russian Wilderness.*

4. 720 Thus at their shady *lodge* arrived, both stood,
Both turned, and *under open sky* adored
The God that made both sky, air, earth, and heaven . .

Compare No 17. — The original passage speaks of **travellers** in Russia, hence the use of **arrive**. The reference to **provision** is responsible for the following lines:

4. 729 . . . and this delicious place,
730 For us too large, where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
The word *side* (No 17) occurs twice in line 741.

XVI. *Gabriel on Guard at the Gate of Shirokalka.*

4. 776 Now had **night** measured with her shadowy cone
Half-way up-hill his vast sublunar vault;
And from their ivory **port** the Cherubim
Forth *issuing*, at the **accustomed hour**, stood **armed**
780 To their night-*watches* in *warlike* parade;
When Gabriel to his next in power thus spake:

“Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south
 With strictest *watch*; these other wheel the north:
 Our *circuit* meets full west, . . .

Compare Nos 50, 54, 57. — The word *issuing* (l. 779) is found in No 70. — Lines 776, 77 contain an allusion to the time of *sunset* (No 50). The expression *at the accustomed hour* bears a strong affinity to the adverb *duly* (No 50).

XVII. *Satan on the North-eastern Passage.*

From other coincidences, mainly in book II, it will appear that Satan's enterprise of discovering the newly created world is likened to the first English expedition to Archangel under Sir Hugh Willoughby as described in chap. V of the “History of Moscovia“. In the present instance, there is but one direct verbal coincidence; nevertheless, the connection seems unmistakable.

4.935 I therefore, I alone, first undertook
 To wing the *desolate* Abyss, and spy
 This new-created World, whereof in Hell
 Fame is not silent . . .

Compare, in the beginning of chap. V (Fletcher p. 577b): “But Sir Hugh Willoughby escaping that storm, and wandering on those *desolate* seas . . . put into a haven where they had weather as in the depth of winter.“ — Satan's flight through Chaos is regularly described in naval terms. — Other less definite echoes are the following:

- 928 the “blasting vollied thunder“ reminds of “the mariners discharging their ordnance“ (Fl. p. 577b);
- 943 “whose easier business were to serve their Lord“ may have been provoked by the reference to “good King Edward“ in the prose text;
- 944 the allusions to “cringing“ and “fawning“ (see also l. 959) may have been occasioned by the incident of the “fishermen“ who “prostrated themselves and offered to kiss his (i. e. the English leader's) feet“ (Fl. p. 578a).

XVIII. *Gabriel and the Expulsion of the Tartars from Moscow.*

This passage is introduced by what appears to be a clear allusion to Ivan the Terrible's habits of devotion as described in No 68:

4.957 "And thou, sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem
 Patron of liberty, who more than thou
 Once fawned, and cringed, and servilely adored
 960 Heaven's awful Monarch?" . . .

The passages preceding No 68, i. e. Nos 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, can be proved to have strongly influenced the lines which follow in the poetic text:

960 " . . . *wherefore*, but in hope
 To *dispossess* him, and thyself to reign?
 But mark what I areed thee now: Avaunt!
 Fly thither whence thou fledst. If from this hour
Within these hallowed limits thou appear,
 965 Back to the infernal pit I **drag thee chained**,
 And seal thee so as henceforth not to scorn
 The facile gates of Hell too slightly barred."
 So threatened he: but Satan to no threats
 Gave heed, but waxing more in rage replied:
 970 "Then, when I am thy *captive*, talk of chains,
Proud liminary Cherub! but ere then
 Far heavier load thyself expect to feel
 From my *prevailing* arm, though *Heaven's King*
 Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
 975 Used to the *yoke*, drawest his triumphant wheels
 In progress through the road of *Heaven* star-paved."
 The name of the archangel, *Gabriel* (see l. 1005)
 occurs in No 66 as that of a Russian duke!

XIX. *Satan enters Paradise through the Bay of Archangel.*

If Milton is assumed, on the strength of the evidence to be submitted below, to have based his conception of Satan's flight to Earth, and to Paradise in it, on the story of the attempts by the English at discovering the north-east passage, one may expect to find traces of this connection in the story of his second entry into Paradise as well.

9.58 By *night* he fled, and at midnight returned
 From compassing the Earth; cautious of *day*,
 60 Since Uriel, regent of the *sun*, **descried**
 His *entrance*, and forewarned the Cherubim
 That kept their watch. Thence, full of anguish, driven,

- The space of *seven continued nights* he rode
 With darkness; thrice the equinoctial line
 65 He circled, four times crossed the car of *Night*
 From pole to pole, traversing each colure;
 On the eighth returned, and on the *coast* averse
 From *entrance* or cherubic watch by stealth
Found unsuspected way. There was a *place*
 70 (Not now, though sin, not time, first wrought the change)
 Where *Tigris*, at the foot of Paradise,
 Into a **gulf** shot underground . . .

Compare the account given of Chancellor discovering — unexpectedly (l. 69) — the entry into the bay of Archangel (chap. V, Fl. pp. 577, 8):

“But now Chancellor, with his ship and company thus left, shaped his course to Wardhouse, the *place* (69) agreed on to expect the rest; where having staid *seven days* (63) without tidings of them, he resolves at *length* (79) to hold on his voyage; and sailed *so far* (79) till he *found* (69) no *night* (58), but *continual* (63) *day* (59) and *sun* (60) clearly shining on that huge and vast *sea* (76) for certain days. At *length* they *enter* (68) into a **great bay** (69), named, as they knew after, from St. Nicholas; and **spying** (60) a fisherboat, made after him to know what people they were.”

Note that the allusion to the “poles“ in l. 66 reminds of one of the principal objects of the early English explorers, viz. to discover the north-east passage to Cathay (China) through the polar regions (cp. “antarctic“ l. 79 below). Many attempts were made to sail “beyond the river Ob“ (l. 78 below); and many vessels dispatched for the “*searching* of the *sea* (cp. l. 76!) and border of the *coast* (cp. l. 67) from the river Pechora to the Eastwardes“. See Goldsmid’s reprint of Hakluyt, whose compilations Milton used in the composition of his “History of Moscovia“, vol. 4, pp. 26 ff. (A Commission given by Th. Randolfe). — The allusion to the “continual day“ was inverted by the poet (l. 63). — Note as *far* and *length*, l. 79, and see No XX, below.

XX. *The North-east Passage.*

- 9.76 . . . *Sea* he had searched *and land*
 From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
 Maeotis, up *beyond* the river *Ob* . . .
 Compare Nos 58, 59.

XXI. *The Russian Landscape.*

9.115 . . . sweet interchange

Of *hill* and valley, *rivers*, *woods* and *plains*,
 Now land, now sea, and *shores* with forest crowned,
Rocks, dens, and caves! . . .

Compare Nos 27, 28. — For the combination *land and sea* compare l. 76, above. The abundance of *woods* is a typical feature of the Russian landscape in the north, near St. Nicholas, where the English factory was. Nos XVIII—XXI are intimately connected with each other on a geographical and historical basis. Milton's dependence on descriptions of Russian scenery becomes more evident still when the original passages from Hakluyt are examined. It cannot be doubted that Milton based both his prose and his poetical versions on the extracts subjoined: (a) "St. Nicholas standeth Northeast . . . The *river* that runneth there into the *sea* is called Dwina, very large but shallow . . . upon this *river* standeth Colmogro and many pretty *villages* (448), well situated for **pasture**, arable land, *wood* and water. The *river pleasant* (116, 448), between high *hills* (116) of either side inwardly inhabited . . . (b) The country is very fair, *plain* (116) and *pleasant*, well inhabited, **corn**, **pasture**, **meadows** (450) enough, *rivers* and *woods* (116) fair and goodly." From "The Ambassage of . . . Thomas Randolfe", mentioned by Milton among his sources at the end of his prose treatise, Fletcher p. 582b, Goldsmid's reprint of Hakluyt, vol. 4, pp. 12 ff. The former extract refers to the North of Russia (see No I), the latter to the "inland", about Yeraslave.

XXII. *An Imaginary Walk into Rural Russia.*

9.445 As one, who, long in *populous* city pent,
 Where houses thick and sewers annoy the air,
 Forth issuing on a summer's morn to breathe
 Among the *pleasant villages* and farms
 Adjoined, from each thing met conceives delight —

450 The smell of **grain**, or tedded **grass**, or kine,
 Or dairy, each rural sight, each rural sound . . .

Compare Nos 13, 19. — The prose and poetic passages being evidently based upon Randolfe's report (see No XXI), one may be allowed to suggest that the latter's experience at the court of Moscow may have inspired the idea with which the passage opens: he was kept in close confinement for seventeen weeks

together with his company, as appears from documents reprinted in volume 73 of the Hakluyt Society series: pp. 247; 277,78; 283. Milton only briefly refers to this incident in the fifth chapter of his "History" (Fl. p. 579a).

XXIII. *Eve and the Empress Irenia.*

- 9.542 " . . . but here
 In this enclosure wild, these beasts *among*,
Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
 545 Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
 Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who shouldst be seen
 A goddess *among* gods, adored and *served*
By Angels numberless, thy daily *train*."
 So glozed the Tempter, and his proem tuned;
 550 Into the heart of Eve his words *made way*,
 Though at the voice much marvelling; at *length*
 Not unamazed, she thus in answer spake:
 "What *may* this mean? Language of Man pronounced
 By tongue of brute, and human sense expressed!
 555 The first of these, *at least*, I thought denied
 To beasts . . ."
 567 To whom the guileful Tempter thus replied:
 "*Empress* of this fair World, **resplendent** Eve! . . ."

