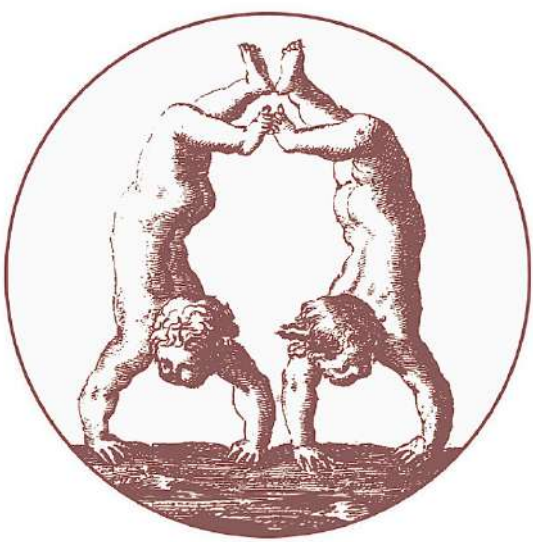
Skenè Texts DA • 1

War Discourse in *Four Paradoxes*: the Case of Thomas Scott (1602) and the Digges (1604)

Edited by Fabio Ciambella



CEMP • 7
Classical and Early Modern Paradoxes in England

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General Editor Silvia Bigliazzi

• 7

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General Editor's Preface

The paradox as a discursive device unveiling a deeper order of things underneath surface contradictions is rooted in a long-standing Greek tradition, beginning with the archaic age. Scholars have foregrounded the enigmatic component of archaic thinking, illustrating the earliest phases of this tradition up to Heraclitus. With the Sophists, the paradox becomes an argumentative tool, as famously exemplified by Gorgias' and Isocrates' encomia of Helen, and, more generally, it is exploited in that phase of the late fifth-century Greek culture which has become known as 'the Athenian Enlightenment'. Examples of paradoxical techniques include the judiciary forms of argumentation that can be found in Antiphon's *Tetralogies* and the political rhetoric Thucydides employed to unveil the truth of deeds (*erga*) beneath words (*logoi*). Political and judiciary oratory offers paradigmatic cases of uses of the paradox as an instrument of persuasion. A 'higher' philosophical use is aimed at disclosing what language conceals. Often cast in narrative form, the paradox reflects the wonder of inexplicable natural phenomena (*thaumastà*) and of apparently contradictory behaviours in ways that make it related to the genre of the 'problem'. The emphasis on contradiction, on the conflict between appearance and reality, and on an awareness of the limits of language substantiates the osmotic, boundary-crossing quality of texts infused with a sense of wonderment, from paradoxography to narratives of natural marvels (*thaumasiographia*) and *problemata* (a collection is included in the Aristotelian corpus). In the imperial age, the Second Sophistic will recuperate the legacy of the First, and with Lucian and Dio Chrysostom it will display a literary quality that will make it akin to the novellas and romances of first BCE-fifth AD.

Significantly, alongside the 'high' literature represented by narrative and poetic genres endowed with cultural prestige, several examples of this paradoxical literature are amongst those which most interested fifteenth-century humanists. Not coincidentally, Leonardo Bruni translated the *Oratio de Troia non capta* – Dio

Chrysostom's paradoxical rewrite of the entire course of ancient history. This interest was boosted by Lucian, by some of Plutarch's *Moralia* and, eventually, by the rediscovery of *thaumasiographia* (some collections were already printed in the first half of the sixteenth century). In England, Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* was translated by Thomas Newton in 1569, and, together with sceptical doctrines, penetrated controversial writings of the sixteenth century.

Not surprisingly, in his *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) George Puttenham inventively called the figure of the paradox "the Wonderer". He was neither the first nor the last one to connect the poet's imaginative power with this figure. The suggestion was, as Cicero famously put it, that things admirable contradict common opinion ("Quae quia sunt admirabilia contraque opinionem omnium paradoxa appellantur", *Paradoxa Stoicorum*), and notoriously what is extraordinary shares in the power of artistic creation. John Florio too was to notice that the paradox is a "marvellous, wonderfull and strange thing to heare, and is contrarie to the common received opinion" (*A World of Words*, 1598). In his turn, Henry Peacham pointed out that it was "to be used, when the thing which is to be taught is new, straunge, incredible, and repugnant to the opinion of the hearer", so that old men and travellers are the best to employ it, being the "messengers of old times" and the "Ambassadors of farre places", respectively (*The Garden of Eloquence*, 1593).

In the early modern period, the paradox encoded the puzzlement of an entire age before 'the new', whether that 'new' meant the discovery of the ancient past, or of distant unimagined places. Both a rhetorical figure and a literary genre, the paradox became epidemic, suggesting an urgent need to interrogate received ideas and formulate fresh questions on new ways of thinking and knowing.

The 10 volumes of *CEMP – Classical and Early Modern Paradoxes in England* offer in book form scholarly editions of early modern publications in England of paradoxes, broadsides, poems, and other related fictional and documental material also published online as diplomatic, semidiplomatic and modernised editions in the *CEMP* Digital Archive of the University of Verona (https://

test-01.dlls.univr.it/teipublisher-cemp/apps/cemp-app/index.html).[1] The volumes present modernised texts, with witness descriptions and textual apparatuses recording substantial changes in case of more than one witness. The introductions and notes situate these paradoxes in the early modern cultural, historical, editorial, and literary context, and discuss critical aspects which are especially interesting in view of cross-references within the volumes as well as in major aspects of intersection between ancient and early modern texts.

The Text

In the case of several witnesses, one copytext has been chosen and normalised. With regard to Latin texts, digraphs have been separated (e.g. æ > ae), 'j' has been normalised as 'i' (e.g. ijs > iis), the 'u'/'v' alternative has also been normalised (e.g. uita > vita; in the case of uppercase, 'U? replaces 'V'). Assimilations have been corrected (e.g. affert > adfert) and accents omitted (e.g. modò > modo). Early modern spellings have been modernised (e.g. quanquam > quamquam; vult > volt), yet not in the case of proper names (e.g. Alcidamus instead of Alcidamas), since they are relevant for an understanding of how classical texts were read.

In the case of English texts, obsolete grammatical forms have been preserved (e.g. shalt, doth, hath, declareth, taketh, oughtst, shoon, altogethers, narrowlier, understanded), but superscripts, special symbols, the 'i'/'j' and 'u'/'v' alternatives (e.g. obiect > object; vnkind > unkind; selues > selves), 'f'/'s', and vv > w (e.g. VVar > War) have been normalised. Uppercase has been used after a full stop, and only in the case of proper names and personifications. Abbreviations have been expanded (e.g. hon.ble > honourable), and punctuation has been altered when it makes the interpretation difficult.

Numbering has been added to the lines, and words and line numbers are referred to in the critical apparatus.

[1] The project is part of a broader research in Digital Humanities for which the Department of Foreign Languages of the University of Verona has been granted national funding and the award of Department of Excellence.

Marginalia, Commentary, and Textual Notes

The texts are often accompanied by printed marginalia which gloss on portions that the editors and/or authors deem in need of explanation or emphasis. These glosses are presented as footnotes whilst the commentary appears as endnotes. These contain explanations of verbal difficulties or of historical, mythical, literary references, but also interpretations of relevant passages. In case of more than one witness, the edition will also present a critical apparatus including substantial (i.e. lexical) variants below the text and before the footnotes. It follows the form of the positive apparatus, with notation of all the witnesses. It comprises, first: the line number where the word appears in the modern edition; then, the word followed by the witness serving as copytext and the superscript number of the line where it appears, followed by a square bracket dividing the witnesses. In case of two variants occurring in the same line, these have been separated by a blank space; otherwise variants are divided by a semicolon. See the example below in the case of two witnesses called A and B:

3 truly A^{5}] surely B^{5}; 5 ever A^{7}] never B^{8}£££more A^{9}] less B^{10};

The Volumes and the Editors

The 10 volumes offer a wide-ranging choice of works from antiquity to sixteenth- and seventeenth- century English writings and translations of contemporary Italian and French works. The collection groups paradoxes and mock encomia, in both prose and verse, problems, as well as paradoxical fictions, from Homer to Erasmus. The first volume offers studies of the possible intersections between this paradoxical culture in print and theatre, while the other volumes offer scholarly editions of texts. The team is based at Verona University with the collaboration of scholars from other networked Italian Universities (https://test-01.dlls.univr.it/teipublisher-cemp/apps/cemp-app/team.html).

Silvia Bigliazzi

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F. C.

Introduction

1. Eight Paradoxes between the Tudor Twilight and the Stuart Dawn: Preliminary Questions

In 1602 and 1604 two collections of paradoxes, both entitled *Four Paradoxes*, authored by Thomas Scott, and Thomas and Dudley Digges, respectively, were published. Scott, a Protestant preacher, wrote four poems about art, law, war, and service. On the other hand, the diplomat and intellectual Dudley Digges published his father's two paradoxes about the art of war together with his own two texts concerning the worthiness of war and warriors. What do these two collections of paradoxes have in common, and why publishing their critical edition together? Apparently, besides sharing the same title, the two works do not seem to have anything else in common. Nevertheless, this introduction to the modern edition of both texts aims at demonstrating that they share political, cultural, and genre-related features.

It is well-known that the early seventeenth century is a crucial period in the history of England. Queen Elizabeth I dies in 1603 leaving no heir and the Scottish king James VI ascends the English throne with the name of James I. The Tudor dynasty is replaced by the Stuart one. The period 1602-1604 is characterized by a sense of political instability and economic anxiety, on the one hand, because the queen was dying with no heir, and great expectations for the new monarch, on the other. As hinted above, the latest years of Elizabeth's reign were marked by a widespread feeling of political instability and economic anxiety. As seen later in greater detail, the debt that the English crown had incurred with the Antwerp exchange was still enormous due to the cost of the wars which characterized Elizabeth's so-called 'second reign', and new taxes made the people's malcontent rise. Politically engaged intellectuals wrote pieces of "political rhetoric [which] grew more authoritarian in tone in response to the acute economic hardship" (Gajda 2008,

853), as Thomas Digges's paradoxes about corruption in military ranks demonstrate. Moreover, Essex's rebellion[1] in 1601, with the consequent decline of the queen's physical and mental health, made her chief minister Robert Cecil start thinking it was time to open negotiations to find an heir.

War is a very discussed topic in both collections of paradoxes, thus mirroring the vivid contemporary cultural debate about it in Renaissance England. Suffice it to consider that King James introduced his first speech delivered at Parliament in 1604 by the sentence "I found the state embarked in a great and tedious war . . . by the peace in my person is now amity kept" (cit. in McIlwain 1918, 270), alluding to the Treaty of London he signed with Spain on 18 August 1604. As Gajda remarks, "Elizabethans expressed varied and complex attitudes towards . . . war, [thus] deepen[ing] our understanding of late Elizabethan political culture in significant ways" (2008, 853).

Scott's and the Digges' *Four Paradoxes* are located in this political and cultural context. Hence, what do they tell us about late-1500s and early-1600s political issues? And why adopting the paradox as a genre to deal with such topics as political instability, economic anxiety, conflict, and corruption? Understood as "a mode of serious philosophical argument", in the Renaissance "the paradox became associated with the *thesis* (a 'proposition' laid down to be proved by argument), and so with the *disputatio* or debate" (Vickers 1968, 305). *Theses* and *disputationes* are at the very core of Scott's and the Digges' *Four Paradoxes*, which introduce the "Renaissance reader of paradoxes [to] an extremely popular literary form, one connected more with the profundities of moral philosophy than with the 'witty ingenuities' of a mere work of entertainment" (Vickers 1968, 309). In other words, Renaissance readers were aware that choosing these collections of paradoxes, they were forced "to consider something other than, or contrary to commonly held beliefs, attitudes and values: . . . to contemplate a 'new' knowledge and

[1] Very briefly, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, one of the queen's favourites, wanted to gain greater influence at court, especially after Sir Robert Cecil had been appointed chief minister. The rebellion failed, and Essex was beheaded the same year.

a different reality" (Moore 1988, 15), this 'new' knowledge being fascinating and scaring at the same time (Bigliazzi 2011, 124). What 'new' knowledge is in the eight paradoxes examined here will be another purpose of this introduction.

In the following pages I will first look at the composition of the two collections separately, then intertextual and interdiscursive features will be examined, looking for shared topics and themes to discuss.

2. Three Authors and Two Texts

2.1 Thomas Scott's *Four Paradoxes* (1602)

Four Paradoxes – complete title: *Four Paradoxes: Of Art, of Law, of War, of Service* – was probably the first collection of poems published by the English Puritan preacher and polemicist Thomas Scott (1580-1626), better known for his anti-Catholic pamphlets (e.g., *Vox populi*, 1620, and *Vox Dei*, 1623) than for his poems and paradoxes.[2]

The argumentative works he wrote in the final part of his life were primarily aimed at criticising James I's pro-Spanish politics. These antagonised the Stuart monarch so much that when Scott's identity was revealed after the anonymous publication of *Vox populi* (1620),[3] "he took the traditional way out and fled to the Low Countries" (Lake 1982, 805), despite being rector of St Saviour's Church in Norwich. From his exile in the Low Countries, Scott became the preacher of the English regiments and continued to publish his attacks against the pro-Spanish/Catholic politics of James I. In fact,

[2] According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Kelsey 2004), it is not clear whether the author of the polemic pamphlets mentioned above was the same poet who wrote *Four Paradoxes*, although this seems to be suggested by the anti-papist, anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish stances that pervade both Scott's poetical works and his most argumentative treatises.

[3] *Vox populi* was a notorious pamphlet denouncing some presumed machinations by the Spanish ambassador Gondomar aimed at orchestrating the wedding of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta Maria Anna, and the Stuart king's involvement in the events described. Scott's indignation is mainly religious, given his anti-Catholic stance.

his *Vox Dei* was published in Utrecht in 1623, immediately after Prince Charles's journey to Spain, where he had been accompanied by George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, who, like the Spanish ambassador Gondomar three years earlier, had wanted him to marry the daughter of King Philip III of Habsburg. As the anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Brief and True Relation of the Murder of Mr Thomas Scott Preacher of God's Word and Bachelor of Divinity* (1628) reveals, Scott was killed by an English soldier, John Lambert – later declared mad but nonetheless condemned to death after having his hand severed – while in Utrecht with his brother William and his nephew Thomas.

His *Four Paradoxes* is a collection of four poems published in 1602 and reprinted with neither structural nor content revisions in 1611, when Scott changed his former dedication to the Swedish-born Lady Helena, Marchioness of Northampton, into a letter to Sir Thomas Gorges, Knight (maybe her second husband or her last-born son).[4] Lady Helena, wife to the late William Parr, first Marquis of Northampton (d. 1571), brother of Queen Catherine Parr, the last of Henry VIII's wives, had married a second time with the above-mentioned Thomas Gorges, Anne Boleyn's cousin. Although there is no evidence of a possible relationship between Thomas Scott and the noble couple's family, the two dedicatory epistles introducing the two editions of *Four Paradoxes* suggest some kind of acquaintance, because the Northampton family was one of the main guardians of English Protestantism.[5]

The four poems present an identical structure formed by eighteen six-line stanzas rhyming ABABCC (plus a shorter final poem, *The Resolution*) and each is introduced by a title in Latin, a final quotation from Cicero's works, and a final couplet (107-8 of each poem) showing exactly the same rhyme ("find/mind"):

[4] According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Kesley 2004), Lady Helena's second husband cannot be the dedicatee of Scott's 1611 edition, since he had died in 1610. Conversely, not even the couple's last-born son could be the addressee of Scott's 1611 dedicatory letter because, as far we know, he never became a knight. Besides the problematic datum concerning the identity of Scott's dedicatee, the 1611 edition of Four Paradoxes reinforces the idea of the author's connection to the Northampton family.

[5] See the chapter "A Note on the Texts" for further details.

Farewell Luciferian art I will go find
Some better thing to please my troubled mind.

(*Of Art*)

Farewell both art and law, I will go find,
Some better thing, to please my troubled mind.

(*Of Law*)

For my part, I am yet resolved to find,
Some better thing to please my troubled mind.

(*Of War*)

But since in service few of this I find,
Service dislikes my male-contented mind.

(*Of Service*)

Rounding off the series of these four paradoxes, a fifth shorter poem of three sixains, entitled *The Resolution*, presents a similar rhyming pattern as well as the usual final couplet with exactly the same rhyme (17-8): "But since my soul can nothing certain find, / I am resolved to have a wavering mind".

Notably, *Four Paradoxes* is a collection of poems that go against common opinion: they condemn the liberal arts[6] and any progress they bring, they criticise the law and especially its ministers, they evoke just war as an instrument of peace, and they warn about the risks of entering the service of great noblemen. What surprises Scott's reader from the outset is his choice of a genre, i.e., poetry, which he in fact condemns in his first paradox – *Of Art*. "Poetry [instructs us] to lie" (1.79; 83),[7] declares Scott when listing the faults of the seven liberal arts, this assertion being intrinsically paradoxical, since he

[6] Scott lists them in the fourteenth stanza of his first paradox (1.79-84): grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, poetry and music, the liberal arts of Medieval Trivium and Quadrivium, respectively (except for astronomy, which is replaced by poetry in Scott's list as part of the Quadrivium).

[7] In order to help readers distinguish among the different quotations from Scott's *Four Paradoxes*, the number of the paradox is indicated in brackets before the number(s) of the verse(s): 1. *Of Art*; 2. *Of Law*; 3. *Of War*; 4. *Of Service*. Likewise, quotations from the Digges' *Four Paradoxes* are shown in brackets by the number of the paradox, followed by the number of line(s) indicated in this edition.

is admitting that everything he is about to write is a lie. It is well-known that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the notion of art was very different from its meaning today. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, the lemma 'art' indicates, since the thirteenth century, "skill as a result of learning or practice", and it was only in the 1610s that the word 'art' began to mean "skill in creative arts". Choosing a genre as a means to criticise the genre itself seems to be a violation of "factuality from a logical viewpoint" (Bigliazzi 2011, 127), i.e., denying factual evidence or infringing the law of noncontradiction. The paradoxicality of Scott's assertion can be also expressed through the simple Aristotelian syllogism "Poetry is lie, Scott writes in verse, hence what Scott writes is a lie". In *The Resolution*, the author tries to justify his choice by playing around his own representation as a fool – he ironically declares himself to be a fool before others may call him so. Moreover, Scott asserts that he "embrace[s]" poetry "for need, / To serve [his] wants, or to defend [his] right" (*The Resolution* 13-4), thus basically affirming that he is a professional liar who needs to write poetry to earn a living and be under the protective wing of the Northampton family. Indeed, this anxiety about writing poetry is a commonplace touched upon by many leading writers of the period and inserts Scott's *Four Paradoxes* within a long tradition of accusations against and defences of poetry during the English Renaissance; so much so that one of the four responses that Sir Philip Sidney gives to many objections to poetry in his *An Apology for Poetry* (1595) is addressed to those who believe poetry to be the mother of all lies. According to Sidney, poetry cannot lie simply because poets never declare that what they write is the truth. This conception is the very basis for Touchstone's famous sentence, "[t]he truest poetry is the most feigning" (3.3.15)[8] in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (1600), which Hillyer (2010, 93) compared to Sidney's assertion that "of all writers under the sun, the poet is the least liar: and though he would, as a poet can scarcely be a liar [because] he nothing affirmeth, and therefore never lieth" (see also Thaler 1947; Cheadle 1979).

It goes without saying that the most famous debate of the period

[8] All quotations from Shakespeare's canon are taken from Taylor *et al.*'s new Oxford edition (2016).

about poetry dates to Stephen Gosson's accusations – derived from Plato's *Republic* – that poetry (and art in general) "aroused sexual desire and presented models of lewd behavior for an audience already predisposed to bawdry" (Hilliard 1979, 235), as expressed in *The School of Abuse* (1579), and to Sir Philip Sidney's defence of this literary genre in *An Apology for Poetry* (1595). A Puritan preacher such as Scott could not write poetry to arouse sexual desire, and when he affirms that the arts corrupt young minds, he is certainly agreeing with Gosson's attacks against poetry and drama. Nevertheless, considering the pedagogical purpose of *Four Paradoxes*, echoes of the Horatian *miscere utile dulci* principle, revived by Sidney in his teach-and-delight doctrine and famously reported in the *Apology*, are undoubtedly present in Scott's "didactic verses" (Geraldine 1964, 58). Literally meaning "mixing the useful with the sweet" (i.e., combining business with pleasure), the teach-and-delight doctrine derives from Horace's *Ars poetica* (342-3) and is adopted by Sir Philip Sidney in his *Apology*, where he affirms that "[p]oesy . . . is an art of imitation, for so Aristotle terms it in his word *mimēsis*, that is to say, a representing, counterfeiting, or figuring forth; to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture, with this end – to teach and delight".[9] In line with what Sidney asserts, such concepts as imitation and teaching make Scott's poetry in *Four Paradoxes* the perfect means for the early modern imitation pedagogy which will be discussed later.

All these things considered, it is as if in the same work, on the one hand, the Puritan preacher Scott adheres to Gosson's theories, while on the other the poet Scott follows Sidney's principle that poetry must teach and delight. I would argue that Scott's 'soul dualism' reinforces the very paradoxical essence of his writing.

Gosson's and Sidney's are not the only works to be counted among Scott's influences. Geraldine, for instance, identifies stylistic and structural similarities with Gascoigne's *Steel Glass* (see Geraldine 1964, 58-9). Although the scholar does not provide examples of such similarities, I would argue that evident parallelisms can be drawn.

[9] Sidney's statement also confirms the commingling of Aristotelian and Horatian doctrines typical of the Renaissance (for further details, see Weinberg 1953, 100-4).

First of all, both poems are presented as mock-encomiastic verses. *Steel Glass* is a moralistic satire – the complete title is *The Steel Glass. A Satire compiled by George Gascoigne Esquire* – and thus an "encomium-turned-sermon" (Stroup and Jackson 1961, 53). Scott's *Four Paradoxes* follows Gascoigne's homiletic style and moralistic intent, especially when satirically praising subjects that he actually wants to criticise. Moreover, Gascoigne's oratorical style, conveyed through anaphoric repetitions and structural parallelisms, echoes in Scott's collection of poems, this feature giving cohesiveness to both *Steel Glass* and *Four Paradoxes*. Lastly, shared thematic nuclei can be identified in the two works, such as the authors' firm belief that good princes should defend their people, instead of satisfying their personal interests.

Geraldine identifies also influences from Ortensio Lando's *Paradossi: cioè sententie fuori dal comun parere* (1534). Lando's collection of paradoxes reached England through the French translation of Charles Estienne (1553), which was in turn translated into English by Anthony Munday as *The Defence of Contraries: Paradoxes against Common Opinion* (London: John Widet for Simon Waterson, 112 pp., 1593). This first (and possibly only extant) English translation anticipates the publication of a second volume containing, among other translations of Lando's texts, the titles of at least three of the four paradoxes we find in Scott's collection. In fact, in the second appendix to Munday's volume, entitled "A Table of such Paradoxes, as are handled in the Second Volume, which vpon the good acceptation of this first Booke, shall the sooner be published", one reads: "For Warre. That warre is more to be esteemed, than peace", "For Seruice. That it is better for a man to serue himselfe, than to be serued of any" and "For the Lawyer. That a Lawyer is a most profitable member in a Common-wealth". Unfortunately, Munday's second volume of translations from Lando/Estienne has not survived; hence we cannot know whether Scott benefited from the English version of the other paradoxes by Lando. Munday's first volume was reprinted in 1602 (London: Valentine Simmes for Simon Waterson, 34 pp.) – the same year when Scott's *Four Paradoxes* was printed for the first time – but the only extant copy, kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, "lacks

all after page 34" (Vickers 1968, 309). Vickers and other scholars (Hamilton 2005; Crowley 2018, 88) speculate that the missing pages might contain some translations of other paradoxes by Lando, thus anticipating the second volume, but we still have no evidence.

The content of these now-lost pages may have inspired Thomas Milles's monumental volume of miscellaneous ancient writings entitled *Treasury of Ancient and Modern Times* (1613), which contains seven paradoxes "from the list of fourteen given by Munday at the end of his 1593 version" (Vickers 1968, 309). This leads Vickers to conclude that "Milles may have had access to either Munday's manuscript, or a copy of the now-lost 1602 set" (ibid.). What remains unconvincing is the fact that it is not clear why Milles decided to translate only seven out of the fourteen paradoxes Munday had promised to translate in volume 2. Nevertheless, this may suggest that even Scott could have read the entire 1602 reprint of Munday's volume shortly before publishing *Four Paradoxes* the same year; although, of the seven paradoxes that Milles might have taken from Munday's 1602 reprint of *Paradoxes against Common Opinion*, only one can be considered referable to the topics dealt with by Scott, i.e., the paradox about war in book 8, ch. 38: "A Paradox purposely written in the defence of Warre, approuing and maintaining it to be much more famous, honorable, & meritorious of commendation, then Peace". In fact, Milles's work does not include either the paradox about law or the one about service which had been announced by Munday in 1593 and which are actually part of Scott's collection. Therefore, unless Scott had direct access to Lando's *Paradossi* or Estienne's translation – provided that he could read Italian and/or French – or managed to read Munday's now-lost pages – which, however, we do not know whether contained different translations from Lando/Estienne's paradoxes compared to the 1593 first edition of *The Defence of Contraries* – it is hardly likely that the author of *Four Paradoxes* was influenced by Lando, as Geraldine suggests.

Moreover, given the evident stylistic differences between the intertextual cluster formed by Lando, Estienne, Munday and Milles, on the one hand, and Scott's poems, on the other, one must rule out the possibility that Scott's work might be an attempt to accomplish

Munday's task of translating some of Lando's paradoxes in English. Although Estienne's, Munday's, and Milles's volumes cannot be called translations in a modern sense, the fact that they are in prose, the titles of the single paradoxes, the topics dealt with, not to mention their authors' declarations in the frontispieces or letters to the readers, clearly identify Lando's *Paradossi* as the main hypotext/source text for the above-mentioned adaptations/imitations. Conversely, Scott's collection does not present itself as an adaptation of Lando's or any pre-existing work, given the choice of poetry instead of prose, the title of its collection, the small number of paradoxes written (only four, compared with Lando's twenty-seven, Estienne's fourteen, Munday's twelve and Milles's seven), and the topics chosen – e.g., no paradox about art is present either in Lando's *Paradossi* or its adaptations, and the paradox about law is only announced by Munday in his lost second collection of translations, but is actually not present in Lando or Estienne.

However, what is important to notice is the evident circulation of paradoxical texts and discourses (i.e., models and genres as well as linguistic and conceptual formations) in early modern England that permeates the work of the most diverse writers of the period and that finds its common European roots "[i]n an epoch of dramatic transition from one cultural system to another, when the remains of a late medieval frame coexisted with new and uncontrollable drives towards the refashioning of the entire *episteme*" (Bigliazzi 2014, 7). Suffice it to mention such personalities as the eclectic poet and playwright Munday, the fervent anti-Catholic preacher Scott, the customs official Milles, not to mention the two astronomers and scientists Thomas and Dudley Digges. It is in such a cultural milieu that the "paradox as a mode of thinking and configuring experience came to mirror the volatilisation of received knowledge at the roots of an increasing epistemological instability" (ibid.).

2.2 The Digges' *Four Paradoxes* (1604)

Thomas Digges (1546-1595) was one of the most eminent of early modern English astronomers and mathematicians. His father Leonard (1515-1559) was the first to translate some parts

of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543) into English, and Thomas published them as an appendix – entitled *A Perfect Description of the Celestial Orbs* – to Leonard's perpetual almanac[10] *A Prognostication Everlasting* (1576). It was Leonard, together with the well-known scholar John Dee, who taught Thomas the fundamentals of mathematics and astronomy, while he gained expertise in warfare between 1586 and 1594 when appointed muster-master general[11] during the Eighty Years' War, or Dutch War of Independence (1566-1648), an event that is very much present in his two paradoxes (nn. 1 and 2).

Thomas also quotes his own *Stratioticos* (1579) more than once in *Four Paradoxes*. Exactly like *A Prognostication Everlasting*, the *Stratioticos* is a four-handed treatise: it was mainly written by Leonard Digges and then expanded and published by Thomas after his father's death (for further details, see Webb 1950; Geldof 2016). This work anticipates some of the contents of *Four Paradoxes*, as it deals with military issues, and although the perspective adopted by Thomas Digges in the *Stratioticos* is purely arithmetical and geometrical (Lawrence 2009, 323), it is the earliest English work to consider ballistics as such (Swetz 2013).

Dudley Digges (1583-1639) did not develop an aptitude for mathematics and warfare, unlike his grandfather Leonard and his father Thomas, as is immediately evident when reading the two paradoxes in the collection he wrote (3 and 4). He grew up a politician and a diplomat. James I knighted him in 1607 and in 1610 Dudley was elected MP. That same year, he was among the financiers of Henry Hudson's expedition to the North American coast and, as a consequence, the explorer gave Dudley's name to two islands in Hudson Bay: East Digges and West Digges. As collaborative writing seems to be something of a tradition in the Digges family, it is not surprising that *Four Paradoxes* (1604) is also

[10] "An annual calendar containing important dates and statistical information such as astronomical data and tide tables" (*OED*, n.1).

[11] "An officer in charge of the muster roll of part of an army or (less commonly) of a dockyard, penal colony, etc.; a person responsible for the accuracy of a muster roll" (*OED*, n.1a). Muster roll: "An official list of the soldiers in an army or some particular division of it, or of the sailors in a ship's company, convicts in a penal colony, etc." (*OED*, n.1b).

a four-handed treatise about war and warfare written by Thomas and Dudley and published by Dudley after his father's death. The complete title of this collection leaves no doubt as to its textual genre: *Foure paradoxes, or politique discourses. Two concerning militarie discipline, written long since by Thomas Digges Esquire. Two of the worthinesse of warre and warriors, by Dudly Digges, his sonne. All newly published to keepe those that will read them, as they did them that wrote them, from idlenesse*. It is indeed a collection of four paradoxes about the art of war. If one agrees with Rosalie Colie's claim that "the paradox is oblique criticism of absolute judgment or absolute convention" (1966, 10) – what Peter G. Platt calls "stable truths" (2009, 19) – it is clear that *Four Paradoxes* forms a thematically homogenous treatise aimed at justifying wars and soldiers' conduct, even against a long-standing (mainly Erasmian) tradition of works which condemned them. In this sense, the most eminent example is probably Erasmus's *The Complaint of Peace* (*Querela pacis*, 1517), where the Dutch philosopher and theologian condemns war because "it is unnatural since animals do not make [it]" (Tallett 1992, 238). Some of his arguments had already been anticipated in 1500 in the very first edition of his *Adagia*, where Erasmus had commented on the Latin proverb *dulce bellum inexpertis* (war is sweet for those who have not experienced it). Other well-known intellectuals who were against war (with the rare exception of the just war against the Turks, as will be seen later) were "Thomas More, Baldassare Castiglione and Juan Vives [and the] 'Christian Humanists'" (Marx 1992, 49).

The adherence of Scott's work to the genre of Renaissance paradoxes is also justified by the fact that it illustrates the bewilderment at the discovery of a classical tradition (which had re-emerged on the Continent) that celebrated great warriors and justified wars as a necessary means to obtain peace. Ancient warriors were braver and more honest than modern soldiers: this aspect, paradoxically, puts a strain on the secular notion of historical progress which "begin[s] to emerge in English thought" (Escobedo 2004, 207) in the seventeenth century.

As stated in the frontispiece, the first two paradoxes concern military discipline and were written by Thomas between 1587 and

1595,[12] while paradoxes 3 and 4, concerning "the worthiness of war and warriors", were Dudley's.

The first paradox is a fierce invective against corrupted soldiers and officers who take advantage of their privileged position to steal public money and rise in rank undeservedly. Nevertheless, not even the European states and rulers are spared in Thomas Digges's complaint, since, if soldiers were adequately paid, they would not try to gain extra money by committing fraud. In this sense, this paradox also owes much to the satirical genre. Although not much space can be dedicated to the relationship between satires and paradoxes in this book,[13] suffice it to say that they had much in common and almost tended to overlap after the Bishops' Ban on satire in 1599 when "the wits became innovative in terms of genre, looking beyond the parodic paradoxes and revels of speeches of the sixteenth century to the genres of news writings, essays, characters, problems and mock-encomiastic verse" (Crowley 2018, 112). This ban deeply affected well-known satirists as John Donne, John Marston and Thomas Middleton who had to adapt the satirical tone of their writings to new genres (for further details, see McCabe 1981; Jones 2010; Hile 2017). For example, according to Colley (1984) and Salomon (1991), Marston's satirical tones combine with paradoxical nuances in *The Malcontent* (1604).

Investing more money in wars and soldiers' salaries – Thomas Digges suggests – could guarantee the prosperity of a nation. The second part of the paradox introduces a dialogical comparison arranged in two columns – which Digges defines as a "conference" – aimed at presenting the stereotypical behaviour of good and bad

[12] In 1587, the French diplomat, soldier and poet Odet de la Noue published his *Discours politiques et militaires* (translated in English by Edward Aggas the same year), which Thomas Digges mentions more than once in his two paradoxes, thus implying that he wrote them after the publication of de la Noue's treatise. As he died in 1595, Thomas Digges must have written his two paradoxes in the late 1580s or early 1590s.

[13] Not to mention the intertextual and interdiscursive echoes between *Four Paradoxes* and the Shakespearean theatre. These relations will be investigated in a dedicated article I will write in Volume 1 of this series. For further details about Thomas and Dudley Digges's collection of paradoxes and Shakespeare's plays see Hadfield 2020.

muster-masters. This conference offers a list of both extremely positive and negative examples to be followed or avoided by would-be officers.

The second paradox establishes a connection between modern artillery and the ancient Greek and Roman militia, although no concrete examples from the past are provided, as if the author were reporting second-hand information. According to Thomas Digges, Spartan warriors and officers are particularly noteworthy and their attitude towards war and warfare is considered a utopian behaviour to be imitated by European armies in the modern era. Nonetheless, *tristia exempla* of cowardly and corrupted soldiers from the past are soon mentioned – yet not dealt with in detail as Dudley does in his paradoxes. Their reprehensible behaviour creates a link between paradoxes one and two.

The third paradox, by Dudley Digges, is aimed at dignifying the military profession by continual references to those Greek, Roman and contemporary European authors who wrote about both honourable and immoral soldiers of their times and how their lifestyles represented virtuous or deplorable examples to be followed or avoided. Negative examples from ancient and recent history, however, surpass positive ones, including an array of tyrants, incompetent generals and licentious officers whose reprehensible conduct led to the ruinous defeat of their armies.

Lastly, the fourth paradox, the shortest of this collection, introduces Dudley Digges's belief that sometimes wars are necessary to maintain peace. This concept is taken from the *multis utile bellum* principle found in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (1.182), as the subheading of the fourth paradox reads, although many other Renaissance intellectuals and writers had embraced it, thus probably influencing Digges's work; e.g., Machiavelli's *The Art of War*,[14] translated into English by Peter Whitehorne in 1573, although Dudley Digges quotes twice from *The Prince*.[15] Given the thorny position Dudley Digges assumes in this paradox, his turning to the principle of *auctoritas* with quotations from and references to classical sources

[14] See "Commentary", notes 251 and 275.

[15] See authorial notes 'd' and 'h' in the fourth paradox (4.76; 385). Quotations are from book 2 and 29 of *The Prince*, respectively.

in Latin – e.g., Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Diodorus Siculus, Ovid, and Horace, among others – and the Bible is fundamental here.

From the very beginning of *Four Paradoxes* the two authors' spheres of competence are clear. Thomas Digges deals with military discipline, sometimes even letting himself be dragged along by the impetus of his memories and experiences, brusquely denouncing sycophancy and corruption among military ranks. Nevertheless, the *exempla* he offers are rare and taken mainly from the history of Sparta and Rome.

Conversely, the focus of Dudley Digges's two paradoxes about "the worthiness of war and warriors" is purely political. By examining cases of corruption within ranks and governments, Dudley Digges tries to defend the military profession (third paradox), even justifying the benefits of war for the sake of peacekeeping (fourth paradox). Dudley's two paradoxes are imbued with Latin and French quotations and *exempla* from classical literature and sometimes his style seems to be a display of academic erudition, which jeopardises an understanding and easy reading of the content presented. After all, unlike his father Thomas, Dudley graduated from University College, Oxford, in 1601 at the age of eighteen, which likely explains his sound knowledge of the classics.

Four Paradoxes' pretentious Ciceronian style and the excessive – sometimes unnecessary – repetitions of some concepts and ideas make it a difficult read. As in many English Renaissance writings, "the didactic ideal of imitation and repetition is still fully present at the end of the [sixteenth] century" (Berensmeyer 2020, 99), and that explains why repetitions and duplications of the same concepts are particularly marked – and perhaps annoying to a modern reader – in Thomas Digges's two paradoxes, while Dudley's full-of-quotation style, with its numerous citations from Latin and French and his English translations of them, compromises textual fluency.

From a microlinguistic point of view, the Digges' work presents at least two interesting aspects to be taken into account: its possible contribution to the development of military English for Special/Specialised Purposes (ESP) – especially concerning Thomas's two initial paradoxes – and Dudley's translator's stance towards the classics and his French sources. It is well known that early modern

English represents a pivotal moment in the history of the language, when English began to acquire its own linguistic identity even in specialised fields of investigation (science, technology, art, etc.), thus gradually and timidly subverting the hegemony of Latin (see, among others, Carruthers 2018). As for military lexis, Thomas Digges's first two paradoxes represent an important example of how early modern English was broadening its semantic spheres of competence, thus expanding its specialised vocabulary concerning warfare, military ranks and tactics, etc. In addition, it is worth noting that the spelling *variatio* typical of this period is evident in this treatise in terms of military vocabulary, thus indicating that some jargon word forms had probably not yet been lexicalised. For example, a military rank such as 'colonel',[16] which occurs twenty times in the text, is spelled in at least five different ways: 'colonel', 'colonell', 'collonel', 'coronel' and 'coronell'.

Another important aspect of the early modern English period to be considered is the translative approach adopted by these authors, especially by Dudley. Many translations from Greek, Latin and continental languages appeared in this period, given "the expansion of education and literacy which resulted in an increase in the number of people who could read English (especially from the lower classes)" (Ciambella 2019, 53). Therefore, "translation took on a new role, as it began to be seen as a means for the development, and in many cases improvement, of languages which were now considered as ones which could in time carry their own weight and authority" (Plescia 2019). Dudley Digges's many translations of the Latin and French quotations which he inserts into paradoxes 3 and 4 seem to regard English as a language which is ready to convey specialised meanings. On the other hand, his translation attempts clearly adhere to what Lawrence Venuti called "free translation" (1995, 51) in early modern England, an approach which Helen Smith explains as follows: "early modern translators used the interpretative possibilities of the page to translate both words and matter in the same space, though not simultaneously, and to comment on and debate the relationship

[16] According to the *OED*, the first occurrence of this lexeme appeared in 1548, although the French spelling with 'r' (coronel) instead of 'l' (colonel) survived until at least the mid-seventeenth century.

between the two" (2018, 45).[17]

3. Intertextual and Interdiscursive Dimensions

3.1 Why the Same Title?

After dealing with each text separately and providing essential information about their genesis, along with their main characteristics and some biographical particulars about the three authors pertinent to shaping the two collections of paradoxes to be examined, it might be useful to deal with features that both collections share. As hinted at in chapter 1, aside from their titles, which in both cases is, curiously enough, *Four Paradoxes*, what intertextual and interdiscursive features can two texts written by a Puritan, anti-Catholic polemicist preacher, and two of the most famous early modern English scholars, respectively, share? It is worth noting here that it seems a mere coincidence that the two collections of paradoxes share the same title, since apparently there is neither any biographical connection between Thomas Scott and Thomas and Dudley Digges, nor any close relation between their works from a genre- or content-related standpoint. Although, as considered later, the Digges' title *Four Paradoxes* certainly echoes Odet de la Noue's *Quatre paradoxes* (a section of his *Discours politiques et militaires*), for biographical reasons, there is no evidence that Scott took inspiration from or engaged in any kind of debate with another booklet entitled *Four Paradoxes* – complete title *Foure paradoxes 1 A byshop and a minister is all one. 2 A byshoppe or deacon shoulde not bee called Grace, Lord, or exercise such authoritie. 3 A popish priest is no lawful minister of the gospel. 4 Canon chauncellours, & officials are no meete officers in the churche of God.* – a deeply Protestant and anti-bishop polemical text published anonymously in 1570. Aside from their rooted Protestantism, the anonymous *Four Paradoxes* and Scott's collection do not seem to have any other feature in common. The only reason these three collections of paradoxes (four, if we include de la Noue's French work) share the same title may

[17] For comprehensive investigations of early modern translation see also Morini 2006; Rhodes *et al.* 2013.

be explained by the well-known four paradoxes of motion by Zeno (1. Dichotomy, 2. Achilles, 3. Arrow and 4. Stadium), probably the earliest examples of paradoxes in the history of philosophy (Hallam 1959, 52), mentioned by Plato in his *Parmenides*, by Aristotle in his *Physics* and by Plutarch in his *De garrulitate*. The circulation of Zeno's paradoxes of motion in early modern England is still an understudied field of research, but some scholars have noted echoes of the philosopher's doctrine of paradoxes in John Dee's preface to Billingsley's 1569 translation of Euclid's *Elements* (Wilson-Lee 2013, with consequent possible indirect influences on Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and the Turtle* and *Troilus and Cressida*) and in Sidney's *New Arcadia* (1585; see Hallam 1959).