Compare Nos 75, 77, 78, 80. — The connection between the prose and the poetical versions becomes more apparent when the ultimate original of both is compared, viz. Horsey's account of the coronation of the Emperor Phedor Ivanowich, in 1584, reprinted by Hakluyt (Reprint of Hakluyt, vol. 4, p. 205): "The *Empress*, being in her palace, was placed in her chair of majesty, also before a great open window. Most precious and rich were her robes, and **shining** to *behold* (l. 544), with rich stones and orient pearl beset; her crown was placed upon her head; accompanied with her princesses and ladies of state (ll. 547 ff.). Then cried out the **people** (l. 544: *beholders* rude): God preserve our noble *Empress* Irenia!"

The word "empress" occurs but twice in Milton's poetry: in the above passage, l. 568, and further down, in l. 626, i. e. in one and the same episode. This fact establishes the supposed connections beyond any possible doubt.

XXIV. *The Abundance of Food in the North of Russia and in Paradise.*

9.617 " . . . But say, where grows the tree? from hence
how far?

For **many** are the trees of God that grow
In Paradise, and **various**, yet **unknown**

620 To us; in such *abundance* lies our choice,
As leaves a **greater store** of fruit untouched,
Till hanging **uncorruptible**, till men
Grow up to their *provision*, and more hands
Help to *disburden* Nature of her **birth**."

Compare Nos 8; 12. — There are three more instances of the word "disburden" in Milton's poetry (5. 319; 6. 878; 10. 719), in none of which is it combined with the idea of "birth", as in the above passage. The idea of "salting" (No 8) implies that of "uncorruptible stores" (621—2).

XXV. *The Tree of Life and the Russian Birch Tree.*

9.834 So saying, from the *tree* her step she turned,
But first low reverence done, as to the Power
That dwelt within, whose presence had infused
Into the plant scintial *sap*, derived
From nectar, *drink* of gods . . .

Compare No 35. — The original information was evidently derived from Hakluyt's reprint of "The Voyage of Osepp Napea" (see Goldsmid's reprint vol. 3, p. 222), of which it is a mere abstract.

XXVI. *The Desolate Character of Hell compared to the Arctic Sea.*

1.59 *At* once, as *far* as Angels *ken*, he views
The dismal situation waste and wild . . .

Compare chap. V (Fl. p. 577b): "*At* length passing by Shetland, they *kenned afar* off *Ægelands* . . ." — There are further similarities: Satan is surrounded by a furnace of flames (l. 62), Sir Hugh Willoughby is "wandering on those desolate seas" (ib.); Satan's new abode is contrasted with "the place from which they fell" (l. 75), i. e. Heaven, and well may the thoughts of those English mariners overtaken by that terrible storm off the coast of Norway have been regretfully flying back to their native country which the greater part of them were never to see again.

In the above-cited prose passage, Milton has combined the reports of Sir Hugh Willoughby (1), and that of Chancelor (2); as reprinted by Hakluyt: (1) "The land was full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called . . . Ægeland and Halgeland . . ." (p. 35 of vol. 3 of Goldsmid's reprint). — (2) "But in the meantime while his mind was thus tormented with the multiplicity of sorrows and cares, after many days' sailing, they kenned land afar off . . ." (ib. p. 57).

Note also the following remarkable passage in which the word "desolate" reappears (No XVII), and which contains a number of highly significant naval terms. The wintry darkness of the polar regions is suggested, and the plan of Sir Hugh of meeting again in the harbour of Warehouse seems to have served the poet for a model:

1.180 Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild,
 The seat of desolation, void of light,
 Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
 Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
 From off the tossing of these fiery waves;
 185 There rest, if any rest can harbour there;
 And re-assembling our afflicted powers,
 Consult . . .

XXVII. *Pandemonium and the Residence of the King of Cathay.*

1.710 Anon out of the earth a fabric **huge**
 Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
 Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
 Built like a temple, *where pilasters round*
 Were set, and Doric pillars *overlaid*
 715 *With golden architrave*; nor did there want
 Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculptures graven;
 The roof was fretted *gold*. Not Babylon,
 Nor great Alcairo, such *magnificence*
 Equalled in all their glories, to enshrine
 720 Belus or Serapis their gods, or **seat**
 Their *kings* . . .

Compare Nos 53, 54, 55.

XXVIII. *The Greenwich Incident.*

1.730 . . . The **hasty multitude**
 Admiring entered, and **the work some praise**,
 And some the architect: his hand was known

In Heaven by many a *towered* structure high,
Where sceptred Angels held their residence,
 735 And sat as **princes**, whom the supreme *King*
Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the Orders bright.
 Nor was his name unheard or unadored
 In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
 740 Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell
 From Heaven they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
 Sheer o'er the crystal *battlements*: from morn
 To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A summer's day . . .

The above passage seems to be based on Milton's description of the incident at Greenwich before Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition left the Thames: "So after much debate it was concluded, that by **the twentieth of May** (744) the ships should depart. Being come near Greenwich, *where the court then lay* (734), presently the **courtiers** (735) **came running out** (730—1), **the privy council** (735 ff.) at the windows, the rest on the *towers* (733) and *battlements* (742). The mariners all apparelled in watchet, or skycoloured cloth, discharge their ordnance; the noise whereof, and of **the people shouting** (730—1) is answered from the hills and waters with as loud an echo. Only the good *King* (735) Edward then sick beheld not this sight, but died soon after" (Chap. V, Fl. p. 577b). This passage immediately precedes the one mentioned under No XXVI!

XXIX. *Receptions at Court — in Moscow and in Pandemonium.*

ll. 752—798 (end) are largely based on the description of Richard Chancellor's reception at the court of Moscow, as reported by Milton in his fifth chapter (Fl. p. 578a), not far removed from the passage discussed under No XXVIII. The following extracts may be quoted:

1. 752 Meanwhile the winged **haralds**, by *command*
 Of sovran power, with awful ceremony
 And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
 755 A solemn *council* forthwith to be held . . .
 761 . . . All access was thronged, the *gates*
 And porches wide, but chief the **spacious hall**.

.

767 *Thick swarmed*, both on the ground and in the air . . .

791 . . . amidst the hall

Of that infernal *court*. But far **within**,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim

795 In close recess and secret conclave *sat*,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short *silence* then,
And summons read, the great consult began.

The prose passage: "Being entered within the *court* (792) *gates* (761), and brought into an **outward chamber** (762), they beheld there a very honourable company to the number of a hundred, sitting all apparelled in cloth of gold down to their ancles: next conducted to **the chamber of presence** (792), there *sat* the emperor *on* (795) a lofty and very royal throne; on his head a diadem of gold, his robe all of goldsmith's work, in his hand a chrystal sceptre garnished and beset with precious stones . . . Beside him stood his chief secretary; on his other side the great *commander* (752) of *silence* (797) both in cloth of *gold* (796); then *sat* (795) his *council* (755) of a hundred and fifty round about *on high seats* (796), clad all as richly . . ."

Note: Line 767 reminds of an item in the original description of the incident at Greenwich not copied by Milton into his "History": ". . . presently upon the news thereof, the courtiers came running out, and the common people **flocked together**, standing very *thick upon the shore*: the privy council, they looked out **at the windows** of the court, and the rest ran up to **the tops of the towers** . . ." (Goldsmid's reprint of Hakluyt, 3, p. 56.). As to *swarmed* (l. 767) see No XXX, below.

The word *herald* (l. 752) occurs in the prose text two pages below the passage quoted above. — The reference to the *Soldan* (l. 764), an oriental monarch, is quite in keeping with the character of the "History".

XXX. *Flies changed into Bees.*

1.762 . . . but chief the spacious hall

767 *Thick swarmed*, both on the *ground* and in the *air*,
Brushed with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees
In spring-time, when the Sun with Taurus rides,

- 770 Pour forth their *populous* youth about the hive
 In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,
 The *suburb* of their straw-built **citadel**,
 New rubbed with balm, expatiate and confer
- 775 Their state-affairs . . .
- 778 *In bigness* . . .
 Compare Nos 19, 20, 28, 24, 26.

XXXI. *Satan an Oriental Monarch.*

The description of Satan enthroned at the beginning of book II is based partly on the passage treated under No XXIX above, and partly on the account of the coronation of the emperor Pheodor Ivanowich (Nos 69 ff.). Elements taken from the former will be given without special references to line or number. The intimate connection between Nos XXIX and XXXI serves to prove that the line dividing book I from book II was drawn quite arbitrarily.

2. 1 *High on a throne of royal state*, which far
 Outshone the wealth of Ormuz and of Inde,
 Or where the gorgeous **East** with *richest hand*
 Showers on her kings barbaric *pearl* and *gold*,

5 Satan exalted *sat* . . .
 15 *rising*; 25 *dignity*; etc.

Compare Nos 71, 72, 73, 75, 79; further, on p. 579 a, Fl.:
 "... the emperor *sitting aloft* in a **chair** of *state*".

The word "gorgeous" occurs twice in the prose text in connection with accounts of Russian pageantry: p. 570 a, and p. 581 a.

Note also the following remarkable passage from Milton's original source: "For whereas the city and island of *Ormuz*, lying in the gulf of Persia, is the most famous mart town of all *East India*..." and a few lines below: "Also all manner of spices and drugs, *pearls* and precious stones . . ." (Hakluyt reprint, 4, p. 47).

XXXII. *The Russian Artillery.*

- 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 . . .

Compare "History" chap. I, p. 570b, close to extracts used for No XXXI: "... then out of mortar-pieces they *shoot wildfire* into the air".

XXXIII. *The Tartar's Vassal.*

- 2.249 . . . Let us not then pursue,
 250 By force impossible, by leave *obtained*
 Unacceptable, though in *Heaven*, our *state*
 Of splendid *vassalage*; but rather seek
 Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
 Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
 255 Free, and to none accountable, preferring
 Hard liberty before the *easy yoke*
 Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
 Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse,
 260 We can create, and in what *place* so'er
 Thrive under evil, and work *ease out of* pain
 Through labour and endurance . . .

Compare Nos 63, 64, 65.

XXXIV. *Off the Coast of Norway.*

- 2.284 He 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* . . .

The above passage clearly was inspired by the accounts of the storm that overtook Sir Hugh Willoughby's fleet off the coast of Norway, causing the dispersal of his ships. Milton's brief reference to this fatal event in his fifth chapter is not sufficient to establish this connection definitely. It is only when the original reports, as presented by Hakluyt, are compared that all doubts are removed. The matter is clinched, in the opinion of the present writer, by the occurrence of the hapax legomenon *pinnace*.

(1) From Sir Hugh's report (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, pp. 36 ff.): "But when we would have entered into an harbour, the land being **very high on every side** (289),

there came such flaws of wind and terrible whirlwinds, that we were . . . constrained to take *the sea* (287) again, our *pinnace* (289) being unshipt . . . And that *night* (286) by violence of *wind* (286) and thickness of mists, we were not able to keep together within sight, and then about midnight we lost our *pinnace*, which was a discomfort unto us . . . Then the flaw something abating, we . . . hoised up our sails . . . Then coming into a fair *bay* (289), we went on land . . . the land being *rocky* (285) **and high** (289) . . . our ship being at *anchor* (289) in the harbour called Sterfier“.

(2) From Chancelor's report (ib. p. 57): "The very same day in the afternoon . . . so great a *tempest* (290) suddenly *arose*, **and the seas were so outrageous** (287), that the ships could not keep their intended course . . . The general **with his loudest voice** (284) cried out to Richard Chancelor, and earnestly requested him not to go far from him . . ."

XXXV. *The New Navigation and Discovery.*

2.386 Satan's proposal to discover the newly created world
—487 is conceived in the spirit of Sir Hugh Willoughby's enterprise aiming at the opening up of a north-eastern passage to China, and resulting in the discovery of the sea route to Russia. In the respective prose extract, at the opening of chap. V, the following verbal similarities have been noted:

386 *design*; 403 *search*; 415 *choice*; 426 *voyage*; 465 *enterprise*; 469 *others among the chief might offer now*; 474 *adventure*; 487 *chief*.

Further similarities may be discovered in the original texts (see Goldsmid's reprint of Hakluyt, 3, pp. 16—55): p. 29. "The *voyage* (426) intended for the discovery of Cathay, and divers other *regions* (443), dominions, *islands* (410), and places *unknown* (443) . . ." p. 52. "By the discovery and *search of new* (403) trades and countries . . ." p. 52. "For the search and discovery of the northern part of the world, to open a *way* and passage to our men for travel to new and unknown kingdoms. And whereas many things seemed necessary to be regarded in this

so *hard* and difficult a matter . . .“ Compare ll. 432 f.:
 “Long is the *way* and *hard* . . .“

A striking agreement may be observed between a paragraph in the speech of Master Henry Sidney and ll. 445—473: “And you are also to remember, into how many perils for your sakes, and his country’s love, he is now to run . . . We shall here live and rest *at home* (557) quietly with our friends . . . We shall keep our own *coasts* (464) and country: He shall *seek* (464) strange and unknown kingdoms. He shall commit his *safety* (481) to barbarous and cruel people, and shall *hazard* (453, 55, 73) his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beasts of the sea“ (pp. 54 f.).

See No XVII.

XXXVI. *Ivan the Terrible.*

ll. 2.477—505 betray traces of influence by Milton’s prose account of the above named Russian monarch (chap. IV, Fl. p. 574a). It is not to be wondered at that the idea of establishing a connection between Satan and Ivan should have suggested itself to the poet.

2.477 . . . Towards him they **bend**

With awful *reverence* **prone** . . .

485 Or **close ambition varnished o’er** with *zeal*.

Compare No 68.

496 . . . Devil with devil damned

Firm concord holds, men only disagree

Of creatures rational, though under hope

Of heavenly grace; and, God proclaiming *peace*,

500 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife

Among themselves, and levy *cruel wars*,

Wasting the earth, **each other to destroy** . . .

Compare Nos 62, 67, 71. — There exists no other instance of the combination “cruel war“ in Milton’s poetry.

This magnificent outbreak of Milton’s pacifism was occasioned by the reports of the conquest of Livonia by Ivan, which were but imperfectly copied into the “History of Moscovia“. In the original one reads: “But by what ways and means . . . having renewed wars against Livonia, he brought that most flourishing province into extreme misery . . . I tremble to recount“ (Goldsmid’s reprint of Hakluyt, 3, p. 12).

XXXVII. *An Imperial Triumph.*

In the prose text, the story of Ivan is immediately followed by a description of the coronation of his successor. It is an excellent proof of the theory maintained in the present treatise that the vocabulary of the latter should have influenced these lines of "Paradise Lost" which continue the passage dealt with under No XXXVI, above.

- 2.506 The Stygean council thus dissolved; and *forth*
 In order *came* the **grand** infernal **peers**;
 Midst *came* their mighty Paramount, and seemed
 Alone the antagonist of Heaven, nor less
 510 Than Hell's dread *Emperor*, with pomp supreme,
 And **god-like imitated state**; him *round*
 A *globe* of fiery Seraphim enclosed
 With **bright** emblazonry, and **horrent arms**.
 Then of their session ended they bid cry
 515 With trumpet's regal sound the *great* result:
 Towards the four winds four speedy Cherubim
 Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy,
 By harald's voice explained; the hollow Abyss
 Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell
 520 With deafening shout *returned* the *loud* *acclaim*.
 Compare Nos 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78.

XXXVIII. *The Countries adjoining Eastward, as far as Cathay.*

Under this head, three consecutive cases of borrowing will be treated. These parallel series are particularly instructive.

(1)

2.620 O'er many a frozen, many a *fiery Alp* . . .

Compare Nos 37, 38. — The similarity of idea really begins with l. 614. Compare the opening of chap. III, particularly the passage concerning the "many vast deserts and rivers", with ll. 618, 9:

... Through many a dark and dreary vale
 They passed, and many a region dolorous . . .

(2)

2.638 . . . or the isles
 Of Ternate and Tidore, whence *merchants* bring
 640 Their *spicy* drugs . . .

trius, then of the emperor himself, whereby the imperial *race*, after the succession of three hundred years, **was quite extinguished** . . . A counterfeit of that Demetrius . . . This *upstart* . . ." (Fl. p. 575a).

See also No 85. — In the poetic text, the word "death" occurs three times in close succession, as indicated.

XLI. *Maelstrom*.

2.1016 . . . harder beset
 And more endangered, than when Argo passed
 Through Bosphorus *betwixt* the justling rocks;
 Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned
 1020 Charybdis, and by the other *whirlpool* steered . . .

Compare book V: "He reports of a *whirlpool* between the Rost Islands and Lofoot called Malestrand . . ." (Fl. p. 579a). — The whole passage, beginning at l. 1010, exhibits Satan as a seafarer who is compared to the English mariners in search of the north-eastern passage (see No XXXV). The crucial word "whirlpool" is a hapax legomenon. The thread is resumed in lines 1041 ff.: Satan is in the same position as Richard Chancellor after the storm:

2.1041 That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
 Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
 And, like a weather-beaten vessel, *holds*
 Gladly to port . . . (see also ll. 1034—7)

Compare chap. V.: "... he resolves at length to *hold* on his voyage; and sailed so far till he found no night, but continual day and sun clearly shining on that huge and vast sea for certain days." (Fl. p. 578 a).

XLII. *The Bridge of Sin and Death on the Russian Pattern*.

2.1024 Strange *alteration!* Sin and Death amain,
 1025 *Following* his track (such was the will of Heaven)
 Paved after him a *broad* and beaten way
 Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling gulf
 Tamely endured a *bridge* of wondrous length
 From Hell continued, reaching the utmost orb
 1030 Of this frail world; by which the spirits perverse
 With easy intercourse *pass to and fro* . . .
 1034 . . . But now at last the sacred influence

1035 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven
Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night
 A glimmering dawn. Here Nature first begins
 Her farthest verge, and Chaos to *retire*,
 As from her outmost works, a broken foe,

1040 *With tumult* less and *with less hostile din* . . .

Compare Nos 75, 76, 80, 82. — The above derivations are strongly supported by the positions occupied in the respective texts by the elements taken from Nos 80 and 82. — When, in writing book X of "Paradise Lost", Milton had occasion to refer to the bridge of Sin and Death, he seems to have remembered that it had been conceived in connection with his Russian interests; for he precedes its introduction by an allusion to the central fact of the whole subject, viz. the discovery of the north-eastern passage to China and India:

As when two Polar winds blowing adverse
 Upon the Cronian Sea, together drive
 Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way
 Beyond Petzora eastward to the rich
 Cathain coast . . . (10.289 ff.)

The "bridge" itself is mentioned in line 301.

XLIII. *The Heavenly City compared to Moscow and Cathaia.*

2.1047 . . . Far off the *empyrean* Heaven, extended wide
In circuit, undetermined *square* or *round*,
 With opal *towers* and **battlements** adorned
 1050 Of **living sapphire**, once his native seat;
 And fast by, hanging in a golden chain,
 This pendent world, *in bigness* as a star . . .

Compare Nos 20, 21, 26, 40, 54. — The substitution of "empyrean" for "imperial" is very curious, but not without parallel.

XLIV. *Curious Verbal Reminiscences.*

3.148 . . . Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
Encompassed shall resound thee ever blest . . .
 168 . . . O Son, in whom my soul hath **chief delight** . . .
 178 . . . Upheld by me, yet once more he shall *stand*
On even ground against his mortal foe . . .

Compare Nos 56, 57. — It might seem doubtful whether the above similarities, spread as they are over thirty lines, and

without any internal relation, should be included at all. See, however, No LIX!