3.2 Why Paradoxes?

In his study of paradoxical encomia[18] and its swift dissemination from early sixteenth- to late eighteenth-century England, Miller affirms that "[t]he term 'paradox' was very broadly construed throughout the seventeenth century, when it was at the peak of its popularity as a form of argumentation. In its loosest sense it could be applied to almost any moral discourse that cut across popular opinion" (1956, 157). Among 'serious' paradoxes, Miller includes both Scott's and the Digges' *Four Paradoxes* as examples of texts that contradict popular opinion. What is debatable about Miller's perspective, however, is that it is unclear whether he includes Scott's poem in the category of paradoxes or, more specifically, of paradoxical encomia,[19] an understandable confusion if one considers the sometimes-ambiguous use of irony by the author himself, which can make it difficult to understand whether he is actually

[18] Miller defines the paradoxical encomium as "a species of rhetorical jest or display piece which involves the praise of unworthy, unexpected, or trifling objects" (1956, 145).

[19] According to Miller, "Not all the paradoxes approach so closely the *topoi* for the encomium – some are properly defenses, not encomia, and some are *vituperatione* – but all of them choose to argue 'against common opinion' for unworthy or unexpected subjects" (1956, 157). Moreover, the paradoxical encomium is a "form of mock eloquence, . . . a distinct genre . . . and independent literary form" (145).

praising a subject or mocking it. I would argue that the Digges' *Four Paradoxes* is definitely a 'serious' collection of paradoxical prose, a proper defence of the topics dealt with, which goes against common opinion, in favour of a good salary for soldiers who otherwise tend to fall easily into corruption and in favour of war as a privileged instrument to maintain peace. On the other hand, Scott's collection of paradoxes alternates courageous defences and biting vituperations of the main topics treated with fake praises of those main subjects, thus creating a kind of hybrid genre between paradox and mock encomium. His use of irony, be it considered mediocre (Geraldine 1964, 58) or one of the finest and yet neglected of his time (Brydges 1807, 376), creates intended dissonances which sometimes disorient Scott's readers and make them believe everything and its opposite. For instance, the paradox on law begins with a mock celebration of this 'divine' subject, but then Scott introduces his vituperation against law and who administer it, since rich people, who can corrupt lawyers with money, are never condemned by law.

3.3 Political and Economic Instability

Certainly, issues of 'seriousness' of the topics dealt with, as well as the tone adopted by each author, are not the only stylistic features shared by the two collections of paradoxes. In fact, when read carefully, both Scott's collection and the Digges' volume (especially paradoxes 3 and 4) share a sense of political instability and a fear of the great economic crisis that was about to emerge in the wake of Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603 and the 'leap into the void' represented by the end of the Tudor monarchy and the ascent of the Stuart dynasty, despite the fact that the queen's chief minister Robert Cecil had started a secret and coded correspondence with James VI of Scotland in 1601 to guarantee a smooth succession. In 1601, in fact, after one of the queen's favourites, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, rebelled against the crown, Elizabeth's physical and mental health began to worsen, this event urging the government to look for a possible heir. Several scholars have dealt with these topics and different perspectives have emerged on the tension between the smooth succession to the throne and James I's drastic

rupture with the glorious Tudor past. The publication of Scott's and the Digges' eight paradoxes occurred one year before and one after Queen Elizabeth's death and King James's coronation, respectively, thus framing two of the most representative examples of English internal political and economic conflict of those years. On the one hand, Scott's avoiding any mention of the almost seventy-year-old mournful queen and her rule creates a suspended status where politics seem to be distant from the paradoxical matter he deals with and only God and his divine intervention can redeem humanity from damnation. It is probably for this reason that *Four Paradoxes* was reprinted nine years after its first edition, in 1611, with no revisions or adjustments whatsoever. After all, the dedicatee of the first edition of *Four Paradoxes*, Lady Helena, was one of the Queen's closest friends and often replaced Her Majesty at official ceremonies when Elizabeth's health began to waver; hence, for Scott, mentioning the Queen could have been a double-edged sword. On the other hand, the Digges' *Four Paradoxes*, albeit published in 1604, contains two texts written at the end of the sixteenth century by Thomas, and two other texts written immediately after James's ascent to the English throne. As Thomas Digges's paradoxes belong to the political and military apex of Elizabeth's reign, when the Spanish Armada was defeated and England was affirming its hegemony on the European seas, it is no surprise that the author of paradoxes 1 and 2 celebrates the Queen and her impeccable management of warfare. Dudley's paradoxes, on the other hand, share Scott's sense of political instability and fear for economic crises. Thomas's son celebrates Queen Elizabeth using the typically early Jacobean theme of nostalgia towards the "happy memory" of "the successful felicity of the peaceable reign of our late queen" (4.113-5), albeit trying not to expose himself too much and offend King James[20] who, although no expert in matters of war, is celebrated as a very potent monarch "of learning"

[20] It needs to be reminded that Dudley was knighted by the king himself in 1607 at Whitehall, served as Member of Parliament from 1610 to 1629, and was gentleman of the privy chamber from 1618; therefore, in 1604 when *Four Paradoxes* was published, he was certainly trying to ingratiate himself with the king.

(3.633-4), as the first years of the Stuart reign were characterised by hopes and expectations about the new king. By the time of Elizabeth's death, however, the royal coffers had been dramatically drained, and James inherited a debt of £350,000, more than a half of which were owed to the Antwerp exchange (Outhwaite 1966; Lloyd 2000, 60). Hopes for a possible improvement in the terrible economic situation were soon betrayed by the Stuart king, under whose reign England's debt increased at a rate of £140,000 per year, reaching £1,400,000 in 1608, as a result of his personal excesses, his economic support of European Protestants, and many other reasons (see Ashton 1957; Goodare 2009). Dudley Digges's two paradoxes, written and published at the dawn of James's reign, embody the hopes that the Stuart king, "the flower of two stemmas of most renowned warlike ancestors", i.e., the Stuarts and the Tudors, could solve such a thorny economic situation by fighting and winning wars whose booties would eventually replenish the royal coffers. As history has taught us, Dudley's hopes were destined to be betrayed, given James's incompetent management of economic issues and his reluctance to fight wars, for which reason he will call himself, in *A Meditation upon the Lord's Prayer* (1619), *Rex Pacificus*.

3.4 Conflict and Corruption

Political instability and economic anxiety are reflected in the two main questions discussed by the eight texts presented and analysed here, conflict and corruption.

From a semantic perspective, it is useful to approach these texts as works revolving around the notion of conflict, be it understood either in its primary sense of "[a]n encounter with arms; a fight, battle" (*OED*, n.1a) or in its metaphorical and connotative meanings (e.g., "The clashing or variance of opposed principles, statements, arguments, etc."; *OED*, n.2c).[21] On the one hand, both collections

[21] For instance, when denouncing the damage that science and progress have caused, Scott metaphorically defines art as a battlefield "arming fools / With dangerous weapons and sharp-edged tools" (1.29-30) or "a sword with all our substance bought, / To kill a friend" (1.51-2). Law, in addition, forces man to "fear thy force less than deserved blame" (2.86). Lastly, in the fourth

share the idea of conflict understood as war: Scott's third paradox is entitled *Of War* – not to mention some war metaphors he inserts into the other poems of the collection (see note 21) – while the Digges devote their entire book to this topic. As will be seen later in greater detail, both Scott and the Digges agree with the principle of *multis utile bellum* (war is useful to many people) employed by Lucan in his *Pharsalia* when addressing Julius Caesar (1.182). This principle permeates the two collections and underscores Scott's and the Digges' representation of a late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth century English society undermined by internal and external conflicts, and where – as Thomas Hobbes theorised around the mid-seventeenth century and other intellectuals, such as Erasmus and Machiavelli, had before him – each man is wolf to other men (*homo homini lupus*) in a continuous war of all against all (*bellum omnium contra omnes*). Nonetheless, war and conflict are not only understood as synonyms in the two collections of paradoxes, but also in a hyponym/hypernym semantic relation. The conflict between internal, civil wars and external, foreign wars is an example of this relation. In this case, internal and external wars are hyponyms of the umbrella notion of conflict. For Scott, civil wars must be feared more by princes and monarchs, since they undermine a country at its very core. A nation engaged in an internal war is too weak to fight foreign wars and is destined to succumb to other, stronger states. Scott's preoccupation seems to find a solution in Dudley Digges's assertion that all countries should be engaged in external wars, so that their inhabitants are too focused on the foreign threat to stop and think about internal matters that may generate dissention and, ultimately, civil wars. In fact, what for Scott is an irreconcilable conflict becomes a paradoxical, nationalistic dialogue where external wars are considered the cure to prevent internal mutinies; in foreign wars, says Dudley, every single nation is cohesive to fight against a common enemy, whereas civil wars undermine this internal cohesiveness.

Closely connected to the antithesis between civil and foreign wars, the conflict between Christian kingdoms and the Ottoman

paradox, entering the service of a nobleman is admirable because the "lord protects him [his servant] with his bows" (4.23).

Empire is another shared theme that comes to the fore while reading and analysing *Four Paradoxes* and that inserts both Four Paradoxes into the framework of books focused on the so-called just war tradition. Scott's invocation, addressed to "deep master politicians" in order to make them "[c]onvert [their] stratagems against the Turk" (3.98), parallels Thomas Digges's belief that "[t]he people hav[e] reason to revolt to the government of . . . Turks rather than to endure the outrages committed on them" (1.179-81) and Dudley's hope that "it might please God to reward our industry by making our conquering swords the instruments to plant religion amongst Turks" (3.251-3). Targeting the Turks as the common enemy to be defeated mirrors desire of the European intellectuals of the Renaissance for a new Holy League – as happened at Lepanto in 1571 – in the name of the just war tradition. Exactly as external wars can prevent the rise of internal turmoil, warfare against Turks and infidels can help the European states overcome issues concerning their mutual relationships and focus on the true enemy in the name of God. According to Pugliatti, "[i]t was during the last two decades of the [sixteenth] century that war manuals, either original or in translation, invaded the printing market" (2010, 91). After Peter Whitehorne's 1560 translation of Machiavelli's *Dell'arte della Guerra* (1521) as *The Art of War*, war manuals spread fast in England, reaching their first apex in 1588, the year of the Armada, when the third edition of Whitehorne's translation was published.[22] Anti-war treatises and manuals were almost forgotten in the last part of the century, thanks to Elizabeth's exploitation of "the chivalric tradition for her political purposes" (Pugliatti 2010, 92). From Whitehorne's translation to 1600, Cockle (1900) lists almost forty books about war among those published during the last thirty years of the sixteenth century. While some treatises deal with technical aspects of war and warfare – i.a., even Leonard and Thomas Digges's *Stratioticos* (1579), as will be seen later – others focus on the just war theory, e.g., Barnaby Rich's *Alarm to England* (1578) or Matthew Sutcliffe's *The Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Arms* (1593), to mention only two of many. Within this panorama, Scott's and the Digges' *Four*

[22] For further information about Machiavelli's *Art of War* and its circulation in early modern England and Europe see Guidi 2020.

Paradoxes occupy a prominent and unique position, since they are the only two collections of texts dealing with the just war tradition belonging to the genre of paradoxes. This means that not only do these works invoke a 'just' war against the Ottoman empire, as do other manuals and treatises, but they also go against common opinion by demolishing counter arguments about, for instance, the benefits of peace or the belief that the early modern militia was better that Greek and Roman ones, the latter topic being a widespread "paradox of nostalgia", as Harlan calls it (2016), shared by such writers as Marlowe, Sidney and Shakespeare.

On another level, a semantically broader notion of conflict, not necessarily connected with war, pervades both Scott's and the Digges' *Four Paradoxes*. For instance, the seven liberal arts, which Scott considers the emblems of the seven sins and falsehood,[23] conflict with faith, hope, Holy Writ (1.38) and truth (1.74), while good and bad officers are contrasted in Thomas Digges's first paradox, in a section entitled "A conference of a good and bad muster-master, with his inferior commissaries of musters, by the fruits to discern the tree". In "A conference", the characteristics of the virtuous and vicious officer are located in a two-column table counterposing praiseworthy and deplorable behaviours, respectively.

Among other categories of conflicts, the most important is certainly that between virtues and vices, a *topos* which derives from Medieval culture and that the Renaissance embraced and further developed. Both Scott's and the Digges' texts can be read as paradoxes based on the axiological contrast between vices and virtues, and in doing so the three authors recur to a genre that goes against common opinion in order to impress their readers and shake minds, with a view to the imitation pedagogy that will be discussed in the next paragraph. In fact, considering the texts' collocational patterning, most of the occurrences of the lemma VICE – or, vice versa, VIRTUE – are co-occurrences in quite narrow textual neighbourhoods, as examined in greater detail in the next

[23] "[L]ike seven deadly sins these arts agree. / Against the truth, till knowledge of more skill, / Transport us quite beyond all honesty, / Abusing wit, and overthrowing will, / Contemning council, and deriding faith, / Still contradicting what the Gospel saith" (1.85-90).

chapter. This highlights, from a lexical perspective, that almost each time Scott or the Digges mention one of the two lemmas, the other occurs. Textual evidence can be (my emphases): "Let men, like men, love *virtue* and embrace her, / Let men, like men, hate *vice*, the soul's defacer" (Scott 2.95-6); "For thou doest *vice* correct, and *virtue* nourish" (Scott 3.6), "the advancing of *vice*, and defacing of *virtue*" (T. Digges 2.61), "let your settled judgments discern a difference twixt *virtue* and those mentioned *vices*" (D. Digges 3.429-30), "living *virtuous* conquerors of such *vicious* affections" (D. Digges 3.436-7).

The above are only a few examples of how the idea of conflict permeates the texts analysed here. The other theme shared by the two collections of paradoxes is that of corruption. Given that by definition they oppose common opinion, the paradoxes presented here seek a plausible justification for the apparent absurdity of the statements and assertions they make: one explanation is that the subjects dealt with are praised or condemned depending on whether and to what extent they contribute to causing or extirpating corruption. Therefore, if on the one hand Scott accuses the seven liberal arts of "corrupt[ing] / The purity of youth" (1.44-5), presenting a sort of *lamentatio* on the risk of teaching children the seven dangerous arts he rails against in his first poem,[24] on the other hand, he praises war because "all corruption do[es] subvert" (3.9). The corruption dealt with in Thomas and Dudley Digges's *Four Paradoxes* concerns specifically soldiers and officers, but it is as dangerous and to be extirpated as the corruption of children dealt with by Scott, because the whole early modern period is an "age of corruption, . . . for the greater part infected or depraved" (1.438-9), as stated by Thomas Digges in the first paradox. As seen later in this introduction, the pedagogical and didactic objectives of these texts aim to eradicate corruption from the minds of children and young soldiers/officers. In his last paradox, *Of Service*, Thomas Scott suggests a hypothetical, unnamed "fond youth" to avoid all the risks deriving from entering the service of noblemen, since he

[24] Nevertheless, in Scott's *Four Paradoxes*, corruption also infects lawyers, who use the law only to punish the weakest, whilst the strongest and richest are spared, as well as the slaves, who betray their masters for money (see paradoxes 2 and 4).

knows that not all that glitters is gold and that although serving a member of the aristocracy guarantees protection and living, it also means harsh competition, conflicts and corruption. Unlike Scott, Dudley Digges addresses young soldiers or would-be soldiers in order to instruct them about good behaviour to pursue and imitate. His paradoxes unfold through continuous quotations from classical sources and religious texts because young military professionals must imitate excellent examples from the past, as well as avoid those *tristia exempla* that the author carefully highlights and criticises.

3.5 Some Pedagogical Issues

According to Malloch, "readers of paradoxes [are] actor[s] [who] draw truth from error", engaged in a learning process that "took shape and grew as a pedagogical technique" (Malloch 1956, 196). Dialogue and dynamism are the two main advantages that paradoxes offer as a pedagogic model, says Malloch. On the one hand, dialogue in paradoxes shows formal and structural affinities with "the scholastic *quaestio disputata*" (ibid.), through which during the Middle Ages teachers engaged students in discussions and invite them to take a stand, providing reasons. On the other hand, besides stimulating discussion, the pedagogy of paradoxes "allows us examine in detail the dynamism of drawing truth from error, that dynamism which justifies the apparent perversity of the paradox" (ibid.). Young learners are thus engaged in a dynamic dialogue of truth revelation which stimulates their minds. That is why, in the case of the two collections examined here, Scott addresses his paradoxes to a hypothetical and generic 'fond youth' to dissuade him from entering the service of noble families and the Digges advise good young soldiers against corruption. This latter topic is one of the common denominators of the two collections explored here.

Just as today's students are required and even challenged to be agents of their own learning process, English Renaissance youths and young soldiers are engaged in a pedagogical dialogue with the authors of *Four Paradoxes*, this "pedagogic application of the paradox" (Vickers 1968, 306) being one of the main reasons why such

texts are still worth reading today and were worth being published in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. If one agrees with Enterline's assertion that "imitation was the backbone of Tudor pedagogy" (2016), exactly as translation and imitation of the classics had been the very core of any art form in European Humanism and the Renaissance, we can easily understand why both collections of paradoxes are imbued with examples – often from Greek and Roman history – of virtuous behaviours to be imitated, as well as negative examples to be avoided. Humanist and Renaissance English pedagogy was essentially an "imitation pedagogy" (Grafton and Jardine 1986, 122; Erdmann 1993) whereby educators aimed to provide their pupils with an "important ethical and moral training" (Erdmann 1993, 1). Nevertheless, the above considerations are not sufficient to justify Scott's and the Digges' writing of 'didactic' paradoxes rather than any other genre, e.g., pedagogical manuals, treatises or even sermons in Scott's case, which were astonishingly widespread in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England (see, i.a., Hobbs 2002; Wallace 2011; Gallagher 2019). I would argue that paradoxes as a genre are perfect pedagogical tools, since they "force the reader to uncover the truth" (Malloch 1956, 192) "by the shock-tactics of inverting [a (usually) moral position]" (Vickers 1968, 307). In other words, paradoxes, at least the two collections considered here, are didactic texts that challenge their young, intended readers' knowledge and beliefs by offering opposite examples, i.e., virtuous and immoral behaviours, "without necessarily resolving them" (Platt 2009, 8), while guiding their readers to a revealed truth. Unlike other kinds of pedagogical kinds that introduce pupils to "the practice of copying . . . precedent example[s]" (Enterline 2016), both Scott's and the Digges' *Four Paradoxes* offer positive and negative examples to be imitated but also to be avoided, rhetorically organising their texts so that arguments belonging to common opinion are attacked and demolished. Scott's and the Digges' rhetorical strategies are similar: they begin with a title or short introductory paragraph that clearly states the author's point of view, then go on demolishing arguments in favour of common opinion – which is the very essence of paradoxes. Alongside this instructive path, the authors guide 'fond youths' through virtuous behaviours from the glorious Greek

and Roman past – while not neglecting medieval and contemporary history – and *tristia exempla* to be criticised.

4. Conclusion

Four Paradoxes by Thomas Scott (1602), and Thomas and Dudley Digges (1604) are two collections of paradoxes published in a very peculiar and thorny period of the early modern English history, mainly for political and cultural reasons which have been examined in this introduction. The sense of political instability deriving from the lack of an heir as the queen's death was approaching, together with a feeling of economic anxiety increased during Elizabeth's 'second reign', are reflected in both Scott's and the Digges' paradoxes. Economic corruption has been acknowledged as a common trait between the two collections of texts. In his paradox about law, Scott rails against corrupted lawyers who only care about rich clients and condemn innocent poor people; likewise, untrustworthy servants corrupt their masters with flattery and hence are paid undeservedly. Thomas Digges, on the contrary, paradoxically advises European governments to pay soldiers and officers properly, otherwise corruption arises among ranks to earn more money.

The two collections are positioned within a well-established debate about war and warfare, both texts revolving around arguments such as the Just War theory, which invited the Renaissance Christian states to stop fighting against each other and wage war against the Turks, and the *multis utile bellum* principle, which assumes that war is sometimes more useful than peace because it helps nations uniting, thus overcoming issues of internal politics.

From a cultural and ideological point of view, these eight texts are paradoxes in the very sense Thomas Peacham defined the genre in the second edition of his *Garden of Eloquence* (1593), i.e., "a form of speech by which the orator affirmeth something to be . . . so strange, so great, or so wonderful, that it may appear to be incredible",[25] thus

[25] The modernised text of Peacham's work is available online at http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Primary%20Texts/Peacham.htm (Accessed 11 February 2022).

"challeng[ing] . . . conventional thought" (Platt 2009, 19). "In an epoch of dramatic transition from one cultural system to another" (Bigliazzi 2014, 7), from one dynasty to another, *Four Paradoxes* shake their readers' mind and pedagogically guide them to "'new' knowledge" (Moore 1988, 15). For example, it is strange for readers that Scott writes in poetry, but at the same time accuses poetry itself, along with other six liberal arts, of corrupting people's mind and teaching them to lie. Also, it is strange for readers that Thomas Digges suggests that governments should pay their armies more to prevent corruption.

Aside from their titles, the two collections of paradoxes share also intertextual and interdiscursive features connected with their common political and cultural background, as well as genre-related questions. Last, but not least, I have underlined their pedagogical aim: the 'new' knowledge they bring, intrinsic to their being paradoxes, is targeted to instruct 'new' generations. Scott's advice is addressed to a hypothetical 'fond youth', perhaps left deliberately unnamed so that s/he may metonymically represent all youth. Similarly, the Digges warn young soldiers and officers against the risks deriving from corruption, laziness, and ultimately peace.

In conclusion, all the reasons described above explain why it is worth considering both collections of paradoxes together, despite their evident stylistic and authorial differences. By locating Scott's and the Digges' *Four Paradoxes* in a wider Renaissance context, a context characterised by concerns about political and economic issues, as well as cultural turmoil, readers may better understand and appreciate similarities and differences between two texts which are deeply rooted in the early modern English culture of change.

A Note on the Texts

Scott's *Four Paradoxes* survives in two octavo editions published in 1602 and 1611 respectively. As already recalled in the introduction, the 1611 edition seems to be a simple reprint of the previous edition with some accidental (i.e., not substantial) variants concerning spelling, which however do not affect the metre. Moreover, the 1602 octavo is dedicated "To the most honourable, and more virtuous lady, the Lady Helena, Marquess of Northampton", while the 1611 one contains an epistle addressed "To the honourable Sir Thomas Gorges, Knight", Lady Helena's late second husband. While the first edition does not specify either the name of the printer, or where the book is sold – but only the name of the seller, Thomas Bushell – the 1611 reprint reads "[p]rinted by T[homas] S[nodham] for Richard Redmer to be sold at his shop at the star at the west of St Paul's Church".

Another interesting feature in the two frontispieces of the two editions is that in 1602 Scott is indicated by the initials "T. S.", while the 1611 one adds "Gent." after the initials. To my knowledge, no one has ever highlighted this addition to the frontispiece of the second edition of *Four Paradoxes*. Also in other frontispieces of his writings, Scott is designated by the title "Gent." (see, among others, the frontispiece of *Philomythie or Philomythologie*, available at https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A68703.0001.001/1:1?rgn=div1;view=fulltext, accessed 11 February 2022). This might be due to the fact that by 1611 King James had probably named Scott 'gentleman', or possibly because he had obtained a Bachelor of Divinity at St Andrews and had become one of the chaplains of His Majesty. Nevertheless, Scott's name is listed among the matriculated students of the faculty of theology at St Andrews in autumn 1618, while the publication of two sermons "preached before the kings majestie" (qtd in Kelsey 2004) in 1616 may suggest that he had been named royal chaplain – and possibly gentleman – much earlier. However, there is no evidence proving that Scott might have been a gentleman of the Royal Chapel.

A half-line from Lucan's *Pharsalia* (4.487) is positioned

in the middle of the frontispiece (both editions); reading "[c] upias quodcumque necesse est" (make your desire comply with necessity), it is taken from the speech delivered by the centurion Gaius Volteius Capito who invited his soldiers to take their own lives instead of being captured by their enemies during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

Both editions of *Four Paradoxes* comprise 47 unnumbered pages signed A2*r*-C8*r*, containing:

- Frontispiece (A2*r*);
- Blank page (A2*v*);
- Dedicatory letters addressed to Lady Helena (1602) or Thomas Gorges (1611) (A3*r*);
- Blank page (A3*v*);
- A three-six-line stanza poem "To the reader" (A4*r*-A4*v*);
- First paradox (*Of Art*: A4*r*-A8*r*);
- Blank page (A8*v*);
- Second paradox (*Of Law*: B1*r*-B5*r*);
- Blank page (B5*v*);
- Third paradox (*Of War*: B6*r*-C2*r*);
- Blank page (C2*v*);
- Fourth paradox (*Of Service*: C3*r*-C7*r*);
- A three-sixain poem "The resolution" (C7*v*-C8*r*).

The witness comprises three quires indicated by capital Roman letters from A to C and numbers 2, 3 and 4. Only the first, third, fifth and seventh page of each quire – i.e., first, second, third and fourth rectos – are signed, except A and A2, the frontispiece, and dedicatory letter (A3, A4, B, B2, B3, B4, C, C2, C3, C4). No page numbers are indicated.

The text is written in Roman letters with some italics – used for quotations, some proper names, dedicatory letters and the "To the reader" dedicatory poem – and floriated woodcut initials, while each page of poetry is decorated by three typographical ornaments (top, middle and bottom part) which separate the two stanzas included on each page. No lacunae are present. The digital editions consulted when writing this volume are based on copies of the original editions preserved at the British Library, London. Their bibliographical reference is STC (2nd ed.) 22107.

Thomas and Dudley Digges's *Four Paradoxes* survives in a single quarto edition published by the printer Humphrey Lownes for the bookseller Clement Knight in 1604, as the frontispiece reads. It comprises four initial unnumbered pages (the frontispiece, a blank page, a dedicatory letter to Theophilus Howard 2nd Earl of Suffolk, and a letter to the reader) and 111 numbered pages. Page numbers are located in the external header area of each page and follow the standard ascending order with even page numbers on the left and odd pages on the right. Due to a typographical error, the correct sequence of pages 89, 90, 91, 92 is replaced by 89, 91, 92, 92. The text is written in Roman letters with some italics – used for the dedicatory letter, prefaces to single paradoxes, proper names, adjectives of nationality, quotations from foreign languages – and floriated woodcut initials, while the different sections of the book are signalled by typographical ornaments. No lacunae are present.

The witness comprises thirteen quires indicated by capital Roman letters from A to O – J and L excluded – and numbers 2 and 3. Only the first, third and fifth page of each quire – i.e., first, second and third rectos – are signed (for example, A, A2, A3, B, B2, B3, etc.). Signature D3 on page 29 is not present because a typographical error occurred and it is indicated as A3.

The lower part of the frontispiece is decorated with the printer's emblem "Et usque ad nubes veritas tua" ("Your truth unto the clouds", Psalm 56:11), a version of which can also be found in Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (1571, 72, facsimile available at https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/facsimile.php?emb=FMOa072, accessed 11 February 2022). The Latin sentence is inserted in an oval frame which surrounds the upside-down picture of an eagle in the clouds holding a book that radiates light beams (emblem of God and his Holy Scriptures). Even the picture is similar to de Montenay's, but in the frontispiece of *Four Paradoxes* the letters 'P' and 'S' – standing for Peter Short[26]

[26] Peter Short was a famous English printer. When he died, his widow married Humphrey Lownes who for this reason inherited his marks. It is worth noting that in 1594 Short had published the anonymous *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, Called The Taming of a Shrew* with the same emblem on the fron-

– are set in the upper part of the frame (actually the bottom part, since the emblem is upside down).

The digital edition consulted when writing this volume is based on a copy of the original edition preserved at the British Library, London. Its bibliographical references are STC (2nd ed.)/6872 and ESTC, S109705.

The first two paradoxes by Thomas Digges have neither printed nor handwrittem marginal notes. Paradoxes 3 and 4 by Dudley Digges present a substantial amount of marginalia aimed at acknowledging the various sources from which the author quotes. Digges's translations from Latin and French are given within the main text. Marginal notes are indicated by letters of the Latin alphabet (after each note "z", a note "a" begins the following sequence), although sometimes some letters of the sequence are repeated twice, omitted or replaced by asterisks. Only in two cases (one note "g" and one note "x") is no source acknowledged, although the superscripts are present in the main text.

tispiece (facsimile available at https://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/file/69594-title-page, accessed 11 February 2022).

Four

PARADOXES

Of Art,
Of Law,
Of War,
Of Service.

By T. S.

Cupias quodcumque necesse est.[1]

At London
Printed for Thomas Bushell.
1602.

Preface to the First Paradox

The first paradox (*Of Art* or *Artes irritamenta malorum*) is an invective against the seven liberal arts – i.e., grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, poetry and music, the seven arts of the Medieval Trivium and Quadrivium (except poetry, which should have been astronomy). These arts are accused of corrupting the minds of young people. They are depicted as the seven Hydrean heads (14), but also as the seven "deadly sins" (85) which go against the Sacred Scriptures, since art's "deepest skill" (1) is to "beget dissentions, and ambiguous strife" (2).

Criticising poetry is probably one of the most evident paradoxical contradictions of this poem: Scott accuses poetry (as one of the seven arts he lists) of teaching people how to lie (83), and the means through which he makes his accusations is poetry itself. Therefore, the author is essentially admitting that everything he has written and will write in this collection of paradoxes is a lie, and he corroborates this paradoxical assertion by admitting he is a fool, in the final Resolution, and that he has embraced art, as well as law, war and service "for need" (*The Resolution*, 13).

Artes irritamenta malorum.[2]

Farewell uncertain art, whose deepest skill
Begets dissentions, and ambiguous strife,
When (like a windy bladder) thou doest fill
The brain with groundless hopes, and shades of life.
When thou doest set the word, against the word,
And woundst our judgement with opinion's sword.[3]

When thou maintain'st all errors, under show
Of plucking error up: and doest enable
The subtle soul to prove all untrue,
And lies the truth;[4] even God himself a fable.
Even God, whom every poor blind soul can see,
Thou provest with seeming reason not to be.

Full well thou show'st thy author, from what spring,
Thy seven Hydrean heads[5] proceeded first,
When our first father, Paradise's king,[6]
For thee was then depos'd, and then accurst,
Accurst thou author of all sin, all evil,
Knowledge, thou fruit of lust, child of the devil.

Thou now instruct'st my mild and gentle Muse,
To rail against thine own iniquity,
And against the manifold unjust abuse,
Wherewith thou armest foul impiety
To Epicurean folly, actions evil,
Proving thyself as subtle as the devil.[7]

Thou lend'st the guileful orator his skill
To plead against innocence, and to defend
The guilty cause; thou turn'st the upright will,
To favour falsehood, and doest backward bend,
The most resolved judgement; arming fools
With dangerous weapons and sharp-edged tools.

Thou keep'st the thoughts of man in endless doubt,
Under a show of teaching mysteries,
And lead'st the gazing scholar round about,
By Paradise of fools,[8] t'all miseries,
Thou teachest circles in a blotted scroll
The whil'st we lose both body, wit, and soul.

Thou maintain'st atheism and heresy,
Against our faith, our hope, and Holy Writ:
Impugning the most certain verity,
With shameless boldness and contentious wit.
Religion is a scarecrow in thy eye,
Not band of zeal, but wordily policy.[9]

Thou doest entice th'inconstant wavering mind,
To lewd forbidden practices; corrupting
The purity of youth whom thou doest find,
Most tractable to good, still interrupting
Virtue in all her course, with foul abuse,
Which take away, and take away thy use.

Thou art like gold,[10] gotten with care and thought,
Then brought to bribe the judge against the truth,
Or like a sword with all our substance bought,
To kill a friend: O thing of woe and ruth!
Who with this gold th'oppressed doth defend?
Or who doth use this sword to save his friends?

Th'art like the fire with which for glory sake,
The villain burnt the temple of Diana,[11]
Or like the tawny weed which gallants take,
In pride, and fetched as far as rich Guiana.[12]
Thy end is infamy, thy fruit is smoke,
With which the greedy taker thou doest choke.

Th'art a chameleon, changing to the hue,

That's interpos'd, as object to thy eye;
For truth to say, in true men, thou art true,
In evil men, full of damned subtilty.
The bee sucks honey from thee: but the toad,
With doubled force his poisoned bulk doth load.[13]

For when a careless villain sold to sin,
And dedicated wholly to the devil,
The power, and knowledge of thy power doth win,
He therewith seeks t'approve and stablish evil.
Persuading both himself, and others too,
that what he doth, all wisemen ought to do.

From hence my resolution grows, that I
Neglecting art will view the naked truth;
Whence my clear soul with an impartial eye
May best discern the errors of my youth.[14]
Truth can defend itself; we show most wit
And learning, in defending things unfit.

Grammar instructs us to misconstrue things,
Logic to wrangle, rhetoric to flatter;
Arithmetic to tell our gold, not sins,
Geometry, to measure every matter
Except our lives: Then poetry to lie,
And music teacheth us all villainy.[15]

Thus like seven deadly sins[16] these arts agree.
Against the truth, till knowledge of more skill,
Transport us quite beyond all honesty,
Abusing wit, and overthrowing will,
Contemning counsel, and deriding faith,
Still contradicting what the Gospel saith.

O art! Not much unlike the fowler's glass,
Wherein the silly fowl delights to look
For novelties; until the net doth pass

Above her head and she unaware be took[17]
Thou common courtesan, thou bawd to sin
Painted without, but leprous within.

Th'art a companion for all company,
A garment made for every man to wear;
A golden coffer, wherein dirt doth lie,
A hackney horse, all sorts of men to bear.
What art thou not? Faith thou art not at all,
For he that knows thee best, knows not at all.

Then farewell nothing, something-seeming art,
I do disclaim thy knowledge, and thy use;
Nor shalt thou in these lines have any part,
Nor ever soil my mind's true native Muse.
Farewell Luciferian art I will go find
Some better thing to please my troubled mind.

Finis.

Ars omnis a naturali simplicitate recedit, ita dolo affinis est. Cic.[18]

Preface to the Second Paradox

The second paradox (*Of Law* or *Iuris iniuria*) can be divided into two sections: the first (stanzas 1-6) celebrates virtuous law, a righteous instrument whose "powerful and imperious hands" (6) should eliminate any difference of class and wealth. Law is aimed at maintaining peace by setting only "one […] creditor and debtor" (27), thus exalting virtue and eliminating vices.

The second section (stanzas 7-18) deals with the many conflictual issues related to the application of divine, holy law (7) and the corruption and incompetence of law officers. People who administer justice are often corrupted and "stop her [the law's] ear" (41). Such bad officers do not care about poor, weak and honest people, inasmuch as these officers are corrupted by power and money and often bend the law to favour powerful and wealthy individuals.

In the final part of the second section, Scott wonders whether it is better not to have laws and trust instead the "free unforced spirit" of man (91) which should be "afraid [not] / Of punishment . . . [but] of reproach and shame" (87-8). This is a very modern concept which somehow anticipates the eighteenth-century debate surrounding laws and their legitimacy/usefulness.

Iuris iniuria.[19]

What thing is that so huge? So richly clad?
So borne on great men's shoulders? Kneeled unto?
So grave in countenance? So sober sad?
To which so many potentates do bow?
And with submission yield themselves and lands,
Into her powerful and imperious hands?[20]

She's holy, for divinity attends her,[21]
She hath her chaplains, and she goes to Church:
She's well beloved, for every man defends her,
She's rich, for see how fast she gold doth lurch.[22]
She's great, for she keeps house in Rufus' Hall,[23]
And makes all men down at her feet to fall.

See, see, what troops of people hourly post,
To pay her tribute, all the streets are full
Of her base bondmen, who with care and cost,
Enrich her servants and themselves do gull.
Sure I will be her follower out of doubt,
I may find clients amongst such a rout.

I love her, for she helps to end debate,
Deciding quarrels, and expounding doubts:
She's not too proud, for oft she leaves her state,
To question and confer with country louts.
She is impartial, for she takes of all,
And plagues a public sin in general.

All this is good, I like her yet: yet better,
For she revengeth blood, maintaineth peace,[24]
She sets at one the creditor and debtor,
Making apparent injuries surcease.
She doth all right, she recompenceth wrong,
She helps the weak, she weakeneth the strong.

Besides, how many grave and civil grooms
Doth she maintain, in wealth, in peace, in ease,
Giving them several liveries, several rooms,
And all that may their daintiest senses please.
Some run about, some speak, and others judge,
Some write, some read, and every one doth drudge.

But see, all's marred,[25] a poor man doth complain
Of open wrong, done by a treacherous slave:
The poor man's cause she gladly would maintain,
But see the villain shall the sentence have.
Her officers, new-brib'd, do stop her ear,
And will not suffer her the cause to hear.

So fits she like the virtuous emperor,
Old Galba, whom all men approved just,
But that about him, unjust officers
Abused his greatness, to their private lust.
Their wickedness was counted his: his good
Was counted theirs, so valueless he stood.[26]

Such doth she seem, good in herself, and kind,
But that bad officers[27] abuse their trust,
And to and from her mighty power do wind,
For greedy lucre, and gold-getting lust.
The honest man oft begs, or worser, starves,
But he gains most, that most from virtue swerves.

Better it were, far, for the Commonwealth,
Herself were wicked, and her servants true,
Then for her officers to live by stealth,
Under the colour, to give all their due.
So have I seen the lion[28] part his prey
And from the weaker beast bear all away.

So have I seen a pair of catchpole[29] thieves,

Lead a poor wretch to Lud's unlucky gate,[30]
Like greedy bandogs[31] hanging at his sleeves,
Without remorse, or feeling of his state:
So have I seen a villain hangman be,
To many other honester than he.

This warranted great Alexander's theft,[32]
When he did all men wrong, through force, not right,
But this the weaker pirate helpless left,
Because he rob'd but few for want of might.
O fie for shame, when that which should rule all,
Is grown the lord of misrule in the hall.

O Law! Thou cobweb,[33] wherein little flies
Are daily caught, whilst greater break away:
Thou dear experience, which so many buys,
With loss of time, wealth, friends, and long delay.
Thou endless labyrinth of care and sorrow,
Near hand today, and far remov'd tomorrow.

Thou sweet revenge of craven-hatred hinds,
Who never relish lov'd society,
Nor harbour kindness in their currish minds,
But barbarous beastly incivility.
Thou nurse of discord, instrument of hatred,
Whose power with vice hath all the earth or'e-scattered.

Why should we not be good, without thy aid?
And fear thy force less than deserved blame?
Shall man forbear to sin, being afraid
Of punishment? Not of reproach and shame?
So children learn their lessons, kept from meat,
So asses mend their paces, being beat.[34]

But man should bear a free unforced spirit,
Uncapable of servile fear and awe,
The guilty soul doth punishment demerit,

Because he is not to himself a law.
Let men, like men, love virtue and embrace her,
Let men, like men, hate vice, the soul's defacer.

In old time, justice was portrayed blind,
To signify her strait impartial doom.
And in her hand she held a scale, to find
By weight, which case did most remove the loom.[35]
She still is blind, and deaf, yet feels apace,
Her scales now weighs her fees,[36] and not the case.

Then farewell law, thou power to make or mar,
I dare not trust myself for doing wrong:
Few rich do clearly stand before the bar,
For bribes have ruled, do rule, and will rule long.
Farewell both art and law, I will go find
Some better thing, to please my troubled mind.

Finis.

Veri iuris germanaerque; iustitiae solidam et expressum imaginem nullam tenemus, umbra et imaginibus utimur.[37]

Preface to the Third Paradox

The third paradox (*Of War* or *Bellum perniciosissimum*) begins as a celebration of "glorious war" (1) as the most effective *instrumentum regni*, which eliminates any kind of corruption (9) and "drowsy peace" (12). War is also a good exercise for both body and mind since it keeps soldiers fit and teaches patience. Nevertheless, as early as the fifth stanza, Scott affirms that "[t]oo soon thy cause of praises cease" (25) and begins a long and impassioned invective against those wars "[w]hich help the brother to destroy the brother" (29). These wars are conceived as instruments to maintain peace, but they are actually useless and even harmful to Christendom as a whole.

In adherence with the just war principle, Scott's ideal war, on the other hand, is a religious conflict that "Christian kingdoms" (101) must fight primarily against the Turks and their Islamic threat, which continued to afflict Europe and the Mediterranean even after the dramatic victory of the Holy League during the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The European "master politicians" (100) should stop fighting one another and join forces to overcome the true enemy of Christendom.