XLV. *The River of Bliss.*

3.358 ...And where *the River* of Bliss *through midst* of Heaven
Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream.

Compare No 16. — There is no similarity except a verbal one. The true original of the above expression seems to be another passage in Milton's "History" not reprinted above: "...the river Volusky, which through the midst of Novogrod runs into this lake..." (chap. I, Fl. p. 569 b). This in its turn is copied from Hakluyt: "... the river of Volhusky, which river hath his beginning 20 miles above Novogrod, and runneth through the midst of the city..." (Goldsmid's reprint 3, p. 316). It is interesting to trace the history of this combination in Milton's poetry. In book V. ll. 250 f., "through" is combined with "midst", but the "river" has been changed into an angel:

... [Raphael] upspringing light,

Flew *through the midst* of Heaven...

The original combination re-appears in "Paradise Regained", book IV. ll. 31 f.:

... thence in *the midst*

Divided by a *river*...

thus demonstrating that in his later works the poet returned to those sources from which he had derived inspiration in earlier days.

XLVI. *Faint Reminiscences.*

3.431 As when a vulture on Imaus bred,
Whose snowy ridge the roving *Tartar bounds*...

Compare No 1. — The above similarities are but very weak, and seem to belong to a late period. There are, however, further allusions to the subject of the "History" to be discovered round about it: ll. 422—26 remind of Milton's conception of the arctic regions, whereas the name "Sericana", in l. 438, takes the place of the older "Cathay" (see No 48).

XLVII. *Russian Burial Customs.*

3.476 Here pilgrims roam, that strayed so far to seek
In Golgatha him *dead* who lives in *Heaven*;
And they who, to be sure of Paradise,
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,

- 480 Or in Franciscan **think** to pass disguised . . .
 484 And now *Saint Peter* at *Heaven's* wicket seems
 To wait them with his keys, and now at *foot*
 Of *Heaven's* ascent they lift their *feet*, when, lo! . . .

Compare No 32. — *into* occurs in l. 489 in a changed context.

XLVIII. *The Architecture of Heaven based on that of Moscow.*

- 3.501 . . . Far *distant* he describes,
 Ascending by *degrees* magnificent
 Up to the *wall* of Heaven, a structure *high*;
 At top whereof, but far more rich, appeared
 505 The work as of a **kingly** *palace-gate*,
 With frontispiece of diamond and *gold*
 Embellished . . .

Compare Nos 20, 21. — Note the changed meaning of the word "degrees"!

XLIX. *Foreign Sights.*

- 3.540 Satan from hence, now on the lower stair,
 That scaled by steps of gold to *Heaven-gate*,
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
 Of all this World at once. As when a scout,
 Through dark and desert *ways* with peril gone
 545 All night, at last at break of cheerful dawn
 Obtains the brow of some *high-climbing hill*,
 Which to his eye discovers unaware
 The **godly** *prospect* of some foreign **land**
 First seen, or some renowned *metropolis*
 550 With glistening **spires** and *pinnacles* adorned,
 Which now the rising sun *gilds* with his beams:
 Such wonder seized, though after Heaven *seen*,
 The Spirit malign, but much more envy seized,
 At sight of all this World beheld so *fair*.

Compare Nos 20, 21, 39. — In the above passage, strong further traces of the influence of yet another report contained in Hakluyt, but not copied into the "History": "In the *way* (544) of his travel he passed through *Persepolis* (549) sometime the royal seat of the emperors of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remain to be *seen* (552) at this day two *gates* (541) only that are distant one from the other the space of 12 miles,

and some few *pinnacles* (550) in the mountains and conveyances for fresh water" (from *The Fifth Voyage made into Persia* by M. Thomas Bannister etc., Goldsmid's reprint, 4, p. 53). The word "pinnacles" is a hapax legomenon, which fact very strongly favours the proposed derivation. Special attention should be paid to the curious case of "Perse- > Metro-polis". (= chief city No 20).

L. *Merely Verbal Similarities.*

- 3.721 The rest *in circuit walls* the Universe.
 Look downward on that globe, whose *hither* side
 With light *from hence*, though but reflected, shines:
 That place is Earth, the seat of Man; that light
 His *day* . . .
 Compare Nos 54, 58.

LI. *An Innumerable Sort of Islands.*

- 5.264 . . . Or *pilot from* amidst the **Cyclades**
 265 Delos or Samos first appearing *kens*,
 A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
 He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing
 Now on the polar winds; then with quick fan
 270 Winnows the buxom air . . .

Compare, in the beginning of chap. V (Fl. p. 577 b):

"At length passing by Shetland, they *kenned* afar off Ægelands, being an **innumerable sort of islands** (264) called Rost Islands in sixty-six degrees".

An examination of the original accounts in Hakluyt, on which the above prose passage is based, will reveal a much closer resemblance.

(1) From Sir Hugh Willoughby's notes:

"The land was all **full of little islands** (264), and that **innumerable** (264), which were called (as we learned afterwards) Ægeland and Halgeland (265), which lieth *from* (264) Orfordness north and by east, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance *between* (268) Orfordness and Ægeland 250 leagues. Then we *sailed* (268) from thence 12 leagues northwest . . . (Goldsmid's reprint 3, p. 35).

(2) From the English version of the account by Adams of Richard Chancellor's "Navigation and Discovery":

Of horses led, and grooms besmeared with gold,
Dazzles the **crowd**, and sets them all agape.

Compare Nos 73, 74, 75, 76. — The strong note of disapproval is absent from the prose text. The poetic passage was probably written long after Milton's royalism had developed into that aggressive republicanism which is generally associated with his name (see the present writer's *Der andere Milton*, p. 43).

LV. *Further Curious Verbal Reminiscences.*

5.875 . . . The flaming Seraph, fearless, though alone,
Encompassed round with foes . . .

Compare No 56. — The only other case of the same constellation of words occurring in Milton's poetry is found in book III, ll. 148 f. There, too, Milton seems to have searched the surrounding prose text for suitable words; see No XLIV, above. In the present instance, the following words may be adduced in support of the theory advanced above:

report l. 869, No 58; *king* l. 870, No 55.

LVI. *The Abundance of Siberia.*

7.446 . . . The waters thus
With fish replenished, and the air with fowl . . .

8.369 . . . Is not the Earth
*With various living creatures, and the air,
Replenished . . . ?*

Compare No 39. — The former quotation seems to be based on the prose text directly, as it exhibits a second borrowed element (i. e. *fowl*). The latter depends on the former, as is proved by the repetition of a new element (i. e. *air*).

LVII. *The Arctic Ocean.*

10.289 As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
290 Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way
*Beyond Petsora eastward, to the rich
Cathaian coast . . .*

Compare Nos 7, 8. — In Hakluyt, Milton found the following indications, of which the influence seems to be traceable both in the prose and in the poetic passages: "A Commission given . . . in a voyage of discovery . . . for searching of the *sea* (290), and border of the *coast* (293), from the river *Pechora* (292), to the *eastwards*

(292)... And then [the Searchthrift] came from the island Vaigats, being forcibly *driven* (290) from thence with an easterly *wind* (289) and *ice* (291)...“ (Goldsmid's reprint, 4, pp. 26—8). — See also No XLII.

LVIII. *An Oriental Medley.*

- 10.422 . . . the rest were all
 Far to the inland retired, about the walls
 Of Pandemonium, *city* and proud *seat*
 425 Of Lucifer, so by allusion called
 Of that bright star to Satan paragoned;
 There kept their watch the legions, while the **Grand**
In council sat, solicitous what chance
 Might intercept their *Emperor* sent; so he
 430 Departing gave command, and they observed.
 As when the *Tartar* from his *Russian* foe,
 By *Astracan*, over the snowy plains
 Retires, or Bactrian *Sophi*, from the *horns*
 Of *Turkish* crescent, leaves all waste beyond
 435 The realm of Aladule, in his retreat
 To Tauris or *Casbeen*: so these, the late
 Heaven-banished host, *left* desert utmost Hell
 Many a dark league, reduced in careful watch
Round their *metropolis*, and now expecting
 440 **Each hour** their great adventurer from the search
 Of foreign worlds. He through *the midst* unmarked,
 In show plebeian Angel militant
 Of lowest order passed; and, from *the door*
 Of that Plutonian hall, invisible
 445 Ascended his high **throne**, which, *under* state
Of richest texture spread, at the *upper* end
Was placed in regal lustre. Down a while
 He sat, and round about him saw unseen.
 At *last*, as from a cloud, his fulgent *head*
 450 And shape star-bright appeared, or brighter, clad
 With what permissive *glory* since his fall
 Was left him, or false glitter. All amazed
 At that so sudden blaze, the Stygian *throng*
 Bent their aspect, and whom they wished beheld,
 455 Their mighty chief *returned*: *loud* was the *acclaim*.

Compare Nos (1), 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85. — See also Hakluyt's text of "Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, etc.", which begins thus: "When he came to the *Sophy's* (433) presence, at his court in *Casbin* (436)... the *Sophy*, sitting in a *seat* (424) **royal** (447) with a great many of his **noblemen** (427) about him..." (Goldsmid's reprint, 4, p. 44). — The geographical name "Aladule" seems to have been derived from Hexham's edition of Mercator's Atlas, 1636 (see Verity's note).

LIX. *A Third Instalment of Curious Verbal Reminiscences.*

11.348 Two expressions from No 56 may be discovered in
--352 close proximity: *on even ground, compassing thee round.*
See Nos L, LV above.

LX. *Two Rivers.*

12.157 ... Egypt, divided by the *river Nile*:
See where it flows, **disgorging** at seven mouths
Into the sea.
Compare No 8.

LXI. *A Faint Reminiscence.*

12.249 By his precept a sanctuary is framed
Of cedar, *overlaid with gold* . . .
Compare No 55. — See No XXVII. The faintness of the
reminiscence proves that the above passage must have been
written long after book I.

A Survey of the Passages of "Paradise Lost" based upon the "History of Britain".

Parallel passages have so far been discovered only in a limited section of the above-named prose work, viz. in part of the beginning of book I. This section extends from the second paragraph ("Nevertheless there being others...") to the thirty-first paragraph inclusive ("... and so died after twenty years' reign"). The similarities are less extensive, and often affect a few words only.

LXII. *Night Fighting.*

4.778 And from their ivory port the Cherubim
 Forth issuing, at the accustomed hour, stood armed
 780 To their night-watches in warlike parade . . .
 and other places as specified below.

Compare: "Forthwith Brutus divided his men into three parts, leads *on in silence* to (l. 561) the camp; *commanding* (4. 864; l. 566) first each part at a several place to enter, and *forbear* execution, *till* (l. 566) he with his *squadron* (4. 863) possessed of the *king's* (4. 821) tent, gave signal to them by trumpet. The sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge *havock* begins upon the sleeping and *unguarded* (4. 862) enemy, whom the besieged also now *sallying forth* (4. 779), on the other side assail. Brutus the while had special care to *seize* (4. 796) and *secure* (4. 791) the king's person; whose life still within his *custody* (4. 779), he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he demanded." (Fl. p. 477 b; see No LXIV below.)

The whole passage extending from 4.776 to 4.796 should be compared. The situation is very similar to that in the prose text: troops are divided to meet again at an appointed place ("Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south With strictest watch; these other wheel the north: Our circuit meets full west." ll. 782 ff.); the time is night; the "ivory port" (l. 778) stands for the "port" or gate from which the besieged sally forth. — The incident as described in the prose work had been elaborated because of its photophobic character to form part of Milton's projected epic on the origin of the Britannic nation (see the present writer's essay "Milton's Eyesight and the Chronology of his Works", *Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis* B V 1, 1924 pp. 39 ff.). — The person to be captured, i. e. Satan, is described as "the grisly *King*" (l. 821). The poet returns to his original in ll. 861—4:

 . . . Now drew they nigh
 The western point, where those half-rounding *guards*
 Just met, and closing stood in *squadron* joined,
 Awaiting next *command*.

LXIII. "*Diva potens nemorum*" and "*Brute sub occasum solis*".

The verse translations from the Latin of Geoffrey of Monmouth which go under the above titles were selected by Milton for special

treatment because of their photophobic associations (see article quoted under No LXII above, p. 39). Both these pieces were drawn upon in the composition of PL. They are reprinted below, together with their context, with references marked in the usual manner:

"Consultation had, Brutus taking with him Gerion his diviner, and twelve of the ancientest, with *wanton ceremonies* (1. 414) before the inward shrine of the goddess, in verse . . . utters his request:

Goddess of shades, and huntress, who at will
Walk'st on the rolling sphere, and *through the deep* (1. 177 ;
2. 79)

On thy third reign the earth look now, and tell
What land, what *seat* (2. 76) of *rest* (1. 185) thou bidd'st
me seek,

What certain seat, where I may *worship* (9. 198) thee
For aye, with *temples* (1. 443) *vowed* (1. 441), and *virgin*
(1. 441) *choirs* (9. 198 ; 1. 441).

To whom sleeping before the altar, Diana in a *vision*
(1. 455) that night thus answered:

Brutus, far to the west, in the ocean wide,
Beyond the realm of (10. 435) Gaul, a land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old,
Now *void* (1. 181) it fits thy people ; *thither bend* (4. 794 ;
1. 183 ; 2. 75, 354 ; 3. 573)

Thy *course* (3. 573) ; there shalt thou find a *lasting seat*
(1. 181)".

Below are given the corresponding passages from PL.:

4.793 . . . some infernal Spirit seen

Hitherward bent . . .

2.354 *Thither* let us *bend* all our thoughts . . .

(The situation is very like that described in the verse translation: Satan intends to conquer and settle some foreign country, having been driven, like Brutus, from his own.)

3.573 . . . *Thither* his *course* he *bends* . . .

1.177 . . . To bellow *through the vast and boundless deep* . . .

(The situation, again, is similar to the original one: Satan is looking out for "a seat of rest".)

180 Seest thou you dreary plain, forlorn and wild,
The *seat* of desolation, *void* of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames

Casts pale and dreadful? *Thither* let us *tend*
 From off the tossing of these fiery waves;
 185 There *rest*, if any *rest* can harbour there . . .
 2.75 . . . That in our proper motion we *ascend*
 Up to our native *seat*; descent and fall
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
 When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
 Insulting, and pursued us *through the deep* . . .

Note. — The combination of “rest“ with “seat“ seems to have stuck in Milton’s memory beyond the period of the beginnings of PL. It is found in the following places, which do not, however, contain any other remainder of the original context:

6.271 . . . But think not here
 To trouble holy *rest*; Heaven casts thee out
 From all her confines. Heaven the *seat* of bliss . . .
 10.420 . . . for those
 Appointed to *sit* there, had left their charge,
 Flown to the upper world; the *rest* were all
 Far to the inland retired . . . (Homonym!)

12.641 They looking back, all the eastern side beheld
 Of Paradise, so late their happy *seat* . . .
 646 The world was all before them, where to choose
 Their place of *rest*, and Providence their guide.

1.414 . . . To do him *wanton rites* . . .
 439 . . . Astarte, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns;
 440 To whose bright *image* nightly by the moon
 Sidonian *virgins* paid their *vows* and *songs*;
 In Sion also not unsung, where stood
 Her *temple* . . .

455 . . . when, by the *vision* led . . .

NB. Astarte the moon goddess reminds of Diana, “goddess of shades“.

9.198 . . . And joined their vocal *worship* to the *quire* . . .
 10.434 . . . *beyond*
 The realm of Aladule . . .

LXIV. *Troops Marching.*

1.559 . . . Thus they,
 560 Breathing united force with fixed thought,

Moved *on in silence* to soft pipes that charmed
Their painful steps . . .

566 Awaiting what *command* their mighty Chief
Had to impose.

The "awaiting" is foreshadowed, in the original, by the "command" to "forbear execution".

Compare the prose text as given under No LXII, above.

LXV. *Giants.*

1.576 . . . though all the *giant brood*.

Of Phlegra with the heroic race were joined . . .

Compare: ". . . and had issue by them a second *breed of giants*" (Fl. p. 476 a) . . . "The island, not yet *Britain* but *Albion*, was in a manner desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of *giants*. . . 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 we now 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).

Note: The reference to "Britain" and the fighting in Cornwall, subjects no doubt originally intended for treatment in the projected grand national epic, seem to have inspired the poet with the allusion to

. . . what resounds

580 In fable or romance of Uther's son,

Be-girt with *British* and *Armoric* knights . . .

which was elaborated into that magnificent allusion to the glories of chivalry in the lines that follow immediately.

LXVI. *Strict Sentries.*

2.410 . . . What strength, what art, can then
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe

Through the strict senteries and *stations* thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All **circumspection**, and we now no less

415 Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send
The *weight* of all, and our last hope, relies.

Compare, from the episode treated under Nos LXII and LXIV: "Calls to him Anacletus, and . . . enjoins him, that he

should go at the second hour of the night to the Greekish leagre, and tell the guards he had brought Antigonus by stealth out of prison to a certain woody vale, unable through the *weight* (416) of his fetters to move him further... great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his tale... and they now fully assured, with a **credulous rashness** (414) leaving their *stations* (412)...“ (Fl. p. 477 b).

Note that “credulous rashness“ is completely inverted. The plural “stations“ is a hapax legomenon.

LXVII. *Relentless Attacks.*

2.790 I fled, but he *pursued* . . .

and swifter far,

Me *overtook* . . .

2.800 . . . then, bursting forth

Afresh, with conscious terror vex me round,

That rest or intermission none I find.

Before mine eyes in opposition sits

Grim Death, my son and foe, who *sets* them on . . .

Compare, again from the same episode treated in Nos LXII, LXIV, and LXVI: “Brutus . . . suddenly *sets* upon him, and with slaughter of the Greeks *pursues* (790) him to the passage of a river . . . where at the ford he *overlays* (792) them *afresh* (801)“ (Fl. p. 477 a).

Note that the adverb “afresh“ is a hapax legomenon.

LXVIII. *Dislegomena.*

Under this head three cases of words and expressions will be discussed which, by their distribution, throw light upon the relative chronology of books I, II, and IX, which seem to belong to the same period.

(1)

The expression *by stealth* is found in 9.68 and 2.945. Its original may be discovered in the following prose passage, with which both poetic versions have the idea expressed in “guards“ in common: “. . . and tell the *guards* he had brought Antigonus *by stealth* out of prison . . .“ (Fl. p. 477 b).

9.687

. . . and on the coast *averse*

From entrance or cherubic **watch** *by stealth*

Found unsuspected way . . .

works existed at all at that time; it would, therefore, be more accurate to speak of the influence of their sources only.

(A)

L' Allegro.

LXIX. *Spring on "Rose Island"*.

- 17 Or whether . . .
 The frolic wind that breathes the *spring*,
 Zephyr, with Aurora playing,
 20 As he met her once a-*Maying*.
 There, on beds of *violets* blue,
 And fresh-blown *roses* washed in dew . . .

Compare the original account of Rose Island in Hakluyt's collections: "Rose Island in St. Nicholas Bay is full of *roses* damask and red, of *violets* and wild rosemary . . . The snow here about the midst of *May* is cleared, having been two months in melting; then the ground is made dry within 14 days after, and then the grass is knee-high within a month . . . That island hath fir and birch, and a fresh *spring* near the house built there by the English" (Goldsmid's reprint 3, p. 310).