Bellum perniciosissimum.[38]

Now war presents itself, o glorious war,
I do admire thee, and adore thy skill:
Thou art in earth another hopeful star,
The chief profession of the wit and will,
In thee religion thrives, goodness doth flourish,
For thou doest vice correct, and virtue nourish.[39]

Thou breakst the slender twist of childish art,
Scorning the curb of apish policies:
Thou law, and all corruption doest subvert.[40]
Overthrowing quirks, and verbal fallacies,
Thou root'st up every ill which doth increase
Within the idle reign of drowsy peace.

Thou exercis't the body and the mind,[41]
Which in the time of rest did bring forth weeds;
Because it could no good employment find,
Nor answer fruitful harvest of bad seeds.
Thou mak'st the man esteem'd more than his gold,
Though peace doth, in far more reckoning hold.

Thou teachest patience how for to endure
The scorching heat; and liver-freezing cold;
To fast, and watch, and pray, thou doest inure
The sturdy soldier, that's in sin grown bold
Thou doest temptations and affections slay,
And mortifies our bodies every day.

But ah! Too soon thy cause of praises cease,[42]
And fresh presentments of thy cruel deeds
Makes men prefer an unjust prowling peace
Before a just war,[43] that destruction feeds
Which helps the brother to destroy the brother
And makes one friend to rise against another.

Thou hast no mercy, nor no justice in thee,
To pity, or to punish any creature;
Nor tears, nor prayers, gifts, nor vows can win thee
To favour any sex, or any feature.
Thou art chief executioner to Death,
And like a prodigal, consum'st much breath.

O why should men in envy, pride, and hate,
In swollen ambition, lust and covetise,[44]
Usurp the bloody rule of death and fate;
Becoming one another's destinies?
Is there not sea enough for every swan?
And land enough to bury every man?

Why should our ships so jostle in the deep,
As though the waters were not large and wide?
Or our huge armies so unkindly sleep
Their bloody weapons in a Christian's side?
Why should I travel into scorching Spain,[45]
To meet my death, when I may here be slain?

Fie that the private hate, or love of any,
Should make me be a murderer of men:
And one man's will should overthrow a many,
Such as himself, perhaps far worthier then.
For oftentimes we see it falls out true,
We kill our friend for him we never knew.

O bloody war, to th'unexperien'st sweet,
That rob'st, and spoil'st, and butcherest every sex,
That tramplest all things with upheaved feet,
And quiet states with civil broils doest vex.
That sayst, all things are just thou doest with might,
But to th'unable, there remains no right.[46]

That like a wilful woman run'st astray,

In causeless enmity and deadly feud,
Having for thy director all the way,
That many-headed beast, the multitude.
Who without all respect of wrong or right
Will do as others do, or flee, or fight.

That art the instrument of stern revenge,
Fore-plotted in the subtle sconce[47] of hate,
And serv'st the spreading wings of youth to senge,[48]
A pretty drug to purge a gouty state.
That swollen with poisoned surfeits, like to burst,
Voids up those humours to prevent the worst.

But as our private doctors physic learned,
Kill more diseased persons than they cure,[49]
Yet think they justly have their wages earned;
Teaching their patient torment to endure.
Or as chirurgians[50] do more hurt than good,
When for small ill, they let out much pure blood.

So these sword-Paracelsians[51] get such power,
That oft they stroy[52] when they should cure the state,
And with confusion all things do devour;
Making well-peopled kingdoms desolate.
Much like a spirit raised up by art's deep skill,
Which doth much hurt against the bookman's will.[53]

Even as we see in marches and in fens,
The careful husband thinking to destroy
The fruitless sedge (wherein the adder dens)
Sets fire upon some part, with which to toy
The northern wind begins, and burneth down,
'Spite of all help, the next abutting town.

So war once set afloat, adds strength to strength,
And where it was pretended to confound
The foes of virtue, it proceeds at length;

Virtue, the state, and statesman's self to wound.
And like a mastiff hearted to a bear,
Turns back, and doth his master's bowels tear.[54]

O you deep master politicians,
Convert your stratagems against the Turk,[55]
And like to careful state-physicians
'Gainst him apply this wit-begotten work
Lest Christian kingdoms, grown too weak with purging
Yield, being not able to withstand his urging.

Let those that take delight in doing harm,
And savaged-minded joy in shedding blood;
With iron walls their guilty bodies arm,
And do all things but only that that's good.
For my part, I am yet resolv'd to find,
Some better thing, to please my troubled mind.

Finis.

Non solum adventus belli, sed metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Cic. Pro lege Manilia.[56]

Preface to the Fourth Paradox

Initially, the fourth paradox (*Of Service* or *Omnis est misera servitus*) highlights the positive nature and main advantages of servitude. Scott, who probably was at the service of Lady Helena of Northampton and Sir Thomas Gorges, suggests that any man who seeks to "draw from public throng" (7) should "repair to Court" (15). In so doing, the "happy man" (25) can find his fortune.

Nevertheless, as in the previous poems, the initial praise soon reveals servitude's limits and faults. In fact, honest servants "seek t'amend [their] lord[s]" (37), while base servants "doth fearfully afford, / A jeering flattery with count'nance bleak / To every word" (39-41). Again, corruption plays its role and the untrustworthy slaves, with "base flattery" (43), make sure of passing on their privileges and the protection received to future generations (55-60).

In the final part of the paradox (from stanza 12), Scott tries to alert a hypothetical "fond youth" (67; 71) and make him avoid the dangers of base servitude. Moreover, as previously seen when dealing with war, the poet wonders why a man should serve one of his peers: "O why should I aim all my thoughts to please / One like myself; or to subject my soul / Unto the unrespective rule of these / That only know how others to control?" (73-6). Scott provides no answer to what appears to be a rhetorical question, also because it would be absurd – yet perfectly suited to such a genre as paradox – to answer such a question after signing the dedicatory epistle to Lady Helena in 1602 and to Sir Thomas Knight in 1611 as "Your dutiful and devoted servant, Thomas Scott".

Omnis est misera servitus.[57]

But stay: O rest thee, Muse, and rest thee, mind,
I now have found the jewel which I sought,
Whose only good is in itself confined,
The sanctuary of the hopeful thought.
The port of safety, and the happy life,
Free from malicious broils, and tedious strife.[58]

Who list to draw himself from public throng,
And to converse with men of more regard;
Or fears the weighty power of others' wrong,
Or seeks himself from envious tongues to ward;
Or covets quiet, or eschews debate,
Or loves content, or fears lean-visag'd hate.

Let him repair to Court, and in the Court,
(Like ivy)[59] cleave unto some great man's side,
Whose able strength his weakness may support,
And with his spreading arms, and shadow wide,
Protect and patronise his feeble youth,
And yield him needful sap t'increase his growth.

So may he live secure, free from the fear
Of public malice, or close-creeping hate,
And never dread the sun or wind should fear
His verdant moisture and exalted state.
For still his lord protects him with his bows,
So he grows up, even as his patron grows.

O happy man, whose fortune 'tis to find
This rarely heard-of bounty in the great!
Which sooner happens to th'illiterate hind,
Than him whose brain the learned sisters'[60] heat,
Because the man that's only great in show,
Dreads other men his ignorance should know.

This makes the child of fortune[61] to reveal
His thoughts to drudging boors,[62] and shallow fools:
But all his consultations to conceal
From those that are not enemies to schools.
For ignorance, like every other sin,
Loves still to live unknown, and blind within.

The honest servant seeks t'amend his lord,
And grieves to hear his wants themselves should speak,
But the base slave doth fearfully afford,
A jeering flattery with count'nance bleak
To every word; and therefore is regarded,
When truth is with suspect and hate rewarded.[63]

Base flattery, and double diligence,
That thrusts their fingers into every place,
That carries tales, and gives intelligences,
Of all that may their fellow's faith disgrace:
These are employed, these come and go at pleasure,
Have what they ask, and ask without all measure.

He that can these, shall thrive, and may, in time,
Purchase large lordships[64] with ill-gotten wealth,
And may from yeomanry[65] to worship climb,
(Ill fare that gentry so purloined with stealth.)
But others never may expect to rise,
For to their deeds he turns his Argus' eyes[66]

And doth persuade his lord, that his whole care,
Is like a trusty servant, for the best,
His younger son the better for't shall fare,
For at his death all shall to him be left.
The credulous lord believes his smooth conclusion,
Until too late he proves it an illusion.

But when the trusty servant stands aloof,

Fore-warning these events with modesty:
Exampling this with many likely proofs,
Of others' craft, and close hypocrisy,
He is suspected of deceit, his drift
Thought a detractor's favour-fawning shift.

Fond youth,[67] who dedicates thy precious hours
To do him service that neglects thy merit:
And priceth less the mind's unvalued powers,
Than his, who only doth rude strength inherit.
Fond youth that bind'st thyself to be a slave,
To him whose love thy service cannot have.

O why should I aim all my thoughts to please
One like myself; or to subject my soul
Unto the unrespective rule of these
That only know how others to control?[68]
So asses suffer, asses spur and ride them,
So camels kneel, whilst bondmen do bestride them.[69]

But man that is freeborn, not born a beast,
Should freely bear himself, and freely love
Where reason doth induce him, or at least
Where sympathy of liking equal move.
So I could love, and fear, obey, and serve
Him that I see doth see what I deserve.[70]

For what avails it me to know so much,
If others will no notice take thereof,
Or cannot well discern me to be such,
As I do know myself, and yet will scoff
At that they understand not, and suppose,
Not smelling, there's no sweetness in a rose?

What boots it me to climb the starry tower,
And fetch from thence all secrets that remain
Within that everlasting blissful bower,

If I had none to tell them too again.
The soul would glut herself with heaven, I know,
If she might not her joys to others show.

It is a crown, unto a gentle breast,
T'impart the pleasure of his flowing mind
(Whose sprightly motion never taketh rest),
To one whose bosom he doth open find.
So wise Prometheus stealing heavenly fire,[71]
In stones the soul of knowledge did inspire.

O how I (least in knowledge, and in art)
Admire and love an understanding spirit,
And share with him my poor divided heart,
Wishing his fortunes equal to his merit.
But since in service few of these I find,
Service dislikes my malcontented[72] mind.

Finis.

Cum omnis misera servitus, tum vero intolerabile est servire impuro, impudico, effeminato, insulso.[73]

The Resolution.

Then this my resolution is; I know
All wordily things displease and vex the mind,
Yet something I must do, for here below
Our time to some employment fate doth bind.
I'll be a fool[74] (for knowledge is accurst)
Chance makes that best, which nature framed worst.

I am resolv'd to be a fool; to hate
All learning, all things else that do not please
Great men of clouts; whose fortune raised state,
For some ill part she crowns with wealth and ease.
So I (like fortune) ignorant and blind,
Some good fool's fortune by desert may find.

Art, law, war, service, I'll embrace for need,[75]
To serve my wants, or to defend my right:
For otherwise, I purpose not to bleed,
Or waste my life by day, my wit by night,
But since my soul can nothing certain find,
I am resolv'd to have a wavering mind.

Finis.
Errando disco.[76]

Four Paradoxes,
or Political Discourses

Two concerning military discipline, written
long since by Thomas Digges Esquire.
Two of the worthiness of war and warriors,
by Dudley Digges, his son.

All newly published to keep those that
will read them, as they did them that wrote
them, from idleness.

Horace. Me castra iuvant et lituo tubae
Permistus sonitus, bellaque matribus
Detestata.[77]

Imprinted at London by H. Lowns,[78] for Clement
Knight,[79] and are to be sold at his shop at the
sign of the Holy Lamb in Saint Paul's
Churchyard. 1604.

Preface to the First Paradox

This first paradox is an invective against corrupted soldiers and officers who take advantage of their privileged position to steal public money and rise in rank undeservedly. Thomas Digges also accuses the European states and princes – except, of course, Queen Elizabeth I – since they pay their soldiers so little that privates and officers are forced to gain extra money via fraud.

Dishonesty and fraud are personified by the figure of Mistress/Lady Picorea, a woman who lures soldiers and officers and corrupts them. The name Picorea is a French borrowing (from which the English "picory" derives) indicating plunder and pillage, and in sixteenth-century France it was mainly used to denote vandalistic acts committed by soldiers (*Trésor de la langue française*, n.A1: "Pillage auquel se livrent les soldats"). It is in this sense that the noun *picorée* is employed in François de la Noue's *Discours politiques et militaires* (1587), certainly one of the main sources of this collection of paradoxes, also considering that one section of de la Noue's *Discours* is entitled *Quatre paradoxes*. Nevertheless, Thomas and Dudley Digges did not attempt a translation of de la Noue's work, since it had already been translated in 1588 by Edward Aggas as *The Political and Military Discourses of the Lord de La Noue*; moreover, the title and content of de la Noue's four paradoxes do not suggest a close similarity between the two works.

The second half of the paradox presents a two-column contrast between behaviours typical of the good and bad officers, a conflict depending on the degree of corruption exercised by Mistress/Lady Picorea on soldiers.

The First Paradox.

That no prince, or state doth gain, or save by giving too small entertainment unto soldiers, officers, or commanders martial:[80] but do thereby extremely lose, and unprofitably waste their treasure, besides the dishonour and foils,[81] that necessarily thereof ensue.

I confess sparing of treasure, and all due providence for the preservation thereof, to be a thing very necessary, especially in the wars of this our age, where treasure is indeed become nervus belli;[82] and therefore by all reasonable provisions to be regarded. But there are in all actions some sparings, or pretence of profit, that are utterly unprofitable, fond, and foolish, and working effects clean contrary to that end, for the which such pinching is pretended. As, who seeth not, that, if a husbandman[83] (that hath first allotted a reasonable proportion of grain, for every acre of his arable ground) shall (of a covetous mind) abate a quarter, or one third part of his due proportion of seed, thinking thereby to save so much; who, (I say) seeth not, that by this foolish saving in the seed, in the crop he shall lose thrice as much, besides the hurtful weeds, that, for want of seed sufficient, grow up, and spoil the rest? Or, if a merchant, setting forth his ship to the seas, fraught with merchandise, shall know that (to rig her well, and furnish her with all needful tackle, furniture and provision) it will cost him full 500 pounds: yet, of a covetous and greedy mind to save thereof some 100 pounds, or two, he shall scant his provision, wanting perhaps some cables, anchors, or other like necessaries, and after (by a storm arising) for fault thereof shall lose both ship and goods.[84] Who will not condemn this miserable foolish merchant, that (peevishly to save one hundred pounds, or two) hath lost both ship and goods, perhaps of ten times greater value? Much more is the folly of this error in martial causes, where the tempests

are as sudden, and no less perilous. And therefore, such fond sparing, is far more absurd in these actions, than in either of those, of the husbandman or merchant. For proof whereof,[85] if I should produce antique examples out of the Roman and Grecian chronicles of such kings and princes, as (by such fond sparing of their treasure) had lost both their treasure, and their kingdoms also, I could easily make of this subject a great volume: but for brevity's sake (leaving many antiques) I come to our present age and time, and to matters of our own remembrance, and experience. For who knoweth not, what course the states of the United Provinces took, for payment of their soldiers, before the arrival of Her Majesty's lord general, the Earl of Leicester?[86] Who, for sparing, or to make (as they pretended) their treasure stretch, did pay their bands after forty-eight days to the month, their pay being so scant and bare at thirty only to the month, as it was very hard for soldiers, or captains, to live honestly upon it: and the same being now stretched to forty-eight days, utterly impossible for them to live without frauds in musters,[87] and picories,[88] besides on their country and friends. Hereof it came to pass, that the honest, and valiantest men retired themselves from the wars, and the worst disposed freebooters[89] were readiest to enter with these base conditions. For such a captain (as intendeth only dishonestly, by fraud and robbery to enrich himself, to the ruin of his country) will especially desire to serve on such base conditions, as honestly it is impossible for every man to live upon: and so, having just colour thereby to shift, hath all these means ensuing infinitely to enrich himself.

First, (in the choice of his officers) to get, or accept such freebooters and thieves, as (only to have the name and privilege of a soldier, to escape the pain due by martial law to such unsoldierlike persons) will serve without pay, or with half pay.

Then, every of these his officers, lieutenant, ensign,[90] serjeants, etc. (being men of that crew) will draw in

as many also as they can of the same mould, to live on picory without pay, and therefore very ready to serve in their loose manner with half pay. Of such rakehells then the captain having raised an ensign, passeth his muster, and is sent to his garrison, or place of service. Now, the prince or state that is served with such as will accept these unhonest base conditions, is much deceived, if he thinks to be soldierly served. Viz. to have their watches and wards strong, vigilant, and careful: for instead of 1,500 soldiers past in muster, they shall never find fifty on guard, or sentinels, upon any round: as all honest serjeant majors, and other officers (that have past their rounds) can testify: the rest (if he keep any more) being either abroad in the country at the picory, or in the garrison more unhonestly occupied, in abusing some honest burgher[91] his wife or servants: (for, to drudge in watch or ward the gallantest of this crew disdain.) If any faults be complained off, the excuse is ready: alas their pay is so small, as we must wink at faults.

But if at any time the commissary of musters come with treasure to pass a muster, you shall ever find them strong 150 present and absent orderly set down in muster rolls.[92] And for their absents such formal testimonials, protestations, and oaths, as among Christians were horrible to discredit, and their frauds so artificially conveyed, as will be hard to try: but the truth is, forgery and perjury are the first lessons such freebooters learn, and then palliardise,[93] murder, treachery, and treason are their attendants. Hereof it came to pass (for many years together) that after the death of Don John of Austria,[94] the states lost such a number of cities, towns, forts, castles and sconces,[95] yea whole and entire provinces revolted from them, by reason of the extorsions, oppressions, and robberies insolently committed on the country people, and best subjects, by these insatiable cormorants, lions to their friends, and hares in presence of their enemies, having not only "linguas sed animas venales, manus rapaces,

pedes fugaces, et quae honeste nominari non possunt inhonestissima",[96] "vere galeati lepores"[97] "et hirudines aerarii".[98] and this base beggarly pay the only ground-plot of all these horrible villainies, odious to God and man, and not tolerable in any Christian government.

For, if princes or states will give such convenient pay, as men of value, and honesty may sparingly live on without fraud and robbery, they may boldly execute martial discipline, and purge their army of these idle drones, and carousing, picking caterpillars: and instead of these, they shall (in short time) have their ensigns complete with valiant, honest, sober, loyal soldiers, that shall carefully and painfully in watch and ward execute their martial duties.

The Earl of Leicester with his own eyes beheld before Zutphen[99] camp near Arnhem[100] two or three regiments of Scots and Dutch in the state's pay, sent for by Count Hollock[101] as the most chosen bands that followed him, having sixteen or eighteen ensigns in their regiments, and paid for near 3,000 soldiers: that (marching in rank, and after embattled) were found not full 1,000, besides their officers.

Now, if the states had paid truly but ten ensigns after thirty days to the month, (as Her Majesty did)[102] and by martial discipline have kept them strong, they should have had 500 more heads and hands to fight at least in such ten than in these eighteen ensigns paid after forty-eight days. And at the very same time, and the same place His Excellency saw eight English ensigns embattled in the same field, that for heads of men were more than sixteen of the other ensigns, and for arms and weapon full double so strong: and yet these eight ensigns stood not Her Majesty (paying honourably) in so much as the other eighteen so dishonourably paid by the states, by many thousand gilders[103] a month.

Most foolish therefore, and peevish is such saving in these martial causes, being more absurd far and fond

than other of those my first examples of the paltering husbandman or miserable merchant that stumbleth at a straw, and swalloweth a block, and by greedy pinching for a penny, fondly loseth or wastes pounds.

But that dishonour that falleth out in these actions is much more to be respected: for, if eight ensigns (well and truly paid) shall ever be stronger in all martial encounters than eighteen of the other: how much more honour shall it be with eight ensigns to have performed any honourable action than to have done the same with eighteen? As contrariwise the foil, to lose eight ensigns is far less than to lose eighteen.[104]

Again, if the states had raised a mean army (not of such mercenary vagabonds as would serve on any conditions, resolving by picory and extortion to enrich themselves) but of temperate, honest, painful,[105] valiant soldiers which full easily with sufficient and complete pay they might have done, and then have kept a steady hand on martial discipline, severely to have punished such cormorants as should any way have spoiled or extorted on the country boor, or honest burgher. They had never tasted those horrible ruins of their towns and desolation of their countries, that afterwards for many years they did. For it was not the great subsidies or levies made on Brabant,[106] and Flanders, and other upland provinces by the States United that made them all revolt afterward to the Prince of Parma,[107] but only these abuses, spoils and picories. For in Holland and Zealand[108] they have ever since, and do still levy as great and far greater contributions than ever they did on those malcontented provinces: but it was the wrongs, injuries, insolences and extorsions committed by this crew of degenerate bastardly soldiers or rather pickers, the servants or rather idolatrous slaves of their misbegotten mistress Madam Picorea[109] that alienated the hearts utterly of these provinces. The people having reason to revolt to the government of papists or Turks[110] rather than to endure the outrages committed on them,

their wives and daughters by those their own hirelings so deeply wounding them in wealth and honour. For what tribute, subsidy or task had not been far more tolerable to any honest or Christian people than to have such a crew of hell-hounds laid upon them? As, not content to have the best chambers, beds, and far that their host could yield them; yea wine also bought and far-fet[111] for them, but would enforce them to pay money also, and yet at their parting (in recompense or their good entertainment) rifle them of all that was portable of any value, besides other indignities not to be spoken of by honest tongues, or heard by modest ears. The horror of these villains hath made Holland wisely and providently these dozen years and more yearly to give tenfold greater contributions (yearly I say respectively weighed) than the greatest subsidy or benevolence that ever our nation gave during all these thirty-four years of Her Majesty's most gracious and happy reign. The which they do most frankly and willingly still continue to maintain the wars out of the bowels of their own country, and to free themselves of those horrible oppressions which they saw executed among their neighbours, which wise resolution of theirs God hath also so favoured and blessed with extraordinary aids and favours many ways, as these of Holland are not the poorer, but rather much richer than they were before the wars began, notwithstanding their huge contributions are such, as in common reason a man would think were able to beggar any mighty kingdom: that little country of Holland only (being for scope of ground and firm land not comparable with the least of any one of many shires in England) yieldeth to the wars yearly a greater contribution than half the fifty shires of England ever yet did in any one year by any subsidy. It is not therefore the great charges or contributions that beggareth or spoileth any country, but the ill disposing of the treasure levied, and the ill government of the soldiery therewith maintained, which becometh indeed more odious and intolerable to

any Christian nation or people far than any tax or subsidy that is possible to be ceased or imposed on them: neither is it the multitude of ensigns that terrifieth the enemy, but chosen election of the soldiery, and the true execution of martial discipline.

Hereof it hath come to pass that so small handfuls of Spaniards (while they were well paid and discipline) did at sundry times foil so many ensigns of these mercenary freebooters: and contrariwise after those Spaniards fell to mutinies (for want of pay) and to committing of like extorsions and insolences on the country people, they caused a sudden revolt of all the provinces.[112]

But for our own nation I hold it a maxim most assured,[113] and hardly by any one example, to be disproved: that ever we received any foil where our ensigns were complete, but only in such places, and at such times, as our ensigns were maintained (not like the eight ensigns before mentioned in the Earl of Leicester's time in Her Majesty's pay) but rather as the other eight in the state's pay, as will be found too too true, if it be deeply examined.

The like I say in pay of officers and superior commanders, that to give them honourable and convenient entertainment is not only not unprofitable, but most profitable and gainful to any king, prince, or state: and the contrary (I mean by accepting or admitting such commanders or officers as will offer themselves to serve for small or base entertainment) is a thing unto the king or state not only dishonourable, and most hurtful (in respect of the service) but also even in regard of their treasure only most unprofitable, damageable, and discommodious, as I will prove by manifest and true reasons.

But because the discourse would be over-long and tedious, if I should particularly enter into the office or charge of every several kinds of officer or commander, I will only choose two, of either sort one, which (to conjecture and discern of all the rest) may abundantly suffice to prove my present proposition. Among commanders therefore I

will only entreat of the colonel or maestro del campo.[114] And among chief officers of the comptroller, censor, or muster master general.[115]

And first of colonels I say, if they take upon them that charge to command any convenient number of ensigns appropriate to their regiment, it is fit their entertainment be proportional to their reputation and charge: the which as it far surmounteth a private captain, so ought his allowance to be accordingly, as well for maintenance of a convenient table, to entertain the chief officers of his regiment. As chiefly such gentlemen of value as many times (without charge or office to see the wars upon their own private expenses) will follow him.

For if this colonel, have not such entertainment from his prince or state, he must of necessity either spoil or undo himself to maintain that port is fit, which few in these days will, or so remedy help himself by tolerating frauds in musters, and suffering the captains of his regiment to keep their bands half empty: out of the which both captains and coronel may pay themselves double and treble the greatest entertainment that ever any king yet gave, but not without the very ruin and utter dishonour of their nation.

For what captain is there so foolish miserable (if he make no conscience to gain by robbing of his prince or state); that will not be content to give one half of these his foul and corrupt gains, to enjoy the other? Knowing otherwise he shall not only quite lose that base gain, if he be called to account for it, but his reputation and life also, if justice be duly executed. But if by his chief colonels favour, he may be paid for 150 and keep scarce sixty to defend his ensign, and so gain 1,000 pounds a year clear, to give the moiety[116] yearly thereof to go scot-free with the rest, and escape the shame thereunto due, he maketh a very profitable bargain if such dishonest lucre deserve the name of profit, which course of gain is so much the more damnable and perilous to be suffered, because it utterly discourageth the honest valiant captains, and enricheth the

contrary: and so tendeth to the very ruin and overthrow of all true virtue and value.[117]

For if the chief commander be so affected as he will be by any such device to supply his wants, in very gratitude and policy he must most countenance those that yield him most benefit; and those captains may be most beneficial to him, that (by keeping their bands most feeble) do most rob their prince or state. And so the worst persons (of such commanders) must of force be most favoured and countenanced.

Further these favourites[118] if they commit any other extorsions on their countrymen, friends, or allies, being entered into such a league with their commanders, it is likely they may find the more favour also, and thereby more boldly by all devices and extortions rake in wealth to maintain themselves, their patrons, and followers in excessive bravery.

Whereas the right valiant captain indeed, that, keeping his band strong and complete with armed soldiers, gaining nothing above his bare wages, nor will extort unhonestly upon any friend or ally, and his wages (besides his meat and arms) scarcely sufficient twice in a year to buy him a suit of buff[119] remaineth as a man contemned and disgraced: where the other by his robberies and picories can flourish in monthly change of suits of silk, daubed with embroideries of gold and silver lace, and jewels also: and so countenanced by such commander's favour, and by such other mighty friends as his spoils may procure. That both abroad and at home also generally this picking, lascivious, carousing freebooter shall be called a brave man, a gallant soldier, yea fit to be a colonel or great commander that can drink, and dice, etc., with the proudest: when the true, valiant, honest, and right martial captain indeed is not able in such riotous expenses to keep port with the others waiting servants.

But whether these silken, golden, embroidered delicate captains (with their demi-feeble ensigns) or the other plain

leather, well-armed, sober, painful, valiant captains (with their complete ensigns of armed soldiers maintained as their companions) shall do their prince or country more honour at a day of service? If we have not yet learned, we shall I doubt hereafter, if these abuses be not reformed, with the dishonourable loss of many more English ensigns, than all the chronicles these 500 years before could tell us of, to remain for an unhonourable monument of these our errors, to all posterity.

For I have ever found it in my experience a rule almost infallible among private captains: the more brave and gallant the captain is in his apparel, and wasteful in expenses, the more poor, feeble, weak and miserable you shall for the most part find his soldiers full of lice many times, and stinking for want of a shirt to change them, when such commanders with some few favourites are over-sweet and fine.

And then is it any marvel if so brave and gallant a gentleman (perfumed perhaps with musk and civet)[120] disdain to haunt the filthy corps du gardes[121] of ragged, loathsome, lousy soldiers? Or is it any marvel then, (where captains give this example) if lieutenants and ensigns also do take their ease, and living in like delicacy, disdain to associate themselves with their poor flocks?

If towns of great importance have been lost by the cowardice of someone corps du gard, that beastly have abandoned without blows, a ground of such advantage as was defensible against any royal army: only, because at the approach thereof, there was neither captain, lieutenant nor ensign present on the guard, but a knot only of these poor ghosts: and thereby dishonourably a town of great importance lost, very experience (me thinks) should teach us rather to choose such captains as would so apparel themselves, and regard their fellow-soldiers, as they should not disdain their company, or abhor their stink.

I have read, that a worthy general of the Grecians,[122] after he had with a small army of valiant, rude, plain, sober,

obedient soldiers conquered ten times as many of the rich, silken, golden, riotous perfumed Persians, abounding with horses and chariots and armours of gold, because (quoth[123] he) the Persians were so delicately and daintily bred, as they were not able to abide the savour of my soldiers' armholes.

I would therefore wish no captains chosen but such as should contemn utterly such feminine delicacy in apparel and wasteful riotous expenses, and could be content to make himself a companion of his fellow soldiers, and think his honour consisted not in gay garments, but in good arms, in the strength of his band, in his travels, pains, watchings, and adventures, and not in carousing or perfuming, or any other delicious, idle, or rather effeminate unmanly vanity. For as Marius the Roman general averred: "munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire".[124] So, if soldiers and captains would contend one to excel another therein (I mean in military labours and careful adventurous endeavours, contemning all delicious pomps and idle ease, as effeminate and unworthy their professions) then should we see a great alteration, both of the fortune and fame of our nation which heretofore hath ever been comparable with the best and most renowned.

But the only or chief means to bring this to pass, is, first to allow unto the general and chief commanders so honourable and convenient entertainment, as may suffice to maintain the port and honour of their place, without practicing or consenting to any corruptions, especially such as utterly disgrace the good, and enrich the bad, deface the painful, careful, sober, valiant captain, and advance the idle, negligent, riotous coward. But above all things to have him detested more than a coward, that (of a base corrupt mind) shall seek to make his gain by keeping his band feeble and weak, and by deceits, fraud and perjuries at musters to contrive the same: for by this means he doth not only rob his prince's treasure, but is also guilty of the blood of those soldiers that are slain for want of hands to

fight when the honour of their nation comes to trial.

As all true martial discipline therefore is not to be revived and put in execution among our nation: so especially that part which concerneth this mighty and gross abuse (above all other) ought most severely to be regarded. And to the end officers of musters may by the general or chief governors be countenanced in their honest proceedings (for discovery and correction of such abominable frauds and robberies as so usually and shamelessly have been practiced) I would wish their own particular bands (where they have any) should always be allowed them without check, for any default: presuming in honour they would be the more careful to be an example to other, when they shall see themselves by their prince so trusted. And then having less cause (in respect of their private profit) to favour any such deceit in others, there is no doubt, but (having also honourable entertainment) they will (as they are by a double duty bound) honourably advance that course of discipline which shall make their armies victorious, themselves famous, and their country felicitous; especially if due regard be had in the choice of such chief and principal commanders, who ought indeed to be honourable and not base-minded persons.

And as good trees are not judged by the blossoms, but by the fruits: so surely are men rather by their deeds than by shows or partial fame to be discerned:[125] for, as in all other vocations, so chiefly in the wars by common fame such commanders ever shall be most extolled of their followers, as most content their humours. Now if captains' humours in this age of corruption, be for the greater part infected or depraved, to make choice yet by common fame or opinion should be an error exceeding great: for as in the pestilent fevers and like violent diseases, the patient many times doth far better like that physician[126] which suffereth him to take cold liquors, and other pleasing fancies, agreeable to his appetite, which as very poisons do cause his death, than such a physician as prescribeth

a severe diet, accompanied with such bitter medicines as only is able to save his life, and restore his health and strength. And as the error therein were great to choose a physician after such sick-men's appetites: so surely for reformation of these martial diseases, the error were no less absurd at the beginning, to choose such generals or chief commanders by common fame, or liking of most captains. But after martial discipline is again in some good measure restored, and that captains begin to detest riotous expenses in meat, drink, and apparel (as effeminate delicacy) and contend who may exceed other in labour, pains, watchings, diligence, and virtuous martial actions, having a right taste and sense in deed of true honour and martial valour, and wherein the same consisteth, and by some convenient continuance of exercise and use made the same not grievous but familiar unto them: then were there no more competent judges (of the ability and sufficiency of a general) than such, as (adventuring their lives with him) have greatest need and use thereof.

But as that famous general and censor Cato[127] at Rome exclaimed in his time, the public had need of a sharp and merciless physician, and a violent purgation: and that therefore they were to choose not such commanders as should be grateful and gracious, but resolute and severe: so surely much more in this time and state of wars have we cause to proclaim such choice, or rather great princes and magistrates to have especial care and regard thereof.

Now therefore if the colonel or chief commander be chosen such an honourable person, as of himself abhors deceit, fears God, contemns gourmandise and quaffing, and other more base and beastly pleasures, or effeminate delicacies, by the example of many worthy Roman generals, as also of that famous victorious Lacedaemonian general King Agesilaus,[128] it shall be easy for him (having convenient and honourable pay) to banish these monsters out of his camp or government, as unworthy for soldiers professing arms, and fitter for the pompous rich slaves of

Persia.

But if contrariwise any chief commanders be persons that will wink at deceits or frauds in musters, and make their profit (as infinitely they may thereby) no wonder if all the inferior captains insolently put the same in execution, and keep their counsels and ordinary consultations how to exploit and execute those deceits, and by all unhonest practices, slanders, and libels, etc., to disgrace any officer that shall oppose himself dutifully against it: and so their bands continued ever feeble, weak, and miserable.

Or if this colonel or chief commander be a person that hath no compassion on the poor private soldiers, nor care to preserve and maintain their lives, but rather (respecting how largely he may make his gain by their deaths) expose them to the butchery, you shall presently have almost all the captains regard them less than dogs.

Or if the colonel or general (forgetting that right Lacedaemonian law, that whosoever did save his life by flight in the field, was infamous ever after even to his grave) do take so little shame of running away in the field as he will have for himself a horse of swift career always in readiness upon any danger to take his leave: what marvel if you have inferior captains provided for the like? Yea many times lieutenants, and ensigns also? And what is then to be expected, but dishonourable flight, shame and confusion, whensoever they are roundly charged by any soldiers?

If the colonel or chief commander be a man, that (regarding wholly his profit) will wink at the extorsions of his captains, they have reason to spare him half their pay, or all their imprests,[129] for that they can full easily (from the boor or burgher under their crushing) extort much more than the greatest pay any Christian king yet gave, and thereby so enrich themselves with gold and jewels, as they have no reason any more to hazard their life, but to provide themselves good horses to escape away with their wealth whensoever they shall be charged: leaving their soldiers to the slaughter, by whose deaths also there may

grow a good dividend, to be shared among such artificial fugitives.

If colonels or chief commanders of their ease, pleasure or private respects hold it no disgrace or shame to be absent from their regiments: no marvel if any inferior captains be ready to follow such discipline also, and consequently all their favourites and persons best appointed. And then what marvel if the silly remnant of the feeble flock (having scarcely sheepherder or sheepherder's dog left to take the care and charge of them) become a prey to the ravening wolf, that will not let slip so good an opportunity.

But if the colonel or chief commander himself be such a one as takes no shame in field to save his life by flight: it is not strange that captains under his charge should imitate his discipline. And then much less reason have private soldiers to stand so much upon their honour, or rather to die than turn their face. But if such indeed be the true profession of a soldier rather to die resolutely in his rank, than turn his face, or cowardly by flight to save his life. If this be the duty of the meanest and most private soldier, then how much rather is the captain, and much more the colonel bound to such an honourable resolution?

If in the most honourable and martial nations of the world, such cowardice in a private soldier hath been noted with perpetual shame, how much more ought it to be detested in captains? And then a fortiori in their superiors.

But if by corrupt custom and education in licentious loose wars, such principal persons be grown so far past shame, as not only to commit these base and unsoldierlike errors, but also (that most miserable is) in their ordinary discourses and banquets amidst their sacrifices to Bacchus at open tables to vaunt of these their stratagems, recounting in how many encounters, the places where, and when they fled gallantly, and spurred their horses in their violent retreats, who might run swiftest: what shall we say but that such degenerate shameless persons might (with much better reason) vaunt how many bastinadoes[130]

they had received bravely?

For surely cowardice[131] in a man (especially professing arms) hath ever been accounted the foulest vice: as incontinency the greatest dishonesty in a woman. And as an honest woman may fortune by violence to be abused, and yet all her life time after cannot but blush to have it spoken of: so, though an honest man (I mean a valiant man in the field) by violence and multitude of enemies unhappily should be enforced to turn his face: yet ashamed should he be ever to hear it spoken of. But as that state were horribly wicked where women should advaunt[132] openly of their incontinency: so, desperate is their disease that are so far past shame to advaunt of their cowardice: and miserable that state must needs become, where such impudence should be tolerable for men professing arms shamelessly to vaunt of their fearful flights, or as they are termed in their new discipline, their violent retreats.

But (that most lamentable is) many times it may come to pass, that these impudent runaways being escaped (consorting themselves) shall by rumours, letters, or printed pamphlets perhaps sometimes disgrace those valiant men that resolutely died in the place, rather than they would shame themselves, and dishonour their country with a cowardly flight. And then such fugitives (extolling one another with heroical names, having also by their former picories store of crowns to purchase friends, by such thrasonical[133] stratagems) of the ignorant multitude be counted gallant soldiers, and fit for new employments. An error of all other the most dangerous: that (contrary to all martial discipline) that fault that deserveth death or dishonourable disarming under a gallows, should be honoured with new employments, or greater credit.

But as the disgrace of a few ringleaders of runaways and other corruptions would wonderfully repair the honour of any nation: so the toleration of them, and much more the employing of them again in new charges by their example may breed effects most dangerous and fearful, if

in time (by due execution of right martial discipline) such weeds be not eradicate.

The Lacedaemonians (by due obedience to their martial laws) were become the most mighty and puissant[134] state of all the Grecians, which then for heroical prowess surmounted all the world besides, as by the multitude of their victories on the oriental nations, and Asiatic mighty empires is apparent: whose huge armies and innumerable forces they vanquished in a number of battles with a very few, but chosen, painful, sober, well-trained and disciplined bands, being accustomed from their infancy to travail, pains, sobriety, and hardness. And by the same custom and education learned also with all duty to obey their superiors, reverence the elders, and to fear nothing but shame and infamy: and of all infamies none so great to a man there as cowardice, being by their very laws noted with disgrace perpetual to his death that ran away from his enemies in the field, or saved his life by flight: which fault was held so sole and base, as the very mothers abhorred and renounced them, yea and some with their own hands have killed such of their sons as by flight in the field have saved their lives, as traitors to their country, and dishonourable to their parents: yea they were disgraded from all honour and employment, marked by shaving of half their heads and beards, derided and disdained of all their countrymen, and lawful for all men to abuse and beat them as serviceable slaves. These were the shames ordained for fugitives in those warlike nations. Whereupon a king of theirs being demanded how it came to pass that the Lacedaemonians so far excelled all others in prowess and arms? Because (quoth he) they are taught from their infancy not to fear death, but shame. As Marius[135] also that famous Roman general said of himself, he had learned to fear nothing but infamy. They therefore that by education in lawless wars grow so impudent as to vaunt of their foils and flights (which by true martial laws, especially in leaders and commanders should be noted and punished

with perpetual shame) are so far off from true soldiery, and martial honour as they are fitter (like most dangerous contagious sheep) to be expelled and severed in time, lest they infect with their leprosy the whole troop and military flock: howsoever the corruptions of this age and ignorance of the dangers that ensue by contempt of true martial honour may excuse or delay their due punishment or shame for a time. For if a chief commander shall neither blush to save himself by flight, nor corruptly to make his gain by the death of his poor soldiers through frauds, perjury, and deceit in musters: his readiest plot to grow rich and puissant is, presently so soon as he can finger his soldiers' pay, or prince's treasure, to devise some desperate unfeasible service, where he may bring his infantry to have their throats cut, and then having chosen horses to save himself by flight, and his confederate favourites with the pay of the dead, they may banquet and riot their fill, and have so great masses of treasure to make friends, as none of these tragedies can come to unripping, if once it be persuaded lawful or intolerable for a general or chief commanders to save themselves by flight.

But the toleration thereof and of these frauds and abuses in musters, and the immeasurable sweet gains that bad consciences see they may make thereby (if they can also shake of shame, and extinguish true martial discipline) is the chiefest cause of all base and dishonourable corruptions, and will still increase such impudence and insolence as corrupt persons by sufferance will grow unto: which ought so much the more severely and speedily with the sword of justice and true military laws in time to be corrected, as the continuance doth make the disease more desperate and perilous to their state, and more hard to be re-cured, when wealthy wickedness thereby getteth such authority and purchaseth such parties, as after by justice shall hardly be suppressed, unless the sovereign Majesty or ephors[136] of the state in time I say minister the bitter medicine, that only must cure this pestilent and contagious

sickness.