Milton's prose version is almost identical with the above text (see No 4). The curious use made of the homonymous nature of the noun "spring" is not without parallels.

Later on, Milton was to use the same passage in the composition of book IV; see No IX, above. The selection of words is different in the two cases; thus, e. g., the genuine "roses and violets" of No LXIX are replaced by the commonplace "flowers". The introduction of the figure of "Zephyr", suggested, no doubt, by the idea of the advent of spring, is common to both passages, and serves to strengthen the view expressed as to their origin.

LXX. *An Imaginary Landscape*.

- 69 Straight mine eye hath caught new *pleasures*,
 70 Whilst the landskip round it measures:
 Russet lawns and fallows grey,
 Where the nibbling flocks do stray;
Mountains on whose *barren* breast
 The labouring clouds do often rest;
 75 *Meadows* trim with daisies pied;

Shallow brooks, and *rivers wide*;

Towers and battlements it sees . . .

The above description strongly reminds of 9.445ff., analysed under No XXII, above. Most of the items in both seem to have been suggested by Milton's reading of texts concerning Russia. The words italicized in the above extract from "L'Allegro" may all be discovered in the "History". The combination "towers and battlements" is used in connection with the incident at Greenwich (chap. V); it seems Milton's own: the original text speaks of "towers" only: "The Privy Council, they looked out of the windows of the Court, and the rest ran up to the tops of the towers" (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 56).

An unmistakable connection is established between the two poetic passages by the "milkmaid" (Al. ll. 65), and the "fair virgin" (9.452), mentioned immediately after the "dairy".

The colour-name "russet" is mentioned together with many others in descriptions of kinds of cloth in Hakluyt's collections (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, pp. 297 and 307, the latter place being but three pages removed from the report on Rose Islands, see No LXIX).

ll. 81—90 remind of the references to the fertile nature of the interior of Russia: "Their fields yield such store of corn, that in conveying it towards Mosco, sometimes in a forenoon, a man shall see seven hundred or eight hundred sleds, going and coming, laden with corn and saltfish" (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 70).

LXXI. *A Russian Triumph.*

- 117 *Towered cities* please us then,
 And the busy hum of men,
 Where *throngs* of *knights* and *barons* bold,
 120 **In** *weeds* of *peace* high *triumphs* hold,
 With store of *ladies*, whose **bright** eyes
 Rain influence, and judge the prize
 Of wit or arms, while both **contend**
 To win her grace whom all commend.
 125 There let Hymen oft appear
 In saffron *robe*, with taper clear,
 And pomp, and feast and revelry,
 With masque and **ancient** pageantry.

The above passage betrays traces of influence by the description of the coronation of the emperor Pheodor Ivanowich, as provided in Horsey's account (Goldsmid's reprint, 4, pp. 202 ff.), from which Milton derived many long extracts admitted into his History (see especially Nos 70—82). The expressions "towered cities" suggests Moscow; compare Nos XLIII, XLVIII, above. The same incident has influenced the passages treated under Nos XXIII, XXXVII, and LIV, above. The note of strong disapproval so prominent in the latter is completely absent from "L'Allegro". — Most of the words marked as borrowed may be found in Nos 70—82. The rest have their counterparts in the original.

II Penseroso.

LXXII. *Chinese Bells.*

- 73 *Oft*, on a plat of rising ground,
 I hear the *far-off* curfew sound,
 75 **Over** some **wide-watered** shore,
 Swinging slow **with sullen** roar . . .

The original of the above passage may be found in the beginning of chap. III of the History of Moscovia. The ultimate source is Purchas' "Pilgrims" (third part, 1625). The "wide-watered shore" must be identified with the river Jenissey at flood time, as described in the extract reprinted above under No 37. A few lines below one reads: "... they came at length to a river, which the savages of that place called Pisida, somewhat less than Jenissey; **beyond** (75) which *hearing* (74) oftentimes **the tolling of brazen bells** (74), and sometimes the noise of men and horses, **they durst not pass over** (76); they saw there certain sails *afar off* (74), square, and therefore supposed to be like Indian or China sails, and the rather for that they report that **great guns** (76) have been *heard* (74) shot off from those vessels" (Fl. p. 572 a). — It is only when this prose passage is compared that the true nature of Milton's lines with the strong element of mystery pervading them will be properly understood, and that it will become clear, why the poet should describe the sound of the melancholy curfew, which "tolls the knell of parting day", as "a sullen roar". The "roar of guns" is a generally recognized expression, whereas bells, as a rule, are not supposed to "roar". "Sullen" must be taken to mean "threatening". Since the above

Hakluyt. In an appendix to the brief chronicle of Moscovia "written by a Polack", from which Milton reproduces large extracts in his chap. IV, one reads: "At length it was found recorded in the ancient chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Plesco contained nothing but woods and forests for wild beasts, that the peasants of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the consent of the Russian borderers, enjoyed *bee*-hives in the said woods, and paid every year in lieu thereof unto the Russian governors, six shillings of Livonian coin. But so soon as the Russians had **felled the woods** and built towns and villages in their place, the said pension ceased together with **the trees which were cut down**" (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 15). In view of the contents of l. 136, the allusion to the felling of trees is of particular interest. Another unquestionable source of the above passage may be discovered in the second chapter of the first book of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Regum Britanniae": "Britannia insula optima . . . Habet et nemora universis ferarum generibus repleta: quorum in salibus et in alternandis animalium pastibus gramina conveniunt, et advolantibus *apibus flores* diversorum colorum *mella* distribuunt. Habet prata sub aeriis montibus amoeno situ virentia, in quibus fontes lucidissimi per nitidos *rivos* leni *murmure* manantes, *suaves sopores* in ripis accubantibus **irritant**" (Liber I, caput II).

Comus.

LXXIV. *The Scenery of Comus.*

According to the stage-direction, the first scene of Comus "discovers a wild wood". This wood resembles the Russian woods in many respects, and it is not at all surprising that this should be so considering the intensity of Milton's interest in this subject. The "Lady" with her brothers appears in the capacity of the travellers from Archangel to Moscow. In this connection it is interesting to find that the word "traveller" is found in "Comus" only, where it occurs three times (ll. 64, 200, 332). The verb "to travel" is frequent in Hakluyt, of course (see, e. g., in Goldsmid's reprint 3, p. 61, used of Chancellor on his first journey to Moscow, and p. 309). The following passages may serve to illustrate the above remarks:

36 .

... But their *way*

Lies through the perplexed paths of this drear wood,
 The nodding *horror* of whose shady brows
 Threats the *forlorn* and *wandering pass-enger* . . .

The same constellation of words and word-elements may be discovered in the report of Chancellor's journey to Moscow: "And so Master Chancellor began his journey . . . wherein he had the use of certain sleds . . . the people almost not knowing any other manner of carriage . . . the cause whereof is the exceeding hardness of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the cold, which in those places is very extreme and horrible . . . But now they having *passed* the greater part of their journey, met at last with the sledman [called "messenger" in another place on the same page] . . . sent to the king secretly . . . who by some ill hap had *lost* his *way* . . . But having long erred and *wandered* out of his *way*, at the last . . . he met our captain on the *way*" (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 61).

The speech of the Lady made on her first appearance on the stage is full of verbal similarities connecting it unmistakably with the description of "The First Voyage made by Master Anthony Jenkinson from the City of London toward the Land of Russia, begun the Twelfth of May, in the Year 1557":

- 170 *This way* the noise was, if mine ear be true,
 My best guide now. Methought it was the sound
 Of riot and ill-managed merriment,
 Such as the jocund flute or gamesome pipe
 Stirs up among the loose **unlettered** hinds,
 175 When, for their teeming flocks and granges full,
 In wanton dance they praise the bounteous Pan,
 And **thank the gods amiss**. I should be loth
 To meet the rudeness and **swilled** insolence
 Of such late **wassailers**; yet, oh! where else
 180 Shall I inform my unacquainted feet
 In the blind **mazes of this tangled wood**?
 My brothers, when they saw me wearied out
 With *this long way*, resolving here to lodge
 Under the **spreading favour of these pines**,
 185 Stepped, as they said, to the next thicket-side
 To bring me *berries*, or such cooling *fruit*
 As the kind hospitable *woods provide*.

Compare :

- (1) "The people of the country (i. e. Lappia) are half **Gentiles** (174—5)...“ (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 195) — See No XIV, above, under which a similar case is treated, namely that of the word "idolators" causing an allusion to the heathen deity "Pan" (4.707).
- (2) "**They know no art nor faculty** (174)" (ib. p. 196).
- (3) "On both sides of the mouth of this river Pinega is high land, great rocks of alabaster, **great woods** (181, 87), and *pineapple trees* (184)... (ib.)
- (4) "All *this way along* (170, 83) they make much tar..." (ib. p. 197).
- (5) "All the *way* I never came in house, but *lodged* (183) in the **wilderness** (181), by the *river-side* (185), and carried *provision* (187) for the *way*. And he that will *travel* those *ways*..." (ib.) — "Thicket-side" is a peculiarly Miltonic invention; this compound is not recorded in the New English Dictionary. It was evidently framed on the model of "river-side", and allowed the poet to express his love of the shade and dimness which it suggests. The word "thicket" is typical of the poet's photophobic period: it occurs eight times in the works written before blindness (Ode 188; Arc. 58; Com. 185; 4.136, 681; 9.179, 628, 784); and only once (7.458) after that date. — The above prose extract is reflected in the "History" as No 17. The preposition "under" of l. 184 reappears in No XV (4.721). — The noun "wilderness" crops up in l. 209.
- (6) "They have many sorts of **meats** and drinks when they **banquet** (179)... their greatest friendship is **drinking** (178)... I heard of men and women that **drank away** (178, 79) their children... In every good town there is a **drunken tavern** (178, 79)..." (ib. p. 201). Note that in No 33 want of learning and drunkenness are also coupled, this time as characteristics of the Russian people.
- (7) "The Native Commodities of the Country. — For kinds of *fruits* (186) they have apples, pears, plums, cherries... *rasps*, *strawberries*, and *hurtleberries*,

Compare from the account of Chancellor's voyage of discovery (close to the first passage quoted in No LXXIV): "...they provided to sea again, and Master Chancellor held on his course towards that unknown part of the world, and sailed so far, that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea. And having the benefit of this perpetual light for certain days, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certain bay..." (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 59).