For if Demetria of Sparta[137] with her own hands killed (for cowardice) her son Demetrien as a degenerate monster not worthy to be called a Lacedaemonian or to walk on the earth, being (as she said) a monument dishonourable to his country and parents, and the like done by divers other ladies and worthy women of that state to their own children, for abandoning only of their rank, to save their lives when they were forced with violence and multitudes of their enemies: what could these worthy women have done to such sons as premeditatedly beforehand provided them horses of swift career to save themselves, so soon as they shall find any danger growing? Or if this fault of flying or abandoning their rank only hath been in a private soldier so abhorred, as his own mother hath executed martial justice upon him, with detestation of his cowardice as unworthy to drink of the river Eurotas[138] or to bear the name of a Lacedaemonian: how much more is the same to be detested in a commander, on whose error or cowardice the lives of so many as are under his charge dependeth, besides the dishonour of his nation?

Or if that fault could receive in that martial nation no excuse, though they were enforced thereto by the violence and multitude of their enemies: how much more abominable is it in them that of purpose beforehand are provided of their means to run away and abandon those for whose safety it were their duty to sacrifice their lives? And by leaving their soldiers to the butchery, to make their excessive gains by the pays of the dead and robbery of their prince and country. If so many worthy generals, both Greeks and Romans (that full easily at sundry battles might have escaped and saved their own lives), have refused utterly both horses and all other means offered them to save themselves, and chosen rather (when all hope was past) to sacrifice their lives among their troops, than to return to yield a dishonourable account of the blood of their soldiers: how much more should we abhor such as

not only commit these base errors, but impudently also are not ashamed to make their vaunts thereof?

If Manlius Torquatus[139] when his son was challenged by a chief commander on the contrary side (only because without leave he did accept the particular combat, although he had the victory, and strake of his enemy's head in sight of both armies) would nevertheless have executed the martial law upon his valiant son (only) because he brake one point of martial discipline: what reward do we think this general would have bestowed on one of our shameless fugitives?

If this famous general so highly respected the honour and safety of his country, as he resolved to execute the laws martial of this his only and most valiant son: not for any cowardice or corruption, but only for want of due obedience (in accepting without leave the combat) choosing rather to deprive himself of his only son and incomparable jewel, than the martial discipline of his country should in the least point be corrupted, how much more hath the sacred majesty of a prince and honourable ephors of any state cause with severity in time to see due execution of martial justice on such (as not moved by magnanimity or high courage, but contrariwise of a corrupt custom and base mind, for lucre, pleasure, or riot only) commit (premeditatedly) not one but many of those gross and shameful abuses and breaches of true martial discipline: that in those days and states the most inferior soldier of an army for fear of perpetual shame would not: faults I say so far surmounting this error of the worthy Manlius' son, as the foulest leprosy or pestilent fever doth the ephemeris[140] ague, tending indeed not only to the robbing of their prince and public treasure, and to the spoil and betraying of their fellow soldiers (men many times of better valour and worth far than such leaders or superior commanders) but also to the utter overthrow of all true martial valour, and dishonour perpetual of their nation, and smally tending to the utter ruin of their prince and

country?

But to pass over infinite honourable precedents of antiquity, to return again to our own age, I say, that even by experience of the wars, and nations of our own time it is manifest, that these abuses and corruptions have been the very ruin of the realms and states where they have been practised, as in time they will be also of all other that shall admit the continuance of them. And first for France that worthy soldier Monsieur de la Noue[141] in the *Military Discourses* plainly showeth how with these civil wars these corruptions there began, and by what unlawful generation Mistress Picorea was at Boygenye[142] first begotten, which bastard in short time had such a multitude of servants both in France, and after in the Low Countries, as they created their mistress a lady: and that mighty Lady Madam Picorea hath now so many brave servants (not only among the French and Dutch, but of other nations also) as it is to be feared they will make her a queen,[143] to the ruin of all kings, queens and realms that shall endure her, and not suppress in time both her, and her shameless presumptuous, lewd, licentious servants.

What extreme misery they have within these thirty years reduced all France unto, we see: what desolation in Flanders, Brabant, and other Base Country[144] provinces, by the ruins remaining, is manifest. Shall we suffer her and her followers also in our nation, to see what they can likewise do of England? *Absit omen.*[145] But the French proverb says most truly;

Qui par son péril est sage celui, est sage malheureux:[146]
and, felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.[147]

He telleth of an honourable execution done by that worthy soldier, the admiral of France, in hanging up a captain and 5 or 6 other chief servants of this bastardly Lady Picorea adoring their gallows with their booties, which honourable soldier (Châtillon[148] I mean) he commendeth highly to have been a most fit and meet physician to cure this malady: for he was (says la Noue) severe and violent, neither could

any favour or vain frivolous excuses take place with him if the party were faulty: which is indeed the only way to cure it, for it is most fond and vain to imagine that either by verbal persuasions, or printed laws or proclamations it is possible to cure this fore, but with armed justice some of the ringleaders must be seized and roughly chastised, to bring a terror upon the rest. For if these mischiefs (says that worthy soldier) were like to other crimes, where men (condemned by public sentence) are quietly content to be led by the executioner to receive their due, they might full soon be banished. But they fare more like a rough and restive horse, that (being touched with his rider's spur) lasheth, jerketh, and biteth, and therefore such a jade must roughly and rigorously be corrected and made to know his fault: for if you spare him or seem to fear him, he will sure unhorse you, for generally these military vices are presumptuous. And if they smell you fear them, they will brave you: but give them the terror of laws, and their due punishments severely, and so shall you cure their malady. For most merciful is that rigour, that (by dispatch of four or five) many save the lives of so many hundreds, or rather thousands, and recur such a pestilent contagion as is able in time to subvert the most mighty realms and monarchies. When iron is fully cankered, it is not enough to anoint it with oil, but it must be roughly and forcibly scoured and polished, to make it return to his perfect brightness. And if in pleurisies and other like corrupt exulcerations we have no remedy but to open a vein, and content ourselves to part with many drops of our blood to save the whole body from destruction: so must we be content (though it were with the loss of many such corrupt persons) to recure our military body from utter confusion: seeing thereupon dependeth the health or ruin also of the whole politic body of the realm:[149] for the French have a true proverb.

Le Medicin piteux fait une mortelle plaie[150]

and most wisely the poet,[151]

Obsta principijs, serò Medicina paratur,

Cum mala per longas inualuêre moras.[152]

As France and Flanders both our next neighbours by their calamities may teach us, where no kind of abuse or corruptions have been practiced: their bands not forty for 100 strong. Which kind of picory Mounsier de la Noue termeth "derober un faquin non pas un gentilhomme":[153] but of gentlemen all picories ought indeed to be detested, as fitter for base-minded slaves, than honourable free-minded soldiers. But for other extortions and robberies upon the poor peasants, boors, or husbandmen, it were as hard to name any one kind that hath been omitted, as to recite particularly every sort that hath been executed by these insatiable cormorants, whose maw is never full though their gourmandise be infinite, besides the defacing of so many goodly churches and stately palaces in the country, as by the remnants of their ruins is to be seen, and the ransacking of villages, castles, towns and cities, and infinite outrages otherwise committed in all places where this misbegotten lady's servants or filching followers could lay their graceless hands. But seeing the first pretext and colour they had in France to engender this monster, and since in the base countries to foster her, was by reason of want only of convenient pay: which enforced even the most famous generals of our time (I mean the Prince of Condé,[154] and the Prince of Orange[155]) at the first to tolerate these cankers, which after wrought the very ruin, of those states. It is a singular warning to king and princes that have realms to command, that not yet so far corrupted, and able to yield maintenance for honest and right martial soldiers, by no means (for want of convenient wages, stipend, and pay) to give any colour or excuse to this degenerate bastardly kind of servitors, or rather pickers, to excuse their corrupt arts, or devilish crafts and abuses.

And for their subjects of all degrees rather to give double and treble subsidies yearly to continue an honourable pay, for maintenance of sober, valiant, painful, honest, obedient soldiers in true martial discipline, than to become a prey to

these merciless carousing, degenerate insatiable monsters. And it is to be hoped the present king of France[156] (if God bless him with any obedience of his subjects, as were to be wished, and his constancy in religion, and other heroical virtues meriteth) will no doubt by all due means in his territories endeavour to procure a reformation of these horrible disorders, which is yet utterly impossible for him to redress, being in that state, by long continuance grown to a most difficile[157] and hard cure.

But as the estates of the United Provinces (by means of such bad pay and collections of corruptions in their martial or rather mercenary commanders) did also for many years together continually lose by piecemeal a number of strong forts, towers, and provinces in their possessions, being driven almost on every side down into their marches where they were enforced to implore Her Majesty's present aid to escape their impendent ruin: so, having of late (by honourable example of Her Majesty's bands) well reformed that their base kind of pay, and in part thereby also their other abuses (which of late years hath crept in among their enemies) have been able to make head and recover again, many of those important places that before they lost: repairing thereby somewhat the fault of their former errors.

Yet when I persuade to give unto all colonels and such like chief commanders such entertainment as may suffice them contentedly to live, without seeking so much as by toleration or suffering of frauds to enrich themselves, or to supply their wants. It is no part of my meaning to have colonels so common, or such multitude of needless officers, as in disorderly wars hath been accustomed. For one colonel or maestro del campo may very well suffice for 3/4,000 thousand men, and the contrary is but an abuse and abasing of that name which should not be bestowed but on old soldiers of judgement and experience, able to discharge a place of that importance. And this officer having (for himself, his martial, his serjeant major, and

other necessary chief officers of his regiment) convenient allowance to maintain an honourable table, the inferior private captains may and ought to content themselves with meaner port till (by virtue and desert) they be advanced to higher place: and (abhorring all vanity in apparel, and wasteful expenses in baser appetites) endeavour themselves by travel, care, good arms, and training of their companies (in right martial exercises and exploits in the field upon their enemies) to make their value known, and by such emulation one to excel another, whereby they may be chosen and advanced to higher offices: the private captains place being indeed but the first step toward martial honour: and therefore not to be accompanied with such pomp, as now is too too usual.

It may perhaps be replied. So long as men are content to accept these glorious names only (without any charge to their prince's purses, or craving any increase of pay) it is a small matter to content fantasies with feathers.

I answer, it is a matter of far greater consequence than is conceived: for, first it abaseth those degrees of honour which chiefly should allure right martial minds, and maketh them seem vile, when they are so common as they fall to the lot of persons unworthy such degree, and so grow in contempt; and not affected after by the true honourable minds: besides wanting maintenance for the due port of that place, they are enforced to be patrons to all or many of those disorders and abuses before mentioned, unless they would choose to undo themselves and friends to maintain it otherwise, which few I think nowadays use to do.

Further having once taken a greater name, they disdain ever after to serve in any inferior calling, fitter indeed for their experience: and so, become persons altogether unprofitable, and to maintain those glorious names enforced (by shift of brain) to try conclusions: and so, by all these means the cause of greater inconveniences.

I conclude therefore by all these reasons before alleged,

and the success of plain experience also (both of old time, and in our own age) that as it is more honourable for the prince, and most necessary for the advancement of the service, to have all chief needful commanders to have such complete entertainment, as they may (without extortion or corruption in themselves, or alteration of abuses in others) maintain their place with reputation, and execute martial discipline with severity. So discharging their duties honourably and honestly they shall save at least one third part of the royal or public treasure, and yet the forces (though not in show of ensigns to scare daws) yet in armed hands to conquer enemies far more strong and puissant than those multitudes of colours faced with freebooters or other seely[158] unarmed ghosts or disordered mutinous persons, that by licentious education will scarcely endure the pains of watch and ward, or abide the due execution of any true martial discipline. And as these superior governors and commanders (doing their duties) are worthy of all reputation, credit, advancement, and honour: so contrariwise, after they have convenient entertainment, if they shall be found the patrons or panders to such corruptions and abuses as tend to the ruin of all true discipline military, I would wish them disgraded, and with all shame disarmed as uncapable ever after to their grave, of any true martial honour.

And for proof of this proposition in all the chief officers also of an army, for a taste of the rest having chosen to treat of the martial censor, or general controller of musters.

I say there are of this kind of officers (as likewise of all others) two sorts:[159] the one, honest, just, fearing God, and respecting the honour, commodity, and advancement of their prince's service. The other, neither just, nor honest, nor possessed with any fear or reverence of God: but (aiming only at favour, wealth, and advancement in this corrupt world) care not what becomes of the service, so they may by any means enrich themselves, and purchase friends to back them in all their unhonest proceedings. But more briefly

or plainly to set forth the different or repugnant paths of these two sorts of officers, I cannot better than by these brief conferences of the good and bad ensuing.

A conference of a good and bad muster-master, with his inferior commissaries of musters, by the fruits to discern the tree.

The Good.	The Bad.
This officer will not willingly serve, but with such a competent and convenient entertainment both for himself and for his inferior commissaries, clerks, and substitutes, as he need not take bribe or benevolence, or depend on the favour of any, but the general alone.	This officer cares not how little entertainment certain he have for himself or his substitutes: presuming he can make what gain he list of his office: and make such friends thereby also, as may bear him out of his lewdness, etc.
This officer will be in his expenses temperate, rather sparing than wasting: that he be not by want enforced to strain his conscience, and deceive his prince.	Such an officer having so good means to get immeasurably by playing the good-fellow, will spend infinitely, especially in keeping company with such as must join with him in deceiving the prince.
This officer seeketh by all means to cause the general to establish laws and ordinances, whereby orderly entrances and discharges of soldiers may be registered, and thereby neither the prince, nor the soldier abused.	Such an officer can no more abide laws and ordinances in musters, than lucrous[160] captain, saying, it barreth the officer of his discretion, whereby the office ought to be directed, and brave men gratified.
This officer delivereth these laws to his inferior commissaries with other strait particular instructions, and	Such an officer likes none of these strict courses, saying, among martial men a man

calleth them to account how they have discharged their duties.

This officer will not set down any penny check certain upon any captain or band without apparent proof: and for such as cannot be decided, will respite them to further trial, that neither prince, captain, nor soldier be defrauded or injured.

This officer if any such doubt arise in the checks as he cannot determine by the laws established, he either desireth the resolution of the general, or that it may be determined by a counsel at war, or some commissioners, especially authorised to assist him.

This officer (if the captains show any reasonable cause to be relieved out of the checks, either in respect of the loss of horse, or armour in service, or such like that deserveth consideration) he presenteth his proofs thereof, together with his check to the lord general, desiring his lordship to have honourable consideration thereof.

This officer (if he see overmuch familiarity between any of his commissaries and captains) is presently jealous of them, and calleth them to account: and if he find

must play the good-fellow, and not to be too pinching of a prince's purse.

Such an officer calleth this examination nice curiosity, and sayeth, so there be some checks for fashion's sake it is no matter: make them little enough that the captains be not angry, and all is well. One good fellow must pleasure another.

Such an officer says, it is great folly to lose that prerogative of his office, to resolve these doubts as he sees cause; and to subject himself to commissioner that is master of the musters himself.

Such an officer will be chancellor himself, and never trouble the lord general with these matters, who hath matters of greater importance to think upon: saying, prince's purses may not be spared, and brave men must be rewarded, and officers must get love and honour by dealing bountifully.

Such an officer likes none of these severe jealousies, but liketh well such officers as be plausible and grateful to the captains, knowing the captains be liberal, and

them connivant or faulty, presently displaceth them, or if he find no other proof but vehement suspicion, yet removeth them to another garrison, and placeth such other in their rooms, as may sift and examine their former behaviour.

This officer, as he would not (to gain a million) doo any captain a penny wrong, so will he not for the favour of the greatest persons in the army, or his nearest kin or friends stain his conscience to abuse his prince one penny: and therefore presents the check truly as he finds it, and leaves all favour to be shown by the lord general only.

This officer procureth orders also to be established for training of the soldiers, and himself requireth the captains to perform them: and to encourage men to do well, will not spare out of his own purse to give rewards to such shot as by proof he finds the best mark-men.

This officer will not accept penny nor penny-worth of any captain, or soldier, more, than the fee due to his office, and that not as a benevolence secretly, but will not be ungrateful to him, seeing he minds and hath good means to requite their courtesy tenfold out of the prince's purse.

Such an officer, being of another mould, will none of these melancholy courses: he will pleasure his friends, and cross his enemies, and make them know he is an officer can please or displease them: but displease he will not for all that, and for his excuse alleges that prince's cooks may give a good fellow a piece of beef, and the butlers or cellarers a cup of wine or beer, and that he will show his friends a cast of his office.

Such an officer will none of this, saying, it is but a turmoiling of captains and soldiers, and intruding on the captains' offices to offend and discontent them, and that brave men should not be controlled, or the imperfection of their soldiers discovered by such open exercises, and that such expenses are foolish, and make more enemies than friends.

Such an officer will accept anything money or ware, so it come secretly: and

as his due openly.

This officer reposing himself only on God and his clear conscience, laboureth not to make other friends but his prince and general: and for the general himself will not strain his conscience anyway, though he be sure of many enemies and small backbiting and even to his prince for faithful service store of false backbitings: yea the swan must be made a crow, and the falcon a buzzard.

This officer as he is thus precise himself as neither to give penny for such an office, nor to receive bribe or benevolence more than due fees: so maketh he a matter of conscience whilst he carrieth such office to give to any of his honourable friends any present, lest they or others should have cause to suspect, he did it to be borne-out in any lewd action.

like a good-fellow will (on the prince's purse) requite it tenfold, as easily he may do, and none but his fellow thieves able to accuse him.

Such an officer will not only for the general, but for any other person of authority strain his conscience anyway, and to all other captains also so kind and liberal of his princess Her Majesty's purse, as he is generally extolled for a brave man; an honourable officer, an honourable mind, yea and his prince also whom he deceives horribly shall be persuaded the daw is an eagle, and the cuckoo a nightingale.

Such an officer hath no melancholy conceit, but as he will take lastly, so will he give frankly to them that can bear him out: and such a one as captains, colonels, great officers and all shall extoll, how shall his prince but like of too, considering the more he robs, the more friends he maketh, and the more he shall be praised: so as if there were no God, the honest were indeed to be begged for a right natural fool.

But this Conference of either kind I hope it appeareth plainly both how many enemies the honest must of necessity in this age of military corruptions draw upon him: and likewise how great a multitude of friends the unhonest may make by their confederacy with others of that humour in robbing of the prince or public treasure: and therefore how necessary it is that as well the honest be honoured with entertainment and maintenance answerable to their reputation and credit of their place, as the contrary well sifted and extraordinarily punished in terror of abuse.[161]

But as it is apparently best for the honour of any prince or state to have this honest office so backed with honourable entertainment and authority as he may boldly without fear or regard of any offence control fraud, thereby to enforce all captains to keep their bands complete, or dull to check their defaults as well for arms as men: so is it also as much for the profit and benefit of the king prince, or state (in respect of the saving of their treasure), which no way in the world shall be so extremely and unprofitably wasted, as by the ignorance, confederacy or abuses of these officers, if they be unskilful, base-minded or dishonest: as none can better testify (if they will truly confess their errors) than the states of the Low Countries, who I think have had full experience of the extreme mischief ensuing by employment of base commissaries with poor wages, in place of so great trust and importance. But somewhat to say of our own nation, omitting theirs, I thinks there is no indifferent person but will confess, that in the Earl of Leicester's time[162] of government, the English bands generally in the Queen's pay (a very few excepted) were maintained ever far stranger than either before or since, and great reason it should be so: for as neither Her Majesty, nor any prince of Europe ever paid more justly and honourably than in his time, having every four or six months at farthest till the last, a full pay: so was there also so facile and easy means for all captains in Her Majesty's

pay from time to time then still to supply and reinforce their bands without the captains' charges, as never was neither before nor since. For besides the forty foot bands and ten cornets of horse (by contract in Her Majesty's pay) there was ever at the charge of the country also many other English ensigns all the Earl of Leicester's time, somewhile twenty, sometime forty, and sometime seventy ensigns at a time, which being by the states as extreme badly paid then, as the queen's Majesty's were honourably and well: any English soldier that could get out of their bands into the ensigns of Her Majesty thought themselves advanced from hell to heaven. Hereof it came to pass that all the Earl of Leicester's time the captains in Her Majesty's pay needed not to send into England for soldiers at great charge, for their levying, arming, and transporting to supply their bands as since they have: but continually suite was made unto them by soldiers of this ill paid voluntary bands to be received into the queen's Majesty's pay: for those soldiers would rather freely forgive their own pay to their captains, than tarry in the state's pay, if they could obtain a place in any of Her Majesty's bands: and so the captains of Her Majesty's bands (without any charge at all) had means then still to maintain and keep their ensigns complete, which (neither before nor since) they ever could (without their charges in sending for and transporting of new soldiers out of England) for the which they can have no allowance but upon special petition to Her Majesty.

Further the Earl in his time of government took such courses to make the captains keep their bands strong, as never were before nor since. For at the first, finding many bands of footmen left unto him extreme weak, not sixty soldiers in a band of 150 and half a dozen such bands at one muster and one place: His Excellency gave a general day to all captains in Her Majesty's list to have their bands reinforced strong, or else to be checked according to their weakness at the next future muster: as they should likewise for his time receive the benefit for the time past,

not to be checked, if they were found complete, and strong for service at that their appointed day.

This generally made them all, or the greatest part contend, who might reinforce their bands strongest.

Again, His Excellency (being both governor for the states, and general for Her Majesty) had the commandment of both forces, and thereby caused musters' general in his time to be always made of all soldiers in every garrison at one instant: whereby the soldiers in the states pay could not fraudulently be lent or borrowed to fill the queen's bands at musters, as otherwise they might have done.

There was also such ordinances for musters established by His Excellency as never the like in those provinces (or better in any other) can be shown, to enforce the captains that for fear of due check (if for their own credit any reputation otherwise they would not) to keep their bands complete: by which precedents the states have since much reformed their militia.

And with all so honourable entertainment allowed the muster-master general at that time, as (if he would have but winked willingly at corruptions) he had been worthy of all shame and blame: who thereby (having convenient means, carrying a severe hand (according to his duty) to execute his office justly, was so maligned of the licentious sort of captains, as they would vow to keep their bands more than complete, rather than he should have a penny check out of their bands toward his entertainment.

The honest therefore and honourable (for their own commendation) and the licentious and malignant (for fear of check and envy against the muster-master) contend all, who might keep their bands fairest.

And yet I think there will be found more checks certain, notwithstanding in the Earl's government fivefold for respective time, than other before or after; when the bands were far weaker, besides the checks respited to further examination, which would have amounted unto much more, if by conning practices they had not procured

his disgrace.

But as the bestowing sometimes of 1,000 or 2,000 pounds a year on the maintaining of sluices and mills for the draining of marshes, may in some levels by clearing of the waters increase their goodness and value of their grounds twenty thousand pounds a year to be bestowed on these necessary engines may leave them so insufficient as they shall not be able to drain the waters. And thereby the whole level of marshes unprofitable, or many score thousands of pounds in their value yearly lost. So fareth it in the due maintenance of these important officers in causes military.

The like I say of the marshal and serjeant-general, and many other, who if they have will and skill to execute their duties without regard of offence to the bad and licentious in matter of justice, and use their office as they ought, to advance the profit and service of the prince (which without competent and honourable entertainment is not to be expected) they may not only be able tenfold in the advancement of the service to deserve their wages, but even (in saving of treasure) requite it tenfold also.

And therefore soundly may conclude, that neither the sparing of seed by the fond husbandman, nor the pinching of pence before mentioned by the miserable merchant, in the rigging and furnishing of his ship, nor want of due allowance for draining of marshes by convenient engines is half so fond and absurd, as the omitting of such necessary officers in martial causes, or the sparing of such entertainment as should enable them to discharge their offices justly and honourably, that by corrupt and lucrous petty companions may be managed to the extreme robbing of the prince, and confusion of all true martial discipline. For even as in this office of censor or controller-general of musters a corrupt person may with far greater gain give his prince two thousand pounds a year to farm that office than an honest officer can take two thousand pounds yearly entertainment for him and his substitutes faithfully

to discharge it: so shall the 2000 pounds given by the prince to such a one, be tenfold more gainful and beneficial to his service, than the 2000 pounds taken: which by due consideration of the frauds and deceits practiced, and by me at large in a particular treatise thereof already revealed, and by the very trial or experiences already made (duly weighed) will evidently appear.

And therefore may truly say, that as well for the profit of all princes and states, as for the honour and advancement of the service, it is fit this officer (as likewise all other officers or commanders of like importance and necessity) should have such convenient entertainment for the reputation of their place, as they may (without fear or regard of any) sincerely censure and control all deceits and abuses, by whomsoever they find then bolstered or patronized. And having indeed such allowance as the reputation of their place requireth, if any such be found (for any respect) to become party or pander of such corruptions and robberies, whereby the royal treasure should be unduly wasted, the forces enfeebled and martial discipline corrupted "tanquam reum lasae maiestatis",[163] I would have such a one exemplary to be corrected with all blame and shame.

And for a final conclusion of this true paradox may confidently confirm, that the most thrifty, and sparing course that any prince or state can take to continue a war (without wasting of their treasure, or over-burdening of their subjects with intolerable taxes) is still to allow all necessary commanders, officers, captains, and soldiers such convenient, large, and sufficient entertainment, as men of true value and honesty may indeed rest therewith contented: And then to execute severe martial discipline on all frauds, robberies, and extorsions, without respect of persons.

Preface to the Second Paradox

Paradox 2 compares and contrasts the ancient militia – both Greek and Roman – and the modern artillery. Thomas Digges is particularly keen on Lacedaemonian warriors whose conduct he hopes modern armies and their commanders will adopt. Nevertheless, negative examples of cowardly and corrupted soldiers from the past are not omitted. Thus both paradoxes one and two present positive and negative examples to be followed or avoided.

Among his contemporaries, Digges again quotes François de la Noue and his *Discours*, and praises the figures of such valiant commanders as William the Silent, Prince of Orange, Don John of Austria and the Prince of Parma for the disgust they exhibit towards corrupted officers.

The most extended part of the paradox consists in a list of thirty points (actually twenty-eight, as points nn. 9 and 29 are missing) where Thomas Digges explains how early modern European troops differ from ancient Greek and Roman armies.

The final part of this second paradox is occupied by four reasons that modern soldiers give to sustain that their militia is far better than the ancient one. For each reason Digges provides a long confutation (what in terms of classical rhetoric would be called *refutatio*). The first three of these reasons are listed within the main body of the text, while an entire separate section of the paradox is devoted to the last and most important reason: modern advanced weapons are much better than rudimental ancient arms.

The Second Paradox.

That the antique Roman and Grecian discipline martial[164] doth far exceed in excellency our modern, notwithstanding all alterations by reason of that late invention of artillery, or fire-shot. And that (unless we reform such corruptions as are grown into our modern militia, utterly repugnant to the ancient) we shall in time lose utterly the renown and honour of our nation, as all other also that have or shall commit or tolerate like errors.

Whereas among many captains and commanders of the new modern martial discipline, it is maintained for a maxim: that all ancient Roman or Grecian military laws and orders of the field (as well for government, as training of their soldiers) are for the wars of our age mere mockeries, and that the fury of the ordinance and other rare. Inventions of our time is such, as hath enforced a necessary change of discipline and order in all those matters: I think it fit to open the error and absurdity of this opinion,[165] held either of such as of ignorance discommend that they never understood, or unadvisedly are miscarried with the authority of others, or of malicious subtilty seek to advance such opinions, as may reduce all martial actions to a turbulent confusion, whereby such corrupt, base minded persons (as seek the wars for gain) may excessively enrich themselves, even with the ruin of their country.

I therefore to the contrary aver: that neither the fury of ordinance, nor any other like inventions of this our age, hath or can work any such alteration: but that the ancient discipline of the Roman and martial Grecian states, (even for our time) are rare and singular precedents. And that many such customs as we have taken up (contrary to those honourable and right martial precedents) will work our utter shame and confusion, if we should encounter with such warlike troops and soldiers as their discipline

then bred: and yet not impossible but facile for any king in his own realm (especially of our nation) by those ancient precedents to select and frame a militia as far surmounting in value vulgar modern as the Lacedaemonian, the Macedonian, or any other Grecian did the effeminate Persian,[166] who in sundry battles have vanquished them when in number they were double, treble, yea manifold the greater, and in wealth and riches far exceeding. And to enter into the opening of this truth (so much repugnant to the conceit generally received of the greater multitude professing arms) first I say, that like as in all other arts and sciences it is a matter of very great importance to have sure grounds and true principles without abuse or error. So in this art military (whereupon dependeth not only the lives of so great multitudes, but also the defence or ruin of the greatest realms and monarchies) it were to be wished that men were not to be misled with such false and fraudulent opinions as may bring forth fruits most poisonous and perilous. Seeing therefore by the civil wars which have risen in this our age, diverse disorders have sprung up, and for want of ability to make due pay to soldiers, the generals and chief commanders to have been enforced to tolerate many abuses which in time have grown usual, and by use of some disciples (bred in such lawless dissentions) not only learned and practised, but perversely maintained to be not only tolerable, but also laudable, yea far excelling the ancient discipline of the Roman and Greek armies.

This error because it tendeth to the advancing of vice, and defacing of virtue,[167] to the extolling of many corrupt new practised abuses and licentious delicacies, and the rejecting or contemning of the sober painful, strict, severe, and sacred military discipline of the antiquity. I think it fit to touch some principal points, wherein the modern militia (which I reprove) doth dissent from the antiquity (which I commend) and propose as a precedent for us to imitate: that any soldier of judgement (not carried wilfully with corrupt affection) may see, how far awry they are, that so

much extol the one, or disdainfully contemn the other.

But first (lest I be misconceived) I must explain a little further, my meaning not to be precisely to bind our nation, or any other, to the same very rules or laws which the Romans or any Grecian state was ruled by, which most flourished in martial prowess, I think the same as great an error as that of some divines,[168] who would have all nations ruled by the very same political laws and pains that Moses prescribed to the Jews or people of Israel. For albeit those divine laws were prescribed by the infinite wisdom of God himself, and for those people (no doubt) the most convenient, yet, as times, and states, and dispositions of nations are variable and different, so may the pains or punishments be made more severe or remiss, as the magistrates and chosen members of each state, (assembling as physicians to cure the maladies growing in the body of their realms) shall find convenient: so as they make nothing lawful that is by laws divine prohibited, for that were flat impiety. So say I also, there is in the discipline military of those martial states antique, many things, which (according to the nature and disposition of our people) we may mitigate or increase, alter or accommodate. But the dissent in the very chief grounds and principal axioms of the art martial (as such men of war of the new discipline do) I hold it a dangerous error, and fit to be effectually regarded, and speedily reformed. Neither is it any part of my meaning, and to tax or reprove all generals, commanders, colonels or captains that serve in these our modern wars, as men corrupted or depraved with these erroneous opinions. For myself in mine own experience have known many, that highly esteem the ancient and true martial discipline, and condemn as much the intolerable abuses that have grown in by the late intestine and civil dissensions.

As in France, how much that worthy Prince of Condé and Admiral Châtillon[169] abhorred those disorders which in their time began (and are since grown to their ripeness or rather full rottenness) may partly appear by their camp

laws, savouring altogether of the antique true martial discipline, as far forth as the corruptions of this age, and their wants to pay their troops would permit. As by that I have at large set down in my *Stratioticos*[170] touching their military laws, more manifestly will appear. Likewise in the military treatise of that famous general, Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur de Langey[171] of discipline military, more evidently doth appear: how much he disliked also of the corrupt customs in his time, grown into the wars of France, and how he laboured to reduce it to the perfection of those ancient martial states, that for many hundred years together (having made that art and profession, and thereby mightily advanced their realms in fame, honour, and wealth, and also increased their territories) had indeed attained to the high perfection thereof.

How much also that famous Prince of Orange disliked with these modern abuses (albeit for want of means to pay, and also authority sufficient to govern as he would, he were enforced to tolerate in his mercenary commanders many of those corruptions) myself know by that I have diverse time, heard, even from his own mouth, besides that appeareth otherwise by his remonstrances and military ordinances. The like I could say of many of our own nation, men of honour, experience and value, that both know and acknowledge how necessary it were to have a reformation of modern abuses, and restitution of true martial discipline, but are loath to make themselves odious to such multitudes, as (having been bred up in those base, easy, corrupt lucrous customs) would extremely hate such a governor, or commanders as should cross their profit, and in his own regiment first with severity begin such reformation: which is indeed not to be performed but by the authority and majesty of a prince and royal state, that is able both to pay and punish.

So far am I therefore from condemning all commanders of this age, either of our own nation or theirs, for patrons of these modern corruptions and bastardly degenerate

soldiery, as clean contrariwise in mine own experience and knowledge I can clear many: having myself known and conferred with divers of our own nation that as much abhor them, as that famous soldier of France Monsieur de la Noue, whom I have myself also heard, as well in his private speeches, as since in his military discourses discover his extreme dislike of such our modern unsoldierly corruptions,[172] which nevertheless myself saw he was in part enforced to tolerate, even then, when he was martial of that mighty army by the states levied against Don John of Austria, and the Prince of Parma in Brabant utterly against his will and liking. I can therefore the less blame any such of our nation, as bear for a time with these errors, when they see (by contending for redress without sufficient authority) they shall little prevail, and yet make themselves extreme odious. But for such as will not only tolerate, but (of purpose to make profit by them) will impudently maintain their modern customs good, and better for this age, than the ancient, as I know them most hurtful members, so I cannot but wish such bad patriots reformed by better reason, or in time rejected as infected sheep,[173] that are able with their leprosy and infection to corrupt great multitudes, to the excessive danger of their prince and state.

First therefore to show some principal points, wherein the modern militia I speak of, dissenteth from the ancient by me commended, I say:[174]

1. It was a very laudable custom of antiquity to have in their states or realms *conscriptos milites*[175] their chosen enrolled soldiers, not of the base, loose, abject, unhonest sort, by Cornelius Tacitus well-termed "purgamenta urbium suarum",[176] but of the honest, well-bred, and renowned burghers and other country inhabitants that had some living, art, or trade to live upon when the wars were finished, as well to have them practiced and trained in all martial exercises before they came to deal with their enemies: as also that having somewhat to lose, they more

dutifully and obediently behave themselves during the service. And having whereupon to live when the wars were done, need not commit such picories, extorsions, and outrages, as the common crew of such caterpillars and vermin[177] do: as (having nothing at home to lose, or art to live) seek the wars only (like freebooters) for ravine and spoil.

2. I say, it was also a commendable custom in those states and commonwealths to choose captains and commanders of credit and account in their countries, cities, or towns, that might train and exercise neighbours in all martial and military exercises at home, before they led them to the wars: whereby the very children in those states (only by looking on) knew far better both the use of every sort of weapon, and how to march and range themselves into any form of battle, yea, how to defend themselves (like soldiers) from every kind of charge or assault of their enemies, far better I say than many of our brave men that have haunted such licentious wars or picories many a year.

3. I say also that it was a commendable course to make such choice of captains in those antique wars (as being men of reputation of the same country or city from whence their soldiers were levied, might have the greater care to perform their duties towards their countrymen and neighbours, among whom they should live at their return from the wars, and thereby receive ever after unto their death from them and their friends, either convenient praise and love, or infamy and hatred as their government had merited) so in these days that the captains are become not only the leaders, but also the *pagadores*[178] or paymasters of their bands, there is greater cause to have them chosen not only of skill and reputation, but also of ability to answer an accompt of such treasure as shall come to their hands, for the payment of their soldiers: seeing otherwise (if they be base-minded corrupt persons) they may full easily wrong, starve, and waste their soldiers many ways, to make their own profit by their death and consumption of their band,

especially where frauds in musters by lewd custom shall also grow tolerable. For if any such captains be chosen as either have nothing of their own at home to live upon, or never mean to turn into the country, whereas the soldiers were levied, to receive from them and their friends the honour or infamy, the love or hatred that their behaviour hath merited what hope is there that such a one will leave the excessive sweet gain he may make by the fleecing or rather flaying of his flock, and not (according to the modern discipline) scrape and rake in what he may to live afterward: having neither land living, nor art otherwise to maintain himself when the wars are done.

4. Likewise where captains were rightly chosen of such reputation and credit as is before repeated, that they had a special care in health and sickness to provide things necessary to preserve the lives of their soldiers (being their tenants or neighbours), that ever after to their death would honour and love them for it, and the kindred and friends of those soldiers also, whensoever it came to any fight with the enemy, they were ever most assured and faithful to such leaders, and they likewise to them. In such sort as it was almost impossible to break such a knot of united minds: but being otherwise levied (as too too commonly in our modern wars hath been accustomed, where the captain neither knows his soldiers, nor the soldiers their captain before the service, nor ever mean to meet again when the wars are ended) as the love is small between them, so is their fidelity and confidence much less. And as the captain taketh small care to provide for them either in health or sickness for any necessaries to preserve lives, so have as small devotion to adventure their lives for him or his honour (to whom indeed the chief reputation of their good service always should redound) but rather in all encounters with the enemy, how to make shift by flight to save their lives. If then these kinds of captains also (very providently foreseeing the worst which is likely to happen) will not be unprovided of a beast, to run away,

trusting rather to the legs of his horse than to all the hands in his band: what can be conceived? But that hereof chiefly it comes to pass, that in these modern wars we hear of so many violent retreats, (for so in their new discipline they term that which in the old wars was called shameful flight) I mean when the captain and some of his officers spur away on horseback, and the rest throw away both armour and weapons to leap ditches the more lightly, and are shamefully slain without resistance: and many times by multitudes (pressing to get boats) do drown themselves. Now whether such accidents be too usual or no, I refer it to their own consciences that most boldly will commend this base modern discipline.[179] And if it be true whether there be any more likely cause thereof than the diffidence before recited between the captain and his soldiers, and the want of shame (which in the antique soldiery was ever accounted the highest virtue) but now by depraved custom in our licentious degenerate wars utterly lost and abandoned: and such accounted bravest men that are become of all others the most impudent.

5. I say also it was a most honourable order to have it punished with great shame in any soldier to lose or throwaway his arms, being held among the Grecians a perpetual disgrace for any private soldier so much as to lose his target. But if now both captains and some chief commanders also of the modern new militia will be much offended to have any of their band so much as checked by the censor or muster-master for lack of his curates or cask. And to encourage either to leave their arms, will seldom themselves ever wear any, but take it for a great bravery and magnanimity in service to be seen unarmed. What shall I say but that indeed (for them that never mean to fight, but to escape by flight) to be the lighter for a swift carrier, it is a very political invention and a gainful discipline?[180]

6. It was also an honourable course of antiquity (besides the choice of the captains of such credit in their towns

and countries at their entering also into service) to bind them and their soldiers all with a sacred solemn military oath, being holden no better than a thief or freebooter that followed the wars, unless he were enrolled under some ensign, and had received his military oath, whereby he vowed both obedience and fidelity, and rather to die than dishonourably to abandon his leader and ensign.

But in such new discipline these ceremonies are scoffed at, and captains chosen suitable to their loose depraved soldiery.

7. It was also a laudable custom to have the captain carry his own arms in his ensign, besides the ensigns of the regiments which were among the Romans always eagles. And that he that lost his ensign should be held a disgraced man, not fit to carry arms till he had won like honour again.

But now in our new militia instead of ensigns we have learned to carry colours, because many captains perhaps are yet to win their arms, and thereby make small account to lose their masters' colours, which may be one cause (among many other) that the Spaniard within these twenty or thirty years can make his vaunt of the taking of more English ensigns, than I think they could truly these 500 years before.

8. It was also a most laudable discipline, whereby men from their infancy were taught in those martial schools rather resolutely in the field to die, than to save their lives by flight, the mothers detesting and abhorring their own children that saved their lives by flying: yea and some with their own hands doing execution on such children of their own as were fugitives, rather than they would have so dishonourable a monument (as they said) to their parents and country to walk upon the earth.[181]

But if in our modern militia this error be thought so small, as many such brave men will among their cups usually vaunt thereof, and recount at how many places they have fled and run away: taking as it were a glory to

tell who had fled fastest, the change is over great.

As in the ancient martial states it was (even in a private soldier) held a perpetual shame to have run away, or so much as only abandoned his rank wherein he was placed (unless it were to step forward into the place of his precedent fellow slain) so in a captain or superior commander it is much more dishonourable and shameful: which hath caused many famous generals (that full easily might have escaped and saved themselves) utterly to refuse horses offered, and all other means to fly, and have voluntarily sacrificed themselves with their soldiers.

But if in our new militia many brave soldiers (as they are termed by their own crew) will not shame to vaunt: in how many places they have escaped by flight (belike of zeal to fight again for their country) the change indeed is great.