The influence of the same passage was traced, through the medium of Milton's "History", in 9. 58 ff. (see No XIX, above). — That which follows in "Comus" strongly reminds of Milton's idyllic conception of Rose Island, in the Bay of Archangel; compare, in this respect, Nos IX, and LXIX.

LXXVII. *Colours of the Rainbow.*

Between lines 995 and 996, the Cambridge Manuscript inserts a line, giving the colours of the flowers, so that the reading is:

992 Iris there with humid bow
 Waters the odorous banks that blow
 Flowers of more mingled hue
 995 Than her purfled scarf can shew —
 [*Yellow, watchet, green and blue* —]

Compare, among Hakluyt's materials, the following extract from "A Letter of the Company of the Merchants Adventurers to Russia unto George Killingworth... to be delivered in Colmogro or elsewhere, sent in the John Evangelist": "...500 pieces of Hampshire kersies, that is 400 *watchets*, 43 *blues*, 53 *reds*, 15 *greens*, 5 ginger colours, and two *yellows*..." (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 167). The word *scarf* (995) may have been occasioned by the numerous allusions to different names of cloth in the same letter, such as: "sorting cloths, wrappers, kersies".

If the region through which the poet's imagination is roaming really was the bay of Archangel, the introduction of the goddess of the rainbow may be explained as a reaction on the following remark in the description of the passage of A. Jenkinson from London to Moscow: "Thus continuing our course along the coast of Norway and Finmark, the 27th day we took

the sun... and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the same day in the afternoon appeared over our heads a rainbow, like a semi-circle, with both ends upwards" (Goldsmid's reprint, 3, p. 194). This passage immediately precedes the one which was demonstrated to have influenced ll. 170 ff.; see No LXXIV.

The word "watchet" may have been rejected, together with the whole line, because it was a trade word and not fit to be introduced into poetry. The particular shade of colour which it indicates was elsewhere described by Milton as "sky-tinctured" (PL. 5.285).

LXXVIII. Lycidas.

The last line of Lycidas (To morrow to fresh woods and pastures new) might be taken to express that the author intends next to employ himself in the composition of some piece of poetry intimately connected with the "woods" and "pastures" of Russia. Compare Nos 12, 13, above.

(B)

The number of connecting links between the "History of Britain" and the Minor Poems is inconsiderable. Similarities may be discovered in a very small section of the first chapter only. The extent of this section has been described on p. 47, above.

LXXIX. *Hapax Legomena in "Comus"*.

- (1) l. 21: all the *sea-girt* isles — cp.: ... a land there lies, *Sea-girt* it lies (Fl. p. 478 a).
- (2) l. 49: coasting the *Tyrrhene shore* — cp.: ... on the *Tyrrhene* sea; on the Adriatic, not the *Tyrrhene*, shore (ib.).
- (3) l. 513: 'tis not vain or *fabulous* — cp.: *fabulous* (ib. pp. 475 b, 476 a, b).
- (4) l. 649: *necromancer* — cp.: *necromancy* (ib. p. 479 b); the word *magician* is found in "Comus" l. 602, in "Samson Agonistes" l. 1133, and in the "History of Britain" (Fl. p. 476 b).
- (5) The two works have the following names in common: *Guendolen* (830); *Lochrine* (827, 922); *Sabrina* (826, 859) — see Fl. pp. 478 b, 479 a.

LXXX. *Brutus and Comus.*

58 . . . Whom therefore she brought up, and Comus
named:

Who ripe and frolic of his full-grown age,

60 *Roving* the Celtic and Iberian fields,

At last *betakes him to this* ominous wood . . .

Compare: "First therefore having fortified those castles, he (i. e. Brutus) with Assaracus and the whole multitude betake them to the woods and hills . . ." (Fl. p. 477 a). A few lines above, Assaracus is described as "a noble Greekish *youth*", with which may be compared:

54 This Nymph that gazed upon his clustering locks,

With ivy berries wreathed, and his blithe *youth* . . .

On the same page of the prose text, one reads: ". . . the Trojans in a fleet . . . *betake them to the wide sea*: where with a prosperous course, two days and a night bring them on a certain island long before dispeopled and left waste by sea-rovers . . ."

Comus is thus compared to Brutus, the former's "crew" (l. 653) or "rout" (l. 533, and stage direction after l. 92) is the latter's "multitude". Both may be said to have been "roving the Celtic and Iberian fields".

LXXXI. *Those Happy Climes.*

976 To the ocean now I fly,

And *those* happy *climes* that lie

Where day never shuts his eye . . .

In the prose text one finds the expression: ". . . all *these* west and northern *climes*" (Fl. p. 476 a). There exists only one other example of "climes" in Milton's poetry: "The climes of bliss" (11.708). The presence of the demonstrative pronoun in Comus proves the greater affinity of that passage.

Addendum

containing a passage in PL. based on Hakluyt's text directly.

LXXXII. *Artificial Flowers.*

9.427 . . . oft stooping to support

Each *flōwer* of tender *stalk* whose head, though gay

Carnation, purple, *azure*, or specked with *gold* . . .

Compare: "In Persia is great abundance of Bombasin cotton, and very fine: this groweth on a certain little tree or

brier . . . the tree hath a slender stalk like unto a brier, or to a carnation gillyflower . . ." (Goldsmid's reprint 4, p. 48). — A few pages above, the following passage occurs: ". . . he granted . . . other privileges for the trade of merchandise into Persia, all written in azure and gold letters . . ." (ib. p. 45).

Note the clever change of "slender" into "tender". In book V, line 337 is found the new combination "tender stalk", which may be taken to prove that book V was composed after book IX.

General character of the "History of Moscovia".

On Milton's account of Russia, G. Saintsbury says in the "Cambridge History of Literature" (VII. p. 128): "Most people who have read it have been more or less fascinated by the little "History of Moscovia". The oddity of it is, of course, less than it may seem to the modern reader. The seventeenth century was, perhaps, the most learned of all centuries; but — some might say because — it was not largely provided with ready-digested learning. Men, therefore, had to make their digests, their conspectus, their abstracts for themselves: and this is a specimen. It is singularly well done — quite a model of *précis*, with a little expatiation and ornament betraying the poet's hand. The sentences are mostly quite short, but not in the least snip-snappy. The touches that had struck the writer's own attention are selected and composed admirably to catch the reader's. Manners, incidents, local colour — all are used to relieve the mere gazetteer- or chronicle-effect; and, where the piece becomes more dramatic and less summary (as in the rather well known interview between Ivan the Terrible and Sir Jerome Bowes) the style is perfectly equal to the occasion. The reason, of course, is that there is nothing in the subject which is *cinis dolosus*; and so the foot never breaks through the crust, and no "curling tempests" of wrath and incoherence burst out".

Note the apologetic undertone in the introductory remarks, inseparable from the official type of Milton criticism. Dr. Saintsbury does not say what Milton made his abstract for. One may now conjecture that the "History" began as a collection of extracts from Hakluyt and Purchas intended to form a kind of poetic sketch-book, after he had found the original reports so very useful in the composition of the Minor Poems. All those chapters of a purely informative character would have been added afterwards

to complete a work begun under quite different auspices. A thoroughly objective and detailed inquiry into the text of the "History" is urgently needed. Such an investigation would prove, among other points, that those passages of the prose text which are more or less distinctly reproduced in Milton's poetry are nothing but mosaics of extracts derived almost verbatim from the originals.

General Character of the "History of Britain".

Milton's interest in Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Regum Britanniae" must have begun early, because its influence may be traced in "Il Penseroso" (No LXXII) and in "Comus" (Nos LXXIX—XI). In 1638, Milton mentions his intention of writing an epic poem dealing with the story of Arthur (Mansol. 80); and in 1639, he refers to Brutus, the legendary founder of the Britannic Nation, and his successors, including Arthur, as occupying his attention in the same connection (Epitaphium Damonis ll. 162 ff.). He evidently started by making a prose version of Geoffrey's chronicle. The part which he treated most carefully is the story of Brutus from his birth down to his arrival on the island containing the oracle, including the two poetic fragments which were translated metrically (Historia, Liber I, capita III—XI). When he gave up the idea of writing a national epic, he did not wish to lose all the fruits of his mental efforts of elaborating, in imagination, the episodes included in the prose version; they were utilized in being made the basis of certain parts of "Paradise Lost" (Nos LXII—VII). Thus the fragment containing the story of Brutus seems to have formed the nucleus of the "History of Britain". When the poetic impulse had spent itself, Milton, after a certain lapse of time, went on writing in a more sober spirit, continuing as a prose work what had had its origin in the poetic enthusiasm and in the burning love of fame of his earlier years. So completely did his views change that now he even ridiculed those ancient fables which at one time he had eagerly studied. In continuing his "History of Britain", he gave himself up entirely to purely rational pursuits, endeavouring to express his views on political questions, and to teach the art of conduct and of government (see E. Lehmann, *Tendenz und Entstehungsgeschichte von Milton's "History of Britain"*, Diss. Berlin 1921).

Conclusions.

(A) Concerning the "History of Moscovia":

I. Milton must have begun the study of the originals, Hakluyt and Purchas, at an early date, because their influence is traceable in the Minor Poems; see Nos LXIX—LXXI (L'Allegro, 1634), Nos LXXII—III (Il Penseroso, 1634), Nos LXXIV—VII (Comus, 1634), No LXXVIII (Lycidas, 1637).