10. In the antique militia it was a shame for a leader or commander of footmen to be seen mounted on any horse of service, but either a foot, or for his ease (being wearied) on some small nag, which no man could suspect was any way reserved to escape by flight. But if in such modern militia you shall have both captains and colonels on horses of swift carrier mounted, and bravely leading their men even to the place of butchery, and then to take their leave (under pretence to fetch supplies) the discipline is greatly altered. And yet these shameless fugitives perhaps highly commending one another (when the valiant men that resolutely died in the place, by slanderous inventions shall be lewdly defaced) these fugitives I say may be advanced, and the valiant disgraced, or at least buried in oblivion.

11. In these antique martial commonwealths they used to make statues and epigrams in their honour that resolutely died in the field for the service of their country: and detested such base minded cowards as saved themselves by flight. But if contrariwise we bury their names in oblivion that valiantly died in the field, and extoll fugitives, and think them not unworthy of new charges:

there is a great alteration indeed of martial discipline.

12. In the ancient martial states and monarchies, there were public places of exercise, where the youth (before they went to the wars) used to inure themselves to more heavy arms and weapons far than the usual for service, making thereby their ordinary arms seem light and easy to them.

But if such patrons of the new discipline scoff at these painful exercises (because they neither trouble themselves nor the soldiers with the wearing of such arms) it seemeth that as they of the antiquity prepared themselves to fight and conquer. So, these modern commanders to escape and carouse with the dead pays[182] of their slain soldiers.

13. The antique martial discipline was to range their soldiers into form of battle by due proportions of ranks, teaching the succeeding ranks (where any of the former were slain) to reinforce their places maintaining their first ranks still full with armed hands of fighting men in martial order.

But if such ringleaders of the modern puddled discipline, as would have all brought into a confusion, scoff at such order and ordinances, and say, there is no better way to make a battle than advance four pikes, and make their soldiers run in and fill them: and that all other arithmetical rules (for speedy dispatch thereof) are unfeasible toys, because their own skills will not reach it as a matter they never set their wits upon. Whether they were fitter to fold sheep, or embattle soldiers I leave it to the censure of honourable and right martial commanders.

14. The discipline was to reduce their armies into sundry battalions and sundry several fronts whereby the general and his chief officers and colonels might orderly bring new succours to fight, and relieve such as were tired or weakened by slaughter, and so to renew many fights upon the enemy still with courageous fresh men till they had entire victory. And for that cause had they so many fronts and several kind of commanders, as *turmarum*

praefectos,[183] over their *principes*, *hastatos* and *triarios*: *tribunos militum* also *drungarios* or *chiliarchas*, *turmarchas merarchas*, *celerum praefectos*[184], and many others as in my *Stratioticos* is set down more largely for their infantry only: whereon those right martial nations reposed their chiefest trust, and yet no idle leaders or officers, but everyone to so necessary a purpose as they might not conveniently be spared.

But if such men of war of the new mould scoff at all these ordinances and supplies, saying: a battle is won and lost in the twinkling of an eye at the first joining, and therefore needless: we may indeed confess it too true, where they bring their brave men like flocks of sheep huddle confused to fight, or rather to flight: the battle is many times indeed gotten before the crossing of pikes. The terror only of arms glistering is sufficient to scare such pilfering unsoldierlike freebooters.

15. The ancient discipline was ever to encamp their soldiers close together strongly, and so orderly to divide their quarters, and set down their regiments: as their camp was like a well-fortified town, where ten times so many enemies durst not assault them.

But our new discipline, to lodge our army in villages far and wide a sunder, as every captain may be provided most for his ease and commodity like petty princes, and thereby in no place more easily defeated than in their own lodgings.

16. The ancient martial men thought it not dishonourable with their own hands to entrench their camps. And their great generals would take the shovel in hand themselves when occasion so required.

But our brave men of the new discipline disdain to be pioneers, and will rather lodge abroad in villages at their pleasure and ease like gallant fellows, where they may take their pleasure, and carouse lustily.

17. The ancient discipline reposed their chief confidence in their infantry, whom they so trained, armed and ordered:

as twenty or thirty thousand footmen forced not of five times so many horsemen.

But as our footmen of the new discipline are armed and ordered, a thousand horse is able to defeat five times as many such footmen. And yet might the footmen of our time carry weapons of far greater advantage against horse being well ordered, than were known in those days. So great is the error of the martial discipline of our age among such leaders, as have been trained up in freebooter wars, and have vowed their service to their Lady Picorea, being careless of anything pertaining to victory and honour, respecting rather their own private profit and commodity.

18. The ancient martial discipline tended chiefly to this scope, to carry such an army to the field, as boldly durst march on all grounds, as well champion, as by straights. And in ordinance ready to fight with the enemy by their exercise, order, and assurance, not doubting of victory.

But the scope of such modern discipline seemeth to be rather to carry men (so lightly armed and loosely disciplined) as they may be nimble to stray abroad to pick and steal, and to escape by flight, when they are charged with any enemy of force. And as for loss of ensigns or shameful flight, they make it a trifling matter, being ready to do as much again at any time.

19. The ancient discipline would never suffer any soldiers to go abroad to spoil, but with leaders and commanders to direct and guide them: having intelligence beforehand, which quarters was best replenished with commodities needful for the army, and then sent such forces as might not fail to set it in, or honourably defend themselves if they were encountered.

But this new discipline will send their soldiers to spoil by handfuls, without captain, lieutenant or ensign to guide them: if they get any picory, the captain hath his share: but if their throats be cut, the captain will have their pay, as well due before their death as after, by mustering them absent, etc., till the muster-master discover it. And

whereas such a captain should be disarmed, and by the provost hanged for such abuse: by this new discipline he will rail at the muster-master lustily, if he check him only the stolen pay.

20. The ancient true martial discipline was, that all preys[185] (so orderly in the wars taken) should be brought to one place; where magistrates and officers of purpose appointed should dispose thereof for the ransoming of prisoners, and the remounting of such as had their horses slain in service, and for reward as well of those that made the stand, as of those that fit in the pray.

But in our new discipline it is catch who catch may,[186] and no order in the world for distribution of the pray for any public uses, nor for redemption of prisoners, or remounting of such as in service lost their horses.

21. The ancient discipline was that no armed man on pain of death should step out of his rank in time of service, to catch or spoil, which they easily obeyed, because by their martial discipline then, they had as good reward out of the pray (that stood in battle armed) as the loose men that brought it in.

But in our modern wars (where no such order is established, but catch who catch may) there is nothing but confusion: which cannot be but to their utter ruin and shame. Whensoever such unsoldierly freebooters shall encounter with any enemy of good government.

22. By the ancient discipline (besides the reward of the soldiers which was left to the discretion of the general) there were ever great masses of treasure brought home to the public treasury to maintain the future wars, and thereby no cesses or subsidies on the people for many years together, by reason of the treasure so saved and gained by their well-disciplined wars.

But if by our modern discipline of land services, the prince or state hath no benefit by the spoils, but is riotously wasted among such freebooters and their associates and the best soldiers least part of the pray, and by such disordered

war, no ceasing of taxes or subsidies, but continuance or rather increase of both, in all realms and states served by such spoilers: it is easy to discern which were the better discipline for the prince and people.

23. By such ancient discipline kingdoms and states by their wars have increased their wealth, and their subjects have grown more wealthy and mighty.
But by our modern wars both prince and subjects grow poor, and few of these unruly unsoldierlike freebooters (how hugely soever they get by their corruptions or abuses) grow wealthy by it, for, badly gotten is ever commonly worse spent.

24. The scope of the ancient martial discipline was chiefly to preserve the public treasure of the country, and to maintain the wars on the treasure gotten by conquests on their enemies.

But the scope of our modern discipline seemeth to be to enrich private captains and commanders, and to convert both the spoils and the wages of the soldiers also to their particular benefits. And so new taxes and subsidies of necessity still on the people to maintain the wars.

25. The ancient generals and great commanders had their chiefest care how to preserve their own people which caused them so carefully to arm them, train them, and entrench them strongly, etc. saying the held it more honourable to save one of their own soldiers than to destroy ten enemies. As they likewise sought to make their soldiers and country wealthy, respecting nothing for themselves but the honour only of well-doing.

But in our modern discipline it seemeth, the more of their soldiers are wasted and consumed, the richer grow such commanders as by deceits in musters have the conscience to convert all the dead pays to their own profit: which wicked game of all other is most abominable before God and perilous to any state: the strength and glory of a prince only consisting in the multitude and force of his people which are wasted and consumed by such moths

and caterpillars.

26. These ancient worthy generals and commanders in the field bent their wits and inventions only for such exploits as might be honourable and profitable to their country.

But if commanders of the new discipline devise only exploits to waste and consume the treasure of their prince or state: and care not (to supply their own prodigal expenses) though they spoil their friends thereby, not only doing their best to break amity and make more enemies to their prince and country, but also commit such foolish spoils as their prince or state shall be sure to repay again double and treble any commodity or aid they received thereby. This abuse surely ought to be amended.

27. In those ancient right martial states we shall hear of generals and dictators (after they had deposed kings conquered great princes, and brought home to the treasure of the country mighty masses of gold and silver) were nevertheless content to return home to their poor houses, no whit enriched in wealth, but only in honour, living soberly and temperately as before on their private patrimony, and scarcely a piece of silver plate to be seen in their own houses, that have brought in millions to their state and realm.

But if in our modern discipline we shall see petty commanders (that never brought into their prince's realm or state the hundred part of any such masses of treasure, but rather have had their share in wasting huge sums to little purpose) to abound in bravery, waste infinitely in all kind of vanities, that I say no worse, and more silver dishes on their table than Quintus dictator or Scipio that conquered Hannibal and razed Carthage:[187] It seemeth these men serve themselves, as the other did their country.

28. We may read of Roman generals that by conquering some provinces brought so great a mass of wealth to the public treasury of Rome, that it ceased taxes, tributes, or subsidies there for many years.

But if our modern militia (clean contrary) do still waste and consume the public treasure, and be the cause not of ceasing, but rather of increasing of tributes or subsidies on their country, the difference of discipline indeed is great: but which were the better for the honour and commodity of our prince and country, is easy by the wise, honest, and right honourable to be discerned.

By the ancient discipline little Macedonia conquered all the large and spacious oriental empire of the proud, rich, and populous Persians: and that small realm of Rome subdued so many nations under their obedience in Europe, Africa, and Asia, and made tributary so many mighty kings, as their monarchy was of the whole world admired: and that their discipline military was the chief or only cause thereof: that famous Roman emperor Alexander Severus[188] in his oration to his soldiers declareth, saying.

Disciplina maiorum rempub.[189] tenet, quae si dilabatur,
Et nomen Romanum, et imperium amittemus.[190]

If then not only by the censure or prophecy of that famous emperor, concerning, that state, but by very experience also in our own age of many others our neighbours' round about us, we may plainly behold the success of this corrupt degenerate modern militia, so repugnant to the ancient: it were wilful blindness not to discern which were the better. And no less negligence to permit the continuance of so dangerous a disease.

30. We shall also read of generals in those warlike commonwealths, that so highly esteemed of the martial discipline of their nation, and were so zealous therein, as they would not have it violated in the least point. As Manlius Torquatus that would have executed his own son for encountering in particular combat with his enemy without leave, and before the signal of battle given; albeit he had the victory and strake of his enemy's head in the sight of both armies, to the great encouragement of the Romans, and terror of the contrary side, that took that particular encounter as ominous for the success of the battle, as it fell

indeed out, to the great honour of the Romans, and utter ruin of their enemies. Yet after the victory this honourable and famous general, considering the danger that might have fallen out if his son had not been victorious, and that the discipline Roman was broken by this attempt (to fight without licence) he would not spare it in his own son, but commanded the serjeants to apprehend him, and (after he had been whipped with rods) to be openly executed: wherein he so constantly persevered, as his whole victorious army on their knees could scarcely obtain his pardon. If then this breach of one point only of military obedience (committed of magnanimity and noble courage, and abundance of zeal to his country) was in those days so severely censured: as the father would not have pardoned his own son, notwithstanding by his happy success also he was the chiefest cause of that honourable victory.

What shall we say of such ringleaders of corruptions in the new discipline, as shall not of any such magnanimity or haughty courage or zeal to their country, but of a base, corrupt, and lucrous mind break not one or two, but many points of martial discipline, and thereby not get victory, but more than once or twice receive those dishonourable foils and disgraces, that for shame in those days no private soldier would never return home to abide the due shame and disgrace of. What can be said? But that it is high time to have these important errors looked into, least the same succeed here, which in all other states have done, where martial discipline hath been so neglected, and corruptions triumph unpunished.

It were infinite to recite all the disorders of our modern wars, and would require a long treatise to lay open all the commendable ordinances, customs, and provisions of the famous Grecian and Roman armies,[191] whereby they honoured and immortalized their generals, and amplified and enriched their states and countries. But these few notes may suffice to show how great a difference there is between the one and the other. Neither is it my meaning

to call in question the doings of any particular persons, but only to open the dangerous error of that opinion: that the loose customs of our time should be better than the ancient: or of such excellency as we need no reformation or amendment.

For I doubt not by due consideration of these few by me recited it is manifest how great a difference there is between that ancient discipline (whereby mean and poor estates were advanced to mighty monarchies) and these modern corruptions (whereby flourishing states have been spoiled and defaced, and mighty realms and empires brought to ruin).

But because some patrons of these new corruptions (for defence of their bad cause) allege: that the late famous invention of great artillery and fire shot, unknown to the antiquity, and so far surmounting all the ancient Roman and Grecian engines both in terror and effect hath necessarily enforced so great an alteration of arms, weapons, and military order, as the discipline also must clean change: I think it fit to set down some of their chief and principal reasons.[192]

1. First therefore (say they)[193] it is now to small purpose to wear arms, seeing the fury of the fire-shot is such, as no armour is able to hold it out.

2 It is vain to make battles or battalions in such order and form ranked, as among the Grecians or Romans were accustomed. Because the fury of the great artillery is such as it openeth, breaketh and dissolveth all orders or ordinances that you can imagine to make: and therefore experience hath taught us (say they) to leave those massive bodies of armed battles that serve but for buts for the great artillery to play upon: and to seek more nimble and light infantry that may be ready to take and leave at their pleasure.

3. And for the severity of discipline in the wars (they say) it is like the phrensy of some divines, that would have men in this world pass an angelical life, without any fault

or errors: which being so far above the nature of man to perform: in aspiring to it many times they commit more foul and gross faults than the vulgar sort, that never reach at such perfection: and thereby become ridiculous to the world as they also will be that shall attempt such precise discipline military, as is utterly impossible to put in execution, and unnecessary for this our age, where weapons and orders of the wars are so altered and changed.

These are the most effectual reasons that ever I could hear alleged on that side to maintain their heretical opinion.[194] But as there is no cause so bad, but may by finesse of wit be cleared and made appear probable. So is there no doctrine so false but by craft and subtilty of man's inventions shall be made plausible and to appear matter of good truth. These reasons indeed at the first appearance seem probable, but being duly weighed are no thing worthy.

1. And first for leaving arms in respect of the fury of the fire shot which no portable armour is able to resist, is both frivolous and false. For there are many reasons to use convenient arms, albeit that were true that they profited us nothing against the fire shot. For they defend us from the lance, from the pike, the halberd, the javelin, the dart, the arrow, and the sword: yea and from the greater part of the fire shot also that any way endanger us in the field: I mean even the portable and indifferent armour that is made (not of musket or calibre proof) but only against the lance and pistol. For the greatest part of the fire shot that touch the bodies of any man in the field, graze first and strike upon the ground: and from all such shot, a mean armour very portable and easily to be worn by any soldier, sufficeth to save a man's life, as ordinary experience in the field daily teacheth. For indeed to lade men with arms of musket proof (I am of their opinion) were not possible to endure, and mere folly to put in use for many respects: too long to commit to writing in this place. But this light and mean armour is still to be continued in all battles and

battalions that shall encounter with pike or lance, because it assureth the life of man greatly from all other weapons, yea and from the most part of the fire-shot also.

2. Neither is there any martial commanders of judgment, that will object his battles or battalions as a but for the great or small artillery to play upon: but will always advance forward their own shot and lightest armed loose men to encounter their enemies shot, and surprize his ordinance before the battles or battalions come within danger of the artillery great or small, to be played on at point blank.[195] And thereby shall the enemy be enforced either to put forward his light horse or infantry before his great ordinance to guard and defend them: or else they shall be possessed or cloyed.

If he protect them with horse and foot of his own from surprize, then may the squadrons march on safely, and so (by good discretion) the armed battles are in no danger at all of their enemies' artillery, but may adventure forward in safety to back their own shot and light armed, which were sent to surprize or cloy their enemies' artillery. And them without any more annoyance of the great ordinance, the battles come to join with lance, sword, or pike, as in old time in ancient wars hath been accustomed.

Further all men know (that are of skill or experience) that great artillery very seldom or never can hurt any footman, that upon giving fire only do but abase themselves on their knee till the volley be past, being much more terrible to unskilful and inexpert new besoignes,[196] than anyway hurtful to trained soldiers. And therefore (as is apparent) no reason in respect either of the great or small artillery or fire shot either to leave convenient arms, such as the antiquity used, and were able to march withal many hundred miles, or such battalions as the Romans used. If any man will object that ruiters[197] with their pistols, and argoletires[198] with their petronels,[199] (which the Romans had not) would beat your massy phalanx of pikes (used by the Grecians) down to the ground, without receiving any

damage at all by them.

Hereunto I say, if we had not either pistols or lances on horseback to encounter these ruiters and argoletires, they said somewhat. Or if we had not musketeers on foot to impale or line our battles, that should more spoil their squadrons of ruiters before they could approach nigh the place where they should discharge their pistols. For there is no soldier of judgement that commendeth the ancient Roman or Grecian discipline that would have us reject all modern weapons to cleave to theirs only. But embracing the modern fire shot also to leave the abusing of them, and using them rightly to use still the ancient and right martial discipline also of the Romans and Grecians. We see (long since the fire shot hath been used) that the Swiss notwithstanding have continued their massy battles of armed pikes like the Grecian phalanx, and very honourably discharged themselves both in Italy, France, and Germany. In such sort as the emperor Charles[200] and the French king both relied on them greatly, and to this day (of the mercenaries) they carry the reputation with the best. So that no fury of the fire shot hath ever caused them to leave their massy phalanx by the Grecians used.

How much less then should the Roman order of battalions fear our fire shot? Nay rather is it not the most excellent ordinance that possibly can be imagined? As well to open themselves (without disorder) to give a way to their fire shot to sally forth, and retire in safety without any danger of any charge by their enemies' horse, and so more fit and convenient for our wars and weapons now in use, than they were for the weapons of that age wherein they were first practiced? And if neither the small nor great artillery of our age could ever make the Swiss or lance knights to leave their massy main battle or phalanx, but that in all wars they have so honourably discharged themselves, as all princes are glad to embrace their friendships and aids: how much more would they have excelled, if they had revived also the Roman embattling

in battalions, which they invented only to defeat the Macedonian and Grecian phalanx.

3. Now for the third invective against their phrenzy that would have in soldiery or divinity such refined discipline, as is impossible for men, and more fit for angels.

I answer I am indeed of their opinion, that it is fantastic and fanatical to advise such a discipline anyway, as is impossible for men to observe. But if the Grecians and Romans also (being men in flesh as we are) many hundred years together did observe and keep such discipline as I persuade, then I cannot see any such impossibility as they infer, or would make princes believe. But the truth is, it is not for the profit or private benefit of such mercenary commanders as most commonly manage the wars of our age, to have that honourable ancient severe discipline revived, which is the chief impediment. Yet somewhat also I confess in Europe the great wealth that most nations are in this age grown unto, and the delicate education of their children from their infancy doth make that severe discipline more strange unto us, and somewhat more difficile to put in execution, as all things of highest excellency are also accompanied with greater difficulty. But if it be compared with the greatness of the good that thereby shall ensue, and the great necessity without delay to have it done, (if we esteem liberty and abhor to be slaves to strangers) it may perhaps be found more easy far than at the first it seemeth. Or if at first for meaner faults we mitigate the pains, and by convenient degrees proceed to cure the malady that grows too too dangerous, we shall at least do somewhat if not the best, which is rather to be wished than naught at all.

But because these patrons of the new militia have one other arch argument (*a verisimili*)[201] to abuse the world withal; I will also set it down with such answer as briefly may open the fallacy thereof, and the necessity of reformation without delay.

The fourth reason.

If (say they)[202] the alteration of weapons considered, there were any better discipline for the wars, the invention of man is so excellent in this age, and their wits so refined, as they would put it in use, as well as they have invented these fire weapons, so far exceeding all their antique Roman rams, scorpions, ballistae, and arcuballistae,[203] as we see those old engines now (in respect of them) mere toys: even so is also their ancient discipline, in respect of the rare militia modern of our age.

To this reason of theirs I answer: that no doubt the invention of man in this age is indeed excellent, and far exceeding the former ages for 500 or 1000 years past: as may appear by all arts and sciences that have of late more flourished than in 1000 years before. But if we have regard to the more ancient times of the triumphant Grecian states, and Roman empire, we shall find for all arts and sciences ages far excelling ours, and no persons of our age (either for learning or chivalry) yet comparable with them:[204] if comparing the actions and books of the one and the other, we will by the fruits judge unpartially of the trees. But even as divines, physicians, lawyers, philosophers, mathematicians, and rhetoricians, and all other (studious of any liberal sciences in our age) are enforced to repair unto those antique fountains, where all arts liberal were in their high perfection:[205] so surely for the wars much more we ought, seeing there was not one science or art then, more reduced to her full and supreme perfection.

Nevertheless, I deny not, that the commanders of our time for that scope and end perhaps they shot at, have finely framed a discipline as profitable and perfect, as the antique was for theirs. For in this our age (especially these forty or fifty years, since the emperor Charles left his martial actions: and our renowned King Henry the Eighth, and Francis[206] the French king died) there hath scarcely

been any king of Europe that hath at any time in any royal war gone to the field himself, but only committed their martial actions chiefly to the execution of their lieutenants and inferior commanders, which must of necessity make great alteration. For where a king is *oculatus testis*,[207] he seeth that which his lieutenants will never acquaint him with, being not for their commodities.

When kings go to the wars themselves, they see what is profitable or discommodious for themselves and their realms,[208] and advance such discipline as may be most beneficial to them and their state, as their deputies will such discipline as may be most commodious for themselves, howsoever it be good or bad for their king or state.

Again, in this our age kings generally have made their wars (not so much with their own people, as with mercenaries and hired soldiers). Who have reason for their private benefit to use a government and discipline far different from that they ought and would if they were led and commanded by a king of their own? Their scope perhaps for the most part being to enrich themselves. Howsoever the success of the wars be for the king or state that payeth them.

I deny not but the modern discipline and customs for enriching of themselves, (I mean of superior commanders) is most singular and refined to the utmost. As, if a general will be content his captains shall keep their bands half empty, and yet by frauds in musters make his prince or state pay nigh complete.

If he will suffer them to pill and spoil the country where they lie, oppressing their friends more than their enemies.

If when he hath fingered their pay, he will be content to lead them, or have them led to some butchery, where most of their throats shall be cut, that their dead pays may be shared among the leaders.

Or generally for all those points of the modern custom or discipline repugnant to the antique: who seeth not they are as finely and wittily invented for the profit and

commodity of the mercenary lucrous commanders, as possibly can be devised: and surely the wit of men can invent no more than hath been, to pretend cunningly the benefit of the prince and state they serve, and yet finely indeed to enrich themselves with the impoverishing and very ruin of their prince or state that payeth them. And surely if mercenary (leaders that serve not for any zeal, conscience, or duty they owe to that prince or country, but only seek the wars for gain) have framed such a discipline, I cannot so much blame them though they carry no such Lacedaemonian or Roman resolution (rather to dye in the field, than save themselves by flight) but choose rather to enrich themselves and their confederates by such escapes, having thereby the sharing of all their dead soldiers' pays without contradiction, seeing dead dogs bark not. But after they have learned abroad in these mercenary wars this foul, base, cunning and corrupt cowardly discipline, to bring it home into their native countries: who seeth not it must of necessity work in time the very ruin of their state? For as a woman that hath once made shipwreck of her honesty, easily maketh a relapse: so fares it in these mercenary fugitives, that having once cast away shame (which only or chiefly maketh men resolutely to sacrifice their lives for their country) afterward become so far past shame, as they hold it no disgrace by shameful flight at any time to save themselves.[209] This error alone creeping into[210] England (if ever we be invaded by a puissant enemy) is sufficient utterly to overthrow the state: for it is the honourable resolution of our nation (to conquer or die in the field) that must deliver England, if we be invaded by a forceable enemy.

For we have no such multitudes of strong towns as other countries: our arms and weapons are our walls and rampiers.[211] We therefore of all other nations ought to revive the ancient most honourable Lacedaemonian resolution. To account the shame of dishonourable flight worse than ten deaths. But seeing it is hard in this age of delicacy to

work in mothers that honourable Spartan resolution (to abhor their own children that were fugitives) yet surely for all men to detest their company, and for magistrates to disgrace them, (as persons unworthy ever after to bear arms) is a thing not only necessary, but of such necessity as (if it be omitted, and not in time put in due execution) I doubt we shall too late repent it when all remedy will be past: the wiseman saith not had I wist.[212]

My meaning is not to call in question any private persons of our nation, for any errors committed in foreign countries: for surely these foul depraved customs were grown so common among the mercenary servitors of all nations, as many valiant men by example of others their superiors or leaders have fallen into them. But when we come to serve (not mercenary for pay of strangers) but our natural prince and country, (to whom we owe our bodies and lives) it is fit this part of ancient true martial discipline be severely revived and published, and remarkable examples made upon the first breakers, as also a due reformation of all such other abuses, frauds, and deceits, as allure men thereunto, and tend to the robbing of our prince, the defacing of true valour, and advancing only of subtle, base minded, lucrous cowardly caterpillars, tending finally to the very ruin and overthrow of the honour of our prince and nation, and felicitous estate of our country.[213]

I mean not at this time to enter into the means how this discipline should be reformed, or how soldiery should be made obedient, for it would require a great volume: but by that I have read of the Roman and Greek wars,[214] and by mine own experience conferred with the opinion of other worthy soldiers and great commanders of our own age I dare boldly affirm and with good reasons and authority maintain, That it shall be much more easy to frame such an honourable militia or soldiery by a levy of our countrymen (never in wars before) than of such as have been depraved and corrupted in the loose, lewd, lucrous, licentious liberties[215] of the wars of this time: as

by that I have more at large set down in divers parts of my *Stratioticos* (concerning the offices and duties of every several degree from the private soldier to the general, and the military laws of several nations) there set down also, more evidently will appear. This much only in this place I may add. That albeit *premium*[216] and *poena*[217] be most sovereign medicines to cure all ulcers and infections that happen to the political body of any state,[218] whether it be in civil or martial causes, yet example especially with our nation is the chief.

For as in the meanest matters (if it be but only in apparel, or attires) the example of our court is able to reform or deform the whole land, and by bare example only to do ten times more than proclamations, threatenings, and statutes penal: so, in martial causes much more we have regard to such actions as great commanders do, which in court are favoured, advanced, or countenanced.[219] If they do well, full easily will all inferiors conform themselves: but if they either by custom continue courses inconvenient, or by facility of nature be seduced but to tolerate only the abuses which are too current in these days, and not severely chastise the delinquent without regard of pleasing or discontenting the diseased multitude (how good laws so ever be established, or proclamations made) it is in vain: for the loose licentious sort judge them either published only for fashion sake without regard whether they be observed or no, or else their lewd faction to be so strong as magistrates dare not punish them: and either of these conceits joined with the profit and sweetness these licentious commanders make by their corruptions, is sufficient to embolden them more audaciously still to put their frauds in execution: but, what succeedeth thereof, by example and experience in all ages we may behold.

First in Rome (by reason of the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey, and after between Augustus Caesar, Anthony, Brutus and, Cassius) the martial discipline grew to corruption, no one side daring to use the ancient due

severity, lest they should revolt to his adversaries. But what ensued, after the right martial legions were decayed, and a licentious praetorian guard maintained? But the ruin of that famous and mighty empire, ransacked, and spoiled by the Huns, Goths, and Vandals, the most base of all the barbarous people that they before had conquered. The like I might particularly set down of divers of the most martial Grecian commonwealths, if we had not our next neighbour the mighty kingdom of France (even in our own age, by the very like depraved customs first learned among the Italians,[220] and nourished in that realm likewise by civil descensions) brought into most lamentable misery. A spectacle to stir up all princes (while they may) to prevent those calamities which otherwise will be too late.

For after civil wars were once begun, neither the king, nor the prince his enemies, could keep any severe hand on martial justice, lest these dissolute soldiers should revolt, and so were indeed rather suppliants than commanders of their armies: which being for the most part composed of mercenary hirelings, devised all means prodigally to maintain themselves, whatsoever became of their prince, or country, the success whereof we see.

And that is that modern discipline which so greedily the licentious of all nations swallow up, and are infected withal by the contagion of such as they have conversed with, tending chiefly to the maintenance of themselves inexcessive riotous wastings, and to the utter overthrow of all princes or states that shall be served with them.

To conclude therefore this true and needful paradox, I hope (by the conference of these few repugnant points of the ancient and modern martial discipline) it doth sufficiently appear that as the latter are devised wholly for the profit of corrupt persons (and both dishonourable and extreme dangerous to any state or realm that shall endure them, so the former which I have named of the antiquity) are both for the honour, profit and advancement of the service of any king or state that shall embrace them.

And therefore, too apparent (not only by evident discourse of reason, but also by plain experience and success in other realms and states) that where such abuses and corruption of true martial discipline shall be permitted, there can in time ensue no better than confusion and utter ruin. And yet nothing doubt, but that our nation, as by nature it is as warlike as any other under the heaven (having in times past while they were trained and led by honourable generals, conquered their enemies being ten to one, as appeareth by the chronicles and confessions of our very enemies themselves) so hereafter also (by due regard in choice of such commanders, and redress of such modern errors) we shall leave to our posterity also like monuments of fame, as have been left to us by those our right martial and honourable ancestors.[221]

Preface to the Third Paradox

The third paradox is the first by Dudley Digges, Thomas's son. If, on the one hand, paradoxes 1 and 2 were about "military discipline", as the collection's frontispiece reads, the third and fourth concern "the worthiness of warriors and war" respectively. Paradox 3 aims to dignify soldiers and their profession with the help of several quotations from Greek, Roman and French writers who dealt with the same military topics as Digges. Even Dudley's two paradoxes present both positive and negative *exampla* from ancient and recent history.

As far as stylistic considerations are concerned, the plain style of the scientist and astronomer Thomas Digges is in sharp contrast to Dudley's dense citational and metaphorical style, which sometimes makes reading strenuous and complicates sentences a great deal. After all, Dudley was primarily a diplomat and a politician, as well as an Oxford graduate, so his writing style differs markedly from his father's.

This paradox begins with a prelude (Praeludium), but it is quite difficult to understand where it ends and where the body of the paradox begins, since both the prelude and the rest of text are written in the first person singular. Quotations from Latin authors abound, sometimes even "adapted" to the sentences' syntagmatic relations. Nevertheless, there are mistakes with Latin declensions and verbal systems. Contrary to the scarce Latin quotations that Thomas Digges introduces in his two paradoxes, Dudley always acknowledges his sources and usually provides his own translation immediately following the text cited.

The Third Paradox.

That the sometimes neglected soldier's profession deserves much commendation, and best becomes a gentleman, that desires to live virtuously, or die honourably.

Praeludium.[222]

I will neither deny, nor commend, my love to poetry, some little idle time spent in it for my private recreation I repent not, it hath good use, and is a good exercise for busy young heads: the noble adorner of that practice, Sir Phillip Sidney[223] though he lived an age before me, I yet honour, I love his memory, and in my best wishes to my country, I sometimes sadly wish our nobility and gentry would be his followers: yet being as he was a man of arms by nature, [i]"quem Pallas nutrivit in antris" (of Pallas bringing up, one that sucked milk from both her breasts), a learned soldier; I would he had left the patronage of Poetry to some more private spirit, and saved me a labour by bestowing his much better wit on some requisite apology[224] for soldiers, whose profession is now as much contemned as to be a [ii]Grecian, or as a scholar was wont to be in Rome, whose name is as unpleasing as [iii]Jean in France, or [iv]John in Naples, whose nature is esteemed so vile, that some men think it justice to make a convertible reciprocation betwixt them and wandering houseless men. But when I call to mind how [v]Homer the best poet chose as the best subject

[i] a Palingenius's *Ariete*. [I.e., Palingenius Stellatus's *Zodiacus Vitae* (1536), ch. "Ariete"].
[ii] b Montaigne's *Essays*, 1.25.
[iii] c *Idem*, 1.42.
[iv] d Guicciardini, 1. [I.e., Guicciardini's *Ricordi* (1530), ch. 1].
[v] e Horace's *De arte poetica*.

to describe

[i]Res gestas regumque ducumque et tristia bella:
The exploits of captains, kings and dismal combatings.
Tyrtaeusque mares animos ad Martia bella versibus
exacuit.
And how men's minds to martial fight,
Tyrtaeus[225] did with rimes excite.

When I remember how Leonidas and his companions had in memorial of their ever to be remembered service certain poetical songs sung by the Grecians how even the [ii]rude inhabitants of Hispaniola[226] like our ancient bards have their customary rimes, "ad proelia excitantes avorum gesta recitando" (to quicken their courages by reciting the acts of their forefathers); all which I know Sir Phillip Sidney so great a scholar, could not but know: then lo[227] I envy not the muses' good hap,[228] that had one of Mars his followers to be their champion: since his worthy deeds and honourable death assure me he would have spared that defence, if he had not assured himself that it was poetry's best use

[iii]Ut dignos laude viros vetet mori.
To labour that the memory
Of worthy men may never die.

Sure then I think some thankful poet, that hath drunk store of castalian liquor[229] and is full of fury, cannot do better than in requital of his kindness endeavour [iv]"ut gratus insigni referat camena, dicenda musis proelia".

To sing in verse excelling
wars worth the muses telling.

Nor needs he fear to want attention, unless he want a poet's wit to tell the contents of his book in proem with

[v]Bella per aemathios plus quam ciuilia campos, etc.

[i] f *Ibidem* and in Justin's *Historiae.*
[ii] g Peter Martyr, 3.7. [I.e., Peter Martyr's *De orbo novo decades* (1511), decade 3, ch. 7].
[iii] h Horace's *Odes*, 4.8.
[iv] i *Idem.*
[v] k Lucan, 1. [I.e., Lucan's *Pharsalia* or *De bello civili*, book 1.

I sing the civil wars tumultuous broils, etc.

Assuredly had it befallen me, [i]"in bicipiti somniasse pernasso" (to steal a nap amongst the rest in the top of the mountain), or "si quid mea carmina possent" (if my verses were of any virtue), I would desire to write some worthy soldiers' praise in dust and blood as du Bartas[230] hoped to do Henry of France his in Pamplona.[231] But fool that I am.

[ii]I never drank of Aganippe well
nor ever did in shade of Tempe sit.

Nor am I able to persuade our poets to intreat of wars indeed.

[iii]Praelia virginum
Sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
Dum cantant vacui.
While idly they sing the scars
that young men catch in wenching[232] wars.

What then, shall soldiers want their due, because I want ability to do them right?[233] Shall I not speak what I can, because I cannot speak what I would? No sure, that were injustice, this were folly. Horace can tell.

[iv]Est aliquid prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
It is somewhat to do somewhat, though not well.

It is enough for me to break the ice, and let the world see what may be said for the wars and soldiers when one whose whole kindred almost by father and mother lost their lives or spent their livings in the wars, is able through bare love without learning, without art to speak as fellows in defence of soldiers.

I ever thought nothing worse for gentlemen than idleness, except doing ill, but could not at the first resolve how they might be fitliest busied: to play the merchants was only for gentlemen of Florence, Venice, or the like that are indeed but the better sort of citizens: ploughing and

[i] l Persius. [I.e., Persius's *Saturae*, 1].
[ii] m Sir Phillip Sidney. [I.e., Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (1591), sonnet 74, 1-2].
[iii] n Horace's *Odes*, 1.6.
[iv] o *Idem*, 1. *Epistulae*.

grazing I esteemed worse than mechanical occupations: the court was but for few, and most of them lived too luxuriously: to study or travel was good, but directed to this end, that they might be fit for some profession the thing in question: for divinity they many times thought themselves too good, and I was sure they were most times unfit: law was but a money getting trade, and physical a dangerous tickle[234] art, at last I thought on the wars, where the learned might perfect their contemplation by practice and the unlearned help that defect by well gotten experience: and this was my fifteen years meditation: afterwards that impression was strengthened daily by the remembrance of my father's courses,[235] by the experience of some other occurrents and by the observation of as many things as my little reading encountered that might make for that purpose. So, I grew to affect scholars such as would speak that, that might be understood, and could reduce their study in histories the mathematics or the like from speculation to practise for the profitable pleasure of their friends or honourable service of their country. I liked travellers so they would be silent, yet were able when time served to discourse judiciously of the state and power of more countries, of the strength and situation of more cities, of the form and force of more several fortifications, than other cork-headed counterfeits could reckon up of *bona robas*[236] *bordeaus*[237] or apish fashions: above all the perfection of the endeavours of the former two. I loved soldiers, such as hated cheating, drinking, lying, whoring, prating, quarrelling and lewd behaviour. And either maimed, grown old or wanting employment, had retired themselves to some private (perhaps poor) life, but that they lived contented: and though mine own ability were then in minority, my heart esteemed him not a gentleman, would suffer such as these to want ought he could help them to: thus, I spent the five years following. And now my almost freed body is ready for the wars which I before resolved was most fit for men of my place: but want of

employment imposes on me an unacceptable idleness which I sorrily pass over with laughing at the lamentable folly of our besotted gentry; one thinks it is commendation to wear good clothes with judgment, another for that he is a handsome man, a third for cunning carding, but if some youth of hopeful expectation attain some skill in music, some tricks in dancing or some fencing quality, the world consisting most of women fools and cowards will peremptorily pronounce this complete gentleman's worth too great for one chronicle.[238]

[i]At quis ferat istas
Stultiae sordes
But who can quietly
Endure such foppery.

I that desire a man should be more worth than his clothes, the inside best, I that think it my good fortune to have small skill in gaining, I that hate unnecessary qualities, as the [ii]Egyptians did music for making men effeminate, cannot but dislike our gentry should be of tailors mere creation or spend their time in pastime or make their recreation there vocation, me thinks our city gentlemen as for their slothful life, [iii]the Frenchmen scoffing term them might for their recreation sometimes read how [iv]Philip reprehended Alexander's skill in singing. How [v]Antisthenes condemned Ismene his playing on the flute,[239] or the like examples and so learn to leave misspending of their precious time into too too well affected fruitless courses they might remember how much one [vi]Alexander did in poor twelve years, what [vii]Scipio was ere he was twenty-four and weighing well

[i] p Juvenal's *Saturae*, 1.
[ii] q Diodorus Siculus, 10.3. [I.e., Siculus's *Bibliotheca historica*, book 10, ch. 3].
[iii] r *Un gentilhomme de ville.*
[iv] r Plutarch's *Darius.*
[v] s *Idem.*
[vi] t *Idem*, in *Alexander.*
[vii] u *Idem*, in *Scipio*; Leo Imperator, 28.78. [I.e., Leo VI's *Tactica, sive de instruiendis aciebus* (1586), ch. 28, par. 78].

how xenia-like[240] their actions imitate their forefathers whose honour they unjustly challenge me thinks they might even hate themselves for letting the world see they have the leisure to spend whole days at cards yet have done nothing worthy memory save idly wasted their wealth to purchase infamy.[241] But you[242] whose country life hath best affinity with your true calling the wars as least subject to luxury as most affected of ancient soldiers can you not love hunting because it resembles the wars but you will never leave hunting? Is there more music in a stinking cur's howling quality than a drum or trumpet? Will you in these times give men occasion to ask whether your country have no men you make so much account of dogs that your life seemeth brutish still with dogs and your discourse unreasonable still of dogs? O rather let the example of our great great master that worthily loves hunting as the noblest sport yet only follows it at vacant times teach you henceforth to use your sports as sports and not still to dwell in them nor in the tedious discourse of them.[i]

But whither doth contempt of folly carry me? Both the one and the other sort of our decayed gentry, have but the bare name of some ancient house[243] but few sparks of English virtue they are so far from being gentlemen they neither speak nor live like men, yet if their charmed senses can endure to hear of remedy as [ii]Philip was put in mind of death or [iii]Xerxes of the loss of Sardis. I'll play the young man once, and cry to them in the midst of their vain life and idle talking, remember [iv]Pyrrhus whose life and study spent and employed in military affairs doth show what course of life best fits the better sort of men, who being asked who played best on the flute, Python or Cephesias answered

[i] I.e., Cincinnatus alluding to Caesar's speech to the strangers. Plutarch's *Pericles*.

[ii] * Plutarch.

[iii] x Herodotus's *Terpsichore*.