II. Having realized the poetic possibilities latent in those texts, he decided to use them for literary purposes.

III. He seems to have started by compiling a kind of "sketch-book"; the contents of Chapters I and III are used in PL. more extensively than the rest of the text.

IV. As to Milton's poetic borrowings from the "Russian Complex", two groups may be distinguished: (a) Leading Ideas and (b) Isolated Allusions.

V. Leading Ideas. — Three lines of thought may be discovered as deriving from Milton's study of his Russian materials, viz.:

- (1) The descriptions of the Russian Forests, Rivers and Lakes, and the allusions to the Contrast between the Northern Forests and the Fertile Interior. These elements are found chiefly in the Minor Poems (L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Comus and Lycidas), and in the beginning of books IV and IX of PL. — See Nos LXX, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXVIII; I, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XV; XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXV).
- (2) Satan is identified with the early English explorers of the North-east passage, Sir Hugh Willoughby and R. Chancellor. — See in the beginning of book IX: Nos XIX, XX; in book I: No XXVI; in book II: Nos XXXV, XLI.
- (3) Satan is represented as the monarch of Hell, with many attributes of a Russian monarch. — See Nos XXIX (book I); XXXI, XXXVII (book II). Compare also No LXXI (L'Allegro) which betrays the influence of the same element.

VI. Isolated Allusions may be discovered in the Minor Poems as well as in all the books of PL. except book VI.

VII. Deductions as to the Chronology of the Different Parts of "Paradise Lost":

- (1) The view that book IV was written first (see article on "Milton's Eyesight and the Chronology of his Works" pp. 34 ff.) is strengthened by the fact that it shares a leading idea (see V 1, above) with the Minor Poems which preceded PL. in point of time.
- (2) It has been shown in the article quoted above that books I and II were strongly influenced by the poet's efforts towards an heroic epic on the subject of Brutus and King Arthur (p. 49). The nature of the leading ideas derived from the "History of Moscovia" (see V 2 and 3, above), blended as they are with the element of chivalry in the same books, might suggest that these leading ideas are the survivals of yet another epic plan. Did Milton at any point of his career as a poet intend to write a national heroic epic on "The First Discovery of Russia by the North-east, 1553, with the English Embassies, and Entertainments at that Court, until the Year 1604"? Thus runs the heading of chap. V, and the crucial word *heroic* stands out like a signal from the very first sentence of that text: "The discovery of Russia by the northern ocean, made first, of any nation that we know, by Englishmen, might have seemed an enterprise almost *heroic*..." (Fl. p. 577 a). But unless further evidence can be found, the notion of Milton planning at any time an "epos of discovery" on the lines of Camoens' "Lusiad" must remain a mere suggestion.
- (3) The presence of but fragmentary elements in the rest of the books of PL. proves that the latter owe their origin to an impulse no longer intimately connected with the poet's Russian enterprise. Certain parts of books III and V must be placed nearer, in point of time, to the original books, i. e. books IV, IX, I and II, on account of the larger number of borrowings contained in them.

(B) Concerning the "History of Britain":

- I. Milton's interest in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Chronicle began early, as traces of the influence of the "Historia Regum Britanniae" may be discovered in "Il Penseroso" (see No LXXIII).
- II. When Milton had given up the idea of writing an epic

poem on the subject of Brutus and Arthur, he decided to use, in PL., what materials he had collected for the former purpose.

III. The most elaborate direct traces of the influence of those early plans may be discovered in book IV, ll. 776—96, which passage thus allows the reader to form a faint idea of what Milton's heroic epic would have been like.

(C) Concerning Milton's Albinism:

I. In his treatise entitled "Milton und das Licht" (Halle 1920; reprinted from *Beiblatt zur Anglia* XXX, 11/12; see also "Milton's Selbstdarstellung in L'Allegro und Il Penseroso", *Beiblatt* XXXIV, pp. 338 ff.) the present writer propounded the theory that Milton was an albino, and that in consequence he suffered from photophobia, nyctalopia, and excessive short-sightedness. It was also stated that all works betraying traces of photophobia must have been written before his blindness. This statement was modified in a more recent publication entitled "Milton's Eyesight and the Chronology of his Works" (see above). The date of the disappearance of photophobia was placed earlier, viz. in the year 1644/45, when Milton suffered the first attack of glaucoma. Books IV, IX, I and II were stated, on the strength of the newly discovered arguments, to have been composed before that event. The above investigation of the influence of the two "Histories" points in the same direction, quite independently of the arguments connected with the nature of the poet's eyesight. Book IV must be placed quite close to "Comus" (1634); book IX follows the former immediately, whereas books I and II, as well as book IV. 776—96 with the rest of that book, can only have been composed after Milton had given up the intention of writing an heroic epic, i. e. after his return from Italy, in 1639 (compare "Mansus" ll. 80—4), and after the composition of "Epitaphium Damonis", in 1639/40 (compare ll. 162 ff.: *Iipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per aequora puppes Dicam . . .*)

II. As long as his eyesight was in itself intact, Milton suffered from a very pronounced short-sightedness and weak-sightedness. This is also the assumption of critics who either did not know about the present writer's theory, as Squires (see his article "Milton's Treatment of Nature" in *Modern Language Notes* vol. IX, Dec. 1894, pp. 454 ff.), or who reject this view, as Saurat and Cabannes (see their joint article "Milton devant

la médecine“ in *Journal de médecine de Bordeaux* du 10 janvier 1924; they explain Milton's eye-troubles as due to inherited syphilis).

“Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books“ was Dryden's view of the matter, who had known the poet personally (see “Milton und das Licht“ p. 25: Milton's Naturbeschreibung). Milton's direct experience of nature was extremely limited, and he possessed no “intimate knowledge“ of her objects (see Squires p. 472). But his strong poetic impulses were craving violently for materials through which they might find expression. In his twentieth year of age, the poet very well describes this state of things in the curious fragment which goes by the name of “At a Vacation Exercise“. Calling his “Native Language“ in his aid, he addresses the latter thus:

But haste thee straight to do me once a pleasure,
And from thy wardrobe bring thy chiefest treasure;
Not those new-fangled toys and trimming slight
Which takes our late fantastics with delight;
But cull those richest robes and gayest attire,
Which deepest spirits and choicest wits desire.
I have some naked thoughts that rove about,
And loudly knock to have their passage out,
And, weary of their place, do only stay

Till thou hast decked them in thy best array... (ll. 17 ff.)

Hence he eagerly studied all kinds of books in search of incidents and descriptions. In the papers dealing with Russia he found what he wanted. The printed page was to him what nature is to other poets, and the objects presented themselves to him not in their real shapes, but in the form of printed words. Just as other literary artists (and the same applies to painters and their pictures as well) often evolve their poems out of the memory pictures of landscapes, of natural or other objects, Milton evidently based much of his poetry on the visual impressions received from books. In doing this he revealed himself a supreme “artist in words“. The cold printed words of texts that were often perfectly commonplace and uninspiring, were by him invested with magic qualities; he put into them all the intense longing, all the vibrating emotion of his passionate soul, and thus succeeded in creating, by the sheer force of imagination, poetry of the very first order.

(On this subject of the methods of artistic creation, which

is capable of much further elaboration, see E. R. Jaensch, "Über die Kunst des Kindes und das Wesen der Kunst", Augsburg 1924; and an article by the same author, "Jugendpsychologie", in *Pädagogische Warte*, Mai 1924.)

III. In the descriptions of Russia, Milton seems to have been most strongly attracted by the frequent allusions to the primeval forests, and next by the contrast between the forests of the north and the fertile "champain" of the interior (see "Milton's Eyesight etc." on Contrast between Light and Darkness). It is this photophobic feature which appears first of all "Russian" elements in Milton's poetry, and which links the Minor Poems (*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas*) to book IV of *PL.*: it is the same feature which finds expression in the very first chapter of the "History of Moscovia", which is not of an historical but of a descriptive character.

IV. It is highly significant that Milton should have selected only the photophobic passages from Geoffrey's Chronicle for treatment (see "M.'s Eyesight etc." pp. 39 f.). The most conspicuous survival of the original epic plan which has passed into *PL.* is most appropriately treated under the heading "Night Fighting" (see No LXII, above). His finding out that he would be unable to remain in the dark throughout the rest of his epic may have been the strongest motive causing him to abandon his ambitious plan of treating the story of Brutus and Arthur.

* * *

No doubt many readers of the present treatise will wonder how, considering the enormous amount of energy spent by many generations of critics in annotating the poetry of Milton, those numerous "borrowings" — if recognized as such at all — could have remained undetected so long. The answer is not far to seek. It may be discovered in the extraordinary bias, resting upon a political basis, from which Milton criticism, under the compelling influence of the "Neo-Puritan Propaganda", has been suffering for almost a century (see the present writer's "Der andere Milton", Bonn & Leipzig, 1920, p. 8). In obedience to this spirit it has been customary systematically to neglect both "Histories" as not in keeping with that artificial conception of greatness thrust upon Milton. It is a remarkable fact that most

elaborate treatises on trifling subjects connected with Milton are constantly being published, whilst the really vital issues, such as the origin and meaning of "Paradise Lost", are left undealt with for fear — so it would seem — lest the conventional image of Milton should be destroyed in the event. It is only by a complete change of attitude that the true achievement of Milton's genius can be placed in its proper light.

As to the curious methods of Milton's manner of composition, the present writer begs leave to draw attention to his articles on similar processes discoverable — "to compare Great things with small" — in Oscar Wilde's borrowings from Palgrave's anthology "The Golden Treasury" (Beiblatt zur *Anglia* XXX, pp. 294 ff., and XXXII, pp. 215 f.).