[iv] z Plutarch's *Pyrrhus*.

wisely though indirectly, Poliperchon in his judgment was the best captain to teach the standers-by how noble spirits should discourse.[244] O then remember Pyrrhus, be as you ought yourselves, leave vanity and let your lives your words be warlike, your truest honour will be to be soldiers, and your most virtuous course of life the wars.[245]

But alas, as through the indirect proceeding of disparate censurers, men oft condemn the wars for murdering our men, and wasting our money in lingering fruitlessness, where many times the fault is in our soldiers' disability, poor hunger-starved snakes half dead ere they go out of England:[246] such as were a cumber rather than an aid to the ancient Romans: such as with our modern [i]Spaniards are sent a year or two to take heart at grace[247] (as we say) in Italy, before they suffer them to come to service, whereas most times the corruptness of officers (such as seek the wars for gain only, and make no conscience to cousin princes, and the ignorance of leaders, such decayed unthrifty gallants as to get a little money by the sale, spoil or slaughter of their companies make means to be favourable sent, from the court to the camp, as commanders, before they know how to obey) are true causes of extraordinary spoil of treasure, of making the wars seem (if not be) dilatory and fruitless: so on the other side, those officers, those captains, and those soldiers, being in their kinds the worse part of our people, are indeed of such invincible lewdness that either dronelike sucking wax only from sweetest flowers, or worse converting wholesomest things to poison, they only use the wars as naughty men do learning, to increase their wickedness. Proving the axiom in philosophy most true, [ii]"quicquid recipitur, recipitur secundum modum recipientis" (that which is received, is received according to the quality of the receiver): so that men seeing them spend that most viciously which they got most lewdly are ready

[i] a *Estate of English Fugitives*. [I.e., Lewkenor's *Estate of English Fugitives* (1595)].

[ii] b Aristotle's *De anima*, 2.2.

grounding themselves on their example to rail at soldiers as a profession of licentious lawless liberty, and repute soldiers for dissolute rakehells in whom there is [i]"nulla fides pietasve" (no fear of God, no thought of goodness). Yet as the study of philosophy was not to be condemned, because some philosophers were [ii]Epicure's, as the name of kings was not to have been hated because Tarquin was a tyrant: no more I think are soldiers to be contemned or their profession ill esteemed of for that some bawdyhouse captains or alehouse soldiers live loosely;[248] [iii]or for that many that follow the wars of our time where discipline is too too much corrupted are such as only live by the wars and so endeavour gain by all the means they can save honest courses: for were our military discipline as in truth it ought of that powerful sanctity that our arms the most perfect political bodies might for the goodness of their laws and orders and the justness of their execution, attain their true perfection of surpassing the best ruled cities in civility, that our commanders like the ancient Romans that held their faith more firm with enemies than some men now do nearest bonds of duty and allegiance, might know it is their office to punish even their dearest friends' offences, that our soldiers worthily endeavouring in God their prince or countries quarrel to exchange their lives for honour only might learn to account it their greatest honour to be an honour to their calling by performing the necessary duties of their calling.

Then as the Romans with their victories drove away barbarism out of our countries by leaving us a pattern of more civil life, from their warlike government, of which most parts of Europe yet to this day retain some remnants I see not but it might please God to reward our industry by making our conquering swords the instruments to plant religion amongst Turks and infidels,[249] and reform

[i] c Lucan, 3.

[ii] d Plutarch's *Libellus contra Epicuro.*

[iii] e Titus Livius, 1.2. [I.e., Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, decade 1, book 2].

the errors of wandering Christians, when they seeing our soldiers such as the [i]Indians did Albuqueria and his company of Portingalls[250] may steadfastly believe that God omnipotent as they did that king worthy, that hath such virtuous servants: then would our warriors like true ancient soldiers strive to be religious, virtuous, full of honesty,[251] and we might justly think with the [ii]Thessalian those of our countrymen most dull and sottish that went not to the wars: or say with the [iii]Aetolian the war is better far than peace for him that hath a mind to prove an honest man.

For then our camp would be a school of virtue[252] where (by dutiful obedience) men should be trained up and taught what appertained to wise commanding: where religion perhaps the cause of the quarrel should be so fervent, that men would think it their chiefest joy, in midst of greatest miseries, to have the fear of God their meditation and an unspotted life their comfort. For them the memory of Alexander that the night before the battle with [iv]Darius called for Aristander to win the favour of Gods with sacrifice: or of [v]Aeneas.

Quo iustior alter
Nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis:
Than whom there was none more upright
In goodness, nor more great in fight.
That in Virgil leaves his companions busied, et
[vi]Arces quibus altus Apollo
praesidet horrendaeque domus secreta sibillae
antrum immane petit etc.
To high Apollo's temple hies

[i] f Osorius's *De rebus Emmanuelis regis gestis*, 10.
[ii] g *Plutarch's Libellus declaratione liber.* [I.e., Plutarch's *De liberis educandis*].
[iii] h *Idem,* in *Liber de dictis et factis Lacedaemoniorum.*
[iv] *i* Quintus Curtius, 2. [I.e., Curtius Rufus's *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, book 2].
[v] k Virgil, 1. [I.e., Virgil's *Aeneid*, book 1].
[vi] l 1. [I.e., book 1].

and to those dreaded mysteries.
The horrid vault where sibyl lies, etc.

Or of [i]Camillus that would begin and end his skirmishes with prayers, or of the [ii]Romans whose victories built churches, with whom contempt of the Gods was a certain sign of overthrow; would make our soldiers call to mind it is their duty to be as earnest in holy works of piety, as they were zealous in their superstition, they blindly did they knew not what, and though through the soul's struggling to ascend from whence it came, there arose some sparks, that gave them light to see there was *ens entium*[253]: (a power above all human power) that looked for reverence, yet wanting means to apprehend that rightly, their best endeavours proved but fruitless works of darkness, but out of doubt our Christian soldiers as they have much more hope, more helps, and more incitements, I do presume are much more truly and more earnestly religious. These have assurance grounded on infallible witnesses that they serve the only true and ever-living God that gives the victory to them that rightly call upon him for it, and rewards plentifully those that deserve it.[iii] These by the orders of their discipline, as helps to their weakness, comforts to their miseries, and ministers of God's blessings have necessary levities to perform to them all rites that may prepare them, that are in health and therefore less hindered from being prepared for death that hourly hangs over them. To assure them when they sometimes besieged suffer famine as fearful as that of [iv]Jerusalem, as great as king [v]Sous his soldiers that would not forbear drink to gain a kingdom, yet choose to die miserably, rather than yield to change their faith that that faith shall be rewarded with a happy crown of immortality.[254] To teach them that

[i] m Titus Livius, 1.5.
[ii] n Plutarch's *De fortuna Romanorum.*
[iii] Leo Imperator, 20.47; 20.75; 18.18.
[iv] o Josephus's *De bello Iudaico*, 6.24, 6.16.
[v] p Plutarch's *Lycurgus.*

to be sometimes for Christ's cause made galley-slaves, where with the constant spirits of true Christian soldiers they endure afflictions, that would make soft-hearted men such perhaps as speak against soldiers, even forsake their great captain Jesus:[255] is a sure means to gain in exchange of those bonds the freedom of heaven. To exhort them last of all if by God's merciful preservation when death came a tithing on any side, when multitudes of enemies encompassed them about, they prove the sole remnant of many hundreds, to return to their native country there to die in peace, that while they live, they cannot have a better president to imitate than the worthy captain [i]Cornelius.

Besides these ministers, these soldiers have the Scriptures, where contemning play books and base pamphlets unfit studies for dying men, they may reading learn to imitate [ii]Joshua before the battle, that prayed the Israelites might not be delivered into the hands of the Amorites: or [iii]Moses in the battle that lifted up his hands to heaven for victory: or [iv]David after the battle that praised God the author of his conquests with joyful songs of thanksgiving: where they may reading learn to give continually all honour and religious worship to that God [v]that teacheth their fingers to fight and their hands to battle, even in the midst of their armies from whence he pleases to appropriate unto himself one of his great and glorious titles [vi]the lord of hosts.

But perhaps someone observing how great [vii]Anthony, did sacrifice himself to luxury, or having read the true cause of [viii]Charles the Eighth of France his posting

[i] q *Acts of the Apostles*, 10.
[ii] r *Joshua*, 7.
[iii] s *Exodus*, 17.11.
[iv] t *2 Samuel*, 22.
[v] v Psalm 144.1.
[vi] w *Isaiah*, 1; *Jeremiah*, 11.
[vii] y Plutarch's *Antonius*.
[viii] x Guicciardini, 3.

pilgrimage to Paris when he should have gone for Naples may think he seeth good reason to condemn a soldier's religion as consisting of too much devotion to she-saints: I must confess the folly of some soldiers in time of idleness hath given some colour to the fable of Mars and Venus,[256] but I cannot see how the profession, can deserve that imputation: for either that fable is a poet's mere fiction, and so not to be credited, since through their lying madness even heaven itself is defiled, or else is grounded on some natural cause, and then as Sol and Mercury the patrons of poets lawyers and the like are in the celestial globe nearer to Venus as oft in conjunction and for their natural propriety more concordant, in reason me thinks those poets, lawyers, and the like that lead *vitam sedentariam* (a quiet life), sleep their fill and eat their meat at due seasons must of necessity be much more subject to incontinency than soldiers,[257] that may well with [i]Scipio contemn lasciviousness, since thinking still how to conquer men, their leisure serves them not to become slaves to women,[258] [ii]that may learn of Scanderberg[259] to live long unmarried and yet most honest, that their bodies may be the stronger and better able to do or suffer what pertains to soldiers: that may as [iii]Pericles willed Sophocles even keep their eyes from lusting, their course of life being of such singleness that they are seldom or never troubled with the sight of women that are last of all daily mortified with cold, hunger loss, of blood, and perpetual labour: so that if [iv]Henry the maiden-king of Portugal could, they may well be "per totum vitae spatium libidinis expertes" (even all their life time free from incontinent desires), at least able with [v]Alexander to resist the temptation of a

[i] z Plutarch's *Scipio*.
[ii] a Marinus Barlesius 6. [I.e., Barlesius's *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirutarum Principis* (1508-10), book 6].
[iii] b Plutarch's *Pericles*.
[iv] c Osorius's *De rebus Emmanuelis regis gestis*, 2.
[v] d Plutarch's *Alexander*.

Philoxenus or an Hephaestion[260] though their temper were as hot as Alexander's that by reason of heat breathed forth sweet savours.

And yet not need to cool their complexions with too much liqueur:[261] the death of [i]Clitus[262] and the burning of Persepolis may assure them Alexander's drunkenness drowned all his other virtues: [ii]so Seneca pronounced his happy rashness far from fortitude, tainted with cruelty, the badge of cowardice, and I may well condemn his wisdom for losing the benefit of his victory which [iii]Caesar the best captain thought was only this, "victis donare salute".

For to bestow
Life on the vanquished foe.

It is an idle fond infirmity fit for immodest [iv]Babylonian women that first drink then dance, etc.[263] or for unwise womanish men lovers I mean twixt whom and drunkards there is such affinity that [v]"et in ebrietatem amans, et in amorem ebrius proclivis admodum" (the lover is soon drunk, the drunkard apt to be in love): but the overthrow of the victorious [vi]Scythians in Justin hath made me even from the infancy of my reading, afraid to think such weakness should be in a soldier,[264] as was in those [vii]Germans Pantaleon speaks of that after many valiant exploits falling to drinking on Saint Martin's day were all slain by the Turks that invaded them, as the Grecians did Troy where the inhabitants were

[viii]vino sommoque sepulti.
Dead in a deep

[i] e Quintus Curtius, 5.
[ii] f *De beneficiis*, 2.13.
[iii] g Lucan's *De bello civili*,, 6.
[iv] h Quintus Curtius, 5.
[v] i Heliodoro's *Historia Aethiopica*, 3.
[vi] k Justin's *Historiae*, 1.
[vii] l *De rebus gestis Iohannitarum*, 2. [I.e., Pantaleon's *Militaris ordinis Iohannitarum* (1581), book 2].
[viii] m Virgil's *Aeneid*, 3.

And drunken sleep.

Let the barbarous [i]Brazilians drink drunk before they enter into consultations, let their light heads be far from bringing forth weighty counsels: but you[265] in whose hands consists the safety of kingdoms, whose affaires stand so tickle that as [ii]Guicciardini observes one commandment ill understood, one order ill executed, one rashness, one [iii]vain voice even of the meanest soldier carries oft times the victory to those that seemed vanquished, keep you your wits about you still perfect and still ready to settle unexpected accidents, though some usurers of your names waste their substance as the [iv]west Indians do their money in their quaffing cups and then like true unthrifts such as was Meligallus a knight of Rhodes endeavour treacherously "post patrimonium patriam subvertere" (after the overthrow of their own estates to betray their country); though the weakness of some men be such that they first and surest learn the infirmities of the countries where they live, as some ancient travellers were wont to do lying of the Cretans, perfidiousness of the Carthaginians, or effeminateness of the people of Asia, as some modern do affected gravity of the Spaniard. Revenge and jealousy of the Italian,[266] and waste and lavish of the French, as some of our soldiers have done freebooting mutinying and the like disorders in the civil wars of the French leaguers, as some have and do this carousing quality by serving among the Dutch. Yet let your settled judgments discern a difference twixt virtue and those mentioned vices,[267] let your wisdom direct you to contemn their[268] folly that betray their own by drinking to another's health, let it assure you though some fools like the [v]Indian Chiricahua think him most valiant that drinks

[i] n Osorius's *De rebus Emmanuelis regis gestis*, 2.
[ii] o 4. [I.e., *Ricordi*, ch. 4].
[iii] * The victory lost at Perosa. Guicciardini, 3. [I.e., Guicciardini's *La historia d'Italia* (1561), book 3].
[iv] p Their amygdala are their money. Peter Martyr, 5.4.
[v] r Peter Martyr, 8.8.

most, it can be little praise to you to make your bellies hogsheads, or your brains sponges, you may and ought to show far truer and far greater fortitude by living virtuous conquerors of such vicious affections that so you may die without fear of death your countries' faithful champions, and go as Plutarch tells of [i]Romulus armed to heaven, and be as [ii]Solon thought of Tellus more happy than the richest king. For this fourscore[269] years old [iii]Hippodamus advised by his king to leave the wars, and turn into his country, replied he knew not where to die more happily than in the wars defending of his country: for this the young unmarried [iv]Grecians' part of Leonidas his gallant followers refused to shun a certain danger and return unto their friends in safety, saying they came to fight and not to carry news, for this I cannot choose but attribute great honour to the war, that is of power to make both old and young so honourable.

[v]Par illi regi, par superis erit
Qui stiga tristem non tristis vidit.
He is a king or more than mortal man
That unappalled, pale death encounter can.
And they shall be most happy
[270]Quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus.
To whom of all fears chief
The fear of death doth work no grief.

This is the perfect point of fortitude, this is the hardest point in all philosophy, yet surest learned by practise and oftenest put in practise in the wars, where private soldiers like that [vi]German in Osorius will be sore wounded yet

[i] s Plutarch's *Romulus.*
[ii] t Plutarch's *Solon.*
[iii] u *Idem*, in *Liber de dictis et factis Lacadaemoniorum.* [I.e., Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Laconica*].
[iv] x *Ibidem.*
[v] y Seneca's *Agamennon.*
[vi] z *De rebus Emmanuelis regis gestis*, 22.

not retire till they die or conquer where captains bury themselves in their own colours or like [i]Bayard fight till death seize on them, yet desire to die with their faces against their enemies; where sometimes both captain and soldiers like [ii]Leonidas and his companions dine with a resolution undismayed, to sup in heaven, and die all of them so happy, that none remains to carry the unhappy news. These then and such as these are soldiers, for these are chronicles, and such as these are (by [iii]Lycurgus' laws) esteemed only worthy to have epitaphs; so now I see why [iv]Pyrrhus trained up his three sons to be soldiers; while he himself did live and die a soldier; and why within [v]Rome no man might be buried that had not been a soldier: so now I think when Alexander dying left his crown [vi]"dignissimo" (unto the worthiest), he did intend a soldier, when the most Indians of Hispaniola bequeath theirs [vii]"fortissimo" (unto the valiantest), they can intend none but a soldier: and [viii]Pyrrhus when he told his sons he should succeed that had the sharpest sword, did only mean that son that proved a soldier: for why? Should Pyrrhus have resigned his sceptre to a son as [ix]John of Armenia[271] did to a brother "belli ignaro viro" (a man unexperienced in military affairs), there might have well be feared a desolate subversion of his state like that, that thereon followed, in the kingdom of Armenia. But he that saw the Romans grow from small beginnings to a mighty nation by continual war, and found that for increasing of their fame, riches

[i] a Montaigne, 1.3.
[ii] b Siculus's "Apud Thermopylas", 21.
[iii] c Plutarch's *Lycurgus.*
[iv] d *Idem*, *Pyrrhus.*
[v] e *Les recherches de la France*, 2. [I.e., Pasquier's *Les recherches de la France* (1560), book 2].
[vi] f Curtius, and Plutarch's *Alexander.*
[vii] g Peter Martyr, 3.9.
[viii] h Plutarch's *Pyrrhus.*
[ix] i Pantaleon's *De rebus gestis Iohannitarum*, 4.

and power, their love was settled on the war; had reason to train up and seek to leave an heir that might maintain his quarrel and resist the Romans force with force, their war with war: and having so established his throne, plenty of suitors would have come from neighbouring princes if not for love, for fear, if not for fear, for profit's sake, to win such a succeeder's[272] amity.[273] For as it is reported of [i]Tubanama, an Indian king, that he protested solemnly, he ever loved the Spaniards, because he heard their swords were sharper far than his: so I remember when at the self-same time, the several provinces of [ii]Greece, sent several ambassadors to the Persian Artaxerxes, whose friendship all affecting, all endeavoured by all the means they could to gain: the king did voluntarily prefer the Theban cause and Pelopidas' suit before the rest, because the fame went they were the best practised of and most skilful soldiers of all the rest, little respecting the power of the Athenians, or the wealth or number of other of the cities, who for want of military practise, neither knew how to use their number, nor their powerful wealth: so then for power in the war it is, one kingdom is preferred before another, and strangers evermore do most respect those strangers that are warriors.

The poor artificers, the mechanic Swiss were not long since of most mean estimation till that provoked by an injury of [iii]Charles the last duke of the house of Burgundy[274] like horses ignorant of their own strength they entered the field and got a victory whose sweetness so enticed them on to continue in that course to such there advantage, that since that time some of the greatest [iv]princes of Christendom have vied thousands of crowns to gain their friendship, that in the wars of [v]Italy the victory

[i] k Peter Martyr, 3.3.
[ii] l Plutarch's *Pelopidas.*
[iii] m *Histoires* de Commines, 5.2. [I.e., de Commines's *Mémoires*, book 5, ch. 2].
[iv] n *Histoire des derniers troubles*, 2.
[v] o Guicciardini's *Historia d'Italia.*

did ofttimes follow their inclination, that last of all, all Europe at this day respects them well, and him the better whose friends they profess themselves.

Thus the low countrymen (a name not many years gone unknown) were once [i]reputed a dull lazy yea a base nation of poor handicrafts men, contemned of their neighbouring enemies and respected of their friends no further than necessity enforced, yet after that as they profess their lord's severity had forced them against their wills to take up weapons for their own defence, they in short time redeemed so their reputation that their most powerful neighbours were content to undergo injurious imputations for protecting them, whom men that looked a squint upon the cause esteemed too much disobedient, and since that time the war that gave life to their force hath so increased their might, that for this but on part of their power their strength at sea, it is thought they cannot want good friends to back them.[ii]

Since then the benefit of power skill and practise in the war is such that by it the poor have grown rich, the weak strong, and those that were reputed vile have got an honourable reputation, since all sorts of men are either through fear earnest or through love willing to entertain friendly amity with those especially that are renowned for it, since last a commonwealth through it may grow from small beginnings to unlooked for height as that of [iii]Rome, "audendo et agendo" (by daring and doing), rose from nothing to be masters of the world, who is he that remembers how [iv]Romulus even in Rome's infancy, did lay foundations of Rome's greatness, by choosing out of his followers, those that were able to bear arms to be enrolled into legions, that will not wish if he wish well to his country, that his countries governors would provide

[i] p Ioannis Baptistae Lenccius, *Observationes politicae* (1601).
[ii] The king of France and queen of England.
[iii] q Titus Livius, 3.2.
[iv] r Plutarch's *Romulus.*

so, for their cities that they may never want soldiers to fight for them so long as they have citizens to dwell within them.[275] For my part when I remember how the [i]Roman state, as it increased in power did evermore increase the well-deserved respect it bare to soldiers, so that though while the weakness of their poor beginning lasted they only gave them titular rewards triumphs to generals, and to each private soldier that deserved it a several garland, yet in the year of their cities age 347, at the taking of Anxur, the Volsci's town, they ordained for them a certain pay *e publico*[276] which was augmented afterwards by Caius Gracchus and doubted after him by Julius Caesar, so that in process of time besides the gift of the government of infinite towns provinces and kingdoms, besides the sending forth of [ii]colonies one chief use whereof was "ut praemiis milites veterani afficerentur" (that old soldiers might be rewarded), and besides the ordinary allowance for those legions that lived in Rome, the emperor [iii]Augustus allotted out certain portions of land for those that had been soldiers to maintain them in a continual readiness to do him and their country service.

When I remember how in imitation of those Romans the ancient kings of the [iv]Gauls gave to their soldiers manors in the country where they lived as lords over the peasants their tenants, and were tied to come with a certain number of followers according to the quality of their land to serve as voluntaries at their own charge so long as the war lasted, a custom yet observed by their offspring the gentry of France: when I remember how perhaps in imitation of those Gauls, William the conqueror gave to his followers our gentry's ancestors distinct circuits in sundry places of several lands of inheritance, one of the heirs of which distribution is reported since that time to have produced a

[i] s Rossini's *Antiquitatae Romanae*, 10.11.
[ii] t *Idem*, 2.23.
[iii] u Suetonius's *Augustus.*
[iv] * *Les recherches de la France*, 2.

rusty sword as the evidence by which he held his living: when I remember how the kings of France used knighting and when that was corrupted in the civil wars of the houses of [i]Burgundy and Orleans invented new orders of knighthood, as new honours to reward soldiers: when last I call to mind how gentlemen and their coats of arms took their original from the wars as may appear by [ii]Agrippa's observation that in heraldry the best coats consist of savage beasts to testify the bearers nobility gotten by his courage: as saith he, the Goths carried a bear, the Saxons a horse, the Romans an eagle, the Cimbri a bull, and each particular gentleman thinks it nothing honourable to carry a sheep, a lamb, a calf, or such like peaceable creature that is not *militiae signum* (a token of warfare); then[277] my zeal to the wars and my love to soldiers is so revived that I can scarce[278] forbear wishing, that in England as in Scythia[279] none might drink of the feasting cup, or as in Carmania[280] none might marry that had not slain an enemy to his country:[281] or as among the Turks that none might be esteemed noble for antiquity, but for their proper virtue: or as old decrepit men were used among the [iii]trogloditae[282] mentioned in Diodorus Siculus, that each young scapethrift[283] that is "telluris inutile pondus" (a burden to the earth that can do nothing well), save that that is passing ill might be tied by the neck to an ox's tail and so strangled as well worthy so shameful a death for doing nothing worthy of life. But on later and wiser consideration I find it nothing comely that a civil country should break her own customs to imitate a barbarous people, yet even these examples with those before mentioned may lively testify how necessary all antiquity esteemed *pramia et honores* (rewards and honours), to nourish and hold up the art of war, one of the chiefest pillars of a commonwealth I cannot therefore but most seriously wish that our king a worthy in the worthiest

[i] x *Les recherches de la France.*
[ii] z *De vanitate scientiarum et artium.*
[iii] a 2.3.

kind of learning as he is the flower of two stemmas of most renowned warlike ancestors,[284] whom God hath given us, [i]to go out before us and fight our battles, to whom the King of Kings

[ii]Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere ventos.
Gives power as well as to appease
With calms, with storms to stir the seas.

Would when it shall please his wisdom add life, I mean practise to our militia that oft dies at least decays much through secure idleness, and that then the pay of England that is as honourable as any nations may not be detained from or gelded before it come to the hands of poor soldiers by base unworthy captains, nor the due of honest captains be withheld or lessened through the fraudulent corruption of deceitful officers; but that severity of military discipline may be revived to cut of those rotten members, those adulterate counterfeits whose baseness hath made true soldiers contemptible, and that true soldiers even in times of peace may be as much respected as their virtuous worth deserves.[285]

For then as by [iii]Lycurgus institution it was in Sparta our free noble spirits will betake them to the sword and lance, and leave all other occupations unto white livered men: then our young men will exercise themselves a [iv]Coriolanus did, in running, wrestling, riding, and the like warlike sports: and our old men shall be fathers of great experience: so that with us as with the [v]Brazilians the young men shall execute valiantly, the wise counsel of the old men: then our gentlemen remembering in what foughten field, or for what special service their ancestors received their badges of honour, will fall to

[i] b 1 Samuel, 8.20.
[ii] c Virgil's *Aeneid*, 1.
[iii] d Plutarch's *Lycurgus*.
[iv] e *Idem*, in *Coriolanus*.
[v] f Osorius's *De rebus Emmanuelis regis gestis*, 5.

imitate those honourable ancestors and knowing how poor a credit it is [i]"aliorum incumbere famae" (for to rely on other men's desert will strive) rather to have "effigies tot bellatorum"[286] (the images of their warlike ancestors), living in their hearts than dead and smoke dried in their houses: Then our countrymen like Marcellus in Rome or the [ii]Mamertines in Sicily, may perhaps have honourable name derived from Mars: then it may be as many of one name as were of [iii]William's at our king Henry the second his son's feast in Normandy, or as many of one family as were of the [iv]Metcalfes[287] at on assize in Richmondshire will vow themselves like the [v]300 Fabii in Rome[288] to fight for their country: at least we shall have many brethren, (noble slips of some noble stock) that like the Norrisses[289] of honourable memory, will strive to be famous for dying valiant soldiers in the bed of honour, rather than infamous like some beasts unworthy to be named in the same discourse for their noted idle, if not worse life. Then we shall have many captains, such as were the Greeks and Romans, and our soldiers shall be as much renowned for valour, honesty and mutual love as was the holy band at [vi]Thebes: And then now conquests shall make foreigners ashamed to laugh at us when we tell of our forefathers victories in France, and our displayed ensigns shall keep us from blushing at our slothful life: for then those true soldiers that whiles the wars serve but as sickness to ride away *purgamenta urbium*, lie hid like diamonds heaped up in dunghills covered with weeds, shall be as rich gems set in gold and worn and beautified by the comfortable reflexion of the rising sun's smiling beams, and in the

[i] h Plutarch's *Marcellus.*
[ii] i *Idem*, in *Pyrrhus.*
[iii] k Montaigne, 2.42.
[iv] l. Camden's *Britannia:* "Richmondshire". [I.e., Camden's *Britannia*, ch. "Richmondshire"].
[v] m Titus Livius, 1.2.
[vi] n Plutarch's *Pelopidas.*

meantime this may their comfort though like old English words they be now out of use, yet

[i]Multa renascentur quae nunc cecidere cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore.

They will be in request that are neglected, and they contemned that are now respected.

The time will come their country will leave fawningly to offer up her wealth to those her unworthy children that live by sucking dry their parents' blood, and rather motherlike respect those sons that are her champions, and seek to purchase her ease with painful industry, her honour with effusion of their blood, her safety with loss of life.[290]

[i] o Horace's *De arte poetica*.

Preface to the Fourth Paradox

Paradox 4 is the shortest of this collection, yet probably the most interesting, given its interdiscursive relationships with the culture of paradox in early modern England. Dudley 'confesses' here his adherence to the *multis utile bellum* principle – i.e., wars benefit many people. This doctrine is taken from Lucan's *Pharsalia* or *Bellum civile*, although other Renaissance authors such as Machiavelli, de la Noue, Scott himself and others had already celebrated the same principle. Given the topic's controversial nature, Dudley Digges supports his hypotheses with substantial quotations from classical and biblical sources.

One of the themes that this paradox shares with Scott's third paradox about war is an exaltation of the wars against Turks and infidels, whom Digges calls "dogs". From the perspective of the just war tradition, Christian princes should avoid fighting wars against each other, wars "with such inveterate malice and irreconcilable wrongs for titles so intricate", and should instead direct their strengths and, above all, armies towards the Ottoman empire.

Lastly, by concluding this paradox with a combined quotation from Horace's *Satires* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, Dudley Digges praises the armoured death, i.e., dying on the battlefield with honour, a recurring pattern that, from ancient times, crosses various epochs, including the early modern period.

The Fourth Paradox.

"Et multis utile bellum"[i]
That war sometimes less hurtful, and more to be wished in a well governed state than peace.[291]

Sweet I know is the name of peace,[292] more sweet the fruition, to those ease-affecting men that foolishly imagine it the greatest point of wisdom to enjoy the benefit of present time, though one of better judgment tell them:[ii] "Isthuc est sapere, non quod ante pedes modo est videre, sedetiam illa quae futura sunt prospicere".

It is wisdom not to cast our eyes
On that, that just before us lies,
But to foresee and to provide
For harms that one day may betide.

Some others without respect of public benefit, measuring the happiness of the state wherein they live by their own particular contentment do most eagerly make war against war, the apparent enemy to Persian luxury, whose sworn slaves they live. And besides these the greatest part of men, blinded like these, do tremble at the name of war, for fear of his companion charge: not unlike some wretched penny fathers, that in time of this our contagion, by resisting contributions fitting for the ordering of infected persons, are oft occasion of impoverishing themselves and their whole town, of endangering their own and many hundred honester men's lives.

But[293] if it may appear on better deliberation, that the war [iii]"Est de longe temps et continue encore, et durera en sa force jusqu'à la fin du monde" (is of great antiquity,

[i] Lucan, 1.
[ii] a Terence's *Adelphoe*, 3.3.
[iii] b Rocque's *Du maniement de l'art militaire*, 1. [I.e., Rocca's *De' discorsi di guerra del signor Bernardino Rocca* (1566), book 1. The book was translated in French by François de Belleforest in 1571].

continues yet, and will remain in full force to the ending of the world), so that we may well put it off, but cannot put it away, since like a torrent of waters it rises as occasion forceth here and there, and may a while be stayed, but increasing so, breaks out in the end more violently, and as Virgil saith,

[i]Sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores
Praecipitesque trahit siluas, etc.
The fields it overflows, the corn is drowned.
Ploughmen their labour loose, trees fall on ground, etc.

Then it brings with it a confused desolation, whereas without danger at the first, it might have passed on by little and little in a continuate quiet course.[294] If it may appear, that luxurious idleness is much more to be feared than those monstrous bugbearers'[295] words I sometimes hear alleged to dissuade men from the wars, the mere inventions of fainthearted and effeminate men, that they may have some colour for their dishonourable sloth. If last of all it may appear, that in a just and good quarrel, which cannot likely want a war wisely managed, cannot but be infinitely profitable: I think there is none that honours his king, wishes well to his country, or desires fame; but will far prefer the shedding of his blood, to procure his king's honour, his country's safety, or his own reputation, before the sordid sparing, lazy living, or foolish delaying of those blinded men I mentioned.[296]

For my own part, I ever disliked those patient pleasing surgeons[297] that with fond mildness suffer small hurts to fester, and grow dangerous: I ever feared lest temporizing (like looking on our neighbours burning house) would suffer the fire to come home to our own doors, and then I fear our poor loving sheep will too late see, they only fed themselves fat for the slaughter, when men most resolute, shall rather be, determinate to do, than skilful how to. Then I fear our conquests past will little profit us, when ease like rust in our armour shall have eaten into and

[i] c Virgil's *Aeneid*, 2.

corrupted our valour when by discontinuance of practise, we shall be unapt for service, yea by reason of the often change of the course of our wars directly ignorant, and that ignorant unaptness will dismay the most confident: then it may be feared we may too late repent our former negligence, our secure idleness, our sparing of a little to the endangering of all, when we see ourselves at length enforced to undergo the danger with disadvantage which in time with odds, our side we might easily have repelled: then we may wish we had imitated the Romans' wisdom, that foresaw inconveniences a far of, and would not to avoid present wars, suffer mischiefs to grow on, [i]they invaded Philip and Antiochus in Greece lest otherwise they might have been enforced to deal with them in Italy. But my words perhaps are to these peace lovers as wind that shakes no corn, assuredly I know it hard to dissuade bewitched men from ease and pleasure, two seducing syrens in whose beastly servitude too too many are enthralled past recovery: yet those worthy spirits in whose breasts the sparks of our forefathers courage are not yet extinguished whose swelling hearts are ready to protest their English virtue hates effeminate, longs to show itself in some laborious course of valiant industry: they I doubt not will soon call to mind how dishonourable it was to the [ii]Egyptians under Ptolemy: "depositis militiae studiis, otio et desidia marcescere" (To pine away in sloth and idleness, neglecting military profession), or how unprofitable it was to the [iii]Lydians to live in peace. "Quae gens industria quondam potens, et manustrenua, effaeminata mollitie, luxuriaque virtutem pristinam perdidit" (which nation was once famous for valour and industry, but they drowned the reputation of their ancient virtue in effeminate and luxurious delicacy). And with a feeling remembrance of those or the like examples, pray with me that those, and

[i] d Machiavelli's *Prince*, 2.
[ii] e Justin's *Historiae*, 6.
[iii] f *Idem*, 3.

the like inconveniences fall not on us: that we may not suffer our enemies or neighbours to grow too mighty, whilst carelessly we ourselves wax weak[298] and degenerate through sloth and case, under the colour of a quiet life: I doubt not but their hopes are like to mine.[299] For as that great captain [i]Pyrrhus did in some particulars well correct the vain voluptuous life of the Tarentines, so since God hath given us a governor as valiant as, but much more wise than Pyrrhus: I hope, and my hope is strengthened with confidence, that that valour will incite, that that wisdom will direct our king, to take in hand the reformation of our idle life, more dangerous than that of the Tarentines: in better manner and to better purpose, then did that Pyrrhus. A work worthy a king, that can be worthily effected by none, but such a king, in whom there is all worthiness. But here me thinks I hear some object to me the successful felicity of the peaceable reign of our late queen,[300] whose happy memory, and ever to be admired government, far be it from my thankful thoughts to touch with the lest tittle of disgrace, whose wisdom such objectors too too saucily diminish producing her as an enemy to military profession: her sex indeed, and in her later time fulness of days might well excuse far greater ease; yet see (that which these blind men stumble over) from the first to the last in several parts of Christendom, she ever found means to train up her better and more forward subjects in variety of service; that so they might prove good members of her estate, and profitable servants for her potent successor:[301] so wise men know, besides that many dangers were kept far off, this realm was still tolerably furnished with skilful soldiers, and prudently rid of many inconveniences: yet I must confess the open show of peace bred divers corruptions, yet such as all states however wisely governed where peace is are of necessity subject to.

Who seeth not to what riot in apparel, to what excess in banqueting, to what height in all kind of luxury, our

[i] g Plutarch's *Pyrrhus*.

country was grown, when the flower of England, the gentry and better sort, whom the meaner strove to imitate, for the most part idlily, if not lewdly brought up, confirmed in their dissolute life, by superfluity of ill example, became so exceeding foolish, that he which eat good meat, and ware good clothes, and did someone thing worse, was ordinarily amongst them accounted most happy: how many of our elder brothers consumed whole and goodly patrimonies at dice and cards, having no other means to pass their time, as I have oft times heard divers of them penitently (but too late) complain: how many of our younger brothers in all sorts of riotous expenses, did in small time consume their portions, which otherwise employed in virtuous courses might soon have equalled their elder brothers' sons, and then exclaiming against their parents, that dealt indeed too well with such ungracious children, fell to lewd courses, and oft times came to such untimely ends as I shame to tell: and of both these, the likeliest plants to prove were most of all perverted, the spirits of best hope, did soonest step awry.[302]

So [i]Caesar in his younger days, was most prodigal, he grew indebted 700 thousand crowns. So [ii]Cimon[303] in his former time was most riotous, and for it defamed thorow[304] the whole city of Athens: yet see, the wars redeemed the one and he became a most renowned general: the wars reclaimed, the other and he proved as valiant as Themistocles,[305] as wise as was Miltiades.[306] Thus we may read that Silla,[307] Alcibiades,[308] and divers other carried themselves most lasciviously, most wantonly in peace, till the wars taught them to live like soldiers: and like these (I think) some of our countrymen, for spirit no whit inferior to Caesar, nor towardness to Alcibiades, might in time have proved renowned soldiers and extraordinary instruments of their countries honour, had they not for want of employment, to our public loss, and their private

[i] h Plutarch's *Caesar.*
[ii] i *Idem*, in *Cimon.*

overthrow, spent their younger years like Cimon in riotous behaviour, and their age like Lucullus[309] in luxurious idleness: so that Juvenal had he lived in their time might have truly said.

[i]Nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis
Luxuria incubuit. etc.
Now we endure the discommodity
Of our long peace oppressed by luxury.
Worse far
Than war.

But these were such whose finer mould was uncapable of drudging courses, who perhaps as [ii]Peter martyr[310] observes of the Spaniards, thought it "specialem nobilium praero gatiuam ut otiosi, ac sine ulla exercitatione praeterquam bellicavitam degerent" (The special privilege of a gentleman to live solitarily, free from al professions, save that of arms). This was indeed an ancient custom of our gentry, till peace made some, of gentlemen become boors, who forgetting that their truest honour came by arms, lived as they said to themselves, some graziers, some ploughmen, all basely sweating in the pursuit of dross, hating the name of honour because it asked cost, and such as these robbing poor farmers of their practise, like weeds in untiled land, have and still do spring up in peace the patron of their baseness, yet such as these might call to mind what civil contention, rest and want of foreign wars' occasions, they might remember how many have been utterly undone by unnecessary law brambles, weighing well the number of those that have shot up deciding such controversies, men I know whose laborious study deserves much commendation, but when I think how [iii]Plutarch praises the Corinthians whose temples were adorned not with the spoils of the Grecians, their friends, their neighbours, unhappy memories, but decked with

[i] k Juvenal, 2.6.
[ii] l 6.1.
[iii] m *Timoleon.*

trophies of their victories against the barbarous people their adversaries; then I wish those necessary members of peace, whose good parts I reverence, had rather gotten their wealth by the sword from foreign enemies, like our worthy ancestors, then so to have grown great, through their countrymen's contentions.

Now besides this private contention whose nurse is peace, even that peace is ofttimes mother of more perilous dissention, when idleness ministers each active humour fit occasion of working, to the endangering of diseased, to the distempering of most healthful bodies, when quite security gives busy heads leisure to divide the commonwealth into contentious factions;[311] so that as in [i]Solon's[312] time at Athens, the people of the mountains desiring this form of government, the men of the valleys that; to both which the inhabitants of the seacoast maintain a contrary: all catch hold of the opportunity peace offers to plot, and put in practise their several projects for the advancement of their particular, though with the weakening of the public state, and in the end like [ii]Pyrrhus' disordered elephants, some running backward, some forward, and the rest standing still, the confusion of their actions me thinks resembles well the Indian dance described by [iii]Benzo[313] where divers "modo singuli vestiuntur et alii hoc, alii illo modo corpus circumagunt, nonnulli crura at tollunt, aliqui brachia, alius caecum, alius surdum effingit, rident alii, alii plangent, etc." (Where all are clothed after sundry fashions, one turning his body this way, another that way, some lifting up their legs, some their arms, one playing the blind man, another the deaf, some laughing, some weeping, etc.). But the danger of these differences is the greater because not sensible, till strangers that grow through them courageous, take the advantage of them,[314] and then too late we may

[i] n *Solon.*
[ii] o Idem, *Pyrrhus.*
[iii] p *Nova novi orbis historia.* 2.16.

remember Livy's warning by the example of [i]Ardea that such dissention hath been more hurtful to sundry cities, than fire, famine sickness or the sword, or what other calamity can be imagined while we too soon forget the last advertisement dying [ii]Scanderbeg gave his son, in these words worthy to live ever. "Nullum tam potens validumque imperium quod non corruat quandoque ubi mutuis odiis praebetur locus" (There is no government so well established, that will not suite itself, if once it harbour partial enmities).

These enmities have been instruments in most countries' overthrows, they overtake us in our security like secret fiees in the night, and are therefore more to be feared, they steal on us by degrees hidden in the deepness of our rest, like the consumption in a body unpurged, unexercised, that is indeed less painful yet proves more mortal than most diseases; they are as plentifully bred in peace [iii]as crocodiles in Egypt, and would in time prove as propitious, but God that for man's good provides the ichneumon[315] to destroy the eggs of the one before they be hatched, hath left us a perfect remedy to dissipate the other, if we be not to ourselves defective; to wit, foreign war, a sovereign medicine for domestic inconveniences,[316] whereby those stirring heads that like the [iv]Spaniards "bellum quam otium malunt, ideoque si desit extraneus domi hostem quaerunt" (Desire war rather than quietness, and therefore fall out at home if foreign foes be wanting): shall have more honest and more acceptable means to busy themselves, when as [v]Osorio says: "commune periculum facile omnium animos ab intestinis seditionibus auocabit, ad commune malum propulsandum" (the general danger will soon withdraw men's minds from intestine garboils[317]

[i] q Titus Livius, 4.1.
[ii] r Barlesius's *Scanderberg*.
[iii] s Diodorus Siculus, 2.3.
[iv] t Justin's *Historiae*, 44.
[v] u *De rebus Emmanuelis regis gestis*, 9.

to resist the general mischief), both which appeared in that wise proceeding of the [i]senate of Rome in Coriolanus' time that by this means appeased all divisions, even then when as [ii]Livy observes heat of contention betwixt the people and nobility had made, "ex una civitate duas" (of one two cities). For the populousness of that city, by reason of their peace occasioning a dearth and famine, and their idleness stirring up lewd fellows to exasperate the desperate need and envious malice of the meaner sort, against the nobility, whose pride and luxury grown through sloth intolerable, caused them to contemn and injury the poorer people, in the end the fire broke forth hard to be quenched, and then the senate having as I may say bought wit by this dear experience, were at length enforced to fly to this medicine, which wisely applied before, had well prevented all those causes, and their unhappy effects. Then they resolved on a war with the Volsci to ease their city of that dearth, by diminishing their number, and appease those tumultuous broils, by drawing poor with rich, and the mean sort with the nobility, into one camp, one service, and one self-same danger: sure means to procure sure love and quietness in a contentious commonwealth, as that of Rome was at that time.

Yet even then there wanted not home tarrying house-doves, two peace-bred tribunes Sicimus[318] and Brutus, hindered that resolution calling it cruelty, and it may be some now will condemn this course, as changing for the worse: some that will much mislike a body breaking out should take receipts of quick-silver or mercury, that may endanger life: yet they cannot but know even those poisons outwardly applied are sovereign medicines to purge and cleanse, and therefore having a good physician, I must profess, I think it much better to take yearly physic,[319] when the sign is good and circumstances are correspondent, that may work with some little trouble, our

[i] w Plutarch's *Coriolanus.*
[ii] y 2.1.

health and safety, than through sordid sparing, or cowardly fear of pain, to omit happy opportunities of remedy, and so suffer our bodies perhaps crazy already, so to sink that death follows or at least some grievous sickness, asking far deeper charge, bringing far greater torment, especially since the sickness of a state, were it as great as a palsy may by a skilful physician be purged and evacuated at an issue in some remote part.[320]

I cannot but therefore commend [i]Camillus' wisdom for besieging the city of the Falerians,[321] though it were so strongly situated, so well stored with victual, and so fortified with all manner of munition, that the secure citizens walked up and down the city in their gowns, since not regarding the winning of the town as appeared, by his overslipping weighty advantages his intent, only was to keep his countrymen busied about something, lest otherwise repairing to Rome they might grow through peace and idleness seditious, and so raise some civil tumult: this was as Plutarch well observes a wise remedy, the Romans ever used to disperse abroad like good physicians the ill humours that troubled the quiet state of their commonwealth: "ce qui s'est antrefecis pratiqé après les guerres civiles des Anglois" (which hath been sometimes put in practise after the civil wars of England), as [ii]Master La Noue delivers.

If then those men that marvel how Philip the second that wanted not his oversight was ever able to possess Spain in tolerable quietness, his people having been of old time as their dealing with the Romans shows of a rebellious disposition, the continuance whereof made [iii]Ferdinand of Portugal refuse to be their king, and [iv]John the second wish a wall as high as heaven betwixt his people and them, which turbulence continues yet, even in the better of them,

[i] x Plutarch's *Camillus.*
[ii] z *Discours politique*, 9.
[iii] a *The Parenetical Discourse.*
[iv] b *Ibidem.*

however some maintain the contrary, as some years past was manifest, by the ambitious and seditious pride of Alonso Julian Romero[322] and some other Spanish captains, when Don John of Austria consulted for passing his army out of the Low Countries into Italy, as hath not long since sundry times appeared by the mutinous revolts of his [i]oldest soldiers for want of pay: If yet I say those men that marvel so, would by that rule of the Romans examine that Phillip's proceedings in imitation of his father Charles the first, it will evidently appear that he procured the place of Spain and his own safety by keeping his active subjects in continual employment, far from home, where their eagle-like piercing eyes might not come to pry into his actions, nor maliciously observe the distastes his government occasioned.

He did not forget that the statue of [ii]Pericles was graven with a helmet on to hide the deformity of his onion-like head, nor that that [iii]Pericles sent sixty galleys every year to sea, and many hundreds of men away by land, to rid his city of idle persons: but making use of both, received the fruit of both, besides this further benefit, that as weeds in England prove oft good sallets[323] in France, those his male contented and suspected subjects, while they were at home, by their industrious life under severity of military discipline became of good members, and were for their experience not unworthily accounted as ready soldiers as most in Christendom, which opinion was undoubtedly a great strength to king Phillip's enterprises, making the temporizing Venetians and other States of Italy more afraid than needed.[324]

Then howsoever some may be dissuaded by [iv]Cato's lively demonstration of Carthage too near neighbourhood, from drawing on us such an enemy as may in less than

[i] c In the Low Countries 2000 at one time. *Estates of English Fugitives.*
[ii] d Plutarch's *Pericles.*
[iii] e *Ibidem.*
[iv] f Appian. [I.e., Appian's *Historia Romana*].

three days sailing knock at the gates of our great city: and others in remembrance of some actions past, may seem to dislike sending our forces so far from home that for want of fresh supply of men or other necessaries, the voyage how auspicious soever the beginning be, wanting sure footing, must of necessity prove as a fading bubble: I, for my part, leaving the election of our wars as a matter scarce fit to be thought on by so young a head as mine, to the mature consultation of our senate, and judicious resolution of our sovereign, with more loyal zeal to my king and country, than love (which I confess is great) to the wars, wish, and with faith wish, that our settled state may reap infinite commodity by that [i]political rule, grounded on Scipio Nasica's desire to have Carthage stand, that for the reasons Scipio then alleged, wills every kingdom to provide itself an enemy as the [ii]Romans had many whose fall was their advancement, as the [iii]Athenians had them of Samos whose invasion appeased their domestic tumults, as last of all the [iv]Macedonians had the Thracians and Illyrians: "quorum armis, veluti quotidiana exercitatione indurati gloria bellicae laudis finitimos terebrant" (with whose hostility as with a daily exercise they were so hardened that their neighbours lived in awe of their renowned valour): that so fear of the enemy may keep our people from ease and luxury, the fatal ruin of states and countries, yea sometimes [v]conquering armies that dealing with that enemy in imitation of [vi]Alexander after Darius' overthrow, our men of war may be so trained and kept in use that for want of practise the life of all arts, but most necessary, in the most necessary art of war, our warlike discipline decay not, and so sink, if not the estate, yet the honour of our

[i] g La Noue's *Discours politique et militaire*, 9.
[ii] h Machiavelli's *Prince*, 29.
[iii] i Plutarch's *Alcibiades*.
[iv] k Justin's *Historiae*, 7.
[v] l As Hannibal at Capua.
[vi] l Quintus Curtius, 6

state and country.

But here whether to have one and the same still or rather variety of enemies be more requisite would ask a more particular discourse to decide, [i]than this general paradox may admit: Lycurgus knowing the inestimable benefit of military practise, was desirous his people should have war but not with one and the same nation lest they might be blamed as [ii]Agesilaus was by Antalcidas,[325] for making the Thebans against their wills by continual invading them to his own hurt, skilful soldiers; yet some may think it best grappling with one whose strength we know, whom by conquering we know how to overcome, whose fashions our soldiers are used to, but I dare not speak all I could, lest my meaning be applied as I would not, this I say, since it was truly said of the Romans, [iii]"magis bellantes quam pacati habuerunt deos propitious" (that they were more fortunate in war than peace): it was wisely (I think) feigned of [iv]Romulus that the gods told him his city should prove the mightiest in the world, so it were raised by wars, and increased by arms, and well-confirmed afterwards by [v]Proclus,[326] delivering the same to the people as a message from Romulus after his deifying to persuade them indeed to war, which this politic Roman and that worthy king foresaw was like to be most beneficial for them: this I say, since [vi]Plutarch rightly says that cities by warring with their neighbours, become wise in their carriage and learn to affect good government: it was not unwisely done of Robert the second of Scotland[327] to will his peers and subjects in his last will and testament, to have peace never above four years together in respect of the benefit he had found and should receive by continual exercise in military

[i] o Plutarch's *Lycurgus.*
[ii] p *Ibidem* and in *Liber de dictis et factis Lacadaemoniorum.*
[iii] q Titus Livius, 3.1.
[iv] r Plutarch's *Romulus.*
[v] s *Ibidem.*
[vi] t *De utilitate ex hostibus capienda.*

matters.

That then I may shut up this short and slight discourse seeing that to speak of peace perpetual in this world of contention, is but as Aristotle's *Felix*, Xenophon's *Cyrus*, Quintilian's *Orator*, or Sir Thomas Moor's *Utopia*, a matter of mere contemplation, the war being in this iron age [i]"si bien enracinée qu'il est impossible de l'en ôter, sinon avec la rume de l'univers" (So well ingrafted that it is impossible to take it away without a universal destruction): seeing that the quarrels of this world are either of Christians against Turks, and infidels, in defence of Christ crucified, which ought never, and I assure myself shall never be extinguished till the names of those dogs[328] be clean extirpated: or between Christians, with such inveterate malice and irreconcilable wrongs for titles so intricate, as in man's wit is to be feared will never be appeased, satisfied, decided, seeing that many of the princes of this world, though they talk of peace and amity to win time, till their projects come to full ripeness, serving their turns with that sweet name which they know is likely to blindfold ease-affecting people, yet in their hearts desire nothing less: when as some of them weakened with the violent courses of their hereditary ambition, that can never be tamed, seek peace as a breathing only to recover strength: others warily respecting our increased greatness, and their own unsettled state make fair shows now, but are like enough here after upon advantage to prove false hearted: others having gotten much wealth, gained much reputation, increased their power, and maintained their liberty by the sword, will never endure the loss of these by hearkening to peace, since last there never wanted colourable pretences to break those truces, that like the [ii]Parthians[329] promises are only observed, "quatenus expedit" (as far as is expedient), and made like that of the [iii]Samnites[330] who entertained

[i] u La Rocque's *Du maniement de l'art militaire*, 1.

[ii] * Justin's *Historiae*, 42.

[iii] y Titus Livius, 8.1.

peace with the Romans, "non quod pacem volebant, sed quia non erant parati ad bellum" (not that they desired peace, but because they were unprepared for war).

Let me not be blamed if I speak what I think, and as the scope of this discourse directs, deliver, that is more safe and honourable (making a league with some of them, so that necessity of state may force them to be faithful) to keep some other of them at the swords point, while fearing our strength, or their own feebleness, "cauponantur pacem" (they but chaffer for peace), rather than by temporizing give them time to turn tables, and fall on us, when our leaders shall be waxed old, and the number of them much diminished, when our best soldiers shall be raw besoignes brought to some execution of importance, before they were fit to learn what was fitting for them to do, when our discipline corrupt before shall be clean rotten and as little worth as our cancered rusty weapons at a day of service, when our ships of war one of the greatest strengths and honours of our kingdom, shall for covetous desire of gain, be easilier in one year turned to hoys[331] of burden, than can be reduced back again, to do our country service in another five and forty when our seamen shall be few, and skilful only in their own ordinary course, passing directly as they are bound at best seasons: whereas long voyages, living at sea, variety of weathers, change of climates, searching and sounding all harbours, bays, creeks, and corners, with ships well stored with men, is it that brings forth store of skilful masters, skilful pilots, skilful mariners, when last of all our people shall be more luxurious through such dangerous security, more contentious among themselves, more careless of the honour of the state, and in conclusion more ready to receive some fatal overthrow than ever heretofore.

These therefore and infinite other weighty considerations springing freshly out of my zealful regard of my country's welfare, and the desire I have to adventure the shedding of my blood might I be once so happy in

my king's service, maketh me with fervency of spirit wish His Majesty may ever have as [i]Charles the eighth of France had once, infinite multitudes of men, resolute of minds, for service apt, of faith assured, of wills tractable, for commandment obedient, and lastly bearing all one common desire, to commit their lives to any danger for the glory and greatness of God and their king.[332] And that our commonwealth may never want many such worthy patriots as will valiantly when time serves, hazard themselves, their friends, and their best fortunes, in painful industry to procure their countries assured safety, that their example may make our gentry ashamed of their much dissolute, degenerate dishonourable courses, the scoffing stock of proud contemning foreign nations, that so desiring earnestly to show the world their swords can cut as keen as their forefathers, by this first step to such desire, they may profess with me and that with constancy,

[ii]Militia est potior:
The war
Is better far:
[iii]Pulchrumque mori succurrat in armis.
And think how worthily
They die that armed die.
Finis.

[i] x Guicciardini's *Historia d'Italia*, 1.
[ii] z Horace's *Saturae*, 1.
[iii] Virgil's *Aeneid*, 1.

Commentary

[1] Lucan's *Civil War*, book 4.487: "Make your desire comply with necessity" (my translation; unless otherwise indicated, all Latin quotations are translated by me).

[2] Arts that spur evil.

[3] Stylistically, one must note the abundance of adjectives, nouns, and verbs that connotate negatively the liberal arts against which Scott rails in this stinging invective. Arts are "uncertain" and "ambiguous", the hopes they promise their proselytes are "groundless", and they "beget dissention" while "wound[ing] our judgment". A very uncommon yet interesting simile is "like a windy bladder", whose first occurrence, according to EEBO, is in Scott's *Four Paradoxes*. Other occurrences belong to the 1620s and 1630s, in such treatises as Calderwood's *A Dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus* (1621) and Sibbes's *The Soul's Conflict with Itself* (1635), or in two plays by Fletcher: *John van Olden Barnavelt* (1619) and *A Wild-goose Chaise* (1621). The fact that Scott's is the first occurrence of the collocation "windy bladder" in the seventeenth century indicates a certain stylistic originality.

[4] In Scott's Puritan view, the arts are usually associated with falsehood, since they distance men from the truth of God, an early modern cliché the English Protestants embraced, especially in relation to the education of young men (see, for instance, Ascham's or Stubbes's invectives against the corruption deriving from the arts).

[5] In Greek and Roman mythology, the Hydra of Lerna (or Lernaean Hydra) was a serpent-like monster with many heads, killed by Heracles in his second labour. According to Theis (2020, 41), Greek sources acknowledge that the monster had nine, fifty or 100 heads, "but the number seven is never attested", albeit often being mentioned in Medieval and Renaissance writings. In this case, Scott establishes an allegorical parallelism between the seven liberal arts and the seven heads of the Hydra, yet recalling also Adam and Eve's fall from Eden, an episode which Scott associates with the Hydra through the imagery of the serpent.

[6] I.e., Adam.

[7] This is probably the most paradoxical stanza of the whole collection, given that Scott asserts that poetry is instructing his "mild and gentle" Muse of poetry – although the muses of poetry were four: Calliope (epic poetry), Thalia (pastoral poetry), Erato (lyric poetry) and Polyhymnia (sacred poetry) – to unmask the iniquity and devilish nature of art itself. Scott does not appear interested in justifying his selection of poetry to vituperate against poetry

itself, as if he simply embraced an alleged and implicit request by art to be unmasked. Although the traditional Renaissance antithesis between form and content can be ascribed to the mid-seventeenth century and Cartesianism, we can see it here in its paradoxical dimension, where the form of poetry is used to criticise poetry (and art) as content.

[8] The concept of the Paradise of Fools, well-known from Milton's Limbo of Vanity in book 3 of *Paradise Lost*, was a common concept among Christian writers in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. It refers to all the fools or disabled people who could not be punished in Hell for sins they were unaware of committing; hence they were sent to Purgatory in a so-called Paradise of Fools. The liberal arts are responsible for corrupting and confusing the weakest minds who, unaware of the sins that the arts make them commit, are destined for the Paradise of Fools.

[9] This final couplet clearly counterposes religion and the seven arts, considered as blind faith in science and progress, especially when considering the four arts of the Quadrivium. This conception echoes Lando's paradoxes about ignorance and foolishness, which Munday translated via Estienne ("For the ignorant" and "For the fool"), where being erudite and wise meant corrupting what Saint Jerome called *sancta rusticitas*, a simple life far from science and progress, but close to Christian precepts.

[10] Stanzas 9-11 present five different similes concerning arts, anaphorically introduced by such strings as "th'art (like)" and "or like": in stanza n. 9 the arts are compared to gold and a sword, in the tenth to fire and tobacco, and in the eleventh to a chameleon. Such imagery reinforces Scott's invective against the seven liberal arts, which are accused of corrupting the youth and making them kill each other (gold and sword), choking and destroying them (fire and tobacco), and deceiving them (chameleon).

[11] This refers to the temple of Artemis – or Artemesium – at Ephesus, burnt by Herostratus in 356 BCE and then rebuilt.

[12] The reference here is probably to Sir Walter Raleigh's El Dorado expedition, a voyage to Guyana that Raleigh made in 1595 during the Anglo-Spanish War. In 1596 he wrote an account of his voyage entitled *The Discovery of Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guyana*.

[13] Another of Scott's appeals to animal imagery. This time bees are compared to "true men" who suck the pollen of "true art", while venomous toads are compared to "careless villain(s)" devoted to sin and at the service of the devil. Actually, this is the first time that Scott offers a positive connotation to art in this paradox. There is no further mention of such connotations, but by asserting that art is true when employed by true men, Scott is probably trying to justify the paradoxical nature of his writing, in addition to perhaps asserting that he is a "true man".

[14] Too little is known about Scott's life to draw conclusions about this statement, but here he is probably referring to the education he received at St.

Andrews and Cambridge.

[15] As noted elsewhere, the seven liberal arts listed by Scott are those included in the Medieval Trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), even if the author replaces astronomy with poetry. It is a singular choice that improves the paradoxicality of the text, since Scott admits that poetry teaches man to lie; hence, by writing in verse, he is actually lying. This, as noted in the introduction to this edition, is the very essence of Scott's paradoxes.

[16] The number seven often recurs in this paradox. The liberal arts are seven, like the heads of Hydra, but also like the deadly sins – i.e., pride, greed, wrath, envy, lust, gluttony and sloth. Despite being a number often associated with positive virtues in Catholicism (e.g., the seven sacraments), in Scott's Puritan view, this number is mainly associated with negative aspects.

[17] Another image associated with animals in the text. The poor human beings, lured by the knowledge offered by art, are compared to birds hunted by fowlers who build a fowler glass to distract and capture them. This metaphor seems to be very common in early modern England: see, among others, Vaux's poem "Try Before You Trust" (1576) or Bunyan's "Upon the Lark and the Fowler" (1628).

[18] Cicero's *Sententiae insigniores*, book 2: "All kinds of art are far from naturalness, so they resemble fraud".

[19] The injustice of law.

[20] This series of rhetorical questions introduces Scott's ostensible defence of law, here considered holy and divine. This first part is actually a mock encomium, as Scott's later invective against lawyers and law demonstrates. After all, the Latin title of this paradox leaves little doubt about Scott's opinion of law.

[21] When dealing with law, Scott always refers to it by employing the feminine pronouns and possessive "she" and "her". This is certainly due to classical representation of justice as a goddess, e.g., the Greek Themis and the Roman Iustitia. It might also help associating law and justice with Queen Elizabeth I, an early modern topos dealt with by writers and artists. See, among others, the so-called Rainbow Portrait, where the Virgin Queen holds the sword of state, symbol of justice.

[22] "To engross, monopolize (commodities)" (*OED*, v.3).

[23] I.e., Westminster Hall, the most ancient part of Westminster Palace and London's main courts of law, built by the Norman King William Rufus.

[24] Together with war, law is seen by Scott (and by the Digges, as will be shown later) as the perfect *instrumentum regni* to maintain peace, since any punishment deriving from law should discourage men from infringing it. As observed by Royer (2004, 69), in early modern England the focus of punishment deriving from law infringement shifts from the crime itself to criminals, and this is also evident in stage representations of executions in sixteenth-

and seventeenth-century drama. This interest in criminal minds is evident in Scott's paradox, especially when the author asks himself, as a man, whether it is really necessary to have laws and punishments as deterrents or if men can self-regulate their conduct.

[25] From this point onwards, Scott's invective against law's administrators begins. Most lawyers are corrupt and look after the interests of the wealthy, thus covering law's ears. This issue was a widespread topic in early modern England, and scholars agree that early modern lawyers "applied the law to the various needs of government" (Bouwsma 1973, 305), thus attracting the intellectuals' criticism.

[26] The reference here is to emperor Galba who, after being elected thanks to the support of the Pretorian Guard, was murdered by Otho for his physical weakness and submissive attitude towards his male favourites.

[27] The noun phrase "bad officers" also occurs many times in Thomas Digges's paradoxes to indicate corrupt military officers who only look after their economic and social interests. This is another point of contact between Scott's collection and the Digges' volume: thanks to their social position, bad officers are corrupted and take advantage of certain situations.

[28] The imagery of ferocious animals is here used to symbolise the bad officers who overpower poor men, the "weaker beasts".

[29] "A bailiff, a sheriff's sergeant, especially one who collects debts or arrests debtors for non-payment" (*OED*, n.).

[30] I.e., Ludgate prison, where debtors were held.

[31] "*Originally*. A dog tied or chained up, either to guard a house, or on account of its ferocity; hence *gen*. a mastiff, bloodhound" (*OED*, n.a.).

[32] Alexander the Great who, according to Scott, did not have the right to conquer such a vast empire by force. Alexander the Great, emblem of the "greater" flies (74) who are not punished by the law, is contrasted with the pirates, "little flies" (73), who, like Robin Hood, stole from the rich. The comparison between the Macedonian king and the pirate is taken from St. Augustine's *The City of God*, book 4. The episode recounts how Alexander, after capturing a pirate, asked him how he dared to molest the world. The pirate replied that he was called a thief because he molested the world with a small ship, while Alexander was called an emperor because he did the same, but with a great fleet.

[33] Even Scott's consideration of law is paradoxical and contradictory per se. Although in the first part of the paradox he had considered law just and righteous, he now calls it a cobweb that captures little flies (poor men), while big flies (wealthy men) manage to escape. Many other negative images of law follow (e.g., nurse of discord), thus confirming that the first part of the paradox was a mock encomium imbued with irony.

[34] Although the necessity of law was a common topic in early modern England (cf. Brooks 2008, 90), few intellectuals called into question its rightfulness, in line with the traditional view of such great Greek and Roman in-

dividuals as Plato and Cicero. As a matter of fact, in his *De legibus*, the Latin philosopher and orator distinguished between justice and law, affirming that while the former is perfect and praiseworthy, the latter must always be adjusted in order to adhere to justice. In other words, justice is perfect, while law is perfectible, but for this reason is also necessary. Therefore, although law was considered far from perfect in ancient times and during the Renaissance (see Shapiro 2019), it was still considered necessary by governments and officers in order to maintain internal peace. Scott's view undermines the very essence of law, aspiring to a utopian world where law is not necessary, because men are not threatened by the certainty of punishment but by "reproach and shame". This, I would argue, has roots in Scott's fervent Puritan faith, imbued with Calvinism. As a matter of fact, according to Calvin, the only real and righteous law is natural law, or the law of God, towards which naturally-depraved men must tend in order to obtain salvation. Human laws, like those dealt with by Scott, are imperfect and corruptible and hence, as the author declares, unnecessary.

[35] Lady Justice (Iustitia) was introduced in the Roman pantheon by emperor Augustus, but on Roman coins she was not represented with covered eyes. The first representation of a blindfolded Justice is probably a statue by the Swiss sculptor Hans Giens, dated 1543, which now tops the Fountain of Justice in Bern (Simms 2010, 13).

[36] Another of Scott's attacks on the corruption of law officers.

[37] Cicero's *De Officiis*, 3.69: "We do not, however, possess any concretely sculpted image of true law and justice, its germane sister; we use a shadow and a semblance".

[38] The very harmful war.

[39] The second paradox concluded with Scott's imperative of letting men embrace virtue and loathe vice, the latter being a common conflict in Medieval and Renaissance traditions. The third paradox begins with the consideration that war corrects vice and nourishes virtue and, in this regard, it is superior to law. This paradox is strictly connected to the previous one, as are the whole collection and the Digges' *Four Paradoxes*, through the theme of conflict between vice and virtue and the corruption deriving from the abuse of vice.

[40] As hinted above, war is superior to art and law, since it does not lead to corruption, but war extinguishes it. This conception establishes an undeniable parallelism with Dudley Digges's fourth paradox, which praises war for its many benefits (see the *multis utile bellum* principle discussed in the introduction).

[41] War was usually considered a good exercise for young men in early modern England. One of the most famous examples of this idea, shared by Scott, is Elyot's *The Castle of Wealth* (1536), where war is recommended to young men as one among many strong and violent exercises.

[42] Unlike the second paradox, where the mock-encomium section was lon-

ger, here Scott admits that the praise of war is extremely short, because men prefer "an unjust prowling peace".

[43] As examined in the introduction, the principle of just war, which derives from St. Augustine's theology (later revived by Thomas Aquinas), mainly concerned the religious conviction that Christian kingdoms should fight together against their common enemy: the Turks. Scott, like the Digges after him, adheres to this doctrine and in the remainder of this paradox defends his belief.

[44] Archaic for "covetousness".

[45] This is a reference to the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604), whose main event was certainly the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, ended by James I and the Spanish king Philip III with the Treaty of London in 1604. This was definitely not good news for Scott who, as a fervent anti-Catholic, could not stand an alliance between England and Spain.

[46] Scott's initial enthusiasm about war seems to fade here, when the author moves from an external, international scenario to matters of internal politics. Civil wars, in fact, are considered extremely dangerous and harmful because of their effect on the masses. Fear of the rebellious crowd was a much-debated topic in early modern England. One need only think of Shakespeare's Roman and history plays and the continuous tension between fear of the tyrant and fear of the crowd. One possible solution to this conflict between internal and external wars will be advanced by Dudley Digges in his paradoxes: external wars are means though which governments can 'distract' people from matters of internal discontent and dissention. In this sense, Scott's and the Digges' collections of paradoxes engage in a sort a dialogue (in a purely interdiscursive Bakhtinian sense) where Dudley Digges seems to provide answers to Scott's problems regarding civil wars.

[47] "A lantern or candlestick with a screen to protect the light from the wind, and a handle to carry it by (as distinguished from a lantern carried suspended from a chain). *Obsolete*" (*OED*, n.1.1a).

[48] "To burn the ends or edges of (hair, wings, etc.)" (*OED,* n.1a), even figuratively.

[49] It was quite common in early modern England to distrust doctors and medications. In general, as stated by Cook (1994, 1), "in the learned traditions of Renaissance Europe, good advice remained more important than potent medicines for restoring both physical and political states to their previous strengths". Here Scott establishes a parallel between bad doctors and surgeons who kill their patients and civil wars which, instead of curing the states of bad governments, usually lead to the death of the rebellious people.

[50] Archaic for "surgeons".

[51] Paracelsians were a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European group of physicians who followed the doctrine of Paracelsus. According to this Renaissance Swiss doctor and alchemist, the traditional learning of ancient doctors such as Hippocrates or Galen could teach modern physicians nothing,

because medical knowledge was gained through experience and progress. As noted earlier, a man like Scott, who would condemn every kind of progress, could do anything but denounce this modus operandi. The string "sword-Paracelsians" indicates bad officers who believe that war (the sword) can cure a state from its illness. This is yet another parallel between bad doctors and corrupted officers.

[52] Archaic for "destroy".

[53] This is a simile that involves art and that can be easily interpreted when remembering Scott's ferocious invective against liberal arts in the first paradox. "Art's deepest skill", which we know is corrupting the human mind, turns against the will of men of art, exactly as civil war turns against rebels.

[54] This is another of Scott's metaphors employing the imagery of ferocious animals. War, which often turns against those rebels who began it, is compared to a mastiff that, instead of attacking bears, turns against its owner. Bearbaiting was widespread in early modern England, and there are numerous metaphors relating to it in early modern drama, given that theatre and bearbaiting were "isomorphic events" (Dickey 1991, 255).

[55] Like many other Christian intellectuals, Scott laments the internal divisions in Christian kingdoms and their consequent inability to confront the Ottoman Empire's threat (see, among others, Edwin Sandys's 1605 treatise entitled *Europae Speculum*, as analysed in Schmuck 2010, 547). As stated by Barin (2010, 37), "England was one of the European countries that perceived itself to be the most vulnerable to the political, economic, and religious threats of the Ottoman empire", as such early modern plays as Greene's *Selimus*, Shakespeare's *Othello*, Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* and Massinger's *The Renegado*, among others, demonstrate (Vitkus 1999). It is also interesting to note that the 22nd *discours* of François de la Noue's *Discours politiques et militaires* (one of the main sources of the Digges' *Four Paradoxes*) was entitled *Que les princes chrestiens estans bien unis ensemble peuvent en quatre ans chasser les Turcs de l'Europe*.

[56] Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia*, speech 15: "Not only the advent, but also the fear of war brings calamities".

[57] Cicero's *Philippicae*, speech 10: "Any servitude is miserable".

[58] As Scott has already familiarised his reader with mock-encomium-like initial stanzas, it is easy to understand that even in this case he introduces a topic he will criticise in the rest of the paradox. This is a typical stylistic and rhetorical strategy of his: Scott begins his poems with paradoxical assertions that go against common opinion and sometimes logic, then goes on to destroy his initial arguments one by one.

[59] Ivy was (and still is) considered a symbol of strength and determination, for it is an evergreen infesting plant that requires no excessive care to grow fast. For the same reason, it can also be associated with parasitism, since to grow it needs another plant or building and sucks all the nutrients of the plant

it is attached to. A similar image to the one conveyed by Scott is introduced by Prospero in *The Tempest* (1.2.86), when he compares his usurper brother Antonio to "[t]he ivy that had hid my princely trunk". Exactly as in Shakespeare, Scott is also highlighting the parasitism of servants who, like ivy, suck money and wealth from their rich employers. With this simile, Scott is treating servants as parasites and their masters as benefactors ready to welcome them with open arms.

[60] I.e., the Muses.

[61] The expression "child of fortune" derives from Horace's *fortunae filius*, as exposed in his *Sermons* (2.6.49), and it indicates those who have achieved a prestigious social position not from skill or merit, but from chance and luck. As we know so little about Scott's life, it is difficult to tell whether he is railing against someone in particular whose ivy-like behaviour he observed and abhorred while in the service of Lady Helena's family; however, one may assume that he was very familiar with such issues and that he is creating an antithesis between cultivated servants like himself, who deserve to be employed (men "whose brain the learned sisters heat"), and children of fortune, who are "only great in show".

[62] "In negative sense: a peasant or rustic, regarded as unrefined or ignorant; a country bumpkin" (*OED*, n.3a); or "A person (esp. a man) who behaves in a rude, ill-mannered, or crass way; a lout, an oaf" (*OED*, n.3b).

[63] Scott establishes some parallels here. First of all, the servant who is not "enem[y] to school" is honest, but his honesty is often punished by those patrons who dislike frankness. Conversely, "base slave[s]", who flatter masters with insincere praises, are more appreciated by their patrons. Early modern culture is full of examples of this kind: think, for instance, of Iago in Shakespeare's *Othello* or the antithesis between Cordelia and her two sisters in *King Lear*.

[64] Although sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century English society was strictly hierarchical, such concepts as social climbing and social mobility were very much discussed (see Everitt 1966; Stone 1966). As a Puritan who firmly believed in the doctrine of predestination, Scott could not tolerate that a base and unctuous servant ascended the social ladder. For a detailed account of Scott's adherence to the doctrine of predestination in his later writings, see Lake 1982, 809-810.

[65] Yeoman: "A servant or attendant in a royal or noble household, usually of a superior grade, ranking between a sergeant and a groom or between a squire and a page" (*OED*, n.1a).

[66] Argus Panoptes was a mythological giant who, according to various versions, had four or one hundred eyes.

[67] This is the first (and also last) apostrophe addressed to an ideal 'fond youth' whom Scott imagines educating. Exactly as with the "fair youth" in Shakespeare's sonnets, it is difficult to know whether Scott is addressing his

pedagogy to a specific young man or to a hypothetical youth who might wish to enter the service of a nobleman.

[68] Scott's reflection on the ontological nature of service and slavery seems to be as lucid as his previous considerations about the necessity of laws. Even in this case, Scott represents one of the many voices from the Renaissance who mark the transition from the Middle Ages (when feudal service was somehow taken for granted and justified) to the modern era.

[69] Two other similes using animal imagery. In this case, the ass and the camel, employed in the fields for heavy work and who suffer mistreatment, are compared to servants who never rebel towards their unjust masters.

[70] According to Calvin, man is born with inherent dignity and hence each man "should be respected by fellow human beings and social institutions" (Vorster 2010, 198). This theory, rather than the doctrine of predestination, stands behind Scott's assertion that man is born free and should be respected by fellow humans.

[71] This is a reference to the well-known mythological episode of the titan Prometheus who stole the divine fire from the Gods and gave it to humans. For this offence, Zeus chained him to a rock and by day a vulture pecked at his liver, which regenerated by night.

[72] "Chiefly of a person: discontented, dissatisfied; (now) *esp.* actively discontented; unwilling to acquiesce in the established ideas or practices of an institution, society, etc.; inclined to resistance or rebellion; restless and disaffected" (*OED*, adj.).

[73] Cicero's *Philippicae*, speech 3: "While all slavery is miserable, to be slave to a man who is profligate, unchaste, effeminate, dull is surely intolerable".

[74] In this final resolution, Scott tries to justify some of his choices and paradoxical assertions. Hence he declares himself a fool and repeats this concept three times, thus implying he knows he has gone against common opinion but did so because he is out of his mind.

[75] This is Scott's final *captatio*. Although he has criticised art, law, war, and service, even going against logic and common opinion, he asserts that he embraces them all out of need, for which he provides no explanation. One might infer that he embraces art because he writes poetry, or service because he needs the protection of Lady Helena's family, but it is difficult to understand why Scott affirms he embraces law and war. As hinted at elsewhere, this is one of the most paradoxical aspects of Scott's collection of poems.

[76] I.e., I learn from my mistakes.

[77] Horace's *Odes*, book 1, ode 1 (*The dedication to Maecenas*), 23-5: "Many love camp, and the sound of trumpets / mixed with the horns, and the warfare hated / by mothers" (trans. by A.S. Kline, 2003).

[78] Humphrey Lowns was a London printer who succeeded Peter Short. His shop was in Bread Street Hill, near St. Paul's Cathedral.

[79] Clement Knight was a famous London bookseller whose bookshop, like

many others, was in St. Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the Holy Lamb.

[80] The main topic of this first paradox by Thomas Digges is immediately clear: no sovereign benefits from paying low salaries to soldiers, since corruption arises as a consequence. As in Scott's *Four Paradoxes*, in the Digges' collection money and corruption are also strictly connected and mutually dependent, and the most corrupt officers are those who are lured by money.

[81] "A repulse, defeat in an onset or enterprise; a baffling check. *Archaic*" (*OED,* n.2.2a).

[82] Famous partial quote from Cicero. The complete citation is *pecunia nervus belli*.

[83] Archaic for "farmer".

[84] These two mathematical and economic similes introduce the reader to Thomas Digges's reasoning about right payment for soldiers who fight in wars. The message sent by the mathematician is the same in both cases: sparing resources does not necessarily imply saving money.

[85] *Four Paradoxes* is imbued with virtuous and negative exempla from Greek and Roman history. Unlike Scott, who prefers to directly accuse his contemporaries and refers to the classical tradition only sporadically, Thomas and Dudley Digges quote extensively from Greek and Roman culture, generally to justify their choices against common opinion or logic.

[86] In 1586, with the Treaty of Nonsuch, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was named governor-general of the United Provinces by Queen Elizabeth, after Prince William I of Orange had been assassinated by a Catholic fanatic in 1584. Although sixteenth-century chronicles seem to advance religious reasons for this assassination, Thomas Digges is stating here that at least some of those disorders could be ascribed to soldiers' low salary.

[87] "A formal gathering of troops, especially for inspection, display, or exercise" (*OED,* n.1).

[88] "Petty theft" (*OED,* n.).

[89] "Originally: a privateer. Later more generally: a piratical adventurer, a pirate; any person who goes about in search of plunder. Also *figurative* and in extended use" (*OED*, n.).

[90] "The lowest rank of commissioned infantry officer in the British army" (*OED,* n.2a).

[91] "A citizen of a town or city, typically a member of the wealthy bourgeoisie" (*OED,* n.1).

[92] "An official list of officers and men in a military unit or ship's company" (*OED,* n.).

[93] I.e., fornication.

[94] John of Austria was an illegitimate son of Charles V and Barbara Blomberg. He served his half-brother Philip II of Spain as a military leader and guided the fleet of the Holy League during the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. In 1577, named governor-general of the United Provinces, he managed to con-

vince some of the United Provinces to support Prince William of Orange; however, after his death, as Digges affirms, things went badly when Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, became the new governor-general.

[95] "A small fort or earthwork; esp. one built to defend a ford, pass, castle-gate, etc., or erected as a counter-fort" (*OED*, n.3a).

[96] Sallust's *Epistula ad Cesarem*, 9.2: "tongues but souls for sale, blood-stained hands, fleeing feet, most dishonourable in those parts which cannot honourably be named".

[97] Cornificius: "Proper helmeted hares".

[98] Cicero's *Ad Atticum*, book 1, letter 16: "blood-suckers of the treasury".

[99] City in the Netherlands where the Earl of Leicester was sent by Queen Elizabeth I in 1586 to help the rebels during the Dutch War.

[100] Another Dutch city.

[101] I.e., Count Philip of Hohenlohe Langenburg, a Dutch nobleman who opposed English intervention in the Dutch Wars.

[102] Of course, Queen Elizabeth is said to have paid her soldiers monthly, in due time, not every forty-eight days, as had William of Orange. This, according to Digges, prevented soldiers from being corrupted, although it is well-known that Robert Dudley's campaign was a complete disaster and he had to return to England in 1587. Although there are evident circumstantial reasons behind Thomas Digges's celebration of Dudley (Theophilus, the dedicatee of Dudley Digges's initial epistle, was a Howard belonging to same family as the mother of Sir Robert Dudley), this exaltation of Dudley's deeds is paradoxical, as it goes against the common opinion that Dudley's campaign in the Netherlands was a tremendous defeat.

[103] "A person who gilds, esp. as an occupation" (*OED*, n.).

[104] An honourable death in war is a praiseworthy deed in early modern England. According to Cummings (2011, 4), "Moral philosophy abounds with examples of the preferability of an honourable death over a dishonourable life, such as one subject to tyranny or enslavement or moral turpitude". Although discussing the theme of honourable death in John Donne's *Biathanatos*, Cummings suggests that in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England dying honourably was preferred to living a corrupt life, a concept that Thomas Digges expresses in this first paradox.

[105] "Of a person: painstaking, assiduous, diligent. Now *rare*" (*OED*, adj.4b).

[106] Historical province of the Netherlands.

[107] Alessandro Farnese, another illegitimate son of Charles V and Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma. As hinted above, he sustained Don John of Austria and succeeded him as governor-general of the United Provinces during the Dutch Revolt. He won the Battle of Gembloux in 1578 and many others, also defeating the English troops sent by Elizabeth.

[108] A Dutch province.

[109] I.e., picory: "Plunder or pillage by force; marauding, looting, piracy; an

instance of this" (*OED*, n.). In Thomas Digges's two paradoxes, picory is personified: she is a fascinating woman who lures weak soldiers inclined to be easily corrupted by money and power. In this sense, picory's personification clashes with Scott's personification of justice in his paradox about law.

[110] Papists and Turks were often associated in early modern England, so much so that in the same year Dudley Digges published *Four Paradoxes*, i.e., 1604, bishop Matthew Sutcliffe published the second, enlarged edition (first ed. 1599) of his treatise *De turcopapismo*, thus linking Catholics and Turks as enemies of Christendom.

[111] I.e., far-fetched.

[112] While continuing to recount the story of the Dutch revolt, Digges tries to justify each episode of the revolt by means of soldiers' (lack of) money in order to support his initial thesis.

[113] According to Digges, England has the best management of payment to soldiers, which is why no mutinies or revolts occurred, at least under Elizabeth's reign.

[114] A military rank, similar to a colonel, created by Emperor Charles V in 1534.

[115] Among various ranks, Digges decides to consider only two examples: commanders and chief officers. Digges was appointed muster master general from 1586 to 1594 and went to fight in the same war with the Spanish Netherlands he has described thus far in this paradox; he is thus particularly familiar with his topic. In any case, as often repeated in this paradox, both commanders and chief officers are examples of high-ranking soldiers who deserve being paid well, given their many tasks and the number of subordinate soldiers they command.

[116] I.e., half (from the French *moitié*).

[117] While Scott's praise of virtue is strictly connected with Puritan values and contrasts sin and corruption, Thomas Digges endorses a more philosophical, Ciceronian-like consideration of virtue, similar to the concept of Roman *virtus*, which in this case forms a kind of alliterative hendiadys with the noun "value". Nevertheless, be it meant as a religious value to be persecuted or as a moral, Roman-like, praiseworthy quality, virtue is counterposed with the corruption derived by money and power both in Scott's and the Digges' collections of paradoxes.

[118] As in Scott's work, corrupted officers enjoy here also the favour of their superiors and subordinates, which seems to be paradoxical; however, since corruption leads to corruption, this mechanism activates a chain of flattery and favouritism that is hard to break.

[119] "Military attire (for which buff was formerly much used); a military coat made of buff" (*OED*, n.2.2b).

[120] "Perfumes are lavish ornaments" (Dugan 2011, 170) in early modern England, often associated with women and effeminate men. In the extremely

masculine military environment described by Digges, where virtuous, brave soldiers struggle to fight against corrupt officers, the latter are also depicted as perfumed, untrustworthy men, full of "feminine delicacy" and "effeminate unmanly vanity", as Thomas Digges defines them some paragraphs later.

[121] French military unit formed by guards.

[122] The reference here is probably to Themistocles, the Greek general who, with a small group of valiant soldiers, managed to defeat the huge Persian fleet at the naval battle of Salamis, during the Persian Wars. The brave Greek soldiers are here compared to virtuous officers, while the "perfumed Persians" parallel the corrupted soldiers.

[123] I.e., said.

[124] Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum*, chapter 85: "good manners are proper to women but toil to men". To support his idea that manly soldiers are less corrupt and more trustworthy than effeminate, perfumed officers, Thomas Digges quotes the Roman general Marius as an *auctoritas*.

[125] Fame is another evanescent concept, according to Thomas Digges. Brave captains and generals must be judged by their deeds, not by their common fame, because fame is measured by the number of corrupt followers they have.

[126] As in Scott's paradox about war, in Thomas Digges' first paradox physicians are neglected, thus confirming a certain scepticism about doctors and medical science. Pathologies and diseases are metaphors of military corruption and incompetent physicians stand for corrupt officers who are unable to cure a disease they have caused.

[127] Cato the Elder was a famous Roman senator and historian, well-known for his conservative ideals and strong opposition to the Hellenization of the Roman Republic in the third-to-second centuries BCE. Cato is the perfect Roman authority to quote here, inasmuch as he hated physicians because they were all Greek.

[128] Agesilaus II was a Spartan *basileus* who reigned over the city in the fourth century BCE. According to Plutarch, he was an exceptional ruler.

[129] I.e., loans.

[130] "A form of punishment or torture that involved caning the soles of someone's feet" (*OED,* n.).

[131] Cowardice is considered "the foulest vice" in a man, and this statement seems to recall Caesar's lines, "Cowards die many times before their deaths. / The valiant never taste of death but once" (2.2.32-3), in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. In fact, the antithesis between cowardice and bravery is ancient and was very much dealt with by Roman writers (see, among others, Coulston 2013). In the English Renaissance army, cowardice is responsible for corruption and extremely dangerous when passed on from commanders to privates. This long sequence of paragraphs formed by if-clauses analyses possible scenarios deriving from acts of cowardice by captains and commanders who are imitated by their subordinates.

[132] I.e., vaunt.

[133] "Given to boasting" (*OED*, adj.). This adjective derives from Thrasos, the Greek god of boldness and insolence, or from Terence's homonymous character, a braggart soldier, in his comedy *Eunuchus*.

[134] Archaic for powerful.

[135] The well-known Gaius Marius, very successful and beloved Roman general and consul.

[136] Spartan leaders, a kind of parliament of five members who helped the two Spartan kings make decisions.

[137] This episode is taken from Plutarch's *Sayings of Spartan Women*.

[138] A Greek river in Peloponnesus.

[139] Titus Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus was a famous Roman consul and dictator who did not hesitate to kill his own son when he contravened his father's orders in battle.

[140] "A record of daily occurrences; a diary, journal. *Obsolete*" (*OED*, n.1a).

[141] François de la Noue, sixteenth-century French soldier and writer. Among his works, *Discours politiques et militaires* is certainly the most famous and influential. It was translated into English in 1588 by Edward Aggas. After touching on a number of Greek (mainly Spartan) and Roman commanders and generals and their virtuous, uncorrupted behaviour, Thomas Digges finally quotes from his most important contemporary source, one section of which is called, as already noted in the introduction, *Quatre paradoxes*.

[142] I.e., Brignoles, town in southeast France.

[143] At this point in the paradox, it is clear that manly values are generally associated with positive behaviours, while womanly and effeminate attitudes are considered extremely negative. This is why corruption is personified by the witch-like figure of Lady/Madam/Mistress Picorea.

[144] I.e., the Low Countries. Here Digges returns to dealing with the Dutch Wars.

[145] Latin interjection meaning "God forbid".

[146] Adapted from Joachim du Bellay's 1552 "La lyre chrestienne" (in *Oeuvres de l'invention de l'auteur*): "those who are wise at their risk are unhappy wisemen".

[147] "Happy are those who can learn caution from the danger of others".

[148] Gaspar de Châtillon was a French admiral and Huguenot commander whose brother, François de Coligny d'Andelot, made François de la Noue convert to Calvinism.

[149] Another simile based on the association between corruption and illness. As when no other cure is possible other than to open veins and shed a great deal of blood, so it is sometimes necessary to kill corrupt officers to deter other soldiers from acting like them. According to Kesselring (2019), this concept corresponds to an increasing tendency in early modern England to spectacularise public executions as cathartic moments where people were warned about

the risks they could take in disobeying the law.

[150] Literally: "The piteous doctor causes mortal injury".

[151] I.e., Ovid.

[152] Ovid's *Remedia amoris* 2.13-4: "Halt its beginnings: it's too late for the doctor to be called, / when the illness has grown stronger through delay".

[153] "Robbing a knave, not a gentleman".

[154] Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé was a French Huguenot general and founder of the House of Condé.

[155] William I, called "the Silent" or "the Taciturn", Prince of Orange, leader of the Dutch revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs which led to the independence of the United Provinces in 1581.

[156] Henry III, considering not the date of publication of *Four Paradoxes*, but the date of composition of Thomas Digges's first two paradoxes.

[157] I.e., difficult.

[158] Archaic for "frail".

[159] Thomas Digges's technique involves binary comparisons and contrasts: in the previous paragraphs he had compared captains and colonels as emblems of corruption. Now he is introducing his next comparison between good and bad officers, which deserves a separate section in this first paradox. This comparison is a summary of previous considerations about virtuous and corrupt soldiers, a kind of dialogic argument where each good quality of the exemplar officer is contrasted with bad behaviours by corrupt soldiers.

[160] Archaic for "lucrative".

[161] In the conclusion of this "conference", as Digges calls it, the author affirms that, paradoxically, honest soldiers have many enemies, while corrupt officers have many friends and people who respect them, thus reaffirming that corruption begets corruption. This paradoxical statement is closely connected to the fact that governments should pay their armies better if they do not want their soldiers to give in to the temptation to make money and obtain power through corruption.

[162] The first paradox finishes by repeating the initial *captatio* aimed at praising the Earl of Leicester's (and thus Queen Elizabeth's) commendable policy in terms of soldiers' pay. Before and after condemning corruption in the military ranks, Thomas Digges wisely declares that there is no room for such deplorable behaviours by corrupt soldiers withing the ranks of the English army, given the excellent management of their salaries and wages by the Queen and her functionaries.

[163] From *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense 1328-1388:* "As guilty of harming the majesty".

[164] In this introductory paragraph, Thomas Digges anticipates the main topic of his second paradox, which will be devoted to positive exempla belonging to the ancient Roman and Greek militia, although very few examples are actually given in the text.

[165] It is clear from the outset that the paradoxality of this text consists in going against the common opinion that early modern military art was better than that of Greece and Rome, due to the new inventions and improvements in science and technology. Despite this, the Elizabethan militia was far better than the other European armies because the government paid military personnel properly, thus avoiding corruption among the ranks. Thomas Digges's position here can be compared with other paradoxical texts, i.e., George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence* (1599), which exalt the greater skilfulness of English Renaissance military personnel and fencer in comparison with other European soldiers. Although the text has very little to do with the genre of early modern paradoxes per se, despite its title, Silver's *Paradoxes* refuse both weapons and techniques imported from the Continent in the name of the excellent English techniques of fighting.

[166] This reference to the Persian Wars reinforces Digges's negative judgement of early modern militia and his gender-based accusations. In comparing the valiant Greek army, the modern English soldiers are paralleled with the effeminate Persians who lost their wars, albeit largely exceeding the Grecian army in number.

[167] Another parallel with Scott's collection of paradoxes, discussed in the introduction. The conflict between vice and virtue is often dealt with in both collections, and this seems to highlight a certain influence on early modern English culture from the Middle Ages, where vices and virtues were counterposed. Let us think, for instance, of the battles between vice and virtue in Medieval morality plays or the well-known traditional juxtaposition between the *arbor virtutum* (tree of virtues) and the *arbor vitiorum* (tree of vices). In the specific context of this paradox, vices are paralleled with the modern corrupted militia, while virtues are represented by the Greek and Roman armies.

[168] "A cleric or theologian" (*OED*, n.1).

[169] Such episodes are described by de la Noue in his *Discours* and borrowed by Thomas Digges. The examples the author provides contribute to the unity of the first two paradoxes, since most of the time he mentions the same historical figures of brave and honourable soldiers he had quoted in the first paradox. One must note, however, that Thomas Digges had promised to deal with ancient Greek and Roman examples of valiant officers; yet thus far only examples from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are mentioned.

[170] A mathematical treatise on warfare by Leonard Digges, then expanded by his son Thomas (exactly as with *Four Paradoxes*) and published in 1579, after Leonard's death. It is the very first mathematical treatise dealing with ballistics to appear in England.

[171] Sixteenth-century French historian who wrote a treatise about warfare, *Instructions sur le fait de la guerre*, in 1548.

[172] Here, for the first time, Thomas Digges confesses he had direct contact with Monsieur de la Noue, besides reading his *Discours*. Both of them, he ad-

mits, abhor corruption in the army, be it English or French.

[173] Corruption as infection is another trope explored by Thomas Digges. Here, by recurring to the animal imagery also seen in Scott's *Four Paradoxes*, the author compares corruption to an infected sheep that infects all the other animals it enters in contact with.

[174] At this point in the paradox, Digges lists thirty reasons why ancient militia was better than the modern one (actually, points 9 and 29 are missing). These points are the actual arguments Digges uses against the common opinion that modern armies are much more well-equipped than ancient ones, thus adding value to his apparently paradoxical assertions. Albeit different from the "conference" concerning the good and bad officers from a content-related viewpoint, these twenty-eight points are conceived with the same structure of the table in paradox 1: in the first part of each point, an aspect of Greek and Roman militia is exalted, while in the second part modern soldiers are criticised in contrast with ancient ones. Moreover, it is worth noting that the examples Thomas Digges announced at the beginning of this paradox are still not presented, and actually will not be, thus showing that his knowledge of the ancient militia is either partial, or that he obtained some second-hand information – unlike his son, who will fill his two paradoxes with quotations from Latin writers and examples from the past.

[175] I.e., enlisted soldiers.

[176] The quotation is actually from Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, book 8, chapter 5: "sweepings of their own cities" (English trans. by J.C. Rolfe and J.R. Workman 1946).

[177] As in Scott, the animal imagery is important in the Digges' *Four Paradoxes*. Caterpillars and any kind of vermin, which take advantage and nourishment from rotten bodies, are metaphors for corrupt soldiers.

[178] "In Spanish-speaking contexts: a paymaster" (*OED,* n.).

[179] As already stated in the previous paradox, early modern corrupt officers run away as soon as they realize a battle is lost. This cowardly behaviour is contrasted to those ancient captains who preferred to die on the battlefield rather than surrender.

[180] Modern captains do not wear heavy arms, as did the ancient Greeks. Although this might depend on the fact that even arms underwent a process of modernisation during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Thomas Digges, going against common opinion, suggests that this only apparent improvement allows corrupt captains to quickly escape when things go wrong.

[181] Although many myths about Lacedaemonian society have been debunked (see, for instance, Rawson 1969), the reference here is certainly to Spartan mothers who preferred to kill their children if they fled from the battlefield rather than live with dishonour. This is another obvious paradox that goes against early modern common opinion.

[182] "Pay continued to a soldier or a sailor who is no longer in active service"

(*OED,* n.1) or "fraudulent appropriation of a dead soldier or sailor's pay by his superior officer" (*OED,* n.2).

[183] Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, book 8, chapter 7: "Squadron leaders".

[184] All military ranks in the Greek, Roman and late Roman-Byzantine army, whose translations are generally not given in English.

[185] I.e., prisoners.

[186] A proverb deriving from Matthew 19:12: "qui potest capere capiat", meaning that in a competition, usually the strongest or smartest person wins.

[187] The reference here is to the Second Punic War and the famous Roman victory in the battle of Zama, when Scipio Africanus managed to defeat Hannibal's troops. The reference to Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (surnamed Cunctator), dictator from 221 to 217 BCE, is somewhat inaccurate, since Hannibal's defeat during the battle of Zama occurred in 202; Quintus Fabius Maximus died in 203.

[188] Last emperor of the Severan dynasty who reigned from 222 to 235.

[189] I.e., *rempublicam*.

[190] *Historiae Augusta*, vol. 2, *Severus Alexander*, part 3, chapter 53: "the discipline of our ancestors still governs the state, and if this is weakened, we shall lose both the name and empire of the Romans" (English trans. by D. Magie 1924).

[191] To confirm our previous hypothesis, Thomas Digges here admits that if he had to quote all the tangible manifestations of the virtuous behaviours of the ancient soldiers, he would write a much longer treatise. Nevertheless, he appears to be looking for a possible justification for not providing any of the real virtuous examples he had promised.

[192] This second part of the paradox opens with a list of three reasons why modern artillery is considered much better than that of Greece and Rome. As already anticipated at the beginning of the paradox, Thomas Digges does not believe modern war technologies to be better than ancient ones, but he here lists three reasons in favour of modern artillery, as arguments supporting the antithesis in an argumentative essay, only to criticise each of them in the last section of the second part of this paradox.

[193] The three reasons are reported by Digges with an intended detachment: this is what supporters of modern artillery say, not what he thinks.

[194] The above-mentioned reasons are considered heretical, thus untrustworthy, and in the rest of the paradox Digges confutes them by also adding a fourth reason.

[195] "(of a shot, bullet, or other missile) fired from very close to its target" (*OED,* adj.1-adv.1).

[196] Compare English "bezonian", archaic term for military recruit.

[197] Archaic for riders, i.e., soldiers in charge of training horses.

[198] I.e., argoletiers, French mounted soldiers.

[199] "A large pistol or carbine used in the 16th and early 17th centuries, esp.

by cavalry" (*OED*, n.1).

[200] I.e., Charles V.

[201] I.e., false, improbable, far from the truth.

[202] The fourth reason in defence of modern artillery is presented together with its confutation. Actually, Thomas Digges does not openly declare why he decided to dedicate a separate section to the fourth reason; perhaps it is because he considers it the most important, which deserves particular attention.

[203] All kinds of artillery used by Romans during sieges.

[204] This fourth reason shares a similar conception of arts and sciences as that exposed by Scott in his *Four Paradoxes*. The modern liberal arts and progress are perceived with suspicion even by an astronomer such as Thomas Digges. Unlike Scott, who considers them a creation of the devil, Digges believes that the alleged progress brought about by new technologies – i.e., firearms in this particular case – is only apparent and that there is no relationship between modern soldiers and the great ancient warriors.

[205] Unlike Scott, who rails against the liberal arts of any kind and in any epoch, Thomas Digges affirms that liberal arts were perfect in the past and have been corrupted in modern times.

[206] Francis I of France, who died in 1547. Presumably, Digges does not refer to Francis II, who reigned for less than one year at the age of 16.

[207] I.e., eyewitness.

[208] One of the reasons why the ancient militia was better than the modern one is the fact that in modern times no king goes to war, whereas Greek commanders and Roman emperors used to incite their armies and lead battles.

[209] With this simile, mercenaries are compared to an unfaithful woman who "hath once made shipwreck of her honesty" and then commits adultery again and again. Cheating was a complex and much debated issue in early modern England and adultery was mainly attributed to the inconstancy of women, justified as it was at the social, medical or even astrological level (see Astbury 2020). Thus mercenaries – corrupted soldiers par excellence –were considered effeminate and inconstant, like women.

[210] This is a very important lexical choice by Digges. First of all, it indicates that corruption is not something born in England, but imported from abroad. Secondly, it personifies corruption as a small virus or particularly intelligent little creature that manages to secretly penetrate the nation. This is another moment when Digges enacts his *captatio*, asserting that England is a kind of primordial Eden corrupted by a foreign serpent that succeeds in creeping into its very essence and finds weak and effeminate minds to carry out its malicious actions.

[211] Archaic for "rampart".

[212] I.e., If I had known.

[213] After praising England for being a virtuous nation whose good soldiers are eager to serve in wars, Digges expands this nationalistic perspective em-

bracing all European countries. Soldiers should serve their own nations, not sell themselves to the highest bidder.

[214] Almost at the end of this paradox about Greek and Roman examples of good and virtuous conduct, Digges continues to declare that he read about ancient *exampla* of brave captains and commanders to be imitated in modern times, yet no example is given aside from those belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This might be because Digges is here resorting to a well-established European Renaissance topos, cliché and tradition of praising and exalting Greek and Roman history as a model to follow in modern times.

[215] This liquid alliteration of the /l/ sound, which catches the reader's attention, and the accurate choice of lexical items, clearly highlight Digges's views about modern wars.

[216] "Something given as a reward, prize, or incentive" (*OED*, n.3).

[217] Latin for punishment.

[218] As in Scott, the imagery and metaphors that connect medicine and war abound in these two paradoxes. This, as Wallis has noticed (2006, 3-4), is part of a widespread Renaissance tradition that links doctors and war heroes, especially in times of epidemics, on the one hand, and that considers war as a bitter yet inevitable drug to cure sick countries, on the other.

[219] The corruption of courts is underscored here, in the same way Thomas Scott had accused the lawyers of this time of being corrupt. Both Scott and Thomas Digges convey a pessimistic view of law enforcement, both writers asserting that corrupt lawyers favour rich and wealthy individuals while ignoring their faults and crimes.

[220] This assertion immediately recalls Ascham's well-known statement that "an Italianate English is a devil incarnate", thus confirming the twofold consideration that Italy had in early modern England: on the one hand, it was the cradle of the European Renaissance, while on the other, it was the devilish and corrupt country of Catholicism and Popery.

[221] Once again, Thomas Digges concludes his paradox with the hopeful *captatio* that England will leave monuments of virtue and praiseworthy behaviours to posterity, exactly as it had received them from its ancestors. The word "ancestors" is carefully chosen, since English ancestors are not usually considered Greek and Roman (think of the numerous theatrical plays of the time celebrating a glorious Celtic and Anglo-Saxon past and national heroes, such as Fletcher's *Bonduca*). Nevertheless, by referring to Greeks and Romans as British ancestors, Digges might be thinking of the Medieval legend of Brutus of Troy, which was considered factual by early modern intellectuals such as Raphael Holinshed.

[222] Latin for prelude, introduction.

[223] At the beginning of his first paradox, Dudley Digges immediately distances himself from his father's stylistic choices: Dudley loves poetry – as his partial translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* will demonstrate in 1622 – and he praises

his "predecessor" Philip Sidney, the defender of poetry. Therefore, unlike his father's linear, plain style, Dudley prefers a more complex syntax with much longer sentences and a text imbued with quotations from Greek (yet translated into Latin), Latin and French writers.

[224] Here Dudley Digges is referring to Sidney's *An Apology for Poetry* (1595), and he regrets Sidney did not also write an apology for the military profession, which would be much desirable because he himself had been a valiant and brave soldier.

[225] Greek poet of the seventh century BCE.

[226] First American colony to be funded by Columbus in the Greater Antilles in 1492-93.

[227] I.e., then.

[228] I.e., chance, luck, fortune.

[229] Here the reference is perhaps to Ben Jonson's prologue to *Every Man out of His Humour* (1599), where Carlo Buffone (Thomas Dekker's representation), describing Jonson himself, says "This is that our poet calls Castalian liquor, when he comes abroad now and then, once in a fortnight".

[230] Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, French Huguenot poet at Henry III's Court.

[231] A reference to Henry III of Navarre, whose father had lost Pamplona to Ferdinand V in 1511.

[232] "Obsolete exc. archaic. To associate with common women" (*OED*, v.).

[233] This question introduces the second part of this paradox. So far, Digges has lamented the fact that no poet, not even Philip Sidney the warrior poet, praised the military profession. Now, after complaining about what could have been done, he moves on trying to understand what he can do to praise such an honourable profession and introduces his considerations via rhetorical questions, as if he were invoking the muses of Mars he mentions some lines earlier.

[234] I.e., threatening.

[235] Dudley Digges decided to publish his father's paradoxes, together with his own (some fifteen years after they had been written) in order to ennoble the worthiness of wars and warriors.

[236] Archaic for "courtesans", "prostitutes".

[237] French for "brothels".

[238] Dudley's invective is aimed at criticising the corruption and decay of costumes at the beginning of James I's reign. He takes particular aim at the young gentlemen of his time who devote more importance to appearance than to substance and who are thus too effeminate and frivolous to join the army and fight in wars. In 1604, Dudley was twenty-one and still had a "distinctly limited" (Davidson and Hunneyball 2010) warfare experience, although his father, before dying, had left "instructions for his infant son to be brought up chiefly in knowledge and fear of God, and also in learning the mathematical sciences, military studies and foreign languages".

[239] This episode is actually in Plutarch's *Pericles*, not in *Darius*.

[240] Ancient Greek concept of hospitality.

[241] Dudley's critique continues and he quotes from Plutarch and other ancient writers whose narrated episodes are all aimed at demonstrating that true men of power should avoid futile pastimes – such as singing for Alexander the Great and playing the flute for the Theban politician Ismenias – and focus on such really important matters as politics and warfare.

[242] Dudley's use of the generic "you" is different from his father's use of the third person singular or plural personal pronouns. Stylistically, Dudley's invectives appear to be more subjective and biting than his father's apostrophes, even anticipating the direct subjectivity he will adopt in later poetic works.

[243] As in previous paragraphs, Dudley Digges is never explicit about the names of the people or families he accuses, perhaps because he is generalising his invective in order to exhort idle gentlemen to focus more on politics and warfare. After all, in 1604 Dudley had not yet entered the environment of the Court (he was knighted in 1607) and might not have been familiar with its intrigues.

[244] This is actually a verbatim quotation from North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*. In the episode, Pyrrhus is invited to a feast and asked who is the best flute player: Python or Cephesias. The king answers that Poliperchon was the best captain, thus implicitly affirming that war, not art, was the only thing he understood and cared of.

[245] In this sentence, as in others later in the paradox, the generic, almost didactic use of "you" is aimed at instructing and advising a hypothetical gentleman about abandoning idle pastimes and taking up the military profession.

[246] This third paradox, as Thomas Digges's first two, goes against common opinion: it is not true that war is a useless and dangerous waste of money, as most people think, yet it is the incompetence of some soldiers and captains that make it appear so.

[247] "To pluck up courage" (*OED*, n.1a).

[248] Dudley's view of corruption appears more optimistic than his father's: not all soldiers can be considered corrupt because only some of them are, just as not all philosophers are to be condemned because of Epicurus, nor all kings considered tyrants because of Tarquin.

[249] As stated elsewhere by his father and Thomas Scott, Dudley Digges also inveighs against the Muslims and other non-Christian (even non-religious) people, hoping for a new Holy League of Christian kingdoms that could definitely defeat the Ottoman Empire.

[250] Archaic for "Portugal".

[251] Dudley is almost obsessed (more than his father) with the comparison between ancient and modern soldiers, and such expressions as "like ancient soldiers" pervade his two paradoxes. Nevertheless, unlike Thomas's negative, hopeless comparison that always favours ancient warriors, Dudley's tech-

nique is much more like *imitatio*: it is not simply a negative judgment about modern militia, it is an invitation to contemporary soldiers to imitate Greek and Roman captains. In this sense, Dudley's position is very close to Machiavelli's attitude in *The Art of War*, a treatise that, as seen in the introduction, certainly influenced the Digges' considerations about warfare. In Machiavelli's book, the character of Lord Fabrizio Colonna, perhaps the author's mouthpiece, repeatedly argues that modern militia should imitate Greek and Roman armies, a very widespread Humanist/Renaissance approach to the classics that also permeates *Four Paradoxes*.

[252] This collocation recalls Frances Seager's *School of Virtue* (1577), a very popular textbook for schoolboys that Dudley Digges must have certainly read and studied when he was a child at school. Just as Seager's text instructs young boys to be virtuous, the art of war must be a teacher for young adults if they want to become brave soldiers.

[253] I.e., the being of beings: God.

[254] The crown of immortality was a widespread allegory in Baroque art, symbolising the immortality of its wearer following distinguished behaviour in defence of religion. In this instance, Digges is introducing the concept of just war, a war fought for religious reasons (mainly to oppose Muslims and infidels), whose main protagonists and actors are of course soldiers blessed and protected by God.

[255] The noun phrase "great captain Jesus" clearly funds two semantic spheres simultaneously: war and religion. Following Jesus as a soldier was a common metaphor in the Bible; e.g., in 2 Timothy 2:3-4, St. Paul tells Timothy to become "a good soldier of Jesus", who is clearly understood as a captain or general.

[256] Love and luxury are futile distractions for soldiers, according to Dudley Digges. To explain this concept, the author recurs to Roman and Renaissance European history and to the myth, through the story of the secret affair between Mars and Venus that, as brilliantly depicted by Botticelli in 1482-83, weakens Mars and distracts him from his real duties. Mars, Anthony, and Charles VIII represent three diachronically different examples of how love and luxury actually weaken soldiers – both physically and mentally – and make them more vulnerable.

[257] Digges's association between astronomy (conjunction between the Sun, Mercury, and Venus), mythology and modern professions reinforces the author's defence of the worthiness of the military profession: lawyers and poets who invented such stories as that of Mars and Venus are lonelier than soldiers and thus more inclined to fill such emptiness with lust.

[258] Like his father before him, Dudley Digges considers women a distraction for men, especially for soldiers, as creatures that corrupt men's honesty. Of course, behind this conception lies the biblical episode of Eve tempting Adam with the forbidden fruit. Therefore, the corruption deriving from art in

Scott's paradox about art here becomes corruption by women, lust being the common denominator in both episodes of corruption.

[259] Gjergj Kastrioti, the Albanian national hero.

[260] Generals of Alexander the Great's army who were said to have an ambiguous relationship with their emperor.

[261] In addition to women, alcohol is another dangerous temptation for soldiers, something that honest officers should avoid if they wish to keep lucid and fit. In both cases, when dealing with women and alcohol, Digges supports his arguments by means of examples from Greek, Roman or recent history, thus distancing himself from his father, who would quote famous examples but then restrict himself to generalisations about Greek and Roman history.

[262] Clitus the Black was a Macedonian officer who was killed by Alexander during a banquet when everyone was drunk.

[263] Babylonia is the biblical emblem of all corruptions, since within its walls not only did women corrupt men by dancing lasciviously, but also drank and got drunk.

[264] Greeks, and consequently Romans, saw Scythians as barbarians, but also as virtuous and honest people. Here Digges considers them an example of virtue, ruined by the vicious behaviour of some of their soldiers, as highlighted by Justin in his *Historiae*.

[265] This time the deictic pronoun "you" refers to soldiers who read – or at least should read – Digges's paradox. The author addresses his words directly to the military (or, from a more pedagogical and didactic perspective, to young would-be soldiers), almost praying them to not fall into temptation and to avoid women and alcohol, since the protection of the nation they serve is much more important than their private vices.

[266] Italy was often associated with revenge in early modern times, due in part to the astonishingly high number of murders committed there in the Renaissance (Carroll 2016). This was a widespread cliché in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, as witnessed by the number of revenge tragedies set in Italy: e.g., Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1600-01) and Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1606-07), among others.

[267] Again, another sentence that deals with the antithetical conflict between virtue and vice.

[268] Here Digges introduces the third person plural pronoun and adjective as a stylistic device to highlight the conflict and contrast between the "you" he addresses his hopes and advice to, and the "they", which represents all those corrupted soldiers weakened by women and alcohol.

[269] "Archaic for eighty" (*OED,* adj.).

[270] The reference to note "x" is actually there, but no marginalia are given. Lucan's *De bello civili*, book 1.454.

[271] A fourteenth-century king who abdicated and became a Franciscan monk.

[272] I.e., successor.

[273] To support his thesis about the worthiness of wars and warriors, Digges mentions ancient valiant generals and kings who raised their children as soldiers because they had understood that taking care of the army could guarantee the greatness and longevity of kingdoms and empires. Other examples follow about the pivotal role of taking up arms during rebellions and revolutions.

[274] Charles the Bald, last duke of Burgundy, killed by Swiss mercenaries during the battle of Nancy (Burgundian wars).

[275] Taking up arms also allows neglected peoples to be great, rich and respected, thus expanding their territory, as it happened to the Romans from Romulus's foundation to their great empire. This part of the paradox seems an invitation to fight wars, more than preserve peace, a common topic in early modern Europe (see, among others, Gunn *et al.* 2008, Edwards n.d.). Again, Dudley's paradox shows evident interdiscursive echoes from Machiavelli's *Art of War* and the Italian writer's principle of 'armed citizenry' (see Garcia Jurado 2015 for further details), something that Dudley Digges himself proposes in this section of the third paradox.

[276] I.e., taken from public money.

[277] The syntax of these last paragraphs is particularly difficult to follow. What should be four temporal clauses introduced by the same expression "when I remember" actually become independent sentences with anacolutha, with their main sentence appearing many lines later. Dudley Digges's syntax is complex, unlike his father's more linear syntax, perhaps because Dudley had graduated from Oxford and somehow wanted to distance himself from his father's plainer more scientific style.

[278] I.e., scarcely.

[279] Ancient region between Europe and Asia inhabited by Scythians.

[280] Ancient region which nowadays corresponds to the Iranian province of Kerman.

[281] Drinking and marrying are again considered two dangerous distractions for a soldier.

[282] Latin for "troglodyte".

[283] I.e., spendthrift, ne'er-do-well.

[284] This is the first reference to King James I. As Thomas Digges had praised Queen Elizabeth for her careful attention to matters of warfare, Dudley's *captatio* exalts the Stuart monarch and his excellent politics of war. James has both Stuart and Tudor blood in his veins, so is partly Scottish and partly English: the flower of two stemmas, as Dudley calls him. Nevertheless, being known as the *Rex Pacificus*, James I was not a belligerent king (as his son Charles will be), so Dudley defines him as "the worthiest kind of learning", a king given by God, hence by divine grace, a concept that James particularly enjoyed and which he emphasised during his reign.

[285] This paragraph seems to lose focus and the result is a lack of coherence

with the previous part. Here Dudley is basically summarising his father's vision of soldiers' payroll and officers' corruption, as if seeking a connection between his paradox and Thomas's two texts. The result, however, does not seem convincing, also because the summary of his father's ideas seems too rushed and somewhat chaotic.

[286] Juvenal's *Saturae*, satire 1.9-10.

[287] A Yorkshire family, one member of which, Thomas, was knighted by James I in 1603.

[288] A Roman family who fought against the Etruscans and was exterminated in an ambush.

[289] Henry (father) and John (son) Norris, English soldiers. Henry, 1st baron Norris, was a close friend of Queen Elizabeth I.

[290] Given its tone, this final part of the paradox can be read as a curse, a warning or a bad prediction. Its initial clause "The time will come" recalls again the above-mentioned Second Letter to Timothy (4:3): "the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but according to their own desires, because they have itching ears, they will heap up for themselves teachers". In 2 Timothy 4:3, St. Paul envisages a world where people will stop following God's teaching and will follow their own desires. Similarly, Dudley Digges is predicting the ruin of those nations whose inhabitants will stop fighting for it and will follow their idleness and corruption. Nevertheless, this final paragraph also seems to echo Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 2* (3.1.75-6), when Bolingbroke, now King Henry IV, quotes Richard II's "proved prophecy": "The time will come that foul sin, gathering head, / Shall break into corruption". We cannot assert that Digges would have read the 1600 bad quarto of *2 Henry IV* (where the two lines are found) or witnessed a performance, but the similarity between the incipit of Richard's prophecy and the beginning of this final paragraph of the Digges' third paradox is astonishing both from a linguistic and content view point, given that the late king Richard II also focused on the corruption of the English nation and of army in particular.

[291] Having praised the noble profession of warriors, Dudley Digges now turns to their expertise: warfare. Since, as the frontispiece reads, Dudley's paradoxes concern worthiness, this last paradox aims to justify the worthiness of war. To do so, as already anticipated in the general introduction and in the preface to this paradox, the author recurs to Lucan's authority and to his apparently paradoxical principle of *multis utile bellum*, i.e., war, more than peace, benefits several people.

[292] In order to bolster his arguments in favour of his thesis, Digges's exordium seems to contradict the initial quotation and short introductory sentence. Nevertheless, he adopts a rhetorical strategy aimed at reaching his paradoxical thesis (war is better than peace) gradually, starting by saying that peace is sweet, then trying to highlight its weaknesses one by one.

[293] As in some parts of the previous paradox, Digges introduces his point of

view with an adversative, thus trying to discredit what has been said thus far.

[294] The first piece of evidence in favour of war is its historical significance: it has always been there and always will. This probably means that war is inevitable to maintain peace.

[295] I.e., bugbear, legendary creature used to frighten children.

[296] Again, another attack against effeminate men who dissuade other men from taking up arms, not understanding that fighting wars is extremely beneficial to king and country and to one's own honour.

[297] As in Scott's and in Thomas Digges's paradoxes, Dudley Digges also evinces scepticism about doctors and surgeons, figures the three authors often use in similes or as vehicles in metaphors.

[298] I.e., decay.

[299] In this part of the paradox Dudley Digges addresses lazy and effeminate men in order to convince them of the worthiness of war. As we know from previous sections, Digges corroborates his theses with examples from the past, this time to convince his readers that if they do not take up arms, other countries will devour them. The warring society described by Dudley Digges is a *homo-homini-lupus* one, where one thinks exclusively of one's own interests, ignoring or neglecting that one might be harming one's neighbours in the process. This is a widespread conception in early modern England which, culminating with Hobbes's philosophy in the mid-seventeenth century and his *bellum-omnium-contra-omnes* principle ("the war of all against all"), had also been contemplated by Erasmus in his *Adagia* (1500, n. 70: "Homo homini aut deus, aut lupus"), and by de Vitoria in his *Relectiones Theologicae* (1577: "homini homo lupus est"), prior to the Digges' collection of paradoxes.

[300] Although the first years of James's reign were filled with hopes and enthusiasm – hopes and enthusiasm destined to be disappointed after one decade on the throne – the sense of nostalgia towards Queen Elizabeth and the splendour of England during her reign was immediately evident after the Stuart king's coronation. After his father's two paradoxes, imbued with praises for the late Tudor monarch and her admirable behaviour towards the English army, Dudley cannot but contradict those intellectuals – whose names are not mentioned, perhaps on purpose – who believed she neglected the military profession, only because she was a woman. (This is quite a brave assertion, when one considers that so far Dudley has accused women of being the soldiers' greatest weakness and distraction from military duties.) In this initial period of King James's reign, the Stuart monarch still tolerated those intellectuals who praised his predecessor – until he became so obsessed with her memory that he prohibited anyone from speaking about her in his presence.

[301] In this paragraph, Digges is walking a slippery slope and is in continuous tension between praising Queen Elizabeth and somehow making his readers understand that King James is even better than his predecessor. For this reason, James is the worthiest and most potent of all the worthy kings.

[302] Laziness and corruption of younger generations can be cured only by war, according to Digges. Like Caesar in Rome, Cimon in Athens and other valiant soldiers who abandoned their youthful weaknesses when joining the army, so the English youth can be redeemed by serving their nation in the militia. Moreover, writes Digges, it is peace that makes them weak, whereas war reinvigorates them.

[303] Greek soldier and politician of the fifth century BCE.

[304] Archaic for "through".

[305] Greek soldier and politician who lived between the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.

[306] Athenian soldier and politician who lived between the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, pivotal figure in the Greek victory against the Persians at Marathon.

[307] Roman soldier and dictator who lived between the second and first centuries BCE.

[308] Athenian soldier and politician of the fifth century BCE.

[309] Roman soldier and politician who lived between the second and first centuries BCE.

[310] Fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Italian historian known for his *De orbe novo*, about the encounter between Europeans and Native Americans.

[311] Times of peace also bring dissention and discontent, since when people have enough time to think and get bored, says Digges, they become increasingly unhappy with their government – and discontent arises. This is another limit of peace.

[312] Athenian poet and politician who lived between the seventh and the sixth centuries BCE.

[313] Girolamo Benzoni, a sixteenth-century Italian conquistador.

[314] Another reference to the concept of *homo homini lupus*.

[315] "A mongoose occurring over much of Africa and parts of south-western Asia and Iberia, noted for its destruction of crocodile eggs" (*OED*, n.).

[316] Foreign war is a good medicine/remedy against internal crises. Again, like the final paragraph of the third paradox, even this idea seems to echo *2 Henry IV*, when the king advises Prince Harry (the young Henry V) "to busy giddy minds / With foreign quarrels" (4.3.342-3). As stated above, this does not mean that Dudley Digges had read or seen Shakespeare's history play since, as Meron observed (1993; 1998), this idea was quite common and shared by sovereigns in early modern times. Nevertheless, it suggests that interdiscursive practices that celebrated foreign wars as 'distractions' from internal crises were absolutely present and important in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.

[317] Archaic for "turmoil".

[318] I.e., Sicinius.

[319] Archaic for "medicine".

[320] As stated elsewhere, metaphors and similes connecting war and medicine are common in both Scott's *Four Paradoxes* and in the Digges' collection. In particular, Dudley Digges confirms here the importance of war to cure "the sickness of a state".

[321] Inhabitants of an important Etruscan city today called Civita Castellana.

[322] Painted by none other than El Greco, Julián Romero was one of the very few Spanish simple soldiers who managed to become *maestro de campo*.

[323] "A light helmet with an outward curve extending over the back of the neck, worn as part of medieval armour" (*OED,* n.).

[324] Using examples from the past, Digges demonstrates that it was common in both ancient and modern times to send away thorny individuals. Think, for instance, of King James's complicated relationship with the Puritans, which resulted in their 'voluntary' departure from England in 1620 aboard the Mayflower.

[325] Spartan admiral and politician who lived between the fifth and the fourth centuries BCE.

[326] Fifth-century Byzantine philosopher.

[327] First Stuart king, who lived in the fourteenth century.

[328] Like Scott and Thomas Digges, Dudley Digges also believes in a just war aimed at eliminating the Ottoman threat. Nevertheless, in the two collections of paradoxes – i.e., Scott's and the Digges' – Dudley is the only one to openly insult the Turks by calling them "dogs", recalling Shakespeare's Othello's last words about having killed "a malignant and a turbaned Turk . . . the circumcisèd dog" (5.2.351-3).

[329] Ancient region between Europe and Asia, corresponding more or less to modern Iran.

[330] Ancient people who lived in the centre of Italy.

[331] "A small coastal sailing vessel, typically single-masted" (*OED,* n.2).

[332] This final part of the collection is an attempt by Dudley Digges to catch the attention and favour of king James, under whose service he will enter three years after the publication of *Four Paradoxes* thanks to the intercession of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, to whom the Digges' collection of paradoxes is dedicated.

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In 1602 and 1604 two collections of paradoxes, both entitled *Four Paradoxes*, authored by Thomas Scott, and Thomas and Dudley Digges, respectively, were published. Scott, a Protestant preacher, wrote four poems about art, law, war, and service. On the other hand, the diplomat and intellectual Dudley Digges published his father's two paradoxes about the art of war together with his own two texts concerning the worthiness of war and warriors. What do these two collections of paradoxes have in common, and why publishing their critical edition together? Apparently, besides sharing the same title, the two works do not seem to have anything else in common. Nevertheless, this modern spelling critical edition of both texts aims at demonstrating that they share political, cultural, and genre-related features connected with the circulation of paradoxical discourse about war in early modern England.

Fabio Ciambella is Research Fellow of English Language and Translation at Sapienza University of Rome. His privileged fields of research include the relationship between dance and early modern and Restoration literature and language, historical pragmatics, corpus linguistics, and Second Language Acquisition, topics about which he has published extensively. He contributes to the digital projects SENS (Shakespeare's Narrative Sources: Italian Novellas and their European Dissemination) and CEMP (Classical and Early Modern Paradoxes in England).

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